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DISRUPTING THE COLONIAL GAZE: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSES ON PUERTO RICANS IN THE UNITED STATES

by

LAURA L. ORTIZ

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

1998

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Abstract

DISRUPTING THE COLONIAL GAZE: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSES ON PUERTO RICANS IN THE UNITED STATES

by

LAURA L. ORTIZ

Adviser: Professor Juan Flores

This dissertation work is a critical analysis of the discourses and significations on Puerto Ricans as the Other in the United States. This tradition is identified as the "anthropologization" of Puerto Ricans. The continuous intervention of Puerto Ricans as object of study, and its respective manufacturing of pathologies, excesses and deficits through different discourses are explored. It is argued that North American hegemonic ideologies of the modern self and science are technologies deployed in cultural, political, and epistemological practices in which Puerto Ricans are discursively registered. An application of discourse analysis and postcolonial thought, and the addressing of the sociohistorical contexts of discourses provide a number of theoretical tools for this critical task.

The main analytical task is a critical discussion of the economies of the various discursive formations of the Puerto

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Rican subject-object. This represents an effort to expose their order, formation, operation and stabilization, as well as an effort to map their ruptures and renovations. A second aim is to reveal the configurations required for the production of discursive strategies and significations on Puerto Ricans in the United States.

Each discursive formation produces its particular arrangement of rules by which Puerto Rican "strangeness," "pathologies," and "deficits" emerge and transmute. Hence, the differentiation of four main discourses on Puerto Ricans. The economy of the discourses and significations of Puerto Ricans as the Other is the analytical focus. An introduction to those events that make possible the inaugural anthropologization of Puerto Ricans by Americans is discussed through the predicate of "The Anthropological War." The author discusses the main discourses on the Puerto Rican-Other: "The Puerto Rican Problem," "The Assimilation Problem," and "The Culture of Poverty."

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A María del Mar, mi gran amiga, jamás perdida

To my family, specially, to my mother, Laura, for her tolerance, support and understanding.

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CHAPTER 1

INCURSION AND EXCURSION

ANTHROPOLOGIZATION OF THE OTHER

Introduction

As subjects of a North American colony who have migrated to the metropolis, Puerto Ricans have been discursively invented as opposition, inferiority, negation, and as a threat to Western civilization and the North American cultural imaginary.[1] Puerto Ricans as colonial subjects in the course of this history have been constructed as the *Other*.[2]

My employment of the word *anthropologization* seeks to accomplish various meanings and objectives. First, the *anthropologization* of Puerto Ricans in the United States

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[1] The term "imaginary" has been used and defined by structuralists, post-structuralists and post-colonial thinkers in different ways. My employment of the term "imaginary" in this work refers to the ways North Americans perceive and experience Puerto Ricans, which become statements and significations of their *otherness* through different discourses and practices. I employ the terms *American* imaginary and *American* discourse interchangeably throughout this text to mean U.S. American.

[2] My definition of the terms "colonialism," "colonial relations" or "imperial spaces" refer to those processes of relations of power in which oppression and subordination of "other-people" transcend territorial and formal-juridical ruling, although these formal legal-juridical rules may be in place. Specifically, I would argue that dynamics of gender, "race," class and identity are invested in colonial and imperial spaces. Further, colonialism and imperialism are processes with ruptures and contradictions within their own metropolitan and colonial spaces. Likewise, restructuration of power relations, political struggles, socioeconomic changes vis à vis reappropriations of "the political" supersede old presuppositions of empire-colony as a dichotomy of exterior-interior. Thus, sociohistorical conditions in which "colonialism," "colonial relations" and "imperial spaces" are produced mark a complex addressing of colonial discourse. Discursive practices of the self-Other are mediated by these processes.

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refers to the historical need and the authority to speak, describe, study and treat Puerto Ricans as subject-objects.[3] This historical need is linked to crucial political events of and situations of power, which are colonization projects and technologies of culture and knowledge.[4] The production of the *Other* is a multiple effect of power relations in which the positivity of political, economic, social and cultural fields is dominant.[5] These power relations in which the *Other* is produced also have their ruptures and contestations.

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[3] The term "anthropologization" was originally coined by Michel Foucault. My usage of the term anthropologization follows Foucault's theorization in The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences, (1973), pp. 344-348. For Foucault, *anthropologization* refers to the need to study the origin and nature of human beings. He argues that this need has been foundational to the modern scientific enterprise since the 19th century. In my usage, I also refer to the historical need to study and explain *otherness*.

[4] From a Foucauldian perspective, the *Other* appears as the effect-intersection of science and culture as the fields of its normalization. Discourses and their institutional fields produce the subject as in need of disciplining within the values and behaviors of the modern social order. Even when the cultural standing of science is undeniable, science and culture are two instances whose differentiated practices are distinguishable in their normalization of the subject. For Foucault, the "truth" regimes, e.g. science as discourse, lie in the quasi-invisibility of the "there is" of such discourse as its own possibility. (M. Foucault, 1990). See Michel Foucault, The Order of Things An Archaeology of the Human Sciences, New York: Vintage Books, 1973. For Jacques Derrida, the blank space of the text figures the deferred meaning and undermines the authority of the text (J. Derrida, 1976). Likewise, Edward Said has argued, the constitution of the colonial subject is an historical orchestration (E. Said, 1979). Therefore, the production of the *Other* is not an ontological and scientific "truth."

[5] The term "positivity" has old and different usages in popular culture, natural and social sciences. The term "positivity" also has been employed with different meanings from positivist thought to contemporary paradigms of the social sciences. Foucault's use of the term "positivity" also has different and interrelated meanings. In Foucauldian terms, a "positivity" is a group of statements whose order and distribution produce a discourse. This group of statements could

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The condition of Puerto Ricans as subject-objects is the naturalized mode by which they necessarily appear as a body/space/symbol constituted by several discourses. Puerto Ricans became colonial "subjects" within and through colonial relations of power (K. Santiago-Valles, 1994), and became "objects" at the level of scientific inquiry. Observations and reasoning about the dubious nature of these "objects" were and continue to be made by colonial authority (power). The production of Puerto Ricans as a discursive object is at once political, cultural, scientific, and ideological. Thus, *anthropologization* constitutes a persistent intervention into the Puerto Rican social body. Secondly, as a result of the authority and the persistence mentioned above, *anthropologization* also constitutes a discursive system that incorporates different rules, enunciations, relationships and strategies that make possible the production of Puerto Ricans as the *Other*.

It is within this context of *anthropologization*, that I employ the term "anthropologist" to refer to the speaker or

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be fragmented and dispersed, but their relations and accumulation form a discursive field. The order of this discourse makes possible its stability. In other words, a positivity could be a discursive formation. However, the distinctive aspect of a positivity is the capacity to make possible the discourse itself. The discourse can be identified as a materiality with its own rules, as a sociohistorical density. (M. Foucault, 1972: 118-131 and 1973: 345-356). More important is that the term "positivity" is central to his conceptualization of discourse analysis and modern knowledge. For a better illustration of this term by Michel Foucault see The Order of Things An Archaeology of the Human Sciences, New York: Vintage Books, 1973 and, The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language, New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.

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the agent of authority who produces statements on the *Other*.[6] These include different authorities from different fields.[7] Paraphrasing Foucault,these authorities assume different subject positions in the production of a discursive formation (M. Foucault, 1972: 50-55). "Anthropology" or "anthropological practice-gaze" refers to academic and non-academic fields whose legitimate and continuous practice is the study of the *Other*, its exploration, enunciation and signification.

My main analytical task is a critical discussion of the economies of the various discursive formations of the Puerto Rican subject-object.[8] The "incursion" into these discourses represents an effort to expose their order, formation, operation and stabilization, as well as to map their ruptures and renovations. The notion of "excursion" allows me to reveal the configurations required for the production of discursive strategies and enunciations about Puerto Ricans in the United States. These varied discursive economies can be examined by calling upon different perspectives within critical theory in the fields of sociology and cultural

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[6] On anthropologization see footnote #3.

[7] The agent of authority could be a journalist, a psychologist, a superintendent, a social worker, a teacher, a worker, a sociologist, etc.

[8] Here economies refer to the circulation of meaning and power in the enunciative order of the discourses: what is enunciated; the discursive strategies employed to establish Puerto Rican otherness; the technologies or deployments which make possible the enunciation of Puerto Rican *otherness* and; which stability and discontinuities are contained in these discursive formations.

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studies. Discourse analysis and a postcolonial perspective provide a number of theoretical tools for this critical task.

In order to clarify the nature and purpose of my analysis of the discourses on Puerto Ricans, or colonial discourse, it is necessary to address the issue of the complexity of discourse(s). For instance, a critical analysis of how discourses have defined Puerto Ricans as *pathological* or *primitive* cannot be interpreted as a negation of practices of resistance. A critique of the economy of the discourse(s) on Puerto Ricans constitutes an intellectual and political differentiation with respect to the ways in which Puerto Ricans have been made subjects or subjectified. Hence, while my research objectives do not include an analysis of the processes and strategies of Puerto Rican resistance to the discursive tradition of *otherness*, it is assumed that these processes have been questioned and responded to in multiple ways. Historically, Puerto Ricans have negotiated and criticized these discourses and their process of subjectification. Further, colonial discourse as a textuality of the *Other* reveals transgressions committed by both the agents of discourse and by subalterns.[9] It should be noted

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[9] I am using the term "subaltern" here to refer to a relation of powerlessness. The term has more specific and different usages within the Marxist tradition and further elaborated within poststructuralist and postcolonial theory. See Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, New York: International Publishers, 1971; Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Sphere, London & Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993; Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, (editors), Selected Subaltern Studies, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988 and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?"

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here that resistance can be identified within a number of the texts analyzed and discussed throughout this work. The colonial subject, while being remade by a discursive power is not a passive object, much less a blank piece of paper upon which simply anything can be written by an imperial power or Creole authority. The *Other* like colonial discourse, does not stand still, they are always in motion, and difficult to grasp in any "totality." Therefore, my theorization of the discourses on Puerto Ricans is not grounded in an interpretation of such discourses as monolithic and hermetic.[10] Nor is the critique of these discourses grounded in a theory-practice dichotomy. Intellectual work is a form of practice, which involves relations of power. Within this practice I am not located outside of discourse or power relations, nor detached from Puerto Ricans as subject-objects. As a graduate student, I function within the institutional setting of the modern university. However, as a Puerto Rican woman in the U.S., I operate within a context of asymmetrical relations of power. Hence, a number of tensions between my intellectual practice and my positionality can be identified. While I do not claim to resolve these tensions, the present intellectual practice is an attempt to establish a counter-discourse which seeks to expose the economy of

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in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, Urbana & Chicago, 1988, pp. 271-313.

[10] Foucault characterizes this as the polyvalence of discourses. He states that "Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces

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discursive power. Therefore, my intellectual practice is directed against different form(s) of power, orders of knowledge in which I am object and instrument. Hence, I recognize that I operate both within and against discursive regimes.

To develop a critique of how the *Other* is produced makes the familiar unfamiliar. This form of analysis requires looking beyond the object of study itself (Puerto Ricans) in order that the relatedness of seemingly unrelated fields becomes apparent. To make the field of these discursive formations unfamiliar exposes how hidden configurations of familiar principles, theories and ideologies are invested in the production of *otherness*. The discourses on Puerto Ricans, I demonstrate through analysis, entail the ways in which modern North American[11] culture, politics, and knowledge operate as technologies of these discursive formations.[12]

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it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (M. Foucault, 1990: 101).

[11] The words *United States, America* and *North America,* and *North Americans, Americans* and *Anglo-Americans* are employed interchangeably throughout this text. From a deconstructive perspective, the imaginary of America(n) cannot be maintained through oppositions of what is American and what is not. Construction and reconstruction of reality are products of thought. The control of reality does not take place between an opposition between reality and imagination. As Peter Mason argues, reality is constructed "when the imagination uses the elements available in order to invent such worlds (P. Mason, 1990: 15). For an elaboration of this argument see Peter Mason Deconstructing America Representations of the Other, New York: Routledge, 1990. For a different problematization of the signifier "American" see Michael Walzer, "What Does It Mean to Be an "American"?, Social Research, Fall 1990, Vol. 57, No. 3, pp. 591-614.

[12] Technologies here are defined as specific implementations of discursive practices, for example, thoughts, theories and ideologies.

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Also, at the level of textual economy, the signs of the *Other* will be explored beyond their literary meanings to reveal how they produce the "troubled ethos" of the *Other.* Analysis of these operations confront us with an objectification which in turn needs to be objectified. The discursively familiar *Other* must, ultimately, be made unfamiliar.

Modernity: Culture of Science and Culture at the Border of the North American Self and the Other

The historical *anthropologization* of Puerto Ricans in the United States has been materialized through a complex of ideas drawn from the discourse on modernity, the cultural era which frames the way in which the *Other* is thought about and experienced. Discourses of the Self and the *Other* rely upon a positivity[13] in which philosophical and epistemological understandings of the "subject" make possible its "truthful ethos." Of interest to the invention of the modern self and the *Other* is how claims of rationalism, universality, causality, and mathematical reasoning about the world are invested in its discursive production.

The universalist character of modern science - its claim to explain everything of the external world, the cosmos, nature, and human beings - has been inscribed in the tradition of Cartesian, Newtonian, and Kantian thought.[14] The

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[13] On positivity see footnote #5.

[14] René Descartes and his philosophical propositions on reasoning and reality, established the universal method for knowing the external

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methodological approach to the study of the subject became an ideological practice as soon as the modern self-Other was proclaimed and normalized by these scientific values.[15]

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world. This mastering of the external world is followed by four rules of reasoning: intuition (cogito), analysis, synthesis and abstraction. Descartes proposed that the order and measurement of reality is possible by virtue of its dualism; mind (thinking) and body (matter). A Cartesian approach to the study of the object presupposes self-evident axioms (experience) and a mechanical account of the object. Mathematical reasoning and geometrical understanding of the universe enable reason to know the principles and nature of the external world. Following Cartesian-universal principles, knowledge of the self, as part of the external world, should be investigated using empirical, mathematical, and logical ordering principles. See René Descartes, Discourse on Method and The Meditations, New York: Penguin Books, 1968. Modern science is also grounded in Copernican principles and Newtonian science which through principles of causality established the law of gravity, advanced the hypothesis of a mechanically ordered universe and its deterministic physical nature. On the Copernican revolution see the magisterial work of Hans Blumenburg, The Genesis of the Copernican World, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1987. Other works on modernity, science and the modern self are: John Herman Jr. Randall, The Making of the Modern Mind A Survey of the Intellectual Background of the Present Age, New York: Columbia University Press, 1976; George Levine, editor, Constructions of the Self, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992 and; J. Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish, The Western Intellectual Tradition, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960. Immanuel Kant also offers a rigorous philosophical account, an extension and development of Descartes' conceptualization, on the production of knowledge of the external world. According to Kant, knowledge has a sensory and a rational component (pure concepts of understanding). There are *a priori* conditions that make possible access to a knowing of the object. Mind organizes sensations and gives its own laws to nature. Thus, the object becomes dependent on the subject. See Immanuel Kant, Critique of Pure Reason, New York: Anchor Books, 1966. See also: Frederick C. Beiser, The Fate of Reason German Philosophy from Kant to Fichte, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1987 and; Julian Roberts, German Philosophy An Introduction, New Jersey: Humanities Press International, 1988.

[15] Enlightenment *mentalités* (1650-1770), based on the notion of a modern scientific culture, produces the self/Other. Empirical culture with its differentiated inheritance of Cartesianism, Newtonianism, and Kantianism, enables a form of observation that makes possible grasping the attributes of the object of study. Rational culture and its dependence in mathematical and deductive principles, the practice of describing things based on equal and different qualities, operates through the comparison between two objects from which similarities and differences are valued and ordered.

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Knowledge of modern society and the subject is driven by natural laws (Fernando Mires, 1993).[16] The "mastering of nature" requires exploring, discovering, studying and classifying the natural object.

Through an empirical and rational practice, the modern individual was established and identified as an empirical rationality, a scientific norm. Likewise, the modern self is the object of science and the rational site for progress, truth, development and freedom.[17] The subject became the

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[16] Different disciplines in the social sciences inherit and utilize these principles to further examine the self/*Other*. Identification and interpretation of the subject is produced by the technologies of economy (production), biology (life), and language (cultural values, myths) in order to carry out the project of normalization (M. Foucault, 1990). Positivism was very productive in its adoption of principles drawn from the natural sciences. An organic society has its natural laws. The conquest of nature in the social sciences appears as progress, freedom and the condition for utopia. According to Foucault, the purely formal character of the human sciences lies in its imaging, vicinity, and the displacement of mathematical/geometrical (order and deduction in thinking and behavior), and organic (laws, tendencies, rules, system, values) models they establish. For him these are "pseudoscientific chimeras" (M. Foucault, 1990). The human sciences are not "ideologies," nor is that to say that they are sciences; rather, they are positivities for the *anthropology* of the subject.

[17] The Renaissance as part of the Enlightenment era was marked by the weakness of the Roman empire and the Catholic church (the medieval world). G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World: From the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1981. There is a revival of Greek humanism (dignity and worth of human beings) during this new era. See Johan Huizinga, Men and Ideas History, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984 and, T. Z. Lavine, From Socrates to Sartre: the Philosophic Quest, Toronto: Bantam Books, 1984.

The Enlightenment also locates the modern subject at the center of the universe. This represents an opposition to the scholastic mentality, in its negation of transcendental reality. *Man* is no longer subordinated to the divine, dogmatism or absolutism. Reason is the source of truth. Order and harmony govern the world through reason. The human capacity to know and master the external world is the predicate

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object of study of science at two levels: its scientific status (objectification) and its scientific nature (normalization). Moral attributes of the self, in the Nietzschean sense, appear as the cause, principle, and law that explains the nature, development, and success of the modern individual.[18]

The production of knowledge about the *Other* must be mediated by principles other than rationalism and empiricism. Science must require a device for the production of the moral status of knowledge. Anthropology, in the broad sense, constitutes the device through which rational-empirical

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of the Enlightenment. Man is the genius, and makes possible the access to a new mode of life. The great discontinuity between the classical and modern age is the entrance of the individual into the field of knowledge (M. Foucault, 1990).

[18] According to Nietzsche, an intelligible world does not exist. What we have is an eternal recurrence of tragedy; of pleasure and displeasure by which we affirm ourselves. However, modern scientificism produces a system of valuations (causality, laws, values) by which the world is explained (*decadence*). He maintains that morality is "a system of evaluations that partially coincides with the conditions of a creature's life" (F. Nietzsche, 1968: 148). Nietzsche argues that this moral valuation has nothing to do with reason, but with necessity. Physical, moral, and social features of the individual, as produced under a moral order (scientific principles), invent the modern self/*Other*. According to Nietzsche scientific presuppositions are "interpretations with the aid of psychical fictions" (F. Nietzsche, 1968: 368).

Likewise, in Science and Power Discourse and Ideology in Modern Society (1988), Stanley Aronowitz elaborates how modern science became a normative and hegemonic instance in the production of "truth" (S. Aronowitz, 1988). Aronowitz argues that science applies a rational calculation to the object "that defies observation." Aronowitz argues that empiricism and objectivity regularize modern knowledge by excluding qualitative values, and speculation. The method itself drives and defines the object of study. According to Aronowitz this mathematicization and mechanization of the world and is emulated in the areas of economics, politics and culture. The self mastered by science must, in turn, master the world.

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principles are displaced and the irrationality (unreason) of the *Other* is produced.[19] Dichotomies and hierarchies of natural "races" are the picture-image of human society; civilization versus *barbarism*, white versus *black*, humans versus *mongrels*. "White" superiority is an imperative of the mission to "master" the world. "Inferiority" of the *Other* calls for improvement and development in the interest of a harmonious order.[20] Particular groups were thus defined or identified by race, gender, and sexuality as objects of intervention. Disciplines, paradigms, concepts, and methods become active in the pursuit of order. Profiles, ethnographies and data analysis of "pathologies," "deficits," and "deviant behaviors," are a space where the *Other* is scientifically described. The moralization of the modern *self* and the *Other* as a process of valuations by science

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[19] As many post-colonial theorists have argued, ethnology has been a hegemonic field in the production of the *Other*. This is the study of people "without history."

[20] As David Goldberg states,

> The emergence of independent scientific domains of anthropology and biology in the Enlightenment defined a classificatory order of racial groupings--subspecies of Homo sapiens--along correlated physical and cultural matrices. Enlightenment thinkers were concerned to map the physical and cultural transformations from prehistorical savagery in the state of nature to their present state of civilization of which they took themselves to be the highest representatives. Assuming common origin, biology set out in part to delineate the natural causes of human difference in terms primarily of climatic variation. Anthropology was initially concerned to catalog the otherness of cultural practices. However, as it became increasingly identified as 'the science of peoples without history,' anthropology turned to establishing the physical grounds of racial difference. (D. T. Goldberg, 1993: 29)

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constitute a discursive practice.[21] As David Goldberg states in his insightful analysis on racist culture and modernity, morality and *race* are basic notions of the sociodiscursive order (Goldberg, 1993). This modern order defines the self in opposition and superior to the *Other*. Above all, however, the self as an order of power must exercise control over its subaltern. The *Other* has to be interrogated, explained, classified, moralized, hygienized and/or eliminated. Identity, behavior, interaction and actions are empirical fields of the modern liberal-rational agent. It is the rational agent who is produced as racially superior in modern culture. The self/Other becomes a space of intervention which acts as a hermeneutic, empirical and semiotic field.

In this context, the social construction of a modern *American ethos* presupposes an ideological condensation of rationalism, democracy, development, morality and "race."

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[21] This moralization is a common discursive practice among philosophers of knowledge since antiquity. Likewise, Descartes, Kant, and Locke among others elaborated their treatises on morality. This new cultural era, and its requirements of the modern state and capitalism, profess a rational humanism. The issue of modern identity in philosophical narratives rests on arguments of the preeminence of the subject, its inner nature, its rational character, and its moral responsibility. For example, Locke proclaimed that all *men* were equal, bearers of natural rights and equal obligations (John Locke, 1664). It is a conceptualization of the subject as identical to the absolute self. The production of the modern self is focused on its power for being in its inward and outer life. Charles Taylor, for instance, states that social understandings of "what it is to be a human agent" in modern society, entail principles of freedom, individuality and inwardness that are mediated by theistic and philosophical grounds of morality. This moral basis of modern identity should make for a "full life." "To be" in modern society requires an ideological production of the moral demands of the self. Hence, the frequency of discussions on morality in philosophical texts on the production of modern knowledge.

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Values and practices embedded in the Puritan morality of North American citizenship and the construction of "whiteness," normative technologies of the United States' modern *ethos*, guided a process of normalization.[22] These constitute fundamental measurements for morality, individual and group capacities, and social status in North American society.[23] According to Sander Gilman, during the nineteenth century the predominant stereotypes in the United States and Europe were those images of "race," sexuality, and pathology.[24]

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[22] Normalization includes the mechanisms of power which discipline or hygienize the subject in order to become a modern self. Social institutions, for example, produce discursive practices to accomplish this normalization.

[23] A rational, ascetic, puritan, self-controlled, responsible, and dedicated individual is a requirement for the emergence of a modern North America. In his study on the making of North American culture in the 19th century, Ronald Takaki argues that Puritan values were morally and politically significant elements in the constitution of a new North American nation. Thus, the United States Declaration of Independence produced a discourse of virtuous regeneration claiming a Puritan morality and a condemnation of "luxuries." It is in this discursive field that the *Other* represents a threat to moral perfection professed by Puritan morality and a subversion of the social contract between republican government, corporate capitalism, the Protestant ethic and Puritan morality. See Ronald Takaki, "The Iron Cage in the New Nation," Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19TH Century America, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 3-15.

[24] See Sander L. Gilman, Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985. According to Gilman, stereotypes have been defined as those images by which the world is categorized. They are images of anxiety or adulation and become "real-world entities." Moreover, Gilman defines *pathology* as the projection of threat, good and bad, body illness, corruption of the self, loss of control, violence, and/or mental illness. In the field of enunciation and signification of the *Other*, the notion of *pathology* is produced as a combination of suffering and psycho-organic abnormality which in turn signals devaluation, danger and compassion of the *Other*.

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This normalization fulfilled a number of economic and political needs. North American Republicanism, industrial development, and imperialist projects of the United States doubled as metaphors of social and human progress[25] validating dominant ideologies of superiority and morality.[26] As Paul Lauren states,

> Through the efforts of such Darwinists as the English publicist Herbert Spencer in *The Principles of Sociology* and his compatriot Thomas Huxley in *Man's Place in Nature*, the Austrian sociologist Ludwig Gumplowicz in his *Der Rassenkampf* on the struggle of the races, the Russian writer Nicolas Danielevsky, and the American sociologist William Graham Summer, the biological theories of Darwin were applied to the human social and political realm and then popularized through most of the

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[25] Regarding the ideology of progress embedded in North American society, Ronald Takaki maintains that:

> What was happening generally in the nineteenth century throughout Western society had particular force and significance in the United States. Transformed from an agricultural-commercial economy to a complex industrialized economy, this country became the most highly developed technological society in the world. Technology, both as ideology and as economic development, had an enormous impact on culture and race in America: It served as metaphor and materialist basis for the domination of mind over body, capital over labor, and whites over Indians, blacks, Mexicans, and Asians. (R. Takaki, 1990: 148)

Another account on the ideology of progress in North American culture is the work of Richard Weiss, The American Myth of Success From Horatio Alger to Norman Vincent Peale, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988. Weiss argues that the success myth is rooted in North American Puritanism which was consolidated in the mid-nineteenth century and found congeniality with a democratic and capitalist ethos.

[26] Ibid. "An American Prospero in King Arthur's Court," pp. 147-170.

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> Western world.[1] By the last decade of the nineteenth century these ideas had created a powerful intellectual atmosphere and acquired enough prestige to command widespread attention and thus influence many others to come. *Darwinismus* provided a loose, but comprehensive, worldview encompassing everything from protozoa to politics; the stature of such a viewpoint could buttress all kinds of opinions with the dignity of scientific truth.[2] (P. G. Lauren, 1988: 45)

Likewise, the "white," western self and the *Other*s are relational products of Western colonization and imperialism.[27] According to Anne McClintock, the invention of "race" as part of the imperial project(s) has been one of the modes by which

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[27] See Ruth Frankenberg, The Social Construction of Whiteness: White Women, Race Matters, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993, p. 6. According to Frankenberg, discursive practices of "whiteness" and "race" privilege are two modes of structuring the "white" experience in North American culture. Since the idea of "whiteness" appears as racially neutral and external to white people, its invisibility is hegemonic. Insofar as the social construction of "whiteness" presupposes a location of "race" privilege and a particular standpoint for looking at the *Other* in society, "whiteness" is a relational issue whose inflections vary across time. Racism, by contrast, means that people of color have to struggle with it. The social construction of "whiteness" in North American culture, likewise, has been what Frankenberg conceptualizes as an "epistemic violence" toward sectors which are constructed as non-white *Others*. Frankenberg defines the concept of "epistemic violence" as "modes of knowing that enabled and rationalized colonial domination from the standpoint of the West, and produced ways of conceiving other societies and cultures whose legacies endure into the present" (R. Frankenberg, 1993: 16). She states that this concept was elaborated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak.

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a definition of the self and surveillance of the *Others* takes place (A. McClintock, 1995).[28]

The mediation of this modern North American *ethos*, in its construction of the *Other* as inferior, is hegemonic from the eighteenth century onwards.[29] The access and identification of the *Other* is a permanently contested political project.

Discursive Economies of the Other

It is within language that significations and discourses of the subject are produced. Meanings and "truths" are made through words which establish the reality of the self and the *Other*. Language and subjectivity are linked in such a way that the subject is not independent of language. Representations and signifiers or signifieds are produced

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[28] Suggestively, McClintock states that the invention of "race" presents its historical instability through the manufacturing of racial hierarchies.

[29] For instance, Lynn Dumenil elaborates the Victorian worldview of middle-class North America in the 1920s as follows:

> Clinging to the sense of a rational universe unfolding from God-given natural laws, mainstream Americans enshrined a belief in progress, a faith that placed their civilization in the vanguard of social, political, and cultural improvement. ... and assigned subordinate positions to immigrants, Native Americans, African Americans, white women, and workers. (L. Dumenil, 1995: 145)

See Lynn Dumenil, "The Acids of Modernity: Secular and Sacred Interpretations," Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s, New York: Hill and Wang, 1995. Also see Jorge Larrain, Ideology and Cultural Identity: Modernity and the Third World Presence, Oxford: Blackwell, 1994. The author argues that universalistic theories register the *Other* under assumptions of biological, moral and social inferiority since this *Other* does not follow the principles of instrumental reason and Enlightenment progress.

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since they acquire value in social interaction allowed by language. Language is the inescapable instance in and through which the subject is produced (M. Foucault, 1990). The subject is produced through language as it reveals and regulates it.[30]

The anthropologization of the *Other* as a discourse establishes and seeks to maintain differences, hierarchies and exclusions. The attributes of the *Other* established by a discourse constitute correlates of the *Other's* subjectification.[31] For Foucault, discourses of the *Other*, for example, madness, reveal the hegemonic standing of the "regimes of truth" (in modernity rational humanism) as a practice of exclusion, estrangement, and subjection of the

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[30] According to Wittgenstein, language is not merely a representation of the world, but is integral to it. It is the public form of the private (L. Wittgenstein, 1961). The self and the *Other* are social constructs insofar as knowledge of them takes place through language. The subject is constructed through "the social" indicating a reason, a telos, and its prescription, but we can never know the subject except through the tradition of language as politics or the politics of language.

[31] Subjectification is a term with different and interrelated meanings. First, subjectification involves those processes by which the *Other* becomes a discursive object, devaluated and stereotyped discursively. Second, processes of subjectification establish different relations of power -- economic, social, cultural, political. In the case of Puerto Ricans, this is primarily the relation between metropolis and colony. Following Foucault, the processes of subjectification necessarily involves modes and practices of resistance. That is, any line of power involves lines of resistance (Foucault, 1990: 101). However, the different lines of resistance are not external, they are marked by dispersions, discontinuities and convergences with dominant discourses. For another illustration of this term see Peter Miller, Domination and Power, London-New York: Routledge, 1987.

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self.[32] At the level of the discourse, the statement "is that which enables such groups of signs to exist, and enables the rules or forms to become manifest" (M. Foucault, 1972: 88). These signs do not pertain to the order of grammar or logic. For Foucault, the discursive meaning of a statement is defined by the sequence of statements that precede and follow it and whose articulation makes possible the discursive object and its thematic.

Further, discourse frames reality and produces the "real," but real and truthful things are produced through and beyond discourse. This double condition of discourse raises the issue of its complexity. For instance, sociohistorical conditions in which the subjects are necessarily linked contextualize the production of discourse(s).[33] The economic and cultural expulsion of the "abjected people" produced by these processes are accompanied by a discourse and signification of them as *otherness*.[34] A simultaneity of conditions, a self-referentiality of discourses and

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[32] See Michel Foucault, Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason, New York: Vintage Books, 1988.

[33] For instance, North American imperialism, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant values, scientific knowledge and industrial capitalism are the occasion for producing what Anne McClintock conceptualizes as the "zones of abjection" and "abjected people" (A. McClintock, 1995).

[34] For instance, Puerto Rican migration to the United States mainly in the 1950s is recounted as a *plague* that invaded North American urban space. One example of this is the work of the reporters Jack Lait and Leo Mortimer. "And Ye Took Me In" New York Confidential, New York: Ziff-Davis Pub. Co., 1948. For example, "... there has descended on Manhattan Island like a locust plague an influx of Puerto Ricans" (J. Lait and L. Mortimer, 1948: 126).

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sociohistorical factors interact in the production of the subject.

In this context, discourses are finite, and present gaps and ruptures; elements of discontinuity and traces of continuity demarcate a discursive formation. A new discourse presents its own differences and rearticulations with previous discourses, but it also presents gaps and transgressions. This condition of discourse(s) marks the "weak" moment of the enunciative practice. Even when the discourse has its own capacity for repetition and rearticulation, colonial authority's ability to enunciate the *Other* is not unlimited: ambivalence and contradiction rule colonial discourse. The discursive object is enunciated as a problem and as an impossibility, an enigma. The *Other* is also enunciated as domesticable and as a possibility. A seeming contradiction in colonial discourse is the simultaneous fixation on the inevitable *pathology* of the *Other*, and the imperative to reform or overcome the *pathology* itself. This ambivalence and contradiction is produced at two levels. At the level of significations, the discourse or the text itself, exposes this ambivalence. At another level, normalization and hygienization of the *Other* as possibility is limited by structural processes of exclusion and subordination. Even when *otherness* is enunciated as enigma, it becomes a real discursive object. This ambivalence and contradiction is present within the same text and between one and another discourse.

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Moreover, as soon as the *Other* becomes the object of a discourse, the speaker, in order to enunciate the *Other*, requires a subject position, authority, and an expertise where epistemological, political, and ideological tools are condensed. Nevertheless, this process presupposes *making the discursive object as such disappear*. For instance, the enunciation "Puerto Ricans are savages" is produced through the active appropriation of a hegemonic knowledge and ideology of animals and subhumans vis à vis humans. Knowledge of the science of animals, zoology -- structure, classifications, properties, and behavior -- is displaced onto the science of humans. The scientific study of the *Other* has been a zoography, the biological description of animals and their habitats. This metaphor appears as a zoomorphism, and allows for the discourse on the *Other* in the *Other's* absence.

Making the discursive object as such disappear is also revealing at the level of signification. The enunciation of the *Other* as correlated to pathology, stereotype, or deficit reveals a crisis of the self. This crisis is inscribed in the animalization of the *Other*, which indicates anxieties over a loss of control, access to the forbidden, and/or the menace of *otherness*. This disappearance of the discursive object also marks political action. Discourse is part and parcel of a political struggle. The colonial power must succeed in defining the identity of the *Other* in order to carry out its

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discursive intervention. At the level of signification, the discursive object is dehumanized.

The disappearance of the discursive object as such also implies the capacity of an enunciation to appear as a positivity of a discursive formation. This capacity is produced through the speaker's authority and the deployment of what Homi Bhabha conceptualizes as the "scopic drive," a drive in which the related histories of science and culture are hegemonically invested. For instance, a North American psychiatrist can speak about "The Puerto Rican Syndrome" or "cultural delusions" among Puerto Ricans employing his/her particular authority.[35] Through the expertise and visual authority of psychiatry, Puerto Ricans are displaced onto and codified into the realm of psychopathology, which occupies the signifier and signified of Puerto Rican *otherness*. In

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[35] For an illustration on the historical and medical accounts of "The Puerto Rican Syndrome" see the works by M. Rubio, et.al., "Psychopathologic Reaction Patterns in the Antilles Command," United States Armed Forces Medical Journal, 1955, Vol. 6; Robert Mehlman, "The Puerto Rican Syndrome," American Journal of Psychiatry, 1960, Vol. 118; E. Maldonado Sierra, "Neuroses and Traditional Beliefs in Puerto Rico," International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 1960, Vol. 6; Ramón Fernández Marina, "The Puerto Rican Syndrome: Its Dynamics and Cultural Determinants," Psychiatry, 1961, Vol. 24; A. Rothenberg, "Puerto Rico and Aggression," American Journal of Psychiatry, 1964, Vol. 120, No. 10; Vivian Garrison, "Psychiatry and *Espiritismo*," in Case Studies in Spirit Possession, by V. Crapanzano and Garrison, New York: John Wiley, 1977; Mario Rendon, "Myths and Stereotypes in Minority Groups," The International Journal of Social Psychiatry, Winter 1984, Vol. 30; Víctor De la Cancela et. al., "Psychosocial Distress Among Latinos: A Critical Analysis of *Ataques de Nervios*," Humanity and Society, November 1986, Vol. 10 and; Patricia Gherovici, "The Puerto Rican Ghetto's Sublime Hystories," Journal for the Psychoanalysis of Culture and Society, Fall 1996, Vol. 1, No. 2. For an account on the "cultural delusions" among Puerto Ricans see the work by Edwin A. Weinstein,

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this way, "The Puerto Rican Syndrome" became an institutional practice and a mode of enunciation.

It should be noted that the *Other* is also signified within humanist and liberal discourses. *Otherness* is not only achieved by statements of devaluation and dehumanization within a discursive formation. The statement of *otherness* is limited by the rules of a discourse. What is important for discourse analysis is that the authority to enunciate the *Other* is maintained. Further, the enunciation of the *Other* is not uniform and compact even within the same discursive formation. There are differences and gaps within the main statements of a discourse. For instance, the North American invasion discourse on Puerto Ricans includes statements on the *subhuman* character of Puerto Ricans in addition to statements which describe them as possessing a certain intelligence and other positive attributes. The need to combine two different types of statements is indicative of the contradictory and ambivalent nature of this discourse.

The production of the *Other* as a discursive space is driven by three basic deployments-principles: culture, the eye, and repetition. These principles conduct the multiple modes by which the *Other* is enunciated and signified.

Cultural Aspects of Delusion A Psychiatric Study of the Virgin Islands, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe Inc., 1962.

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The Practice of Culture

The use of the concept of culture makes possible multiple positivities in the production of the *Other*. It should be clear that I am not stating that culture is simply a deployment of power. Through culture, the subject transgresses power in multiple ways. However, in order to maintain a level of conceptual and methodological rigor, I am addressing culture here as a deployment by which colonial discourse materializes interventions and enunciations of *otherness*. Nicholas Dirks argues that the emergence of the concept of "culture" is linked to colonialism and, in particular, to one of its most efficient academic enterprises, anthropology.

> The anthropological concept of culture might never have been invented without a colonial theater that both necessitated the knowledge of culture (for the purposes of control and regulation) and provided a colonized constituency that was particularly amenable to "culture." Without colonialism, culture could not have been so simultaneously, and so successfully, orderly, given in nature at the same time that it was regulated by the state. Even as much of what we now recognize as culture was produced by the colonial encounter, the concept was in part invented because of it.... culture is a colonial formation. (N. Dirks, 1992: 3)

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Culture became an epistemological field for colonial power. Ethnology, anthropology, sociology, medicine, psychology, urban studies, and other disciplinary fields produced knowledge of the culture of the colonized people. Culture is also the instance by which the *Other* is enunciated as an object of study. It is in the terrain of culture that scientific notions of "species," body, time, and space vis à vis progress and development are displaced through different enunciations of the *Other's* culture. Likewise, the displacement of objectivity in the colonizer's account of culture appears as invested in its own subject position, but it is also produced as an aleatory practice. In the encounter between the anthropologist and the *Other* it appears that the anthropologist has not distorted the observations and the ethnography of the *Other's* culture.

The scientific principles of rational science, classification and valuation, are the techniques employed to segregate what is identical and what is different in the culture of the *Other*. This segregation is related to dichotomies of good and bad which enable the establishment of science as a humanistic practice. Further, any type of hierarchy applied to the colonial subject serves as a rationale for evolutionary principles, as inscribed in the science of culture.

Colonial anthropology follows social Darwinist propositions, where the evolution of human races takes place according to their level of moral, social, economic, and

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political development. In this developmental schema there is a production of hierarchies, with an internal organic structure, which serve as forms of segregation that alleviate the anxiety over possible or actual contamination with lower orders, that is *barbarism*. Accordingly, time occupies the idea of development and space occupies the notions of mind, "race" and society. The colonizer appears as the embodied image of time and space, one whose organic structure reveals its higher status of evolution. The *Other's* culture appears as one of what Darwin described as the "low morality of savages" (C. Darwin, 1871). And "non-white" people are produced as those with animal characteristics, and as the raw material for the building of civilization.

The Hegemony of the Eye

As I discussed earlier in this section, modern science is grounded in the principles of empiricism and rationalism. These principles are translated as *given* principles of the human sciences and part of their process of scientification. Empiricism legitimates the observation of the object through the senses and experimentation. Kantian rationalism maintains that the mind organizes sensations and gives its own laws to nature. The object is thus dependent on the subject. Considering these two principles of modern science, and their positive displacement into ethnological studies, the eye of the observer assumes authority for recognizing and

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interpreting the object of study.[36] The eye works with its *a priori*, and assumes a hegemony which locates and interprets the object within its visual scope. The empirical object, in this case the colonial subject, is the product of visualism (J. Fabian, 1983) or the "scopic drive" (H. Bhabha, 1994). What Frantz Fanon and Homi Bhabha conceptualize as the "epidermal schema" is captured in the hegemony of the anthropological eye: size and form of body parts, bodily movements, glances, laughter, style of walking, vocal tone, etc. The colonial subject has wild eyes, unruly hair and strange skin color; is given to irrational laughter; speaks loudly, exhibits disoriented physical movements and a strange way of walking. The repetition of stereotypes, their visibility and naturalization, configures the positivity of colonial discourse.

The Practice of Repetition

Repetition is a multiple-effect principle, that is, an articulation of discursive modalities whose strategies produce an *ethos* of the *Other*, and shift their positivity at different situational sites of discourse. Repetition is the most powerful principle for the production of the discourse of the *Other*, as long as the manufacturing is not *a priori*

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[36] In recent years there has been an increasing interest in theorizing the role of the visual within Western thought. These efforts have stressed different aspects of visuality from a variety of perspectives. See Chris Jenks, editor, Visual Culture, New York: Routledge, 1995 and; David Michael Levin, editor, Sites of Vision The

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visible to the eye. The accumulation of knowledge and ideologies of the *Other* are produced, but are not visible to the eye. It is the need to fix and naturalize the enunciations of the *Other* in such a way that these enunciations become both rationale and cause, a simultaneous explanation of *otherness*. Repetition is a means for producing the *truth*. Repeated observations, ethnographies, surveys, statistics, findings, research conclusions, questionnaires, and interviews confirm the scientific-empirical level of the *Other*.

Modern empirical science is validated as *truth* by way of its own repetition. Propositions, methods, instruments, techniques, findings and conclusions validate science as *truth*, as a system of positivities, producing a discourse which protects the *fiction* of the self and the *Other*. This discursive formation produces statements whose repetition construct the *Other* as a *deficitarian-pathological* subject. The identification of *pathology* requires intervention on behalf of the same authority which identifies the subject/object.

The strategy of repetition leads to a mastery of the *Other* and an idealization of the speaker. The colonizer, as a subject position, acts to master the *Other*, and thus to idealize itself through a semiotic and ideology of superiority. Through repetition, the *Other* is identified as

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Discursive Construction of Sight in the History of Philosophy, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997.

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Other and the *self* is maintained as *self*. Repetition also acts to control the anxiety/betrayal of colonial discourse itself. The lack of power inscribed in the need for repetition constitutes the self's identity. The *Other* is required in order to establish the self's identity. Repetition is also a way of subjectification by which the *Other* identifies itself.

Moreover, the *Other* is a series of enunciations which identify, interpret and signify. The representation of the *Other* as foreign, impure, corrupted, mixed, degenerate and transgressive produces this stereotype as a discursive strategy that makes possible its subjectification through colonial discourse (H. Bhabha, 1994: 68). Discourses of stereotypes are legitimated through an oppositional valuation of the colonizer and the colonized.[37] Degeneration and subhuman profiles linked to racial origin, produce an objectification of the *Other* that through the discursive-ideological nexus of progress, logic and morality, justifies intervention. On the other hand, the purity, origin, and superiority of the colonizer function as a normalizing strategy toward the *Other*. Stereotypes achieve the status of "truth" through scientific and cultural valuation. The *Other*

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[37] For Sander Gilman, stereotypes are projections onto the *Other* as a way of externalizing the subject's loss of control and order (S. Gilman, 1985). Moreover, Bhabha calls the "stereotypical discourse" as one of the strategies by which colonial discourse intervenes and "fixes" the colonial subject within the rule of morality, "race" and national origin. Racial and sexual difference is signified as polymorphous and perverse.

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and its stereotypes appear as a totality in colonial discourse. This is what Bhabha conceptualizes as the "realism" of stereotypical discourse. A chain of signs, for example, produces a semiotic of colonial discourse: promiscuous sexuality, darkness, disease, poverty, seizures, mongrelization, overcrowding, garbage, prostitution, razors, crime, and so forth. From this discourse meanings emerge that allow statements such as "this is the *Other*." Simultaneously, the efforts to assimilate the *Other* through its denial, appropriation, and destruction are realized by the violent production of the same absolute self.[38] Anthropological desire is thus the study of one culture from the standpoint of a foreign one. Ethnography constitutes cultural jeopardy: to be

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[38] Emmanuel Levinas elaborates a phenomenological account of being in which the subject living in this material world never realizes its self or the *Other*. In an account of the unintelligibility of the *Other*, Levinas states that *otherness* is radical exteriority, distance, alterity, incomprehensible. An understanding of the *Other* through comprehension is a violent and impossible practice since it necessitates the reduction of the *Other* to the self (E. Levinas, 1979). The *Other* is the limit of western knowledge insofar as this otherness cannot be explained by categorical or conceptual differentiations. See Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority, translated by Alfonso Lingis, Pittsburg: Duquesne University Press, 1969 and; Time and the Other and Additional Essays, translated by Richard A. Cohen, Pittsburg: Duquesne University Press, 1987. For Derrida, it is in thought itself that the violence toward *otherness* takes place; difference is the principle which enables a questioning of hegemonic truth through language (J. Derrida, 1976). The proper act of difference marks the incompleteness of authority. Further, to speak of the *Other* with an intention of authority and social control is a betrayal of the empire's authority insofar as language itself reveals and occludes its constitution. The confrontation between the subject, the colonizer, and the object, the colonial people, reveals the myth of modernity as civilization, progress, reason, development, freedom and science (I. Chambers, 1996). Moreover, according to Catherine Hall "... the projection of the *Other* is also always about repressed aspects of the self" (C. Hall, 1996: 70). The *Other* is the object of desire and disdain, envy and contempt, mastery and slippage.

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surprised, to unmake interpretive syntheses and to value the unclassified. The *Other* as the "exotic" establishes the limit of the empire's *mentalité*.[39] An analysis of the discourse on the *Other* reveals a series of discursive modalities by which the *Other* is known. Different deployments of science and culture allow the production of the "truthful" character of these statements. These enunciative modalities are registered, transcribed and transmitted in a myriad of forms and contexts.[40]

Likewise, oppositional categories or dichotomies such as strong-weak, civilized-barbarian, urban-rural, possession-

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[39] For instance, the *primitivism* of the *Other* signifies the double desire of the self in capitalist culture: first, a past the self supposedly overcame by capitalist discipline, and second, a past to be retrieved because of the loss of a traditional way of life. The *Other* is at once desired and rejected by the self. As David Roediger observes in his discussion of George Rawick's analysis of the signification of blackness and racism among the Anglo-American bourgeoisie in the colonial period,

> ... blackness came to symbolize that which the accumulating capitalist had given up, but still longed for. Increasingly adopting an ethos that attacked holidays, spurned contact with nature, saved time, bridled sexuality, separated work from the rest of life and postponed gratification, profit-minded Englishmen and Americans cast Blacks as their former selves. Racism, according to Rawick, served to justify slavery but also did more than that. Racists still pined for older ways, and even still practiced older styles of life, guiltily. All of the old habits so recently discarded by whites adopting capitalist values came to be fastened onto Blacks. As Rawick wonderfully puts it, Englishmen and profit-minded settlers in America 'met the West African as a reformed sinner meets a comrade of his previous debaucheries.' The racist, like the former sinner, creates 'a pornography of his former life. ... In order to insure that he will not slip back into the old ways or act out half-suppressed fantasies, he must see a tremendous difference between his reformed self and those whom he formerly resembled.' Blackness and whiteness were thus created together. (D. Roediger, 1991: 95)

[40] The enunciative modalities are also analyzed in relation to other enunciations and, to political and economic processes.

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dispossession, superior-inferior, citizen-migrant, human-savage and *American*-neighbor are some of the rules by which the *Other* is produced. In this analysis, I discuss the enunciative modes that produce the *Other* and its *otherness*. Even when I try to define these enunciative modalities and significations, they are interconnected in colonial discourse.

"Savage mimesis" is one of the modalities by which the *Other* is enunciated by metropolitan discourses. The animal or subhuman condition of the *Other* and the danger they represent is stated.[41] For instance, savage or monstrous sexuality is an enunciation of power that signals fear and degradation of the *Other*. As McClintock argues, it is also the enunciation of power which makes possible the colonizer's access to forbidden desires projected into the *Other's* sexuality. "The feminine reviled" is a discursive modality that produces a series of enunciations in which the sexuality, physical appearance, features, behavior, and skills of female-Other are invented, intervened and signified as *primitive, exotic* and *savage*. *"La puta,"* exotic, wildly sensual, over-

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[41] The deconstructive study of alterity by Peter Mason in his book Deconstructing America: Representations of the Other, London: Routledge, 1990, take as his focus the monstrous human races (without quotation marks), Greeks and Elder Plinius. These *human races* are part-animal hybrids and part-human. Mason states that their "... monstrosity lies in their deviation from a culturally determined norm in terms of such markers as physique, locality, diet, speech" (P. Mason, 1990: 7). Following his deconstructive practice, Mason argues that the dichotomies of Europe/America, ethnocentrism/eurocentrism, oral/literate disappear since these images of monstrous races were transported as images for the New World (no proper name, imaginary) and its people.

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reproductive, and available are correlates of this modality. This modality also activates the idea of possession, that as colonial subjects, *female-Other* bodies are sites available for pleasure/use.

The savage mimesis is also related to what David Spurr discusses as "atavism" or exotic anachronism, that is madness, barbarism, and/or natural disaster. On the one hand, this "colonial ontology" acts as a deployment of discursive practices of exclusion and degradation. On the other hand, this *American* fear acts as a deployment which justifies an intervention on the *Other*. The *Other* has to be normalized, even though the self is dependent on its *primitive, inferior Other*.

In her elaboration of the various modes of domesticity articulated by colonial power, McClintock discusses "panoptical time," a notion grounded in Darwinist principles of evolution. She defines "panoptical time" as an "image of global history consumed in a single spectacle from a privileged invisibility" (A. McClintock, 1995: 36). Time is displaced as space in order to be global or panoptical; time and space are made equivalent (A McClintock, 1996: 36-37). In this context, the notion of "anachronistic space" represents a form of domesticity that colonial discourse imposes upon *colonized* people living in prehistorical time.

Moreover, the "excess mode" is enunciated through the savage mimesis. Correlates of "overpopulation," "high mortality" and "high birth rates" are examples of the "excess

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mode." "Over" and "high" are proper of a "primitive people" who require intervention for they represent a danger to stability and to a rational order. Policing the "over" and the "high" will require multiple social orthopaedics.

The savage mimesis, the excess mode and the feminine reviled are part of an enunciative practice which connect the identity of the *Other* with Nature. The *Other* is an un-real being.

The deficit mode, the exotic mode and the bastardization of the signifier are enunciative practices that objectify and stereotype the *Other* as the strange and lacking subject. The deficit mode is the enunciation by which the lack of attributes of the *Other* are profiled in reference to their presence in the self. The prefixes "in-, un-, and sub-" accompany the "verbalization" of the deficit. The *Other* is signified as a lack and an empty body. The deficit or emptiness serves as the enunciation for intervention. In imperialist and geopolitical understandings, the emptiness calls for intervention. Christian belief and the missionary goal of salvation has been integral to colonial discourse. In this way intervention becomes a moral imperative for saving the *primitive* from the void and emptiness of their own lackings. Through the act of intervention the colonizer demonstrates Christian mercy. Through the deficit mode and the colonizer's "pity" are produced ways to identify and assess *otherness*.

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The "exotic mode" is a discursive strategy in which the enunciation of negative, anachronistic, deprivation, terror, and deficit traits are accompanied by and displaced into the *Other's* mystery, strangeness, and seductive allure. For Michel Leiris, "exotism" is the experience of *otherness*. The "exotic" is the distortion of the *Other* as degradation and object of projection.[42] The "bastardization of the signifier" is the hegemonic signification of Puerto Ricans as a denial of history, culture, and ideals. A colonial history, a deficitarian heritage, an impure culture and "race," a lack of identity, and a life of chaotic misery are instances of this signification.

Rosaries of Discourses on Puerto Ricans

Moreover, the immediate and constant repetition of descriptions and correlates of the *Other's* fatality also produce particular modes of enunciation. In the case of Puerto Ricans, I identify three types of *Rosaries* produced by different discourses.[43] The Rosaries are examples of the particular repetition by which they become discursive objects. The Rosaries are serial enunciations whose

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[42] See Gisela Brinkler-Gabler, editor. Encountering the Other(s) Studies in Literature, History, and Culture, Albany: State University of New York, 1995, pp. 2-4.

[43] I use the term "Rosary," the Christian practice of repetitious prayer, as a metaphor intended to emphasize the repetitious nature of statements on Puerto Ricans produced over time.

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repetition transform them into a mode of enunciation of being *Other*.

Rosary #1 is an invocation of the Puerto Rican past as defective, colonial, incomplete, and/or miserable. The Puerto Rican past defined in terms of racial impurity (part *Negro*), stagnant rural life, unskilled migrants, a long colonial history, oppression and crushing poverty, population density, high rates of mortality and fertility, and deadly disease. This "historical" description is produced as a serial enunciation on Puerto Ricans. Rosary #1 is the repetition of this group of enunciations on the colonial-defective past. This serial enunciation functions as the rationale for a *primitive ethos* and as a signification of bastardization. Rosary #1 is a transdiscursive practice, repeated in different discourses on Puerto Ricans.

Rosary #2 is the repetition of serial statements on the presence of Puerto Ricans in North American urban space mainly during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. Puerto Ricans are enunciated as ghetto or slum dwellers, criminals, gang members, garbage throwers, knife wielders and prostitutes. Puerto Ricans are poor, dirty, noisy, violent and foul-mouthed. They practice *primitive* rites, live in conditions of overcrowding, are welfare dependent, lack English language proficiency and have inadequate knowledge of modern health and hygiene practices. The serial enunciation of Rosary #2 deploys several dichotomies in order to classify the Puerto Rican *Other*: human-savage, urban-rural, neighbor-alien,

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modern-primitive, and citizen-migrant. Rosary #2 is hegemonic in the discourse of "The Puerto Rican Problem."

Rosary #3 is the repetition of old correlates on the *pathological-deficitarian ethos* of Puerto Ricans but transformed through census data or other empirically produced research data.[44] This discursive modality is hegemonic in many of the contemporary accounts on the poor and minorities in which data and statistical analysis are the deployments for enunciating *deficits* and *pathos*. From different perspectives, Puerto Ricans and other social groups are reexamined through the lens of census and research data. For example, many of the accounts which operate within the conceptual model of the "underclass" make use of data to indicate to what extent the poor continue to be emotionally and socially "dislocated."

It is important to point out that a fixed hierarchy of one modality or code over another does not take place. These enunciative modalities do not have a fixed position within the discursive field in which they are produced. These enunciations are structured and unstructured in tandem with their displacements and transformations through different discourses. This is what Peter Mason calls the *mutatis mutandis* of colonial discourse (P. Mason, 1990: p.4). The

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[44] Linda Chávez' work emphasizing the non-assimilation and poverty of Puerto Ricans among Hispanics in the United States is an example of Rosary #3. Accordingly, "The Puerto Rican Exception" (1991) is grounded in their data-profile as "welfare dependents," with a disproportionately high number of "single-head of household women" and "illegitimate children." Accordingly, Puerto Ricans have highly unstable families, and are lazy, self-destructive and hedonistic (L. Chávez, 1991).

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Other is invented through the investment of the "multiple-diffused machine," that is, an articulation of instances whose strategies and deployments produce an *ethos* of the *Other* and shift their positivity at different situational sites of discourse. These instances are beyond what Nicholas Dirks conceptualizes as "colonial enterprises" (N. Dirks, 1992). They do not necessarily belong to what we know as science, disciplines or institutions, but to the capacity contained within the enunciation to reproduce itself with different functions internally and between discursive formations. What might be an enunciation of the *Other* reappears as a deployment for a different enunciation. For example, Rosary #1 - a serial enunciation on the Puerto Rican past - could be produced as a description of Puerto Rican *otherness*. However, in other moments, Rosary #1 could be produced in a causal relationship with different enunciations.

Further, these modalities can be produced within a crude racist discourse as well as within a liberal or humanist discourse. For example, the savage mimesis can be produced as one direct enunciation, a signification, a suggestion in a text, or accompanying other enunciations. The *mutatis mutandis* of colonial discourse reaches its materiality and continuity through these discursive shifts and gaps.

Who speaks? The author's function is another element of complexity in the discourses on the *Other*. A discussion of the speaker of a discursive field is not related to his/her

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states of consciousness and intentions.[45] However, it is necessary to establish the tensions that exist between the colonial and colonized speaker as authorities of a discourse. The author as an individual, good or bad, is not part of the discursive method. The author is the product of a particular discursive function. The text and the author are defined in their enunciative capacity within a discourse. In terms of my employment of discourse analysis, I necessarily focus on the mutually constitutive aspects of colonial discourse by different authorities and subject positions. For instance, colonized people are part of the colonial discourse. Since they are part of the processes of subjectification, they produce colonial discourse not necessarily as passive or local agents but by adding more complexity to the discourse

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[45] The study of the subject as a state of consciousness and intentions, runs counter to a basic principle of discourse analysis as a paradigm and method of research (M. Foucault, 1970: 244-387). The social production of the subject by power in language and sociohistorical conditions opposes the empirical-transcendental nature of man in modern social sciences, or his/her anthropological positivity (M. Foucault, 1970: 318-343). Regarding this, Foucault states:

> The analysis of statements operates therefore without a cogito. It does not pose the question of the speaking subject, who reveals or who conceals himself in what he says, who, in speaking, exercises his sovereign freedom, or who, without realizing it, subjects himself to constraints of which he is only dimly aware. In fact, it is situated at the level of the 'it is said' ..., but we must understand by it the totality of things said, the relations, the regularities, and the transformations that may be observed in them, the domain of which certain figures, certain intersections indicate the unique place of a speaking subject and may be given the name of author. 'Anyone who speaks', but what he says is not said from any where. It is necessarily caught up in the play of an exteriority. (M. Foucault, 1972: 122)

See also Donald F. Bouchard, editor, Language, Counter-Memory, Practice Selected Essays and Interviews by Michel Foucault, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1977.

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of the *Other*. This is what Foucault conceptualizes as the relation of the author and *écriture* (D. F. Bouchard, 1977: 119). Sociohistorical contexts and the discursive function of the author shape the speaker. Further, distinctions of colonial-colonized implodes between the political designations left, liberal and conservative. National and political distinctions are made, and at the same time they implode in the discursive field of the *Other*. Thus, North Americans and Puerto Ricans both participate in and produce colonial discourse in differentiated contexts and complex ways.

Methodological Approach to the Discourses on Puerto Ricans in the United States

Narratives of power and what David Spurr (1994) calls "rhetorical modes" are the analytic foci of the discourses on Puerto Ricans. Thus, the process of representation and naturalization of Puerto Ricans as colonial subjects displays a variety of statements whose signs and discursive practices have shaped Puerto Rican subjectification up until today.

Discourse analysis as a research method requires the identification and selection of the texts necessary to delineate those discursive series which reveal the different discourses.[46] While I establish a temporality for the analysis

[46] An analysis of the texts that form the different discourses on Puerto Ricans does not include a judgment of the authors of these texts. These texts are analyzed as units of a discourse. As a research method, discourse analysis examines the texts themselves in order to

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of discourses on Puerto Ricans, in discourse analysis texts are not necessarily framed in the exact chronological order in which they are produced. The system of positivities proper to the discursive formation(s) effects a rupture with temporal frames traditionally assumed for research purposes.

In order to identify these discursive series, I have read a vast amount of literature on Puerto Ricans, in the fields of social sciences, education, culture, politics, economy, and health, produced during this century, especially that literature produced after World War II. I have read and analyzed books, articles, letters, government forms and reports, maps, dissertations, poems, lectures, speeches, manuals, booklets, scripts, brochures, newspapers, reviews, and postcards.

At the New York Public Library, I read ninety-five percent of its holdings from the beginning of this century to the 1960s on Puerto Ricans in the United States.

Once I identified and classified the relevant literature, I was able to map the different discursive formations on Puerto Ricans. I then proceeded to select a representative sample of texts illustrative of these discursive formations.

I also looked at documents on the Puerto Rican migration of the 1950s at the Historical Archives of Puerto Rico and the academic literature on Puerto Ricans in the United States

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explore the net of relationships that the discourse itself makes possible.

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from the period of 1960 to 1995, mainly in the area of the social sciences. The selection of the literature consisted of dissertations and articles on Puerto Ricans, available at different libraries of the City University of New York and through the University of Michigan Information services (UMI).

I designed a form for the individual study of the selected references on Puerto Ricans. Through this form I collected the information necessary for my discursive analysis. On this discourse-form, I wrote the bibliographical information, thematic, type of narrative and enunciations (see Appendix 1). I also studied a number of films in which Puerto Ricans are represented.

It was through the study of these diverse texts that I identified four discourses on Puerto Ricans in the United States. The order of presentation of this discourse analysis on Puerto Ricans in the United States is as follows. Chapter 2 is an introduction to the topic, marking the initial enunciative practice on the Puerto Rican colonial subject whose mediation is the North American invasion of Puerto Rico. Chapter 3 maps the first hegemonic discourse on Puerto Ricans in the United States, "The Puerto Rican Problem." This second discourse exhibits a "discursive explosion," that is, an articulation of several statements on the *subhuman*, *deficitarian*, and *pathological ethos* of Puerto Ricans by multiple authorities. Chapters 4 and 5 explore this discursive explosion of "The Puerto Rican Problem." Chapter 6

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is an analysis of "The Assimilation Problem" discourse, whose enunciations on Puerto Ricans are dependent upon the enunciations of "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse. However, the discursive strategies and authorities of the assimilation paradigm represent a discontinuity from the previous discourse. In Chapter 7, a discussion of "The Culture of Poverty" discourse is presented. In this chapter the discontinuities between "The Culture of Poverty" and previous discourses are explored. Through the displacements of the notions of "exotism" and "the exotic" into the realm of science, the epistemological standing of "The Culture of Poverty" is assessed. Chapter 7 also presents an exposition of "The Culture of Poverty" as a hegemonic discourse whose displacements are traced to the present. The last section, Chapter 8, presents general conclusions on the discourses on Puerto Ricans in contemporary North America.

