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**Relationships between separation-individuation and aspects of
acculturation in second generation Puerto Rican women**

Domenech-Ristorucci, Debra Dianne, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1988

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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION
AND ASPECTS OF ACCULTURATION IN SECOND GENERATION
PUERTO RICAN WOMEN

by

DEBRA DIANNE DOMENECH-RISTORUCCI

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

1988

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

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Abstract

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION AND ASPECTS OF ACCULTURATION IN SECOND GENERATION PUERTO RICAN WOMEN

by

Debra Dianne Domenech-Ristorucci

Advisor: Professor Laurence J. Gould

This relationship between separation-individuation and acculturation was examined for forty, second generation Puerto Rican women. The women ranged in age between twenty-five and thirty-five, earned between \$17,000 and \$37,000 and had no children. Significant relationships were found between separation-individuation and Puerto Rican acculturation and language preference. The more separated and individuated the women tended to be, the greater was the identification with the Puerto Rican culture. In addition, the less separated and individuated the women were, the stronger the preference for English over Spanish. However, the development of a bicultural identity was most related to how successfully they had resolved their angry feelings toward their mothers, not to how separated and individuation they were per se.

These findings were discussed in reference to how both processes were involved in the formation of the identity of these women. It also addressed the importance of greater clinical sensitivity in the treatment of Puerto Rican women undergoing acculturation.

Dedication

Para Mami, Papi, y Martha

Acknowledgements

The completion of my dissertation depended on the commitment and support of a number of people. I want to thank my committee members, starting with Dr. Laurence Gould. You were supportive, not only during the dissertation process, but throughout my entire stay in the doctoral program. My thanks to Dr. Arieta Slade and Dr. A. J. Franklin for your constructive feedback, consistently presented in a way which I could hear and learn from. My deepest appreciation to Dr. Annie Bergman and Dr. Jaime Inclan, my outside readers, for whom I have a great deal of respect. I also want to thank Dr. Inclan as well as Dr. Angela Ginorio and Dr. Wendy Olesker, for allowing me to use your respective scales in my research.

My deepest gratitude to Dr. Chen and Dr. DeFour, my statisticians, for your patience and assistance throughout the statistical analysis. My thanks to Ms. Vinnette Johnson, Ms. Edrice Tai and Ms. Angella Fraser for all the typing, word processing and more word processing.

My friends and colleagues at the South Bronx Mental Health Council, Inc., Hostos Community College and Queens County Neuropsychiatric Institute deserve special recognition for the encouragement and support I received throughout the years.

I have been a member of a Dissertation Support Group for about six years. This group consists of Hispanic women, all of whom are working on doctoral dissertations. The wealth of knowledge, skills and love contributed in immeasurable ways to my finishing. I want to thank current and graduated members for all your support: Ms. Allin Colon, Ms. Anneris Goris, Ms. Lucila Jimenez, Ms. Natasha Krinitzsky,

Ms. Lillian Perez, Ms. Diana Planells, Ms. Minerva Urrutia,
Dr. Luz Towns-Miranda and Dr. Mari Carmen Rodriguez.

A very special group of people have contributed not only to the completion of my dissertation, but to the quality of my life. Thank you Dr. Linda Pasternack, as so much of my emotional development has been facilitated by your skills and dedication.

To my beautiful friend and partner, Jose, thank you for all your trust and faith in me. Your love has helped me grow in so many ways. For this and much more, I thank and love you.

My special thanks to my dearest friend Jenny, whom I have known since second grade. You have brought so much love and happiness to my life so willingly and spontaneously. Thank you for everything.

My gratitude to my extended family of aunts, uncles, cousins and close friends. I was so busy during the last several years and unable to share as much as I would have liked. I carried you all inside of me and knew that you were with me throughout.

My deepest thanks to my sister, Martha, who has been faithfully beside me throughout the good and the not so good times of my life. You give so lovingly and unselfishly; for this I am eternally grateful. I also want to thank Eddie, my brother-in-law, who has been there rooting for me throughout this entire process.

Thank you Mami and Papi for your unbending love and nurturance. You are models of honesty and hard work. I am so proud of you and thank and love you from the bottom of my heart. Dios Los Bendiga.