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CHAPTER 2

ANTHROPOLOGICAL WAR

THE NORTH AMERICAN INVASION

Introduction

The discursive construction of *otherness* has been directly related to processes of domination and exclusion, for example, projects of imperialism and racial ideologies among other relations of power. A precondition which makes possible the discourse on Puerto Ricans by the North American power is the Spanish-Cuban-American War of 1898 and the military invasion of the Island. The discourses on Puerto Ricans in the United States cannot conceal the mark of this military event. The invasion of Puerto Rico by the United States is the immediate "surface of emergence" by which Puerto Ricans are apprehended as a discursive object (M. Foucault, 1972: 41). Hence, the North American invasion of Puerto Rico marks the visibility of Puerto Ricans as object and subject of the discourse of the *Other*. Puerto Ricans insofar as they are discursive objects appear as an area of inquiry and interpretation. Puerto Ricans as subjects of discourse refers to their status as colonial people, exploited and subordinated through North American relations of power.

From a deconstructive perspective, the first demarcation of *otherness* is always a secondary demarcation. In the case of indigenous people, and then Puerto Ricans, the Spanish

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empire produced discourses on them as colonial subjects.[47] However, new and different discursive formations on Puerto Ricans are produced under North American rule.

To speak of "The Puerto Rican Problem" as the first discursive formation on Puerto Ricans in the United States involves a search for the location, the condition, where the designation of the Puerto Rican *Other* obtains its materiality. According to Foucault, there is always a

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[47] This discourse is not new given that Puerto Ricans were constructed under similar rubrics by the Spanish empire. Spain constructed Puerto Rican *otherness* in ways similar and different from the North American empire. Paul Lauren, for instance, quotes some of the statements and references in which Spanish authorities state their racial and cultural superiority over Indians in the Caribbean in his book Power and Prejudice The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination, Boulder: Westview Press, 1988. Lauren cites one of these statements, "To the conquistador," wrote one authority, "an Indian was a heathen and a savage, little better than an animal to be defeated, exploited, and enslaved" (P. G. Lauren, 1988: 12). The citation is from Shepard Clough et.al., European History in a World Perspective, Lexington: D. C. Heath, Vol. 2, 1975, p. 576. In other accounts, Spanish authorities describe Puerto Ricans as indolent, parsimonious, indecent, lazy, and ignorant. For example, Fray Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra described Puerto Ricans as follows:

> *Así como los habitantes de Puerto Rico han adquirido de los antiguos moradores de esta Isla la indolencia, frugalidad, desinterés, ... y otras características de los indios, han conservado igualmente muchos de sus usos y costumbres.*
> .....
> *Desde que hay tropa y milicias en la Isla, se ha introducido alguna mayor decencia entre las personas de calidad de ambos sexos y más entre las mujeres cuya debilidad es más propensa al lujo.*
> .....
> *La crianza de los hijos es lastimosa, el amor indiscreto que les manifiestan, la ninguna educación que les dan, ...*
> (cited by I. Gutiérrez de Arroyo, 1959: 185, 187-188)

For other accounts on Puerto Ricans see Eugenio Fernández Méndez, Crónicas de Puerto Rico: Desde la Conquista hasta Nuestros Días (1493-1955), San Juan, Puerto Rico: Ediciones El Cemí, 1995 and Franciso del Valle Atiles, EL Campesino Puertorriqueño, Puerto Rico: Tipografía J. González Font, 1887.

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location from which a discourse can individualize the discursive object, even when this location is not part of the rules which make possible this discourse (M. Foucault, 1972). From this location, the individualization of Puerto Ricans enunciates them as colonial subjects in need of an orthopaedic in order to become "human," "modern," and perhaps, "American."

The imposition of one culture over another culture is reflected in the violence contained in the enunciations that describe and interpret the colonized. This is what Derrida conceptualizes as an "anthropological war" (J. Derrida, 1976: 107). The "anthropological war" initiates a racial-imperialist discourse in which the North American power proclaims its legitimacy and hegemony. Principles of evolutionism and scientific racism are technologies deployed in the North American invasion discourse. It is through these relations of power that the North American *ethos* constitutes itself as one "naturally and racially superior" and with the obligation to guide the rest of the world. North American imperialist projects produce a discourse in which "racial superiority" is premised on the moral-religious mission of civilizing the *Other*.

As a way of introducing the discourses on Puerto Ricans in the United States, below I present some enunciations and significations of the formation of the discursive object, Puerto Ricans, inaugurated by the North American invasion of the Island.

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Textual Landscapes of the Colony and its People

Understandings and principles of *American civilization* and *race* provide the structure for the North American Invasion discourse. These understandings and principles functioned as rules, strategies and deployments for the production of Puerto Rican *otherness*. Significations, narratives and discursive practices of the North American Invasion discourse are made possible through cultural, political, scientific, economic, philosophical and epistemological resources. Principles of Enlightenment, "race" and racism, geopolitics, cartography, aesthetics, philosophy, science, the *American ethos,* political economy, and social Darwinism constitute technologies of the American project -- a new nation and imperialism.

North American imperialism appears as an act of pity undertaken in the name of *civilization* and *racial superiority*. In this way geopolitical and economic interests are moralized. Thus, the construction of colonial *otherness* is in part the outcome of the justification of an imperialist project.[48] One example of this can be found in "The US and the

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[48] In his insightful work on colonial discourse, David Spurr examines some of the ways in which imperialist affirmation takes place. He argues that rhetorical modes of economic and moral prosperities, for instance, are propositions of colonial discourse. Spurr states that:

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Control of the Tropics," an essay written by Benjamin Kidd in Atlantic Monthly in 1898. In this essay, Kidd explains the need to encourage North American industrial expansion over the tropics as a *"trust for civilization."*[49] According to Kidd, there is a meaning and a reason behind this policy of expansion, that though seemingly illogical is nevertheless not wrong. Kidd states that:

> The tropics are naturally the most richly endowed portion of the world. Under proper conditions of administration, the possibilities of production in the

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> If we were to identify a characteristically American style of self-affirmation, it would have to include the notions of material prosperity and moral progress granted by a somewhat secularized Providence, often embodied in Nature. (D. Spurr, 1994: 117)

Through an analysis of journalistic accounts, Spurr discusses the moral and economic affirmation of the United States toward its North American "new possessions," Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, at the turn of the nineteenth century. Quoting Trumbull White, a North American journalist, Spurr illustrates *American* moral proclamations toward these colonies. White wrote that:

> To dominate in commercial influence and in all things for the uplifting of a swarming population of alien races, is a function as worthy, and of more interest and consequence to most of our people, than the mere detail of official sway. (David Spurr, 1994: 116)

Spurr states that these rhetorical modes of affirmation represent the historical *mentalité* of the North American nation as one grounded in the principles of Manifest Destiny. The subject of history is the *American* empire while subordinated groups are the object which enable the authority to name, identify, classify, domesticate and contain them.

[49] "The Control of the Tropics" by Benjamin Kidd was a very influential book first for British colonial policy and then the United States. According to Charles Sanford, Benjamin Kidd was a British government official, world traveler, lecturer and social philosopher "who vied with Herbert Spencer and Thomas Huxley in relating the doctrine of evolution to human affairs" (C. Sanford, 1974: 110).

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> tropics are immensely greater than the possibilities of production in the temperate regions.[50]
>
> .....
>
> One of the leading principles that I have tried to enunciate in my book on the control of the tropics is that such territories can never be *colonies*; that the white man can never be acclimatized in the tropics; that such regions must continue to be permanently peopled by their *natural* inhabitants; and that the highest duty of the civilized power that undertakes responsibility in relation thereto is to see that they shall be governed, not in the interest of the governing power, but as a trust for civilization.[51]

It is important to point out that North American imperialism is a project which conflates scientific knowledge, political ideologies, culture and religious values in its definition of North Americans and other *races*. As Hofstadter argues on the legacy of the most influential North American social Darwinist, William Graham Sumner, this social thought was also displaced onto the *American* discourse on civilization,

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[50] See Charles Sanford. "Benjamin Kidd The United States and the Control of the Tropics," in Manifest Destiny and the Imperialism Question, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974, p.116. See also Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought, Boston: The Beacon Press, 1962.

[51] Ibid. pp. 116-117.

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as well as projects of militarism and imperialism. Hofstadter states that:

> Sumner's synthesis brought together three traditions of western capitalist culture: the Protestant ethic, the doctrine of classical economics, and Darwinian natural selection ... His sociology bridged the gap between the economic ethic set in motion by the Reformation and the thought of the nineteenth century, for it assumed that the industrious, temperate, and frugal man of the Protestant ideal was the equivalent of the "strong" or the "fittest" in the struggle for existence ...
>
> .....
>
> The foundation of human society, said Sumner, is the man ratio ... When population presses upon land supply, earth hunger arises, races of men move across the face of the world, militarism and imperialism flourish, conflict rages - and in government aristocracy dominates. (R. Hofstadter, 1962: 51, 56)[52]

Likewise, the textualization of Protestantism and racial superiority in North American imperialist ideals are documented in the work of Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, (1972). The following are

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[52] See Richard Hofstadter. Social Darwinism in American Thought, Boston: The Beacon Press, 1962. Specifically Chapter 3, William Graham Sumner: Social Darwinist, pp. 51-66 and Chapter 9, Racism and Imperialism, pp. 170-200. See also John B. Bury, The Idea of Progress An Inquiry into its Growth and Origin, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960.

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some statements of the general secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, Josiah Strong, in 1893:

> It seems to me that God, with infinite wisdom and skill, is here training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the World's future ... Then will the world enter on a new stage of its history-*the final competition of races, for which the Anglo-Saxon is being schooled*. Long before the thousand millions are here, the mighty centrifugal tendency inherent in this stock and strengthened in the United States will assert itself. Then this race of unequaled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it-the representative, let us hope, of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization-having developed peculiarly aggressive traits calculated to impress its institutions upon mankind, will spread itself over the earth. And can any one doubt that the result of this competition of races will be the survival of the fittest ... (cited by S. E. Ahlstrom, 1972: 849)

Further, Ahlstrom states that "Never have patriotism, imperialism, and the religion of North American Protestants stood in such fervent coalescence as during the McKinley-Roosevelt era." (S. E. Ahlstrom, 1972: 880).[53] The legacy of

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[53] For a relevant treatment on North American imperialism during this period see Philip S. Foner, The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism, Vols. I and II, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972.

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Manifest Destiny, defined by Charles Sanford as the "idealizing slogan of North American territorial expansion during the nineteenth century," is rearticulated in a secular way through North American military interventions. Enunciations of the North American mission to spread light to oppressed people is a secular mode of the doctrine of Manifest Destiny. To have a messianic impulse and to spread the Gospel throughout the "wilderness" requires following the movement of the sun, from the east to the west. Charles Sanford states that the colonists' mission was to occupy lands and convert the native inhabitants,

> ... the wilderness and ultimately throughout the world, that savages and other enemies who resisted conversion could be righteously exterminated as creatures of Satan, and that this mission manifested itself in the unfolding of providential history since the Protestant Reformation and discovery of America, which followed the course of the Sun from east to west. (C. Sanford, 1974: 2)

The divine and enlightened revelation for North Americans is expressed by Bishop Berkeley "westward the course of empire takes its way" (C. Sanford, 1974: 5). Likewise, North American statesman and future/former president, Theodore Roosevelt, argues the imperative to impart the reformation of the self to the world,

> The timid man, the lazy man, the man who distrusts his country, the over-civilized man, who has lost the great

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> fighting, masterful virtues, the ignorant man, and the man of dull mind, whose soul is incapable of feeling the mighty lift that thrills "stern men with empires in their brains"-all these, of course, shrink from seeing the nation undertake its new duties; shrink from seeing us build a navy and an army adequate to our needs; shrink from seeing us do our share of the world's work, by bringing order out of chaos in the great, fair tropic islands from which the valor of our soldiers and sailors has driven the Spanish flag. (cited by R. Takaki, 1990: 278)

Social Darwinism and the North American *ethos* are heavily drawn upon in the enunciations of North American imperialism. In the name of science, divine mission and racial superiority, North Americans occupy the apex of racial-evolutionary hierarchy. In the name of God and Reason, North Americans, "fair skins and blue eyes like the sky," are the chosen people who must undertake the colonization of *darker people* (C. Sanford, 1974: 3). *Americans* as the *superior race* are in command of the course of history and prosperity.[54] God and natural law defined the racial and messianic symbolization of North Americans. As David Brion Davis states

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[54] On the topic of scientific racism see Lynn Dumenil, Modern Temper American Culture and Society in the 1920s, New York: Hill and Wang, 1995, pp. 208-214 and; Elazar Barkan, Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

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in his meticulous and insightful work on slavery and social progress in the United States, the most derogatory stereotypes for Blacks are enunciations whose premise is the *natural* connection between moral progress and *whites* as the single human *race* (D. B. Davis, 1984).

The discursive field of the North American invasion entails new ways of speaking about Puerto Ricans. This initiates a discursive formation in which the enunciations and significations on Puerto Ricans produce a positivity which describes and treats them as strange, inferior, exotic, primitive and potentially domesticable. There are, on the one hand, enunciations which designate a group as defective-subhuman. On the other hand, enunciations on the evolutionary potential of colonial people are also made. Both enunciations are integral to this discursive field.

The authority to designate Puerto Ricans as colonial subjects also entails the authority to pathologize and devaluate them. For instance, Kelvin Santiago-Valles in his book "Subject People" and Colonial Discourses: Economic Transformation and Social Disorder in Puerto Rico (1994), analyzes how metropolitan discourses on Puerto Ricans as colonial subjects structure ideas of their "wilderness, morals, and sickness."

For example:

> There is little to encourage a belief that the native people will be disposed to make a radical change in

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> their nature ... from a lazy, easy-going ... idle people[55]
>
> .....
>
> Ethnology ... It has transformed for us the sensational, wild and unaccountable world of 'savages' into a number of well ordered communities, governed by law ...[56]
>
> .....
>
> There is also a close relationship between sickness and poverty, the average countryman in Porto Rico [sic] being only partly as efficient a worker as he should be, due to physical weakness caused by anemia or malaria. Poverty is closely related to degeneration and crime, especially when it descends into pauperism and absolute dependence on charity.[57]

Santiago-Valles argues that new discourses for the disciplining of the "natives" are signified instances which "explain as natural and legitimate the socioeconomic and national-cultural/racial inferiority of these 'natives.'"[58]

The description and explanations of Puerto Ricans as scanty and wretched subjects are means by which the discourse

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[55] Quoted in Kelvin Santiago-Valles, "A Contest of Structures," p. 19.

[56] Ibid. p. 49.

[57] Quoted in Kelvin Santiago-Valles, "Preservation and Transformation," p. 57.

[58] Ibid. p. 50.

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of the North American empire is legitimated. Through this political discourse, *Porto Rico* and its people are possessed by way of an ambivalent political strategy.

The stipulations of "unincorporated territory" to "Porto Rico" through the Foraker Act in 1900 and the North American citizenship granted to Puerto Ricans under the Jones Act in 1917, present enunciations and rationales for what has been conceived as a "political anomaly."[59]

This "political anomaly" becomes an enunciative modality in which ambiguity regarding the political status of *Porto Rico*, the granting of democratic and civil rights to Puerto Ricans, and their inclusion in the United States polity, operates as a textual economy of possession and fear. In the debates of Congress around territorial status and North American citizenship, Puerto Ricans are defined as mongrels, brown, Negroes, weak, small, having different habits, mixed, dangerous, unprofitable, unable to, and lacking training. For instance, the legal definition of "Porto Rico" as an "unincorporated territory without any promise of statehood or protection of the Constitution" in the Foraker Act is one

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[59] See Benjamin Ringer, 'WE THE PEOPLE' AND OTHERS Duality and America's Treatment of its Racial Minorities, New York; Tavistock Publications, 1983. Ringer analyses one of the proposals of this bill which states that "all inhabitants except those who elected to retain their allegiance to Spain were to be deemed "citizens of the United States" (B. Ringer, 1983; 954). However, the final section of the Foraker Act defines Puerto Ricans as "citizens of *Porto Rico*, and as such entitled to the protection of the United States" (cited by B. Ringer, 1983: 957). This provision does not state what kind of "protection" the citizens of *Porto Rico* will receive from the United States.

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enunciation in which the savage mimesis is operational. One of the statements in the Senate's report justify the denial of incorporated territorial status to Puerto Rico in the following way:

> an 'illiterate' population 'of [a] wholly different character' and history, were 'unacquainted' with the self-governing traditions of the People's Domain and were therefore 'incapable of exercising the rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution.' (cited by B. Ringer, 1983: 968)

Arguments against the territorial status of "Porto Rico" also allude to "natural" racial inequality. A Democratic congressman from Kentucky states his opposition in the following terms:

> ... to this whole imperial policy, even if there were no constitutional objections. No empire ever civilized any people in the world's history. (cited by B. Ringer, 1983: 973)

Moreover, the "first grade of governance" stipulated under the Foraker Act is justified by President McKinley indicating that "he doubted Puerto Ricans were ready for self-government."[60] According to the stipulations of the final

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[60] This grade of governance stipulates that government officials are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Congress without an elected legislative body.

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bill, Puerto Rico was to be governed by a territorial governmental structure of the "second grade," even though it had been stripped of the legal status of being a territory (B. Ringer, 1983: 969).[61] The political and legal status of Puerto Rico was never clearly formulated. A mixing of first and secondary grades of governance shaped the Foraker Act. Likewise, the Jones Act of 1917 reflects the "ambiguity" of the North American colonial administration of Puerto Rico, and the signification of Puerto Ricans as "primitive," unfit for North American civilization and citizenship. During the debates on the granting of North American citizenship to Puerto Ricans in 1916, the Chairman of the United States Senate, Shafroth, stated:

> '... I really think it is a misfortune for the United States to take that class of people into the body politic. They will never, no, not in a thousand years understand the genius of our government or share our ideals of government ... I really had rather they would not become citizens of the United States. I think we have enough of that element in the body politic already to menace the Nation with **mongrelization.**' But, he continued, 'the United States was apparently determined to hold on to the island ... We should make the coercion

[61] According to Ringer, this is a political anomaly since this, and other stipulations of the Foraker Act represented a disruption or a reversal of North American political history with previous colonial possessions which had acquired second and third grade of governance until acquiring statehood.

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> as palatable as possible.' (cited by B. Ringer, 1983: 1015-1016 - emphasis mine)

As in the Foraker Act, North American citizenship under the Jones Act of 1917 stipulates that Puerto Rico is under the protection of the United States, but in no way does the Island have the full protection of the Constitution.[62]

The deployment of "race" and its selective correlation to social evolutionism is reactivated by a Congressman from Illinois during the debates on North American citizenship as follows:

> 'the Caucasian race ... is competent for self-government, ... and I think they grow in competency from year to year. The other races were not competent and did not become more competent with time,' he continued, 'particularly those from Latin America and Puerto Rico.' (cited by B. Ringer, 1983: 1010)

Congressmen opposed to the Jones Act during these years articulate the primitive correlate in terms of a causal

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[62] In 1918 the resident commissioner, Dávila, states that the granting of North American citizenship did not change the political status of the Island.

> Are we foreigners? No; because we are American citizens, and no citizen of the United Sates can be a foreigner within the boundaries of the Nation ... [And yet] are we part of the Union? No; because we are an unincorporated Territory under the rulings of the Supreme Court. Can you find a proper definition for this organized and yet unincorporated Territory, for this piece of ground belonging to but not forming part of the United States? Under the ruling of the courts of justice we are neither a part nor a whole. We are nothing. (cited by B. Ringer, 1983: 1025)

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relationship between climate and people's intelligence, and racial purity:

> ... The people of Porto Rico - and I weigh my words when I speak of Porto Rico, because I have been there - do not understand, as we understand it, 'government of the people, by the people' and were not competent to engage in it. This was due in part to the debilitating effects of living near the equator.
>
> .....
>
> Further the hybrid character of the Puerto Ricans also made them incompetent for self-government. 'I am informed by people who are familiar, 75 or 80 percent of those people are mixed blood in part and are not equal to the full-blood Spaniard and not equal, in my judgment, to the unmixed African, and yet they are to be made citizens of the United States.' (cited by B. Ringer, 1983: 1001)

The racial-panic statement establishes a new racial hierarchy in which those of mixed "race," are not the equal of the African. Puerto Ricans are not worthy of North American citizenship and civilization being unequal to those of racial purity- European or African, white or black.

Statements of North American panic also deploy racial correlates linked to European colonial history. In Ringer's narration of these political debates, a Congressman from

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Texas states the danger to the United States polity of ruling over "non-white races":

> We went away from our own shores in search of adventure and by force of arms annexed an incongruous, inharmonious and entirely unassimilable people, ... we got people who can make no contribution to our political institutions, no contribution to our civilization in any way, that we would regard as valuable. They and the other nonwhite races have a right to exist - at least we have no right to say they shall not - and certainly Americans cannot with propriety suggest that they shall not have such political institutions, such forms of government, as they prefer.
>
> .....
>
> We imperil our own free institutions by imitating Imperial Rome when she dealt with colonies. With a fatuity that is really incomprehensible we, a free people, have been tempted to employ the tools of tyranny, and that can never be done without danger. Nations that live by the sword must perish by the sword. (Cited by B. Ringer, 1983: 1001-1002)

Likewise, opposition to the granting of North American citizenship to Puerto Ricans is stated by a Congressman from Minnesota who sought to naturalize Puerto Rican "deficits" and conceal North American fear in the following statement:

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> There are in the Island of Porto Rico a limited number of responsible individuals. There are a great many who are irresponsible. They are ignorant; they have no property; they have no ideals; they are a mob. They can be trained and made good and efficient citizens; but when you put in their hands the instrumentality of voting without first giving them a chance to learn the duties of citizenship you are preparing for trouble, revolution, and bad government in the island of Porto Rico. (cited by B. Ringer, 1983: 1020)

According to this economy of panic, the history of Puerto Ricans as colonial subjects marks their non-evolution; therefore, their lack of "racial purity" determines their political status and future as subordinate to the United States.[63]

Insofar as *Porto Ricans* are inferior, incapable of self-government, brown people, Negroes, weak, small and mongrels, the exceptional character of these regulations are justifiable, fair. Thus, the "deficit-primitive" profile of

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[63] During the turn of the century until the post World War I period the hegemonic discourses on "race" are undergridded by biological explanations. See Ruth Frankenberg, The Social Construction of Whiteness: White Women, Race Matters, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993, pp. 13-15. Also see Elazar Barkan, Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. In the 1920s cultural-ethnic explanations of racial difference begin to emerge and displace strictly biological ones. See Omi and Winant, Racial Formation in the United States from the 1960s to the 1980s, New York: Routledge, 1986, pp. 9-14.

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Porto Ricans has a direct relationship to the "first grade of governance" recommended for *Porto Rico* under the Foraker Act.

The North American role of assistance, inscribed in its imperialist discourse to the *Porto Rican* people, is simultaneously a compromised trope and a form of domesticity. The legitimation of North Americans as "superior" and powerful human beings, and of Puerto Ricans as "oppressed, inferior and subhuman" subjects is integral to the process of colonial administration.

Within the discursive economy of the North American Invasion, there is a strategy for establishing the hegemony of the *American race and civilization.* The establishment of dichotomies and hierarchies posit North Americans as human, rational as well as socially and materially superior, and Puerto Ricans as *deficitarian, subhuman,* and *inferior* in every way. This discursive regime co-exists with another enunciative modality which maintains that Puerto Ricans are potentially reformable subjects. The primitive qua reformable people is the discursive field generated on the colonial subject. The normalization and naturalization of Puerto Ricans as *Other* takes place according to the discursive strategy of the *American race and civilization.*

The Fostering Arm

The enunciative modality of the "Fostering Arm" deploys the correlates of North American civilization, the oppression of the Puerto Rican subjects by Spain, and life conditions.

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It is an enunciation whose correlates of civilization and oppression act as a thematic strategy which forms a dependent and hierarchical relationship that explains the North American intervention and the status of the discursive object, Puerto Ricans. The invasion of Puerto Rico appears discursively as light, cure, medicine, progress, freedom, and mercy on the pert of North Americans. In this discourse, Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans appear as suffering, primitive, oppressed, inferior, sick, and with social and moral limitations.

The military instance is the first subject position that articulates the discourse of *American* civilization for oppressed Puerto Rican people during the War of 1898. As Benjamin Ringer narrates in his book 'We, the People' and Others Duality and America's Treatment of its Racial Minorities (1983):

> Major General Miles issued a proclamation inviting the people of Puerto Rico to join the Americans in the struggle against the Spanish oppressor. He assured them that the Americans 'come bearing the banner of freedom, inspired by a noble purpose to seek the enemies of our country and yours, and to destroy or capture all who are in armed resistance. They bring you the fostering arm of a nation of free people whose greater power is in justice and humanity to all those living within its fold.' Accordingly, he promised them relief from the oppression they had been suffering under Spanish rule

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> and the full measure of protection and 'blessings of the liberal institutions of our government. He added, 'it is not our purpose to interfere with any existing laws and customs that are wholesome and beneficial to your people so long as they conform to the rules of military administration, or order and justice.' And he ended his proclamation with the ringing declaration that 'this is not a devastation, but one to give to all within the control of its military and naval forces the advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization.' (B. Ringer, 1983: 948)

There are various strategic enunciations in the discourse of the United States empire. The *American* signifier in General Miles' speech invites the Puerto Rican people to taste progress; condemn the Spanish oppressor; clarify its position of power; and offers the promises of civilization. The speech by the military authority is the first modality of enunciation in which Puerto Ricans are described as colonial subjects, but under Spain. Discursively, the North American presence and intervention eliminates the Spanish oppressor and by extension, Puerto Rican oppression. Through this discursive strategy the *pathological* character of Puerto Ricans is temporarily delayed. Instead, the external cause of Puerto Rican oppression is declared, imperial Spain.

We should also note that the mere act of pronouncing an ethically charged term obscures the discourse of power. At

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the turn of the century, words such as blessings, progress, humanity, mission, protection, and civilization were beyond ideological contestation in Puerto Rico. These are repetitive and strategically ethical enunciations deployed by the discourse of the empire. Puerto Ricans will receive the blessings of an enlightened civilization. This discourse emerges with a double positivity: it makes possible its discursive practices and relations, and at the same time facilitates the assumption of the idea of progress and human development as ethical matters. The establishment of a "good and better society" through the *Americans* is a discursive strategy that casts Puerto Ricans as subject-objects.

The United States invasion of Puerto Rico is textualized as freedom, progress and civilization; the fostering of modernity. This text is articulated as a normative offering of *American* civilization and its discursive practices. A normative, normalizing, normalized process of North American intervention in Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans marks the materiality of the United States invasion discourse.

A Dialogical Space

The interpellation effected by the North American discourse -- affirming the liberation of Puerto Ricans from oppression and the delivery of progress -- finds its dialogical space in the texts authored by individuals such as judge Emilio del Toro, doctor Francisco Del Valle Atiles, and

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professor Néstor Vincenty.[64] From their own professional perspectives these authors enthusiastically declare their embrace of *American* civilization.[65] This civilization is synonymous with the advancement of humanity. Progress is illustrated by the development of science and technology, a dynamic and growing economy, the extension of political rights, hygienic practices and a superior morality. The *American* civilizational order brings the resources and establishes the conditions for addressing the "human condition," as they conceive of it in Puerto Rico.

Emilio del Toro, in his lecture *"El futuro de Puerto Rico"* (The Future of Puerto Rico, 1914), states that ideals of progress, nobility and happiness are represented by North American culture. The long and permanent interest of North Americans in Puerto Rico, dating back to the early 1800s presupposes, according to del Toro, a fraternity toward other nations, in this case, Puerto Rico. The invocation of fraternal ideals in such terms as mission, freedom, development, progress, blessings, rights, civilization and protection are inscribed in the United States proclamation issued by General Miles made during the invasion of Puerto

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[64] My use of the word "interpellation," borrowed from Louis Althusser, refers to the discursive meanings that produce and speak to the subject as a concrete being (L. Althusser, 1971).

[65] Emilio del Toro, Francisco del Valle Atiles and Néstor Vincenty were among those Puerto Ricans such as historians, State functionaries, business men and professionals who were engaged in charting the future of the Island vis à vis the North American power. The *Conferencias Dominicales,* lectures to high school students and to Christian youth were some of the initiatives by which discussions and debates on political and social issues took place under the American banner.

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Rico. For del Toro this invocation is evidence of the ethically grounded interest of North Americans in Puerto Rico.

Del Toro signifies the past history of Puerto Rico as one of *"aroma y poesía"* (aroma and poetry). The present with the North Americans is textualized as the possibility of *"ingresos, dinero"* (earnings, money). Del Toro remarks that if Puerto Rico can produce perfume with all the flowers at homes and the application of science to agriculture, Puerto Ricans will have money and progress (E. Del Toro, 1914: 225). The eschatological act of poetry and rationality signifies an evolutionary movement of the Island toward modernity. Education, rational government, the dignity of work, science, and an elevated concept of life are for del Toro the key factors for achieving a modern way of life, of course made possible by United States tutelage. The moralization of the *American* empire without calling attention to its geopolitical interests solidifies the colonial discourse.

Likewise, Dr. Francisco del Valle Atiles speaks about the blessings of hygiene thanks to *Americans* in his lecture *"La Contribución del Higienista al Futuro de Puerto Rico"* (The Contribution of the Hygienist to the Future of Puerto Rico, 1914). Del Valle identifies the signposts of death of the Tropics, in the case of the Island of Puerto Rico, they are: *mosca, mosquito, pulga, piojos, tuberculosis, anemia, tifus, paludismo,* and *filaria* (fly, mosquito, lice, tuberculosis, anemia, typhus, malaria and filaria). He argues

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that culture, education, racial improvement - sane procreation and the elimination of "defective people" - and the evolution of a better species, are the promises held by scientific, modern hygiene and the techniques of which are managed by the North Americans (F. del Valle Atiles, 1914). Human improvement is assured thanks to an inside-outside cleansing of bodies, minds, homes, yards, streets, roads and other colonial signs. The arrival of the North Americans to the Island means the elimination of the unsanitary and other signposts of death and eventual human betterment.

In his speech to Puerto Rican high school students in Mayagüez, Professor Vincenty embraces the arrival of North Americans to the Island as a moral act. The author proclaims in *"La Civilización Americana y el Porvenir de Puerto Rico"* (American Civilization and the Future of Puerto Rico, 1928), the grandeur of the North American nation. Metonymically if the United States has superior technology, economic power, territory, racial stock, and advanced political institutions, this nation has *"espíritu, conciencia y razón"* (spirit, consciousness and reason). This assertion marks the moral, economic, and political standing of the United States in relation to the colonial space. Science, geography, economy, politics, culture and morality coincide in the colonial discourse.

Throughout these texts there is a discursive justification which maintains that Puerto Ricans are in desperate need of help and mercy, and the relationship with

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the United States will assure progress. Simultaneously the "satisfaction" of this need presupposes the observation and study of these *Puerto Rican, or Porto Rican* "people."

The Strategy of the Impression

In Puerto Rican and other Impressions (1903), the North American philosopher, William James wrote a series of poems inspired by his journey to the Caribbean and Puerto Rico.[66] "Puerto Rican and other Impressions" signifies a hierarchical order in the existence of *othernesses*. It seems that "Puerto Rican" is implicitly one particular *otherness* since the additive strategy of "other Impressions" constitutes a different scenery. Moreover, the phrase "Puerto Rican *and* other Impressions" suggests that Puerto Rican is an *otherness*

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[66] See William James. Puerto Rican and other Impressions, New York: G. P. Putnams Sons, 1903. James was a central figure in the debates on pragmatism. Some of his influential works were Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking: Popular Lectures on Philosophy, New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1921 and "The Will to Believe," Essays in Pragmatism, New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1948, pp. 88-109. Pragmatism was the most influential philosophy in the U.S. in the last decade of the 19th century and the first quarter of the twentieth. This philosophy was developed by Charles S. Pierce in the 1870s and then revived by William James in 1898, primarily as a theory of knowledge. Pragmatism was further developed, expanded and disseminated by John Dewey, "What Pragmatism Means by Practical," The Middle Works, 1899-1924, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, Vol. 4, 1907-1909 and, by F. C. S. Schiller, Essays in Experimental Logic, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916. On pragmatism see W. B. Gallie, Pierce and Pragmatism, London: Cambridge University Press, 1952; R. B. Perry, The Thought and Character of William James, Boston: Harvard University Press, 1935 and, H. S. Thayer, The Logic of Pragmatism, New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. Critics of pragmatism included Bertrand Russell, Rudolf Carnap and G. E. Moore. For a critical treatment of William James and the work of other pragmatists from a Marxist perspective see Harry K. Wells, Pragmatism Philosophy of Imperialism, New York: International

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already possessed, while the allusion to "Other impressions" takes place at a distant position in the ordering of the words.

The word "impression" supposes "a mark, imprint made by physical pressure or; an effect produced on the mind or senses by some force or influence" (Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary, 1983: 916). At the same time, "impression" means a "vague feeling." The rhetorical play between "vague feeling" and an "imprint" presents a displacement of a substantive, real, objective interpretation of the *Other*, though its sensual effect does not disappear. The impression as a "vague feeling" activates the possibility of the unknown and the dream effect. The possibilities of the not necessarily real and, on the other hand, the reality of the senses in the word "impression" act as phenomenological mediations that enable the nomination of the *Other*. The *impressions* of James regularize the object of study as a field of poetical intervention. Through this signification, the inner journey of James is legitimated as a "voyeurism," an illusion of a consented relation. The colonial landscape as a mysterious world that cries for the intervention of *White hands* is produced through this phenomenological play.

The discursive intervention of William James could be paralleled to Rudyard Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden" which according to Charles Sanford "was first published in the United States with the United States' role after the

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Publishers, 1954.

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Spanish-American War in mind" (C. Sanford, 1974: 11). Kipling's text presents imperialism as a mission of civilization for the "new-caught, sullen peoples, half devil and half child" (P. G. Lauren, 1988: 63) The "racial superiority" of the empire entails the "white man's burden" to care for and uplift the *lesser races*. This intervention is coaxed in terms of a humanitarian gesture which will benefit the *subhuman races* and a condition of their own superiority. It is also through poetical enunciation that the geopolitical and economic interests of North American imperialism are moralized and fostered.

Life's Dark Sea and White Hands

William James, buttressed by his intellectual authority and North American identity, casts his gaze and surveys the Puerto Rican landscape as an exotic and helpless *Other*. The mysterious beauty of the Island and the impressions of this other world represents a literary knowledge of something new, different, and strange. James looks at the horizon apart from the object. The poetic license which is afforded the literary authority allows a wide latitude in the signification of otherness. Unconstrained by the rules of science, the poetic imagination has greater freedom to invent alterity without the burden of documentation.

His poems mark a philosophical stance and an aesthetic value which enables James to speak about Puerto Ricans as exotic, mysterious, unknown and helpless. The

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aestheticization of the *Other* through poetry implies a desire. An encounter between the "dark sea" and "white hands" articulates the desire for possession and fear. His poem "Second Day at Sea" is an example:

> TO-DAY the seas stretch to us white hands,
> White urgent hands from out the climbing waves,
> Strange phantom hands unsounded caves,
> Where life, as here, obeys but death's commands,
> And destiny serenely plots and plans
> The lot of creatures deeper down than graves,
> Our help or pity! We of other lands
> Are impotent as they to question fate,
> Or torture from her answers to all cries
> Of why she wreaks on man an occult hate,
> Or hapless wisdom that is never wise;
> Unlearned all lessons, save in fantasy,
> We, too, stretch helpless hands from life's dark sea.
> (W. James, 1903: 1)

White hands encounter a mysterious world whose icons - creatures, unsounded caves, strange phantoms, death's command, life's dark sea - call for help as a fatalistic act. The sea is uncontrollable, unknown, fatal. The fatalistic mystery of the *Other's* space fatalistically affirms intervention by *white hands* whose *reason* will disentangle the mystery. Moreover, the mystery contains a seduction of the *Other*. The poetic descriptions of James' impressions of the

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Caribbean sea, trees, winds, heaven, and earth vis à vis existential metaphors of mystery, beauty, life, love, tragedy, power and death effect an exotism of the *Other* through an *American* literary intervention.

Possession and Mystery of the Native Landscape

In the poem "In Our Garden-San Juan" James proclaims the possession of Puerto Rico by way of its aestheticization. The exotic beauty of the Island is signified constantly with a philosophical muse toward the mystery of life. This exotic world where exotism and existentialism coincide is ours. This colonial image of an encounter with nothingness coincides with an existential metaphysics which indicates "the absurdity of human life in the face of an indifferent Nature" (D. Spurr, 1994: 130). The existential and exotic metaphors are enunciations of the *Other*. In "Our Garden-San Juan," James writes:

> I LOVE the ancient gospel of these trees,
> The night-winds' reverent oratorios
> The birds' amen in pauses of the breeze,
> The surpliced lilies preaching in soft flows
> With cadenced incense or show litanies.
> But more to me, perchance, the august breath
> of Ocean with the pathos of a story
> Revealed in all it roars or murmureth
> of beauty, mystery, of power, of glory

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The sea but echoes what the Eternal saith.

(W. James, 1903: 52)

"In Our Garden-San Juan" the desire of possession acts as a trope in which love, religion, and mystery shape the body of Nature. This trope also mythologizes and aestheticizes the *Other*. The textual production of another world through metaphors of nature beatifies the enigmatic impression of *otherness*. The aesthetics of the *Other* call for desire as oppression calls for the civilizational enunciation.

William James' poetic musings reveal an anxiety over the imperial colonial enterprise. Notwithstanding this anxiety, the destiny of *White hands*/civilization must be shouldered even while its meaning is pondered.

A Close Intervention: the Eye and the Body-Image

In 1901, Dr. George G. Groff wrote "Characteristics of Porto Ricans," where the author offers what he believes are the causes for the *Porto Rican* phenotype, character and condition.[67] This journalistic article, written by a North American physician, appears as an anthropological text in which the legitimization of knowledge through descriptive, comparative and exclusionary modalities depends on the doctor's position and his visual practice. It is through what

[67] George G. Groff, "Characteristics of Porto Ricans," Independent, July 4, 1901, Vol. LIII, No. 27. Dr. Groff was the Secretary of the Superior Board of Health in Porto Rico for two years during the early 1900s.

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Johannes Fabian calls "visualism" that enunciations describing Puerto Rican colonial subjects are produced (J. Fabian, 1983).

Groff's anthropological description and interpretation of the *Portorriqueñan* people moves from an "epidermal schema" to an exploration of their character and their reformable potential. According to Dr. Groff the factors that explain the making of a *Portorriqueñan* people:

> The climate, race admixture, bad government, and a bad social environment have produced the *Portoriqueñan* people, ... as distinct from Spaniards, Caribbean, etc. (George G. Groff, 1901: 1552)

The enunciative act is made possible by the immediate subject position of Dr. Groff, an *American* doctor. The explanatory statement on the *Portorriqueñan* people is also made possible by the deployment of rational culture, social Darwinism, and *race* in the study of colonial subjects. The correlation of climate with the *Portorriqueñan* people is grounded in a scientific racism and a social Darwinism that states that the inferiority of *Negroes,* for example, arises from the climatic conditions of the tropics, thus making the settlement of *white* people in the tropics natural and legitimate (L. W. Lyde, 1910). Following propositions of anthropometry, it is claimed that physiological traits and the mental capacity of

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the people of the tropics has been arrested by Nature.[68] Relevant to this point is a discussion on the racial attitudes of the United States republican government in the nineteenth century. According to Alexander Saxton, in the U.S. "... rational thought explained the inferiority of non-white races (if they were inferior) as due to environmental bad luck that might in time be reversed" (A. Saxton, 1990: 69). The scope of causality and the procedure of classification of the *Portoriqueñan* people entail two basic presuppositions: nature defines physical characteristics and behavior, and there is a hierarchy of human "races" by way of natural selection. Social Darwinism and Spencerism presuppose that natural laws and social conditions follow the same systemic character in terms of causality and evolution.[69]

The racial and moral ideology embedded in imperialist projects is illustrated in Theodore Roosevelt's statements regarding U.S. interventions in the Pacific and the Caribbean. Roosevelt states that these lands "should pass out of the hands of their red, black, and yellow aboriginal owners, and become the heritage of the dominant world races" (cited by P. G. Lauren, 1988: 62).

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[68] Anthropometry was a Victorian science, a part of anthropology whose foundations are a derivative of social Darwinism and scientific racism. Anthropometry seeks to establish measures and explanations for the physiological features and mental abilities of other *races*. Accordingly, climatic conditions produce the petrification of cranial sutures which arrest mental development. This science was very useful for the discourses of colonialism.

[69] For another statement on the influence of social Darwinism, Spencerism and other racialist ideologies in the United States see Stephen Jay Gould, The Mismeasure of Man, New York: W. W. Norton & Co.,

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In keeping with a kind of biological determinism, Dr. Groff identifies the climate as an important element in producing a biologically defined *Portoriqueñan* people. Further, the conflation of natural and social factors produces a distinct *Portoriqueñan* people. Thus, science and society arrange a complicity in their narrative of the *Other*.

What is accessible to the eye of the doctor - the body-image of the *natives* - activates the scientific and political principles of the empire. The function of the eye is the instrumental mediation for these scientific statements on Puerto Ricans.

Through the specification of the body-image, the author establishes the hypsography of the *Porto Rican* people. The classificatory movement of mental, physical, racial and cultural characteristics of *Porto Ricans* includes what is different, weak, bad, lacking, defective as well as that which is positive and potentially useful. "The piercing act," an intervention on the colonial body, is present throughout this text. First, the epidermal schema, the physical characteristics:

> small race compared with Americans; averaging in height; in weight light; not well developed; men exhibit strength; a little darker skin color (because of the Indians and Moorish); large and dark eyes; abundant, straight and long hair; young women are better developed

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1981.

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> than men, however, women are prematurely old. (G. G. Groff, 1901: 1552)

The activation of a classificatory operation through these enunciations presents North Americans as the referent of a binary opposition and hierarchy. Principles of physical evolution are deployments of classificatory grids in which the colonial subjects' *inferiority* is signaled by the doctor's written words "small, not well developed, prematurely old." Through the racial enunciation, Dr. Groff describes the "darker" skin of the *Portoriqueñan* people, but whitening its origins by reference to Indians and Moorish people while omitting Blacks, Africans. The hypsography of the *Portoriqueñan* people also establishes the hierarchical differences between men and women.

As if using a social microscope, Groff describes the biological performance of the natives. According to him, as a *race* "Porto Ricans" lack vitality. They possess acute diseases, but they still resist power (G. G. Groff, 1901: 1553). They have a great fecundity which enables them to resist extinction despite their status as an *inferior race* (G. G. Groff, 1901: 1553). The profile of the *Portoriqueñan* people given by Dr. Groff is similar to the racial classification of "yellow people" described by Comte de Gobineau in the nineteenth century (David Spurr, 1994: 65).

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The enunciation of Puerto Rican deficits and racial inferiority is produced alongside a "positive" profile of the *Portoriqueñan* people:

> very intelligent, vivacious, talkative, sensitive, docile, polite, industrious, home loving, happy, content, kind and loving in their families, charitable, patriotic, honest, sober, hospitable, virtuous, religious, improvident in money matters, love oratory, influenced by good speakers, easily governed, peaceable, not revengeful. (G. G. Groff, 1901: 1554)

The authority to enunciate what Puerto Ricans are does not rest in their deficits or devaluation. It is the enunciation itself, positive or negative, that establishes the possibility of Puerto Ricans as objects of colonial discourse. A Puerto Rican profile is the discursive practice by which relations of power between the metropolis and the colony are shaped and organized. The Invasion discourse must maintain a degree of congruence with its humanist statements.

Groff continues this "empirical" description-profile with an explanation of the "docility" of *Porto Ricans*.[70] Dr.

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[70] The enunciation on the *docility* of Puerto Ricans constitutes a constant discursive practice that includes literary, anthropological, philosophical, psychological and sociological works. A dialogical space on the *docility* and *pathos* of Puerto Ricans, for instance, are found in the literary works of Manuel Zeno Gandía, *La Charca*, first published in 1894; *Insularismo*, by Antonio S. Pedreira first published in 1934; Enrique Laguerre, *La Llamarada*, first published in 1935 and; the most popular account, written by René Marqués, *El puertorriqueño dócil y otros ensayos*, 1977.

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Groff states that there are "no complaints about new laws," *Americanization*, and "the vaccination process took place without riots." Dr. Groff adds that they are "easily governed."

The "lackings" and "primitive" character of the *Portoriqueñan* people are also part of this profile. Dr. Groff states that the *Portoriqueñan* people lack the ability to organize themselves both at a national and individual level. He also points out that Puerto Rico has poor sanitary conditions, a result of a lack of knowledge of modern hygiene. Accordingly, they need the help of men from the North in order to achieve modern government, education, religion, and hygiene. Dr. Groff also observes that *Porto Ricans* use their money for gambling, not for retirement or sickness. And while they have commercial instinct, ownership is in foreign hands. Their artistic and mechanical training are slightly developed; they are in need of proper training.

The piercing gaze marks the contour of the political economy displayed in the Island and deployed over its people.

The work of Juan Flores on Puerto Rican cultural identity, Divided Borders Essays on Puerto Rican Identity (1993), pp. 13-57, offers a critique of dominant Eurocentric intellectual accounts of Puerto Ricans and their culture. Many of these accounts are informed by colonial and racist world-views reflecting the political and ideological struggles which took place in the last decades of 19th and early decades of the 20th centuries. According to Flores, Puerto Ricans appear as culturally inferior through: a defense of the Hispanic culture (Spain) as the origin of civilization; the exclusion of the contributions of pre-Columbian cultures; assuming African heritage as pathological and; constructing the character of Puerto Ricans as marked by docility and insularity. One of the works that Flores criticize is Insularismo (1934) in which Antonio S. Pedreira states that Puerto

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The intensification of capitalist relationships under the U.S. domination, signified as progress, is transformed into an absence through the detailed enunciation of the *Portoriqueñan deficits*. The piercing act establishes the ethical need for the development of a modern labor force and the production of responsible citizens.

Dr. Groff continues his profile by enumerating the domesticable *deficits* of the *Portoriqueñan* people. For instance, Dr. Groff claims that "few can read and write, but they are bright, quick to learn" (G. G. Groff, 1901: 1555). There is overpopulation, but they have not emigrated to other places, hence they are rooted and stable. They are poor, but they accept their lot with a smile, and are not given to rebellion. On the streets one can see that there are beggars; however, there are no poorhouses from which he infers that poverty is not widespread. While drunkenness is a problem, he claims that this problem is not manifested in public spaces.

The savage mimesis of the *Portoriqueñan* people is enunciated by Dr. Groff. He claims that there is indifference to suffering, to the existence of jails, hospitals, and outdoor relief. They *(Portoriqueñan)* seem to be cruel to animals; "it is a Spanish trait." Dr. Groff offers a recipe for humanizing these colonial subjects. He states, "possibly the introduction of 'Black Beauty' as a reading book into the

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Ricans are "weak, complacent, ignorant, confused, with a penchant for rhetorical excess ..., and cowardly and passive."

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schools will complete the work of humanizing the drivers" (G. G. Groff, 1901: 1555).

According to Dr. Groff, "as a *race* they are far from being stupid; they want to advance." In sum "there are faults, but they are correctable." They need foreign blood. *Porto Ricans* as "deficitarian" subjects have to evolve in order to achieve the conditions of intelligence, progress, morality and power symbolized by the United States.

The differentiated deficit-domesticable-primitive profile of the *Portoriqueñan* people is an enunciative modality in which the North American intervention operates and activates the logic of modern values and practices, as well as providing for its moralization.

The subject position of the doctor and the political order join hands in their intervention on the colonial subjects. For instance, General Miles proclaims the necessity for a humanitarian intervention and Dr. Groff follows it with an anthropological-medical intervention. Imperialist projects and medical interventions coincide and are complementary in the invention of the *Portorriqueñan* people.

The *American ethos,* geopolitics, literature, science, social Darwinism, "race," and politics play a powerful role in the United States Invasion discourse on Puerto Rico and its people. Knowledge, culture and political authority manufacture the colonial subject.

What is established through these enunciations is a discursive coexistence between the *subhuman Other* and the

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reformable Other. Puerto Ricans as *mongrels* and *docile* reveal a colonial desire and fear. This is what Homi Bhabha conceptualizes as the registering of metaphor and metonymy in colonial discourse. It is an act that regularizes Puerto Ricans as subject-objects.

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CHAPTER 3

URBAN ANTHROPOLOGY

"THE PUERTO RICAN PROBLEM": THE MIGRATION

PART I

"The Puerto Rican Problem"

The new set of strategies for nominating and signifying Puerto Ricans as a "problem" contain a discursive order mainly ruled by the dichotomy urban - non-urban.[71] Principles of North American modernity are contained in the category of "the urban." Rationality and order, embedded in modern social practices and values, are signified within what is understood as "the urban." Moreover, the *subhuman and primitivism* of Puerto Ricans as colonial subjects are defined within the category of "the non-urban." This discursive strategy, urban - non-urban is followed by derivative dichotomies, e.g. order-disorder, cleanness-uncleanness, safety-danger, whiteness-darker/black, superiority-inferiority, moral-immoral, sacred-profane, modern-primitive, normal-abnormal, common-exotic, legal-illegal, human-subhuman, citizen-migrant, *American*-un-American, and so forth. At another

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[71] The exposition of "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse follows a particular analytical order in which historicity and discursive strategies negotiate their location under similar discursive rules. Sometimes this discourse follows chronological time since its modalities and rules coincide with it. At times it presents a rupture with temporalities since the new or the repetition of enunciations are articulated within this new discursive formation. Hence, new and old correlates operate within a new discursive formation.

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level, these dichotomies also assume different relational positions among themselves within this discursive field.

The mass migration of Puerto Ricans to the United states in the second half of the 1940s was imagined as an invasion which constituted a menace to urban *America.* A text which exemplified this discourse is the book The Puerto Rican Problem (1964) by Edward Lockett.[72] In the introduction, which begins with the following statement of purpose: "To the creation of the widest attainable public knowledge and awareness of issues critical to good North American citizens," Edward Lockett issues a warning against Puerto Rican migration to the United States. The enunciation of Puerto Ricans as "trouble" is based on a construction of *otherness* in which difference is a sign of abnormality. Here the abnormality of the Puerto Rican *Other* is seen as the result of an adherence to an *ethos* which is both alien and dangerous. In this text different enunciations producing an economy of fear and the savage mimesis of Puerto Rican migration can be identified.

Similar to the previous and multiple enunciations on Puerto Rican *deficits* and *pathos,* Lockett claims that Puerto Ricans do not speak English; they are poor and unskilled; they are on relief; and they bring problems to the

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[72] Edward Lockett who was sponsored by the Richmond Professional Institute of Virginia, carried out a study on Puerto Ricans using: statistics, reading articles on the Puerto Rican past, and doing interviews with Puerto Ricans in the Island. *La Perla* and *El Fanguito,* are two slums which Lockett describes in these chapters.

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metropolis. The author describes "what the United States got" from the mass migration in the following terms:

> ... has brought to the United States mainland since 1940 nearly a million dark-skinned men and women wholly alien and not particularly friendly to the mainland social and economic structure."(E. Lockett, 1964: 21)
>
> .....
>
> overcrowded, mixed, fast breeding, wholly foreign, largely dark-skinned population of nearly a million men, women and children. They were in desperate conditions on the scoreboards of health and living standards, employment, education, culture and morals as judged by the Western world. (E. Lockett, 1964: 211)

In both of these quotes Lockett appears to stress dark-skinned and alien as signifying Puerto Rican *otherness*. The racial coding of *otherness* is an enunciative constant of North American discourse. The enunciation of Puerto Rican "deficits" culminate with their lack of "sanitation and assets." [73] These are in turn linked to racial taxonomies. To be "non-white" is also to be "unclean." The linking of blackness or non-whiteness with "unclean," or dirt serves not

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[73] Another dimension of "The Puerto Rican Problem," according to the author is that Puerto Ricans are competing for jobs with North American workers. In addition, North American tax-payers have to sustain the relief and school services that they receive. Lockett argues that for the United States government and taxpayers this constitutes an "onerous economic burden, and a Pandora's box of social troubles" (E. Lockett, 1964: 212).

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only to devalorize the *Other*, it is also a strategy for speaking about place, space and belonging. Dirt does not belong in certain spaces and places. To talk about a people as "unclean" is not an "objective" description of a group, but rather as Tim Cresswell argues "a refusal of difference - a recognition of disorder in the unfamiliar associated with place; something is where it shouldn't be" (T. Cresswell, 1996: 81).

Metonimically, Puerto Ricans, "wholly foreign," have invaded the United States (E. Lockett, 1964). The signified economy of the "invasion" is used and reused in many of the enunciations of "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse. We have to note that the political economy of the so-called "threat of communism" in the sign of the former Soviet Union permeates all of the mediatic and political spaces of the 1950s. Innumerable movies construct their plots around the invasion of the United States by the Soviet Union. Since 1959 the "threat of communism" has also been represented by the Cuban Revolution.

There is a signification of Puerto Ricans with this political and cultural imaginary of the "invasion." Puerto Rican migration to the United States is signaled as an "invasion." Lockett's enunciation of Puerto Ricans as dangerous for North American society and economy goes beyond what other authorities have stated by adding the threat of

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communism.[74] The immediate global threat of communism has moved from the URSS to its satellite in the Caribbean-Cuba. In a final move, Lockett links Cuban communism to Puerto Rican migration to the United States. Puerto Rican migration is a Trojan Horse which carries within it the red menace, a threat to national security. The ideology of anti-communism supplements a racial xenophobia and *American* nativism.

Furthermore, Lockett states that Puerto Ricans, a "dark skinned population is currently increasing much faster than whites" (E. Lockett, 1964: 23). Puerto Ricans do not only possess *vices* and represent a political and economic drain for the United States, but are also racially *different* (inferior). Lockett's enunciation of the racial inferiority of Puerto Ricans lies in the premise of scientific racism, that is, *racial inferiority* is part of the natural order.[75]

Lockett connects racial otherness (inferiority) to what he understands is the "un-assimilatable" nature of Puerto Ricans. According to him, Puerto Ricans "... cherish their own culture, language and customs far beyond any willingness to give them up,.." (E. Lockett, 1964: 23).[76] Therefore,

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[74] According to Lockett, Puerto Ricans signal the threat of communism since information provided by government agencies indicates this "menace." For instance, Lockett states that:

> Puerto Rico, sending a steady flow of unscreened migrants into the United States is the safest and potentially most effective infiltration pipeline to the United Sates mainland that communism has ever discovered. (E. Lockett, 1964: 164)

[75] It is important, however, to point out that knowledge and the dominant ideology of *race* at the time was primarily articulated within the contours of "ethnic theory" (M. Omi and H. Winant, 1986).

[76] Even when this statement on unassimilability is part of "The

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Puerto Rican unwillingness to relinquish their culture, language and customs mitigate against their becoming good *American* citizens.

Lockett, dedicated as he is to resolving "The Puerto Rican Problem," proposes a solution which he calls "Operation Upgrade." This initiative is defined by Lockett as an education and training-improvement program financed by Puerto Rico through the United States government. An important component of Operation Upgrade is a "stay-at-home incentive" which will reduce the number of Puerto Rican migrants to the United States.[77]

In the discourse on urbanity, the *Other* is constructed, a priori as in need of what can only be conceived of as a social orthopaedic. In order for the *Other* to be made into socially and morally productive subjects committed to the *American ethos,* a prodigious effort must be made by the authorities who safeguard and insure progress and its normative condition -- social order.

American discourse on the significant presence of Puerto Ricans in North American urban space, especially in New York

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Puerto Rican Problem" discourse, it is only later that this enunciation emerges as a discourse in itself.

[77] This program would enhance Puerto Rican character with "new customs, habits and capabilities." According to the author the British experience of 1962 - they stopped 'colored immigration' - is one practical example of how to stop Puerto Rican migration to the United States.

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City, has different technologies by which it is produced.[78] A rational culture and an *American ethos,* for instance, define the social production of urban space and the *Other* in this space. Principles of order, logic, homogeneity, linearity and hierarchy animates the correlated practice of measurement, limit, location and signification of urban space. Further, the occupants of this urban space should be moral and civilized subjects devoted to progress and democracy. In this context, *white-Americans* are correlated to practices and significations of cleanliness, stability, order, safety and passive recreation. The North American citizen follows a rhythm of life dictated by a certain rationality. Accordingly, there is a time for work, for education, for shopping, for eating, for sleeping, and a time for attending to the edification of the soul. Urbanity also prescribes a

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[78] As an example, John V. Lindsay, the Mayor of New York City in the late 1960s defines the character of "The Puerto Rican Problem" in a community conference. The title of the conference "Puerto Ricans Confront Problems of the Complex Urban Society: A Design for Change" (1967) signaled the definition of "The Puerto Rican Problem" and its solution by government agencies. Throughout the report of this conference, the urban-rural dichotomy is deployed for profiling "The Puerto Rican Problem." The language barrier, the problem of adaptation, cultural ignorance, personality traits, poverty, discrimination, school drop-outs, low-wage jobs, high birth rate, cultural anomie, crime, mental problems and drug addiction are the discursive correlates of the Puerto Rican urban problem. According to these policy makers what Puerto Ricans need is integration and access to the social structures of North American society, that is the "Open Door Policy." Therefore, the problem is that Puerto Ricans are not yet *Americans*. Thirty-two recommendations, mainly in the area of education, were approved at the conference; organized sports, better housing, community organizations, a Puerto Rican Center for the Arts, dissemination of the Puerto Rican cultural legacy, legal assistance, better welfare services, consumer services, participation and access to education and business, inquiry on jobs, work trainings, comprehensive health services, bilingual staff and better social services were also part of the list.

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rational-economic form of movement, communication, contractual and impersonal relations. All of these practices constitute hegemonic symbols and enunciations of North American urban space.

The discursive construction of urban space, in this case New York, entails an Enlightened and Cartesian signification in which the *Other* is represented as a negation and menace. In this context, the *Barrio* as the urban location of Puerto Ricans is pathologized and constituted as an abject zone. From this discursive field, Puerto Ricans are designated as aberrant in body, mind and soul, and require an intervention in order to be rehabilitated into human, moral, modern, citizen, *American*, and civilized beings. Propositions of rationality defined as progress, morality and freedom are deployments for the enunciation of its threat, Puerto Ricans. Conversely, to speak of "The Puerto Rican Problem" is to state its *exotic, primitive and violent ethos*.

Finally, the Puerto Rican presence in urban *America* has to be nominated, signified and domesticated through a series of discursive practices. This is an "urban anthropology" of "The Puerto Rican Problem."

Metropolitan and Colonial Discourse on the Mass Migration

During the 1940s and 1950s metropolitan and colonial policy makers initiated a number of debates and controversies around the "problem" of the mass migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States. "The Puerto Rican Problem" was

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discussed by local and metropolitan authorities as a problem of social hygiene in which its *primitive ethos* has to evolve towards a new stage of development. The culmination of this evolution is the achievement of the modern self and membership in the labor force.

Policy makers and intellectuals discussed and advanced a number of explanations for the Puerto Rican migration to the mainland. Factors such as individualism, imagination, labor shortages, surplus labor, overpopulation, poverty and the "deficits" of Puerto Rican migrants were offered as rationales for the migration. Local and metropolitan authorities recommended and carried out a series of discursive practices whose aim was to train Puerto Rican migrants into an *American*, modern, capitalistic, moral mode of life.

The Migration Conference was one the most systematic activities organized to address this issue from the perspective of offering a comprehensive set of policy recommendations. During the Migration Conference, held in 1953 in San Juan, Puerto Rico, the colonial government declared its policy regarding the Puerto Rican migration to the United States. According to colonial representatives the government did not encourage or discourage this migration.[79]

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[79] Moreover, the anxiety around the Puerto Rican migration is discursively mitigated indicating that there is confidence that Operation Bootstrap will stop this flow. "Operation Bootstrap," according to colonial policy makers, would result in the development of the Island and a slowing down and eventual stop of out-migration. There is a certain irony in this since the mass migration was crucial to the

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The political economy of the Puerto Rican migration entails ideological correlates in which principles of individualism and freedom are the driving forces of the movement from the colony to the metropolis.[80] Regarding this, at the Migration Conference (1953), colonial representatives argued that the movement to the United States was due to Puerto Ricans having initiative and imagination. Since there are more jobs and greater educational opportunities in the United States, they migrate. Puerto Ricans appear as "free" individuals whose movement is an expression of an unfettered will.

Beyond the explanation of "free individuals," the "widespread" existence of disease, "overpopulation," poverty, high mortality, and hunger in Puerto Rico appear as the rationalizing correlates of "The Puerto Rican Problem"

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success of Operation Bootstrap. Further, at the Migration Conference, the discourse of "The Puerto Rican Problem" is also defined as that of an "ethnic group," that is a problem of assimilation. An ethnic group which through an evolutionist mode will eventually become assimilated. In this context, policy makers stated that the backward habits of Puerto Rican migrants will change. Hence, "The Puerto Rican Problem" is also produced as a statement of North American assimilation.

[80] The Secretary of Labor delivered a speech (booklet) to Puerto Rican Farm workers in 1957 stating that the Puerto Rican worker *"por su voluntad, libremente ..."* (by his own free will) decides to migrate to the United States. In this speech he also states that the North American employers preferred Puerto Rican workers. Again, the Secretary states that the government does not encourage nor discourage this migration, just *"ayuda, orienta y protege hasta donde lo permite la ley"* (to help, orientate and protect to the full extent of the law). In this booklet, there is also a series of instructions about the documents and clothing that the Puerto Rican workers should have in order to migrate to the United States.

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discourse.[81] The enunciations on "overcrowding," "population density," "rural poverty" "mortality and disease," "jungle fecundity," are combined as factors which account for the Puerto Rican migration to the United States. This "causality" obscures the requirements of the political economy of the United States and Puerto Rico during the period.