Lastly, I want to thank all the women who participated in this study. Without your cooperation, this dissertation could not have been completed.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	iv
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
I. INTRODUCTION	1
A. Review of Literature	3
1. Culture	3
2. Acculturation	4
3. Theories and Models of Acculturation	6
4. Individual and Psychological Levels of Acculturation	13
5. Puerto Rican Acculturation	18
6. Puerto Ricans on the Mainland	21
7. Quantitative Measures of Puerto Rican Acculturation	24
B. Separation-Individuation.....	26
1. Differentiation Subphase	31
2. Practicing Subphase	32
3. Rapprochement Subphase	36
4. Object Constancy	41
C. Acculturation and Separation-Individuation: Theoretical Model.....	43
D. Hypotheses.....	48

II.	<u>METHODS</u>	49
	A. Subjects	49
	B. Measures	52
	1. Olesker Separation-Individuation Test	52
	2. Scoring the Olesker Separation- Individuation Test	53
	3. Puerto Rican Acculturation Measure-Revised (PRAM-R).....	54
	4. Scoring the PRAM and the PRAM-R.....	56
	5. Degree of Acculturation Scale (DOA)	58
	6. Scoring the DOA	59
	7. The New Yorican Women Interview.....	60
	8. Scoring the New Yorican Women Interview	59
	9. The Four Factor Index of Social Status	60
	C. Procedure	64
	1. The Pilot Study.....	64
	2. The Interview	65
	D. Statistical Analysis.....	66
III.	<u>RESULTS</u>	67
	A. Demographic Data	67
	B. Separation-Individuation and Acculturation	75
	C. Overview of Measures	77
	D. Separation-Individuation and PRAM-R	81
	E. Pearson Correlations	84
	F. Multiple Regressions	89
	G. Summary of Results	94
	H. Hypothesis One	95
	I. Hypothesis Two	96

IV. DISCUSSION	97
A. Clinical Implications.....	105
B. Limitations of the Study.....	105
C. Suggestions for Further Research	106
APPENDICES	108
Appendix A – Statement of Informed Consent	108
Appendix B – Olesker Separation-Individuation Test	109
Appendix C – Separation-Individuation Test Scoring System.....	121
Appendix D – PRAM	125
Appendix E – PRAM-R	129
Appendix F – Item Categories and Scores of Acculturation – PRAM and PRAM-R.....	132
Appendix G – Scoring Guide for PRAM and PRAM-R	134
Appendix H – Original Degree of Assimilation Scale	142
Appendix I – Degree of Acculturation Scale	144
Appendix J – Scoring Guide for the Degree of Assimilation Scale	145
Appendix K – Scoring Guide for the DOA... ..	147
Appendix L – New Yorican Women Interview	149
REFERENCES	152

List of Tables

TABLES	PAGE
Table 1: Hollingshead Scale – Educational Factor.....	68
Table 2: Hollingshead Scale – Occupational Factor.....	68
Table 3: Hollingshead Scale – Index of Social Strata	69
Table 4: Subjects' Marital Status	72
Table 5: Subjects' Living Situation, Experience of Living Alone and Age Left Home	72
Table 6: Ethnicity of Subjects and their Spouse/Boyfriend.....	73
Table 7: Language Fluency of Subjects and Parents.....	74
Table 8: Religion of Subjects and Parents.....	74
Table 9: Means, Standard Deviations and Range of Scores on Olesker Separation-Individuation Test, Interview Separation Items, PRAM-R factors of AaF and PRaF, DOA and Subjective Acculturation Scores	79
Table 10: Arithmetic and AaF and PRaF Z-score and Separation- Individuation Total Score Group Means for American, Puerto Rican, Bicultural and Marginal Ethnic Identifications	82
Table 11: Pearson Correlations Between Olesker Separation- Individuation Scores and PRAM-R factors of AaF and PRaF, DOA and Subjective Acculturation Scores.....	87
Table 12: Pearson Correlations Between Interview Separation Items, PRAM-R factors of AaF and PRaF, DOA Scores and Subjective Acculturation Scores	88
Table 13: Regression of AaF on Olesker Separation-Individuation Test.....	89

Table 14:	Regression of PRaF on Olesker Separation- Individuation Test	91
Table 15:	Regression of DOA Total on Olesker Separation- Individuation Test.....	92
Table 16.	An Additional Analysis: Pearson Correlations between Interview Separation Items and Olesker Separation- Individuation Scores	93

List of Figures

FIGURES	PAGE
Figure 1: Ethnic Identification Types in Second Generation Puerto Rican Women, (Z Score group means of AaF and PRaF), and Corresponding Olesker Separation-Individuation Total Group Means	83

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Several investigators have studied Puerto Rican adaptation to North American culture (Fitzpatrick, 1971, Minuchin, et al, Waggenheim, 1971). These studies emphasize symptomatic and dysfunctional aspects of families and personalities in transition during migration. They basically agree that conflicts inherent in the migration to another country lead to disorganization. Silva (1966) found that acculturation, not migration, has been the stress that may account for most mental health problems among Puerto Ricans. However, others such as Torres-Matrullo (1976) reported that acculturation is more conducive to mental health in Puerto Rican women than non-acculturation.

Although the importance of acculturation and mental health is documented in the literature, it seems that a more in-depth psychological understanding of acculturation is needed. A theory of psychological separation might be useful in understanding the separation involved in acculturation. It is possible to conceive of a relationship between the separation that occurs from one's biological mother and the separation that occurs from one's mother country during the process of acculturation. Margaret Mahler's theory of separation-individuation elucidates what an infant and his/her mother undergo between the time of birth and when he/she is two and half years old. Since there seems to be a psychological separation in the process of acculturation, might some of the developmental issues involved in separation-individuation help us to understand some of the psychological factors involved in acculturation?

Two recent studies involving the relationship between separation-individuation and acculturation have been identified. Shirley (1981) studied ego strengths in female Hispanic immigrants and the relationship between ego strength and the resolution of separation-individuation issues. Generally, her population demonstrated ego strength but it was not possible to link childhood developmental issues with issues of adaptation to a new country. On the other hand, Wong-Valle (1981) studied the relationship between separation-individuation and acculturation with Puerto Rican immigrant psychiatric inpatients. Using art therapy as a tool, she found parallels between what an immigrant undergoes during acculturation and stages of separation-individuation similar to what an infant experiences.

Previous research in the area of acculturation has focused on first generation immigrants. However, the study of acculturation among the second generation, that is, of people who were born in the United States, is a relatively unexplored area. This group needs to negotiate two cultures, which, may result in a third culture – the bicultural experience. It is the development of the second generation Puerto Rican woman in the New York Metropolitan area that is the focus of this study. The question that I ask in this study is the following: Is there a relationship between the earlier resolution of separation-individuation issues, that is, between the extent of differentiation from the biological mother, and the degree of acculturation or separation from the mother country among second generation Puerto Rican women?

A. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Culture

Before reviewing the literature on acculturation and separation-individuation, a definition of "culture" is necessary. Robert E. Park (1950) discusses culture in a rather inclusive manner, as he believes that each individual has a double inheritance: physical and moral, racial and cultural. It is by association, education and fundamentally, by communication that individuals possess and bear their cultural heritage. According to Park,

Culture is a character which we attribute to communities and people, not unlike personality which is a character we attribute to individuals. Culture consists of those habits in individuals which have become customary, conventionalized and accepted in the community. It includes not only folkways, but also technical and rational devices, in fact, by which man have at all times sought to control not only their environment, but themselves. It is because what is customary in the community becomes habit in succeeding generations that the fund of tradition which we call culture persists and accumulates. Once habits formed by individuals have become conventionalized, sanctioned, and transmitted, they become a communal possession.

Linton (1963) defines culture as:

the sum total of the knowledge, attitudes and habitual behavior patterns shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society... Cultures are adaptive mechanisms and as such represent a response to the needs of our species. These needs are psychological as well as physical...The function of culture is to provide techniques for the satisfaction of these needs and the effectiveness with which it accomplishes this will be determined partly by the environment, partly by the personalities of the individuals involved.

Acculturation

The concept of acculturation has been an area of particular interest within the field of anthropology. Its psychological importance has been left up to psychologists and psychiatrists to explore. Herskovits (1938, 1958) traced the use of the term "acculturation" as far back as 1880. Powell (1880) wrote:

The force of acculturation under the overwhelming presence of millions has wrought great changes.