The economic development model implemented following World War II, known as *Manos a la Obra* or Operation Bootstrap, required the mass migration of tens of thousands of workers who could not be absorbed into the local economy. Between 1940 and 1950 an average of 18,700 Puerto Ricans migrated to the United States annually. In the decade of the 1950s the average rose to 41,500 annually. In 1953 alone, when the migration reached its peak, about 69,000 Puerto Ricans left the Island to settle in the U.S.[82] According to the U.S. census of 1960 over 900,000 Puerto Ricans were living in the United States. By 1970 the number of Puerto Ricans had increased to between 1.5 million and 2 million.[83]

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[81] This enunciation of the "overpopulation problem" is hegemonic in "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse. For instance, Lawrence Chenault (1938) and Luz M. Torruellas (1947) through different approaches, argue that the "overpopulation problem" is central to understanding the present conditions of Puerto Rico and its people.

[82] See Adalberto López and James Petras, editors, Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans: Studies in History and Society, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974.

[83] The mass migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States was part of a process of proletarianization and the industrialization of Puerto Rico. This process of proletarianization required a "free labor force" which in order to reproduce itself has to enter in a contractual relationship with the capitalist as workers. The condition of "free labor force" is integral to the capitalist economy and the colonial

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As the History Task Force of the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños argues in Labor Migration under Capitalism: The Puerto Rican Experience (1979), the need for this type of cheap labor for the *American* manufacturing sector was crucial for the accumulation of capital in the 1950s.[84] New York City in the post-war period was experiencing a number of shifts in its local economy and in the labor force. As working-class identities were re-cast as "ethnic identities," the offspring of European immigrants claimed white identities as they moved out of the city. The temporary labor shortages at the lower end of the labor market which this movement created, was alleviated by an "influx" of cheap laborers from the southern United States and Puerto Rico.

"The Puerto Rican Problem" was adapted to the need of training the colonial subjects as labor force and modern selves. As a way of achieving this goal, a series of discursive practices is developed for this purpose. Policy makers at the Migration Conference of 1953 proposed different ways for training Puerto Rican migrants into North American modern life. For instance, the establishment of a "Self-help

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condition. See History Task Force, *Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños*, Labor Migration under Capitalism, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979; James L. Dietz, Economic History of Puerto Rico: Institutional Change and Capitalist Development, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986, and; Frank Bonilla and Ricardo Campos, "Imperialist Initiatives and the Puerto Rican Worker: From Foraker to Reagan," Contemporary Marxism, Summer 1982, No. 5, pp. 1-18.

[84] History Task Force, *Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños*. Labor Migration under Capitalism, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979. See Chapter 5 "Migration and Industrialization 1930 to the Present," pp. 117-177.

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Program," English classes, the "Help Your New Neighbor" Campaign, orientation programs for workers who intended to migrate, and workshops for social workers in the mainland are some of the recommendations put forward for dealing with "The Puerto Rican Problem." Policy makers also emphasized the testing of the Puerto Rican migrants for diseases, such as tuberculosis screening and other health precautions.[85]

Operating within the logic of this discourse, Luis Muñoz Marín, first elected governor of the colony, argues that the transition of Puerto Ricans to modernity, results in progress and freedom. In a speech, delivered before the Annual Convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Atlantic City, New Jersey, Muñoz Marín maintains that Puerto Ricans wish to receive the training which will make them fit for North American modernity. This speech also proclaims that progress and economic development has arrived

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[85] For Puerto Rico, they recommend: English classes; encourage migration to states other than New York; presentation of a film on the housing problems in the mainland; presentation of motion pictures on North American society and; job counseling in/for other states. For New York, they recommend action by the Mayor's Committee, the Council of Spanish-Speaking Organizations, the Welfare Council, the Health Council, labor unions, and civic groups. They also recommend the development of in-service training courses for employees in all city departments who deal with Puerto Ricans to dispel myths and promote their integration. They proposed the contracting of Spanish-speaking personnel. They also recommended the enforcement of labor standards and organizations to avoid exploitation of newly arrived Puerto Rican workers. In addition, they proposed that Riverside Neighborhood Assembly have discussions among Puerto Ricans and youth leaders which include exchanges between Puerto Rico and planning districts (Manhattan). Finally, a series of summer exchanges between professionals from the New York State and City agencies and their counterparts in Puerto Rico was proposed.

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at the "Commonwealth of Puerto Rico." Further, Puerto Ricans are claimed as useful to modern freedom.[86]

Puerto Rican Intelligentsia Discuss the "Emigration"

In the journal *La Torre* (1956) members of the Puerto Rican intelligentsia (academics and government officials) discuss the "problem" of Puerto Rican *emigration* to the United States.[87] Jaime Benítez, for instance, states that Puerto Ricans went to New York in search of jobs. Benítez argues that the Puerto Ricans' *lack* of training in *modernity* produces the emigration problem. Since these new and revolutionary changes shape an "unexpected" modernity, Puerto Ricans do not have the tools to deal with such changes. Thus, Benítez advances the idea that what Puerto Ricans need is a middle class which would assume leadership and responsibility in the Island.

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[86] Throughout the speech *"La personalidad puertorriqueña en el Estado Libre Asociado,"* Luis Muñoz Marín elaborates a discursive correlate of what are supposed to be Puerto Rican cultural ideals in the context of the colonial-modern condition. This is a discursive strategy intended to moralize modernity as a normative goal as represented by the North Americans and necessary for Puerto Ricans. The significant values of North American society are democracy, economic, mechanical and administrative techniques and, the advancement of women and education. Economic progress involves changes in attitudes and customs regarding work, education, health, housing, and industrialization. Being Puerto Rican within modern values means: entrepreneurial spirit, modest personal ambition, quiet inner-life, creative and constructive habits, a solid work ethic, kindness, mutual help, healthy recreational habits, honesty, an understanding of people from other countries, adopting the good of men, community participation, education of children, religious values, etc.

[87] This issue of the journal was dedicated to this topic since the nine articles in this number were part of a conference.

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In the pages of *La Torre*, Benítez is joined by Charles Rosario who discusses the sociological basis of "The Puerto Rican Problem." Rosario elaborates a Weberian analysis of the meaning of modernity in terms of rationality and its collision with *fatalism.* Rosario argues that Puerto Rican *fantasies* (American Dream) and frustrations with an unfamiliar environment combine to create the conditions for a crisis. Accordingly, unrealized expectations lead to "pathological" reactions such as mourning, vices, delinquency and other tragedies. Rosario argues that this is the central dilemma of *modernity* for Puerto Ricans migrating to the metropolis.

In his contribution Fernando Sierra Berdecía describes the efforts of the Puerto Rican government in aiding the migrants. Sierra Berdecía deploys the metonymy of Puerto Rican migration to the United States as one of evolution from the cave to civilization. Sierra Berdecía states that the history of the Puerto Rican emigration to the United States has been the result of the public policy of the federal government. Following the official pronouncements on the matter, Sierra Berdecía claims that the government of Puerto Rico neither encourages nor discourages the emigration.

José Monserrat's article attempts to address the problems of Puerto Ricans living in New York. As the author states *"fue después de la Segunda Gurra Mundial que los puertorriqueños como 'problema,' fueron traídos a la atención de los neoyorkinos"* (J. Monserrat, 1956: 76). Monserrat

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argues that reporters and journalists manufactured "The Puerto Rican Problem." Accordingly, the *pathologization* of Puerto Ricans alludes to a dramatic presence of Puerto Ricans in New York City, their poverty and other problems.[88] For Salvador Tió, the Puerto Rico of the 1950s had achieved demographic stabilization and a higher standard of living. At the same time, Tió claims that the emigration, in spite of all the problems it has created, is for the best. According to him, this emigration should be rechanneled to Hispanic-American countries. Echoing Sierra Berdecía, Tió states that Puerto Rico does not have an emigration policy.

Viewing the "problem" from a different perspective, Eugenio Fernández Méndez qualifies Puerto Rican emigration as a national or transculturation problem. The lack of roots, anomie, and delinquency are part of the transculturation process suffered by Puerto Rican migrants in the United States. The deployment of *Hispanidad* is activated by the author to essentialize and moralize the so-called Hispanic Puerto Rican *ethos*.[89] The emigration problem is explained as a

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[88] Monserrat states that Puerto Ricans were manipulated by politics and politicians such as the radical-Italian Congressman Vito Marcantonio. Monserrat alleges that there was buying of Puerto Rican votes for his election. The buying of votes was a common attack made by conservatives against Marcantonio, who was a supporter of Puerto Rican independence and, a member and Congressional candidate of the American Labor Party. See Gerald Meyer, Vito Marcantonio Radical Politician 1902-1954, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989.

[89] Other authors included Luz M. Torruellas, Arthur C. Gernes and Gordon Lewis. Luz M. Torruellas argues that the Puerto Rican emigration was a response to the "overpopulation" problem. Arthur C. Gernes maintains that the Puerto Rican emigration to the United States has been positive for certain sectors of the economy, industry and

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process in which Puerto Rican cultural identity is dislocated.

Puerto Rican Migrants as a Labor Migration

The importation of workers, in this case Puerto Rican migration, appears in several official documents as a federal policy intended to address the "shortage of workers" during World War II and, on the other hand, as the result of "surplus labor" in Puerto Rico.[90]

According to the director of the *Programa de Trabajadores Migratorios de Puerto Rico a los Estados Unidos*, Petroamérica Pagán de Colón,

> *Tugwell gestionaba de la Comisión de Recursos Humanos que se utilizaran trabajadores puertorriqueños en las fincas y las industrias de guerra en Estados Unidos ya*

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agricultural. Through an analysis of North American modernity vis à vis Puerto Ricans, Gordon Lewis attempts to establish the nature of "The Puerto Rican Problem" in the Island and in the United States. Lewis' premise for explaining the "problem" is that Puerto Rico does not have a developed national culture. For Lewis, the Puerto Rican *ethos* is one of docility and passivity. North Americans brought the benefits of modernity and major changes to be administered by the Democratic Popular Party. Lewis states that this process brought radical changes and problems, like that of consumption. Regarding Puerto Rican migrants, he argues that they did not have the discipline of working in factories. Also, Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans having suffered "cultural penetration" are afflicted by a number of social problems.

[90] In the book Agricultural Workers in the Great Lakes Region, 1917-1970, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991, Dennis Nodín Valdés states that the initial entry of Mexicans in the Midwest was in the sugar beet corporations. According to him, the great Depression lead to a process of worker segmentation. The process led to Puerto Ricans replacing Mexicans in the sugar beet industry in the 1950s. Nodín states that Puerto Rican workers went to Michigan as part of "Operation Farmlift." This program was a continental component of the "Operation Bootstrap" in Puerto Rico. Accordingly, this represented an "ethnic

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> *que en Puerto Rico no había trabajo suficiente para emplear la población que estaba desocupada.*
> (Tugwell lobbied the Commission on Human Resources to make use of Puerto Rican workers in agriculture and U.S. war industries since there was not enough work for the population which stood idle.)
> (P. Pagán de Colón, n.d.: 3)

She stated that in the early 1940s private North American agencies, such as Castle, Barton and Associates, Rally and Miranda, Samuel Friedman, and Fred Dollenberg among others imported Puerto Rican laborers. A lucrative business, these agencies charged the employer for the worker, charged the worker for the job, and received a commission from the airlines that transported Puerto Rican workers to the United States. There was a great deal of abuse of Puerto Rican migrants by these agencies. One notorious practice was the excessive contracting of workers. Puerto Rican workers after paying the agency fee and airline transportation would arrive at their destination only to find that the contracted job did not exist or had been promised to other workers.

According to Pagán de Colón, the airplanes in which these Puerto Rican workers traveled for 9 hours to the United States would produce *"asco y terror"* (disgust and terror) in anyone with the misfortune of traveling in them. These airplanes were the same used for the purpose of transporting

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experiment."

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meat and cattle. They did not have seats, except for wooden benches. The workers did not receive meals during the trip even when they paid for them. In addition, agency owners sold luggage and coats to the Puerto Rican workers at higher prices than *American* stores (P. Pagán de Colón, n.d.: 5-7). She argues that illegal recruitment, high agency fees, and the inhuman conditions in which these Puerto Ricans workers traveled and lived in the United States was the motivation behind the efforts to create legislation to protect Puerto Rican migrant workers.[91] The requirements of capital in the United States, specifically the manufacturing sector, for the training and stabilization of a cheap labor force, were crucial for the establishment of migration labor policies.[92]

The creation of the *Negociado de Empleo y Migración* in Puerto Rico and New York in 1948 was a direct result of this legislation. This agency was in charge of channeling the migration to the United States.[93] This processing of Puerto

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[91] See Law # 89, May 9, 1947 for the regulation of Puerto Ricans labor contracting in the United States and other countries and; Law # 25, December 5, 1947 for the creation of the *Negociado de Empleos y Migración* under the Department of Labor.

[92] The establishment of Puerto Rican migrant communities in North American urban space produced several State interventions beyond the requirements of political economy.

[93] It is important to point out that the new legal protection for the Puerto Rican farm workers through the *Negociado de Empleos y Migración* did not exist in the United States for these types of workers at the time. The Migration Division of the Department of Labor in Puerto Rico was the agency in charge of providing assistance to Puerto Rican migrants, the communities where they lived, and the agencies that delivered services to them. The Migration Division dealt with the problems of adjustment, finding jobs, English classes, social services and, how Puerto Rican migrants should behave, i.e. good citizens. They

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Rican migration reveals the political economy of this labor migration and its discursive practices. Even when the agency was geared towards dealing with Puerto Rican farm workers, its practices - in coordination with other agencies - were directed towards the Puerto Rican migration in general.

The profile of the Puerto Rican migrant farm workers as presented in some of the application forms (Department of Labor of Puerto Rico) testify to the screening of this migrant labor force. The official requirements for a farm migrant included: a card of identification from the Program of Migration, and health and good behavior certificates.[94] Some of the questions in the application are: reasons for migration, language skills (English and Spanish), educational level, disposition to leave the country, interests and activities. At the end of the application, some comments of by official were written:

Es fuerte y robusto.

(He is strong and robust).

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also work "closely with the United States Employment Services and the affiliated State Employment Security Agencies." They maintained local offices in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Ohio, New Jersey and other states.

[94] Workers who engaged in what Kelvin Santiago-Valles defines as popular illegalities were listed in these certificates. Popular illegalities consisted of illegal games, price fixing, resistance to the Internal Revenue Service, and public drunkenness. It is important to indicate that some of these felonies are intimately related to the modern emergence of the bureaucratic structure of local government and the principle of legality which lies in how the dispossessed related to private property, the State, and how they behave as modern citizens. Securing adherence to bureaucratic structures by criminalizing traditional social practices also required the creation of the notion of "social deviance" by the colonial state (K. Santiago-Valles, 1994).

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Tiene pasaje.

(He has the flight ticket).

Le faltan meses para los 21 años, pero alega lo apuntaron con menos edad.

(Some months to be 21 years old, but he said he was registered late).

No sabe leer ni escribir.

(He does not read or write).

Sabe cocinar, lavar y planchar.

(He knows how to cook, wash and iron).

In the section *"Información especial"* (Special information), physical anomalies of the workers are indicated and commentaries given regarding their potential as labor force participants:

Dedo meñique mano derecha no lo puede enderezar.

(He cannot straighten the little finger on his right hand).

Tiene un dedo demás en mano derecha.

(He has one additional finger on his right hand).

Tiene para pasaje.

(He has money for his flight).

Es un muchacho muy bromista. Parece que es perezoso. No es buen candidato.

(He's a joker. It seems he is lazy. He is not a good candidate).

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The screening of this labor force in terms of physical strength and anomalies, attitudes towards work, education, age, and skills is one of the ways in which both the metropolitan and local governments process the Puerto Rican migration as a labor force. The physically abnormal or deformed and the socially unmanageable in this discourse are produced as signs of *primitivism* and weeded out. Only those who can be included under the sign of modern laborer processed by the colonial State can be allowed to participate in the program. Here the discourse is directly connected to State policies of domination, surveillance and control. Also, the physical requirements are part of a discourse on physical normality which seeks to exercise control over bodies.[95]

Moreover, some of the claims of the Puerto Rican farm migrants in the United States, as reported to the Department of Labor, were racial discrimination, lack of medical services, accidents, lack of meals, violations of the contract regarding salaries, sickness and physical injuries, and lack of salary payments.

Letters of Puerto Rican Migrant Farm Workers and Relatives

Letters by Puerto Rican farm workers and relatives to the governor, Luis Muñoz Marín, the Department of Labor in

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[95] With respect to the constitution of physical normality as a technology of repression, see Lennard J. Davis, Enforcing Normalcy Disability, Deafness and the Body, New York-London: Verso, 1995.

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Puerto Rico and the migration offices in states like Chicago and New York, are illustrations of the exploitation and sufferings of these workers.[96] Through these letters, the Puerto Rican farm workers expressed how North American employers had exploited and tricked them. Their hostility against North Americans is expressed in these letters. These experiences lead to frustrations and cynicism illustrated in the letters of the Puerto Rican farm workers (see Appendix 2).

In a letter to his mother in Guaynabo, Puerto Rico, dated August 12, 1951, a Puerto Rican migrant worker narrates how he was identified as an undocumented Mexican and arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) at the Texas-Mexico border.[97] In his letter he requested that his mother send his birth certificate in order to solve his problem, otherwise, after forty days of detention he would be deported to Mexico. He also requested that his mother obtain a loan of thirty dollars from *"Don Obdulio"* in order that he may travel to Indiana once he resolves the problem of his legal status.

Another letter written by Andrés Torres Pagán to the Department of Labor, Migration Division, indicates that he

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[96] Dennis Nodín Valdés, Agricultural Workers in the Great Lakes Region, 1917-1970, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991. According to this historical account of Latino agricultural workers in the Midwest Region, migrant workers experienced miserable living conditions. The animal-like treatment of these workers included: lack of meals, inadequate bathing facilities, the unavailability of potable water, and box-like rooms infested with rats.

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wants to go back to *"mi patria"* when the farm contract expires. Torres Pagán requested orientation and assistance in order to realize his goal of returning to Puerto Rico. Regarding his complaints, he wrote:

> *los gringos lo que quieren con propagandas farsa es obligarnos a cumplir falsos contratos para que dejemos el pellejo aquí porque el dinero que ganamos no da ni para los gastos de aquí. Y muchos muchachos an cumplido aquí y an pedido que los lleven al aeropuerto o sea que le proporcionen transportación asta ese sitio. Y lo que le han dicho que cojan la carretera y ballan al mar y cojan 2 bambúas y se conduzcan a Puerto Rico.*
>
> *... este maldito país ...*
>
> *... estamos locos por regresar ...*
>
> (What the *gringos* want to accomplish with false propaganda is to oblige us to adhere to false contracts so that we can leave our hides here since the wages that we earn are not enough for our expenses here. Many of the guys after fulfilling the contract have asked to be taken to the airport or to make arrangements to get there. And what they were told was take the highway and go to the sea and take two bamboo's and make their way to Puerto Rico.
>
> ... this damned country ...
>
> ... we are dying to return ... (A. Torres Pagán: 30-8-1950)

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[97] He had lost his wallet and identification.

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In another letter from Luis Centeno Cebollero to Petroamérica Pagán de Colón, director of the *Negociado de Empleos y Migración*, narrates his work problems and also requested help from the agency. He wrote that he had been working without receiving payment for his labor. He said that they work 12 hours a day for a rate of $.60 per hour and, receive $11.00 a week. He adds that the employers abused them and that he thought that everything has been a fraud. According to a letter from his wife, his family was suffering from starvation and he could not help them. He requested a transfer to another state to earn more money or to go back to Puerto Rico.

A letter from Isabel Nieves, from Arecibo to her husband, a Puerto Rican agricultural worker, expresses the hardships she has been living including hunger and mounting debts. The lack of communication from her husband is resentfully expressed in this letter indicating that perhaps he is enjoying life *allá* reading the letter of another woman. She adds *"tú allá trabajando es igual como si no estuvieras trabajando por que de que bale tu trabajo si tu mujer y tu hijo sufren de hambre"* (you over there working is the same as if you were not working since what does it matter that you work if your woman and son suffer from hunger). The great suffering and resentment of Isabel is also expressed in her narration about the threat of a *temporal* (storm) to the Island. She wrote *"lo que siento fue que no lo hizo y viro el mundo areve"* (I lament that it did not do it turning the

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world upside-down). Isabel finishes her letter with the following, *"te he olvidado porque no escribiste ni una letra esta semana."* (I have forgotten you since you have not written a single letter this week).

A group of twelve Puerto Rican farm workers sent a letter to the *Negociado de Empleos y Migración* describing their work problems and requesting help to return to Puerto Rico. According to them, violations of the labor contract, unpaid work, expensive and bad meals, increasing debts with the employer, since they are paid less than the expenses, and abuses, were among the problems they reported. Their hunger and suffering are expressed as follows *"a veces no teníamos dinero y teníamos que fumar 6 y 7 personas de un cigarrillo"* (sometimes we did not have money and seven to eight of us had to smoke one cigarette). They want that *"el señor gobernador Don Luis Muñoz Marín se entere de esto"* (the governor Don Luis Muñoz Marín should know about this) (September 5, 1950).

How to be a Productive-Modern-Moral-American Citizen

It is important to point out that the discursive practices of the government entails a treatment for "The Puerto Rican Problem," i.e. their training as a labor force, and preparation for becoming modern-*American* citizens.[98] During the late 1950s the Department of Labor in Puerto Rico

[98] In the booklet "Puerto Rico Its Place in the Caribbean," (1947), the author states that there is an abundant supply of labor and population pressures, however, Puerto Ricans "need training, and must learn better working, health and eating habits." (N. A., 1947: 31).

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in affiliation with the Employment Services of the federal government - *EL HOGAR DEL TRABAJADOR Y EL PATRONO* (Home of the Worker and the Employer) - developed a series of radio programs to provide an orientation to "all those persons who have plans of leaving to the United States looking for better work opportunities." The *Negociado de Seguridad de Empleo* in Puerto Rico was in charge of the radio programs *"Guía del Viajero"* (Guide for Travelers).[99]

"The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse underlies the logic for the advice dispensed by the radio program. The discussion of the problems confronted by Puerto Ricans *(compatriotas)* in the United States, which was the main topic of the program, is defined as the need to educate Puerto Ricans into the *ethos* of modern North American life. Here the Puerto Rican subject-object appears as the cause of the "problem." Assumed deficits, primitive behavior, and ignorance are enunciated through an economy of pity and paternalism. *Guía del Viajero* is an institutional practice of "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse. Metropolis and colony coordinate the management of the "problem" through this discursive practice. This practice was geared to make them suitable for migration to the mainland.

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[99] The scripts of the radio program began with *the "canción de la Serranía"* by Daniel Santos, a song which describes everyday life in rural settings and the natural landscape. Through these scripts, the problems faced by our *compatriotas* in the *continente* are discussed. Advice and instructions to prevent and solve the problems faced by Puerto Ricans in the mainland are given.

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In many of the programs the "adjustment problems" of Puerto Ricans in the United States were discussed. A topic addressed by the radio programs was *"A la Tierra que Fueres Haz lo que Vieres"* (While in Rome do as the Romans).[100] In this program instructions are given to Puerto Ricans on how to behave in the city. For instance, the proper way to dispose of garbage in the city is to place it in the garbage can, not in the yard as in Puerto Rico, where "the sun burns and destroys it."[101] The deployment of the urban-rural dichotomy manufactures Puerto Rican *primitivism* which have to be erased through the mimicry of the *American* way of life or that of the "industrial world" (Radio Program #160: February 25, 1957).

Puerto Ricans who migrated to the United States were advised to avoid conversations on the street. The daily encounters, where neighbors accustomed to talk at the *batey* for long hours, were not to be duplicated in *el Norte*. Their loud laughter/guffaw (*risotada*) should only be indulged in private. Puerto Ricans must learn how to communicate in a low

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[100] The "information" presented in this program was distributed as a flyer by the Department of Labor in several agencies and airports.

[101] There is a hand written note on the margin of this script page indicating *"Se llamó atención a Matilde Feb 26/57"* (Attention is drawn towards Matilde Feb 26/57). Moreover, a similar statement on Puerto Ricans and urban habits appears in John Scotford's book Spanish-Speaking Peoples in the U.S.A. Within These Borders, New York: Friendship Press, 1953. Regarding this, Scotford states that "A large factor of difference is the sun. On the island it purifies and cleanses. The garbage that birds of the air do not take care of is sterilized by natural heat. In New York the sun is less powerful and has less chance to neutralize fifth" (J. Scotford, 1953: 116).

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voice because their neighbors have enough noise in the city. In addition, in order to avoid being laid-off from work they need to develop good work habits. Some Puerto Ricans have also neglected the education of their children, which must be improved. Thus, Puerto Rican parents must teach their children manners, religious values, personal care, respect for others, and private property. Puerto Ricans need to live in a "community."[102]

The reasons for emigration were discussed in one of the radio programs. According to this script, "each individual has their own particular motive for abandoning their country." Among the reasons for migration discussed in this program were economic depression, increased competition because of a "surplus population," the aspiration to improve one's way of life, the lure of adventure, the need to escape from reality, and the inclination to imitate others. As some of the policy makers have stated in the Migration Conference in 1953, the desire of an individual will appears as the determinant of emigration.

Also discussed in this program was "The Puerto Rican Problem." The problem of language is seen as a possible cause for the difficulties migrants encountered in the United

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[102] Moreover, according to these radio programs, little housing exists in the metropolis because of the scarcity of space. The "housing problem" is also explained as the result of the failure of Puerto Ricans to follow a proper regime of social hygiene. Puerto Ricans are ignorant of how to dispose of waste and fail maintain their spaces clean. The solution to this problem is information and education about the responsibilities and rights of tenants.

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States. In addition, the idea is advanced that it is hard for a man from an agricultural environment to adapt himself to an industrial economy. The rural-urban dichotomy is deployed as a means for explaining the maladjustment of Puerto Rican migrants. In agricultural societies the worker follows nature and its rhythms. By contrast, the discipline of time and the complexities of machines at the factories are new and forces a different rhythm on the worker. They advice *"Aunque allí no trabaje en fábricas tiene que vivir como vive el mundo industrial "* (Even when you do not work at factories you have to live in the same way as the industrial world lives) (Radio Program #193, November 12, 1957: 6).

Through these radio programs advice is given to Puerto Ricans who are thinking of migrating on how to be a modern-rational-moral-productive-urban dweller, like *Americans*.[103]

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[103] In another of the radio programs, *"Los rumores"* (Rumors) the story of two Puerto Ricans who left the Island because they heard that their friends who migrated to the United States obtained cars, earned a lot of money, had good jobs and believed that a command of English was not necessary for advancing. The lesson of the story is that these two Puerto Ricans confronted several problems because they left without having been adequately oriented about life in the U.S. In other programs different topics are discussed, especially those related to consumption practices in modern culture. Some of these included: instructions for possessing and driving a car; instructions for purchasing on lay away; instructions for savings and economic planning for meals and buying reliable food brands in stores. Other topics discussed in the radio programs were related to migration and work issues: the function of the Migration Division; instructions for traveling; farm work; use of legal names; accidents at work; orientation for Puerto Rican youth who are potential migrants; instructions for children when at an airport; use of first and last names and; documents needed when leaving Puerto Rico. Issues and advice on the process of adaptation and living in the mainland were discussed. Family members who remain in Puerto Rico are instructed not to send sad letters to relatives in the United States. Instructions for the adaptation of children to New York; the existence of maternal care

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In addition to the above radio programs, there were a number of booklets for the training of Puerto Rican migrants into North American urban-modern dwellers. These are mainly produced and distributed by the Migration Division in New York, Chicago and Puerto Rico, and other affiliated agencies.[104] Some of the issues addressed in these booklets include:

"Si a usted lo arrestan ..." (If you are arrested), on rights, definitions and the process of detention.

"Puerto Rico Size and Population"

"the JOBS we do" on Puerto Rican assets.

"Usted en los Estados Unidos" (You in the United States), a list of rules to follow if you are at the beach in the United States.

"Orientación" (Orientation), about the functions of the Migration Division and information about salaries, housing, food, clothing, schools, English classes, unions and documents necessary to live in the United States.

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centers; for avoiding a fire; prejudices in the United States and; how Puerto Ricans in the United States participate in the community and have cultural exchanges with other neighbors were given.

[104] Some of the agencies and organizations that coordinated and prepared these brochures were the Department of Public Education of Puerto Rico, Travelers Aid Society, Association of the Bar of the City of New York, New York Civil Liberties Union, and the *Consejo de Organizaciones Hispano-Americanas de Nueva York.*

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"Piensas Emigrar?" !APRENDE INGLES! (Are you planning to migrate? Learn English!), the schedule of English classes in different schools in Puerto Rico.

"!El voto es poder! _Inscríbase _Vote" (The vote is power! _Register _Vote)

"Travelers Aid Society"

"Songs and Games from Puerto Rico" on Puerto Rican cultural heritage.

"Land of two Christmases," this a story of the Davis and Rodríguez families enjoying a Christmas dinner and having a cultural exchange.[105]

Another brochure extols the benefits of learning English:

Aprenda Inglés Es fácil Es gratis Es una necesidad Todos aspiramos ... tener un buen empleo, vivir en una casa mejor, darle una buena educación a nuestros hijos, economizar para el futuro, ser una persona apreciada en la comunidad. Estas aspiraciones son fáciles de lograr si Sabemos Inglés, Tenemos un Oficio o una Profesión.

(Learn English Its easy Its free Its a necessity We all aspire...have a better job, live in a better house, give our children a better education, save for the future, be a valued member of the community. These goals are easy

[105] "The world's newest commonwealth Puerto Rico" was another booklet in which the history of Puerto Rico is presented as one of development toward democracy and modernity.

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to achieve if we know English, we have a trade or profession).

In another pamphlet *"Qué hace esta familia puertorriqueña?"* (What does this Puerto Rican family do?), the role of language and the importance of learning English to the migrant is explained:

> *en Puerto Rico todos los miembros de esta familia están juntos porque comparten el mismo idioma. En Estados Unidos no están juntos por no saber Inglés.*
> (in Puerto Rico all the members of this family are together because they share the same language. In the United States they are not together because they do not know English).

Another booklet which addressed different topics was *"Usted en los Estados Unidos"* (You in the United States). Some of the topics included:

1. Geographical information about the United States complete with a map.
2. The need to know English.
3. How to prepare for a job interview.
4. The negative effects of absences at the workplace.
5. Instructions for a changing address.
6. How to buy efficiently.
7. The need for having savings "because is your future."

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8. Information about the important cities of the United States, for example, places to find jobs in factories.
9. Other advice for travelers.

The North American imaginary of Puerto Rican *primitivism* was/is endorsed and promoted by the colonial state. The programs analyzed above illustrate the repetition(s) of the colonial discourse on the *primitive* Puerto Rican *Other*. Here we see that the colonial state, together with the metropolis, administers the hygienization process. The different institutional practices discussed earlier constitute a process of normalization by which Puerto Rican migrants are registered. In this way Puerto Rican migrants are discursively produced as "primitive" who must be transformed into "productive workers" and defined as individuals who should be "responsible," "disciplined," "punctual," and "morally fit."

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CHAPTER 4

URBAN ANTHROPOLOGY

"THE PUERTO RICAN PROBLEM": THE SCANDAL

PART II

The Scandal: Discursive and Textual Economy on the Puerto Rican Other

"The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse presents multiple enunciations which signify a level of scandal and danger represented by the presence of Puerto Rican migrants in the United States. The enunciation and stigmatization of Puerto Ricans as *dangerous, deficitarian, primitive,* and *terrorizing* takes place through different discursive modalities.

The order of enunciation of "The Puerto Rican Problem" employs two types of conceptual formations. First, there is a type of succession of the relation observation-fact. For instance, observation of Puerto Rican migrants, their strange physical features, poor conditions of living, foreign language, strange attitudes and behavior are constantly enunciated as the *primitive* correlate of Puerto Ricans. The observation of Puerto Rican *otherness* is enunciated as a fact. Second, there is a relation of information-deduction in which Puerto Rican *primitivism* is correlated to their colonial history and poverty. Puerto Rican colonial history is produced as a rationale of "The Puerto Rican Problem." To speak about the Puerto Rican past, traditions, values, events, catastrophes is to present the factual basis and the

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reason of "The Puerto Rican Problem." The repetition of "The Puerto Rican Problem" establishes the explosive capacity of this discourse.

The power of the *American* gaze consists not only of its ability to observe and speak of the Puerto Rican *Other*, but in that its authority is produced from multiple subject positions and instances of delimitation. The reporter, the social worker, the government official, the Spaniard, the Jew, the North American citizen and the social scientist are some of the authorities that nominate "The Puerto Rican Problem." Their stories about Puerto Rican *otherness* are the modalities by which "The Puerto Rican Problem" is produced.

The Savage Mimesis

Puerto Ricans: Danger

In his book Dynamite on Our Doorstep: Puerto Rican Paradox (1945), Wenzell Brown, a Jewish-American, tells of his experiences as an English teacher in Puerto Rico during the mid-1930s. The title Dynamite on Our Doorstep already establishes the enunciation of the danger Puerto Ricans represent for the United States. The "atavism" of Puerto Ricans as madness and barbarism, is the discursive strategy by which a demand for fear and distance is stated.

Through twenty two chapters the reappropriation of the savage mimesis flows using simple and direct language and metaphors. The initial statement on Puerto Rican *savages*

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appears under the general and inoffensive adjective of the "unbelievable."[106] As an introduction to the "unbelievable world" of the Puerto Ricans Brown describes the attacks of the Puerto Rican Nationalists on the United States. Brown enunciates the *violent* character of the Puerto Rican Nationalist movement and its leader Pedro Albizu Campos describing their "revolts, fascism, disorder, abuses and hate" towards *Americans*.[107]

Brown's story about his experiences in Puerto Rico presents a diversity of scenarios about the "unbelievable" Puerto Rico and dangerous Puerto Ricans. He narrates how a Puerto Rican man harassed him in a bar in Old San Juan. Brown narrates that this man forced him to drink rum and threatened him with a knife, for which he had to pay $6.00. Brown describes this Puerto Rican man as follows:

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[106] During his travel to the Island, Brown had heard terrible things about Puerto Rico. He also had the opportunity to witness what he describes as the bad habits of Puerto Ricans during his boat trip.

[107] Brown narrates Pedro Albizu Campos' statements against North Americans by repeating examples given by Albizu Campos. Brown quotes Albizu Campos citation of Dr. Rhoades, from the School of Tropical Medicine, who wrote the following in letters addressed to his friends:

> Puerto Rico would be ideal except for the Puerto Ricans. They are, beyond doubt, the dirtiest, laziest, most degenerated and thievish race of men ever inhabiting this sphere.
> I have done my best to further the extermination of the population by killing off eight and transplanting cancer serum in several more. (W. Brown, 1945: 78)

Brown declares that Albizu Campos is involved in manufacturing the correspondence between Dr. Rhoades and his friends. Brown claims that North Americans are incapable of committing such perfidious acts or make such offensive statements. While engaged in refuting Albizu Campos' allegations Brown's discourse is clearly symmetrical with those of Dr. Rhoades.

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> His eyes were brown beads of evil. Two yellow teeth projected like fangs from his lower jaw. (W. Brown, 1945: 17)

The tale of the Puerto Rican savage continues with the dirty towns, noises, loud music, disease, and the lice infected children who beg for money. While traveling to Ponce, where he is supposed to work as a teacher, he stopped at one town which he described as "the most abjectly poverty-stricken town,... I have ever seen, but possibly that is because it was my first glimpse of the dirt and squalor and disease that mark so much of Puerto Rico" (W. Brown, 1945: 23).

The metonymical description of Puerto Rico as "hell" and crazy is also recreated through the narration of other experiences during his traveling to Ponce. For example, he had to drink rum with the driver. Brown also experienced a car race during his travel to this town. He also heard gun-shots, fights and arguments in the hotel where he was staying.

The savage disorder of Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans is enunciated in Brown's description of the people he met in Ponce. Puerto Rican "barbarism" is related to their use of knives and razors, the slums of Ponce, its beggars and crazy people. For instance, *"Ladislao"* who is an epileptic and a bandit is "distinguished in his ugliness." His friend, *"Ceciliano Cofresí"* was "ordinary, earnest, a little conceited, of limited intelligence, without marked

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personality, frustrated, rebel" (W. Brown, 1945: 25). A symbol of confusion, futility and uncertainty.

His narration of the school depicts another chamber of the maddening hell that is Puerto Rico. A "hot classroom" and the lack of school materials compose part of the environment of this "unbelievable" world. Brown describes Puerto Rican children as signs of terror who are intensely strange to him. The North American school teacher deploys *American* identity as the moral and hegemonic referential in his anxious description of the laughter of Puerto Rican children:

> The laughter of these youngsters bore no relationship to the laughter of American boys and girls. This was high-pitched almost hysterical ... The laughter of a frightened people, a hungry people, a dissatisfied people, can be a horrible thing. (W. Brown, 1945: 31)

He continues his description of Puerto Rican children as follows, "...colored boy digs lice from his hair. This boy has kinky hair... his lips more than one inch thick, a bulbous nose." Brown observes that these children do not have shoes. *"Matilda"* sleeps on the floor with her other brothers and sisters. *"Wilfredo"* suffers a pathological fear and needs a psychiatrist. *"Elba"* was assaulted by her brother; she is "sullen and morose." *"Carmelo"* is "older," 23 years old. *"Alfredo,"* a colored boy, "leaned forward, and spat." *"Jaime"* is almost blind. Brown also provides other anecdotes about the particular qualities of Puerto Rican children quoting

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their verbal attacks against him. For instance, he quotes Puerto Rican children yelling at him:

> Godam f_ _ _ing *Americucho* bastard no good. Someday I kill. Kill the *Americanos*! (W. Brown, 1945: 52)

He claims that children scream "Jew-Christ-Killer" when they see him on the street. They also scream *"Señor Chocha,"* because he mispronounced one word as *"chocha"* in the classroom.[108]

Brown narrates another experience he had as a teacher in another town, San Sebastián, which he described as friendly despite the noise and fights. His profile of the students was similar to those given earlier. Some of the children have their father in prison. Other are left back. One child has an evil odor that according to Brown could be *metaphorically* enunciated as *"Fruto del Toro"* (The Bull's Product). Brown states that this child would "drag himself through filth."

The savage mimesis is recreated through enunciations of danger, violence, bad odors, dirtiness, incest, prostitution, morons, poverty, and disease. They are symbols of the Puerto Rican character. It is a story that recreates the personal experiences of an Jewish-American teacher who has lived in what emerges as an uncivilized Caribbean hell, and thus claims the reader's sympathies. The personal account also offers a shocking account of reality and achieves the status

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[108] The equivalent of *chocha* in English is the slang term for female genitalia "pussy."

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of "factuality" and veracity. The life-story itself is a strategy for recreating the savage mimesis about Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans.[109]

Puerto Rican Children: Retards

The savage mimesis is produced through correlates of Puerto Rican *primitive* and *deficitarian* traits. In a summary-report of the Special Committee On Immigration and Naturalization to the Chambers of Commerce of New York (1936), the savage mimesis of Puerto Rican children is illustrated. This report highlights the findings of a study conducted on "Reactions of Puerto Rican Children in New York City to Psychological Tests" (1936).

The rationales for conducting this study are described in this report:

> This latter study taken in connection with an agitation now on foot to include Puerto Rico as a State in the Federal Union suggested that an investigation of the quality of immigration received from Puerto Rico would be a valuable contribution to our knowledge. (Special Committee On Immigration and Naturalization, 1936: 1)

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[109] In 1943 Brown returned to Puerto Rico following a stay in China. His seven year absence did little to change his view of Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans since the savage mimesis is recreated once again by Brown. He describes "the ants around his meal and the cut of the cheese with a dirty knife" as he sat down for a meal. He observes the existence of a gang in Ponce. Once again young boys scream *"Señor chocha"* when they see him. For Brown, however, it seems that there is "a new pattern of life" in Puerto Rico, that is industrialization and progress, however, the natives remain *primitive* despite some of the trappings of modernity being imported from the U.S.

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Another rationale for this study is that,

> According to teachers, social workers, relief investigators, probation officers and others, the difficult adjustment of Puerto Ricans in New York City has become a serious problem. (Special Committee On Immigration and Naturalization, 1936: 3)

IQ tests as racializing tools are grounded in social Darwinism, Spencerism, Malthusian and eugenistic principles.[110] Specifically, eugenics relies upon genetics, or heredity, as determining human individual and social development. According to two of the most influential eugenists of the United States at the time, Ellsworth Huntington and Leon Whitney,

> Tests of thousands of school children, such as those made by Dr. Nathaniel D. Mitron Hirsch, seem to show

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[110] On North American eugenics thought see the works by Ellsworth Huntington, Tomorrow's Children The Goal of Eugenics, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1935; Ellsworth Huntington and Leon F. Whitney. The Builders of America, New York: William Morrow & Company, 1927; Leon Fradley Whitney, The Case for Sterilization, New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1934. For a critique of the "overpopulation" thesis and scientific racism see The Legacy of Malthus The Social Cost of the New Scientific Racism, by Allan Chase, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980 and: Ronald L. Meek, editor, Marx and Engels on the Population Bomb, California: Ramparts Press, 1971. See also James M. Lawler, IQ, Heritability and Racism, New York: International Publishers, 1978; Jeffrey M. Blum, Pseudoscience and Mental Ability The Origins and Fallacies of the IQ Controversy, New York-London: Monthly Review Press, 1978; Troy Duster, Backdoor to Eugenics, New York: Routledge, 1990 and; Elazar Barkan, The Retreat of Scientific Racism Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

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> conclusively that in spite of almost unlimited opportunities for education, our Italian, Spanish, Greek, Russian, and other immigrants rarely rank high, although there are notable exceptions. Yet such people produce more children per family than those of almost any other group of our population. (E. Huntington and L. Whitney, 1927: 82-83)

From this perspective, the increase of what Ellsworth Huntington and Leon Whitney call "the less competent classes" and the loss of "builders" in the United States, these are "... men and women whose brains are well balanced, well directed, and active; people of fine temperament, fine intelligence, and fine health," were generalized concerns among eugenists at the time (E. Huntington and L. Whitney, 1927: 1). The authors state that the reason for *America*'s loss of "builders" are the poor and mental defective groups, for example, blacks and immigrants. They state that,

> But while each and every one of them may be socially an advance upon the past, each carries with it certain disastrous biological results. They all, with differing degrees of intensity, tend to diminish the good seed and increase the poor ... The blending of white and black has produced something more competent than the pure black, but less competent than the pure white. It has often made a most dysgenic blend, creating a white man's

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> ambition in a black man's lethargic body. (E. Huntington and L. Whitney, 1927: 81)

According to this thought, racial purity and superiority is concomitant with intelligence. "National greatness" is guaranteed by the socio-biological-reproductive practices of humans, for example, genetic heritage, birth and marriage. According to eugenists, these practices have to be surveyed (surveillance) and defended through State policies and cultural practices. Racial hygiene as contained in birth control, sterilization, and segregation of those with poor biological inheritance are some of the policies advocated by eugenists, this is negative eugenics.[111]

The authors of the report on Puerto Rican children's reaction to psychological tests identify the reproductive behavior of Puerto Ricans in the following terms, "... the population of Puerto Rico is said to increase with jungle fecundity ..." (Special Committee On Immigration and Naturalization, 1936: 3). The report maintains that "Overpopulation is serious in Puerto Rico which has a density of more than 400 per square mile as compared with 43 for the United States." Moreover, this finding indicates that "The high birth-rate, which many consider the crux of their economic difficulties, and over-crowding, offer a serious

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[111] We can find these policies in the works of Ellsworth Huntington, Tomorrow's Children: The Goal of Eugenics, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1935 and; Leon M. Whitney, A Eugenics Catechism,

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economic problem." According to studies on the health of the children in Puerto Rico, "... illegitimacy has been one of the great social evils of the Island." The 1920 Census also indicates,

> that one-third of the marriages were illegal or so-called consensual, making for loose home ties and the easy and frequent abandonment of children, ... The near starvation food resources seem not to check reproduction. (Special Committee On Immigration and Naturalization, 1936: 3-4)

Mal-adjustment of Puerto Ricans in New York is causally related to their "jungle fecundity, overpopulation and illegal marriages."

The metaphor of "jungle fecundity" is a standard nineteenth century trope which links the non-European Other with what is imagined as a dark savage world-Africa. The jungle is wild and untamed by human agency. Those who inhabit this space, if they possess human form, are not quite human. Just like the other jungle beasts these human-like creatures procreate without concern for the environment or social consequences. The existence of the jungle and the human-like beasts who inhabit the world calls out for order and civilization. The sub-human must be tamed and controlled by the civilizer for their mutual good. Unchecked, the sub-

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1923 and The Builders of America, New York: William Morrow & Company, 1927.

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humans will overwhelm the civilized creating a jungle-like wildness. The promotion of sterilization and other forms of population control are promoted as a way of checking the threat to civilization and the purity of the "master race."

The psychologists and authors of the study, E. P. Armstrong, E. M. Achilles and M. J. Sacks, administered the tests to a random sample of 240 Puerto Rican children in New York City public schools.[112] The control group was composed 425 children of different schools of New York State. The "Army Individual Performance Test" and the "Otis Test" of general ability were the two tests administered to the children.

The traits of the children's families were also surveyed. The family profile of the Puerto Rican children tested is given as follows:

> Slightly over two-thirds of the Puerto Rican children were living with both parents. Most of the remainder lived with mothers alone, a very few with fathers and a few with other relatives. A small number had step-fathers. Over half said they were on relief, home or work. (Special Committee On Immigration and Naturalization, 1936: 5)

According to the statistical results from these tests, the researchers deduced that "Puerto Rican children in New York

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[112] These 240 Puerto Rican children were from P.S. 57, at 115th Street, near Lexington Avenue (*EL Barrio*).

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were very inferior to unselected public school children here in ability to react to concrete situations." Scores from the "Army Performance Test" demonstrate that "Only 16% of Puerto Ricans reached the average of the control group, 19% were above and 65% below their average." The I.Q. scores derived from the "Otis Test" indicate that Puerto Rican children received a "bonus," the result of comparing a thirty minute test group with a twenty minute test group. From this it is concluded that an artificial inflation of Puerto Rican test scores and I.Q. occurred.

> Therefore the mean I.Q. considerably overrates the verbal ability of the Porto Ricans and is not indicative of their true intelligence level. Even so their inferiority to the control group is marked and they are far below the average child in the States in native ability. (Special Committee On Immigration and Naturalization, 1936: 7)

Furthermore, they state that "... the majority of Puerto Rican children here are so low in intelligence that they require education of a simplified, manual sort, preferably industrial, for they cannot adjust in a school system emphasizing the three R's."

The report concludes that "Puerto Ricans are adding greatly to the already tremendous problem of intellectually subnormal school retardates of alien parentage, whence are recruited most delinquents and criminals." According to this

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report, the moronization and retardation of Puerto Rican children represents a problem for North American society and polity. The social danger represented by Puerto Ricans is as follows:

> Indeed the majority of the Puerto Rican children examined betray a family mentality which should not be permitted admission here, further to deteriorate standards already so seriously impaired by mass immigration of the lowest levels of populations of many nations. (Special Committee On Immigration and Naturalization, 1936: 8)

They conclude that "Such emigration results in placing many in most anomalous and unhappy situations, with dire results to unfortunate children and to education aiming at progress."

Puerto Ricans: the Social Danger

The book Puerto Ricans Migrants in New York City (1938), written by the North American intellectual Lawrence Royce Chenault, is a discursive modality on "The Puerto Rican Problem." Chenault produces a series of enunciations on the "problem population" of Puerto Ricans and the potential danger they represent for *American* society.[113] The economy of

[113] Lawrence Chenault studied in the Political Science Department at Columbia University. This was his doctoral dissertation and, was published in 1938 by Columbia University Press. Chenault taught at the University of Puerto Rico and at Hunter College, The City University of New York.

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Puerto Rican signification as danger takes place through language itself, and also through the deployment of social science. Significations and enunciations function in complementary fashion to produce "The Puerto Rican Problem."

"Natural deficits" and the savage mimesis produce the textual economy of fear. The state of the art of social theory regarding population principles, and scientific methods of research are technologies for the production of "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse.[114] The authority of an North American, and an intellectual, is the delimitation for enunciations on the social danger represented by Puerto Ricans.

Various discursive correlates produce Puerto Rican "deficits." First, the wretched and primitive profile of Puerto Ricans is grounded, according to Chenault, in their historical *ethos*. The author states that Puerto Ricans have an intermixture of Spanish, Indian, and African cultural elements. In his own words "It is also difficult in many instances to know whether or not a person is entirely without Negro blood." Chenault indicates that according to the Census, they are predominantly "white," 74.3%. It seems that there will be an "eventual extinction of Negro blood." What

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[114] Through personal interviews "with people who are in close contact with the group in New York" - these are, his wife, social workers, nurses and staff members - Chenault manufactures "The Puerto Rican Problem" profile. To elevate this profile to an academic level, Chenault uses Census data, newspapers, unpublished reports and "contacts" (again his wife, social workers, and other people who know Puerto Ricans).

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is the significance of his racial taxonomy? Chenault expresses anxiety about every Puerto Rican possibly being at least part Negro, yet declaring that 74% are white! Chenault modulates between two imperialist enunciations on "race" and Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans are a *mongrel race*, and Puerto Ricans are *creole*, the *"whitest"* of the Antilles.

Following Malthusian principles, Chenault discusses the problem of "overpopulation," arguing that a shortage of land, minerals and a lack of natural resources has resulted in Puerto Rican dependence on imported foods. This dependency is in turn exacerbated by their lack of commercial values. According to Chenault, a high birth-rate combined with few natural resources is the cause of population density, whose rate of increase is "perhaps the greatest in the world."[115] Natural disasters suffered by the Island are also linked as causes of the Puerto Rican "overpopulation problem" discussed by Chenault. Hurricanes and the effects of the Depression also signify the wretched subjectivity of Puerto Ricans.

This discursive modality is illustrated in the following statement:

> negotiations during the past years have always shown the difficulty of finding among the neighboring countries

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[115] The "excess mode" is deployed through "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse, specifically through the activation of the primitive or savage mimesis. Correlates of "overpopulation," "high mortality," and "high birth rate" are examples of the "excess mode." This "over" and "high" is proper of a "primitive people" which has to be controlled in modernity. A policy of policing the "over" and "high" will requires interventions complete with multiple social orthopaedics.

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> one which would accept large numbers of Puerto Ricans from the lower economic classes. (L. Chenault, 1938: 50)

On the one hand, the so-called "density problem" of Puerto Ricans is deployed as a *primitivism*, and on the other hand as a pressure for the migration of an unwelcome and wretched surplus population.

The urban-rural dichotomy and the deficit mode combine in their production of Puerto Rican migrants as socially dangerous. In Chenault's profile Puerto Ricans come from rural areas, spaces synonymous with the uncivilized. Their agricultural labor experiences define them as unskilled and unprepared for work in an industrial setting. Their rural origins are also correlated with what he sees as a very high illiteracy rate, and lack of English proficiency. The bodies of the migrants are also dangerous, with chronic diseases contracted in Puerto Rico, for instance tuberculosis, "the highest in the civilized world" (L. Chenault, 1938: 41).

The Puerto Rican past defined as racial impurity containing "Negro traits," a stagnant rural life, unskilled labor force, with a long colonial history, oppression and crushing poverty, population density, high rates of mortality and fertility, and deadly disease is produced as a serial enunciation on Puerto Ricans. Rosary #1 is the repetition of this group of enunciations on the colonial-defective past of

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Puerto Ricans.[116] This enunciative modality appears as a series of statements in texts on Puerto Ricans in the United States. This past is advanced as "cause" of their *anachronism*. The past is not historicized but rather functions to chart a line of descent from the dark past. Puerto Ricans embody this past, they have not been able to move beyond it. Instead, they are mired in the past and as such are prevented from becoming part of the present. As an anachronism they threaten the present and future. Hence, the economy of fear is produced through a reading which bastardizes the past.

Other enunciations on the profile of Puerto Ricans in the city comprise Rosary #2. The repetition of serial statements on the presence of Puerto Ricans in North American urban space mainly during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s as: ghetto or slum dwellers, unskilled, criminals, poor, with

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[116] The enunciation of the Puerto Rican past deploys the savage mimesis, the excess mode, the deficit mode, the Puerto Rican feminine reviled, and the exotic mode as an enunciative repetition. The Puerto Rican migration to the United States is enunciated through a description of their colonial history. For example, Puerto Rican migrants come from a small island, densely populated, overcrowded, with tropical diseases and a high rate of mortality. This small island and its oppressed people suffered the Spanish colonization. These colonial subjects have only a rural life experience. They have a *primitive* fertility. They are unskilled and poor. These colonial subjects have an impure racial heritage. Regarding this colonial history, Chenault quotes five books whose titles are revealing of the meanings enclosed in Rosary #1: "Porto Rico and Its People"; "Porto Rico, History and Conditions, Social Economic and Political"; "Porto Rico: A Broken Pledge"; "Caribbean Backgrounds and Prospects"; and "Porto Rico Past and Present." The opus of Puerto Ricans is to speak of their past - events, catastrophes, values, traditions - that serves as the empirical domain for interpreting Puerto Rican *primitivism*. At the level of signification, this colonial and racial history present the bastardization of the signifier, Puerto Ricans.

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lack of hygiene and health, gang members, dirty, noisy, overcrowded, non-English speaking, knife wielders, garbage throwers, violent and foul-mouthed, practicing *primitive* rites, prostitution, and living on welfare is Rosary #2.[117] For Chenault, Puerto Ricans exhibit antisocial behavior, that is crime and juvenile delinquency. Also, unstable families; illegitimate children, unions not sanctioned by church, and State, single parents and abandoned children are endemic. The crisis in housing for Puerto Rican migrants include unsanitary living conditions and "overcrowding." The outcome of such living conditions is the undermining of Puerto Rican morality. Diet is also identified as a problem linked to such health problems as high mortality rates and tuberculosis.

Turning his attention to the labor market, Chenault notes that Puerto Ricans workers receive low wages and are concentrated in such low paying jobs as grocery clerks, factory workers, restaurants and laundries. Typically unskilled, the average Puerto Rican worker does not possess industrial training. The number of Puerto Ricans on relief is "abnormally high." According to Chenault, Puerto Rican migrants are "the biggest social-work problem in New York City" (L. Chenault; 1938: 85). He also speaks of their tendency to settle in Harlem which complicates the problem since there are Negroes and other racial groups in this section of the city.

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[117] Rosary #2 is hegemonic in "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse.

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These enunciations on the *primitivism* of Puerto Rican migrants produce an economy of fear through deployments of social theory which calls for action and repetition.[118] Chenault's study anticipates a serial repetition which extends to the present.

Puerto Ricans: Diseases, Epidemics, Terror

In the article, "Welcome: Paupers and Crime Porto Rico's Shocking Gift to the United States" (1940), Charles E. Hewitt signifies Puerto Rican migration as constituting a burdensome and dangerous invasion of the United States. According to Hewitt, the Puerto Rican brings disease and comes to the United States to live on welfare. Hewitt offers a portrayal of the "perceptive processing" of Puerto Ricans by a North American official at a United States port of entry:

> Ten will be on relief ...
>
> Six will save enough relief money to get one of his relatives up here to go on relief on his turn.
>
> One has active tuberculosis, and one more will come down with it within a year.
>
> Two are suffering from malaria.
>
> Six are thoroughly infected with hookworm.
>
> Three have active syphilis.

---

[118] The "overpopulation" statement, for example, is repeated by different North American social theorists and writers throughout the 1940s and 1950s. From Chenault (1938) through Clarence Senior, Joseph Fitzpatrick, Francesco Cardoso, Paquita Ruiz, Luz M. Torruellas and others, the "overpopulation problem" is enunciated as part of Rosary #1.

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> All were unemployed back in Porto Rico.
>
> All will live in the most abjectly poor section of New York's Harlem or on the notorious Red Hook waterfront in Brooklyn, two of the most disease and crime ridden slums in Eastern America.
>
> Two will marry negroes, or live with them.
>
> (C. E. Hewitt, 1940: 11)

And women "Will have a child before she knows enough of the English language ... although the young girls may do better at prostitution, particularly if they are under twenty years" (C. E. Hewitt, 1940: 11).

Welfare dependency, drug addiction, delinquency, sexual crime, high felony rate, and child streetwalkers are part of the Puerto Rican profile. According to the author, Puerto Ricans "have introduced the narcotics trade to New York's negroes, ..." Hewitt describes the low-wage jobs in which Puerto Ricans are located and their "crowded and filthy" housing conditions. Hewitt states that "Few have running water, but most are not even conscious of that lack; for it is unknown in Porto Rico." The *anachronism* of Puerto Ricans is declared by the author, indicating their propagation as carriers of disease, Negroes, and *jungle* population,

> HEALTH AUTHORITIES of New York have been so worried about Porto Ricans that a TERA appropriation was expended as early as 1934 to check their threat as a source and spreader of disease. The Porto Rican

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> population were 45 per cent greater carriers of tuberculosis than other whites in the worst disease-ridden section of the city, and 60 per cent more than the negroes there. ... Roughly one-third of Porto Rican immigrants are black. (C. E. Hewitt, 1940: 12)
>
> No Census has ever been made, nor can be made, of the island's fast-propagating, jungle and swamp inhabiting population. (C. E. Hewitt, 1940: 16)

Moreover, the fact that Puerto Ricans are *American* citizens and cannot be deported provokes a hysterical response by the author. Hewitt recommends legislation for application to Porto Ricans. Accordingly, they must fulfill certain moral and social codes, and health requirements, or be deported (C. E. Hewitt, 1940: 17).

Puerto Rican Metaphor: Encounter of the Other as Other

In the article "And Ye Took Me In" (New York Confidential, 1948), the reporters Jack Lait and Leo Mortimer, who "had a lot of fun writing these pages" proclaim that "..there has descended on Manhattan Island like a **locust plague** an **influx** of Puerto Ricans" (J. Lait and L. Mortimer, 1948: 126 - emphasis mine). In another article they repeat the above statement "During the last two decades a steadily increasing **influx** of Puerto Ricans has descended like a **locust plague** on Manhattan Island (J. Lait and L. Mortimer, 1949: 31 - emphasis mine). The metaphor of insect

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(locust) signifies a lower existence than that of animals (mammals). Mammals can "feel" pain, one can anthropologize animals, there can be a displacement of human feelings towards animals such as dogs and cats. To have empathy with insects, since they do not "feel," is rare, if not impossible. In the case of the *locust*, this insect metaphor signals invasion and destruction. A *locust plague* devours crops planted by hard working farmers. The influx of a Puerto Rican *plague* place in jeopardy the accomplishments of citizens of New York City- and any other part of the country they might migrate to.

They argue that this is not an act of prejudice, rather they seek to establish as factual the *savage* character of Puerto Ricans in New York City. The idea of invasion through the word *influx* and the representation of Puerto Ricans as animals/insects is discursively justified by indicating that "Puerto Ricans were not born to be New Yorkers." They add:

> they are mostly crude farmers, subject to congenital tropical diseases, physically unfitted for the northern climate, unskilled, uneducated, non-English-speaking and almost impossible to assimilate and condition for healthful and useful existence in an active city of stone and steel. (J. Lait and L. Mortimer, 1948: 126)

An intertextuality can be identified between the *influx* of Puerto Ricans with the hegemonic discourse of the threat of invasion of the United States by the USSR. While the Russian

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threat of invasion is represented through movies, newspapers and magazines, the Puerto Rican migration is represented as a real invasion, already here. The signification of invasion is operative in the North American polity and popular imagination.[119] Politics and McCarthyism play a discursive role in the manufacturing of the *Other* in which the latter produces fear and terror.

It is important to point out that the enunciation of the savage mimesis or the animalization of Puerto Ricans appears in combination with the exploitation of Puerto Ricans. Discursively "the encounter of the *Other* as *Other*" appears also as a metonymy of animal/bestial work, that is lowest jobs, unskilled jobs, hard work, and exploitation. The reporters, in a thinly veiled attack against radical Congressman Vito Marcantonio and others, allege that politicians lure Puerto Ricans to the United States with

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[119] The historical density of the threat of invasion should be stressed as a key element of the political imaginary of the United States. Since colonial times the United States has not experienced invasion of its ever expanding territory. The one exception, the bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese empire, revealed the anxiety over *otherness* within US borders and threats to its territory from without. The internment in concentration camps of tens of thousands of North American citizens of Japanese descent which took place following the "sneak attack" on Pearl Harbor is instructive on the lengths to which when territoriality is perceived as threatened the legal foundations upon which citizenship rests can be suspended. The evoking of invasion by a destructive force, Puerto Rican-*locusts*, raises the specter of the need for drastic action. While a state of war between the United States and a foreign power may not ground this discourse, the destructive nature of the migrant/invader does signal the need for defensive action on the part of the North American polity. In this instance, since Lait and Mortimer do not refer to Puerto Ricans as citizens, the implications for Puerto Ricans is quite serious since the constitutional guarantees of citizenship are not acknowledged.

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promises of welfare in exchange for their vote. The victimization of Puerto Ricans appears as being conducted by leftist and liberal politicians. Therefore, in addition to being beasts of labor, the problem of Puerto Ricans is that they are being victimized by the North American left/liberals. It is important in this context to note that the left in the U.S. is also seen as foreign and external to the *American* self.

The enunciation of Rosary #2 by the authors is well known. Puerto Ricans are on relief. They have poor housing conditions. They are pawns of political power. Puerto Ricans do not speak English. They are marijuana addicts, and violent criminals who employ gun and knife. Puerto Ricans are infected with tuberculosis, lepercy, and venereal disease. The authors complete the enunciation of the *primitive ethos* of Puerto Ricans by quoting a report from the City Welfare Council. According to this report, "back yards piled high with garbage, also one block so infested with drunks, marijuana smokers, brawlers, holdup men and insulters of women that decent citizens and even the police deliberately avoid it" (Lait and Mortimer, 1948: 133).

From another perspective, in the essay "In Puerto Rico" (Contemporaries, 1962), written by Alfred Kazin, Puerto Ricans are enunciated as "lamblike."[120] He stated that there

[120] This book is a collection of literary essays reprinted from reviews and newspapers. Alfred Kazin analyzes modern literature arguing for the separation of intuition and reason. Kazin contends that human consciousness is the key to reality. The author discusses the theories

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is "a lamb in the official seal of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and in truth these people are lamblike" (A. Kazin, 1962: 315). He added it seems that Puerto Ricans are saying "feed my lambs ..."

Kazin states that the Puerto Rican face is that of "stillness in the presence of the American." According to the author, *docility* is the inscription of the Puerto Rican *ethos*. Accordingly, silences, withdrawals and passivity shape the docile character of Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans are "... waiting on life ...on other people, ... taking orders, are sensitive ..., but not stormy."

Kazin continues his profile of Puerto Ricans indicating that they are studied by others; waifs and wards of power politics. They try without hope. They do not believe "that being a North American citizen is the greatest privilege in the world." Kazin states also that they are the most erratic drivers in the world. They drive in *famille*, but they are not aggressive. The correlate of *docility* softens the animalization metaphor since Puerto Ricans are defined as not aggressive and thus, domesticable.

The bastardization of the signifier, Puerto Ricans, is activated through the deficit mode.[121] Kazin argues that

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of Sigmund Freud, Bergson and William James to elaborate what he identifies as the structure of modern literature. In the Section of the book "Places" Kazin narrates his travel experiences as a member of the United States literary delegation in Russia, Germany and Puerto Rico.

[121] The "bastardization of the signifier" is the signification of Puerto Ricans and its past as a denial of history, culture, ideals, deficitarian and impure heritage, impure culture and *race*, living in

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Puerto Ricans are not articulate, nor are they organized. They also lack an historical identity. Further he concludes that Puerto Ricans do not have ideals. It is important to note that the invocation of the past of Puerto Ricans in connection with "The Puerto Rican Problem" also functions as an epistemological dependence of cause>effect. "The Puerto Rican Problem" is an effect of the past, even when the economy of North American pity presupposes an evolution from this past. Kazin declares that "this is what troubles me about Puerto Ricans, here and in the United States."[122] He continues the bastardization operation by indicating that Puerto Ricans are illiterate in both Spanish and English. Furthermore, Puerto Ricans lack a serious religious tradition. As a professor in Puerto Rico, he states that he "never had such trouble communicating with my students as I do here."

The animal metaphor enunciated by the subject authority of a North American professor and literary critic entails correlates of "passivity" of Puerto Ricans in combination with their *bastardized ethos*.

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chaotic misery and other enunciations of defectiveness. The enunciation of incest among Puerto Ricans is also integral to the "bastardization of the signifier."

[122] Alfred Kazin was teaching North American literature in the University of Puerto Rico in the 1950s. He also makes reference to works by Oscar Handlin, Dan Wakefield, and Richard Morse on Puerto Ricans.

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Salvador Agrón: the Cape Man - "Dracula"

Salvador Agrón was a Puerto Rican youth arrested for killing two North American teenagers with a "12-inch Mexican dagger" in the playground of a "slum-neighborhood," known as *Hells Kitchen*, in New York City, 1959.[123] Agrón's self-styled name was *Dracula*. According to newspaper accounts, Salvador Agrón belonged to a street gang, *The Vampires*. Agrón, a gang leader, wore a black cape, hence *The Cape Man*.

This murder provoked a public hysteria within the political structure, social agencies, religious nominations, community organizations, media and citizens of New York City.[124] When asked about the killing, Agrón's response was "Because I felt like it." This response produced even more hysteria, especially in the media. Innumerable journalistic accounts of this murder describe Salvador Agrón, the murderer

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[123] Salvador was sentenced to the electric chair in 1960. In 1962 his sentence was commuted, and he was paroled in 1979.

[124] Some of these journalistic accounts are: Joseph MacNamara, "The Justice Story Full of Hate," Daily News Magazine, August 1989, p. 18; Jimmy Breslin, "The Beauty of his death in Bronx," Daily News, April 24, 1986, pp. 3 and 6; Barbara Kranes, "Capeman back in New York prison, awaiting fate," New York Post, May 18, 1977, p. 22; Manuel De Dios Unanue, *"Agrón Defraudó La Confianza Depositada en El,"* El Diario, May 11, 1977, pp. 3/41; *"Envíenme Mis Ahorros, Dijo Agrón Tras Huir de Prisión de Mayaguez,"* El Diario, May 10, 1977, pp. 3/22; *"No me Importa me Maten Ante la Presencia de mi Madre:* Agrón," El Diario, May 9, 1977, pp. 3/12; *"Agrón tenía Un Extenso Record Penal y Se Había escapado Antes,"* El Diario, May 8, 1977, pp. 3/57; *"Mentira Gigantesca Fue La Causa De Asesinatos Que Agrón Cometió,"* El Diario, May 6, 1977, pp. 3/43; *"Agrón Evadió Búsqueda de Policía Durante los Primeros Momentos,"* El Diario, May 5, 1977, p. 5; *"En 1959 Agrón Era Jefe de Una Pandilla Sangrienta y Brutal,"* El Diario, May 4, 1977, pp. 4-30; *"Mi Fuga fue Una Protesta Premeditada, Afirma Agrón,"* El Diario, May 3, 1977, pp. 2/6.

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as a "hoodlum."[125] That Agrón expressed a desire to kill at the time of his arrest, and demonstrated a lack of concern for his own life, confirmed his "uncivilized" and "savage" nature. A similar case was the murder of two teenagers by a Puerto Rican *hoodlum*, Frank Santana, in the 1950s.[126] In his

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[125] The Spanish-language press in New York City also followed in characterizing Salvador Agrón as a "hoodlum." The process of subjectification includes the participation of all of who engage in a discursive field. In the case of the Spanish-language media, writers assumed the discourse of the "hoodlum" in the depiction of Salvador Agrón. See previous footnote.

[126] There is a critical analysis of *American* fear of Puerto Ricans, and the treatment of them as "hoodlums" in the book written by the psychiatrist Fredric Wertham, The Circle of Guilt, London: Dennis Dobson, 1958. This is an account of a young Puerto Rican, 17 years old, who killed a nice boy, 15 years old, from a respectable family in the 1950s, New York City. Public opinion around this case declared the murderer as a "hoodlum." The press, radio and television described this Puerto Rican as "the Santana hoodlum," the "dirty filthy hoodlum," "the young hoodlum from Puerto Rico." (F. Wertham, 1958: 10). In his book, Dr. Fredric Wertham presents himself as a psychiatrist who examined the Puerto Rican teenager, and who had to offer his clinical opinion before the court. The author attempted to establish the existence of different prejudices against Puerto Ricans at the time, when public opinion was hostile to any defense of the accused. Wertham elaborates a critical analysis of Puerto Rican-*otherness* as related to Puerto Rican colonial history and, to the generalized violence and prejudices of North American culture. He argues that the production of violence through comics and television; North American prejudice; school and social agency negligence; exploitation and poor housing; history of colonization; and conditions of poverty, are factors which generate a violent behavior in the Puerto Rican accused of murder, Frank Santana. His analysis of "hot beds," for example, exposes the abuses of landlords, conditions of poverty and the health problems of Puerto Ricans.

The defense of the violent criminal, produced by society, is not really new. The phenomena of the gangster had been established in social science literature and in popular mass culture as the products of social neglect and poverty. Nevertheless, the mass migration and the emergence of a panic over youth culture combined to demonize Puerto Rican youth is the premise of this case. A sophisticated media representation which stages the confrontation with the anti-youth (Puerto Rican) criminal hysteria and the liberal discourse on the victims which poverty and neglect produce is the film "Twelve Angry Men" (1957) directed by Sydney Lumet. Through logical deduction the accused, who remains invisible throughout the film, is found not guilty of having killed his father after having argued with him. It is

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book The Circle of Guilt (1958), Fredric Wertham illustrates the definition of a *hoodlum* as follows:

> The key word, repeated over and over again, was "hoodlum." Who had committed this "senseless slaying"? A big headline in the staid *New York Times* not only gave the answer but lent authenticity and respectability to the term:
>
> HOODLUM, 17, HELD IN SLAYING OF BOY
>
> .....
>
> What is a hoodlum? Webster tells us that it is a young rowdy. But currently its meaning is much more than that. *Hoodlum* is most widely used as meaning an adult racketeer or gangster who lives on violence and fraud. That is how the word has been used not only colloquially but before Senate crime hearings and in textbooks. It is also a definite connotation of being incorrigible and not "genuinely American" but belonging to a nationality or race considered inferior. A recent news story quotes

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interesting that the accused is not represented as a visible character in the film, except by the dialogues on the subject as symptom. While the youth is innocent of murdering his father, his innocence is ironically established, in part, by his character as ghetto dwelling (criminal) youth. According to one prosecution witness the son used a switchblade in a downward stroke. A street-wise member of the jury, played by actor Jack Klugman, points out that anyone with the faintest knowledge of switchblade fights would know that the blade is held with the palm facing upward, and also that the blade is delivered underhandly. An upward stabbing/sticking motion is how those with knife fighting ability use a switchblade. No one experienced with a switchblade would attack with a downward stroke. The accused is not guilty of murder but guilty of being a "hoodlum." In fact, he is not guilty of the crime, in part, because he is *guilty* of being a criminal. The ultimate guilt, however, is that of "society." Society produces

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> this definition: "Hoodlums are traitors to the American way of life. Deport these hoodlums back to where they came from and we will have 99% less crime in the United States." To children the word *hoodlum* is long familiar from crime comic books, as this caption from a July, 1955, comic book illustrates:
>
> COP KILLS HOODLUM AFTER STICK-UP
>
> (F. Wertham, 1958: 10-11)

As *hoodlums* Puerto Ricans are the signifiers of terror.

As a powerless youth and in a fatalist gesture, Agrón appropriated the very tropes of the "urban savage" as a way of resisting victimization. To be *Dracula* was to be respected and feared; as a self-perceived social pariah, he did not wish to be accepted, an acceptance he knew was a chimera. This gesture only agitated and excited the media and the discursive regime which had already constructed Puerto Ricans as "uncivilized." The case of "The Cape Man" had the effect of intensifying an already fever pitch hysteria about Puerto Ricans in the United States.

The hysteria against Puerto Ricans converged with the social panic over youth and the phenomena of juvenile delinquency and youth gangs. The Broadway musical and later Academy Award winning film *West Side Story* (1957-1961), perhaps the most famous cinematic representation of Puerto

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criminals and bears the responsibility and consequences for its actions and failure to act.

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Ricans ever produced, a liberal Hollywood spin on the conflict between rival gangs (Puerto Rican Vs ethnic whites) in the urban jungle, was current when "The Cape Man" incident was being sensationalized by the media.[127] Salvador Agrón, by killing two white youth, appears infinitely more violent than the two Puerto Ricans who kill in *West Side Story*, Bernardo or Chino. Agrón, with the Puerto Rican weapon of choice -- the steel blade -- materializes the media representations of Puerto Rican blood-lust.

The metaphorical use by the press of the name *Dracula, Vampire, Cape Man*, that is the gothic fiend of Victorian era literature, is meant to provoke fear and revulsion. Recall that Bram Stoker's creation, *Dracula*, (1897), has hair on the palms of his hands, ears long and pointy, and red glaring eyes which pear out from thick eyebrows which meet over a sharp nose. Dracula's red, swollen lips are flagrant against the glimmer of his face, with its extraordinary pallor, its long white mustache, and its prominent teeth. His breath is rank and he is centuries old and unnaturally strong. He has a powerful intelligence, but his "child brain" is entirely at the service of his desire and appetites. He is the "primitive hunger" that civilization in order to maintain itself must deny. A creature of the night, the vampire is strongest after sundown, the night, the space inhabited by unreason. The

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[127] For an analysis of *West Side Story* see Alberto Sánchez-Sandoval, "West Side A Puerto Rican Reading of "America," Jump Cut, Vol. 39, 1994, pp. 59-66.

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vampire must shun daylight, the sun, where reason reigns supreme. The symbol of Christianity, the crucifix, is anathema to the vampire, as are other symbols of goodness, as well as certain herbs and spices. The vampire is a sexual predator who consumes the blood of mostly female victims, or those males whom he feminizes. He can count on the services and undying loyalty of his sexual victims, the feeble minded and insane. Dracula is at once repulsive and fascinating, at once terrifying and mesmerizing. Another important quality of the vampire is that it casts no reflection and therefore cannot see or represent itself. The vampire is not human, while it has human form; nor is it truly alive or dead, it is undead. In short, the vampire is Christian civilizations' *Other*. The only way to protect civilization from the vampire is to drive a stake through its heart and sever its head.[128]

Like Dracula, the sexual identification by the media of the gang to which Agrón belongs as homosexual, evokes a dread over the sexual identity of the self/Other. The vampire's prodigious sexuality is both threatening and abhorrent. The otherness of the homosexual when conjoined to that of the vampire exacerbates the sexual panic/hysteria over the Puerto Rican *Other*. Imagine, not only is the gang made up of savage

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[128] In his work on Victorian era literature and its relation to empire, Thomas Richards analyzes Bram Stoker's creature as representing a mutant from the near periphery who has invaded the metropolis. For Richards not only is *Dracula* representative of colonial alterity which brings plague, death and destruction, but also represents a danger to Darwinian science as "the origin of his own species, a human being suddenly transformed into the progenitor of a terrifying new species."

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Puerto Ricans, but is also made up of violent homosexual vampires!

Another dimension of the enunciations on urban vampires is that the Puerto Rican as "savage/blood-sucker" metaphorically converges with the "The Puerto Rican Problem." Accordingly, Puerto Ricans are social leaches invading North American urban space and threatening its moral life. Puerto Ricans are cast as blood suckers, this is living off the dole, refusing and/or unable to become moral, sane and productive citizens.

The hegemonic discursive construction of this Puerto Rican as a "monster" condenses the scandalous enunciation of "The Puerto Rican Problem." The profile of Salvador Agrón presented through journalistic accounts presented some of the main statements and significations that constitute the enunciative field of "The Puerto Rican Problem." For example, here is how Jimmy Breslin describes him:

> Agron was born in **Puerto Rico.** His **mother** was an **illiterate orphan** who, at **13, eloped with a street cleaner.** When the **street cleaner beat her** with a ***machete,*** she went to an **asylum for the poor,** which kept the mother and son separated. Sal Agron was suffering from **malnutrition** and **could not walk** until he was **2½.** In the **orphanage,** Sal Agron started collecting **razor blades** and **slashed himself.** He said

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See Thomas Richards, The Imperial Archive Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire, London-New York: Verso, 1993, pp. 58-59.

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> he **heard voices**, including that of a **dog**, who told him what to do. He had an **IQ** of **68** and he **couldn't read or write when, at age 10**, he came to New York on the late night flight they called the *kikyriki*, because it was a midnight flight, the time roosters in Puerto Rico start crowing. When he arrived at the old Idlewild Airport, there was nobody to pick him up. He stood in the airport for hours, a youngster who heard voices and had tried to slash himself. Finally, somebody contacted his mother, who came to the airport, and she brought him to the streets of Manhattan, where he was in and out of **reform schools**, was listed as **mentally disturbed** and joined a **homosexual street gang** on the West Side and, on Aug. 30, 1959, turned into the **most notorious teenage killer of his time.** (J. Breslin, Daily News, April 24, 1986: 6 - emphasis mine)

The making of the un-dead Puerto Rican is evoked by both the conservative and liberal accounts of "The Cape Man's" family history. As enunciations of Rosaries #1 and #2,[129] accounts of

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[129] Rosary #1 is an invocation of the Puerto Rican past as defective, colonial, incomplete, and/or miserable. This serial enunciation functions as the rationale for a *primitive ethos* and as a signification of bastardization. Rosary #1 is the repetition of this group of enunciations on the colonial-defective past of Puerto Ricans. Moreover, Rosary #2 is the repetition of serial statements on the presence of Puerto Ricans in North American urban space mainly during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s as: ghetto or slum dwellers, unskilled, criminals, poor, with lack of hygiene and health, gang members, dirty, noisy, overcrowded, non-English speaking, knife wielders, garbage throwers, violent and foul-mouthed, practicing *primitive* rites, prostitution and living on welfare.

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"The Cape Man's" background recount the impoverished, violent and degenerate family background of Agrón in Puerto Rico and his integration into the world of urban criminality in New York City.

Salvador Agrón, the urban vampire, is cast as civilization's *Other* in many of the journalistic accounts of the time, and in subsequent reports which mapped his trajectory from youth murderer to inmate at Greenhaven Correctional Facility taking college courses at the College at New Paltz, State University of New York in the 1970s. The tracking which the media does of Agrón's life is concerned with establishing the degree to which he has been civilized, and if he constitutes a threat to society. The main point of contention in the opposing views is whether "The Cape Man" is the product of his upbringing or an irremediable monster. Both perspectives remain grounded in the discourse of urban *savagery* and Puerto Rican *primitivism*.[130]

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[130] The interpellation of Puerto Ricans as a discursive phenomena of the urban landscape, as exemplified in the case of Salvador Agrón, continues down to the present. As of this writing there is a Broadway musical scheduled to open early next year (1998) titled: *The Capeman*. Written and directed by the internationally known song writer and singer Paul Simon, the musical boasts a star-studded cast which includes international salsa stars Rubén Blades and Marc Anthony. In response to questions regarding why he decided to make a musical about the life of Salvador Agrón, Simon replied that the case of "The Capeman" had a great impact on him and on New York City at the time. The nature of the impact, and what significance he now accords to "The Capeman," remains unanswered; and will remain so until after opening night. See "The Pop Perfectionist on a Crowded Stage," by Stephen J. Dubner, *The New York Times Magazine*, November 9, 1997, pp. 42-49, 56, 63-66 and 83.

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Puerto Rican Deficits and Syndromes

Puerto Ricans: their National-Cultural Waste

Another account of the bastardization of Puerto Ricans and their culture, is the book *La identidad y la deculturación de un pueblo El caso de Puerto Rico*, (1989) (The Identity and the Deculturalization of a Country The Case of Puerto Rico), written by Armando Lares, a Venezuelan sociologist who studied in Boston.[131]

Lares' main enunciation indicates the "bastardization of the signifier." The bastardization of Puerto Ricans takes place early in the text when Lares states that from the Arawaks until the twentieth century Puerto Ricans have been a "problem." Puerto Rico is a *"colonia estancada"* (stagnated colony).[132] The history of Puerto Rico appears as formative of

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[131] This book, originally a dissertation, presents *"la experiencia de campo con los jóvenes puertorriqueños en Estados Unidos"* (field work experience with Puerto Rican teenagers in the United States). Through ethnographic research Lares presents case studies of Puerto Rican teenagers in the United States and their "deficits."

[132] Another example of this enunciation is the booklet "Puerto Rico Its Place in the Caribbean," 1947, in which the author states that the people of Puerto Rico have "a racial mixture from Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, European immigrants and Latin-American refugees." His qualification of this racial process is that the "Product of all this mixture, the Puerto Rican of today has been conditioned by his life on a small island governed always by a people far away, from whom he was isolated by thousands of miles of water, and finally shifted by conquest from the domination of one country to another" (N.A., 1947: 11). In addition, Puerto Rico is metonymically a defective body that began its development late and therefore, it is incomplete. Regarding this, "It was not until the close of the eighteenth century that Puerto Rico began to develop a life of its own." In addition, "Many of the problems of Puerto Rico today can be explained by the fact it had not had time in the nineteenth century, to complete its full development as a self-governing unit under Spain before it had to begin a new

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Puerto Rican *pathos*. His profile of Puerto Ricans includes their passivity, the lack of a communitarian sense, and social indifference. In a word, people of *"baile, botella y baraja"* (dance, liquor and gambling). Since Puerto Ricans have an anomalous history, their cultural and national identity is pathological and disgraceful.

According to Lares, the colonial history of Puerto Ricans results in their cultural assimilation and a kind of national waste. It seems that *American* modernization and assimilation patterns has eroded Puerto Rican human and national value.

A "Latin American national identity" appears through this text as morally superior and measured against Puerto Rican colonial history and their migration to the United States. Lares states that Puerto Rican teenagers in the United States are *pathological* and *wretched* subjects. He also argues that Latin American students do not identify with Puerto Ricans, since the latter are identified with marihuana, aggressiveness, poverty and as a "problem."

Through a faulty application of the concept of dialectics, Lares argues that Puerto Ricans face a historical dilemma, between assimilation and rejection. The colonial condition is enunciated as a devaluation of Puerto Rican identity in the United States. This in turn produces Puerto

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adjustment to different customs, regulations, laws, language and people" (N.A., 1947: 8). The racial code and defective development act as deployments in the establishment of the correlates of Puerto Rican inferiority.

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Ricans as an unacceptable mutation of a "Latin American identity."

Once again Rosary #2 is deployed in Lares' ethnographic account of Puerto Ricans. The testimonies of Puerto Rican teenagers confirm their ghetto life histories. Rural families, big families, welfare families, *machismo*, single mothers and, other economic and psycho-social problems shape the Puerto Rican *ethos*. "Racial anomaly," which Lares considers a "fatal ambiguity," is integral to the author's account of "The Puerto Rican Problem." Moreover, Lares claims that Puerto Rican teenagers have internalized an ideology of inferiority, insecurity, instability, and indulgence.

In addition, the deficit mode operates through the assertion that Puerto Ricans do not know the history of Puerto Rico. Hence the bastardization of Puerto Ricans, a people without a past, results in "The Puerto Rican Problem." Throughout the text, the hegemonic idea of "the nation" and its moralization functions as a deployment for "The Puerto Rican Problem." Despite different theoretical tools, there is little discursive difference between the work of Chenault in 1938 and the work of Armando Lares on the *pathos* of Puerto Ricans in the United States written over half a century later.

Puerto Ricans: a Problem of Language

EL español en El Barrio de Nueva York (Spanish in New York's *El Barrio*, 1993) by Heliodoro Javier Gutiérrez

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González produces "The Puerto Rican Problem" through the enunciation of the problem of language.[133] In this case, the author defines the "problem" as that of the Spanish language as practiced by Puerto Ricans. The main enunciation is how Puerto Rican migrants have contaminated and debased the Spanish language.[134] Puerto Rican migrants are classified as having extremely low proficiency in both English and Spanish. Migration and language are parallel correlates of "The Puerto Rican Problem" which devalues the signifier, Puerto Ricans.

In the opening part of the book, the history of Puerto Rico and *El Barrio* (East Harlem) is enunciated through Rosary #1 and the deficit mode. According to Gutiérrez González geographical, political and historical factors do not allow Puerto Ricans to speak "standard Spanish." The author states that the majority of Spanish conquerors did not speak "Castilian Spanish." They were mostly Andalusians, Extremadurans and Canarians (not real Spaniards). Thus, Puerto Ricans did not inherit the "original language." Gutiérrez also states that Puerto Rico is an "exceptional case" since its language is both local and isolated. Moreover, Cuban and Dominican Spanish are more competent than Puerto Rican Spanish. The illegitimate inheritance of a Spanish language (non-Castilian), is the enunciation that

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[133] Gutiérrez González was a Spanish professor who taught Spanish at the United Nations. This book is his doctoral dissertation in Philology from the University of Oviedo.

[134] The study of phonetical and phonological frequencies of Puerto Rican speech is mediated through the design and administration of

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authorizes the devaluation of Puerto Rican Spanish in *El Barrio*. Puerto Rican Spanish does not have and follow Spanish norms and linguistic principles. Thus, it is impure and defective.

The language itself is another discursive strategy by which to bastardize Puerto Rican migrants deploying the scientific standing of philology and the subject position of the author as a Spaniard who speaks and teaches "standard Spanish."

Cinematic Representation: Dumb and Stupid

In the film "The Pawnbroker" (1965) Sydney Lumet engages in a semiotic and metonymical play between the Holocaust experience and ghetto life in East Harlem, New York City. The inhuman, traumatic experiences of the Holocaust occupies primary signification in the semiotic and dialogues of the movie script. Ghetto life - defined as the space of inhuman people, poor, prostitutes, mafiosi, petty criminals, drug-addicts, violence, madness and stupidity - appears as the metonymical space of the Nazi concentration camp in which the Jewish pawnbroker relives the Holocaust experience through his interaction with African Americans and Latinos, Puerto Ricans. The semiotic of imprisonment is recreated through the gates of the pawnshop. The gates of the pawnshop are recreated as the jail of the pawnbroker through which he interacts with ghetto dwellers. Throughout the film, the

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questionnaires.

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pawnbroker appears not only as the supreme victim of this ghetto life, but also as re-victimized by the "dark symbols" of the ghetto.

Through various strategies of signification Lumet attempts to place Jewish otherness at the top of a hierarchy of human suffering. To be a Holocaust survivor is to occupy a privileged position among those who suffer in the ghetto. This privilege is one of knowing a deeper angst and anomie because it comes as the result of the fracturing of reason at its center (Europe). The guilt of survival of European Jewry is central to an existential crisis which structures the psychological suffering of the main character, the Jewish pawnbroker. Thus, in the film one *otherness* - Jews - fight for its preeminence in the face of other othernesses - African Americans and Puerto Ricans. Jewish *otherness* is also established as beyond understanding by the non-white *Other* (*Other othernesses*). Furthermore, the latter destroys the Jewish *Other*.

The main Puerto Rican character, "Jesús" activates and mediates this metonymy of the ghetto in New York City as the clerk/assistant of the pawnbroker. At the level of signification, "Jesús" is the name of the son of God, who died for our/his sins. This Christian identification, both vis à vis the Jews and the possibility of Puerto Rican redemption is very suggestive since "Jesús" does die in his attempt to save the pawnbroker. This situational sign of human compassion is subsumed under other subjectivities of

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"Jesús." "Jesús" displays a differentiated subjectivity through his relationship with the pawnbroker, his boss. The Jewish pawnbroker is his master since "Jesús," the clerk apprentice, wants to learn the art of determining metallurgic authenticity. "Jesús" also wants to have money and to own a pawnshop. For "Jesús" being a pawnbroker is a sign of intelligence, a quality which Jews possess. Also, the owning of a pawnshop would signal achieving the *American Dream* of economic prosperity.

In the film, "Jesús" identity as a Puerto Rican is signified by his stupidity. The peregrination of questions that "Jesús" asks himself and his boss is predicated on a profound ignorance (stupidity) on how to achieve success in life, defined as acquiring money and goods. However, "Jesús" stupidity is exacerbated by the master-slave resentment which leads to the other characterization of "Jesús," as a criminal. "Jesús" is the only one who moves in-out of the cage of the pawnshop. The Puerto Rican can potentially share in his masters' experience of suffering, but also "Jesús" represents a potential danger since he is part of ghetto culture.

The semiotics of Jewish otherness and the *Others* is recreated in the film through contrasts of light. Ghetto life and its people, victimization, violence, immorality, inhumanity, suffering, death and stupidity are recreated and signified through darkness. Ghetto dwellers are an atrocious and condemnable sign which foreground the Holocaust

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experience. Further, ghetto dwellers revive this experience. The scenes in the ghetto and the pawnshop also recreate darkness. By contrast, the scenes of the pawnbroker at his home in Long Island, and his meeting with the white *American* woman recreate light. This light is not simply a light which signifies difference and racial codes; it is the relinquishing of the guilt of survival and its primary signification.

The Holocaust experience functions as an unquestionable historical event with primacy over "The Puerto Rican Problem," which in turn is recreated as one of the conditions that revives this inhuman experience.

The representation of Puerto Rican *otherness* is evident in plays and movies from the 50s to the present. Some of the plays that recreate "The Puerto Rican Problem" are *Encrucijada: Historia de una Familia Puertorriqueña*, written by Manuel Méndez Ballester in 1958, and "The FM Safe" (*La caja de caudales FM)*, written by Jaime Carrero in 1978, and *La familia de Justo Malgenio*, written by Isabel Cuchi Coll in 1974. Other play is "Under One Roof A One-Act Play" about Puerto Ricans in New York," written by Helen Kramer in 1958. Richie Pérez discusses forms of exclusion, dehumanization and discrimination toward Puerto Ricans in the North American mass media, focusing on cinema from the 1940s through the early 1980s.[135] Films which are not treated by Pérez that

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[135] Richie Pérez, "From Assimilation to Annihilation: Puerto Rican Images in U.S. Films," *CENTRO Bulletin*, 1990, Vol. II, No. 8, pp. 8-27.

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represent Puerto Ricans as *pathological* and/or *stupid* subjects include: *I Like It Like That* (1995), *Smoke* (1995), *Blue is the Face* (1995), *Carlitos Way* (1993), *Ghost* (1992), *Show of Force* (1989), *Do the Right Thing* (1988), *Batteries not Included* (1988), *Crocodile Dundee* (1985), *Escape from New York* (1984), *Love at First Bite* (1979), *The Police Tapes* (1983), and *Basquiat* (1995).[136] Likewise, the TV programs *New York Undercover*, *Law and Order* and *New York Blue* offer examples of this representation of Puerto Ricans in North American culture.

The Puerto Rican Feminine Reviled



(*Puta*, Postcard, 1950s)

See also Pia Nicolini. "Puerto Rican Leader's Views of English-Language Media," Journalism Quarterly, 1987, Vol. 64, No. 2-3, pp. 597-601.

[136] Other movies that include racially charged Puerto Rican stereotypes are: *Death Wish* (1974), *Magnum Force* (1970), *The New Centuriums* (1970), *The French Connection* (1970), *Dirty Harry* (1972), *Badge 373* (1973), *Popi* (1969), *Change of Habit* (1969), *Up the Down Staircase* (1967), *The Pawnbroker* (1965), *The Young Savages* (1961), *West Side Story* (1961), *Cry Tough* (1959), *Rock, Rock, Rock* (1956), *Blackboard Jungle* (1955), and *City Across the River* (1949).

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Puerto Rican Women: LA PUTA

In "Sex in Puerto Rico" (The American Mercury, 1951), there is an enunciation of Puerto Rican women as *la puta* (whore). "The story of the *puta* - and the democracy of the lowest common denominator" is the description of the "unique and wonderful phenomenon" of San Juan, Puerto Rico. The enunciation of the Puerto Rican *puta* is produced as a metonymy of the illicit, vice, and anachronism of female sexuality. This is the Puerto Rican feminine reviled.[137]

The enunciation of the Puerto Rican *puta* is displayed as follows:

> It stems from the subtropical effervescence of the island and from its social system. The climate is lush and impelling. The social system decrees that though there is rum and sun in plenty here, for women there is very little destiny. (P. Minot, 1951: 55)

The anachronistic signification of Puerto Rican women and their impure racial heritage are posited in opposition to humans and modernity. Minot states that,

> The Island is under United States protection, but its surface culture is Latin and its real soul is a compound of Indian, Negro, and white. Industrialization,

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[137] "The Puerto Rican feminine reviled" is a discursive modality that produces a series of enunciations in which the sexuality, physical appearance and features, behavior and skills of Puerto Rican women are invented, intervened and signified as *primitive, exotic* and *savage*. This also activates the idea that as colonial subjects - *deficits*, no assets - Puerto Rican women's bodies are sites available for

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> transplanted by Governor Luis Muñoz Marín has begun to modernize the *mores*, but the woman still walks a one-way street. (P. Minot, 1951: 55)

Minot continues with the oppositional strategy of the Puerto Rican women versus the *ethos* of *American* women, but adding the sign of Puerto Rican animal primordialism:

> Where the American girl can aim as high as her talent, her looks, and her cunning will take her, the Puerto Rican female of the **species** has no such luck.
> (P. Minot, 1951: 55 - emphasis mine)
> What the good girl lacks in humanity, the Skid Row girl has in abundance. Not as pretty, certainly not as clean, often crude of mannerism and obscene of language, the San Juan *puta* is genuinely friendly and full of life.
> (P. Minot, 1951: 58)

The enunciation and signification of Puerto Rican prostitution signals a savage primordialism, bastardization, and uncleanness of the *Other*. A mixture of chaos and animalization of Puerto Rican women appears as a sign of an uncontrolled sexual appetite proper of primitivism, pre-modernity and anti-*American*.

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pleasure/use.

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Puerto Rican Women: Savagely PUTA



("Little Puerto Rico: Love and Votes for Sale," New York Confidential, 1959)

In the article "Little Puerto Rico ... Love and Votes For Sale" (New York Confidential, 1959), Puerto Rican women are portrayed as having a sinful and animal sexuality worthy of condemnation and terror.[138] You can observe this in the

[138] Puerto Ricans in general are portrayed in this article as puppets manipulated by political leaders seeking to obtain votes and

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photo of a Puerto Rican women kissing a man while there is another man sleeping beside them. Puerto Rican women are signified as animals and immoral subjects through their sexuality.

Exotic and Primitive: El Barrio and Puerto Ricans

The slum and its people are represented as an exotic and abject zone. *El Barrio* is a space marked by anachronistic features, social deprivation, and terror. At the same time there exists mystery, strangeness and seduction in this place. This discursive representation of *El Barrio* and Puerto Ricans is mediated by the perception of authors and verified by scientific studies, reports and books.

Puerto Ricans: Exotic and Primitive Otherness

The pamphlet *"Puerto Rico en Nueva York: Aspectos de la vida en el Harlem Hispano"* (Puerto Rico in New York Aspects of the Way of Life in the Hispanic Harlem, [1952]), written by Jesús Galindez Súarez, is a personal account of "The Puerto Rican Problem." This account stresses the *exotic* and

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This article is an unsigned version of "An Ye took me in" (J. Lait and L. Mortimer, 1948). The *savage ethos* of Puerto Ricans is also profiled through the statistics of Puerto Ricans in relief, crime and disease rates. East Harlem is signified through statistics and reports as "the narcotics capital of America" in which gangs spread terror. The authors finish the article reinforcing the *savage ethos* of Puerto Ricans through history; "... they turn to guile and wile and, the steel blade traditional weapon of the sugar-cane cutter and mark of their blood and heritage." ((J. Lait and L. Mortimer, 1959: 33) There is a representation of the tool of agricultural work in the Island as a terrorizing device used by Puerto Ricans.

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primitive nature of Puerto Ricans. The author's enunciations of "The Puerto Rican Problem" are structured by a short-story narrative with simple vocabulary and colorful metaphors. The anthropological profile of Puerto Ricans, entailing their cultural features, deficits, past and their peculiarity, take place through a narration in the first person.[139]

The author's curiosity about Puerto Ricans in *El Barrio* is the result of being seduced by their music, the *botánica*, *cuchifritos* and their bad words, which are *"con lo más florido del diccionario sin imprimir"* (with the most colorful vocabulary of the unpublished dictionary). *El Barrio* is described as crowded, noisy, and with blaring music in the streets. There are butchershops, *bodegas* and *mofongo*. Dances and shows are part of *El Barrio's* popular life. This life includes Puerto Rican popular folklore and superstitions, amulets and *brujerías*. Books of magic and home traditions are available in their stores. Galindez Súarez activates "the feminine reviled" claiming that Puerto Rican women do not work and have discovered the Anglo-Saxon liberty (sexual liberty). Galindez states that those Puerto Ricans who adapted or assimilated are those who have moved from *El Barrio* to Morrisania. They move from having nothing to owning a restaurant. In addition, their daughters speak English.

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[139] The quotation (repetition) of academic accounts of Puerto Ricans also accompanies this anthropological register.

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Rosary #2 is enunciated by Galindez. Accordingly, the pathological side of *El Barrio* consists of marihuana smokers, housing problems, prostitution, garbage, gangs, the *bolita* (numbers racket) and other *lacras* (festering wound).[140] Galindez argues that Puerto Ricans are also apathetic about politics and labor union activity.

Puerto Rican *primitivism* is also described by Galindez. He states that Puerto Rican culture is impoverished. Religion and *espiritismo* are part of these impoverished cultural practices. Their churches have tropical music. People are "possessed." Regarding this, Galindez stated the following:

> *Hay muchos que se resisten a creer que esto suceda en New York, que esto suceda entre puertorriqueños. Pero es verdad. Son comunidades primitivas que practican ritos primitivos.*
>
> (There are many people who resist believing that this happens in New York, that this happens among Puerto Ricans. However, it is true. They are primitive communities that practice primitive rites.)
>
> (J. Galindez Súarez, [1952]: 63)

Galindez continues with Rosary #2 indicating that the Puerto Rican journey constitutes "a peculiar immigration." Deficits of Puerto Ricans are enunciated as part of this "peculiar

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[140] The author quotes the data from "The Puerto Rican Study" carried out by Columbia University researchers during 1953-57.

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immigration." Puerto Ricans do not have education. They do not speak English. They do not have skills, etc.

The alien status of Puerto Ricans is also enunciated by Galindez. He states that they are foreigners for the New Yorker. They are citizens, but they are not *Americans*. There is an ideology that Puerto Ricans are on welfare, but they work. Racial coding of Puerto Ricans is produced as part of this profile given by Galindez. Accordingly, what is peculiar to the Puerto Rican migration is that they are South American citizens and ... they are "persons of color."

The author concludes this enunciative practice with *El Barrio's* exotism:

> *Cuando queráis visitarlo, venid a mí; merece la pena.* (Whenever you want to visit it, come to me; its worth it). (J. Galindez Súarez, [1952]: 63)

Being Puerto Rican is a signification in which all those things which make up everyday life activates a memory, an image, an ideology and a stereotype of the *Other*.

Puerto Ricans: Primitive and Colorful Otherness

In his book, The Puerto Ricans (1958),[141] Christopher Rand offers an anthropological profile of "The Puerto Rican

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[141] This book was originally a series of articles for the urban "hip" magazine "The New Yorker." This voyeuristic anthropological "study" served up by chic cultural media such as *The New Yorker* in the 1950s is repeated in other magazines. More recent examples can be found in *Rolling Stones Magazine* and *The Village Voice*.

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Problem," using his journalistic skills for presenting objective truth. A mixture of Rosaries #1 and #2 are enunciated in order to present a profile of Puerto Ricans and *El Barrio*. Puerto Ricans are on relief. There is a great demand for social workers. Puerto Ricans have the lowest jobs in the occupational ladder. Most of them are agricultural workers. They are known as *jíbaros*. Puerto Ricans are a "mixed race," "with non-European features."

The discursive construction of the urban jungle, in this case Puerto Rican neighborhoods, is dependent upon the creation of the "native." The colonial conquest is appropriated by different institutional instances, for example, by social sciences, religious institutions, the State and private agencies in the manufacturing of the "native" and the urban jungle, *El Barrio*. Rand describes *El Barrio* of New York as a "slum and beachhead" of the city. This slum's particularity as described by Rand is that the brownstones are cut "into tiny room apartments." They are overcrowded because rents are high. They share a bathroom in the hall. The worst apartment that Rand observed in *El Barrio* had dirty walls with plaster peeling off. In addition, there was no hot water.

In his description of slum housing, inhabitated by Puerto Ricans, Rand describes the "bad smell" emanating from these apartments. The odor stems from the cooking practice of Puerto Ricans who "reuse the vegetable oil." And their heating system of gas range and oil kerosene stove complete

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this vile aromatic environment. Rand has heard that there are rats, roaches and bedbugs, however, he only saw "roaches." According to him, the children had rat-bites.

"The Puerto Rican Problem" is also stated by Rand as follows:

> A high percent of Puerto Ricans in a school drags the teaching down almost inevitably, because of the language problem, and when Puerto Rican children are in a majority on a street they can, like any such majority, make life almost unbearable for other children.
> (C. Rand, 1958: 5)

Even when Rand's description of Puerto Rican children in *El Barrio* is discursively formulated, the author activates a strategical contrast between the Puerto Rican children in New York and those in the Island. Moreover, Rand states his aesthetic impression of Puerto Rico, the "natural habitat" of Puerto Ricans:

> the strongest impression I got, on the whole, was an aesthetic one - of how well the Puerto Ricans fitted into their own landscape. In New York they often have a dingy look, ... (C. Rand, 1958: 39)

Rand describes Puerto Rico's children as follows:

> The crowd in the stadium numbered a few thousand children, and they were well-behaved, clean, and enthusiastic.

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> .....
> and I couldn't help remarking that in New York many of them might be thought, on the law of averages, to be juvenile delinquents. But here they seemed innocent-looking, and their complexions were fresh and blooming, if sometimes moist in the heat. (C. Rand, 1958: 41)

Moreover, Rand's description of two slums in Puerto Rico - *La Perla* and *El Fanguito* - are strategically repeated nominations since they are significations of Puerto Ricans in New York. According to Rand, there has been a hard mix with the new neighbors because of "the gulf between their respective customs and living standards" (C. Rand, 1958: 6).

Puerto Rican *otherness* as described by Christopher Rand is displayed by an anthropological desire that does not cease to describe the factual-phenomenological details of these "colorful" people. Puerto Rican diet, music, stores, travel agencies, store-front churches, newspaper preferences, social clubs, clothes, styles, colors, and body movements are anthropological findings for the author who is irresistibly drawn to the 'natives of the urban jungle' and compelled to document what he sees in the pages of a book.

According to him Puerto Ricans run "bodegas," and are used to eating "viandas." Puerto Ricans are also a "dancing people," "... they danced with a suppleness almost beyond belief." "Puerto Rico is now the main bearer of Spanish music toward our shores, especially of the *merengue* and the *cha-*

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cha-cha." Rand observes that Puerto Ricans have national associations. He also notes that gang life and gangs are forms of solidarity and indicative of Puerto Rican male toughness.

The discursive correlate of exotism through the body and clothing of Puerto Rican woman is stated by Rand:

> Most striking is the dress-especially the dress-especially the dress of the women.
>
> .....
>
> And by their movement as she walks ... clockwise and back again. (C. Rand, 1958: 13-14)

However, for Rand Puerto Rican women at times appear to be modest, as when he observes that they wear scarves to conceal their heads and hair. The puta/saint image, while not presented in coarse or overt terms, is created by his juxtaposition of the swaying hips and the Catholic demeanor of those same women who cover their heads when out on the street during the day.

The correlate of Puerto Rican street life is that during the summer Puerto Ricans have parties, drink beer straight from the can, play dominoes and street games. Rand continues the anthropological enunciation declaring that,

> in winter I suspect, indeed, that many New York Puerto Ricans stay cooped up entirely, taking no part in school or work or in the city's life. (C. Rand, 1958: 17)

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Rand's suspicion, not his eye, allows him to enunciate the laziness of Puerto Ricans.

Exotism also take places deploying Rosary #2. For instance, the combination of "color" and "hygiene" enunciates Puerto Rican *otherness* in the following manner:

> Unless their families are very poor they are apt to be neat-looking, with clean white socks and clean shoes. If they can afford it they wear bits of jewelry - anything with color, anything gold or shiny and as a rule their ears are pierced when they are young. After three o'clock, when the public schools let out, ... smelling faintly of bubble-gum and emitting a soprano babble in Spanish. (C. Rand, 1958: 14)

The *American* imaginary of Puerto Rican *otherness* initiates and establishes the discursive stability of "The Puerto Rican Problem." Enunciative modalities by which Puerto Rican *primitivism, deficits, syndromes,* and *exotism* are produced simultaneously. As an explosive discursive field, this signals the need for institutional intervention. A number of these interventions are explored in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER 5

URBAN ANTHROPOLOGY

"THE PUERTO RICAN PROBLEM": INSTITUTIONAL FIELD

PART III

Interventions: the Economy of Urban Pity

There are two main strategies by which "The Puerto Rican Problem" is produced. In the previous section, I presented the savage mimesis, the deficit mode, the animal metaphor, the feminine reviled and the exotic mode as introducing those discursive modalities on the *subhuman and primitive ethos* of Puerto Ricans. "The Puerto Rican Problem" is not only a simple attempt to determine whether there were fifteen Puerto Ricans in one room or if they were exploited. The discourse not only indicates if Puerto Ricans can speak English or if they are dirty and poor. Nor is "The Puerto Rican Problem" a means for establishing that Puerto Rican women fornicate with more than one man or if they drink alcohol. What the discursive relationships of "The Puerto Rican Problem" indicate is that Puerto Ricans are discursive phenomena, not only by way of enunciations and significations, but because the discourse is produced as the field for an institutional addressing of "The Puerto Rican Problem." From this discursive field, Puerto Ricans are not only signified as *primitive and deficitarian.* Now, they become clients, customers, patients, accused, respondents, interviewees, participants and population samples. Here the institutional

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field of "The Puerto Rican Problem" activates other strategies intended to describe and treat this condition. The economy of urban pity is a strategy through which North Americans can measure and prescribe measures for the enunciative and institutional intervention of "The Puerto Rican Problem". The multiple and intensive coordination of studies, reports, and prescriptions preserve this discursive phenomenon, *Puerto Ricans*.

The materialization of the economy of urban pity operates according to two "logical" justifications. First, the enunciation of Puerto Ricans as primitive, illiterate and unskilled has as its corralate the "training" of the rural subject for urban life in the United States. Second, the real manifestation of *American* pity driven by evolutionary and Enlightened principles of progress, morality, freedom and the "American Dream" must be realized. Pity is a project of social hygiene. This produces a series of discursive practices by which the mechanisms of identification and treatment of "The Puerto Rican Problem" by several institutions are established.

North American urban pity and its enunciations on Puerto Ricans are carried out by a myriad of state and private authorities occupying a wide range of speaker positions. Together these treat "The Puerto Rican Problem" producing an archive which can be accessed by authorities and institutions. Scientific theories and methods function as

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technologies for the enunciation and prescription of "The Puerto Rican Problem."

During these decades tests, studies, surveys and reports of "The Puerto Rican Problem" were issued by different organizations and agencies.[142] The manual as a tool for understanding Puerto Ricans and the manual as a tool to educate Puerto Ricans become an instrument to be used by different social institutions. Conferences, books, newsletters, articles and investigative reports assessed Puerto Rican achievements. Following initial studies and findings follow up meetings and conferences were scheduled to reexamine "The Puerto Rican Problem." Commissions, task forces, committees and community groups recommended, policies, regulations and other solutions to "The Puerto Rican Problem." Increasingly, funds from government and private sources were made available for the study of "The Puerto Rican Problem." The study of "The Puerto Rican Problem" became a near interminable academic and government enterprise.

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[142] The most simplistic survey is that of the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico which carries out an annual survey on the *"Características de los pasajeros que viajaron por la vía aérea entre Puerto Rico y los Estados Unidos"* (Characteristics of passengers who traveled by air between Puerto Rico and the United States). This official survey is carried out through samples of passengers. The survey includes questions on: sex, age, family composition, place of destiny, place of origin, work experiences and abilities, education, English ability, health conditions and other State questions. Several agencies use this data to keep an "up-to-date record" of the Puerto Rican migration to the United States.

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Intervention in the School

The school and other educational organizations are the primary institutional field in which "The Puerto Rican Problem" is described, classified and diagnosed. There are different relational positions among those enunciative modalities by which the problems of Puerto Rican children and their parents are stated. For instance, Rosaries #1 and #2 are two common modalities by which the causality of the *deficits* of Puerto Rican children is established. Statements on the "low educational performance, physical appearance, behavior, and un-intelligence" of Puerto Rican children are the results of poor living conditions, illiteracy, overpopulation, unskilled parents, disease, malnutrition, lack of sanitation and poverty in Puerto Rico. The *colonial and primitive ethos* of Puerto Ricans are now a problem to be solved by the New York public school system. In the study "Puerto Rican Population in New York City Public Schools" (1951) the significance of "The Puerto Rican Problem" is stated as follows:[143]

> This is the first time in the history of the numerous migrations that have come to New York City that the Board of Education and other agencies have an over-all

[143] In 1947 the Association of Assistant Superintendents carried out a survey on "The Puerto Rican Problem." In 1948 the Welfare Council of New York carried out another survey of "The Puerto Rican Problem."

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> plan to meet the needs of a new migratory group. (Committee of Puerto Rican Affairs, 1951: 9)[144]

The study of the "conspicuous school population of Puerto Rican extraction" or "overcrowded kindergarten classes" attempts to look at the location and demographic tendencies

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[144] "The Puerto Rican Problem" demands several discursive practices, especially from city administrations. In 1947, "for the first time in history" the creation of the Mayor's Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs took control of "The Puerto Rican Problem." This Committee carried out different studies in coordination with other agencies which address "The Puerto Rican Problem," and then presented its reports and its recommendations. Moreover, COIR News was the main publication of the New York City Commission of Intergroup Relations in the 1950s. Issues of discrimination in housing, health services, education, employment and racial tensions were addressed by this Commission.

Programs, projects, services and studies were carried out to address these problems. The newsletter addressed the conflicts and conciliation strategies for Negro and Puerto Rican communities. The COIR was replaced by the newsletter from the City Commission on Human Rights (CCHR) in 1962. As in the previous newsletter a discourse on how problems of discrimination in the city should be controlled and different groups integrated, is offered. Through this newsletter and other publications the Commission presented its achievements and guidelines for social integration. For example, they prepared a booklet titled "Questions and Quotes on School Integration." This includes some points intended to help white parents prepare their children for integrating school:

> Be careful how you talk about other racial ...
> Encourage your child to develop friendship ...
> Have books and material contributions for ...
> Help your child feelings about other people ...
> Introduce your child to policemen, teachers, athletes, artists ...
> Prejudice is no good.

The radio program "Puerto Ricans in Action," Sundays on WINS, was another integral part of this policy of integration. Different Puerto Rican leaders in the areas of politics, education and social services participated in this radio program. Herman Badillo, Josephine Nieves, José Monserrat and Jean Calderón were among the Puerto Ricans who participated in this radio program.

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of the Puerto Rican population.[145] The school and social profiles of Puerto Rican children indicates not only their *deficits and pathos*, but also the particular ways in which their aptitudes were measured. For instance, the physical appearance of Puerto Rican children was made equal to grade placement, "a child who is very small due to nutritional deficiency, may be placed in a lower grade, where his classmates would most nearly approximate his stature" (Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs, 1951: 14).

According to this survey, Puerto Rican children do not speak English. They also have attendance problems which requires a "mental hygiene policy." The hygienist statement is also activated in the functions assigned to Spanish teachers as providers of information on health, safety, nutrition, and advice on sanitation.

The survey continues. Their conditions of living in Puerto Rico and New York make them vulnerable to disease. They do not possess a recreational life which would stimulate the learning of English. The researchers concluded that the involvement of the Puerto Rican parent in the school would help child acceptance and that it was important that the

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[145] The survey "Puerto Rican Population in New York City Public Schools" includes a variety of topics: school organization and population, Puerto Ricans pupil profiles, class organization and distribution, textbooks, materials and methods of teaching, tests, physical health, mental health, child guidance, recreational facilities, adult education, parental participation and community relations. For this survey the Committee secured the services of, as they called her a "social diagnostician," the Puerto Rican expert on Puerto Ricans Mrs. Luisa Frías de Hempel.

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"home life was not criticized." Among other recommendations for facing "The Puerto Rican Problem" are the organizing of faculty conferences on the historical background and problems of Puerto Ricans. Finally, they recommend the procurement of additional funds and staff to accomplish another "wide study" on "The Puerto Rican Problem" in the New York City public schools.[146]

Five years later, another study-report, the "Census of Puerto Rican and Foreign-Born Pupils" (1956), was carried out by the Board of Education. A profile of "The Puerto Rican Problem" in the New York City Public School System is elaborated and a number of recommendations offered for addressing the problem. The main rationale of the study was "... to estimate the magnitude of the English language handicap ... " and to help pupils and parents.

According to the findings, 81% of the foreign-born students are of Puerto Rican ancestry. The scales and test

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[146] The Public Education Association and the New York University Research Center for Human Relations were two of the organizations that conducted inquiries on "The Puerto Rican Problem" in the NYC public schools. In one of their reports, "The Status of the Public School Education of Negro and Puerto Rican Children in New York City," 1955, they address the issue of educational equal opportunity in the context of ethnic discrimination in the public schools. The statement of educational discrimination activates the savage mimesis and the deficit mode through the *poor profile* of Negro and Puerto Rican children. According to this report, there are also two types of schools; the continental and the Negro/Puerto Rican. Through an inquiry of the "difficult schools", that of the Negro and Puerto Rican children, they attempt to evaluate the policy of equal education. "Lower educational standards" and other problems are features of these schools. Their findings revealed that continental schools have more resources than Negro/Puerto Ricans schools. They recommended more funds, new buildings, lower class size and increased services.

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results indicate that 50% of these students have problems. It is claimed that parents are not informed of school practices. The social profile of Puerto Rican pupils outlines poor living conditions, a paucity of cultural facilities, overcrowding and poor housing conditions, and low socioeconomic status. They recommend special programs and teachers for English language instruction. The study also advocates the allotment of state funds to conduct further studies.

The Puerto Rican Study

"The Puerto Rican Study" (1958) was a research project in which several agencies and authorities participated under the direction of the Board of Education and the sponsorship of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. The Department of Labor and the Migration Office also requested this study.[147] The significance of "The Puerto Rican Problem" is addressed in the following terms:

> Before 1940, in the administration of New York City schools, the Puerto Ricans were just another small minority group ..., 'San Juan Hill' and the 'Spanish

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[147] Prior to "The Puerto Rican Study" was an initial report "A Program of Education for Puerto Ricans in New York City," 1946-47. There was another study on Puerto Rican children conducted in 1951. "The Puerto Rican Study" was carried out during 1953-57 by a huge staff and budget, one-hundred people and half a million dollars. Charles Rosario, Carmen Sanguinetti, María Colón, Antonio Ramos, Frank Bonilla and María Seguí were some of the Puerto Rican researchers who participated in this project. Clarence Senior and C. Wright Mills were among the leading researchers of "The Puerto Rican Study."

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> Harlem' were problems for the sociologists and the school that tried to serve these areas. (J. C. Morrison, 1958: 1)

Subsequently Puerto Ricans in New York City become a generalized problem for all North American authorities.[148]

The main aims of this study were; how to teach English to Puerto Rican children, how to promote their adjustment, and how to identify their background and present profile. Inter-family relations and child personality were also the focus of the study.[149] Observations, questionnaires,

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[148] In Puerto Rico the counterpart of "The Puerto Rican Study" was the work by Julian Haynes Stewart and others, The People of Puerto Rico: A Study in Social Anthropology, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956. This was a research project carried out by North American anthropologists under the direction of Julian H. Stewart who was acting as the director of the Social Science Research Center at the University of Puerto Rico at the time. The anthropological aims are stated by Julian Steward in the "Introduction" of The People of Puerto Rico:

> The acute problems affecting Puerto Rico's two million inhabitants are one of the United States' gravest responsibilities. The obvious consequences of overpopulation, low standard of living ... have motivated investigations of the more specialized factors involved, such as health, demography, agriculture, economics, and political policies. Recognizing the need of relating these factors to the basic behavior patterns of the people and to the relevant facts of biology. The *Centro de Investigaciones Sociales* requested the AMNH and Columbia University's Department of Anthropology to cooperate ... The Puerto Rican authorities and the United States government are interested in this program as a source of information necessary to their administrative problems. The American Museum and Columbia University undertake it as a program of scientific research ... not unmindful of the practical needs and they assume that their results will be of value to the administrator as to pure science. (Quoted by A. Lauria-Perricelli, 1992: 112).

[149] They state that the "parental adjustment problems" can also be addressed by the school.

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interviews, tests, and study of materials were part of the research techniques used in this project.[150]

Morrison describes the problems of Puerto Rican children in the New York City public schools. He states "... that many were not participating in classroom activities, were not learning, were quietly and unobtrusively "sitting out" months and years of their allotted school time" (J. C. Morrison, 1958: 129).

"The Puerto Rican Problem" is enunciated through the deficit mode and the savage mimesis. Thus, problems of achievement, disruptive behavioral problems, lack of concentration, hyperactivity, short attention span, inability to follow group activity, withdrawal, inability to make friends, truancy and court referrals are part of the profile of Puerto Rican children.

In addition, IQ tests reveal their learning problems. In light of this, the Puerto Rican child is defined as a "retarded language learner." The "problem child" refers to those who speak only Spanish, are raised in the slums, and score lowest in exams which test spoken and written English proficiency. Accordingly, Puerto Rican children were to be admitted to "CRMD class" - the educable mentally retarded - but that can be rated by C, B or A in spoken English. The "transition class" is for those who are retarded language

[150] "The Puerto Rican Study" has eighteen chapters, whose content is the survey, the Puerto Rican profile, the findings, conclusions and policy guidelines.

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learners. The "core class" is for those who live in a new environment and begin to learn English.

Child guidance, testing, psychological services, vocational orientation, community education, radio programs (WNYE) and curriculum research are some of the recommendations contained in this study. They also recommend legal amendments for additional state aid in order to work with the "n-E pupils", i.e. non-English speaking. School census, a placement policy, recognition of heterogeneity, screening, flexible policies, curricular materials, improvement of programs, school responsibility, teacher training, parent help, and the coordination between the Puerto Rico Commonwealth and New York City as "partners in a great enterprise" are the general recommendations.[151]

In addition, the "guide for action" included short and long range policies. The production of methods and materials for teaching Puerto Ricans pupils was central to these policies. Several publications derived from the educational inquiry: nine for the Resource Units Series; four for the Language Guide Series and; three for curriculum materials. Some of these are:

"A Letter to Friends of Puerto Rican Children" by J. Cayce Morrison (1955)

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[151] "The Puerto Rican Study" had three policy stages; orientation, transition and, extended orientation. This last stage presupposes the lack of success by the educational institutions or the hysterical need to maintain a constant intervention on "The Puerto Rican Problem."

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"Who are the Puerto Rican Pupils in the New York City Schools" by Goodman S. M., Diamond and Fox (1956)

"Puerto Rican Children" by the Superintendent of Schools (1955-56, 1957)

"Our Children from Puerto Rico A Report on their Island Home" by The Visiting Puerto Rican Workshop (1955, 1957)

"Tests and Testing" by S. M. Goodman et al. (1958)

"The Puerto Rican Study A Report on the Education and Adjustment of Puerto Rican Pupils in the Public Schools of New York City" by J. C. Morrison (1958)

The pamphlet, "Interviewing Puerto Rican Parents and Children In Spanish A Guide for School Personnel" (Board of Education, n.d.) is another manual designed to deal with "The Puerto Rican Problem." This manual was part of the recommendations of "The Puerto Rican Study." The aim is to facilitate the communication between Puerto Ricans and non-Spanish speaking school personnel. The guide includes question and answer examples for interviews, sentences and common words in Spanish. The manual also exists as a tape-recording. In the "Looking to the Future" section, the researchers state that the spreading of Puerto Ricans to the Bronx and Brooklyn has to be studied. They argue that the government should make efforts to redirect this migration to Miami, Chicago, New Jersey, Connecticut and other states. The industrialization of the Island is also seen as a mechanism for reducing the flow of migration.

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Who are the Puerto Rican Pupils?

J. Cayce Morrison as director of "The Puerto Rican Study," and other educational researchers representing the Board of Education, presented "Who are the Puerto Rican Pupils in the New York City Public Schools" (1956). In the introduction the researchers state that the improvement of educational opportunities for Puerto Ricans in New York City school needs a "factual basis" from which to proceed.[152]

In conducting the study the researchers carried out interviews, administered questionnaires and tested the intelligence of Puerto Rican children in the areas of English and Mathematics.[153] For this study four groups were classified to identify the problems of Puerto Rican children. "Group A" represents the Island-born and schooled. "Group B" represents the Island-mainland schooled. "Group C" represents the mainland-born pupils of Puerto Rican parentage. "Group D" represents the referent group, the non-Puerto Rican and mainland-born. It is through the comparative strategy of a set of groups that deficits and inferior status of Puerto

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[152] The report "Tests and Testing Developing a Program for Testing Puerto Rican Pupils in the New York City Public Schools" (1959) which was part of "The Puerto Rican Study" also includes an analysis of the test results in the areas of spoken English, Mathematics and non-verbal intelligence administered to Puerto Rican children. The Educational Testing Program allows the researchers to "continue presenting an accurate picture of this population." "Retest them from time to time to plot their patterns of development" (Board of Education, 1959: 78).

[153] They also explored family wages, size of household, persons per room, household mobility, language used at home, composition of family unit, age, student placement and school mobility.

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Rican children are asserted. The test scores reveal that Puerto Rican children are:

averaged below the ...

below the referent group ...

below the level of published norms ...

behind the grade norm ...

the lowest scores ...

lower than the referent group ...

The insertion of a control group also presupposes that this is ideologically the ideal group from which Puerto Rican *otherness* is produced. Puerto Rican pupils also differ from the referent group in terms of family unit, wages and mobility. In general, the researchers found that the three types of Puerto Rican children differ from Group D.

The statistical terms "frequency, average, median and percentage" are discursively productive within the empirical claims which legitimate the intervention with "problemed" Puerto Rican children. According to the researchers, this data aims "to add depth and dimension to the knowledge that administrators and teachers already have about the wide diversity of ability and achievement."

The grammatical iconography of Puerto Rican children presents a structure of adjectives and prefixes such as "out of, below, lack of, low, worst, behind, over, the lowest, the highest, one of the most, un-, non-, dis-" which activate the deficit mode and the savage mimesis.

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The Urban and Hygienic Needs of Puerto Rican Children

The report "Resource Units for Classes with Puerto Rican Pupils" (1957) published by the Board of Education is another outcome of "The Puerto Rican Study." This report includes a series of materials "for instruction of Puerto Rican children." This is a list-guide of urban manners, attitudes, behavior, skills and values to be imparted by the teachers to Puerto Rican children.[154]

"Unit A" includes the topic "New School- New Friends". Unit B includes "New Surroundings," that is, from local neighborhood to the city. Teachers provide instruction to Puerto Rican children who have to listen, see, internalize, and apply values and instructions in how to dispose of garbage, how to cross the street, and converse with an elderly resident. Instructions on how to be an efficient buyer and consumer, and interact with public officials and the police are given. Information on how the police and the firemen work to prevent fire and the destruction of property is offered. Skills needed for communicating on the phone, and how to read and understand bills are part of this. Instructions of keeping music low, keeping fire escapes and

[154] This report has an antecedent, the bulletin "Teaching Children of Puerto Rican Background in New York City Schools" (1953). The discursive strategy of repetition is one constantly reused; contextualized and justified over time. As Clarence Senior prepares a manual for social workers who work with Puerto Ricans, the Board of Education prepares this guideline for teachers urbanization - in the normative sense - of Puerto Rican children.

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sidewalks clear, and good housekeeping are offered. Punctuality is stressed as an important value. Also, information on the rights and responsibilities of tenants is provided.