Herskovits (1938) also indicates that there are a wide variety of meanings attached to the term by various authors:

For some, the word seems to imply meaning inherent in its earlier uses - the result of somewhat close contact between peoples, resulting in a give and take of their cultures; for others it appears to hold a significance implicit in Powell's usage of the process whereby a specific trait is ingested by recipient culture; while still others apparently accept it as the means whereby an individual 'becomes acculturated' to the patterns of his own society, a usage which makes the term acculturation a synonym for 'education'. Since all these are but phases of culture change, and in their psychological aspects equally involved the learning process, it is not strange that in the minds of some students, all these meanings seem to be held simultaneously, ... sometimes this concept of culture contact appears to have one meaning for them and at other times the word is employed in a quite different sense.

Due to the confusion in the use of the term, a subcommittee on acculturation was appointed by the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in 1935, the task of which was to define the term. The SSRC was composed of anthropologists Redfield, Linton and Herskovits and they later defined acculturation in what proved to be one of a few classic formulations. According to Redfield et. al. (1956),

Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups...under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from culture change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation. It is also to be differentiated from diffusion, which while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomena which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the types of contact between peoples specified in the definition above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation.

Herskovits (1938, 1959) indicated that this definition rules out several interpretations. It excludes the usage of the term which makes it synonymous with education, namely the manner in which an individual acquires a working knowledge of skills and traditional modes of thought of his own culture. Furthermore, it excludes the relative complexity of the two cultures involved and whether one is dominated by the other or if contact takes place on more equal terms. Herskovits (1958) elaborated on the distinction between acculturation, diffusion and assimilation:

Diffusion is that aspect of culture change which includes the transmission of techniques, attitudes, concepts and points of view from one people to another, whether is be through the medium of a single individual or of a group, or whether the contact is brief or sustained. Assimilation designates the process by means of which a synthesis of culture is achieved, whatever the degree of contact or amount of borrowing. Diffusion encompasses all such instances of transfer. Acculturation applies to cases of continuous contact, hence implies a more comprehensive interchange between two bodies of tradition.

The Social Science Research Council Summer Seminar (1954) which consisted of three anthropologists, (Siegel, Vogt and Watson), and one sociologist (Brown), defined acculturation as follows:

....culture change that is initiated by conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. Acculturative change may be the consequence of direct cultural transmission, it may be derived from non-cultural causes such as ecological or demographic modification induced by an impinging culture; it may be delayed, as with internal adjustments of alien traits or patterns or it may be reactive adaptation of traditional modes of life. Its dynamics can be seen as the selective adaptation of values systems, the processes of integration and differentiation, the generation of developmental sequences and operation of role determinant and personality factors.

Theories and Models of Acculturation

Dohrenwend and Smith (1962) state that in order to develop a theory of acculturation, certain factors need to be considered: the conditions of contact and the consequences of these conditions. They state that contact results in change and that change has direction. First, there is change on the part of the members of one culture away from the rules governing their traditional structured activities without internalization of the rules of the other culture. Secondly, there is change towards the rules governing the structured activities of the other culture. The first instance is referred to as alienation, where the rules of the culture are abandoned. The second instance is referred to as reorientation, in which the rules are altered by processes of internalization, to bring them into line with those of the other culture. A third dimension of change is generally referred to as nativism or reaffirmation, in which the emphasis is on preserving or reviving the rules of the cultural heritage. A fourth mode of change is referred to as reconstitution. This involves one group's creation of some rules which existed in neither culture prior to the contact.

Linton (1963) referred back to the SSRC (1935) definition of acculturation and disagreed with some of it. In addition, he felt that this definition was lacking in so far as it didn't specify the nature of the phenomena which are treated as part of acculturation. Linton explained acculturation by focusing more on culture change. According to Linton, culture change is fundamentally a matter of change in the knowledge, attitudes and behavior of the individuals who make up a society. This all has to be learned and can be modified by the psychological processes of learning and forgetting. A person can alter them when it is of obvious advantage, but the change involves effort: According to Linton (1963),

Culture change normally involves not only the addition of the new element or elements to the culture but also the elimination of certain previously existing elements and the modification and reorganization of them.

He identifies three sub-processes in the addition of a new cultural element: 1) its initial acceptance by innovators (agents of initial acceptance, be it individuals or small groups), 2) its dissemination to other members of society, 3) the modifications by which it is finally adjusted to the pre-existing culture matrix. Innovators accept particular new cultural elements because of general motives such as curiosity, desire for novelty, expectation of advantage and the returns in the form of prestige, and a host of diverse individual personality reasons. Dissemination of new culture elements begins by individuals learning from the innovators and passing it on to others and eventually members of society.