"Theme 4" of this unit is "The Clinic". This topic is intended to aid in the development of the habits of cleanliness and personal hygiene among Puerto Rican children, and their relationships with doctors and nurses. Hygienization as a discursive practice requires that Puerto Ricans keep "answering questions of self and family." Puerto Ricans must develop habits such as the use of the toothbrush, keeping a healthy diet, use of the clinics in the neighborhood, keeping appointments and "the mental set of health." Puerto Ricans should also make use of and enjoy the community centers, libraries, museums and parks of the city.[155] The last and optional theme for teachers is "Using out-of-school time for employment." Requirements for the transformation into an *American*, modern self are given as necessary for those entering the labor force.

Visual instructions for urbanization and hygienic practices are given in a series of films strips and radio programs. These are intended to train children, and parents, to be disciplined in modern culture, well mannered and

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[155] "Unit C" is "New York City and New York State." In this section guidelines for Puerto Ricans are given on how to travel on the subway and geographical knowledge of the city is provided. In this way, Puerto Rican children will know about government services, the history of New York and the contributions of its people.

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respectful of authority.[156] These films and radio programs attempt to orthopaedicize Puerto Ricans into *American*,

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[156] Some of the films displayed are the following:
"Your Thrift Habits"
"Mind your Manners"
"Respect for Property"
"How to be well Groomed" by Coronet Instructional Films of New York
"The Fireman"
"The Policeman" by Encyclopedia Britannica Films of New York
"Let's Be Good Citizens in our Neighborhood" by Gateway Productions Inc., of California
"Living in the Metropolis" by United World Films of New York
"The Right Clothes" by McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc. of New York
"Eat Well, Live Well"
"Essentials of Diet"
"A Number Family in Addition" by Popular Science Publishing Co. of New York
"Safe Home-Safe Living"
"Tale of a Toothache"
"We Have You Cured"
"You're on Parade"
"The Right Breakfast" by The Stanley Bowmar Co. Inc. of New York

Also, a series of tape recordings aired on WNYE Radio Programs by *"Señorita Jones"* featured "dramatic sketches to help Puerto Rican child adjustment" concludes this discourse on the Puerto Rican educational problem:

> The school attendance problem is dramatized in *"Todos los días, de todas maneras"* (Everyday, no matter what).
> The problem of punctuality is dramatized in *"Siempre último en la fila"* (Always the last one on line).
> *"El campo en la ciudad"* (The country in the city), deploys the rural-urban dichotomy and its conciliation in the park and the zoo in the city.
> *"Es un día magnífico"* (It is a great day), indicates what to do about the Holidays.
> *"Una comida completa"* (A complete meal), what Puerto Ricans must eat.
> *"Vengan ustedes, todos"* (Come on, all of you), how to enjoy sports.
> *"Quiero ser Presidente"* (I want to be President), how to participate in the school club.
> *"Pan sin lágrimas"* (Bread without tears), visiting the neighborhood stores.
> *"Señor Hielo Llega otra vez"* (Mr. Ice is coming again), how to use warm clothes.
> *"Me duele mucho aquí"* (It hurts a lot here) urges medical and dental check-ups.

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modern, moral and productive subjects. Further, through these scientific studies, tests and instructions the *truth* of the *deficitarian* and *pathological ethos* of Puerto Ricans is claimed.

City and State Interventions

The State Survey

The "Report on Survey of Brooklyn Agencies rendering Services to Puerto Ricans" (1953) presents "The Puerto Rican Problem" from the perspective of State policymakers. This study represents the State's effort to "interpret to the community at large the present situation in regard to Puerto Ricans."

The new Puerto Rican population, according to this report, presents problems of housing, health, welfare and intergroup relations which are the agencies primary

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"Help, help" (Auxilio, auxilio) how to call a fireman or a policeman.
"Al este y oeste de la ciudad" (To the east and west side of the city), how to use the subway and take the bus for Christmas bargains.
"Puertas abiertas para vidas felices" (Open doors for happy lives), how Puerto Ricans should enjoy vocational schools.
"Libertad para aprender y servir" (Freedom to learn and serve others), the academic schools and the road to professions.

The second series of radio programs are that of *"Peter and Pepe Series"* which enact the following dramatizations:
"Hiya Amigo! - How Two Friends Met"
"Feel Better Now? - Getting Well Sooner," on the clinic service.
"Good Neighbors, Good Neighborhood," on clean-up campaign.
"Great Day, Great Man - Washington's Birthday" and another great patriot - *Luis Muñoz Rivera.*

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concerns.[157] According to this report, different agencies aim to have a "community approach" towards the problems of Puerto Ricans since their pilot programs have failed. In addition, these agencies intended to adapt their service delivery to meet the needs of Puerto Ricans.

The survey carried out by the Brooklyn Council for Social Planning organized different task forces to identify agency problems with Puerto Ricans and offer possible solutions. The main task force was the Steering Committee on Puerto Ricans which had 24 members representing real estate,

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"Mother's Day is Every Day - Home responsibilities," on cooperation at home.

[157] Among the studies out by other institutions, was "Vocational Needs of Puerto Rican Migrants" (1947) carried out by the social worker Paquita Ruiz at the Social Science Research Center, University of Puerto Rico. This study presents a profile of "The Puerto Rican Problem." Puerto Ricans do not have occupational skills, educational attributes, stable jobs, and English language skills. Puerto Ricans have low incomes and prison records. They are illiterate. They have bad health, especially tuberculosis. In addition, Ruiz quotes a series of unpublished studies on the problems of Puerto Rican diet, health and crime. For instance, the New York City Housing Department carried out a survey titled "The Slum and Crime", and the New York Department of Health carried out its own study, "Health Problems among Puerto Ricans in New York" in 1934. Likewise, nutritional studies were carried out by the New York Catholic Church in 1925, and by the Charity Organization Society in 1939. Ruiz states that:

> New York nutritionists have criticized the Puerto Rican diet and have pointed out that it lacks calories, that it is low in essential minerals, particularly calcium, and that it is especially deficient in vitamins A and D. (P. Ruiz, 1947: 24)

The lack of occupational and educational skills of Puerto Rican migrants - operates as the independent variable, explaining Puerto Rican low jobs, poverty, health and criminality in New York City. Even when the author recognizes other factors affecting Puerto Rican migration like discrimination, demand for factory workers in New York, immigration policies and transportation facilities, she concentrates her analysis on the deficit profile of Puerto Ricans. She states that "Little can be done about this now." Finally, she recommends more schools and training programs for Puerto Ricans in the Island.

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business, press, community, government and religious organizations. There was also a Staff Committee and the Survey Committee on Puerto Ricans. The latter had two sub-committees: one carried out the survey of private services available to Puerto Ricans and; the second carried out a survey on the health conditions of Puerto Ricans.[158]

The Survey Committee administered a questionnaire to the concerned agencies which had to list the types of services delivered to Puerto Ricans, the problems which they identified and their recommendations. "The Puerto Rican Problem" as reported by the agencies surveyed were: language, housing, health, employment, family, government, financial and cultural patterns.

The conclusions and recommendations of this report were: to obtain more federal assistance; subsidies for increasing special programs; Spanish speaking teachers; English classes for Puerto Ricans; the conducting of a study on their housing conditions; legislation for housing improvement, workshops for the agencies staff to discuss "The Puerto Rican Problem"; in order to acquire techniques and methods of helping and assisting Puerto Ricans. This would lead to an "increasing

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[158] Data profiles have been the basic institutional practice for elaborating "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse. The Research Bureau of the Welfare and Health Council of New York City conducted a survey of the "Population of Puerto Rican Birth or Parentage in New York City" (1952). Data on health, education, income, employment, family composition and other information was collected in this report. According to this report, Puerto Ricans are "our least-advantaged citizens."

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understanding in the community of the Puerto Rican situation."[159]

A Medical Intervention

The Rationale of the Disabled

In 1957, a group of educators and researchers from the Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation at Bellevue Medical Center carried out a one-year study on disabled Puerto Ricans. In their medical report these researchers argued for the necessity of looking at the causal factors for

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[159] "The Puerto Rican Problem" is also identified with respect to issues of discrimination. In the report "The Puerto Rican in New Jersey His Present Status" (1955), a historical background of Puerto Ricans and their problems in New Jersey are explored. The Division Against Discrimination sponsored by the Department of Education carried out a research through interviews with employers, newspaper editors, agency staff to identify the problems with Puerto Ricans. One example of discrimination against Puerto Ricans is stated by one of the interviewers:

> One public official immediately exploded when he heard the name Puerto Ricans mentioned. Before the writer left him this official requested that he not be portrayed as being prejudiced against Puerto Ricans.
> Another public official immediately went off into a discussion of how the influx of Puerto Ricans into his community would introduce tropical health diseases and would increase the health problems of the community. He is a health official. (Division Against Discrimination, 1955: 44)

Another example is the study "Puerto Rican Employment in New York City Hotels" (1958) carried out by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination to investigate the specific problems of Puerto Rican workers in these hotels. As one discursive strategy of the study on the discrimination faced by Puerto Ricans, the research and its findings are focused on the Puerto Rican *deficits*. They state in this report that "as language barriers are reduced and skills acquired, this will reduce" (discrimination). The lackings of Puerto Rican workers create the problem of discrimination but as soon they acquire "American supplies," these are skills, values, character, and English proficiency hence becoming modern subjects, the problem will disappear.

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the large number of patients from Puerto Rico and their "particular problems." According to the report, disabled Puerto Ricans have difficulties with communication, attendance and vocational rehabilitation.[160] The authors point out that Puerto Ricans have been the focus of attention by social scientists, public agencies and other concerned groups. "The Puerto Rican disabled problem" is produced as an inference which stemmed from "The Puerto Rican Problem" itself.

> since there are "550,000 Puerto Ricans in New York City, one might expect that the disabled among this group pose a substantial problem for vocational rehabilitation. (V. Sanua et. al., 1957: 1)

This research includes; the evaluation of services provided to Puerto Ricans, the agencies experiences with them, and the effects of rehabilitation on their employment status. The authors also identified cultural differences, psychological and physical traumas, poverty, language handicap and other problems affecting the vocational rehabilitation of Puerto Ricans. Through interviews and surveys conducted with seventeen different agencies the authors presented the profile of "the disabled-Puerto Rican problem." Through this profile the specific problems of the Puerto Rican disabled

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[160] Another dimension of the Puerto Rican rehabilitation problem, is that "standard vocational and psychological tests proved hopelessly inadequate for planning." According to the authors, the administration of tests were difficult and the results were questionable.

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appear as the already established correlates of "The Puerto Rican Problem." For instance, the apartments of this group of disabled Puerto Ricans are described as "poorly furnished, small and overcrowded."

The authors also claim that the rehabilitation course is different for Puerto Ricans. Thus, another displacement of "The Puerto Rican Problem" into the arena of vocational rehabilitation follows: Puerto Ricans establish less rapport and; they "showed less understanding of the rehabilitation process and were less understood by the staff than other groups."

However, the researchers state that "In contrast to a popular stereotype of the Puerto Rican as a happy-go-lucky fatalist, the responses of our group show a marked psychological impact of the physical trauma that they have experienced" (V. Sanua, 1957: 19). Even more, the rehabilitation process of Puerto Ricans and its correlation with employment status do not present "significant differences with the control group." It seems that Puerto Ricans were earning more than the control group.

The authors recognize that there is discrimination and stereotypes of Puerto Ricans among staff members of agencies. "Because Puerto Ricans are conspicuously different and present more difficult problems, it may seem to the worker that there are more of them." For instance, according to the workers, 75% of Puerto Ricans never returned to work, staying on welfare and workers compensation, while the research

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findings indicate that only 30% of Puerto Ricans represent this tendency.[161] The "perceptual accentuation" of workers is a deployment that activates "The Puerto Rican Problem." Even when medical diagnosis and the research findings on disabled Puerto Ricans do not seem to be related to correlates of Rosary #2, these correlates mediate the research approach and its hypothesis.

The Psychiatric Intervention

"The Puerto Rican Syndrome"

One of the anthropological interventions on Puerto Ricans conducted mainly in the field of psychiatry has been "The Puerto Rican Syndrome." According to Lillian Comas-Díaz and Robert James McCormick, this "disorder" was identified in the 1950s by Anglo-military doctors in their observations of the peculiar behavior of Puerto Rican soldiers who were anxious (L. Comas-Díaz, 1981 and R. J. McCormick, 1986). This peculiar behavior has been studied and identified by several psychiatrists and psychologists as *ataque de nervios*. This is identified by a symptomatology which includes seizures, rolling eyes, convulsions, unconsciousness, salivation, physical paralysis, aggressiveness, self-mutilation, moaning, and hyperventilation. Debates revolve around cultural

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[161] This is a conceptual inflection of the "Self-fulfilling Prophecy" or the "Thomas Theorem" elaborated by Robert Merton. See Social Theory and Social Structure, Chapter XI, "The Self-fulfilling Prophecy," pp. 421-436.

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determinism, psychiatric disorder, psychological and genetic factors as generating "The Puerto Rican Syndrome." The peculiarity of this behavior, or its symptoms is seen as an exclusive and *pathological* trait of Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans, once again exhibit their *pathos* which is grasped by the authoritative eye of science in which the *a priori* of culture and knowledge experience and organize what is abnormal and strange to the eye itself.[162] Different hypothesis/diagnoses on the causes and patterns of "The Puerto Rican Syndrome" by authorities in psychiatry and psychology are produced. Profiles of neurosis and psychosis, and their correlations to sociodemographic characteristics, analyses of cultural determinants and psychogenic origins are registers of the different debates and incongruencies on "The Puerto Rican Syndrome."[163] This has lead to a non-consensus

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[162] Systematic observation of the patients who suffered this disorder and their characteristics are part of the medical inquiry. Application of tests, scores of the disorder, correlations and regularity of the symptoms also produce the pattern-profile of "The Puerto Rican Syndrome."

[163] Some of the explanatory, descriptive and critical accounts of "The Puerto Rican Syndrome" are: M. Rubio et.al., "Psychopathologic Reaction Patterns in the Antilles Command," United States Armed Forces Medical Journal, 1955, Vol. 6, pp. 1767-1772; Robert Mehlman, "The Puerto Rican Syndrome," American Journal of Psychiatry, 1960, Vol. 118, pp. 328-332; E. Maldonado Sierra, "Neuroses and Traditional Beliefs in Puerto Rico," International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 1960, Vol. 6, pp. 237-246; Ramón Fernández Marina, "The Puerto Rican Syndrome: Its Dynamics and Cultural Determinants," Psychiatry, 1961, Vol. 24, pp. 79-82; A. Rothenberg, "Puerto Rico and Aggression," American Journal of Psychiatry, 1964, Vol. 120, No. 10, pp. 962-970; Vivian Garrison, "Psychiatry and *Espiritismo*," in Case Studies in Spirit Possession, by V. Crapanzano and Garrison, New York: John Wiley, 1977; Mario Rendon, "Myths and Stereotypes in Minority Groups," The International Journal of Social Psychiatry, Winter 1984, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 297-309; Víctor De la Cancela et. al., "Psychosocial Distress Among Latinos: A Critical

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and a lack of knowledge on the causality itself of this "syndrome." Further, formalization of the knowledge on this *syndrome* has not occured. As Dr. Ramón Fernández Marina states,

> Why were English speaking Army psychiatrists content with the label Puerto Rican Syndrome without recording disordered thought processes and ambivalence? Partly, perhaps, because **they believed** they had found a decisive "classical" symptom and thus needed to look no further - which would, in any case, have been difficult because of language and other cultural barriers. These psychiatrists may have **believed** that Puerto Ricans are primitive, superstitious and generally ignorant people. They may have regarded the most bizarre expressions of the "magic" thought associations of the schizophrenic as normal to Puerto Rican culture. (R. Fernández-Marina, 1961: 15 - emphasis mine)

Likewise Dr. Mario Rendon indicates,

> The Puerto Rican Syndrome is a term that has been used not in the official nosology but rather as a **curiosity** during the last part of this century in the New York area. I first heard of it when I was doing my training in psychiatry and then several times again in different

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Analysis of *Ataques de Nervios*," Humanity and Society, November 1986, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 431-447 and; Patricia Gherovici, "The Puerto Rican Ghetto's Sublime Hystories," Journal for the Psychoanalysis of Culture and Society, Fall 1996, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp.182-186.

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> places and with different connotations. (M. Rendon, 1984: 305 - emphasis mine)

The "discursive rapport" between the *pathological* culture of Puerto Ricans and their high rate of *mental illness* has been constitutive of the discursive regularity by which Puerto Ricans become subject-objects. There is a textual dialogue between the enunciations of "The Puerto Rican Syndrome" and the "cultural delusions" of Puerto Ricans. In Cultural Aspects of Delusion: A Psychiatric Study of the Virgin Islands (1962), Dr. Edwin Weinstein elaborates an approach for the study of psychosis considering cultural factors which in turn are displaced onto psychotic behavior. Weinstein states that delusions are adaptations to stress defined in a cultural context. Weinstein carried out a study with psychotic patients in the Virgin Islands where a group of Puerto Ricans live. First the author presents the background of Puerto Ricans living in Saint Croix. He describes the animosity of Crucians against Puerto Ricans for their "clannishness, quick-tempered violence and unsanitary habits." In his analysis of Puerto Rican culture and psychosis, Weinstein discusses family organization, attitudes toward children, food and work, expressions of violence, religion, death and *obeah*. According to him, these cultural factors are very important for Puerto Ricans since they are symbolized through language by the psychotic patients. The suicide attempts, for instance, are explained in

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consideration of the universal violence attributed to men, and their *machismo*. Delusions about mothers are explained through the idealization of the Puerto Rican mother as a loving, devoted and suffering figure. Delusions about poisoned food are due to the important role of eating in Puerto Rican culture. According to Weinstein, all these delusions present symbols under stress. In cases of conversion hysteria - motor and sensory paralysis and abnormal movements - among Puerto Ricans, Weinstein did not offer a diagnosis. But according to him, "In any view, it would be of interest to learn if the classical versions of conversion hysteria in a culture bear any relationship to the degree to which physical violence is a preferred channel of communication and symbolizes virility" (E. Weinstein, 1962: 186).

From 1957 to 1964, two North American sociologists carried out research on schizophrenia among Puerto Rican poor families in the *caseríos* and slums of San Juan (L. Rogler and A. Hollingshead, 1965). In 1973, a North American psychiatrist stated that eighty to ninety percent of the Puerto Rican population was affected by mental illness (*Bohemia* Magazine, July 30 - August 5 1973). From different perspectives and methods, psychiatrists, educators, psychologists, social scientists, literary writers, teachers, sociologists and anthropologists enunciate the *pathos* of Puerto Ricans. The discursive profile of Puerto Ricans as *pathological* includes their conformist, alcoholic, fatalist,

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submissive, emotionally unstable, servile, self-destructive, and escapist traits.[164]

From a Lacanian approach, the impossibility of truth emerges in the discussion on "The Puerto Rican Syndrome" (P. Gherovici, 1996). According to Gherovici "The history of hysteria is a history of failed attempts to dominate the object, of putting in evidence the lack of the Master" (P. Gherovici, 1996: 183). The *syndrome* as alterity eludes the categories and theories by which modern knowledge of the *Other* establishes its *truth* claims. Salivation, eyes rolling, unconsciousness, self-mutilation, aggression, physical paralysis, convulsions and moaning as regularities of "The Puerto Rican Syndrome" proves elusive for scientific inquiry on the causality of these symptoms as pathological, genetic

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[164] Some of the works by which Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican intellectuals have produced this enunciation are: *El Puertorriqueño Dócil y otros Ensayos*, by the writer René Marqués, [Río Piedras]: Editorial Antillana, 1977; *Transculturación e Interferencia Linguística en el Puerto Rico Contemporáneo 1898-1968*, by the writer Germán Granda, Río Piedras: Editorial Edil, 1972; "Growing Up and Its Price in Three Puerto Rican Subcultures," by the anthropologist Kathleen L. Wolf, Psychiatry, November 1953, Vol. 15, No. 4, pp. 401-433; *"Atisbos en la Personalidad Puertorriqueña,"* by the psychologists Herbert Marty and Carlos Albizu Miranda, *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, Septiembre 1958, Vol. II, No. 3; *"La Jueyera: Enajenación y Pseudo Conflicto,"* by the anthropologist Eduardo Seda Bonilla in Caribbean Integration by Thomas Mathews and Sybil Lewis, (editors), Río Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 1967; La Vida A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty-San Juan and New York, by the anthropologist Oscar Lewis, New York: Vintage Books, 1965; The Sober Generation: Children of Operation Bootstrap A Topology of Competent Coping By Adolescents in Modern Puerto Rico, by the psychiatrists and social scientist Ramón Fernández Marina, Ursula Von Eckard and Eduardo Maldonado, [Río Piedras]: University of Puerto Rico Press, 1969, and; *"El Niño Puertorriqueño: Bases Empíricas para Entender su Comportamiento,"* by the sociologist and educator Luis Nieves Falcón in *Diagnóstico de Puerto Rico*, Río Piedras: Editorial Edil, 1972.

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or cultural. On the other hand, while psychiatrists could diagnose this syndrome as "hysteria," they opt to identify it as "The Puerto Rican Syndrome." "The Puerto Rican Syndrome" is a distortion of cultural and scientific codification on body contortions and paralysis. The *Other* continues to be an enigma.

The Community Intervention

The Community Problem

Another discursive account of the Puerto Rican *primitive* is stated through a community study. In "Challenges of a Changing Population: A Study of the Integration of the Puerto Ricans in a West Side Community in Manhattan" (1954), a North American teacher, Virginia Massimine, states that dealing with the problem of an outgroup within an established community "requires special understanding and skill." Fears of the "newcomers" - Puerto Ricans as the causes of crime, property devaluation and disruption of the community - have to be addressed by community studies and actions in order to solve the problem. In this case, The Center for Human Relations Studies, sponsored by the Emil Schwartzhaupt Foundation, carried out this study on "the community problem."[165]

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[165] "One in Twenty The Facts About the Puerto Ricans Among Us" (1955) is yet another survey in which the spatial location of Puerto Ricans is measured, profiled and correlated to indexes of welfare, education, housing, poverty, and crime rates. This report has six pages

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Residents, teachers and community leaders designed questionnaires and carried out interviews in order to identify the problem - profile of Puerto Ricans in/for the West Side community (86th St. to 110th St.). This time the deficit mode is activated by a community task force.

The population data and the interviews revealed that Puerto Ricans lack good housing and sanitary conditions, do not have adequate labor skills, and have serious health problems. Moreover, large numbers of Puerto Ricans are dropping out of school. This urban problem profile of the Puerto Ricans is integral to Rosary #2. Significations of dirtiness, poor health, lack of training, unskilled, overcrowding, violence, and "lack of" are deployed in the

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of typed text. The location of Puerto Ricans between ninety-fifth and one-hundred thirty-fifth streets in Manhattan is studied. This is a second survey conducted by The Boys Athletic League. William L. Kauth and George Meyers, the authors of this survey, were members of the Extension Committee of the Boys Athletic League of New York City. They state that contrary to the "oldest immigrant groups, whose culture was not unlike to that of the United States" Puerto Ricans are different. The Puerto Rican migration is explained deploying Rosary #1. The high birth rate and the problem of "overpopulation" are the two discursive correlates of this migration. Likewise, the deficit mode is deployed to state that Puerto Rican lack of knowledge of an industrial society, ignorance concerning climate and youth resentment lead to barriers and problems with North Americans. According to this, Puerto Ricans are seen as "undesirable intruders." The "Spanish Harlem Problem" is graphically presented in this report. Maps, graphs, statistics and lists present the location of "The Puerto Rican Problem" and their contours; schools, health centers, candy stores, empty plots, playgrounds, recreational centers and hospitals. Problems of housing, delinquency, low educational attainment, lack of money, less training, relief rolls, court cases and, truancy are made visually and spatially concrete in this graphic report. They conclude that the problems of "the Puerto Rican-Americans" - ethnic, linguistic and ideological - exist because of "a lack of communication" between the different ethnic groups in the community. Finally, they state that there has been steady progress and integration with Puerto Rican youth thanks to their surveys and efforts.

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discursive construction of Puerto Ricans in the urban space of New York City.

In the report a list of Puerto Rican needs is given. Puerto Ricans need more police protection, nurseries, schools and a health care center. The ideological moral status of modern-urban *America* appears through other recommendations listed as solutions for "the community problem."[166]

The Church Intervention

The Mission

The act of courage and the religious commitment to "those in trouble" is presented in the story of James Alfred Gusweller, an Episcopal priest "... who takes over a church in an expanding Puerto Rican ghetto.." (J. Ehle, 1960: ix). In Shepherd of the Streets The Story of a Reverend (1960), John Ehle narrates Gusweller's crusade in New York's West Side. As Harry Golden writes in the Preface, "Shepherd of the Streets is a religious book because it is able to present

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[166] Some of the main recommendations were:
1. Workshops and classes for Puerto Ricans to learn how adjust to the "new life."
2. Discussion groups for all the ethnic groups in the community.
3. Home demonstrations including the use of foods, consumer education, budget management, and home nursing.
4. Study of drop-outs.
5. Vocational opportunities.
6. Study of recreational patterns of Puerto Ricans.
7. Cultural contributions in planning projects.
8. Learning a trade and job hunting.
9. Study of adjustment by different ethnic groups.
10. The further study of new arrivals in communities with different socio-economic levels.

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people at their worst ... ." Victimization, negligence and indifference are here the basis for religious intervention. Golden declares that the church and the State have to help and save them. The religious work of this Episcopal priest and his work with Puerto Ricans is discursively justified through religious commitment but also because Puerto Ricans "are citizens and Christians."[167]

Ehle offers a descriptive story narrated in the third person. Made up of thirteen chapters, each one a short story, the discursive economy of pity deploys the savage mimesis and the deficit mode as part of "The Puerto Rican Problem."

The visibility of the religious work takes place through the labeling of Puerto Ricans as migrant-colonial subjects. The devaluated identity of Puerto Ricans is significantly structured in the language of the writer. There is a discursive metonymy of the old imperialist image of the civilized and the uncivilized, in this case, the pastor Gusweller and Puerto Ricans in the inner city. Within the economy of religious pity correlates of Puerto Rican *deficits*

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[167] Other practices of pity based on "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse is that of The Protestant Council of New York City. The diagnostic given by the New York Protestant Church is that, according to "A Report on the Protestant Spanish Community in New York City" (1960), Puerto Ricans have religious needs. The policy of the Protestant Church is to develop people as religious followers, and as moral and productive citizens. In this context, Catholicism was not seen as a powerful normative force that could educate Puerto Ricans as moral and rational subjects. Further, this report represents the fourth study conducted by this church on Puerto Ricans. Through the collection of data, designs of tables and maps the researchers identified population trends, organizations and resources available for Puerto Ricans and their problems. The question of "youth and adjustment problems" of recent migrants are identified throughout this study.

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and *primitive* traits are seen as a process of victimization. This victimization also appears as a Puerto Rican *ethos*. Hence, Puerto Ricans become a discursive object.

John Ehle describes his recognition of "The Puerto Rican Problem" in the following way:

> ... when a door to one of the brownstone houses flew open and popped out two Puerto Rican boys shouting to one another in Spanish - poorly clothed boys, emaciated; and the rector realized with a chill that the beginning of a change for the neighborhood had come. (J. Ehle, 1960: 5)

The author's enunciation of "The Puerto Rican Problem" and the necessity of divine intervention follows:

> And what could be done for them? Or about them?
> They might find such a man, who could face such a trying situation and introduce God into this vast problem. (J. Ehle, 1960: 6)

The Christian fantasy of the restless and godless natives who could be saved if converted is operative in this text. The discourse of the urban jungle is the site for the rearticulation of a missionary goal of civilizing the *Other*, the urban native. There are variations of this theme of salvation. At times the deeply religious background of Puerto Ricans is evoked. They are, after all, Catholics/Christians who have strayed from the path of Jesus Christ. For others,

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they are not lapsed believers, but Godless heathens who must be converted to the faith if they are to be saved from themselves. The religious/missionary enunciation often modulates between these two versions with shifting emphasis.

Moreover, the descriptive enunciations of "The Puerto Rican Problem" is given. Accordingly, in this narration, Ehle describes what he takes to be everyday life in the ghetto during the summer: Puerto Ricans fill the streets with activity, children run about, drunks sing loudly, people engage in gossip and arguments mix with the sounds of loud music. He also notes moral degeneracy within few yards of the church, bars and prostitutes.

In order to initiate the conversion of Puerto Ricans into citizens and Christians pastor Gusweller began to prepare cocoa and say "Come in" to the Puerto Rican children. Cocoa parties and a film about Jesus are religious orthopaedic for "The Puerto Rican Problem" offered by the good pastor.

The textual activation of Rosary #1 is also presented in the account of the pastor's listening to the testimony of "Gloria," who lives with eight family members in a one-room apartment, and her stepfather who "drinks so much." According to Gloria's testimony, there are a lot of fights, her brother does not like to work, and there is no food in the refrigerator. According to the children, their families have a record of frequently moving, overcrowded apartments, and many of them are divorced. Gusweller also describes the

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pestilence of the ghetto and its inhabitants:

> Before him was a shambles, a dimly lit hole, place of pestilence ill-smelling, with the odor of human bodies soured in it. (J. Ehle, 1960: 50)

The sexual promiscuity of Puerto Rican women and their illegitimate relationships are enunciated as follows:

> He spoke to the father. He supposed he was the father of the children, although perhaps there had been another husband before him. Children stay with their mothers when a marriage breaks up, and even use their mother's name, rather than their father's, in Puerto Rico, which causes considerable confusion if they continue this system in New York City. (J. Ehle, 1960: 55)

Rosary #2 is also enunciated through Gusweller's narration of his experiences in the ghetto.[168] Gusweller found a high rate of delinquency among Puerto Rican youth and other problems. According to him, Puerto Ricans throw their garbage down the hot-air vent causing the building to smell especially bad. Also, there is prostitution and perverse relations between Puerto Rican men and women. Housing problems and overcrowding are also cited as serious problems. According to Gusweller,

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[168] Rosary #2 is the repetition of serial statements on the presence of Puerto Ricans in North American urban space mainly during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s as: ghetto or slum dwellers, unskilled, criminals, poor, with poor hygiene and health, gang members, dirty, noisy, overcrowded, non-English speaking, knife wielders, garbage throwers,

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overcrowding leads to human weakness and vice. There is also a birth control problem, dope addiction and single mothers.[169] In addition, the pastor had been informed of illicit sex acts, incest and other sexual perversions.

The Protestant Opportunity

"The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse activated by the religious authorities also produces the idea of "religious marketing." This idea was introduced at the Annual Assembly of the Division of Home Missions as "The Puerto Rican Opportunity" (1953). This problem qua opportunity is discursively stated as one that needs "... to ignore the Roman Catholic stereotype into which our society tries to cast all Puerto Ricans" in order to include them within Protestant beliefs and practices. Puerto Ricans represent an "opportunity" for the Protestant church. The Protestant church must seek to recruit and educate Puerto Ricans in a religious environment different than that offered by the Catholic church and its organizations. In this context, the

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violent and foul-mouthed, practicing *primitive* rites, prostitution and living on welfare.

[169] Moreover, the challenging (impossible) nature of "The Puerto Rican Problem" is addressed by the pastor's accounts of others' efforts. For instance, social workers indicate that teenage girls never show-up for their appointments. Even,

> Doctors in the charity hospitals sometimes throw up their hands in exasperation after trying over and over to explain to a mother how to feed her child, only to find on each visit that she has paid no attention to him. (J. Ehle, 1960: 48)

According to Gusweller, the language problem and distrust of officials explain this behavior. On the other hand, his religious work with

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relevance of "The Puerto Rican Problem" is enunciated as follows:

> Since there are 2,000,000 Puerto Ricans living in the world's largest city ... the Protestant church can do something for the New York City problems. (National Council of Churches of Christ, 1953: 1)

In this conference they established the need for conducting a survey of "The Puerto Rican Opportunity." A profile of who they are and what they are doing in terms of religious beliefs and practices is the research goal. Participants discussed solutions for "The Puerto Rican Problem" which would involve an inclusive approach of love techniques, such as community groups and the "Buddy system," that is, companions from the dominant group for Puerto Ricans.

The Catholic Intervention

In Oxcart Catholicism on Fifth Avenue: The Impact of Puerto Rican Migration upon the Archdiocese of New York (1993), Ana María Díaz-Stevens supplements the intervention of the economy of pity. The author utilizes a diary narrative and a metaphorical style borrowed from *La Carreta* by René Marqués to address the Puerto Rican migration and the role of the Catholic church in New York. The uniqueness of "The Puerto Rican Problem" is stated by the author as visible

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Puerto Ricans also included orientation and mobilization to fight for their rights and better living conditions.

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through the ways by which "the Catholic church had to adapt to Puerto Ricans" since they were "a new group with unprecedented characteristics" (A. M. Díaz-Stevens, 1993: 27).

Throughout this text "The Puerto Rican Problem" is enunciated deploying the deficit mode through the Christian principle of suffering. Through a narrative of peregrination, Díaz-Stevens describes the Puerto Rican migration as made up of a "wounded people," and the migration as "a journey of suffering." Assuming the role of local agent turned missionary, Díaz-Stevens attempts to give something to the "wounded people": that is "Oxcart Catholicism." She states that the Catholic religion has been the patrimony, longing, and finally, Catholicism has served to empower Puerto Rican identity. Hence, the Catholic religion is a double deployment for addressing "The Puerto Rican Problem." On the one hand, Puerto Ricans are people who suffer, and thus their lives are mere metonymies of Christian life. On the other hand, this Oxcart Catholicism is the authorized tool employed for the purpose of speaking about Puerto Ricans as human beings to be saved.[170]

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[170] Díaz-Stevens also describes the social profile of Puerto Ricans through the use of statistical data. In a subtle metamorphosis of "The Puerto Rican Problem," the author describes them as "the poorest ethnic group." This is Rosary #3, a repetitive modality to speak about Puerto Ricans in the present through the use of data and in comparison with other Hispanic groups.

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The Sociological Intervention

The ethnographic work carried out by Patricia Cayo Sexton in Spanish Harlem Anatomy of Poverty (1965) represents a sociological-liberal intervention on the problem of poverty and its human face in the slum.[171] According to Sexton, Puerto Rican poverty is a matter of "social justice" since the social order is "the author and creator of the individual and its story."

The author deploys the rural-urban dichotomy to enunciate Puerto Rican *otherness*. Puerto Ricans are described as rural migrants with "an unusual intensity of being" and "overwhelming adjustment to the city." (P. C. Sexton, 1965: vii). Puerto Ricans are "early risers" which is a rural habit. East Harlem reveals "the change from rural to urban and the breathless turnover of an ethnic group."

The background of Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican migration is also stated through Rosary #1. An impoverished, illiterate, diseased, congested (overpopulated), illegitimate children, sugar crop dependency and undeveloped industry are the correlates of Puerto Rico and its people. Sexton argues that Puerto Rico suffers from a "green poverty" and, despite federal funds and services, "it is still a long way to prosperity ..." The Puerto Rican migration appears as "a major source of the island's prosperity" since they become

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[171] Patricia Cayo Sexton. Spanish Harlem Anatomy of Poverty, New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1965. Through ten chapters Patricia Sexton presents a "detailed portrait of East Harlem."

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upgraded migrants, that is urban people who send "cash back home."[172]

In Sexton's narrative the deficits and the *pathos* of the slum and its people are described. Spanish Harlem is "the poorest spot" of Manhattan. The "scars" of Spanish Harlem represent the "prevailing folklore" of the slums, crime, housing problems, unemployment, congestion and illiteracy. Furthermore, "The typical East Harlem resident" does not have a high school education. The schools are "special," "... tooled up with knowledge of the Puerto Rican language and culture, as they never were for other migrants. Ecologically "East Harlem is "... like a barracks, a place of residence for some 180,000 people - who populate a community big enough to call itself a city" (P. C. Sexton, 1965: 4).

The profile of Puerto Ricans presented by Sexton ranges from patterns of work, schooling and food to recreation and health. There are many Puerto Ricans who are jobless. The unemployed are on the sidewalks, standing idle while talking amongst themselves. Those who work have low-wage jobs. Puerto Rican women work in the garment industry. Others are school drop-outs. Violence and desperation are also attributes of Puerto Ricans, yet there are good people in East Harlem. Few Puerto Ricans eat out. Men play checkers or cards on the street. Puerto Ricans have high rates of tuberculosis and do not have economic resources to pay for decent medical care.

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[172] Moreover, the deployment of progress is activated as follows: "With the Commonwealth status came new life and prosperity" (P. C.

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Puerto Ricans also suffer "psychological deprivation" because of the lack of assets (economic and social).

The anthropological profile continues with a description of Puerto Rican "passivity," racial features and sexuality. The author states that Puerto Ricans are submissive in the face of authority; they do not complain. Anything goes with them; no protest, no questioning. Also, according to Sexton "one-fourth of Puerto Ricans are Negro; those who are dark-skinned are the lowest in their families," and "the drug-addict is almost always the darkest member of his family." Puerto Rican families are close knit. Sex is a favorite subject if not activity. However, there are restraints on girls. Teachers describe Puerto Rican and Negro children as "very active physically." Accordingly, "Many Puerto Rican women marry and bear children while they are children." Women also express "grief by an attack... "loud screaming, shaking, falling to the floor with arms rigidly extended and hands clenched."[173]

Sexton continues this profile indicating that Puerto Ricans have large families, and estimates that 50% are welfare recipients. The Puerto Rican family is the center of an adult's obligations, and individuality is therefore not encouraged. They are extraordinarily gregarious...; they take "every precaution to hide and shelter a relative for years

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Sexton, 1965: 16).

[173] This anthropological enunciation is crucial for "The Puerto Rican Syndrome" enunciated by psychiatric science with "The Puerto Rican Problem" and then with the "Culture of Poverty" discourse.

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rather than reveal the exact number of occupants in an apartment to a building inspector or landlord" (P. C. Sexton, 1965: 19-20). She also describes parents' drinking problems and wife beatings. According to her, few have criminal records or are narcotics addicts, while the majority are self-supporting.

The animalization metaphor is enunciated in her description of the "overcrowding problem" in Spanish Harlem. Sexton states that "overcrowding in animal society can produce stress-induced maladies -- liver disease, heart trouble, sexual deviation -- that serve as natural population controls. When crowded, animals die off despite adequate food; rats show abnormal sexual and social behavior ... Slum dwellers may be reacting in the same physiological way as the biologist's animals" (P. C. Sexton, 1965: 23-24).

The exotism of Puerto Ricans is narrated as part of this ethnographic exploration. Puerto Rican street life is "unique"; there is both action and togetherness. Their outward "expressiveness" is reflected in their music, gaiety, fears, loves and hatreds. "The culture, tight fitting style of dress, way of life, the store front Pentecostal churches, the pleasantness and gentleness are among Puerto Rico's contributions to East Harlem" (P. C. Sexton, 1965: 3). Furthermore, "What is most significant about the culture of the disadvantaged is that its essentials are much like those of the advantaged, minus the material comforts and self-respect that are their by-products" (P. C. Sexton, 1965: 10).

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In her text, correlates of "street life" and "dancing people" are enunciated as oppositional to educational success. For instance, Sexton states that a typical teacher's description of Puerto Rican children is as follows: "the ones that do well in school usually don't like to dance or move around," "... they all danced wildly except one girl who was the best student in the school" (P. C. Sexton, 1965: 11).

Moreover, the reactivation of Puerto Rican *primitivism*, this time in the school system, follows these enunciations: overcrowding, reading and IQ scores are below the grade level, and "it's hard to teach them." In sum, Puerto Ricans are a "low-income culture."[174] This sociological statement evinces a discursive parallelism with the concept of the "culture of poverty" elaborated by Oscar Lewis in the 1960s (O. Lewis, 1965).

The Ethnographic Tale of Survival

In her book Growing Up Puerto Rican (1972), Paulette Cooper narrates the struggles, frustrations, survival, and hopes of an outcast minority group. This narration takes the form of a simple ethnography that deploys a story-tale

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[174] Sexton finishes her book describing how landlords, business and finance men, the underworld, politicians, and community organizations operate in the slum. Sexton states that many of the East Harlem conflicts were due to race and prejudice. She states that some community initiatives - the community school, the study club, a cooperative - are alternatives which can bring social change to the slum (slum upgrading). The "organized effort," according to Sexton, is the only way for the poor to have social mobility. Puerto Ricans should be organized by themselves and, demand rights, better wages, housing

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strategy to state "The Puerto Rican Problem."[175] Cooper deploys the strategy Puerto Rico-United States as a good-bad dichotomy to analyze "The Puerto Rican Problem." For instance, one of the Puerto Ricans interviewed says that "Everything changed when we came here" (P. Cooper, 1972: 21).

Since the author suffered as a Jewish girl, and also as an orphan who was adopted by a North American couple, her narration of the Puerto Rican *Other* is legitimated by way of the empathy and understanding that her sufferings permit. The author's educational training in clinical child psychology is another tool employed for understanding the sufferings of Puerto Ricans. The intervention of the author to speak about Puerto Ricans is an act of pity.

In the Introduction, Cooper remarks that "None of the people in this book were lucky enough to go from hell to heaven as I did. In fact, many of them took the exact opposite trip."[176] The author states that Puerto Rican problems are a result of the United States' hostility, their living conditions, and deplorable housing conditions, Rosary #2. Accordingly, many of the second generation Puerto Rican children were brought to "rat and roach-infested and dilapidated buildings." She adds "... despite all their

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and schools. In addition, she states that volunteers, a federal economic policy and political action are necessary for these changes.

[175] Cooper carried out various interviews with Puerto Rican families whose ages were between 12 to 50 years old.

[176] José Torres, who wrote the Foreword of Cooper's book, tries to differentiate her ethnographic work from that of Oscar Lewis, arguing that hers covers Puerto Ricans from many different strata.

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problems Puerto Ricans are a warm and generous people, keeping their sanity and sense of humor" (P. Cooper, 1972: 15).

The narration of the stories is in the first person. Each chapter of the book is titled by the name of the Puerto Rican whose troubled life is narrated in the respective chapter: the "deviant," the "reformed," the "dreamer," etc. The chapter titled "The Winner" is about "Fernanda" whose father was hot-headed and like many Puerto Ricans inflicted by *machismo*. Her family lived in the ghetto. They were on welfare and suffered discrimination. The chapter of "The Reformed Junkie" is about "Juan," whose father used to drink, was sexually promiscuous, and beat his mother. Juan's mother had to work, leaving him in the care of different people. Cooper describes how Juan did not receive love when he was growing up. He was a seller and runner of heroin. Juan spent a lot of time hospitalized for his drug addiction. However, upon his release from the hospital he returned to drug dealing and drug use. His activities landed him in trouble with the criminal justice system. Juan was able to reform himself and went on to lead a productive life. Cooper informs us that Juan offers drug counseling in a church.

The chapter of "The Truant" is about "Miguel" a young man who was abandoned by his father. The family was dependent on welfare and his father, an alcoholic, used to drink and beat his mother. Miguel was on drugs, was a member of a gang, and had a number of run-ins with the law. Miguel was

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unemployed and was unaffectionately known as "stink bomb." Miguel describes himself as a "sex lover" and narrates his sexual history. Another story is titled "The Fighter" and is about a young man named "Rodrigues." Rodrigues narrates how his mother left his father, and how his family is generally dysfunctional. Regarding his mother, Rodrigues recounts that "she was kind of wild and wanted to go out all the time and be free" (P. Cooper, 1972: 61). Gangs, robberies, and beatings in school were part of his life.

"The Homing Pigeon" is about "Bernardo," a 12 year old boy. He lives in a crowded apartment in a deteriorated building. His brother is a drug addict and has been in jail. The activation of the deficit mode converges with the bastardization of the signifier when the author states that they do not know anything about Puerto Rico's history. They are "rootless." Bernardo also states that Puerto Ricans speak loudly. He follows up this observation by saying, "I have to say sometimes I'm ashamed to be Puerto Rican." Bernardo is planning to be a minister, and is looking forward to going to heaven.

"The Reformed Thief" is about "Carlos" who narrates his life of stealing. In response to one of the Cooper's questions regarding his father Carlos replies: "My father- well, I call him my father because he was living with my mother then, but I don't know if he was really my father..." Carlos is unable to give any account of his father. He mostly talks about his mother and her signification as sexually

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promiscuous. He also talks about his brother who was in jail. According to the life-history of Carlos, he stopped stealing after he had a nightmare.

In "The Fatherless Child," "Rosita," who is sixteen years old, also narrates her life of misery. In this chapter the Puerto Rico/United States dichotomy is deployed when Rosita describes her good life in Puerto Rico and how it changed after she came to the United States. Rosita says that her father abandoned her because he was in need of a woman who could perform housekeeping duties and take care of him. Rosita also mentions that her friends are on drugs.

In "The Young Lord" chapter, "Mario" describes his African-American father. His father was an alcoholic who beat his Puerto Rican mother. His life was marked by drugs, dropping-out of school, gangs and jail. Mario also claims to have been a member of the Young Lords. According to him, the Young Lords were not revolutionaries, but a violent gang. Weapons, "nunchakas" and gossiping were what the Young Lords did. However, having been rehabilitated Mario is no longer involved in illegal activities and is no longer a member of a violent gang. Mario has been rehabilitated and devotes his life to Christ. In this story the link with African-Americans, his abusive father, serves to establish a connection between blackness and violence, as well as Puerto Ricans and blackness. At another level, it also introduces racial difference among the Other in a rather ambivalent way. Mario is Puerto Rican, but his father is an African American.

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Mario's connection to African Americans and blackness is occluded, but remains a shadowy presence. It is also interesting to note how membership in a political organization such as the Young Lords is incorporated into "The Puerto Rican Problem." The efforts of a political organization at empowering Puerto Ricans and others is negated as Mario declares that they were a gang devoted to violence and gossip. This interpretation achieves a delegitimation of political protest and activism through the construction of a *primitive* and violent otherness.

The next chapter is titled "The Newcomer," which tells the story of "María." This young woman stereotypically comes from a broken family. She lives with her father who in traditional fashion is stern and "the boss of the home." Her parents have been divorced and remarried. We are told that due to a number of problems she faced in New York she was forced to return to Puerto Rico. In this chapter the Puerto Rico/United States dichotomy is also deployed.

"The Hustler" tells the story of "Ricky," who lived in the ghetto, did drugs, was a member of a gang, and engaged in prostitution and violence. Great emphasis is placed in this story on Ricky's views on the relationship between men and women. Ricky is very keen on asserting the superiority of men over women and repeats a number of statements associated with Puerto Rican articulations of male-supremacy (*machismo*).

"The Proud One" tells the tale of "Carmelita" whose parents are separated. She used to live in a small room with

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her family. Her parents were unemployed and liked to gamble. Her boyfriend was involved in a life of crime and drugs and was a fugitive from the law. She describes the world of drugs in the school. According to Carmelita, Puerto Ricans are noisy and incapable of minding their own business. Despite her background she declares that she has achieved success.

In "The Scholar," the author activates the deficit mode in a an especially intense manner. "Joachim," who is the scholar, describes life in the ghetto: "we were very poor"; "we do not speak English"; "we do not have friends"; "we do not have clothes." In short, Puerto Rican life in the ghetto consists of the absence of material and cultural capital.

In "The Would-Be Model," "Dorita" registers her complaints about ghetto life. In the next chapter "The Gang Member," "Carlos" narrates his gang life and drug experience. He makes a special point of wanting to marry a virgin and goes on to proclaim that Puerto Ricans are loud and are incessant talkers. In "The Foster Child," "Raquel" describes how her mother, who according to her has been with many men, had abandoned her. Rachel also describes the many problems she has in school. In "The Philosopher," "José" offers his views on poverty, welfare, money, poor housing, rats, prejudice and his experience with drugs. Like "Rachel" He also speaks about his droping-out of school. In an interesting turn, the animalization metaphor is stated through the enunciation of street life. José says:

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> But I'm a social animal. I learned more in my 21 years on the streets than I ever did in school. This is true of most Puerto Ricans. (P. Cooper, 1972: 204)

Rosary #2 is the main enunciative modality employed in the stories of these Puerto Ricans. A repetition of Puerto Rican women as sexually promiscuous or *putas* (whores) appears throughout the accounts given by those interviewed. The Puerto Rican stereotype of the *macho* is also repeated in most of these stories. Broken families, abandoned children, street life and droping-out of school are shared conditions among Puerto Ricans and their families. Drugs, gangs, crime and jail are correlates of Puerto Rican life in the ghetto. Through their testimonies, "The Puerto Rican Problem" is produced. The narration in the first person of these tragic Puerto Rican lives establishes the veracity of "The Puerto Rican Problem." What is narrated by these characters is presented as axiomatic of being Puerto Rican in the United States.

The discursive economy of "The Puerto Rican Problem" has deployed several resources to envision the *subhuman, primitive, exotic and deficitarian ethos* of Puerto Ricans. Enunciations of Puerto Ricans as a plague, a group who reproduce with a *jungle fecundity*, out of place rural people in urban space, infected with diseases, stupid, bad mannered, immoral, dirty, violent, etc. are produced by authorities occupying a number of subject positions.

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The North American imaginary of its *self* and the *Other* is displayed through the hegemony of the eye, repetition of stories, scientific studies, tests, surveys, reports, interviews, observations and data. These enunciate the factuality of "The Puerto Rican Problem."

For instance, *Puerto Ricans are inferior* because according to the colonial enunciation they are without history and their non-white ancestry marks them as *racially inferior*. Nevertheless, this "cause" is not part of the present, and it is outside the control of human intervention. However, the *superiority and capacities of the colonizer*, as principles of the modern self, must be proved in the overcoming of these *pathologies*. How is it possible to speak of universal values such as progress, freedom, civilization, equality and development if not through an enunciative negation embodied in the *Other*? The betrayal of the civilizational discourse occurs despite the colonial intervention that proclaims these values universal. For colonial people, the betrayal assumes a double subjectification. They appear as "abject people" and are produced as such discursively. The anthropological intervention entails the systematic observation of the *Other*, and the invention of a *pathological ethos* with a corresponding orthopaedic.

It is the economy of urban pity which produces "The Puerto Rican Problem" within a liberal perspective. In this schema a correlate to the problem is to hygienize these

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"problem" people in order that they might become fit for life in the modern city. However, knives, razors, dancing, fights, garbage, dirtiness, Spanglish, *putas* are not only symbols, but statements and inferences of what it means to be Puerto Rican.

"The Puerto Rican Problem" is only a first discursive formation from which prospective enunciations and strategies are rearticulated.

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CHAPTER 6

CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

"THE ASSIMILATION PROBLEM"

The Paradigm of Assimilation

The moralization and legitimization of *"America* and *Americans"* as the horizon to be reached by the *Other* found its enunciation in assimilationist paradigms and ideology. Since the 1930s, North American scholars and other authorities have conceptualized the insertion and "evolution" of immigrants within North American society according to a pattern of assimilation (Social Science Research Council, 1954). The Chicago School of Sociology, for instance, led in the development of the assimilation paradigm (M. Omi and H. Winant, 1986).[177] Regarding this paradigm, Omi and Winant state that,

> ... Americans have come to view race as a variety of ethnicity, and to apply to racially defined groups certain standards and values whose pioneers and exemplars were European immigrants. (M. Omi and H. Winant, 1986: 5)

Further, what they refer to as "ethnicity theory" was based on the experience of European (white) immigrants. They note that even when American-Indians, African-Americans and Latin-

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[177] Everett Hughes et.al., editors. The Collected Papers of Robert E. Park, Glencoe: Free Press, Vol. I, 1950-[55].

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American minorities were excluded from the paradigm itself, these and other minorities become objects of study within this conceptual framework in the 1950s and later.[178] Accordingly, "ethnicity" becomes the conceptual tool and liberal strategy for addressing the question of *race* in North American political and intellectual spheres.[179]

The assimilation paradigm describes a process of four evolutionary stages; contact, conflict, accommodation and assimilation. Through this paradigm, accounts of the *Other* as *racially inferior* are replaced by the idea of inferiority as a social construction. From this premise, cultural, historical and racial difference is grasped within an evolutionary, pluralist or an *abnormal* process. Notions such as "ethnicity," "culture contact," "cultural pluralism" and "acculturation," accompany the assimilation paradigm.

"The Assimilation Problem"

The massive migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States in the 1950s received increasing attention under the rubrics of assimilation or acculturation. Puerto Ricans as colonial subjects became the discursive object of "The

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[178] The book Beyond the Melting Pot, by Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1963, was another account of the assimilation paradigm and its notion of "pluralism." Then in the 1980s and 1990s, as I discuss in Chapter 5 within The Culture of Poverty" Discourse, "ethnicity" is deployed as a "collapsed marker" for any type of inquiry into *otherness*.

[179] For a critique of the ethnic model on race relations see Hermon George, Jr., American Race Relations Theory: A Review of Four Models, Lanham: University Press of America, 1984, pp. 1-48.

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Assimilation Problem." It is social theory, through the assimilation paradigm which guides the study of Puerto Ricans in the United States. This marks a shift with the previous discourse, "The Puerto Rican Problem." While North Americans citizens, journalists, social workers, teachers, priests, community leaders, and government officials are the leading authorities that speak on "The Puerto Rican Problem," in this new discourse social scientists, researchers, and graduate students are the main authorities that address "The Assimilation Problem."

The 1950s was marked by a number of profound structural and political transformations in the United States. Surburbanization, de-industrialization, the decline of the American labor movement and defeat of the Old Left, the rise of McCarthyism and the Cold War are among the developments of the period. While the 1950s marks one of the most conservative periods in North American history, it also marks a period of economic growth and global dominance.[180] Together with political and social repression went a degree of economic prosperity for significant sectors of the working population.[181] This prosperity was not equally distributed

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[180] See Jezer Marty, The Dark Ages: Life in the United States 1945 - 1960, Boston: South End Press, 1982 and Joel Kovel, Red Hunting in the Promised Land: Anticommunism and the Making of America, New York: Basic Books, 1994.

[181] See Stanley Aronowitz, The Shaping of American Working Class Consciousness, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973; Mike Davis, Prisoners of the American Dream: Politics and Economy in the history of the US Working Class, London: Verso, 1986 and George Lipsitz, Rainbow

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among the U.S. working classes. For groups such as African-Americans, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, that is, for the non-white sectors of the working class and poor, the prosperity enjoyed by sectors of the white working class eluded them. Disproportionately, Puerto Ricans and other non-white workers suffered from unemployment and poverty. The Puerto Rican mass migration to the U.S. coincided with and became part of this context.

The mass migration also coincided with and resulted in a transformation in the life of the existing Puerto Rican community which had existed at least since the first two decades of the century and, was well developed by the decade of the 1930s. This early Puerto Rican community was very much part of the old working class world which Stanley Aronowitz examines in his book False Promises: The Shaping of American Working Class Consciousness, (1973). As a group Puerto Ricans in New York City were drawn to working class struggles, both in the work place and in the political sphere. They joined labor unions, political parties of the left and formed a variety of political and social organizations and associations.[182] The socio-economic and socio-political

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at Midnight: Labor and Culture in the 1940s, Urbana-Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

[182] See Jesús Colón, A Puerto Rican in New York and Other Sketches, New York: International Publishers, 1982; Bernardo Vega, The Memoirs of Bernardo Vega: A Contribution to the History of the Puerto Rican Community in New York City, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984; James Jennings and Monte Rivera, editors, Puerto Rican Politics in Urban America, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984 and Juan Flores and Ricardo Campos, "National Culture and Migration:

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transformations discussed above resulted in a transformation of the old working class world of places such as New York City. The migration of tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans during this time resulted in the formation of different types of organizations and associations. The emergence of a political identity that drew from a sense of belonging to an "ethnic" group as against a more class aligned identity marks a significant shift in the Puerto Rican community in the 1950s and 1960s. The shift in the discourse on identity amongst Puerto Ricans reflected a response to the transformations sketched above and to dominant discourses such as the "Puerto Rican Problem." The discourse on assimilation was appropriated by sectors of the Puerto Rican intelligentsia as a strategy for achieving equality and economic prosperity.[183]

There exists a relation of dependence and difference between "The Puerto Rican Problem" and "The Assimilation Problem" discourses which has to be clarified in order to describe the economy of this new discursive formation. "The Assimilation Problem" lies partially within the statements of "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse. In this context, the enunciation of Puerto Rican "deficits" and "inadequacies" are operative for the manufacturing of "The Assimilation Problem"

Perspectives from the Puerto Rican Working Class," in Juan Flores, Divided Borders Essays on Puerto Ricans Identity, Houston-Texas: Arte Público Press, 1993, pp. 111-141.

[183] See Antonia Pantoja, "Puerto Ricans in New York: A Historical and Community Development Perspective," *CENTRO* Bulletin, Spring 1989, Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. 20 - 31.

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discourse. These statements serve as the rationale by which Puerto Ricans constitute a concern for North Americans. However, "The Puerto Rican Problem" underwent a discursive metamorphosis by which its statements were softened and occupied a different discursive position inscribed in "The Assimilation Problem." First, the propositions of the assimilation paradigm itself does not permit the same statements contained in "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse. Conceptually and discursively, assimilation to the dominant culture implies a negation of Puerto Rican *primitivism* as a fixed *ethos and* danger for North Americans. The culture and poverty of Puerto Ricans are addressed as areas in need of development. Therefore, statements and significations of Puerto Rican *primitivism* and danger do not characterize "The Assimilation Problem" discourse. The statements are not produced with the same discursive force of previous discourses. Nor are they enunciated under the same discursive economy of "The Puerto Rican Problem." It is no longer possible to enunciate the retarded children, the *hoodlum, la puta,* the *locust plague,* the violent and dangerous Puerto Rican, and their ghetto life. Instead, a liberal understanding of Puerto Ricans *otherness* is employed by "The Assimilation Problem" discourse. Now with "The Assimilation Problem," it is necessary to enunciate that Puerto Ricans are strangers, neighbors, migrants, an ethnic group, etc. *Cultural problems* and *deficits* of Puerto Ricans are the point of departure from which they can evolve until finally

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integrating into North American culture. The core of "The Assimilation Problem" discourse is a political problem which is articulated within a discursive economy of ambivalence and contradiction. Puerto Rican *otherness* has to be enunciated and Puerto Rican *otherness* has to be negated or transcended.

The complexity of this new discourse is also marked by the discursive inclusion of the socio-historical background of Puerto Ricans and the implications of this past for their current problems. Also, the racism suffered by them in the United States is acknowledged by liberal authorities as possing an obstacle to their assimilation. It is through the complexity of this discourse that Puerto Rican *otherness* is stated. This liberal account of Puerto Ricans is produced by American intellectuals and priests, and Puerto Ricans, including liberals, Marxists and *independentistas*.

"The Assimilation Problem" discourse develops in two directions. First, it is produced through the enunciation of Puerto Rican *otherness* as such. A sociological account of Puerto Ricans is stated in terms of what they have and what they do not have and how they have changed over time. Second, as the theory of assimilation fails to account for the special case of Puerto Ricans, the focus of study is directed towards acculturation patterns.

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Clarence Senior: The Liberal Authority

The authority and subject position of Clarence Senior is described in the Preface of his pamphlet *Strangers and Neighbors: The Story of Our Puerto Rican Citizens* (1952) as "the specialist in personal, economic and political relationships between the peoples of Latin America and ourselves." His political authority - as a North American sociologist and researcher; as the Director of the Social Science Research Center at the University of Puerto Rico, and of the Office of Migration in Washington, D.C. is significant in the production of "The Assimilation Problem." Through enunciations and practices directed towards educating Puerto Ricans, and their being accepted into North American society, Senior hopes to facilitate Puerto Rican assimilation. In this context, his discursive role is intended to neutralize the savage mimesis of "The Puerto Rican Problem" through a humanitarian elaboration of Puerto Rican *otherness*. A liberal enunciation of the Puerto Rican *Other* is produced by arguing in favor of the eventual assimilation into North American culture. Even when Puerto Rican "deficits," historical and cultural problems are enunciated through different texts on Puerto Rican assimilation, they are highlighted and identified as the focus of North American pity.

During his ministerial function as Director of the Office of Puerto Rico in Washington D.C., and in coordination with the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University, Clarence Senior and other researchers authored a

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report titled: "The Puerto Ricans of New York City" (1948).[184] This guide-report articulates enunciations of North American mercy toward "The Assimilation Problem."

Senior repeats what the North American military found in Puerto Rico upon its intervention. Quoting Nelson Miles, Senior states that Puerto Ricans were "illiterate, ... not in school, ... high mortality, no health conditions, ... no sanitary conditions, ... Spanish exploitation." Senior states that the "frontal attack" of North American doctors, sanitary engineers, Protestant missionaries and teachers lead to several advances in the Island.

In the report, Rosary #1 is stated by evoking Puerto Rico's colonial past. For instance, "An overcrowded Island, with a colonial history, several races have blended ... which nobody understands too well ... political ambiguity and cultural mixture" are statements produced by Senior. The bastardization of Puerto Ricans is signified again as *chaos, racial impurity* and *primitivism* which is ruptured by the North American invasion of Puerto Rico.[185] Rosary #1 serves as rationale and signals the desire-necessity of Puerto Rican

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[184] "The Puerto Rican Problem" The Puerto Ricans in New York City is a panoramic report and an outcome of a broad research project carried out by Columbia University in 1948. Clarence Senior, Carmen Isales and C. Wright Mills were part of the staff of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University which carried out this research.

[185] Puerto Ricans do not have a history proper. In this view history follows a certain order, its antithesis is disorder. A past without this ordering is consigned to the realm of pre-history or pre-modernity.

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assimilation to the *American* way of life.[186] In the same register, Puerto Rico and its inhabitants are viewed as domesticable by *American* civilization.

Moreover, Clarence Senior describes the process of Puerto Rican insertion into *American* society as one of "confusion, disorientation, frustrations, and disintegration." He argues that Puerto Ricans have to cope with a new environment; "industrialization, new habits and ideas." In his account, Puerto Rican migrants were not prepared for modern-urban life.

In addition, according to Senior, Puerto Rican cultural heritage and poverty create conflicts in urban space. For example, the "poverty of the slum" is profiled by Clarence Senior as that of *macho* culture, where the man is dominant and the belief in women's virginity is supreme. Further, women are weak and have little self-respect. Puerto Rican women are anxious and overprotective mothers. Puerto Rican families are large and unstable. Also, common law marriage is the norm among Puerto Ricans.[187] In contrast, according to Senior, urban-metropolitan culture is typified by birth control, contraceptives, sterilization, democratic decision making in the family, a Protestant work ethic, improved social status, competition, money, and property relations.

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[186] A description of Puerto Rico and its people; its economy, politics, religion, family and sexual practices, education, demography, and racial features take up several pages of this report.

[187] Joseph Fitzpatrick and Francisco Cordasco are academics who systematize in social-scientific terms this particular articulation of "The Assimilation Problem."

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Accordingly, this urban culture came as a cultural shock for the Puerto Rican migrants. For Senior a major cultural difference Puerto Ricans found was with respect to the world of work. He claims that for Puerto Ricans work discipline is contrary to their understanding of human nature. According to Senior, Puerto Ricans like to enjoy life through poetry, music and dance. Likewise, Puerto Rican women face problems once they have to enter the world of work. The entry of Puerto Rican women into the work force constitutes the abandoning of their traditional domestic roles as housewives. According to Senior, Puerto Rican children feel rejected once Puerto Rican mothers enter the work force. Accordingly, the children feel anxious, dependent and hostile in their new environment.[188]

In addition, Puerto Ricans face racial discrimination by North Americans. Following a Durkheimnian proposition, Senior states that New York City is a urban space devoid of traditional normative values and morality. The city is a space were such vices as sexual lewdness and delinquency are rife. This anomic condition, according to the author, is also integral to "The Assimilation Problem." Again the enunciation of *American* civilization is betrayed by Clarence Senior's oppositional accounts of American urban life vis à vis Puerto Rican *primitive-slum* condition. Contradictorily *American* civilization can prove harmful to Puerto Ricans.

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[188] This enunciation is repeated by Joseph Fitzpatrick and Francesco Cordasco.

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Rosary #2, or what Senior calls "the rhetoric of migration" - indecent, unclean, criminal, depredating, needy, wretched and degrading subjects - is criticized here through a liberal account of the *Other*. Following the North American ethnic experience portrayed by the assimilation paradigm, Senior states that the classic pattern of migration is that of the poor, un-educated and unskilled immigrant. Accordingly, their first experiences are conflict, then competition, new social tensions, social adjustments and negotiation, and finally cooperation takes place. The last stage is accommodation and assimilation of the immigrant into the dominant society. This linear, homogeneous, non-historic and natural assumption of human subjectivity is endorsed and guaranteed through faith in the liberal notion of "ethnicity" and "cultural pluralism." The latter is adopted by Senior in order to produce his political claim of North American tolerance and acceptance of *otherness*. For Senior the qualities of magnanimity and pity are features of the American character which mark its greatness.[189]

Senior's subsequent interventions on "The Assimilation Problem" are focused on the need to forge a social consensus around the acceptance of Puerto Ricans in the United States

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[189] Clarence Senior also presents this report as a "guide" for social, educational, welfare workers, doctors and judges who have been clamoring for "knowledge" about Puerto Ricans. This report was also adapted to the needs of the Employment and Migration Office of the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico. This guide includes the following topics: The Island of Puerto Rico, Metropolis: Panorama of Contrasts; The City of Migration, The New World of the Puerto Ricans and an Appendix on "Welfare Facilities in Puerto Rico" by Carmen Isales.

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(see Appendix 3). In these texts, Senior enunciates Puerto Ricans through ambivalent words and phrases such as - our citizens from the Caribbean, our Puerto Rican citizens, migrants, pilgrims, strangers and neighbors, strangers then neighbors, - these phrases signify the ambivalence and contradiction of colonial discourse (H. Bhabha, 1994: 86).[190] The fact that *Americans* cannot name Puerto Ricans as "Americans" represents a failure of its own imperial project. The civilizing mission of the empire towards colonial subjects is questioned when its discourse continues signaling the "assimilation problem." Order (power) and disorder (fear) signal a crisis of inclusion and exclusion for Puerto Ricans qua *Americans*. This reflects the permanence of an incompleteness in North American discursive efforts to define the exact belonging of Puerto Ricans. The *American mission civilisatrice* flounders when ambivalent phrases are employed to define Puerto Ricans.

What we have in Clarence Senior's works on Puerto Ricans is, on the one hand, an enunciation of colonial *otherness* and, on the other hand, a metonymy of an imperialist contradiction. The terms "strangers and neighbors," "strangers then neighbors," "our Puerto Rican citizens" and "our citizens from the Caribbean" are both ambivalent significations of Puerto Ricans, and an imperialist necessity

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[190] From another perspective, Anne McClintock conceptualizes this process as a liminal scene in which the empire expresses its power and its fear towards the *Other*. See Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather Race Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest, New York: Routledge,

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which signals the impossibility of naming Puerto Ricans as Puerto Rican-Americans, much less as *Americans*. This ambivalence of the assimilation discourse is both the desire and the undesirability to include the *Other* as "self." For example, in the manual "Know Your Fellow American Citizen from Puerto Rico" (n.d.), the denial of *otherness* appears through a discursive strategy of mimicry. "Like us, Puerto Ricans are on the move." As Homi Bhabha argues, mimicry is "one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power" (H. Bhabha, 1994: 85).

The Office of Migration in Washington under the direction of Donald O'Connor, published a booklet "Know Your Fellow American Citizen from Puerto Rico" (n.d.) "to understand the background of the relatively small migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States mainland," who have come to find employment and a better way of life, schooling and commercial opportunities. It is stressed that there is no reason for alarm since North Americans have made the same journey. Puerto Ricans are following the North American pattern. According to this booklet, Puerto Ricans are evolving into *Americans*. The tension between the evolutionary desire of the colonial discourse and the duality of the Puerto Rican subject is highlighted in this text through a series of attempts to overcome the Others primary identity. Puerto Ricans are evolving, however, they still remain Puerto

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Rican. Hence the mimicry of colonial discourse in its liberal assimilationist register. For example:

> They are not immigrants, but American citizens on the move - as Americans have always moved in search of opportunities and new frontiers.
> They come from a small island in the Caribbean, where the advances of modern America have taken root and grown under the tropical sun.
> Puerto Ricans are the product of two cultures. ... Spanish and American.
> They have their own Puerto Rican traditions.
> (D. O'Oconnor, n.d.: 2-63)

The booklet concludes with the following:

> Remember: It's not easy to think and act in terms of the world's biggest and most mechanized nation when you have known nothing but a small, predominantly rural island.
> (D. O'Oconnor, n.d.: 64)

While the liberal discourse is defined as occupying a space distinct and different from that of conservative thought, the recourse to an evolutionary schema for the advancement of the *Other*, shares many of the some assumptions of social Darwinism. The *Other* must evolve in order to achieve the same standing of the North American self. The difference lies in the expectation and hope that given the right conditions evolution can and will take place.

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The Assimilation Hope

Through a sociological understanding of migration and assimilation patterns, John H. Burma argues the "unique" character of "Spanish-speaking population," in this case, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the United States. Burma states that this "Spanish-speaking population" is different from other immigrants. In Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States (1954, 1974) the author articulates a sociological analysis of Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants in terms of their problems and achievements in the United States. The ideas of linearity and progress as morally embedded in the concept of assimilation informs this account. What constitutes the normal and the pathological also informs the notion of acculturation.

In the chapter "The Puerto Ricans in New York" the author describes their historical background and offers an account of the migration experience. Burma recites Rosaries #1 and #2 in order to produce "The Assimilation Problem." Rosary #2 is enunciated through a reliance on quotations from reports and studies conducted by different government agencies and North American scholars.[191] As part of this

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[191] The socio-demographic profile given relies on Clarence Senior's study (1948) and several other references. Burma presents a profile of the social problems faced by Puerto Ricans by quoting the reports and studies of the New York Welfare Council. According to these reports, language deficiencies and limited recreational facilities are the factors generating the problems of Puerto Ricans. With respect to education, Burma cites C. W. Mills' study which states that Puerto Ricans have a "low" performance, "below the normal ..." in different skills. The "language problem" is a factor which accounts for the poor educational performance of Puerto Ricans.

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profile, Puerto Ricans do not speak English; they have problems of "overcrowding," noise, sanitation and poor housing. Spanish Harlem is described as a slum dwelling created by Puerto Ricans. Burma also introduces the notion of "slum shock" as a symptom of living in conditions of overcrowding. Hence, Puerto Ricans in the United States have low social mobility and greater acculturation patterns. According to Burma, the question of why Puerto Ricans have stayed in Spanish Harlem is explained because of their intermixture of Negro blood. Accordingly Puerto Ricans are looked upon as Negroes. Racial heritage as part of the bastardization of Puerto Rican history is deployed to explain "The Assimilation Problem."

Following Mills' study, Burma describes the acculturation process highlighting corresponding changes in the structure of Puerto Rican families. Changes in women's position and changes in religious practices and values are described. On the other hand, the failure to occupy a key role in politics and organization, "race" and racial discrimination, and other "adjustment problems" are part of "The Assimilation Problem." For instance, erratic behavior, neuroses, psychoses, delinquency, crime, alcohol, narcotics, restlessness, malaise, conflict, emotional instability, dissatisfactions with life, aimlessness and inertia are part of Burma's sociological profile of Puerto Ricans.

All these changes and *deficits* lead to individual and social disorganization. Burma's enunciation of "The

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Assimilation Problem" also relies upon the work of Warren Brown. According to Brown, the emotional personality entails a "predisposition to disorganization under pressure."[192] In addition, the Puerto Rican family is itself subject to disorganization as a result of socioeconomic factors.

Burma also reiterates the thesis advanced by Clarence Senior and a host of other North American scholars on the causes of juvenile delinquency among Puerto Rican children. Delinquency is seen as a direct result of Puerto Rican female participation in the labor market. Their failure to stay home and provide a stable and morally upright environment result in children being raised without a moral compass.

Burma concludes his analysis of "The Assimilation Problem" by hoping that Puerto Ricans can be assimilated in spite of the problems faced by them, including racial prejudice. According to Burma, the solutions to these problems are information, training, education and farm contracts for agricultural migrants.

Untheorizable Puerto Rican

Joseph Fitzpatrick is an important authority in the enunciation of "The Assimilation Problem." As a priest and as an academic, Fitzpatrick's sociological formation and religious duty authorize him to speak on Puerto Ricans. As

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[192] Warren Brown, "The Communal and Individual Personality Structure of the Puerto Rican in New York," paper delivered before the 1949 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association.

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editor of the book Puerto Rican-Americans: The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland (1971), Fitzpatrick collected thirteen essays that together constitute a sociological interpretation of Puerto Ricans as a balance sheet of their performance, failures and achievements.[193] One thing becomes clear in this collection: Puerto Ricans cannot be accounted for by the assimilation paradigm.

Following the statements of Clarence Senior and others, Fitzpatrick assumes a liberal defense of Puerto Ricans employing a sociological conceptualization of migration and assimilation patterns within the context of what he claims is a "pluralistic society." This is a religious and humanitarian enunciation which conceives of the United States as a pluralistic society made up of Indian-Americans, White-Protestants, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Jews, Japanese, and Blacks. Following the ecumenical (consensual and inclusive) enunciation of Clarence Senior, Fitzpatrick states that what we need is understanding, social action and the prevention of conflicts.

The introduction to the book offers a description of the social and political context which Puerto Ricans have faced during the last three decades in the United States, such as Black Power, social services and welfare. Puerto Ricans have also had to face technological changes, such as the aviation

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[193] This is one of the few references in which the phrase "Puerto Rican-Americans" appears as an explicit statement of the desire for assimilation.

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age, media communication revolutions, and increasing automation. And as Senior has stated in previous works, Puerto Rican cultural patterns have also created some dislocations. The survey, the study, the journalistic article, the booklet, data on Puerto Ricans, are the authorized instruments of these "interpretative essays."[194] The sociological analysis on Puerto Ricans that these authors attempt to construct include numerous topics. There is a historical profile of the Puerto Rican population from 1910 to 1970 and a series of maps indicating their location in New York and other cities. According to this profile, Puerto Ricans historically have had weak forms of political representation, and their education and occupational levels have been the poorest.

The migration of Puerto Ricans is explained as a result of "economic pressure" in Puerto Rico. According to the authors, the availability of employment and the presence of family in the United States, the freedom to move, and cheap transportation are some of the factors facilitating this migration.

A cultural profile of Puerto Ricans is offered in this collection. For instance, the possible Puerto Rican family structures include: an extended family system, nuclear family, nuclear and other children, and a sphere in which

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[194] For example, essays by Lawrence Chenault, C. W. Mills et. al., J. Cayce Morrison, Elena Padilla, Dan Wakefield, Frank Bonilla, Joseph Fitzpatrick, Christopher Rand, Oscar Handlin, Nathan Glazer and

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matriarchal control is exercised. Puerto Rican families are characterized by consensual unions. The family patterns of Puerto Rican families are those of *compadrazgo*, male authority (*machismo*), and obligation. Fatalism and *personalismo* are common values among Puerto Ricans. Moreover, the religious practices of Puerto Ricans includes *espiritismo* and *curanderos*.

The racial profile of Puerto Ricans according to the authors is one of "rainbow features." Words like *"negra, negrita, pardo, moreno, mulato, trigueño, indio, javao, grifo, pelo malo"* are part of a cultural aesthetic. They state that the softening of discrimination in Puerto Rico is because of the long experience with dark people, *compadrazgo* and *pueblo* unity.[195]

The authors list exploitation, stress, suffering, discrimination and hostility as some of the problems faced by Puerto Ricans. However, despite the hardships faced in the past, this is a positive migration since this effort and suffering has resulted in various achievements, referred to as "the pains of creative growth."

According to the authors, the movement of Puerto Ricans to the mainland produced changes in marriage type, out-group marriage, values, extended kinship, and personalist values,

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Moynihan, Patricia Cayo Sexton, and Clarence Senior produces the strategy of repetition.

[195] In terms of education, there is a recitation of the main propositions of "The Puerto Rican Study" (1958) by J. Cayce Morrison. Accordingly, the "language problem" and school-parent relations are some of the problems of Puerto Ricans in the United States.

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i.e. primacy of human relations.[196] The progress of Puerto Ricans in their movement towards assimilation is also assessed using the establishment of Puerto Rican organizations as a symbol of ethnic assimilation: the Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, The Puerto Rican Forum, *Aspira*, the Puerto Rican Community Development Project, and The Puerto Rican Family Institute.[197]

Moreover, the problem of identity among Puerto Ricans involves several issues: uncertainty, "race," color, religion, solidarity, education, public welfare, mental illness and drug abuse. Being Puerto Rican and American and not being *American* is a difficult process for them to negotiate. According to this account, identity is a central issue of Puerto Ricans connected to their pattern of assimilation.

The sociological diagnosis of Puerto Rican families offered is that they still have difficulties with cultural adjustment. The problems are those identified as Rosary #2. Welfare dependency, fatherless children, abandoned women and families, the poorest in the city, mental illness like schizophrenia and drug abuse are some of the problems listed by the authors.

Taken as a whole, this body of work suggests that there is no theory adequate for explaining the process of

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[196] Francesco Cordasco reproduces this section of the text in his book.

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assimilation experienced by Puerto Ricans. There are "no convincing explanations" for the problem of Puerto Rican assimilation (J. Fitzpatrick et.al., 1971). Puerto Ricans are at best an enigma, at worst they stand outside of the borders of North American rationality-modernity.

Puerto Ricans present a challenge to the sociological theorizing attempted by the writers included in this collection. It appears that Puerto Ricans do not follow propositions of ethnic relations theory. The principles for understanding European immigration and assimilation simply do not apply in the case of Puerto Ricans. Despite declarations of the possibility and desirability of assimilation, the failure of Puerto Ricans to follow the European model dash the writers' hopes against the reef of North American sociology. The broken remains return to the shore of the discursive field as "The Assimilation Problem." Social and cultural problems as the ground of the problem, remain securely anchored in the accounts offered by the writers - much to their distress. Ironically the victims which they set out to help are in turn victimized yet again by the sociological labors of those who set out to help them.

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[197] Some of these organizations were founded under the auspices of the War on Poverty.

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The Endless Necessity of Recitation

Francesco Cordasco is another authority of the "The Assimilation Problem."[198] Discursively, Cordasco inherits the propositions of Clarence Senior and Joseph Fitzpatrick on Puerto Ricans.

Cordasco and Eugene Bucchioni are co-editors of a book, The Puerto Rican Experience: A Sociological Sourcebook (1973), which attempts to offer a comprehensive account of Puerto Ricans in the United States. Through sociological tools, theories of migration, conflict, alienation and acculturation; profiles, and the quotation of secondary references on Puerto Ricans, Cordasco and the other authors attempt to provide a sociological account of Puerto Ricans in the mainland.

This is a sociological enunciation in which the different authors state that "what" they are describing is "complex," however, this complexity aside, they are attempting to simplify the subject matter. For this reason they limit their analysis to the existing and accumulative references on Puerto Ricans.[199]

The strategy of repetition is enacted through the textual inclusion of Rosary #1, in Chapter I - "The Island Background." In Chapter II - "The Migration", Rosary #2 is

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[198] Cordasco was a consultant for the Migration Division in Washington, and has published various books and articles on Puerto Ricans in the United States.

[199] Indeed, the sociological repetition of what has been said about Puerto Ricans is acknowledged by these social scientists.

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enunciated. The deficit mode is displaced in the authors' appropriation of the notions of "conflict" and "acculturation."

In one of the essays, socioeconomic and motivational characteristics between Puerto Rican migrants, Island inhabitants, and return migrants are compared and profiled.[200] An account of Puerto Rican socioeconomic and sociocultural status is presented by Clarence Senior and Donald O. Watkins in the Chapter titled "Toward a Balance Sheet of the Puerto Rican Migration." Here the Puerto Rican migration is defined as a "debit" since dependence, family disruption, suffering, cultural patterns, language barrier and other problems are part of its history. The "credits" of the Puerto Rican migration have been higher income, better jobs and improved family life.

The enunciation of Puerto Rican misery and *dysfunctionality*, for example, crisis of identity, hybridity and social deviance, is also advanced in Juan A. Silén's contribution. Silén approaches the topic within the rubric of the national question, that is the negative effects of colonialism upon the colonized. For Silén, the Puerto Rican migrant suffers and is dysfunctional because of their distance from Puerto Rican national culture combined with the efforts of the U.S. to assimilate them. Likewise, in his

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[200] Through the use of Census data, and with the economic sponsorship of the United States Office of Education, Eva Sandis presents a profile on Puerto Ricans with the respective "lows" and "highs."

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contribution to the volume, Manuel Maldonado-Denis puts forward an argument regarding the colonial oppression of Puerto Ricans. In his article "Puerto Ricans: Protest or Submission," the *pathological* profile of Puerto Ricans in the United States is enunciated through statements on North American imperialism. According to Maldonado-Denis the destruction of culture and identity, assimilation and hybridization results in social problems and powerlessness. While using different arguments, the "colonialist syndrome" operates within the same nexus of social *pathology* as does the "acculturation" thesis.

Pete Hamell offers an account of Puerto Ricans in New York City before and after World War II. According to Hamell, Puerto Ricans were seen as exotic and strange before World War II. After the war, Puerto Rican migrants are those who traveled in airplanes carrying with them suitcases which were really "cardboard tied with rope," and suffered the cold weather in the city. In this narrative, Puerto Ricans went from being exotic to wretched. Hamell argues that their problems were related to lack of education, drugs and broken marriages. However, their progress and integration have brought stability to New York City.

Under the sociological assumptions of conflict and disorientation, Joseph Fitzpatrick offers his Puerto Rican profile indicating how the migration has impacted family patterns. According to Fitzpatrick, data on the age of marriage, type of ceremony and out-group marriage reveal

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changes in Puerto Rican values. Despite broken families, poverty, unemployment and illness there is solidarity among members of the Puerto Rican family. As Clarence Senior stated earlier, the authors claim that the economic independence of Puerto Rican women produce parent-child distance. Moreover, Fitzpatrick concludes that increasing levels of assimilation lead to a crisis of identity.

Your American Pupil from Puerto Rico

An educational account of Puerto Rican children is illustrated in the booklet "Your American Pupil from Puerto Rico" (1956) written by the Assistant Superintendent of Schools in the Bronx, Dr. Benjamin E. Strumpf. For the author the "Puerto Rican child poses difficult, but not insurmountable problems."

In this text Rosary #1 is enunciated to describe "The Assimilation Problem." *Primitivism*, the deficit mode and racial codes are modalities of these enunciations. For instance, Puerto Ricans have a problem of "overpopulation," and they come from many "races." He observes that public schools in Puerto Rico do not have supplies. That there is a great demand for teachers. He also claims that overcrowding and scarcity of textbooks and materials are some of the school problems in the Island. The "lack," "mixture," and the "over" appear as rationales for a Puerto Rican *primitivism* and for their migration to the mainland.

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The educational policies for "The Assimilation Problem" are various:

We can help the child from Puerto Rico.

The teacher works with Puerto Rican children.

The bilingual pupil acts as a buddy.

The non-speaking English pupils should be placed in the orientation class.

There is a Special English Teacher.

There are Puerto Rican coordinators.

The Substitute Auxiliary Teacher is bilingual and also works with parents.

"We Adapt Our Teaching Techniques" presents the flexible North American capacity to deal with Puerto Rican otherness.

Dance, plays, and creative activities serve "to relieve tensions, develop personality and sense of belonginess."

A warm welcome, affection and patience are part of this capacity, etc.

The hygienist statement is articulated in educational guides for the North American urbanization of Puerto Ricans. For instance, "A Guide to Good Eating" and "We Develop Leadership" are some of the guides for the education of Puerto Rican children.

The back of the booklet concludes the textual signification of *Americans* for Puerto Ricans with the pronouncement of "Americans All." A group of children singing

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the United States' national anthem and holding the North American flag, and all of them with their right hands over their hearts are presented on the booklet's back cover. North American identity is textualized as the moral horizon for Puerto Rican children.[201]

A Religious Concern

One of the many versions of "The Assimilation Problem" are those generated by religious institutions. Since giving assistance to the *Other* is a religious obligation, religious pity is the main enunciation through which "The Assimilation Problem" is articulated. The particularity of the church's enunciation of "The Assimilation Problem" rests on the principles of suffering and the peregrination of the *Other*.

In the magazine "Who? Spanish-Speaking Americans in the United States of America" a discursive politics of helping the *Other* in North America, specifically Mexicans and Puerto Ricans is articulated.[202] Through short stories of everyday

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[201] Some additional publications by the Board of Education for "The Assimilation Problem" include:

"Teaching Children of Puerto Rican Background in New York City Schools Suggested Plans and Procedures"

"Phrases with Spanish Equivalents for Use in Schools An Aid for Teachers of Children of Puerto Rican Background"

"Resource Units for Classes with Puerto Rican Pupils in the Fourth Grade" (Experimental Edition)

"Resource Units for Classes with Puerto Rican Pupils in the First Grade"

"A Guide to the Teaching of English to Puerto Rican Pupils Intermediate Grades" (Experimental Edition)

"A Guide to the Teaching of English to Puerto Rican Pupils in the Junior High Schools" (Experimental Edition)

[202] The editor of the magazine was Mae Hurley Asworth. Some of the

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life experiences, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans appear as the signifier of different problems needing a helping North American hand, in this case, the American Methodist church. Correlates of Rosaries #1 and #2 are enunciated under the economy of pity which produces helpless and tragic signifiers. In the short story "We have New Neighbors," the street life of Puerto Ricans and their "poorly ventilated apartments" are enunciated as the scenarios of the new neighbors. In "For Day By Day Living," the tragic story of "Juan" is told and accounted for as arising from living in an "overcrowded" home, and other social problems. For example, Juan was abandoned by his mother. Eventually Juan had problems with the law. In another story, "María" is a woman whose family background includes a "mother sick and six brothers and sisters." Despite this family background, María became a missionary.

According to the author, in spite of this picture, Puerto Ricans want the same things as North Americans. For instance, the notion of the "melting pot" is deployed through the graphic portrait of a "Puerto Rican worker and a Hungarian worker praying before lunch." The language and the illiteracy problems of Puerto Ricans are already being attended through literacy programs for agricultural workers. The short-stories concludes with "Learning the Yankee

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authors of the short stories include Josephine Martin, Harry L. Poe, Mildred I. Ford and Louisa R. Shortwell.

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Tongue," in which the role of the school and the Methodist churches toward ethnic minorities is illustrated.

The Primitive Mimesis and the Ideology of Assimilation

"The Tumbleweeds"

The book The Tumbleweeds: Somersaulting Up and Out of the City Streets (1977) by Frederick Johnson is another enunciation of "The Assimilation Problem." In this book Johnson narrates his experiences as a recreational leader with five Puerto Rican teenagers in a poor New York City neighborhood during the 1950s. This text enters into the discursive field in which Puerto Rican *otherness* has been produced and signified.

"The Tumbleweeds" was the name given to a gymnastic group. This group was composed of five Puerto Rican teenagers who were trained and organized by Johnson. Throughout this text the acrobatics of "The Tumbleweeds" are produced as metonymies of a good beginning for the assimilation of Puerto Ricans. The metaphor of Tumbleweeds is also suggestive of this metonymy. The tumbleweed is a rough clump of dried plants, such as the pig weed, which break off near the ground in Autumn and are blown about by the wind. The tumbleweed is often seen in Western films rolling about in desolate frontier towns. The uselessness of the tumbleweed and the arid and inhospitable nature of the western desert frontier are symbols of desolation in western films. The unrooted nature of the tumbleweed suggests not belonging in any

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place/space. The metaphor of the tumbleweed, produced to describe Puerto Rican youth, can be seen as signaling aimlessness and a lack of roots. While the metaphor may have been intended to represent gymnastic agility the choice is ambiguous at best. Just like the tumbleweed Puerto Rican youth can be blown by the wind. The ambivalence in this metaphoric strategy is registered through statements of North American pity which are displaced in the figure of the recreational leader.

These enunciations appear as the rationale for Johnson's double intervention; as a community leader and as an author. "The Assimilation Problem" and the eventual ethnic assimilation of Puerto Ricans take place thanks to the role of Johnson as a recreational leader and author of the stories.

Johnson states that "Like most Americans," Puerto Ricans want the *American Dream*. The necessity of recalling the American ethos as *superiority and progress* of the human condition is deployed through "The Assimilation Problem." Rosary #2 is enunciated in an indirect way through the author's elaboration of his own identity. For instance, he describes himself as "white," "well coordinated," ignorant of delinquency, drug addiction, school failure, the underprivileged and minorities.

The narrative strategy - the story-tale or personal account - of the author provides the ground of factuality and veracity of "The Assimilation Problem." The savage mimesis

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and the deficit mode are enunciated through the understanding that Puerto Ricans are what Johnson experiences and writes about. The lackings, physical appearances, vocabulary and troubled behavior of these Puerto Rican teenagers and their families are enunciations of "The Assimilation Problem." The description of the five Puerto Rican teenagers to whom Johnson provides gymnastic training presents their *wildness ethos*.

The description of the neighborhood is produced as Rosary #2. Johnson offers the following visualization of the ghetto landscape: "many-hued Latin-tanned Puerto Rican kids from 80th street," overcrowding, beer-can littered streets and, "restless, screaming, black-haired, wiry children." This is an enunciation of the racial and savage mimesis (F. Johnson, 1977: 2). The lack of hygiene among Puerto Rican children is enunciated in his description of the youth as "dark street gamins, garbed in odds and ends of clothing and dirty sneakers" (F. Johnson, 1977: 8). Johnson describes them as "unconscious of time, schedule and appointments." The author declares the need for "controlling my wilder *muchachos*" (F. Johnson, 1977: 15).

An individual account of these Puerto Rican youngsters is also illustrated by Johnson. "Joe" has a booming voice. He screams to the other boys *"chamaco, carajo, maricón"* (kid, damn, faggot), but he is a charmer. He is a natural leader and is genuinely helpful, however, his "diplomatic skills were underdeveloped" (F. Johnson, 1977: 11). Johnson states

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also that Joe has an erratic tumbling style, a lack of concentration, but is well coordinated. He is fast, powerful, and explosive in his takeoffs.

"Angel" has an anemic look like *Cantinflas*. In addition, he wears grimy shirts and ragged clothes. His wrinkled ears are in need of soap and water. He has scratches, cut-arms and legs. His laugh is "wild, ripping, gasping, giddy giggle-yet lusty and warm" (F. Johnson, 1977: 16).[203]

Rosary #2 continues through the enunciation of dirtiness. In a description of a Puerto Rican family's apartment he observes that were cockroaches on the wall over the stove. Johnson gives a list of family problems which include; drinking, prostitution, *machismo*, run-ins with the criminal justice system and the experiences of tragedy.[204]

The Puerto Rican feminine reviled is produced in this narrative. According to Johnson, Puerto Rican women use tight skirts, high heels, and wear strong perfume. They are seductive and have a "teasing quality" to their speech.

The re-encounter of Johnson and the boys in a gathering at his home allows a tracking of Puerto Rican assimilation. What happened to whom, what are you doing now, how is your family are some of the questions he poses. The responses allow him to rate the degree of social mobility among "The Tumbleweeds." One of "The Tumbleweeds" is a social worker,

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[203] In addition, "Hilda," the sister of one of his *muchachos*, is a little cross-eyed, unattractive and a school drop-out with limited reading skills.

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anther works in an office and another works as a manager. Johnson finishes the dialogue with his older *muchachos* by indicating that "like most Americans" some of their families have two incomes and use birth control.

Through Johnson's text, correlates of "The Puerto Rican Problem" are enunciated in order to produce a statement on assimilation.

Puerto Rican Acculturation

Following propositions on assimilation and "cultural pluralism," the notion of "acculturation" frames many of the research topics from different disciplines within the social sciences during the 1970s, 1980s and the 1990s. The term "acculturation" is employed by authors with different meanings. At times acculturation refers to the way that ethnic groups have assimilated into the dominant culture. One of the propositions of the assimilation paradigm is that an acculturation process indicates the degree to which immigrants have integrated into North American culture.[205] The closeness or distance of "ethnic groups" from North American culture is explored through diverse research topics. For instance, there are studies which explore whether Puerto Ricans are becoming Protestants (J. J. Lennon, 1976). The degree of acculturation indicates the level of "competence"

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[204] The *botánica* and *espiritismo* are also part of Puerto Rican culture.

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(D. Cortés, 1994). Accordingly, the higher the level of acculturation, the higher the level of competence.

In other accounts, acculturation refers to the ways in which the culture of an ethnic group has changed. Starting from the propositions of the assimilation paradigm, a study claims that the level of assimilation and minority status are two explanatory variables for the fertility behavior among two generations of Puerto Rican women (R. Cooney-Santana et. al: 1981). According to the findings, younger generations of Puerto Rican women show differences in their reproductive behavior from the older generations of women.

At another level, an understanding of the Other's culture is necessary in a "pluralist society." From this perspective, the "unique" character of Puerto Rican acculturation is enunciated by scholars. For instance, one of the conceptualizations employed for analyzing the patterns of acculturation among Puerto Ricans has been the notion of "biculturality." The research focus framed by the notion of "biculturality" is an exploration of the extent of Puerto Ricans' interaction with North American culture and with Puerto Rican culture. For instance, changes in identity, language, and values from one generation to another and from one culture to another are explored. This is conceptualized as the "biculturality" option (K. J. Colleran, 1984). Following the "bicultural" principle, researchers also carry

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[205] See Russell A. Kazal, "Revisiting Assimilation: The Rise, Fall, and Reappraisal of a Concept in American Ethnic History,"

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out studies on the impact of marital heterogamy (spouse difference) on marital quality among Puerto Ricans (L. H. Rogler, M. E. Procidano, 1989). From this bicultural perspective, changes in Puerto Rican cultural features, such as "fatalism" and "familism" are also studied (D. Cortés, 1991, 1994). The uniqueness of Puerto Ricans is argued by Cortés as residing in the "bicultural" nature of the Puerto Rican *ethos*. According to Cortés, "biculturality," the extent to which Puerto Ricans are involved in both North American and Puerto Rican cultures, challenges assumptions of mutual exclusivity in acculturative change (D. E. Cortés: 1994). Bilingual education is also studied by researchers who are examining the level of acculturation among Puerto Ricans (J. A. Fishman et.al., 1971). The characteristics, patterns, and contexts in which Puerto Ricans use Spanish and English are examined by sociologists, educators, linguists and other scholars in order to assess levels of acculturation (J. Walters, 1981 and E. S. Swing, 1983).

The deployment of "ethnicity" also acts as a marker to explore the level of acculturation among Puerto Ricans (J. Fitzpatrick, 1989). Douglas Durack and Joseph Fitzpatrick argue that intermarriage patterns provide an excellent indicator of assimilation and of social distance separating ethnic groups (D. Douglas and J. Fitzpatrick, 1982). According to the authors, Puerto Ricans are the major exception to the intermarriage pattern.

American Historical Review, April 1995, Vol. 100, No. 2, pp. 437-471.

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Acculturation has also been defined as a process of crisis in which the culture of the dominant group vis à vis that of an ethnic group presents tensions or creates other problems in both cultures.[206] In other accounts, acculturation is also related to "pathological" behavior among Puerto Ricans.[207] For instance, Christine Torres-Matrullo explores the relationship between the stress of acculturation and psychopathology in a sample of 72 Puerto Rican women (C. Torres-Matrullo, 1976).[208] Through the utilization of interviews, application of psychiatric scales, and statistical analysis, Torres-Matrullo found that significant associations exist between acculturation and education, personality adjustment and psychopathology.[209]

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[206] See "Ethnic Factors in Psychological Distress in Women" by Alice Alers-Avilés, Dissertation, New York: Yeshiva University, 1984.

[207] See "The Relationship between Acculturation and Juvenile Delinquency Among Puerto Rican Male Adolescents in the South Bronx, New York City," by María E. Pérez y González, Dissertation, New York: Fordham University, 1993.

[208] According to the author, the definition of "acculturated subjects" was based on demographic data, place where the family was educated, language preference, and attitudes toward family and sex roles. Similar issues are addressed in "Correlates of Maternal Teaching Behaviors in Low-income Dominican and Puerto Rican Mothers," by Ruth Planos, Dissertation, New York: Fordham University, 1993, and; "A Survey of a Sample of Puerto Ricans Living in the United States: Family Cohesion and Adaptability, Acculturation, and Psychological Impairment," by Rafael A. Salas, Dissertation, Pennsylvania: Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 1988.

[209] See also "Acculturation and Socioeconomic Factors as Determinants of Depression among Puerto Ricans in the United States," by María E. Canabal and José A. Quiles, Social Behavior and Personality, 1995, Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 235-246, in which regression analysis showed that acculturation did not have an impact on depression symptoms. See also "Acculturation: Its Causes and Psychological Symptom Effects in Puerto Rican Women," by Margaret Rosario, Dissertation, New

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The acculturation profile of Hispanics in Chicago is also studied from an ecological perspective (R. Hutchinson, 1988). Through census and survey data, Ray Hutchinson maps demographic characteristics and "acculturation" patterns within this population. The attitudes of Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans toward their culture and North American culture are described. Intermarriage, religious traditions, and language patterns are some of the issues addressed. The author claims that among these groups Puerto Ricans favor acculturation least. Puerto Ricans also view with disdain and are in conflict with *American* lifestyles and value systems, which according to the author, indicates an emergent "ethnicity" and a process of selective "acculturation."

One of the strongest enunciations of the *pathological* character of Puerto Ricans in the United States is produced by the anthropologist Eduardo Seda-Bonilla. For Seda Bonilla, "pathological identities" are the effects of North American colonization and oppression. Accepting acculturation principles, and coupled with an essentialist moralization of the national question, Seda-Bonilla defines the problem of acculturation among "Niuyorricans" as a problem of identity that makes them "incomplete individuals," (E. Seda-Bonilla, 1972). Seda-Bonilla elaborates how an alienated-capitalistic cultural environment in the United States impacts Puerto

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York: New York University, 1985.

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Ricans and other immigrant groups negatively.[210] The *deformative-pathological ethos* is enunciated in the claim that the clash between the requirements of assimilation and North American racism produces the "Niuyorrican," a "deficitarian-pathological subject." Thus, the "Niuyorrican" does not master Spanish, does not know Puerto Rican culture and, does not want to live in Puerto Rico. According to Seda-Bonilla, the "Niuyorrican" is not a significant force in Puerto Rico's political struggles. For Seda-Bonilla, the "Niuyorican" represents a threat to Puerto Rico's national identity.

Acculturation is also addressed as a sign of contamination or deformation of the national culture. For some writers who analyze Puerto Ricans within the paradigm of the national question, for example, J. A. Silén, M. Maldonado-Denis, and E. Seda-Bonilla, the culture of Puerto Ricans in the United States has suffered a kind of deformation with a number of adverse psychological and social effects. Notions of "pathology" "syndrome" and social "deficits" which are supposedly produced through the abnormal assimilation of Puerto Ricans, are reappropriated by nationalists and Marxian scholars in order to condemn the United States intervention and its effects on the Puerto Rican people.

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[210] In an attempt to provide a conceptual model for the "Niuyorrican Syndrome," Seda-Bonilla states that the concepts of "additive assimilation" versus "substractive assimilation" explain the process of marginalization of "Niuyorricans" (E. Seda-Bonilla, 1986).

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In other accounts, acculturation patterns are related to those factors that could be retarding the process of assimilation. The use of mental health services among Puerto Rican men, for example, is studied through the application of acculturation and *machismo* scales (Y. Quiñones-Mayo, 1994). Low utilization of mental health services, higher scoring of *machismo* and lower scoring on acculturation were the main findings. Thus, culture in two directions, *machismo* and a low level of acculturation, result in a negative impact for the utilization of these services. In general, this last account attempted to identify the problems that Puerto Ricans still faced in North American society. Likewise, the impact of "ethnicity" and acculturation on work attitudes are explored.[211] Difficulties in the workplace and a poor performance at work are attributable to cultural values and behaviors among ethnic groups. Among the findings of a study on this topic, a researcher found that as Puerto Ricans scored higher on the Acculturation Index, their scores indicated less favorable ratings of the concept of "work" (E. Báez, 1984).

Through studies on assimilation and acculturation, the *deficits* of Puerto Ricans are enunciated. Language, for example, is a concern and a measure for enunciations on Puerto Rican assimilation. The lack of English mastery vis à

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[211] See also "Work and Culture: An Exploratory Study of Occupational Adjustment of Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States" by Ted L. Cox, Dissertation, New York: Fordham University, 1983.

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vis the use of Spanish is a continuous research problem in studies framed by acculturation patterns (e.g. E. Pollack, J. Menacker, 1971). Low valuation of language - greater Spanish proficiency than English, and little or no comand of English - is enunciated as part of "The Assimilation Problem" (L. M. Torres, 1988). In some of these studies, cultural values are related to speech norms. Rosaries #1 and #2 are related to the degree to which Puerto Ricans have mastered English.

In other accounts on Puerto Rican acculturation, Puerto Rican culture is produced as correlated to an inability to assimilate. The failure of Puerto Ricans to assimilate into North American culture is often presented as a particularly Puerto Rican trait since other ethnic minorities have been assimilated. In her book Out of The Barrio Toward a New Politics of Hispanic Assimilation (1991), Linda Chávez contends that Puerto Ricans present the highest degree of dysfunction among Hispanics since they are the poorest. According to Chávez, Puerto Ricans are overwhelmingly "welfare dependents," with a disproportionately high number of "single-head of household women" and "illegitimate children." Puerto Ricans have highly unstable families, and are lazy, self-destructive and hedonistic.[212] "Pathologies" of Puerto Ricans that were enunciated in previous works are now produced through the analysis of longitudinal data and its

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[212] See Linda Chávez, "The Puerto Rican Exception," Out of the *Barrio* Towards a New Politics of Hispanics Assimilation, New York: Basic Books, 1991.

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findings. Henceforth, the problems and culture of Puerto Ricans are addressed through the notion of "acculturation."

In sum, Puerto Rican acculturation could be studied as integration, progress, retardation, *uniqueness*, *deficits* or *pathos*. "The Assimilation Problem" is established through different statements. The findings of several studies reveal that Puerto Rican acculturation does not follow the stages proposed by the assimilation paradigm. Puerto Rican culture is a barrier for assimilation given that when Puerto Ricans encounter a different culture there is an inevitable "clash." This cultural clash is identified as producing different problems and *deficits* among Puerto Ricans. Acculturation patterns among Puerto Ricans are not located within assimilation propositions. However, the *untheorizable ethos* of Puerto Ricans in the United States is addressed with the emergence of the "culture of poverty" thesis.

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CHAPTER 7

EPISTEMOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

"THE CULTURE OF POVERTY"

Introduction

During the 1960s, Puerto Ricans, as discursive object, were enunciated under "The Culture of Poverty." The North American anthropologist, Oscar Lewis, introduced the "culture of poverty" (COP) concept before the International Congress of Americanists in Costa Rica in 1958. The initial employment of this concept was in Lewis' anthropological study Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty, published in 1959. Others using this concept in the early 1960s, include, Michael Harrington, Elizabeth Herzog and Lloyd Ohlin to name only a few. However, the seminal work on the "culture of poverty" thesis remains La Vida A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty-San Juan and New York, first published by Random House in 1965. In this book, Lewis provides an ethnographic account of a poor Puerto Rican family and life in a slum. He studied the values, attitudes, and behavior of the Ríos family in two urban settings, San Juan and New York City. The Ríos family consisted of five households: a mother; two married daughters in Puerto Rico and; a married son and a daughter in New York City.

For Puerto Ricans the period in which Lewis' work was published and gained notoriety is marked by a series of important developments. The world of work in places such as

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New York City was being transformed as the traditional places of employment for Puerto Ricans, such as light manufacturing and the garment industry, declined in importance in the city's economy.[213] The emerging focus on finance, insurance and real estate, known as FIRE industries, would not provide employment to those groups who were being increasingly displaced from the old industries and excluded by a racially segmented labor market.[214] Hence, the public sector would assume greater importance as employer for Puerto Ricans and other groups. It is in this context that, inspired by the Civil Rights Movement, Puerto Ricans would increasingly be

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[213] See Andrés Torres, Between Melting Pot and Mosaic: African Americans and Puerto Ricans in the New York Political Economy, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.

[214] The fiscal crisis of the 1970s would cap off the spiraling decline of New York City's manufacturing economy. It also marked the end of secure union jobs for Puerto Ricans as they would increasingly come to depend on employment from the public sector and government assistance. The postmodern condition typified by unemployment and part-time work which is becoming generalized in the 1990s began for Puerto Ricans twenty years earlier. On the fiscal crisis of the 1970s see William K. Tabb, The Long Default: New York City and the Urban Fiscal Crisis, New York-London: Monthly Review Press, 1982. On FIRE industries and the economy of New York City see Robert Fitch, The Assassination of New York, London-New York: Verso, 1993 and Robert Fitch, "Explaining New York City's Aberrant Economy," New Left Review, September-October, No. 207, 1994, pp. 17-48. On the segmented U.S. labor market see David M. Gordon, Richard C. Edwards and Michael Reich, Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982 and Paul A. Attewell, Radical Political Economy Since the Sixties: A Sociology of Knowledge Analysis, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1984, pp. 40-92. For an analysis of the contemporary political economy and the world of work see Stanley Aronowitz and William DiFazio, The Jobless Future: Sci-Tech and the Dogma of Work, Minneapolis-London: University of Minnesota Press, 1994 and Stanley Aronowitz and Jonathan Cutler, Post_Work: The Wages of Cybernation, New York-London: Routledge, 1997.

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engaged in a variety of reform struggles around a host of issues such as housing and education. The election and appointment of Puerto Rican elected officials and the increased professionalization of Puerto Rican social service agencies took place in this period. The dominant discourse among these Puerto Rican actors was typically left-liberal which tended, not always harmoniously, to converge with that of the left-wing of the Democratic Party. The War on Poverty established the parameters of the political discourse in which the Puerto Rican leadership framed their claims on the dominant society and the welfare state.

By the late 1960s a new generation of activists would challenge the assimilationist ethos of the previous generation and articulate a different political vision.[215] Inspired by the new movement for Puerto Rican independence, the anti-Vietnam War movement, wars of national liberation throughout African and Asia, the Cuban revolution, student radicalism and the second wave of feminism, a Puerto Rican New Left would emerge seeking radical socio-economic and socio-political change. In some ways the Puerto Rican New Left was an amalgam of Old-Left doctrine, New-Left sensibility and liberal reform political practice combined with militant direct action and mass mobilization. For this generation the "culture of poverty" was seen as an extension

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[215] See Roberto P. Rodríguez-Morazzani, "Puerto Rican Political Generations in New York: *Pioneros*, Young Turks and Radicals," Centro Bulletin, Winter 1991-92, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 96-116.

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of the assimilationist ethos of the dominant culture and the political compromise of the previous generation. It is this combination of socio-economic transformation and political rearticulation which provide the context for the reception of Oscar Lewis' *La Vida*.

The "Culture of Poverty": Epistemological Threshold

The enunciative order of "The Culture of Poverty" establishes its own discursive economy. This discourse also establishes "forms of coexistence" with previous discourses on Puerto Ricans (M. Foucault, 1972: 56-57). Descriptions, rationales and premises on the *Puerto Rican ethos* by "The Culture of Poverty" contain old enunciations from the discourses of "The Puerto Rican Problem" and "The Assimilation Problem." Within this new discursive field, statements of "The Puerto Rican Problem" and "The "Assimilation Problem" are incorporated as the propositions of a conceptual model, the "culture of poverty."

However, new conceptual tools are employed in order to produce the "Puerto Rican ethos." Through the study of the Ríos family, Lewis reformulates the correlates of "The Puerto Rican Problem," and "The Assimilation Problem" as an episteme. In this operation Puerto Ricans become theorizable, not because of the availability of theories. Instead, Puerto Ricans themselves are the source for the new conceptual model. They become the point of departure for and the theorization of the "culture of poverty." This discourse

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represents a higher level of Puerto Rican epistemologization. What was dispersed and enunciated on Puerto Rican *otherness* - internal and social violence, lackings, family and community patterns, sexual corporalities - by different authorities in "The Puerto Rican Problem" is now condensed by social theory as a conceptual model. What appeared to be untheorizable by "The Assimilation Problem," Puerto Ricans in the mainland, now becomes theorizable by the conceptual model of the "culture of poverty." This epistemological threshold of Puerto Ricans marks the development and achievement of relations of power as an anthropological practice that finally explains the nature of the object under study. The new discursive status of Puerto Ricans constitutes an epistemological positivity. The "pathological-deficitarian self" of Puerto Ricans traverses a new "threshold."

Oscar Lewis enunciates Rosary #2 to describe poverty among Puerto Ricans in the United States, especially those in New York City, a major objective of his research.[216] In his description of Puerto Rican poverty, or Puerto Ricans in poverty, Lewis finds: unskilled workers, some on relief, unsanitary conditions, crowded apartments, unmarried couples, divorced or abandoned women, low-income families, low educational levels, a high incidence of mental disability and a high rate of tuberculosis. *Spiritism* and sorcery are

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[216] Oscar Lewis' study also covers a sample of Puerto Ricans in New York who were related to the families in the Puerto Rico sample. Some of the main characters of his study - Soledad and Simplicio - and other relatives (Amparo, Benedicto, Flora) moved to New York City.

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described by Lewis as characteristic of the Puerto Rican-poor (O. Lewis, 1966: 6). Fernanda, for example, narrates a family experience in which sorcery plays a major part.

> Because, you see, his trouble was due to a spell a woman had cast on him to make him go mad. (O. Lewis, 1966: 31)

According to Lewis, Puerto Ricans are a festive people. They "enjoy parties, dance and music." Among the Puerto Rican-poor, *machismo* is expressed by both women and men. For instance, in Fernanda's description of her husband, Junior, "He's a real *macho*, a real he-man," (O. Lewis, 1966: 6). Criminal activity is also featured in this profile. For instance, "... Simplicio was a real hooligan," and in the narration on Arturo, Soledad's husband, we are informed that he spent six months in jail.

Lewis notes that poor Puerto Ricans in New York City do not speak English, and that they have few North American friends. Lewis claims that Puerto Rican migrants form "small islands" in the city. They tend to participate in voluntary organizations and church groups. According to Lewis, the poverty of Puerto Ricans in the United States is the product of "the slums of Puerto Rico" (O. Lewis, 1966: xi-xii). Notwithstanding the different contexts, Puerto Rican migrants perpetuate their culture. Tracing the footsteps of Lawrence Chenault, Christopher Rand and many others, Lewis found among the Puerto Rican poor crowded living conditions, "high incidence of abandoned wives and children," "predisposition

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to authoritarianism," "fatalism," and a misplaced emphasis on clothing and appearance. Following Senior, Fitzpatrick and Cordasco among others, Lewis indicates that their process of assimilation into North American culture has been slow and difficult.[217]

The production of the "pathological" behavior of Puerto Ricans are registered by gender, age and correlated to their socio-economic conditions. Puerto Rican women, their sexuality, poor housing conditions, low educational level, school drop-outs, unskilled jobs, illiteracy and low income are concomitant of their low aspirations and irrational behavior.

The "pathos and deficits" of Puerto Ricans are enunciated as sites from which scientific knowledge can be derived. The Puerto Rican *Other* is operationalized as knowledge for the social sciences. The Puerto Rican as the *pathological* and *pre-modern* subject becomes an epistemological exercise. Within this academic practice Puerto Ricans become an episteme, in which the anthropological gaze is foundational. For instance, Lewis

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[217] Following previous enunciations of "The Puerto Rican Problem" and "The Assimilation Problem," Lewis argues that Puerto Rican families present more marital conflict in New York as a "result of wives working." The high levels of Puerto Rican female participation in the labor market is seen as reinforcing a tendency to undermine the patriarchal-*macho* position of the Puerto Rican male. Lewis affirms that the traditional role of the Puerto Rican male as patriarchal provider has also been undermined by the legal limits on male authority, and the provision of social services to women and dependent children in the United States.

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advances the notion of the inexorability of the "culture of poverty" in the following terms:

> a tenacious cultural pattern (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvii)
>
> ... it seems to me that their behavior is clearly patterned and reasonably predictable ...inexorable repetitioness ... iron entrenchment of their behavior patterns. (O. Lewis, 1966: xxviii)

Lewis' statement constitutes an anthropological gaze that produces the *exotism* of the Puerto Rican body, "heart and soul."[218] An anthropological gaze that visualizes the "nakedness" of the *Other*. Hence, the "culture of poverty" establishes an epistemological threshold within which Puerto Ricans are apprehended and contained.

The inauguration of this narrative reveals the intimacy of the anthropological encounter. Puerto Rican life in the slum is the empirical site in which the anthropological gaze is cast on the sexual bodies of the *Other*. The new episteme equates being Puerto Rican as axiomatic of the "culture of poverty," a condition transmitted from one generation to another.[219] This anthropological account constitutes an

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[218] Lewis states in the Introduction of his book *La Vida* that he was unsatisfied with the "high level of abstraction inherent in the concept of culture patterns." Studies of families, would accordingly bring to him "the very heart and soul of the phenomena."

[219] It is a way of life with its own structure and rationale. Similarities in family structure, interpersonal relations, time orientation, value systems and spending patterns are part of the "culture of poverty." A capitalist society, high rate of unemployment, low wages, lack of government support for the poor, a bilateral kinship

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intimate narrative in which Puerto Rican subjectivities are read as a "culture of poverty."

This concept emerges as an intervention upon the *Other* undertaken in the name of science and progress. As Canguilhem argues in his work on the construction of normality and pathology in modern science, the latter is "not perforce in direct proportion to the degree of formalization reached by it" (M. Foucault, 1991: 13). Detection, inventories, and descriptions of deficits and abnormalities are the epistemological task of modern science. Moral imperatives more than theories drive the scientific process. The power of the North American imaginary as a moral regime constructs the *Other* as an "exotic" subject, that is mysterious, seductive, dangerous, pathological, deficitarian, deviant, etc. This moral regime drives the scientific interests by which the *Other* become the object of study. Thus, the study of the Puerto Rican-*Other* itself generates a new theory and way of doing theory. This represents a crucial difference between previous attempts at casting the anthropological gaze on the Puerto Rican subject and what emerges as an epistemological anthropology.

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and, middle class ideology are the conditions in which this way of life develops. It is an adaptation and reaction of the poor to their marginal position in capitalist society. Coping with feelings of hopelessness and despair they create other solutions to their problems. It passes from one generation to another. The lower strata and the dispossessed are the candidates for the COP. Lewis' proposal for the study of the culture of poverty comprises four different dimensions: the individual, family, slum community and community relationship to the broader society. According to Lewis the "culture of poverty" could provide a high level of generalization (cross-cultural application).

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The interpellation of the anthropological encounter is documented through the intimacy achieved by the eye, the closeness to the object of study realized by Lewis. This is a discourse that speaks and permits speech once and again, with a particular meaning and legitimization. Reason is produced through the rational interplay between knowledge and the subject-object, between power and self, and between the eye and the production of the "real."

Exotism: Twenty-two Panties and Other Exotica

The anthropological eye dramatically reduces the distance between the observer and the object of study. The eye is cast over the body, behavior, language, experience, and through a refractive operation organizes what the *Other* is. Michel Leiris defines the experience of otherness as "exotism." This is an active experience produced by feelings of astonishment, seduction, danger, repulsion, sorrow and anxiety. Further, the objectification-distortion of the *Other* is defined as the "exotic" (G. Brinker-Gabler, 1995).

The manufacturing of the "exotic" Puerto Rican poor enables the working-out of the epistemological requirements of science. The empirical level of the anthropological study of the Ríos family reveals "deficits and pathos." The scientific gaze documents the days spent with the Ríos family. Participating in social activities with the Ríos family, and facilitating access to different state and

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Its profile includes 70 social, economic and psychological traits.

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private agencies (social work) is part of this ethnographic work. The detailed field notes systematically list the required observations. The anthropological gaze registers their physical features, physical movements and gestures. The gaze is cast over conversations, forms of interaction and activities. The gaze also conducts detailed inventories of the material possessions of poor Puerto Rican.

The anthropological gaze penetrates into the most intimate realms of the *Other*, for example, sexual practices and intimate apparel. The inventory of the intimate apparel of the women of the Ríos family, and the description of their sexual life by the anthropologist are an enactment of "scientific" practice. Unacknowledged, even by the anthropological authority, is the moral(lizing) erotic dimension of this practice. For instance, the ethnographic account reveals that Fernanda has had six husbands. The ethnographic register also explores her sexual activities. An example of the moralizing eroticization which Lewis engages in can be observed in the underwear inventory conducted at Felícita's home. Lewis, or his assistant, Rosa, count the number of panties Felícita owns. Surprise and shock is expressed over the fact that she owns "twenty-two panties." This anthropological finding produces what Lewis classifies as "striking data." (O. Lewis, 1966: xxxvii).

How did Felícita's twenty-two panties become "data"? What is the epistemological basis for Oscar Lewis counting the panties belonging to Felícita, Soledad, Fernanda, and

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Cruz? How does this data become a proposition or an axiom of a conceptual model? Lewis does not offer a theoretical elaboration which would offer answers to these questions. What is clear, however, is that poor women, and especially poor colonial women, should not own twenty-two panties. This type of ownership is represented as an example of irrationality. Irrational, since the condition of being poor presupposes not having, or a lack of material possessions. Within this logic, the poor are assumed to follow certain patterns of consumption in keeping with their ability to purchase goods and services. That the poor would buy, or obtain, certain consumer items that are deemed by an authority, such as the anthropologist, as extravagant or unessential constitutes an irrational act. In this instance, the possession of twenty-two panties by a poor Puerto Rican woman serves to establish a link between aberrant spending with aberrant sexuality. As an irrational-exotic fact, it is to be included in the conceptual construction of the "culture of poverty."

Irrational Subjects: The Ríos Family and Others

Insofar as colonial subjects are socially constructed as distinct from the normative and structural logic of modern and hegemonic cultures, they are placed under conceptual rubrics of "social and moral deficits".[220] This new knowledge

[220] Discourses on pathology, social deviance, wildness, sickness, immorality, powerlessness, lack of will, non-white, devoid of a work

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constitutes a narrative of *abnormalities*, *deficits*, *excesses* and *pathologies* revealing how far the Puerto Rican poor are from the modern *American self*. The hegemonic character of a modern North American *ethos* serves as an imaginary for the discursive construction of the *Other*. Insofar as the social construction of Puerto Ricans as the creators of a "culture of poverty" appear to be the opposite of this North American horizon, Puerto Ricans are defined as strange, wild, immoral and in need of a social orthopaedic.[221] Correlates of the Puerto Rican-poor-*Other* are displayed through the active experience of the anthropological gaze. Within academic discourse those subject-objects marked as excluded from the

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ethic, criminals, culturally deficient, and rural traits shape the intellectual accounts of Indians, colonial subjects, immigrants, Blacks, Asian, Latinos and other identificatory *Others*, including women.

[221] Some works that are still grounded in the COP thesis are: Curtis Skinner, "Urban Labor Markets and Young Black Men: A Literature Review," Journal of Economic Issues, March 1995, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 47-65; Susan L. Thomas, "From the Culture of Poverty to the Culture of Single Motherhood: The New Poverty Paradigm," Women and Politics, 1994, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 65-97 and; Jimmy M. Sanders, "Public Transfers: Safety Net or Inducement into Poverty?," Social Forces, March 1990, Vol. 68, No. 3, pp. 813-834. Beyond the COP thesis and its inflections in North American social theory, devaluating stereotypes of Puerto Ricans in *American* culture have been displaced into mass media productions, literature and Puerto Rican experiences of everyday life. For instance, Richie Pérez in his article "From Assimilation to Annihilation: Puerto Rican Images in U. S. Films," *Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños* Bulletin, Spring 1990, Vol. II, No. 8, pp. 8-27, discusses forms of exclusion, dehumanization and discrimination against Puerto Ricans in the North American mass media from the 1940s through the early 1980s. The books by Dan Wakefield, Island in the City: The World of Spanish Harlem, 1959, and New York in the 50's, Boston-New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1992, and; by Patricia Cayo Sexton, Spanish Harlem Anatomy of Poverty, New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1965, are other examples of liberal accounts of Puerto Rican character mediated by axioms of inferiority and pathology. At the level of everyday life, Puerto Ricans experience devaluation in subtle and

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project of modernity are not its limit, but rather its possibility.

The rational subject, ordered, organized, with logical minds, are negated by Lewis' ethnographic account of the Ríos family. Among Puerto Rican *deficits* are included a "lack of participation and integration in larger institutions" and a low level of organization. Lewis maintains that they are "not class-conscious." "Lack" of privacy is another *deficit* documented among the members of the Ríos family. For instance, "Simplicio, Cruz and Soledad all slept in the same room with Fernanda and Erasmo" (O. Lewis, 1966: 166). "Spending more than saving" is characteristic of this family. Lewis states that they have "little ability to defer gratification and to plan the future." Felícita's discussion of her youngest sister, Cruz, illustrates the problem of immediate gratification:

> And Cruz sold lottery tickets but she never kept any for herself ... All she worries is about the next day and no further. (O. Lewis, 1966: 370)

Their "gregariousness" is also signified as irrational behavior. They,

> ... cannot be alone, an almost insatiable need for sociability and interaction. (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvi)

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direct ways which are also mediated by discrimination and racism.

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The selling and buying of *bolita* (illegal lottery) is also registered by Lewis as part of this ethnographic account. Cruz, for example, sells *bolita*, and Fernanda says that "I'll play even if I go broke" (O. Lewis, 1966: 7).

A modern subject with its concomitant moral and physical hygiene is nowhere to be found among the members of the Ríos Family. Prostitution, sexual promiscuity, incest, mental illness and disease mark the members of the Ríos family, generation after generation. According to Lewis:

> ... As other Puerto Rican slum dwellers I have studied, show a great zest for life, especially for sex, and a need for excitement, new experiences and adventures. (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvi)

They are described by Lewis as "sex-centered." Lewis states that they show, "frankness and openness about sex" (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvi). Felícita, for example, narrates her sexual experience with Angel:

> On the second day we screwed four times ... After that we did it every day before breakfast, at lunchtime and all through the night. We did it standing up, sitting down and lying sideways. (O. Lewis, 1966: 312).

Women are the main ethnographic focus of Lewis' work. Accordingly, they show a high incidence of early marriages, free unions, multiple spouses and illegitimate children. Lewis gives the following examples:

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> Fernanda's maternal aunt Amparo has had six husbands, all in free union, and thirteen children by four of them. (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvii)
>
> Fernanda herself has had six husbands.
>
> Fernanda and her children have had twenty-five marriages. (O. Lewis, 1966: xxxi)

These women have "... a history of prostitution ..." (O. Lewis, 1966: xxxi). They are overly sensual. For example, Fernanda's performance is documented by Lewis:

> That's why God made me a woman, a real bitch of a one. I'm forty now and I've had six husbands, and if I want I can have six more. I wipe my ass with them.
>
> (O. Lewis, 1966: 27)

Puerto Rican women are also unfaithful. For example, Fernanda, the mother, was unfaithful to her second husband, Erasmo, having had an affair with Héctor. Soledad, Cruz, Felícita, and Simplicio also cheated on their spouses and lovers.

The profile of the family sex life also alleges the existence of "confusion of sexual identification." Lewis claims that an uncontrollable, almost incestuous sexuality dominates the family. In their behavior Lewis observes,

> ... an overwhelming preoccupation with sex, the most frequent cause for quarrels.

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> Sex is used to satisfy a great variety of needs ... seduction by stepfathers, the sexual rivalry between sisters, mother and daughters, grandmothers and granddaughters. (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvi)

One example of aberrant sexual behavior is given in Soledad's narrative of her stepfather's attempt to seduce her:

> I would wake up to find him touching me or passing his hands over my body. (O. Lewis, 1966: 156)

Children's early initiation into sex is another correlate of the "culture of poverty." An account of the interaction between Soledad and her children serves to illustrate the rampant and unbridled sexuality into which Puerto Rican children are introduced by adults:

> This is mami's little girl. Mami's little Toya. Come, give me a real lover's kiss on the mouth like in the movies." Toya kissed her mother full on the mouth. "Ummm, good!" Soledad said, licking her lips. She went to Sarita, who was in the next swing. "Get down, get down!" Holding the child in her arms, she pulled down her panties and kissed her buttocks. Then she touched the little girl's vagina. "And who does this little kitchen belong to? (O. Lewis, 1966: 132)

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The profile on children includes a variety of sexualized enunciations. Some of these are:

> male children are erotically stimulated by their mothers and other family members; masturbation is not punished; and early sexual experience for boys and girls is accepted. (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvi)

Lewis also offers the observation that "women show more aggressiveness and a greater violence of language and behavior than men" (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvi-xxvii). The anthropologist also states that "... women are more demanding and less giving and have much less of a martyr complex than the Mexican women" (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvii). He illustrates this by indicating that they break up the marriages, call the police during quarrels, and take their husbands to court. These women also distrust men (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvii). Lewis adds that women have "bizarre ways of expressing their independence" (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvii).