The basic stimuli for change in society's members lies in felt discontent or discomfort, making people willing to change their ways.

Factors of utility and compatability also operate, but the factor of prestige also takes on new meaning. The innovator is glorified for introducing the new element. The group associates this element with the innovator and gains or loses its potentialities for conferring prestige among the acceptors. However, new elements can be rejected if they fail to show superiority over old elements. The process by which new culture elements are brought into conformity with preexisting culture patterns is explained by Linton (1963) by looking more closely at culture elements. Culture elements have form, that is, directly observable qualities. They also have meaning, that is, a series of associations in the minds of the group. When any new element is introduced, it will have a tangible form and changes in this aspect are designed to make it more compatible with the preexisting experience or group members habits. These kinds of changes are largely conscious. However, the attachment of new meaning to a new culture is largely unconscious resulting from situations in which new things are employed and influenced by the manner in which new elements are presented to the group. The associations to the new element are in connection with the innovators, the origin, (if known), and its superficial resemblance to the elements already existing. This resemblance results in the immediate transfer to it. As the new element gains more acceptance, the initial associations may change and new associations will be added until the new element agrees with preexisting conceptual patterns of the culture. At this point an integration is achieved, that is, the necessary modifications are completed both in the new culture element and in the preexisting

culture, so that there is elimination of conflict and direct duplication of function.

Culture change is primarily a process of substituting new elements for old, but substitution does not always result in a complete elimination of the old, that is, there are partial replacements. However, substitution involves much more than just addition and subtraction. Linton (1963) explains what happens to the preexisting culture elements:

When the innovator accepts the competing novelty, the old element becomes a latent part of his culture equipment, then if it remains latent long enough, it is forgotten. As the new element achieves increasing acceptance, the old one becomes latent for more and more individuals and in time, a new generation appears to whom it is known only by hearsay. It finally drops out of the last die-hard conservative.... Retention of the old element may be injurious to prestige, an attitude reflected in our own derogatory use of the term 'old fashioned'.

Since Linton defines culture and culture elements in terms of functions meeting group needs, then in his view, under normal conditions, culture change involves a duplication of function, but not an interruption of the meeting and satisfaction of the group's needs. According to Linton (1963),

Culture change can be accomplished with disorganization and with now more discomfort to the individual than is involved in changing preexisting habits.

Hallowell (1955) states that people with different modes of life may come into contact, but this does not necessarily precipitate any radical modifications in the culture of either group, even though they may remain in continuous social interaction. He views social contacts as a necessary but not a sufficient condition of acculturation. In

his view, instead of radical changes in the cultural mode of adaptation, social interaction between groups with different cultural systems may be limited to securing the benefits of specialized goods or services with members of either group. He states that there are situations of relatively little acculturation because of the limited incentives on the part of the individuals of the groups in social interaction to learn the ways of their neighbors. According to Hallowell, learning is the psychological crux of acculturation:

When people of different cultural systems come into contact with one another, an examination of the barriers to learning, on the one hand, and the incentives to learning on the other, afford us direct insight into the dynamics of acculturation, although this angle of approach, has not yet been systematically explored. The essential questions are the specific conditions under which individuals of either group gain an opportunity to learn about the ways of the other group, how for such learning is promoted or discouraged, what is learned and the various incentives to learning, the kind of people who have taken the initiative in learning, and the results of the process with respect to the subsequent re-relations of both groups and their cultural systems.

Hallowell believes that for learning to take place, there must be adequate motivation, that is, primary and secondary drives must be aroused. While a new mode of life may demand the same primary drives and perhaps some of the secondary drives as well, acculturation on a major scale implies radically significant readaptation in an individual's behavior. New responses, new cues and new desires are all involved and new incentives to such readaptation must be well rewarded.

In Hallowell's view, the kind of social learning that is typical of the acculturation process is imitative learning. This is because the behavior that occurs, always involves some kind of model as a

stimulus. Imitation is not necessarily a conscious process, and copying may itself become a drive that is rewarded in some situations. Again, what is important are the drives that have motivated individuals toward readaptation and how these drives are rewarded.

If individuals with one cultural background are brought into social interaction with those of a different cultural heritage and are allowed to respond freely to the differences encountered, these will imitate only those food habit, skills, attitudes or other items that for one reason or another, satisfy their own culturally acquired drives. Also, there is no demand for exactness of imitation if approximate imitation is rewarded. The study of the acculturation process, involves not only an examination of drive and reward, but the details of the process of imitative learning in the the transfer of habit patterns.

Hallowell (1955) believes that,

When there is freedom for imitative learning, acculturation does not have to be a disruptive process, since the cultural features of one society that are imitated by members of another become functionally connected with established drives or with new ones that are in harmony with the cultural system of the borrowers. It is possible for acculturation to take place on a modest scale through selective processes of voluntary imitative learning without radical re-adaptation in the behavior of individuals or a reshaping of the total mode of life of the society in which they function.

However, in most case studies, the situation is not as simple as the permitting of imitation. Sometimes there are situations in which imitation is discouraged. Sometimes there are extrinsic and intrinsic barriers which may make it impossible for one people to adapt the cultural instruments of another people, even if they desire to.

Berry (1980) offers a model of acculturation which suggest that the transitions involved are not necessarily accomplished smoothly. This model has several features: the basic nature of acculturation, its characteristic course, the level at which it takes place and the measurement of acculturation.

Berry refers to Bailey (1937), when he examines the nature of acculturation. He states that although in principle, change can occur in either of two parties, in practice, one group dominates the other and contributes more to the flow of cultural elements than does the weaker of the groups. According to Berry (1980),

The apparent domination of one group over the other suggests that what happens between contact and change may be difficult, reactive and conflictual rather than a smooth transition.

The course of acculturation is seen as a three phase course: contact, conflict and adaptation. The first is necessary, the second is probable and the third in some form is inevitable. Contact - physical or symbolic - is at the core of acculturation, be it through trade, invasion, enslavement, educational or missionary activity or through telecommunication. Variables such as the nature, purpose, duration and permanence of contact, contribute to the acculturation. There is less degree of acculturation when there is no purpose or the contact is accidental, when trade is mutually desired or when contact is short lived. There is greater acculturation when the purpose is a deliberate takeover of a society such as by invasion, or of the society's skills or beliefs such as by education and evangelization, over a long period of time as in a settlement. Conflict occurs only when there is some degree of of resistance. This generally is the

case since groups do not easily give up valued aspects of their culture. Finally, adaptation refers to the variety of ways in which conflict is reduced or stabilized. Berry outlines three modes of adaptation: adjustment, reaction and withdrawal. In adjustment, conflict is reduced by making cultural or behavioral features more similar. This is referred to as homogenization, as in the melting pot theory. In reaction, conflict is reduced by retaliating against the source of conflict, for example in native political organizations and in aggression. In withdrawal, one element is removed from the contact arena, as in nativistic communities.

Individual and Psychological Levels of Acculturation

Although the concept of acculturation originated within the field of anthropology and has most often been treated as a group phenomena, acculturation can also be studied at an individual level as the more literature refers to psychological aspects of acculturation. Hallowell (1955) was interested in the relation of personality structure to cultural changes. Diffusion, acculturation and faddism are seen as carried patternings of the process of acceptance. Differences in their conditions and results depend on acceptance and rejection on the individual levels. Hallowell referred to this as the psychological level of acculturation:

If any people undergo changes in their mode of life eventuating in new or varied culture patterns....This implies some readjustment in the habits, attitudes, and goals of the individuals concerned, that such processes of readjustment have to be motivated, and that learning is involved. These are the most obvious psychological events that any process of acculturation implies; they must be assumed as an integral part of the total conditions under which acceptance or rejection takes place.

Hallowell added, however, that we are confronted with the question of the psychological depth of the readjustments and with the cumulative psychological effects which acceptance may bring about in a given population over a period of time. Graves (1967) also used the concept of "psychological acculturation" to distinguish it from group phenomena.

When one considers Berry's (1980) description of the three phases during the process of acculturation, it is apparent that contact, conflict and adaptation are all phenomena which are of equal relevance to group and individual levels of analysis. Moreover, as he indicated, when studying the three modes of adaptation, one can see similarities to the distinctions made in the psychological literature between individual patterns of moving with or toward, moving against and moving away from a stimulus.