By contrast, Lewis states that the men are "more passive, dependent and depressed than the women." The men have an "interest in stable family" and "resist separation" (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvii). The Ríos family men tend to be "married to prostitutes." Also, they are "less stable, less responsible and less concerned with *machismo* than the Mexican men" (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvii). Like the women, they have free

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unions, multiple spouses and illegitimate children. Puerto Rican men are womanizers too. Lewis states that:

> ... Fernanda's maternal great-grandfather had children with six women - one a legal wife, three wives in free union and two concubines. (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvii)

Moreover, the *pathos* that Lewis identifies among this family is described as follows:

> There is a great deal of pathos, suffering and emptiness among those who live the culture of poverty. It does not provide much support or long-range satisfaction and its encouragement of mistrust tends to magnify helplessness and isolation ... the poverty of culture is part of the culture of poverty. (O. Lewis, 1966: ii)

According to Lewis, the Ríos family/Puerto Ricans have a "high tolerance for psychological pathologies."[222] They

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[222] It is important to point out that this enunciation was discursively illuminated by previous studies on "The Puerto Rican Syndrome," "cultural delusions" and schizophrenia among Puerto Ricans. See the work of: M. Rubio et.al., "Psychopathologic Reaction Patterns in the Antilles Command," United States Armed Forces Medical Journal, 1955, Vol. 6, pp. 1767-1772; Robert Mehlman, "The Puerto Rican Syndrome," American Journal of Psychiatry, 1960, Vol. 118, pp. 328-332; E. Maldonado Sierra, "Neuroses and Traditional Beliefs in Puerto Rico," International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 1960, Vol. 6, pp. 237-246; Ramón Fernández Marina, "The Puerto Rican Syndrome: Its Dynamics and Cultural Determinants," Psychiatry, 1961, Vol. 24, pp. 79-82; A. Rothenberg, "Puerto Rico and Aggression," American Journal of Psychiatry, 1964, Vol. 120, No. 10, pp. 962-970; by the psychiatrist Fredric Wertham, The Circle of Guilt, London: Dennis Dobson, 1958 and; the study carried out by the sociologists Lloyd H. Rogler, and A. B. Hollingshead in Trapped: Families and Schizophrenia, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965.

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possess "feeling of marginality, helplessness, dependence, and inferiority." Lewis states that they are possessed by a "negative self-image" (O. Lewis, 1966: xxx). Lewis also claims that they have a "weak ego structure". He indicates that this family has "an unbridled id," and exhibit more "self expression than self-constraint," as well as "an almost complete absence of internal conflict and of a sense of guilt" (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvi).

Another *pathological* feature observed by Lewis was "a lack of impulse control." Lewis declares that "They value acting out more than thinking out." Lewis affirms that the Puerto Rican-poor are "less reserved, less depressive, less controlled and less stable than the low-income Mexicans."

Violence is also manifest in the Ríos family. Lewis narrates that "... uncontrolled rage, aggression, violence, and even bloodshed ..." exist among these people (O. Lewis, 1966: xxvi). Fights and the use of razors as weapons are described thus:

> cutting the face of their opponent with a Gem razor.
> cut him with a razor. (O. Lewis, 1966: 26)

Life among the poor is also typified by the neglect and abuse of children. Fernanda informs that beating children is "the right way of raising them" (O. Lewis, 1966: 109). Fernanda also narrates experiences of punishment and abuse:

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> Sometimes she tied us to a pole, feet up and head down, and beat us like that ...
>
> She locked me out that night and left me to sleep in the street. (O. Lewis, 1966: 30)

Other conditions and behaviors narrated by Lewis include deprived childhood and respiratory diseases (asthma and tuberculosis). Venereal diseases are also a part of the ethnographic account given by Lewis. Fernanda narrates that her husband, Héctor who is a *bubarrón*, infected her with a venereal disease (O. Lewis, 1966: 103). There is also a narration of Tanio's transmission of syphilis to his baby. Mental disease is part of the *pathological* profile of the Ríos family. We are informed that Adela, Fernanda's aunt went crazy, Soledad and Felícita have had "epileptic-type hysterical seizures," "the Puerto Rican Syndrome," and Simplicio is described by Fernanda as having "problems of the head."

Not a single member in the Ríos family profile is a responsible and productive subject possessing a work ethic. Lewis declares that they value "pleasure more than productivity." For instance, Junior, one of Fernanda's husbands, states that:

> Slavery was abolished a long time ago. I work but not to kill myself. Why should I? To make someone else rich? (O. Lewis, 1966: 11)

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As part of the "bastardization of the signifier," signification of Puerto Ricans as devoid of history, world-view and ideals, Lewis also indicates that the slum dwellers are "provincial, locally oriented, and with no sense of history and the external world." In his comparison of the historical background of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, Lewis presents the *deficitarian* path of Puerto Ricans, Rosary #1. Accordingly, Puerto Rico is a small island with a comparatively small population, and limited natural resources. The Island was for so long neglected by the former colonial power it did not develop. Also, the character of the people is basically marked by *docility*. This history and character are what go into making the Puerto Rican *ethos* (O. Lewis, 1966: xvi). As in previous discourses, the correlation between the geography of Puerto Rico vis à vis the *docile* personality of Puerto Ricans is established as an incontestable fact.[223]

The bastardization of Puerto Ricans is also linked to language. Lewis claims a "lack of orality" among the Puerto Rican-poor. Lewis offers the following description of language usage, he says that it

> ... is simple, direct and earthy ... little use of metaphor or analogy ... it never reaches the poetic levels of the language of the Mexicans I have studied.

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[223] Rosary #1 also appears through the "objective" strategy of quoting the works of some Puerto Rican writers, for example, Luis Muñoz

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> ... the linguistic creativity in the San Juan slums seems inspired by bodily functions, primarily anal and genital. (O. Lewis, 1966: xxv, xxvi)

Lewis' account is both titillating and repulsive. This effect is achieved through a near ritual repetition of the erotic and the excremental. Throughout this text the life histories of the Ríos family, their relatives and friends are signified with the following terms:

> Asthma, women bodies, syphilis, tuberculosis, uncontrollable sex, tongue kisses, alcohol, touching children genitals, beating children, abandoned children, fighting, razors, drugs, steeling, dirty streets, bars, incest, illegal games, uncombed hair, kinky hair, barefoot, dirty clothes, tied clothing, *spiritism*, rats, overcrowding, horns on your head, menstruation, cripple, quarrels, prostitution, hunger, arrests, *coño*, scars, son of a bitch, cockroaches, almost incest, jail, madness, eating spoiled food, epileptic seizures, rum, abortion, rapes, shit, urine, vomiting, *bolita*, beatings, tight vagina, blood, begging, ... cripple.

All of the above enunciations reveal and define the Puerto Rican *ethos*. According to Lewis "... studies of the lower class may also reveal something that is distinctive of a people as a whole" (O. Lewis, 1966: xv). This discourse will

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Marín and René Marqués.

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be extended as a near hegemonic paradigm for understanding and treating the poor of different origins and geographic locations: Blacks, Latinos, Asians, and poor whites as well as the poor of other countries.

Lewis' anthropological gaze into the "heart" and the "soul" of the Puerto Rican poor was a major success. *La Vida* became the exemplar of the 1960s zeitgeist, and as such it has been acclaimed as the most important work of the era, an international bestseller which has been reprinted over a dozen times. Lewis' *La Vida* is perhaps the best-known academic work on Puerto Ricans ever written. The book has wide usage in sociology, psychology, urban studies, ethnic studies and other disciplines within the social sciences. This success was predicated on the ability to deploy the concept as the embodiment of "truth" on the *Other*.

The Prolific "Culture of Poverty"

Despite the critiques that the "culture of poverty" was subjected to, in particular its theoretical and methodological weakness, and the stereotyping of poor as "pathological," its hegemony was not undermined.[224] This

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[224] The "culture of poverty" provoked a generalized debate about its lack of conceptual and methodological rigor, analytical contradictions, stereotypes, and adverse political implications. Different critiques on the theoretical and methodological inadequacies of the COP thesis were discussed during the 1960s and 1970s within the internal logic of the concept and from the standpoint of the anthropological canon. A central point in the debate was a critical examination of the concepts poverty and culture utilized by Lewis. A forceful critique of the "culture of poverty" was that elaborated by Charles Valentine. His critique points out the conceptual weakness of

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paradigm would become the most influential articulation within the arenas of public policy, social science and in popular everyday discourse. Three decades since the "culture of poverty" thesis was elaborated it remains a dominant undercurrent for looking at Puerto Ricans and others by policy analysts and social scientists.[225] This made for a discourse which was resistant to a de-legitimization conducted on its own terms and internal logic.

The discursive appropriation of the "culture of poverty" by several disciplines, academics, policy makers and journalists marks its hegemony. The "culture of poverty" is

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Lewis' work (C. Valentine, 1968). From a Marxist perspective, Eleanor Leacock argues that the "culture of poverty" is self perpetuating and self-defeating, and betrays class biases. For Leacock, this concept of culture is not framed in a historical perspective (E. Leacock, 1971). In France, Ogien Ruwen criticized Lewis' work arguing that the inadequate application of his research method, i.e. family-history, and also takes Lewis to task for "blaming the victim" (R. Ogien, 1978). Several critical analyses around State and capital requirements and their respective contradictions invalidated the COP thesis as defining the poor's subjectivity as determining poverty. See "The Culture of Poverty", by David Schak, 1974 and "Oscar Lewis and the Concept of the 'Culture of Poverty'," by Sandra Puccini, 1974-75. Other sociological critiques on the conceptual standing of the "culture of poverty" is "The Culture of Poverty in Coconut Village, Trinidad: A Critique," by David Harrison, 1977 and "The Culture of Poverty: Useful or Unuseful Concept?," by Dean Harper, 1972. Some current critiques of the "culture of poverty" possess certain similarities and differences with the critiques produced in the late 1960s and early 1970s. There are critiques of the conservatives who applied the "culture of poverty" to their research works in the 1960s and 1970s (A. Vedlitz, 1988). From the standpoint of a moral-philosophical perspective, Bernard Boxill argues that Lewis did not take into account the substantive issues of poverty itself through his self-perpetuating "culture of poverty" (B. Boxill, 1994). Other critiques focus on the exclusion of those structural factors that shape the "culture of poverty." Other critiques emphasize how the poor contest their conditions of poverty (D. J. Jones, 1993).

[225] Following Lewis' claim, his work has been a work-tool used mainly by intellectuals and other authorities.

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both an accessible and easy to use instrument. This concept can stand in as a hypothesis, a variable, a scale, a research tool, an idea or an ideology. The authority to speak about those sectors which are excluded from the socio-economic structure, or different from the modern-North American-moral-productive *ethos*, or represent a "threat" to the social order, these are poor, elderly, women, teenagers, Indians, children, Latinos, minorities, etc., is easily achieved through the usage of the "culture of poverty" thesis. The "culture of poverty" becomes a technology that allows the production of the "truth" about these sectors. The "culture of poverty" is the ultimate user-friendly tool for describing the aberrant. The policing function of science, State and morality actuate the "culture of poverty." At the level of discourse, the "culture of poverty" has its field of stabilization.

The "Culture of Poverty" and the War on Poverty

The "culture of poverty" become a powerful premise for the discursive practices of the North American welfare-state. In the 1960s War on Poverty, with its stated goal of the elimination of poverty in the United States through the "empowerment" of the poor, provided the context for the instrumental functioning of the "culture of poverty" thesis.[226] Insofar as Puerto Ricans are seen as a problem

[226] Lewis stated that his ethnographic account of Puerto Rican slum life will be useful for those in charge of anti-poverty programs

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through their social construction as signifiers of a "culture of poverty", they were explored, observed and evaluated by the State in the broader sense, social workers, policy makers, intellectuals, in order to transform them into subjects fit for modern North American society. Thus, the "culture of poverty" thesis presupposes, ideologically and politically, that the poor need to "develop" in order to reach a higher self and social status in modern North American society.

It is in this context that the War on Poverty represents a political intervention in poor communities, under the discursive practices of the elimination of poverty and the advocacy of social progress for the powerless and the poor.[227] In this schema poor minorities are to be included in the modern project of progress and development through affirmative action programs. The State will organize the poor as leaders. The poor will receive health services, access to higher education, fellowships, improved housing, job training, etc.[228] War on Poverty programs will be disseminated

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(O. Lewis, 1966: xii).

[227] A major claim of the War on Poverty was that progress and development of the poor will take place through the operation of social programs and services. Welfare is the instrument for the elimination of poor people's "lackings and pathos."

[228] The "culture of poverty," for example, has been appropriated as a perspective for evaluating the success of community programs which were enacted as part of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. For instance, the evaluation of the Weber Job Corps Center and Program (WBJCCP) in 1984 was carried out within a framework of the "culture of poverty" and a social systems model (J. H. Salazar, 1984). From a different perspective, Ura Oyemade, argues that the faulty premises on which antipoverty programs developed are the reason for their failure.

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throughout poor communities for their "empowerment" (B. Cruikshank, 1994).

Testing the "Culture of Poverty"

The "culture of poverty" is produced as a hypothesis for a number of different research topics. An hypothesis is based on an assumption always already legitimated: it has an empirical antecedent; it makes sense; it is socially understood and accepted. What is crucial to the activation of the "culture of poverty" hypothesis is the existence of a target population and its alleged behavior. Without a target population the "culture of poverty" hypothesis cannot be enunciated. The "culture of poverty" hypothesis is an inference of the target population. The hypothesis offers one way of grasping a social reality, a reality that activates the correlate of a discursive object. The authority to state the hypothesis is a means by which the discursive object is produced, whether or not its probability of "truth" or statistical significance can be established. Thus, the "culture of poverty" hypothesis is an enunciative modality.

One example of this is the relation established between premarital pregnancy and the "culture of poverty." In 1970, Frank F. Furstenberg published a four-page article about

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Oyemade focused on the failure of the Head-Start program in their goal of upward mobility for minorities (U. J. Oyemade, 1985). According to the author, the "culture of poverty" theory appears as one of four premises on which the Head Start programs have developed. Specifically, transgenerational poverty, education as a means for mobility, and the

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"Premarital Pregnancy Among Black Teenagers." Furstenberg carried out a survey among Black unmarried girls who were admitted for prenatal services to Sinai Hospital during 1966-1968. The author's aim was to examine if "a culture of poverty" or differences among poor people exist, in this case, among young-black-pregnant-unmarried women.[229] Questions around their feelings toward pregnancy and knowledge of birth control were solicited and categorized. According to the data, "unhappiness" with pregnancy was the norm among these teenagers. In general, marriage "was not" a goal for many of the girls.[230]

In another study, the "culture of poverty" is advanced as a probable explanation for differences in the use of health care. In the article "Ethnic, Economic, and Social Psychological Factors in the Source of Medical Care" (1973), Emil Berkanovic and Leo G. Reeder identified three hypotheses to explain the factors determining the use of health care: unequal access; a "culture of poverty," and cultural and psychological differences related to ethnicity and socioeconomic status. Through the use of interviews and

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child as a vehicle for mobility were the other three assumptions of the Head Start programs.

[229] The target population for this study already include the initial traits for the "culture of poverty" profile; Black, young, pregnant, unmarried, and poor.

[230] Many of them "did not" know about birth control. In the process of working with this group, many of them began to use contraception methods through the hospital's services. As a result, the pregnancy rate was being significantly reduced. Knowledge of birth control seems to overcome the "culture of poverty."

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statistical analysis, the authors found that complex cultural factors are important determinants of health care. For instance, they state that a complex interaction between ethnicity and income cannot be explained by either unequal access to care or the "culture of poverty" hypothesis.

Several studies attempt to establish relationships between the "culture of poverty" and other social factors such as crime and urbanization, welfare dependency, social attitudes and mobility, parental attitudes and education, childhood, work values and behavior, and other research topics.[231]

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[231] A translation of one of the dimensions of the "culture of poverty" model, individual vis à vis the broader society is presented in the article, "Factors Affecting the Mobility-Orientation of the Poor" (1974). The "culture of poverty" progresses here as a series of variables correlated to the perceptions of poor towards social mobility. Using interview data, Lawrence E. Sneden explores how contacts of poor with middle class referents are perceived by them as mobility aspirations and with an overcoming of "culture of poverty" values. The author found that various attitudes and perceptions of the poor are highly correlated with certain middle class referents.

A study on welfare recipients is discussed in the article "Public Concepts of Poverty: the County Commissioner's View" (1973). Charles Ramsey and Rita Braito addressed the following research questions: why are people on welfare now unemployed?; why do many elderly people need welfare? and; why do children, even when they are adults stay on welfare? Four hypotheses were identified as explanations for why people are on welfare; "culture of poverty," inherent inferiority, fortuitous misfortune, and structural disadvantages. Ramsey and Braito conclude that different groups - unemployed, children, and the elderly - matched different combinations of the four hypothesis in the study. For instance, children who remained on welfare into adulthood was due to inferiority while the plight of the unemployed stemmed from inferiority, fortuity and the culture of poverty. In a recent study, "Welfare and Adolescent Sex: The Effects of Family History, Benefit Levels, and Community Context" (1995), the authors found that the statistical results do not support the hypothesis that higher welfare benefits provide an incentive that hastens sex or reduces contraceptive use. However, statistical analyses provide moderate support for a "culture of poverty" perspective among girls (K. A. Morrison et.al., 1995). In another study, the "culture of poverty" hypothesis appears as

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one of four probable explanations for joblessness among Black men (C. Skinner, 1995).

Other works in which the "culture of poverty" acts as hypothesis or definition of the research problem include: "Parental Attitudes and Education in the Culture of Poverty," by Merle B. Karnes and R. Reid Zehrback, Journal of Research and Development in Education, Winter 1975, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 44-53; "The Culture of Poverty Debate: Some Additional Data," by Barbara E. Coward et.al., Social Problems, June 1974, Vol. 21, No. 5, pp. 621-634; "The Culture of Poverty Revisited: A Strategy for Research," by Richard L. Della-Fave, Social Problems, June 1974, Vol. 21, No. 5, pp. 609-621; "The Poor of Jakarta," by Gustav F. Papaneck, Economic Development and Cultural Change, October 1975, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 1-27; "The Solution Cycle of Social Problems," by Leonard Reissman, American Sociologist, February 1972, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 7-9; "Studying Social Class: the Case of Embourgeoisement and the Culture of Poverty," by Garth Massey, Social Problems, June 1975, Vol. 22, No. 5, pp. 595-608; "Work and Ghetto Culture," by Norman Bonney, British Journal of Sociology, December 1975, Vol. 26, No. 4. pp. 435-447; "The 'Culture of Poverty' and Beyond," by H. G. Oxley, Mankind, December 1975, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 69-83; "The 'Culture of Poverty in Metro Manila: Some Preliminary Notes," Sylvia H. Guerrero, Philippine Sociological Review, 1973, Vol. 21, No. 3-4, pp. 215-221; "The Kolta: A Study in the Ethnography of the Poor," by Nadeem Hasnian, Eastern Anthropologist, 1975, Vol. 28, No. 4, pp. 367-379; "Poverty, Urbanization, and Crime," by Victor E. Flango and Edgar L. Sherbenou, Criminology, November 1976, Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 331-346; "A Typological Approach to the Study of Poverty: Predicting Mobility Among Lower Class Females," by Ira E. Robinson et.al., Paper, Southern Sociological Society, 1977; "Health Care Utilization, Poverty Populations, and the Effect of Professional-Patient Interaction," by H. Paul Chalfant, Paper, Society for the Study of Social Problems, 1977; "Fictive Kinship, Conjugal Tie and Kinship Chain among Chinese Immigrants in the United States," by Peter S. Li, Journal of Comparative Family Studies, Spring 1977, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 47-63; "Poverty and Childhood," by Jerome S. Bruner, 1975; "On 'the Culture of Shiftlessness'," by Chandler Davidson, Dissent, Fall 1976, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 349-356; "Structural Change and the Disadvantaged: An Empirical Test of Culture of Poverty and Situational Theories of Hard-Core Work Behavior," by Leonard Davidson and David Krackhardt, Human Organization, Fall 1977, Vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 304-309; "A Further Look at "Culture of Poverty," by Audrey J. Schwartz, Sociology and Social Research, July 1975, Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 362-386; "The Use of Health Services by the Poor," by Catherine K. Riessman, Social Policy, May-June 1974, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 41-49; "Against the Use of the Concept "Culture of Poverty," by Karen L. Dugger, Paper, Society for the Study of Social Problems, 1978; "Income Maintenance and Work Behavior," by Sonia R. Wright and James D. Wright, Social Policy, September-October 1975, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 24-32; "Culture of Poverty: An Empirical Evaluation," by Karen E. Caddell and Larry J. Lyon, Paper, Southwestern Sociological Association, 1978; "Deprivation Mythologies versus Practical Realities," by Margaret J. Stovall and James F. Stovall, Paper, Southwestern Sociological

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Likewise, the testing of the "culture of poverty" takes place through different research strategies such as census and program data profiles, surveys, interviews, ethnographic work and statistical analysis. The testing of the "culture of poverty" also operates through the inclusion of control or contrasting groups as part of the study samples. It is through these groups that the hypothetical "differences" of the target population are tested.

In "The Social Composition of ADC Families (1974), John H. Moore argues for the need to test Lewis' "culture of poverty" thesis as a "cross-cultural model" for all ADC families. Through data analysis Moore found that few families fit Lewis' model. Another way of testing the "culture of poverty" has been through the study of work values and behavior among the urban poor (Davidson and Gaitz, 1974). The findings of this study revealed that attitudes toward work, leisure and time were not significantly different among minorities, in this case Blacks compared to Mexican-Americans. They found that the "culture of poverty" thesis had no explanatory power for addressing poverty among these

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Association, 1979; "The Effect of Income on the Use of Preventive Care: An Evaluation of Alternative Explanations," by Audrey J. Schwartz, Sociology and Social Research, July 1975, Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 362-386; "The Cost of Inequality: Metropolitan Structure and Violent Crime," by Judith R. Blau and Peter M. Blau, American Sociological Review, February 1982, Vol. 47, No. 1, pp. 114-129: "Poverty, Personality, and Sensitivity to Residential Stressors," by Mark Salling and Milton E. Harvey, Environment and Behavior, March 1981, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 131-163 and; "Public Transfers: Safety Net or Inducement into Poverty," by Jimmy M. Sanders, Social Forces, March 1990, Vol. 68, No. 3, pp. 813-834.

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groups. In another study, the hypothesis that community participation by those in poverty increases potential social mobility was tested through interviews with rural low-income households in Mississippi (D. Miller, 1976). Most of the variables associated with community participation were found to be insignificant as factors in social mobility.

The "culture of poverty" was also converted into a questionnaire intended as an attitude scale to collect data and measure the attitudes of the poor in three slums of India (L. Singh, 1986). Through statistical analysis, the author correlates the "culture of poverty" with age, caste status, income, activeness, religious participation, and other variables. Lewis' 71 traits of the "culture of poverty" have also been tested by social researchers through statistical analysis (F. C. Patten, 1981). In the 1980s and the 1990s the "culture of poverty" continues to be a testing tool for many studies on poverty, ethnicity, health care, teenage pregnancy, welfare mothers, Black and Latino poor communities.[232]

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[232] Other works in which the "culture of poverty is tested include: "Culture of Poverty in a Low Black Community," by Frederick C. Patten, Paper, Society for the Study of Social Problems, 1981; "Correlates of Poverty in Rural South Alabama Counties," by Susan G. Thomson, Paper, Eastern Sociological Society, 1981; "Poverty Theory and National Health Insurance," by Richard Senter and Michael L'Esperance, Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology, May 1982, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 38-42; "Symptoms, Beliefs, and the Use of Physician Services among the Disadvantaged," by Kimberly Sharp et.al., Journal of Health and Social Behavior, September 1983, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 255-263; "Poverty and Culture: Empirical Evidence and Implications for Public Policy," by Naomi Carmon, Sociological Perspectives, October 1985, Vol. 28, No. 4, pp. 403-417; "Ethnic and Residence Differences among Poor Families," by Nancy G. Kutner and Michael H. Kutner, Journal of Comparative Family

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Lewis' aspiration that the "culture of poverty" might be used as a cross-cultural model is realized by Raymond D. Gastil in his article "Lower Class Behavior: Cultural and Biosocial" (1973). Gastil attempted to rework the "culture of poverty" into a cross cultural model which could shed light about the universal pressures which weigh upon "lower-class groups" in order to predict their behavior.[233] Accordingly, the profile for the lower-class groups in North American society is expected to feature the following: low standard of living; low educational level; poor training of children for middle-class living; low productivity; negative out-put, for example, self-hatred and love-hate attitudes (R. D. Gastil, 1973: 356).

In another study on "Labor Market Participation Among Young Adults: An Event History Analysis" (1989), Johnson and Herring employed data, collected from 4,688 adolescents in Houston, and event history analysis, to test the weight of

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Studies, Fall 1987, Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 463-470; "Dispelling Myths about Teenage Pregnancy and Male Responsibility: A Research Agenda," by Betty Watson et.al. Urban League Review, Summer-Winter 1988, Vol. 12, No. 1-2, pp. 119-127 and; "Why Don't Welfare Mothers Get Jobs? A Test of the Culture of Poverty and Spatial Mismatch Hypotheses," by James E. Rosenbaum and Susan J. Popkin, Paper, American Sociological Association, 1990.

[233] The behavior of *Negros*, American-Indians, Mexicans and other non-white groups are studied through this model. The author argues that the "culture of poverty" is explained by biosocial and cultural forces. According to Gastil, cultural forces are those attributes that pass from one generation to another. Moreover, focusing in on biosocial forces as universal similarities among lower class groups, Gastil presents a series of cross-cultural diagrams in which certain predictors demonstrate the evolution of lower class groups (R. D. Gastil, 1973).

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"culture of poverty" predictions; that those who live in cultural contexts in which work is devalued will have delayed entry into the labor market, reduced chances of promotion and increased chances of being fired.[234] According to the authors, the "culture of poverty" facilitates labor market entry and job promotion. On the other hand, other researchers who apply the "culture of poverty" as a predictor for employment status among poor contend that it has no predictive power (D. L. Torres, 1980).

The "culture of poverty" is also produced as a matter of historicity. In the article "The 'Culture of Poverty' in Antebellum Social Thought" (1974) Steven Sclossman argues that even when the "culture of poverty" concept was popular in the mid 1960s, its roots are in Antebellum urban North America. Sclossman exposes the historicity of the "pathological ethos" of the poor and immigrants in the 1800s. Sclossman analyses the position of societies which worked against poverty at the time. For example, the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in the 18th century believed that the poor were "godless wretches without wills of their own." The author also illustrates that the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (1844) saw the Irish community as "an isolated cultural unit which was virtually indifferent to

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[234] The authors tested other perspectives such as "opportunity structure" prediction; that those who suffer victimization from the school system and labor market are going to have an early entry to the labor force and more prone to be fired. Life styles and life circumstances (drug use and mental health) are also tested.

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pleas for moral betterment." These societies believed that "whether or not children had committed criminal acts, they should be taken from immigrant parents, to break up the pathological cultural unit" (S. Sclosssman, 1974). Another example of an effort to transpose the "culture of poverty" can be seen in the article "Some Aspects of the Moral System in Spanish Society after the Revolution of 1898" (1986), by Robles Muñoz. Robles Muñoz describes the historical documentation of a "culture of poverty" in Spain during the late 1800s. According to the records of the Commission for Social Reform and the Catholic Church, a lack of education and moral behavior, usury, immorality in sexual behavior, prostitution, and common-law marriages - a "culture of poverty" - were combated by the Church.

The popularity of the "culture of poverty" moved beyond the North American frontier and took root internationally. Since the 1960s, scholars from India, Italy, Manila, Australia, Great Britain, Indonesia, Taiwan, Germany, France, Serbo-Croatian (former Yugoslavia), Stockholm, Tunisia, New Zealand, Caracas, West Indies, South Africa, and Mexico have used the "culture of poverty" employing different approaches and research strategies.[235]

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[235] Some used the "culture of poverty" to support their research. Roland Girtler, a German sociologist, addressed the problems of homeless migrants in Vienna as that of a "culture of poverty" (H. von Alemann et. al., 1981). An ethnographic study of the poor in Kolta, India, describes the behavior of agricultural workers as furnishing examples of a "culture of Poverty" (N. Hasnain, 1975). One Spanish historian studied the historical account of the "culture of poverty" in Spain after the Revolution of 1868 (C. Robles Muñoz, 1986). Others

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In sum, the "culture of poverty" continues to be a referential tool and an ideology for studies and discussion of different issues.[236] In 1995, a review of two books on a

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employed the "culture of poverty" as a research hypothesis. In a study of the Australian aboriginal and white populations, the "culture of poverty" functions as a useful hypothesis for the study of poor students' behavior in school (A. T. Twoney, et. al., 1986).

The "culture of poverty" was rejected as explanatory of poor attitudes and behavior of ten Caracas slums. (A. J. Schwartz, 1975). The "culture of poverty" was also rejected on a methodological ground as in "The 'Culture of Poverty' in Metro Manila: Some Preliminary Notes" by Sylvia Guerrero (1973).

Another adoption of the "culture of poverty" was as a methodological tool for conducting life-histories. In a study of poverty in South Africa, the "culture of poverty" appears as absent among the poor since the community survives through ideals that emphasizes group commitment (M. Wilsworth, 1979).

Others employ the "culture of poverty" as a critical concept or tool (S. Puccini, Italy: 1974; David Schak, China: 1974; and D. Harper, France: 1972). The "culture of poverty" is also used in order to describe unstable social conditions. For instance, according to Sergio Zermeno a high percent of youth in Mexico are growing up in a "culture of poverty" because current economic and social policies have disrupted Mexican society (S. Zermeno, 1993). The author argues that the opening of US-Mexican border industries as part of the Free Trade, changes in the work structure, a higher unemployment, a higher international debt, massive migration, and other changes have destabilized the country's living conditions.

[236] For instance, a teaching game called SIMSOC (simulated society) in which students are instructed to establish a "social order" under difficult conditions, includes the "culture of poverty" as one of these circumstances (W. A. Gamson et.al., 1978). Conversely, alienation, delinquency and rejection of the social system by Black teenagers in Great Britain and Jamaica are also explained by the "culture of poverty" (D. Dodd, 1978). In another twist of the concept, in "Gains of Farm Workers in California Due to the United States Farm Workers" (1978), Victor P. Salandini states that prior to 1962, US farm workers were trapped in a "culture of poverty" evidenced by substandard wages, poor housing, and miserable working conditions. Homeless people are also subsumed under the label of the "culture of poverty" (D. A. Timmer, 1988). According to Timmer's study on the ideology of deviance in homeless shelters, the shelter staff expressed beliefs consistent with the theory known as the "culture of poverty." The author indicates that homeless residents are overregulated by the shelter organization and their middle class morality. Thus, homeless residents are treated as social deviants. In addition, criminologists have addressed some of the problems of the inmates as grounded in the "culture of poverty" (A. Parizeau, 1976). The "culture of poverty" even appears as a political concern of ecological movements. The Green Party in Great Britain in

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critique of the "underclass" concept appeared headlined in the *New York Times Book Review* as follows: "The Culture of Poverty -- two new books see the poor as coming under attack from all sides." Even when these books refer to a critical examination of the "underclass" concept, "the culture of poverty" is the theory which informs the review.[237]

Still in 1996, the "culture of poverty" seems to interpellate a number of North American social scientists. For instance, David L. Harvey argues in favor of the sociological and political value of Oscar Lewis' work (D. Harvey, 1996). According to Harvey, Lewis' model is "politically significant" in his defense of the poor and its potential for self liberation, and by its honest and balanced account of the personal damage upon the poor (D. Harvey, 1996: 467).

The "culture of poverty is a hegemonic discourse which does not always have to announce itself, but is nevertheless cosntantly present. The success and hegemony of the "culture of poverty" produces multiple displacements in which being Puerto Rican and the culture of Puerto Ricans constitute legitimate sites for study. Given the extraordinary success of the "culture of poverty" it is no longer necessary to announce the study of Puerto Ricans as taking place within

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its proposal for reform of the UK budget, states that one way to attack the "culture of poverty" is through increase of child benefits and tax allowance (J. B. Foster: 1992).

[237] The two books reviewed in *The New York Times* on December 10, 1995, were: Herbert J. Gans, The Underclass and Antipoverty Policy, New

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that paradigm. Puerto Ricans as objects of study occassioned the birth of a new conceptual model. While Puerto Ricans are linked to the model of the "culture of poverty" future studies do not explicitly employ this paradigm. Instead, different topics which have been identified within this paradigm will continue be be explored. For example, studies on reproductive behavior, psychopathology, education, child-rearing, family structure, disease, etc., continued to be studied without naming these research topics as correlates of the "culture of poverty." Moreover, while a number of research topics are not framed within this model, from a variety of different perspectives Puerto Ricans continue to be the objects of study.

Discursive Mutations of the Puerto Rican Other

The intensive *anthropologization* of Puerto Ricans has not been contingent upon the many forms of science and power employed in the study of Puerto Ricans. Contemporary and recombined accounts of Puerto Ricans contain different elements derived from other discursive formations and produce new topics in order to restate "new deficits and abnormalities" of Puerto Ricans. Enunciations of "The Puerto Rican Problem," "The Assimilation Problem" and "The Culture of Poverty" appear through old and new strategies.

York: Basic Books, 1995 and; Peter Davis, A Journey Through the Lives of the Underclass, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1995.

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From the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, psychology, education, history, social work, urban studies, ethnic studies, home economics, health sciences, and psychiatry, the "culture" of Puerto Ricans is hypothetized, measured, defined and evaluated. Academic psyches are mobilized for the purpose of selecting innumerable research problems on Puerto Ricans. Scientific instruments test and measure the *anthropological* Puerto Rican in its parts and forms. Parental attitudes, female behavior, child behavior, psychopathology and asthma are some of the research problem alternatives.

The study of Puerto Ricans - patterns, profiles, abnormalities, problems, excesses, deficits, utilities, signified problems - produce multiple and varied conceptual strategies.[238] The cataloging of the thematics on Puerto Ricans is the real and general subsumption of the Puerto Rican-*Other* by the technology of knowledge.

The Cultural Ethos of Puerto Ricans

"The Puerto Rican Problem," "The Assimilation Problem" and "The Culture of Poverty" are discourses which focused in different ways on "culture" as a primary feature of Puerto

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[238] Some examples are: "Marital Heterogamy and Marital Quality in Puerto Rican Families," by Lloyd Rogler and others, Journal of Marriage and the Family, May 1989, Vol. 51, No. 2, pp. 363-372; "Characteristics of 77 Puerto Ricans Who Attempted Suicide," by Blanca Fernández-Pol, American Journal of Psychiatry, November 1986, Vol. 143, No. 11, pp. 1460-1463, and; Blanca Fernández-Pol and Harvey Bluestone, "Drinking Patterns of Inner-City Black Americans and Puerto Ricans," Journal of Studies in Alcohol, 1986, Vol. 47, No. 2, pp.1460-1463.

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Rican *uniqueness, pathologies* and *problems*. Distinctive values, behavior, profiles, deficits and/or problems are stated and signified as integral to Puerto Ricans. The continuous study of Puerto Ricans and the thematic follow-ups form a discursive constellation of their anthropologization. They need to be studied and their behavior needs to be documented. At this historical moment, after "The Puerto Rican Problem," The Assimilation Problem" and "The Culture of Poverty" it is very difficult to think that, for example, a research finding on Puerto Rican's lack of financial planning is simply a literal or factual statement. Discourses do not follow a strict grammatical and logical order (M. Foucault, 1972). Moreover, significations produce meanings through the interchangeable interaction between the signifier and the signification produced by the words and their history. Hence, statements of Puerto Rican *lacking* in the 1980s or 1990s have historical and overcharged meanings.

Culture is produced as the guiding principle for multiple ways of studying Puerto Ricans and the different statements that can be produced about them. Culture in its most diverse and fragmentary forms is the terrain from which the selection of research problems are produced. For example, culture as signifying a virtue, emerges as a crucial feature of Catholicism among Latinos (A. Stevens-Arroyo et.al., 1995). In this collection, Stevens-Arroyo and others argue that Latino Catholicism is centered on the family and home. In another example we see culture as an "ethnic deficit"

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enunciated through research on the attitudes of pre-retirement whites, Blacks and Puerto Ricans. According to these research findings, Puerto Ricans appear to be the most lacking in financial readiness and in need of pre-retirement planning (J. H. Behling and E. S. Merves, 1985).

In the 1980s and 1990s, there has been a greater tendency for "culture" to be discursively treated as a remedy for health problems, social services, adaptation, and as a therapeutic tool for Puerto Ricans. "The sensitivity of culture" approach prescribes treatment for Puerto Ricans and their problems.[239] For instance, the psychologists Harvey Bluestone and Ricardo Vela states that,

> The therapist treating Puerto Rican patients must become a kind of **cultural anthropologist.** He must be familiar with developmental, psychodynamic, and family transcultural patterns in order to distinguish more accurately what is psychopathological from what is culturally determined, as well as modify his psychotherapeutic approaches to become more effective. (H. Bluestone and R. M. Vela, 1982: 282 - emphasis mine)

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[239] The "Hero Modeling" is another form of culturally sensitive therapy in the delivery of mental health services. See Gustavo R. Grodnitzky, "Hero Modeling versus Non-hero Modeling as Interventions for Puerto Rican and Anglo Adolescents Exhibiting Behavior Problems," Dissertation, New York: Hofstra University, 1993. See also Edmundo M. Jiménez-Montijo, "Puerto Rican Participation in Workplace Health Promotion Programs in American Organizations: the Impact of Three Values," Dissertation, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts, 1992, and; Alan Kurtz, "Systemic Therapy in the Context of Puerto Rican Culture," Dissertation, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts, 1985.

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"Culturally sensitive approaches" are presented as appropriate interventions for treating social and mental problems of Puerto Ricans, *Hispanics* or *Latinos*. For instance, the "post-voyeurism" of anthropological practice is the contemporary practice for relating to the *Other* through the therapeutic adoption of its *primitive rites*. For example, *espiritismo* or *santería* are transformed into ethnopsychotherapy tools within the scientific-professional practice. The invisibility of the cause of a *syndrome* or the exhaustion of science in its axiomatic inquiry of *truth* have negotiated the *primitive culture* of the *Other* as the tool for more effectively studying *otherness*. Hence, from a relationship of power, the simulacrum of the anthropological intervention of science is maintained as a discursive practice. "Culture" enters in the realm of science reifying the enlightenment goal of science, that is the improvement of the human condition.

One early example of this development is the work of Pérez y Mena produced in the 1970s. Pérez y Mena argues that *spiritism*, a syncretism of *Santería* and spiritualism, is a "voluntary stress reduction mechanism for Puerto Ricans living in the United States" (A. I. Pérez y Mena, 1977). Even among social workers, Puerto Rican *spiritism* is acknowledged as a form of indigenous therapy which deserves more professional awareness (M. Delgado, 1977 and S. M. Berthold, 1989). Likewise, "familism" as a core value of Puerto Ricans in the mainland is also defined as a form of family therapy

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useful for the delivery of mental health services (L. H. Zayas and J. Palleja, 1988).

From a critical psychiatric perspective, the "abnormally high" incidence of schizophrenia and mental illness among Puerto Ricans in New York is also explained by transcultural factors (M. Rendon, 1974). Rendon argues that a conflictive and antagonistic readjustment, especially among Puerto Rican adolescents, should be considered in psychiatric diagnoses. It is suggested that knowledge about cultural processes could prevent ethnocentric accounts by psychiatrists. Ethnocentrism is defined by the author as lack of knowledge of Puerto Rican culture. Similarly, Víctor De la Cancela and other psychiatrists maintain that *ataques de nervios* - "The Puerto Rican Syndrome" - among Puerto Ricans and other Latinos should be reexamined in order to consider their psychosocial distress as related to their social-historical experience in the United States (V. De la Cancela et.al., 1986). Likewise, "The Puerto Rican Syndrome" was seized upon as a research problem that should be reformulated in psychiatric epidemiology (P. J. Guarnaccia, 1991). Guarnaccia states that mental health services should be "culturally sensitive."

However, it could be argued that cultural knowledge does not eliminate ethnocentrism, especially if it employs discourses and ideologies which identify "culture" as the symbol of *pathos*. The fact that incorrect diagnoses of schizophrenia or somatic disorders can be diagnosed accurately as diagnoses of neuroses thanks to "culture," does

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not eliminate the hegemonic signification nor the enunciations on Puerto Ricans as "pathological" subjects. Despite the fact that new cultural approaches to mental illness may improve the scientific-medical work, from a discursive perspective, they rearticulate historical and hegemonic significations of Puerto Rican *otherness*.

The Behavior of Children

Approaches to cross-cultural psychopathology are applied in studies on behavior of Puerto Rican children.[240] For example, the findings of a study on ethnopsychological constructs and its effects on the behavior of Puerto Rican children reveal that Puerto Rican mothers "have a distinct world view characterized by somatic, interactional, and spiritual elements" (H. S. Machabanski, 1986). Among other findings, the researcher found attention deficits and academic immaturity among Puerto Rican children.

Female Profile

The bodies of Puerto Rican women are the site for the production of more studies. Patterns, rates and determinants of fertility, natality, abortion and disease produce a number of enunciations on Puerto Rican women. For instance, through samples and questionnaires, the level of knowledge about

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[240] See Barbara Orsini-Navas, "Perceptions of Deviant Child Behaviors Among Puerto Rican Parents," Dissertation, New York: Columbia University, 1985.

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birth control among low socioeconomic groups is examined. In this study, Puerto Rican women demonstrated a low level of knowledge of contraceptive techniques (J. J. Speidel, 1970). With respect to the abortion profile of New York City, it is documented that a large number of Black and Puerto Rican women are counted among women who choose this option (M. J. Kramer, 1975). The deficit mode describes the profile of these women and their families' main characteristics as: low per capita income; low percentage of high school graduates; majority unmarried; few children attend parochial schools and; most have large families.[241] According to the conclusions of this study, "race" is the key factor in the decision to determinate a pregnancy. Here "race" is identified as the main determinant of culture, as well as conflated and used interchangeably.

Patterns of union dissolution among Puerto Rican women are also studied. Through surveys and life-histories, researchers found that Puerto Rican women who have lived in the Unites States present higher rates of union dissolution than those who have only lived in Puerto Rico (N. S. Landale and N. B. Ogena, 1995). Accordingly, the migration experience is related to union instability.

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[241] Regarding the deficit mode see María de los A. Rodríguez, "A Comparison of Two Career Interventions on the Career Maturity of Low-income Puerto Rican Women in their First Semester of College," Dissertation, Albany: State University of New York, 1986.

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Drugs

"Culture" continues to be the cause, the background, or hypothesis for other research topics. For example, a study on drug usage among inner-city junior high school youths, focused attention on household composition, relationship with parents, attitudes toward school, *machismo,* and identification with drug-involved peers (R. Dembo et.al., 1981). In another study on AIDS among Puerto Rican intravenous drug users, researchers found that Puerto Ricans in New York City are the highest risk group for AIDS through their particular intravenous drug use (D. Shai & L. Aptekar, 1990). Cultural differences, social structure, and lack of understanding of intervention messages are given as explanations for these behaviors.[242]

Asthma

"Culture" is also a correlate informing research on disease among Puerto Ricans. The study of asthma among Puerto Ricans and other low-income families is one example. Certain researchers claim that asthma "is a complex biocultural and psychosocial illness with a multi-factorial etiology" (P. J. Guarnaccia, 1984). Guarnaccia studies the ethnic behavior (Blacks and Puerto Ricans) as it relates to group and individual response to asthma and the utilization of health

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[242] See Donna Shai and Lewis Aptekar, "Factors in Mortality by Drug Dependence Among Puerto Ricans in New York City," American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse, March-June 1990, Vol. 16, No. 1-2, pp. 97-107.

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services. In his dissertation, Guarnaccia states that one of the striking findings was that twice the number of Puerto Rican families have a child with asthma, confirming impressionistic reports in the literature of a high prevalence of asthma among Puerto Ricans.

Smoking and Drinking

A group of researchers carried out a study on "Factors Affecting Cigarette Smoking and Intention to Smoke Among Puerto Rican American High School Students" (1991). They found that smoking habit among Puerto Ricans was influenced by those close friends who smoked, the exposure to smokers during recreational activities, and the degree of acculturation (K. W. Smith et.al., 1991). In a study on "Drinking Patterns of Inner-City Blacks and Puerto Ricans" (1986), the researchers found that significantly more male-Puerto Rican-alcoholic patients than male-Blacks reported drinking distilled spirits, drinking daily, drinking in the mornings in order to relieve a hangover, experience shakes when sobering up, experience blackouts when drinking, have convulsions after drinking, demonstrate psychoperceptual withdrawal symptoms, and have alcohol-related marital problems (B. Fernández-Pol and H. Bluestone, 1986). Likewise, Puerto Rican females reported a surprisingly high level of alcohol consumption.[243]

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[243] See also Olivia D. Carter-Pókras, "Detection of Heavy Alcohol Drinking: Evaluation and Application of Biochemical Tests,"

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Suicide and Mortality

In a study on suicidal behavior among Puerto Ricans, Blanca Fernández-Pol, a psychiatrist, notes that in previous studies "... Puerto Ricans, both males and females, attempted suicide two to three times more frequently than either blacks or whites," and that these higher rates remained unexplained (B. Fernández-Pol, 1986: 1460).[244] With respect to their profile, "a family history of suicide was given by 13% of the patients"; 77% had made previous suicide attempts; and 74% of the present attempts had occurred at home" (B. Fernández-Pol, 1986: 1461). A significant use of drugs and alcohol were part of the findings. Unemployment as one of the common characteristics in this group, was related to the concept of anomie. Regarding psychiatric diagnoses, Puerto Rican patients show high levels of histrionic personality, borderline personality, schizophrenia, dysthymic disorder, major affective disorder, adjustment disorder, and antisocial personality.

Further, in another study, HIV, homicide, legal intervention, and accidents are the leading factors for premature death among US Puerto Ricans. These factors have a greater impact on men (A. Ramírez de Arellano, 1996). Ramírez de Arellano states that a 50% reduction in the HIV death toll among Puerto Ricans would save more YPLL (years of potential

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Dissertation, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University, 1994.

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life lost) than the complete eradication of both cancer and diabetes. Here Puerto Rican bodies are signified as a more dangerous sign than cancer and diabetes.

Disability

In a study on functional disability among the Puerto Rican elderly, it was found that they are significantly more disabled than Blacks and whites (R. M. O'Donnell, 1989). According to this researcher, "When demographic factors and the language disadvantage that distinguish Puerto Ricans from these other groups are taken into account, some of the effects of race/ethnicity on disability is reduced, but a considerable amount remains." Older Puerto Ricans, particularly those who lack English language competency, are at particular risk.

Los de Aquí y los de Allá (Those from Here and There)

Another mode in which Puerto Ricans in the United States have been anthropologized is through comparative studies between those from the "mainland" and those from the "Island." A stratification of the colonial subject takes place through a comparison of *Los de aquí y los de allá*. Usually, the hypothesis and correlations linked to this strategy contains the "expectation" that Puerto Ricans from the "island" will score higher than those from the

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[244] Moreover, the study carried out by Fernández-Pol in the early 1980s with a sample of "lower-class inner city" Puerto Rican patients,

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"mainland." The author's premise about Puerto Ricans is contained in the following statement, "Contrary to expectation, there was no significant correlation between achievement potential modes and relational value-orientations" (D. L. Colón, 1987). Through this strategy Puerto Ricans from the U.S. are constructed as foreign by other Puerto Ricans. Likewise, through the application of psychological scales, comparisons on value-orientations and achievement potential, the differential hierarchy between mainland and island Puerto Ricans are asserted (D. L. Colón, 1987). In this study, the researcher found that there are no differences which account for the achievement potential among these two groups. However, Colón found differences regarding their value-orientations. By way of this strategy, *Los de aquí y los de allá,* Puerto Ricans remain discursive objects.[245]

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revealed a low index of depression among them.

[245] See also Josephine A. Snow, "Vocational Interest, Adaptation to School, and Behavior Problems of Puerto Rican Immigrant and Native Puerto Rican Students in Puerto Rico," Dissertation, Philadelphia: Temple University, 1988; Margaret E. Currant, "Toward Understanding Interactions in High School Classes Containing Return Migrants in Puerto Rico" Dissertation, New York: Columbia University, 1985, and; José L. González-Penalver, "Self-Concept: A Cross Cultural Study of Puerto Ricans" Dissertation, Connecticut: The University of Connecticut, 1982.

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The Hypostatized Puerto Rican: Ethnic, Minority, Hispanic, and Multicultural

The notion of "ethnicity" fundamental to sociological discussions in the 1930s and the assimilation paradigm in the 1950s, was reactivated in the 1970s and remains hegemonic to the present. I would argue that *ethnicity* is the contemporary "expandable marker" for any type of anthropological enunciation on the *Other*, in a time of the exhaustion of mutually exclusive portraits of othernesses. It is an expandable marker because of its capacity to extend and include any demarcation of difference and danger as represented by the *Other*. This flexibility of *ethnicity* evades any conceptual rigor and represents a liberal consensus by its quality as an inoffensive reification.[246]

Relevant here is David Muga's argument regarding the theme of *ethnicity*, "... there are some subjects within the social sciences that seemingly can never be exhausted and finally put away on a shelf in the assurance of a consensual agreement among scholars ..." (D. Muga, 1984: 1). As the author states, the different approaches to *ethnicity* serves to divide ethnic cultures "into categories of what is 'respectable' and what is 'threatening'" (D. Muga, 1984: 2).

The notion of "ethnicity," for instance, has multiple definitions and has been employed for different purposes. A

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[246] *Ethnicity* has been very productive as a methodological tool for those professionals in the academia that need to locate data of the *Other* without the torture of political warnings and conceptual requirements.

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survey on the meanings and usage of *ethnicity* would include multiple statements of behavior, lackings, structural relations of exclusion, language, national origins, identity, etc.

The notion of ethnicity is a new deployment used to locate cultural differences and signal the danger of the *Others* in a hierarchical way. For example, surveying the use of alcohol and tobacco among different ethnic adolescents in public and parochial schools of New York City, researchers found that Dominican students reported higher alcohol use than Blacks and Puerto Ricans (B. A. Bettes et.al., 1990). The researchers state that *ethnicity* has influence on the type of substance used.[247]

Studies of fertility are also carried out deploying the notion of "ethnicity." For instance, studies of fertility have put forth the argument that "some ethnic groups have high rates of fertility" (M. M. Kritz and D. T. Gurak, 1976). In an effort to test this premise-finding, Kritz and Gurak attempted to establish whether or not the socioeconomic status of different ethnic groups has a significant impact on fertility. They found that low levels of fertility are unrelated to "ethnic" socioeconomic status among certain groups including whites, Asians and Cubans. However, high levels of fertility among Blacks, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans

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[247] See also Raúl Caetano, "Alcohol Use Among Hispanic Groups in the United States," American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse, September 1988, Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 293-308.

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seem to be related to socioeconomic status. This suggests that while the fertility of the economically well off is not affected by "ethnicity" that of the poor is. In a different register of "ethnicity," Mossavar-Rahmani explores women's perceptions and attitudes on weight, dieting, and eating behavior (Y. L. Mossavar-Rahmani, 1992).

Through the deployment of "ethnicity" "new" Puerto Rican "pathologies" are enunciated. For instance, in genetic studies on population, *ethnicity* is conceptualized as an integral category of this research problem. In a study involving 50 Puerto Ricans who have diabetes, a researcher explored their genetic organization (mitochondrial deoxyribonucleic acid = mtDNA), their genetic heterogeneity, and their "ethnic" origin (A. A-R. Abujoub, 1994). Abujoub argued that differences of DNA among Anglos and Puerto Ricans with diabetes are related to "ethnic evolution." Furthermore, according to this genetic study, Puerto Rican ethnic origin followed this order; 68% Amerindian origin and 26% African origin.

It is through "ethnicity" that researchers can also claim that "Puerto Ricans had higher clinical elevations than Mexicans on Schizophrenia and Anxiety Disorders scales" (P. A. M. Fantoni, 1995). In a dissertation on psychometrics of psychological disorders among different monolingual and bilingual groups, the researcher found that while two psychological scales, Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory-2 and Personality Assessment Inventory, were

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successful for diagnoses of depression and schizophrenia, they failed to correctly diagnose anxiety disorders. However, the distribution of the sample by country of origin, reveals that Puerto Ricans scored higher than Mexicans on Schizophrenia and Anxiety Disorder scales. Both psychological scales were successful in diagnosing Puerto Ricans. Through studies with ethnic groups, not only do Puerto Ricans continue to be the "different group," but their higher score in schizophrenia and anxiety disorders is produced as a discursive follow-up of old statements about Puerto Rican psychopathology.

Through the deployment of "ethnicity," the ways by which Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Anglo families feed infants are observed (C. A. Bryant, 1982). In the study "The Impact of Kin, Friend, and Neighbor Networks on Infant Feeding Practices: Cuban, Puerto Rican and Anglo Families in Florida," Bryant maintains that kin, friends and neighbor networks have a significant impact on the patterns of feeding infants. Some of these patterns are breast feeding, bottle feeding, use of supplements, and the time to introduce solid foods into the baby's diet. The researcher found inter-ethnic differences between networks and feeding practices.

Through "ethnicity," it is also possible to shed light on the health conditions of Mexican-American, Cuban-American, and Puerto Rican children (R. J. Angel and J. Lowe, 1991). These authors found that levels of health are related to socioeconomic status. According to this study, Puerto Rican

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children are "seriously health-disadvantaged." In another study, researchers explored the effects of *ethnicity* on the use of health care services (F. D. Wolinsky et.al., 1989). They found that minorities are more dependent on the need for health care. By contrast, Súarez' survey on the self-care of Hispanics indicates that they are underutilizers of health care (Z. E. Súarez, 1992). Puerto Rican *ethnicity* also appears as one factor-profile for the incidence of otitis media (middle ear infections) in the Saint Francis Pediatric Clinic in Hartford, Connecticut (L. W. Allen, 1988). Specifically, "bottle propping," flat feeding, and respect for authority were the ethnic markers for this illness. In general, poverty, low educational level, and poorer housing conditions were indicators of the Puerto Rican family profile.

"The Hispanic Triad" is another deployment that enables the location and valuation of differences among Cubans, Mexicans Puerto Ricans, Colombians and other Latin-American groups.[248] Differences among Hispanics appear as a hierarchy of attributes or *deficits* marking levels of superiority, inferiority or danger. For example, through the deployment of "Hispanics," researchers explore the causes for living alone among the older population (B. A. Zsembik, 1993). National origin serves as the hypothesis of this research. The

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[248] An example of the hierarchical location and valuation see Douglas T. Gurak and Mary M. Kritz. "Hispanic Immigration to the Northeast in the 1970s," Migration Today, 1985, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 6-12.

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researchers claim as one of their main objectives to ascertain if the decision of older Hispanics to live alone or with family varies according to national origin. They found that the availability of kinship networks, economic resources and health have effects on older Hispanics living alone, while these might vary according to national origin.

Through the "Hispanic Triad," differences in the explanatory factors for drop-outs among Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are also identified (W. Vélez, 1989). It is also possible to locate the differences in chronic illness among older Hispanics. The findings of a study on this topic revealed that older Puerto Ricans seem to be the sickest and Mexican-Americans the healthiest (J. K. Crawford, 1982). According to the author, demographic and personal traits are related to differences in chronic illness.

It is also through postulates of *ethnic* and *cultural* differences, that researchers explore how pain is expressed. In a study conducted among Black, Puerto Rican, and white patients, researchers found that there are no differences among these groups regarding the amount of pain and type of symptoms. By contrast, Puerto Ricans show the highest score regarding willingness to deny pain (M. Weisenberg, M. L. Kreindler, 1975).

"Latinidad" or being *"Latino,"* is another way by which the educational achievement of *Latino* men is explored. According to Padilla, Puerto Rican men acquire, on average, one full year less schooling than men of Mexican origin. In

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this study, ethnic/family background appears as a strong explanatory factor for the educational attainment of *Latinos* (Y. C. Padilla, 1996).

"Ethnicity" also functions as an axiom of cultural anthropology. A conceptualization of *ethnicity* may appear in an account of the social history of Puerto Ricans in the United States and its links to identity and culture (J. H. Stinson-Fernández, 1994). According to this anthropological work, Puerto Ricans have an "ethnonationalist-inspired culture." Identification with the Island and its symbols are linked to a cultural identity - *puertorriqueñidad*. Thus here "ethnicity" is articulated as a type of cultural nationalism.

The media has also discovered the utility of "ethnicity" for its marketing strategies. Through the utilization of survey and statistical analysis, a study on the relation between "ethnicity" and mass media behavior (differences or similarities) among Blacks and Latinos have been conducted (R. L. Allen, D. E. Clarke, 1980).

Here "ethnicity" is also useful for the exploration of the political behavior of minorities. In a survey on determinants of ethnic political behavior among several groups in New York, Robert Smith found that structural factors are more linked to "ethnic political behavior" than to class and culture (R. Smith, 1988). Similarly, "ethnicity" is utilized as the descriptor of a "political minority" (A. Falcón, 1989).

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Ethnicity seems to be a receptacle into which all that is different and negative from the white-North American self-body-behavior is deposited. A multipurpose signifier which can contain difference qua difference.

In a similar register, the current notion of "multiculturalism" is also a deployment that takes the form of an enunciation on the diverse character of North Americans and those who live in their territory. Racial, "ethnic," cultural, sexual, and national differences should be valued, respected, as well as celebrated by all. Multiculturalism is also a deployment for the solution of the problems of the Hispanic population and other minorities. For example, a multicultural parish is presented as necessary in order to meet the religious needs of a diverse Hispanic population (J. Fitzpatrick, 1990). Likewise, multicultural approaches to the educational problems of minorities are offered as a fail-safe solution (M. E. Dawson, 1977).[249] Moreover, multiculturalism functions as synonymous with "ethnicity." In a study on child sex abuse among Puerto Ricans, a researcher states that multicultural counseling has neglected issues of child sex abuse and proposes multicultural counseling to treat child sex abuse (L. A. Fontes, 1992). In her study with low-income Puerto Ricans and with Puerto Rican women who were sexually abused, Fontes identifies those factors which have hindered

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[249] See also Ellen Marie Bigler, "Multiculturalism in Upstate New York: Contested Identities and the Schooling of Puerto Rican Youth in a Deindustrializing Economy," Dissertation, Albany: State University of New York, 1994.

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the disclosure of sexual abuse. The author found that on one side oppression, discrimination, poverty and lack of bilingual services are obstacles to the disclosure of sexual abuse. From the side of "culture," Fontes found that corporal punishment, the high value placed on female virginity and taboos on sexuality are barriers for disclosing sexual abuse.

Through different ethnic labels, Puerto Ricans and others continue to be a research problem in which old enunciations of otherness are produced.

Mimesis of El Barrio and Puerto Rican Subjectivity: Upgrading Anthropological Software

After hundreds of anthropological internships in New York City's East Harlem, *El Barrio*, and after hundreds of ethnographies which describe Puerto Rican "uniqueness," an upgraded anthropological gaze is cast upon *El Barrio* and those Puerto Ricans who live there.[250] In a book titled In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio (1995), the cultural anthropologist Philippe Bourgois examines the experiences of young Puerto Ricans who are engaged in the business of drug-dealing as a street-culture of resistance and self-destruction (P. Bourgois, 1995).[251] In this account

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[250] These anthropological practices were recognized and overworked by "The Puerto Rican Problem," "The Assimilation Problem," and "The Culture of Poverty" discourses.

[251] National Geographic has also upgraded its traditional anthropological accounts of the *Other's* landscapes with its article by Jere Van Dyk, "Growing Up in East Harlem" Vol. 177, No. 5, May 1990. In this article Jere Van Dyk describes the *savage* character of *El Barrio*

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street culture is also framed within the effects of structural and historical factors.

How does this anthropological gaze bear itself as a "healed" anthropological intervention or as a "solvent" anthropological account? First, Bourgois claims a critical distance from previous anthropological works, specifically Oscar Lewis' *La Vida*. Bourgois identifies a psychological reductionism in Lewis' work, maintaining that his own structural approach - economic changes, joblessness, racism, segregation, colonization, oppression - provides the contextual net for his ethnographic account of street-culture. Accordingly, illegal practices (drug-dealing)

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through the descriptions of crack cocaine business and its effects on its signifiers-inhabitants, Puerto Ricans. Bourgois' work and Dyk's article present similar enunciations on the "new pathos" of *El Barrio* and its people, drug-dealing. As part of this description, in East Harlem or *El Barrio* there are a lot of housing projects, vacant lots, burned-out buildings and shattered windows. Part of the population profile is that 1 in 7 are unemployed and; more than 1 in 3 are on welfare. *El Barrio* also has the worst crime rate and the highest level of school dropouts. "Drugs and AIDS haunt every man, woman and child who lives there" (J. V. Dyk, 1990: 54). A four year old child was "born to crack cocaine ... and his uncle sells heroin over the phone." Parents use and deal drugs. Another girl was born with only one hand. To accomplish its enunciative communion with "The Underclass" discourse, Dyk indicates that "nearly half of all households are headed by females, one of the highest ratios in the United States" (J. V. Dyk, 1990: 65). The savage mimesis is also displayed through the commentaries of some Puerto Ricans and non-Puerto Ricans who engage in dialogue with Dyk. For instance, one dealer said "I'm afraid of crack fiends ... They are savages." (J. V. Dyk, 1990: 57). Peter Pascale, an Italian said "This was a nice community," one of hard work, familial respect and personal safety (J. V. Dyk, 1990: 59-60). Another person said "Someone once told me there is a third category of person in addition to wolves and sheep" (J. V. Dyk, 1990: 73). The best text on the savage character of *El Barrio's* are the photos in this article. For a critical analysis of National Geographic see Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, Reading National Geographic, Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.

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conceptualized as immoral and pathological in previous accounts, will be addressed as forms of resistance used by marginalized and oppressed inner-city dwellers. According to Bourgois, the newness of his anthropological work is also constituted by his study of the underground economy (drug-dealing) as an enterprise whose division of labor, practices and attitudes towards work compare to those of the legal world. Further, Bourgois claims that his utilization of cultural theory permits the analytical inclusion of the concept of "agency." Thus, structure and agency are the new paradigmatic tools by which Puerto Ricans are studied as oppressed people, as well as creative individuals. The notion of "inner-city street culture" employed by Bourgois maintain the coordinates of structure and agency. Hence, Bourgois claims that the analysis which his work provides is a radical departure from those of previous accounts, in particular, that of Oscar Lewis.

Nevertheless, his conceptual departure and findings retain elements similar to those of Lewis. Conceptually, the "culture of poverty" proposed that "the potential of culture" results in certain autonomy, producing specific social relationships. Hence, Lewis' definition of the "culture of poverty" as reaction and as adaptation was articulated in his work *La Vida* (1965). According to Lewis, beside their sufferings, the Ríos family found new creative ways to survive and enjoy life. Lewis discovered that the "culture of poverty" was a creative cultural production in the context of

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high unemployment, low wages, a capitalist economy and marginalization. Like Lewis, Bourgois recognizes "the potential of culture" that street-culture is a cultural production in which resistance and oppression take place in a context of marginalization, segregation, joblessness, unemployment and economic changes. Conceptually, "the culture of poverty" and "inner-city street culture" are points of diffraction of the same anthropological practice.[252] Heuristically, Lewis was anxious to grasp the "soul and the heart" of the poor through the life histories and participant observation techniques. Likewise, Bourgois is anxious to present an authentic ethnographic account of "inner-city street culture."

At another level, Bourgois' employment of a structural approach protects him from the anthropological sins of his predecessors. It is not necessary to enunciate the *deficits* and *pathos* with the vehemence of previous anthropological studies of Puerto Ricans. However, in the name of the structure, cultural theory and an accurate ethnography, Puerto Rican *deficits* and *pathos* remain ever present. This type of enunciation is prefaced and followed by structural and historical explanations. Moreover, it is not necessary

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[252] The term "point of diffraction" is conceptualized by M. Foucault as the particular organization of concepts or enunciations within a discourse which form themes or theories. Specifically, the "points of diffraction" are first registered as incompatible. Two concepts or two enunciations "may appear in the same discursive formation without being able to enter the same theme of statements." Then, they can be identified as points of equivalence, by the same rules of a discourse (M. Foucault, 1972: 65-66).

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to enunciate the vehement *deficits* of Puerto Ricans, except by way of a description of the "resistance" of street-culture, and by way of "accidental" enunciations (e.g. Ray's illiteracy and lack of cultural capital). Following Bourgois, the *deficits* and *pathos* of these young Puerto Ricans and their families are contextualized in the structure.[253] However, the addressing of the structural factors that produce marginalization among Puerto Ricans is presented only as an assertion. Broader contexts and contradictions of the post-modern political economy disappear in order to give room to Puerto Rican *agency*. Processes of exclusion produce *abject* people and their subjectivity (agency) is coined in the street-culture discussed by Bourgois. This structural approach is betrayed by his ethnographic account on the self-destructive *ethos* of this Puerto Rican youth and their family histories. As previous authorities have stated a pervasive pattern of *pathos* account for Puerto Ricans and *El Barrio*. The structural-agency approach and the pseudo-scientific interest in the study of the subject legitimate the ethnographic work of Bourgois.

As part of his defensive strategy, Bourgois enters into debate with postmodernist and deconstructionist accounts of the social construction of *otherness*. For Bourgois, these efforts are literary. As literature, they are "out of touch"

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[253] Respect and dignity will be the resistance features of Puerto Rican street-dealers who had experienced marginalization. Respect and dignity are metaphorized by Bourgois as symbols of the Puerto Rican *jíbaro*.

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with "tangible daily struggles" and "urgent social crises of the inner city unemployed." It is suggested that the human tragedy of *El Barrio* and Puerto Ricans described by Bourgois should be understood as an honest, ethical and committed anthropological intervention, but above all, "opportune" for the poverty debates. Bourgois declares his anthropological project, on the one hand, as an ethical and intellectual commitment "...to expose the horrors I witnessed..." and, on the other hand, "that anthropological writing can be a site of resistance," and with the conviction that social scientists should, and can 'face power'" (P. Bourgois, 1995: 18). Accordingly, his intervention is a healing solution or an act of mercy that can address Puerto Rican marginalization, stereotypes and identities.

Nevertheless, it is also from the principle of individual responsibility (agency) that Bourgois' eye confronts a dilemma; the structure cannot explain nor justify the self-destructive behavior of Puerto Ricans:

> To put it in more moralistic terms, when face to face with individuals like Ray, Primo, or Caesar, one feels that no amount of "historical apology" and "structural victimization" exempts them from the consequences of their families, neighbors, and friends. (P. Bourgois, 1995: 53-54)

Could it not be that this statement by Bourgois is at the heart of the dilemma of his anthropological intervention, as

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yet another discursivity on Puerto Ricans? Might it not be that this dilemma is unavoidable since previous discursive correlates and significations of Puerto Ricans and *El Barrio* are repeated in the ethnographic dialogues presented in his book, in spite of his attention to the structure? We should not forget that language is not a naive tool; it is *techne*.[254] It shows and assess "the social," the *Other*'s being. Language is the depository (storage) and active agent of the Puerto Rican *ethos*. The voices of the subjects of an ethnography as voices of language, give more authenticity to "the social."

Given the discursive similarity of Bourgois' work to that of the "culture of poverty," I would argue that his work represents a rearticulation of previous statements and significations of Puerto Ricans as self-destructive and *pathological*. The ethnographic dialogues in Bourgois' book include enunciations which are very predictable since they are part of previous discourses and significations. For example, crime and drugs among Puerto Ricans are statements produced through the voice of Felipe,

> He had taught Primo how to steal car radios and burglarize downtown businesses. (P. Bourgois, 1995: 23)
>
> My neighbor Carmen - a thirty-nine year-old grandmother who I had watched over the past three months become addicted to crack and transform herself into a homeless

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[254] Following M. Heidegger's discussion on being, any discipline or instrument as *techne* is revealing of truth by way of instrumental and regulated tasks. Language as *techne* reveals its being in its capacity to produce the *Other*.

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> ninety-nine pound harpie abandoning her two-year-old twin grandchildren - brought me over to the manager of the Game Room and told him in Spanish, Primo, let me introduce you to my neighbor, Felipe; he's from the block and wants to meet you. (P. Bourgois, 1995: 39-40)

Sexual perversion, a lack of a work ethic, and crime were main enunciations of "The Puerto Rican Problem" and "The Culture of Poverty" discourses. Regarding this, Primo states,

> They fucked some dirty old man bum in the butt ... Ray and Luis takes turns boning the man in the ass right over there. (P. Bourgois, 1995: 23-24)
>
> .....
>
> I think María should work at a McDonald's. Just to get that good work experience. But she doesn't want to do it. I've threatened that if she doesn't start working, I'm going to leave her. (P. Bourgois, 1995: 124)
>
> .....
>
> When the teacher used to dish me for talking a lot, or not paying attention, I'd probably curse the shit out of her. Like if she said, Shut up! or something. I'd say, Fuck you asshole. (P. Bourgois, 1995: 177)
>
> .....
>
> She was a dope fiend ... His mother was so fucked up that she killed a doctor. And that was premeditated murder. It was some doctor who was writing scripts for her, that she was fucking. (P. Bourgois, 1995: 180)

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Further, the contemporary statements of "The Assimilation Problem" by Linda Chavéz and authors working within the framwork of the "underclass" are rearticulated through the voice of Candy, Caesar, Benzie, Felipe and several other participants in this ethnographic account. They inform us about their family life experiences as welfare recipients, lazy people, single mothers, perpetuators and victims of domestic violence, teenage pregnancy and, *machismo*.

Internally produced social violence attributed to Puerto Ricans which had been enunciated by previous discourses are verified as *truth* by Bourgois. The ethnographic dialogues presented in Bourgois' book are familiar and known to different authorities and readers. Previous and current texts on Puerto Ricans written from a number of different perspectives such as The Puerto Rican Migrant in New York City by Lawrence Chenault (1938), The Puerto Rican Problem by Edward Lockett (1964), Growing Up Puerto Rican by Paulette Cooper (1972), In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio by Philippe Bourgois (1995) and, "Tito Mahones: A Life on the Edge" by Andrew Jacobs (1997) maintain a discursive relationship in which Puerto Rican wretched subjectivity is textually inescapable.

The principle of repetition is powerful in the discursive formation of Puerto Rican *otherness*. Different strategies produced this enunciative condition of Puerto Ricans. In the case of Bourgois' work, self-destruction,

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jibarería, and *respeto* produce Puerto Rican *otherness*. Being *jíbaro*, for example, establishes an enunciative similarity with "The Puerto Rican Problem." Since this discourse was delivered through the dichotomy urban/non-urban, the rural subjectivity of Puerto Ricans is rearticulated by Bourgois' account of their agency. Contradictorily, their agency is anchored in their past rural way of life. A type of psychologism structures Puerto Rican youth in *El Barrio* and their street life. *Bastardization* signifies Puerto Ricans through the deployment of ethnography and a structure-agency claim. Through the application of structural models and the veracity of the ethnographic method, together with the voices of the respondents, the status of Puerto Ricans as discursive phenomena remain active. The complexity of Bourgois' ethnography on Puerto Ricans in *El Barrio* is blurred.

Bourgois' work remains conceptually, heuristically, discursively, and textually within the discursive practice by which Puerto Ricans and *El Barrio* have been anthropologized. Over time, through discourses, through texts, Puerto Ricans and *El Barrio* are not merely the signs of crisis or social dislocation; they are anthropological symbols. They continue to be object of study and the production of *truth* about their *otherness* is repetitiously stated.

A contemporary inflection of "the culture of poverty" can also identified in studies which make use of the concept of the "underclass." The "underclass" in North American inner- cities is defined as "that massive population at the

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very bottom of the social class ladder plagued by poor education and low-paying, unstable jobs" and, "who lack training and skills, and either experience long-tern unemployment or are not members of the labor force, individuals who are engaged in street crime and other forms of aberrant behavior" (W. J. Wilson, 1980: 1, 1987: 8). This concept does not constitute a critique of the "culture of poverty." Both models follow ethical principles for the study of the poor and address the same population. General observations of the behavior of the poor are similar in these models; *pathos* and social dislocations. They both claim social and political benefits from the study of the poor.[255] The "underlcass" is a current discourse in which old enunciations of the poor and minorities are rearticulated.

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[255] William Julius Wilson, a sociologist, and Ken Auletta, a journalist, were two of the authorities who give notoriety and legitimacy to the concept of "the underclass." In his influential book The Declining Significance of Race (1980), Wilson claims that there is a distinctive black underclass in American "inner cities." In his second book The Truly Disadvantaged (1987), Wilson follows up his previous work by arguing that unlike to the 1950s, during the last decades a "catastrophic social dislocation" seem to envelop American inner cities. Ken Auletta, a journalist with a nationally syndicated column, will popularize "the underclass" employing an ethnographic account. See Ken Auletta, The Underclass, New York: Random House, 1982.

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CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

In the above dissertation, I have undertaken an analysis of the discourse on Puerto Ricans in the U.S. In this analysis I explore and highlight the meaning(s) of modernity in the hegemonic construction of Puerto Rican *otherness* in North America. In addition, significations, stereotypes and enunciations are identified as structures of thinking and imagining the *Other*.

The identification of the technologies by which Puerto Rican *otherness* is enunciated accomplishes the aim of defamiliarizing the *Other*. Scientific racism, anthropometry, social Darwinism, IQ tests, Malthusian propositions, eugenics and the social sciences in general are some of these technologies. The Puerto Rican *deficitarian*, *subhuman* and *pathological ethos* entail a complex discursive production where strategies and deployments of modern science and culture operate without its presence being actively perceived. The familiar and naturalized ways in which Puerto Ricans have been produced are problematized and rendered unfamiliar and unnatural as the discursive regimes and their operations are critically identified and examined. Likewise, Puritan morality, the ideology of "whiteness," a Protestant work ethic, and a rational *ethos* are other modern ideologies that mediate the production of the Puerto Rican *Other*.

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Within the discursive economy of the *Other*, Puerto Ricans are enunciated and signified through different strategies. For example, statements on Puerto Rican *otherness* can appear as descriptions, as correlates, as hypotheses, as inferences and as causes of other problems. Likewise, the signification of Puerto Ricans as fear is enunciated through other North American fears, for example, anti-communism.

In the analysis of the texts which I undertook, I was concerned with engaging with the ongoing processes of the constitution of the self via the encounter with the *Other*. *Otherness* is achieved because it is undertaken by an external authority. The self, in turn, makes use of the *Other* in the defining of the self.

The main body of texts which I have analyzed have been produced by agents clearly operating from within a colonialist perspective. However, subjectification is not limited to a single ideological or political perspective, or restricted to any single subject position. For instance, a close analysis of several texts reveals that the liberal tradition also operates within the same discursive field. For example, the sociological account of Patricia Cayo Sexton, despite her stated support for social justice, enunciate Puerto Rican *otherness*. In a revealing passage in her book, Cayo Sexton draws a parallel between what she identifies as the maladies of Puerto Rican slum dwellers in Spanish Harlem with the behavior of rats in laboratories (P. C. Sexton, 1965: 23-24).

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Moreover, Puerto Ricans do not stand outside of the discursive fields which *pathologize* them. In fact, many Puerto Ricans themselves believe that they possess a *problematic, deficitarian* and *pathological ethos*. As I discussed in previous chapters, some Puerto Ricans quoted repeated the very same discourse(s) employed by the imperial-anthropological power. Puerto Ricans are not exempt from the production of discourse -- they are always already present. Hence, the statement that Puerto Ricans are really *pathological, primitive* or *problematic* is also produced through texts by the same subjects which are under discursive scrutiny.

Furthermore, these discourses on Puerto Ricans structure the processes of subjectification as domination/resistance by which they become objects of knowledge. I conclude that discourses on Puerto Rican *otherness* are not memories, silent statements of the past, but an active and dense present. The discourse of Puerto Rican *otherness* continues through an endless repetition and restaging of the discourses that I examined in my research. For instance, within the university the discourse of Puerto Rican *otherness* is not a question of the past. For example, a professor of History at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, the City University of New York (CUNY), regularly assigns Oscar Lewis' *La Vida*. The book is assigned under the premise that the students will gain a better understanding of the social problems that Puerto Ricans suffered as a result of the mass migration. Lewis'

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ethnography is understood as factual and realist. The professor explained the pedagogical merit of the book in the following terms: "I use it [*La Vida*] in my courses. I think it is a good reference for understanding poverty and the problem of prostitution among Puerto Rican women." Another example of the continued hegemony of the discourse of *otherness* involves a professor at Lehman College, CUNY. In a conversation, this professor informed me that her Puerto Rican students submit monographs to her in which the "culture of poverty" is the narrative developed by these students.

Likewise, the discourse on Puerto Rican *otherness* structures institutional policies in the area of elementary education. Enunciations and texts which devalue Puerto Ricans and *El Barrio* continue to be employed as texts or references in the New York City public school system. For example, under the banner of a "multicultural" curriculum, a particular text on *El Barrio* and Puerto Ricans is currently assigned to students of the Rafael Cordero Junior High School in District 4 of Manhattan[256] (see Appendix 4). In the introduction of this text, Multicultural Reading Series, Book 2 (1992), the authors state that this is a book about "some interesting and unusual people," for example, Native *American* soldiers, an African-American athlete, an African-American spy, and César Chávez. They add that stories about people from Puerto Rico, Cuba, Panama, Japan and China are also included (V. Hodges

[256] District #4 is located in East Harlem (*El Barrio*).

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and S. Margulies, 1992: 5). In story #21, "El Barrio: Daily Life in the Puerto Rican section of New York City," Hodges and Margulies describe two *Barrios* in the United States, one in San José, California, known as "Sal Si Puedes" (Get out if you can) and the *Other* in *El Barrio* of New York. The enunciative strategy in this text is to mention those important Hispanic figures who grew up in these *barrios*, for example, César and Helen Chávez, *El Barrio* is described as that of "distinctly Puerto Rican life." The landscape of *El Barrio* is filled with "... poor people, ... with old buildings, ... overcrowded, ... dirty, ... a slum, ... where some families have fallen apart, ... tenements are cold and dark" (V. Hodges and S. Margulies, 1992: 97-98). In the section of the "Exercises," a series of questions with a multiple choice format are presented. Enunciations of "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse produced mainly in the 1950s, is integral to this text produced under the aegis of multicultural education in the 1990s.[257]

The discursive production and re-production of abject Puerto Ricans also takes place in the mass media, as well as popular culture and everyday life. Current cinematic representations such as "I Like It Like That" and television programs such as "New York Undercover" repeat stereotypes in which combinations of Rosaries #1, #2 and #3 appear within different narrative structures. In newspaper and magazine

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[257] The language and metaphors used by Hodges and Margulies are nearly identical to those employed by Christopher Rand in 1958.

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accounts of gangs such as the Latin Kings and the *Ñeta*, as well as non-gang members, much of the same discourse employed over forty years earlier are rearticulated.[258] And at the level of everyday life, much of the discourse on the Puerto Rican *Other* is repeated as common sense and irrefutable truth.

Following this research, I maintain that anthropological practices embedded in the fields of history, geography, literature, psychiatry, journalism, linguistics, religion, marketing, psychology, sociology, political science, urban studies, education and anthropology constitute a discursive constellation and repetition of Puerto Rican *otherness* by way of their own "epistemological" resources. The motor of social sciences is unequivocally the *deficits*, *pathos*, the abnormal, the deviant, the "culture of poverty," or the "ethnic" group. There is a continuous and generalized pattern of selection, approach, inquiry, study, and speech on Puerto Ricans and *Others* in such a way that its enunciation is endorsed ideologically, institutionally and hegemonically. Puerto Ricans become an area of expertise, an area for business or what Edward Said characterizes as a "career."

I would argue that not only have Puerto Ricans been signified as the *Other*, but also enunciations on them have become effects of power. The lives of Puerto Ricans have been

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[258] See Brian McDonald, "The Rise and Fall of El Feo," The New York Times, September 15, 1996, Sec. 13, pp. 1 & 12-13; John H Richardson, "The Latin Kings Play Songs of Love," New York, February 17, 1997, pp.

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defined and determined by policies, laws, regulations and bureaucratic practices. Classifications and locations of Puerto Rican students in the educational system is one glaring example. The mistreatment and denial of public and private services and benefits to Puerto Ricans is another. In every sphere of social life Puerto Ricans experience *otherness*.

After the hegemonic enunciation of Puerto Ricans through these discursive formations, is it possible to state that an iconization of Puerto Ricans, the sign of the sign, exists? Following an analysis of the different discourses on Puerto Ricans in the United States, a question which naturally arises is what other or alternative way might one use to think about Puerto Ricans?

The permanency of Puerto Rican discursive production occurs through incompatibilities, mobilities, substitutions, hierarchies and reincorporations. This quality makes for what can be conceived of as a timeless ontology and unending intervention. Therefore, you may ask yourself why I dedicated more attention to "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse than to the other two discourses, "The Assimilation Problem" and "The Culture of Poverty." The answers to this question are conceptual. First, I spend more time presenting the discursive economy of "The Puerto Rican Problem" because it is the first discourse on Puerto Ricans in the United States.

28-37 and, Andrew Jacobs, "Tito Mahones: A Life On the Edge," The New York Times, August 24, 1997, Sec. 13, pp. 1, 11.

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Second, it is not only the first discourse, but the explosive character of "The Puerto Rican Problem" is illustrated through the repetition of statements and the discursive intervention of multiple authorities. As such, this forces me to elaborate more on the multiple and explosive ways that Puerto Ricans have been enunciated and signified through this discourse. Third, as I argued earlier, statements on Puerto Ricans in "The Assimilation Problem" and "The Culture of Poverty" discourses are not entirely new statements on Puerto Ricans. They were already part of The *American* Invasion discourse, and more important, they were hegemonic in "The Puerto Rican Problem" discourse. Therefore, even when "The Assimilation Problem" and "The Culture of Poverty" are new discursive formations, their statements are rearticulations and transformations of previous discursive modalities.

On the other hand, since discourses on Puerto Ricans are not only expressions of power, Puerto Ricans still struggle and reinvent in different ways their subjectivities as practices of resistance. In addition, Puerto Ricans develop counter-discourses. I would argue that these practices of resistance are not pure acts separated from and in radical alterity to power and the conditions of devaluation and subordination. Community struggles for quality education and housing, struggles against racism and the elimination of state services and benefits are examples of common practices

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of resistance among Puerto Ricans.[259] Likewise, public denouncements of discrimination, racism and political repression are other examples of Puerto Ricans defending themselves against stereotypes and other forms of oppression. In this context, the production of literature with critical perspectives on U.S. imperialism and colonization, history of Puerto Ricans, and racism in the United States have been an important part of and provided a resource for resistance. Reappropriations and rearticulations of Puerto Rican culture as a liberating practice are part of this process of resistance. At the level of everyday life, Puerto Ricans have developed a degree of assertiveness in their claims for respect and fair treatment. In addition, parodied and fatalist gestures by Puerto Ricans on their subordination and devaluation are political responses to these social realities. Also, mimicry and parody of North American culture could be interpreted as a practice of resistance.[260] Puerto Ricans have developed a number of political responses to the processes of subjectification.

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[259] For a collection dealing with some of these struggles during the 1960s and 1970s see Clara E. Rodríguez, Virginia Sánchez Korrol and José Oscar Alers, editors, The Puerto Rican Struggle: Essays on Survival in the U.S., New Jersey: Waterfront Press, 1980.

[260] The work of Puerto Rican poet, Pedro Pietri, is one example of mimicry and parody of U.S. culture produced by Puerto Ricans in the United States in response to devaluation and oppression. See Pedro Pietri's, Puerto Rican Obituary, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973; Lost in the Museum of Natural History, Puerto Rico: Ediciones Huracán, 1981; Traffic Violations, New Jersey: Waterfront Press, 1983 and The Masses are Asses, New Jersey: Waterfront Press, 1984.

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At another level, the resistance which is inextricably linked with domination can be identified as traces in the very texts which seek to subjugate and fix Puerto Ricans within the colonial anthropological gaze. The very need to effect a discursive control over a population denotes forms of resistance. Even while the voices of the subjugated do not appear in the texts, the act of manufacturing them presupposes a population which must be actively shaped and transformed against their will. The radio programs which were produced with the intention of manufacturing a modern work force in Puerto Rico and the Diaspora during the 1940s offers one example of this absent presence. The subaltern do not simply acquiesce to regimes of discursive power. They inhabit the same discursive space, albeit in unequal and contradictory ways. In addition, it should be noted that from within the texts produced by colonial authorities, despite their devaluative enunciations of panic and danger, the subaltern often appears and disrupts the text. For instance, while Wenzell Brown intends to cast Puerto Ricans as *primitive* subjects, many of the examples he gives betray resistance by the subject. Children screaming "Señor *Chocha*! Goddam Americucho ... Some day I kill you, *Americanos*" can very easily be read as acts of defiance directed against a representative of the colonial power.

This type of analysis has implications for the study/construction of the self-Other, and points towards a different intellectual practice in which "truth regimes" are

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challenged. At another level, I expect that this dissertation will serve as an additional sociological reference for the study of Puerto Ricans in the United States which aims at confronting discursive practices which perpetuate relations of power and domination. New discourses such as the "underclass" thesis could be better apprehended from this form of analysis.

As an intellectual stance, I think that the ultimate value of this research lies in my attempt to turn the anthropological gaze on itself by disrupting its visuality.

One of the possible directions which my disruption of visuality might lead to is an exploration of the counter-discourses produced by Puerto Ricans. A discursive analysis of Puerto Ricans' responses to the dominant discourse(s) would further complicate the picture and introduce other theoretical questions and problems. For example, how do Puerto Ricans resist processes of subjectification? Also, what other meanings of "Puerto Ricans" and "Americans" are produced in these counter-discourses? In addition, the ambiguities and convergences with discourses of domination which are present in these very counter-discourses need to be explored and analyzed. The extent to which Puerto Rican counter-discourse operates within the same logic of domination, and whether or not it can be identified as contestatory are important questions. For example, Puerto Rican resistance to racialization and the signification of

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Puerto Rican women as *putas* often relies on an acceptance of dominant premises of "race," sexuality and gender.

The above and other questions should be considered in future research. I would stress, however, that any future research should take care not to continue to cast the colonial anthropological gaze upon Puerto Ricans.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: DISCOURSE-TEXT FORM

Discourse-Textual Analysis on Puerto Ricans 1940-90s

I - The Text

Title:

Author:

About the author/s:

Sponsors:

Type of text: _book _dissertation _journal article _magazine article _manual _movie _newspaper _paper _primary document _pamphlet _report _tv program _other _____(specify)

Location:

Comment:

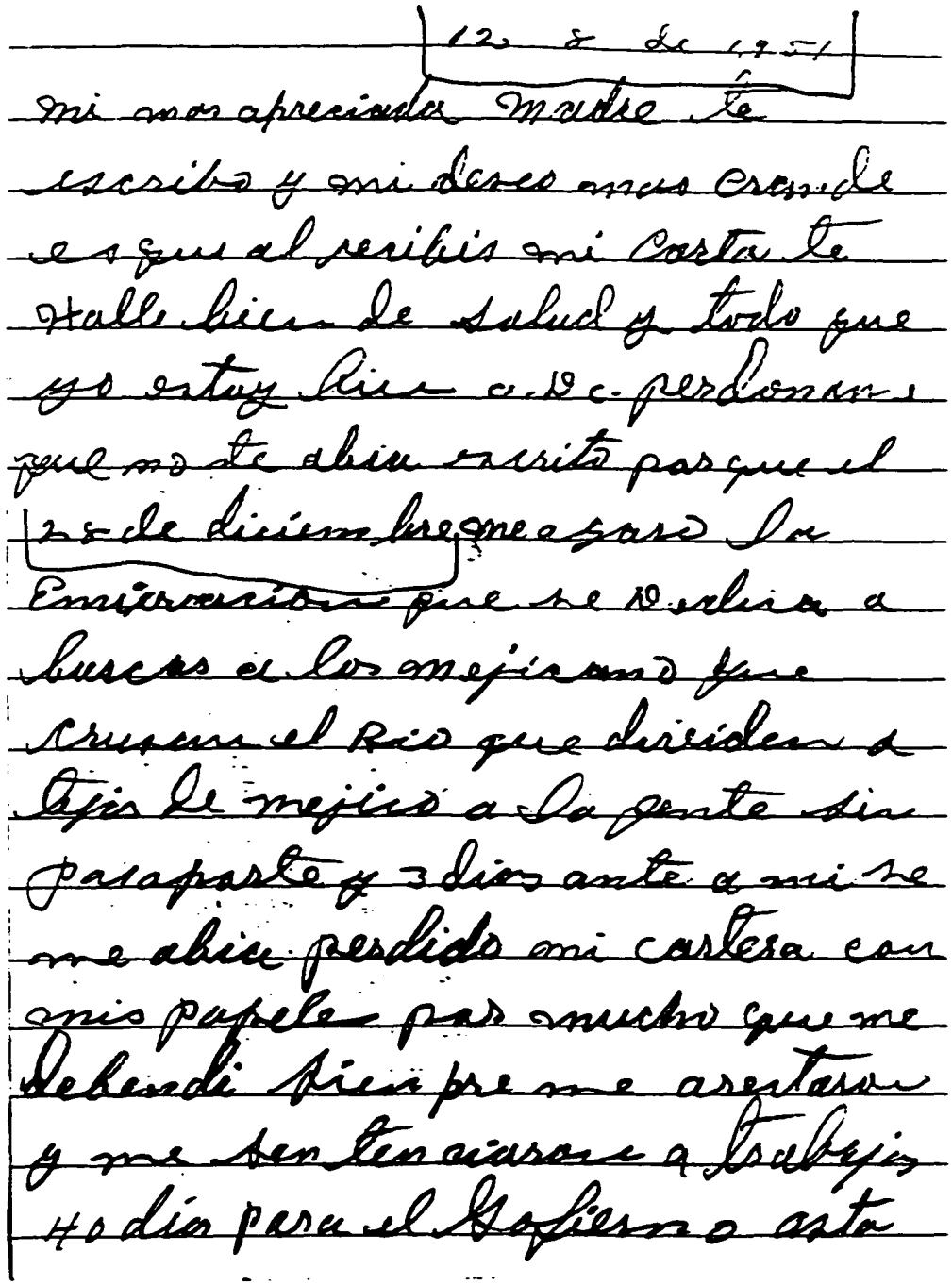
Figures of speech:

Statements:

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APPENDIX 2: LETTERS OF PUERTO RICAN MIGRANT FARM WORKERS AND RELATIVES

Letter from a Puerto Rican migrant to his mother, 12/8/1951



12 de de 1951

Mi amor apreciada Madre te escribo y mi deseo mas grande es que al resibis mi Carta te halle bien de salud y todo que yo estoy bien a Dios gracias perdonarme que no te abia escrita porque el 2 de diembre yo estaba en Emigracion que se Demora a beces 8 o mejis y yo que Cruse el Rio que dicen 8 Dias de mejis a la gente sin pasaporte y Dios ante a mi se me abia perdido mi cartera con mis papeles por mucho que me Defendi siempre me arestaron y me sentenciaron a 8 dias y 40 dias para el Gobierno asta

no tengo prueba que soy de
Puerto Rico no me dejan libre
así es que te bes a buscar nato
y sacame el acta de nacimiento
a donde salbados y me la
manda para probarle que soy
puesto seguro pero no sabes
pos mi que yo estoy bien lo
Unico que estoy trabajando pero
para el Gobierno me dan las
mejores Comidas y campo
como y beben el día y trabajo
sabe así es que todo depende
que tu me mandes mi acta
de nacimiento y me la mande
aye mamita yo sabia que mi
Mala suerte pasaba es que
la Emigracion federal me

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- 5 -

[illegible] [illegible] para que
[illegible] para ella manuel
dios y de beleen se que se
cumplen mis 40 dias si me
dios no tengo mi acta de
nacimiento la confirmacion
me la echan como con
500.00 mexicanos que tienen
preso dios para que pase
mejor yo recibi tu carta y los
retrato el tuyo el de la nena
y la belicitacion tuya y que
linda y hermosa esta mi hija
lastima que mi desdichada
suerte no me agueride ayudar
para ayudarla a ella mi comadre
que me escribe a la direccion
esta si puede que a mi

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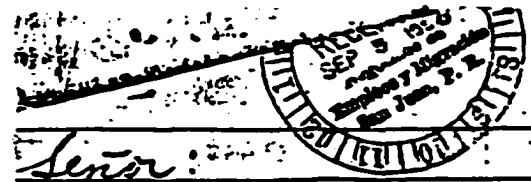
ya no me da animo de decirle
que mi situacion llego a
que la Emigracion me tiene
como mejicano acabe
de desengañar de mi Vida que
nadie me creido si puede ir
a casa de peter Arentale y que
me escriba llebale su
direccion y cuanto el sabado
allas con don adulio el papa de
ella si me puede emprestar 30.00
pero pasa lome a Indiana
que con lo primero que me
gane yo lo mando ya le iba
a escribir pero creo que tu
diendo de preso ya que tu
no as efectido ayudarme y tu
mandame la direccion de

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Vidal Heymes que me perdio
la que tenia y la de Margas
para escribirle y cuanto a la
Nena que mirio mandemelo
papeles sapido para firmarlo
de la dos nena quiso subir
yo recuerdo para todo que Halle
pasado noche Bs y asso N. y
dia de reye los mejore que
Halle y acordo de los bueno
que yo le pase trabajan-
do sin cobras Nada mé
echa la Vendicion y Reibe
un abrazo de tu Hijo y mé
nena que reciba un abrazo
y Beso de su padre me
Contesten sapido estamo
con Vendicion dio mame

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Letter from Andrés Torres Pagán to the *Negociado de Empleos y Migración*, 30/8/1950



30/8/50

Señor:

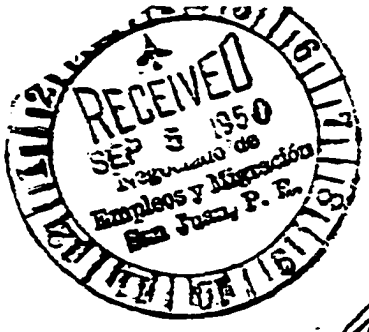
Deseo informale que el dia 6 de [illegible] sentiembre de 1950 cumplo mi contrato segun los papeles que traje de alla. y quiero regresar a mi patria ya que tengo mi mama enferma y estos gringos lo que quieren con trabajadores fuera es obligarnos a cumplir falso contrato para que dejemos el pellejo aqui porque el dinero que ganamos no da ni para los gastos de aqui. y muchos muchachos an cumplido aqui y an pedido que los manden al aeropuerto o sea que la proteccion y trasportacion esta ese sitio. y lo que le han dicho que cojan la carretera y hallan al mar y cojan 2 fanbias y se cruzan a P.R. Esi es que estamos locos por regresar a nuestra patria y no tenemos culpa de estar por mostros en este maldito pais. espero su contesta antes de cumplir para saber lo que tengo que hacer

Suyo de Uds.

Andres Torres Pagan.

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Letter from Luis Centeno Cebollero to Mrs. Petroamérica Pagán de Colón, Agosto 30/50



Agosto 30/50

Sra. Petra America Pagán de Colón

Le estas cortas líneas para
darle a saber por la situación
que estoy pasando. Hace desde
el día 15 de junio que estoy
trabajando pero no me ha valido
de nada. Pues solo e podido
mandarle a mi Esposa diez
dolares en todo ese tiempo para
los alimentos de ella y de un
nene que tenemos. Señora yo
quiero que usted se entere
bien de esta situación y para
darle a saber le envio una
carta de las que mi esposa
me escribe diciendome como esta
pasando la vida actualmente
en Puerto Rico por lo que yo veo

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se está muriendo de hambre.
Ya aquí hace mucho frío
y nosotros no tenemos ropa
resistida no sabemos que hacer
si ustedes no hacen algo
por nosotros que somos de
nosotros y de nuestra familia
le envío la dirección de mi
esposa por si ustedes
desean ir a ver como es la
situación de ella.
Ahora yo quisiera trasladarme
a otro estado donde yo
pudiera ganar para mi
y para el sostenimiento de
mi familia y estoy casi que
no hubiera oportunidad pues
deseara trasladarme a Puerto Rico
porque aquí no no podemos pues
sino lo de siempre del frío y
de hambre porque hasta fecha
ni a cinco no hemos recibido

La Dirección de mi esposa es la siguiente Barrio Sabana Calle C Casa #239 Arecibo P.R.

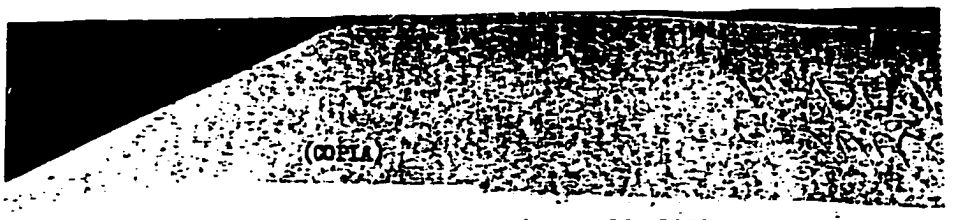
nada mas que hablar y fin y bastante regaños de nuestros Patronos no nos han prestado ayuda en nada solamente trabajo y si dicen El contrato de nosotros no se ha cumplido en ningun momento porque segun il nosotros ibamos a ganar 60¢ por hora y solamente no nos han salido los dies sin 40¢ porque trabajamos de seis de la mañana a las seis de la tarde, segun la cuenta de nosotros y a los que elloz no fijan el finalizar el trabajo de la semana hasta el Lo. de fijese usted que engaño en nosotros

Espero sin contestación lo
mas pronto posible pues
hasta lo que ya hago

Muy Atte
Luis Centeno Caballero

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Letter from Isabel to her husband, Agosto 26, 1950



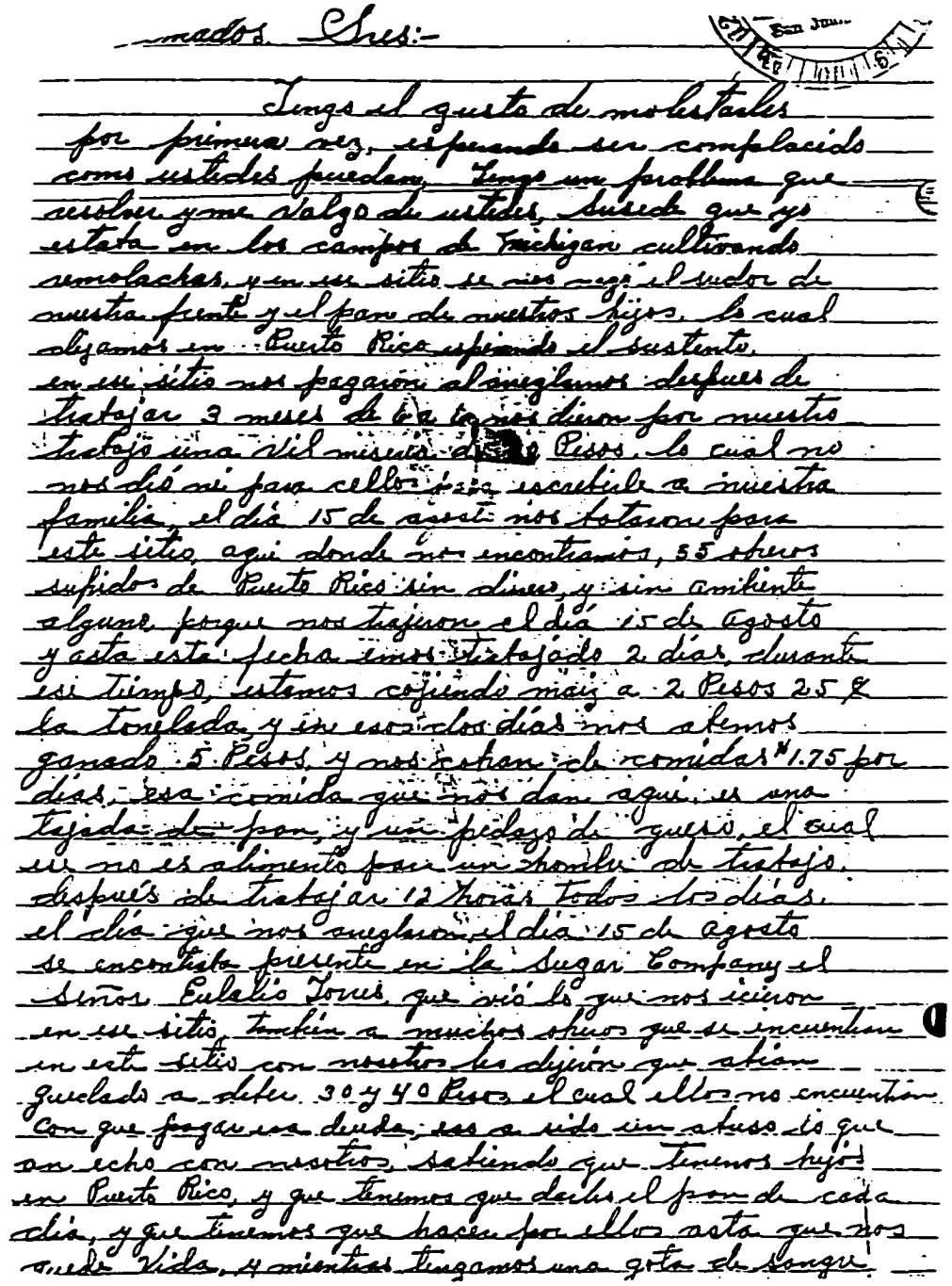
Agosto 26, 1950

Apreciado Esposo. Quiera Dios que al recibir esta te alles gozando de vuena salud ya que yo no la tengo. pues de nosotro te dire sufriendo. pues mira si almuerzo no como y como no almuerzo quiero que lo sepa todo yo no puedo ocultaltelo lo que me esta pasando hace un mes que no no ajunto la cantela para nada llorando día y noche con mi nene que no tengo nada que darle ni leche ni nada. fijate que triste os todo esto mientras yo sufro aca tú gozas con las carta que te escriba otra mujer. fijate tú trabajando alla es igual como si no estuvieras trabajando por que de que bale tu trabajo si tu mujer y hijo sufren ambre tendre que hirme a trabajar y que toña me cuide el nene para no sufrir mas ni yo ni mi nene. ahora te dire cuarto me eccijen que lo pague semanal cuando se venzan los dos meses que toña pego me tiraran a la calle mira todo lo yo devo por aca a Doña Ramona le devo $4.00 pesos de carbon y 3.00 pesos que e cojido emprestado para paper y sello para poderte escribir ademas que devo las medicina del nene esta es mi vida pensando dia noche mi unico consuelo son tus carta y ya te yo te olvidado de mi por en esta semana no escribiste ni una sola letra pues para aca abia peligro de tenporal y a media noche hizo una ventola que todito el mundo se creia que era el tenporal lo que siento fue que no lo hizo y viro el mundo areve. no espere carta mia hasta que yo no reciba dinero y te pueda escribir haora no subro por nada de esto que te digo recibe vesos y abrazo de tú esposa Isaver Nieve y muchos mas de tú querido hijo.

Atios Isabel

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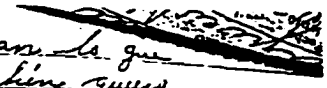
Letter from a group of migrant farm workers to the *Negociado de Empleos y Migración*, 1950



mados Sres:-

Tengo el gusto de molestarles por primera vez, esperando ser complacido como ustedes pueden, Tengo un problema que resolver y me valgo de ustedes, sucede que yo estaba en los campos de Michigan cultivando remolachas, y en ese sitio se nos negó el sudor de nuestra frente y el pan de nuestros hijos, la cual dejamos en Puerto Rico ofreciendo el sustento en ese sitio nos pagaron al ajustarnos después de trabajar 3 meses de 6 a 10 nos dieron por nuestro trabajo una Nil misera de [redacted] Pesos, lo cual no nos dió ni para cellos [illegible] escribirle a nuestra familia, el día 15 de agosto nos botaron para este sitio, aquí donde nos encontramos, 55 obreros sufridos de Puerto Rico sin dinero, y sin ambiente alguno, porque nos trajeron el día 15 de Agosto y asta esta fecha hemos trabajado 2 días, durante ese tiempo, estamos cojiendo maiz a 2 Pesos 25 ¢ la tonelada, y en esos dos días nos hemos ganado 5 Pesos, y nos cobran de comidas $1.75 por días, esa comida que nos dan aquí es una tajada de pan, y un pedazo de queso, el cual no es alimento para un hombre de trabajo, después de trabajar 12 horas todos los días, el día que nos engañaron el día 15 de agosto se encontraba presente en la Sugar Company el Señor Eulalio Torres que fué el que nos trajo en ese sitio también a muchos obreros que se encuentran en este sitio con nosotros les dijeron que ahían quedado a deber 30 y 40 Pesos el cual ellos no encuentran con que pagar esa deuda, esa a sido una abuso de que an echo con nosotros, sabiendo que tenemos hijos en Puerto Rico, y que tenemos que darles el pan de cada día, y que tenemos que hacer por ellos asta que nos quede Vida, y mientras tengamos una gota de sangre

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en el cuerpo, ustedes no se imajinan lo que nosotros hemos sufrido por acá. También quiero que el Señor Don Luis Muñoz Marin se entere de todo esto, para que tenga en cuenta con esa gente que nos votó nuestro trabajo, ahora veces que en el sitio que nos encontramos, como no teníamos dinero teníamos que fumar 6 y 7 personas de un cigarillo, porque no podíamos mas. Pues nosotros lo que queremos es que nos lleven para nuestra patria querida porque no podemos mas y no tenemos ni siquiera un solo centavo para una caja de fósforo, la esperanza de nosotros está en ustedes y en el Gobernador de nuestra Patria esperamos en ustedes que sigan por nosotros.

Esperamos ser complacidos:- en fin me despido de ustedes:-

Muy cordialmente Manuel Cardona Jiménez
de Juncadillos Punta P. R. Pedro Mercado Rosado
de San Sebastián P. R. Baltazar Gonzales
de Barranquitas P. R. Felix Baez Berdiesa
de Corozal P. R. Pedro Meneses Fuentes
de Juncadillas P. R. Guadalupe Cuevas Medina
de Juncadillas P. R. Juan Perrón Ramos
de Antonito P. R. Santos Padilla
de Barranquitas P. R. Tomás Rodriguez
de Barranquitas P. R. Enrique Mercado
de Naguabo P. R. José Lozano Almodovar
de Utuado P. R. José Gonzales Gonzales

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APPENDIX 3: CLARENCE SENIOR'S TEXTS

Strangers and Neighbors: The Story of Our Puerto Rican Citizens

In the pamphlet, *"Strangers and Neighbors: The Story of Our Puerto Rican Citizens"* (1952), the enunciative position of Clarence Senior is ecumenical, i.e. he seeks consensus, acceptance, and a minimization of Puerto Rican deficits and problems, urging a humanitarian understanding of the strangers difference and an eventual inclusion into the we. The metaphor of the North American nation as a "neighborhood" is strategically enunciated by the author as a formative feature of the *American ethos*. Attributes of the *American* self - friendly, neighborly, hospitable - are registered as formative of the American nation and its greatness. Senior argues that the North American nation is the history of several migrations. However, the lack of the North American neighborhood as manifested in the present *American* fear of "strangers" - Puerto Ricans - is enunciated by Senior as a disease that needs to be cured. The transposition of *social pathos* to the North American nation is a discursive strategy intended to neutralize "The Assimilation Problem" in order to produce a discursive strategy which will allow for the acceptance of Puerto Ricans into North American society.

Clarence Senior defines the Puerto Rican migration as a "free" migration. Puerto Ricans migrate of their own

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initiative, as well as for economic reasons.[261] According to Senior, Puerto Rican migration is defined as a labor force to be absorbed by the forces of the market. For Senior, the job supply is directly linked to migration flows. Since the migration from the U.S. South has resulted in occupational mobility for African Americans, an additional supply of jobs exists at the "bottom-ladder" for new (im)migrants. This means that Puerto Rican migrants would initially occupy the jobs at the bottom and then move up the job ladder. Clarence Senior states that Puerto Ricans are the "richest source for many employers."

According to Senior the correlation of Puerto Rican migrants and crime, and other social problems in New York City, are empirically, historically and sociologically without foundation. Thus, the Puerto Rican "savage" in urban space appears discursively as a fiction, a product of *American* fear. What seems to be a factuality of "The Puerto Rican Problem" will temporarily disappear within "The Assimilation Problem."

Recognizing *American* xenophobia toward "strangers," in this case Puerto Ricans, also makes possible the enunciation on Puerto Rican *otherness*. A treatment of North American fear requires a treatment of Puerto Rican *deficits* and *dislocations* achievable through assimilation propositions. Rosary #2 is also enunciated by Senior as an effect of Rosary

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[261] Senior states that (im)migrants also brought several advantages for example, the expansion of domestic and foreign markets.

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#1. For example, Puerto Rican *deficitarian* history is the causal origin of the poor attributes which Puerto Ricans brought to New York. Puerto Ricans come from another culture; Spanish, Catholic, and "colored." The newcomers are very poor, unskilled, and have little education. They do not speak English. They come from conditions of extreme poverty. The new environment, the "strange culture of the metropolis" produces frustration, irritation and cultural problems. However, according to Senior, Puerto Ricans eventually become "productive and respectable citizens" in this new environment.

For Senior, there are methods for combating this "fear" of strangers. Senior describes how organizations and programs can help the new "neighbor." English classes, Spanish speaking staff, Puerto Rican groups, vocational schools and community facilities are some of the methods needed in order to combat the North American fear of Puerto Ricans. Anti-discrimination laws, visits by neighbors, literature on Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans are other ways by which Puerto Ricans can be helped.

The liberal tool to be used to deal with "The Assimilation Problem" is presented by Senior in the Appendix of this book. This includes a series of "instructions" of "DO's for School Administrators", "DO's for Teachers" and "A Few DONT's for Teachers."

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Strangers Then Neighbors: From Pilgrims to Puerto Ricans

Clarence Senior articulates old and new enunciations which reinscribe "The Assimilation Problem" within a new discursive strategy. The principle of social evolutionism is deployed to initiate a dialogue with "The Assimilation Problem." Following axioms of religious doctrine and social evolutionism, Clarence Senior argues that Puerto Ricans are necessary additives to North American society. In this case, Puerto Rican *deficits* are enunciated through principles of social evolution and made possible through North American benevolence.

The author presents Puerto Rican "deficits" as part of a historical background which lends weight to an assertion that the stranger can be worked on/with. He attempts to validate this claim in scientific fashion, quoting historical records and analyzing Puerto Rican performance through statistical data and allusion to successful Puerto Ricans in North American culture, e.g. Hollywood stars such as José Ferrer, famous musicians and singers and Puerto Ricans in sports. Senior also paints a portrait of a modern Puerto Rico and Puerto Rican people. The colonial subject undergoes "operation upgrade."[262]

Like his previous work, "Strangers and Neighbors The Story of Our Puerto Rican Citizens" (1952), in "Strangers Then Neighbors From Pilgrims to Puerto Ricans" (1961),

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[262] As in his previous works, Senior includes an update manual of "How the Schools Can Help."

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Clarence Senior enunciates historical themes in his plea for the acceptance of the latter. Throughout this text, a metonymy of the historical past of *America, that* of the "pilgrims," is produced with the new pilgrims of America, Puerto Ricans. Following this metonymy, attacks against Puerto Ricans, according to Senior, were also attacks launched against earlier immigrant groups. Senior maintains that these attacks are rooted in ethnocentric and xenophobic attitudes.

The political gesture of accepting "The Assimilation Problem" serves to erase the role of empire in its creation. Senior in effect functions as a political arbiter of the discursive formation of "The Assimilation Problem."

The Puerto Ricans Strangers - Then Neighbors

The Puerto Ricans: Strangers - Then Neighbors (1961) is the title of a second edition of "Strangers Then Neighbors; From Pilgrims to Puerto Ricans" (1961). As in his previous works, the initial strategy for "The Assimilation Problem" is one of enunciating Puerto Rican *otherness* as an identity in need of a helping hand for guidance on the road towards progress. According to Senior, the stranger "has much to learn." In this discourse the signifier "stranger," while inferring difference, does not automatically signal danger or threat since the stranger is always a potential member of the community. Senior states that "The higher visibility of the

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stranger may arise from speech, clothing, color, behavior, or other factors" (C. Senior, 1961: 37).

Following Senior's arguments, being Puerto Rican is a mixture of differences. Accordingly, Puerto Ricans are both non-*Americans* while simultaneously being *American* citizens. This "dilemma" is discursively reconciliated through references to religious parables on how the stranger should be accepted. Several quotations from the Old Testament are employed in order to produce this reconciliation. For example, Senior describes the way members of North American community should treat Puerto Ricans:

> And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye sall not nex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt ... (cited by C. Senior from Leviticus, XIX: 33-34)

And again:

> Love thy neighbor as thyself.
>
> (cited by C. Senior from Leviticus, XIX: 18 and Matthew, XIX: 19)

Our Citizens from the Caribbean

In his book *Our Citizens from the Caribbean* (1965), Clarence Senior deploys the social evolution of Puerto Ricans as a political strategy that functions by extending North American imperialist discourse to other people in the

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Caribbean, specifically to the Cubans. Since the Cuban Revolution signals potential danger, Senior discusses the benefits that Puerto Ricans have obtained through its relationship with the United States. Clarence Senior deploys a modeling strategy arguing that progress and success by Puerto Ricans has been made possible by the United States' assistance.

Puerto Rican migration and the industrialization of the Island are metonymies of a successful assimilation of Puerto Ricans made possible by North American intervention/assistance. In addition, the "peaceful revolution" of Puerto Rico described by Senior acts as a metonymy of a transformation ethically superior to that of the Cuban Revolution, which is portrayed as plagued by violence and death. According to Senior, the transformation *"del machete a la máquina"* (from the machete to the machine) in Puerto Rico is a fact made possible by North American assistance toward "Our Citizens from the Caribbean." An ethical interpellation is produced through the signified words of "peaceful," "progress" and "success."

On the other hand, the discursive marker of the Puerto Rican past is deployed in order to open the hierarchical *ethos* of the Caribbean people. The enunciation of the Caribbean past acts as a hierarchical relation, in this case, Cubans over Puerto Ricans. The historical background of the former accounts for their possessions, resources and attributes, while the Puerto Rican past accounts for their

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lackings. While in "Strangers then Neighbors from Pilgrims to Puerto Ricans" Senior attempts to illustrate the historical background of Puerto Ricans as one of development. In this way he hopes to establish their evolutionary movement towards civilization. However, in "Our Citizens from the Caribbean," the author strategically deploys the Puerto Rican past to produce a Caribbean hierarchy of the present. Through this discursive strategy Senior dramatizes the necessity to welcome Cubans into the *American* way of life since they occupy a higher rung in the developmental schema he establishes for Caribbean societies.

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APPENDIX 4: EXCERPT FROM MULTICULTURAL READING SERIES, BOOK 2, BY VIVIENNE HODGES AND STUART MARGULIES, EDUCATIONAL DESIGN, INC, 1992

EL BARRIO
EL BARRIO

In Spanish, a *barrio* is a city neighborhood. Many Spanish speakers call their neighborhoods "barrios." There are many barrios in the cities of the United States.

Sometimes, the people who live in a barrio are poor. One famous, dirt-poor barrio in San Jose, California, is called Sal Si Puedes. This means "Get out if you can!" It was home to the famous labor leaders Cesar and Helen Chavez for many years. Other famous barrios are in East Los Angeles. The well-known actor Edward James Olmos grew up there.

The most famous barrio in New York is just called El Barrio. It's located uptown on Manhattan island. To the people who live there, El Barrio is special.

El Barrio is home to many poor people. Its streets are filled with old buildings. They're overcrowded. Sometimes they're dirty. Some people call it a slum. But it is full of life. It's a distinctly Puerto Rican life. Movie-houses show Spanish-language films. Travel agencies offer cheap flights to Puerto Rico. Jukeboxes play Spanish records. There are Latino restaurants and bakeries. Everything has a Spanish flavor—laundries and dance halls, bars and *bodegas*. A bodega is a small grocery store. Many of its goods come from Puerto Rico and its neighbor islands.

El Barrio is full of small churches. They are sandwiched between the stores. Most Puerto Ricans were Catholics when they lived in Puerto Rico. Many changed when they came to New York. These people now go to Baptist Churches or Pentecostal Churches. Church services are often lively. People sing and clap. Churches also serve as social centers. They run athletic clubs and other kinds of clubs.

In winter, the streets are empty. People stay indoors. But in summer, El Barrio comes alive. The streets are humming. Puerto Rico is a warm island. People spend a lot of time outdoors. So in the hot New York summer, people go outside, too. Puerto Ricans spend most of their free time outdoors. The air fills with Latino music. People gather in front of their buildings for meetings and sidewalk parties. Children play stickball. Young people go dancing. Weddings move noisily through the streets.

El Barrio can be colorful and exciting. It's nearly always friendly. Often, neighbors form lifetime friendships. They share what little they have. Doors are open to hungry children and adults. This warmth is strongest within the family. Some families have fallen apart. But most families that came from the island have stayed together.

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Puerto Ricans have another way of enjoying themselves in the summer. They build little houses on vacant lots. The houses are called *casitas*. They're made with materials found on the streets. Most casitas are painted sky blue. People use them as club houses. They grow things outside. You can find okra, tomatoes, cabbage, squash, cucumbers, and eggplant. Some casita gardens even have peach trees, apple trees, and strawberry beds. The owners also keep animals. In El Barrio's casitas you can find ducks, chicken, geese, even a peacock.

Some casitas are quite fancy. They have sun decks on the roofs. Down below you can find a refrigerator, a charcoal cooker, and some old furniture. It's easy to imagine you're in a small cottage on a back country road. It doesn't feel like New York City.

Life has not been easy for Puerto Ricans who came from the island. They came to find jobs. The jobs they found often paid little. But at least they had work. The tenements are often cold and dark. But they are home. It can be tough on the mainland. But friends and families make life in El Barrio a lot easier.

GLOSSARY

dirt-poor Very poor.

stickball A street version of baseball.

tenements Poor, run-down apartment houses.

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EXERCISES

MAIN IDEA

1. This selection is about—

   A) life in New York's El Barrio.
   B) casitas.
   C) tenement buildings.
   D) North American barrios.

DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

2. You can find all these things in El Barrio, EXCEPT:

   A) apple trees.
   B) Baptist churches.
   C) Spanish-language movies.
   D) large wild animals.

IDIOM

3. The author says that some families have fallen apart. This means some families have—

   A) left New York.
   B) borrowed a lot of money.
   C) split up.
   D) lost everything.

WORD MEANING

4. What is a casita?

   A) a video store that sells Spanish-language videos
   B) a small home-made house and garden
   C) a place where you can dance
   D) a church

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CHARACTERS' MOTIVATION

5. Why do people build casitas?

   A) To do their grocery shopping
   B) To brighten up their lives
   C) To find jobs
   D) To pray on Sundays

REFERENCE

6. If you wanted to find New York City, San Jose, or Los Angeles on a map, what book would you use?

   A) an atlas
   B) an encyclopedia
   C) an almanac
   D) a dictionary

WRITE ABOUT—

7. Suppose you live in El Barrio in New York City. You are planning a casita in a lot near you. What will it be like? What color will you paint it, and what will you grow near it?



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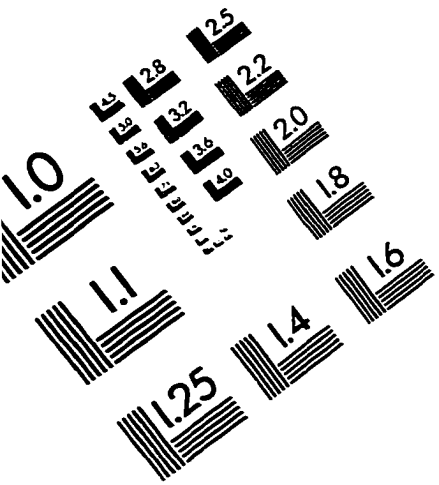
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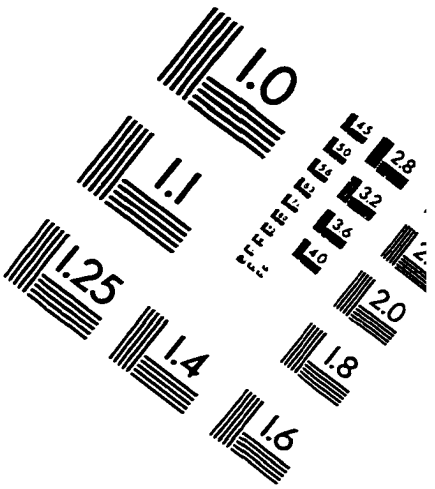
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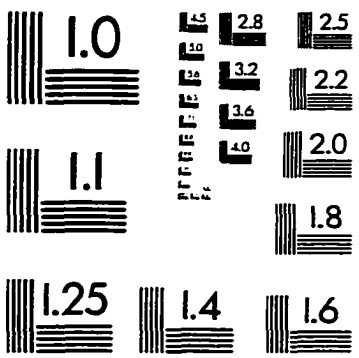
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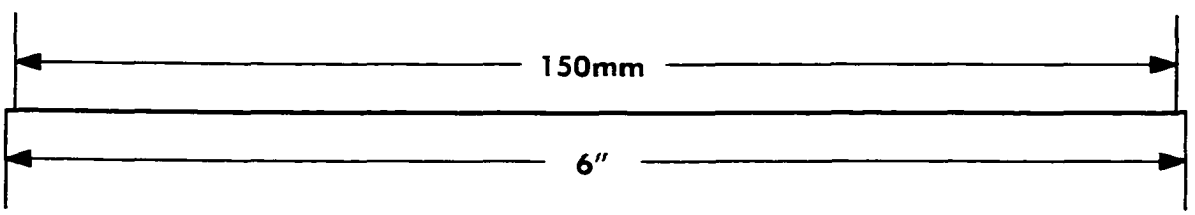
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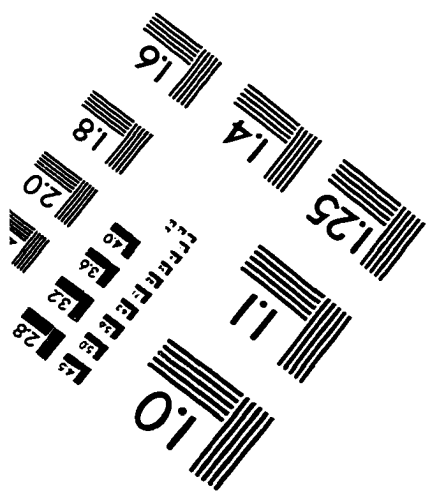
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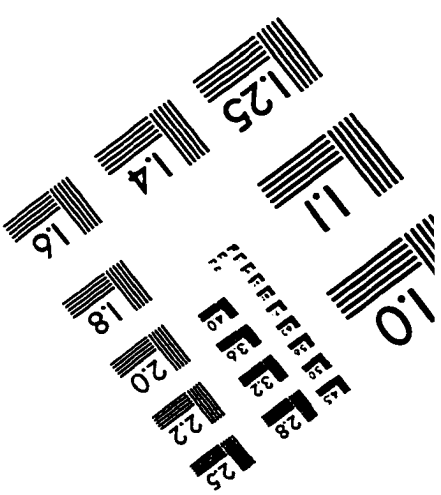












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