In his review of studies on acculturation, Berry (1980) outlined psychological responses in six areas during the course of acculturation. The areas of language, cognitive style, personality, identity, attitudes and acculturative stress were evaluated at the pre-contact and contact, conflict (crisis) and adaptation stages. With the exception of acculturative stress, where at the pre-contact stage there is low stress and after the conflict stage there is either a high or low stress level, in the other five areas, there were three levels of adaptation: a) a shift to the dominating culture's features, b) a compromise between the tradition and the dominating and c) a maintenance of traditional features.

With respect to language, beginning with traditional language, there is either a complete shift to the language of the dominant culture, a creole/bilingual result or the maintenance of the traditional language. With regard to cognitive style, beginning with traditional functioning, there is either a shift toward dominant culture functioning, the development of bi-cultural style or a return to the traditional style. With respect to the individual personality, there is either the development of personality traits which are more like the dominant culture's features, or a synthesis of the two cultures' features, or the quasi-traditional quality to personality. With respect to identity, there is either a turning to the dominant culture's identity, the development of an ethnic identity or a return to the traditional identity. With respect to attitudes, there is either an assimilation of dominant culture's attitudes, an integration of both cultures' attitudes or a rejection of dominant culture's attitudes. Berry (1980) defines acculturative stress as:

those behaviors and experiences which are generated during acculturation and which are mildly pathological and disruptive to the individual and his group, (e.g., deviant behaviors, psychosomatic symptoms, and feelings of marginality).

Berry proposed that acculturative stress will be highest when the cultural distance is greater and when the insistence that the journey be taken is the stronger.

Padilla's (1980) model and quantitative scale of acculturation was developed from his work with Mexican-Americans. This model involves two essential elements: an individual's cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty. Cultural awareness refers to an individual's knowledge of

specific cultural material such as the language, values, history and foods of the cultural group or origin and/or of the host culture. Ethnic loyalty refers to the individual's preference for one cultural orientation over the other. Some factors such as seeking out an ethnic related activity, may not be of major significance. Other factors, however, may be of major importance if it implies ethnic self identification such as the ethnicity of friends or of a spouse.

Another consideration within this model is that the process of acculturation is multi-dimensional, that is, that there are numerous independent variables that influence acculturation. Among the variables usually accounted for is the generational level of the group or individual. The offspring, (second generation), of immigrant parents, (first generation), are held to be more acculturated than the parents. Usually this is due to increased contact with the host culture, such as through the educational system. The third generation is assumed to be even more acculturated, due to the socializing influences received at home and from members of the host culture. In the development of this model, there are at least five more dimensions important in determining acculturative change. The first involves language familiarity and usage. The assumption is that there is generally a positive relationship between familiarity of the language of the host culture and acculturation. Furthermore, this model includes preference for the language of the host culture. Often one finds the bilingual person who speaks the language of the host culture at school and work and in the daily encounters with people, but who prefers the language of the culture of origin with family members,

close friends, and ethnic related activities. A second dimension is cultural heritage, that is, knowledge of a wide variety of cultural artifacts and material specific to both cultures. The loyalty refers to an individual preference for one culture's material over the other.

Three other dimensions in this model can also be divided into an awareness and loyalty component. These three dimensions refer to the ethnicity factor. In this model, it is assumed that maintenance of ethnic pride and identity must be assessed along with language familiarity and cultural heritage. For example, someone who is no longer familiar with the original language and does not have much knowledge of the cultural material of the original culture, but who in some situations still identifies with the ethnicity of origin, is not completely acculturated. Finally, acculturation partly also depends on the degree of inter-ethnic interaction and inter-ethnic distance and perceived discrimination. In other words, ethnic groups, whose members are slow to interact with members of host culture, acculturate slower than ethnic groups who find interaction easy.

Padilla derived a typology of acculturation. He found the following: sex was not a critical variable in acculturation, generational level is an extremely important predictor variable in determining the extent of acculturation, educational and income levels are positively correlated with acculturation and that more acculturated individuals reside in low ethnic dense neighborhoods than in high ethnic dense barrios.

Puerto Rican Acculturation

Historical Background

A close examination of the case of Puerto Rico enables us to see that contact between different cultural groups has occurred at least three times in history. The Spanish invasion, conquest, colonization and eventual extermination of the Arawak's, (Taino and Caribe Indians), Boriquen in 1493, represents the first. The Spaniards brought different institutions, language, life styles. It was a more advanced technological society, compared to the Arawak agrarian society. The Arawaks were described as more passive in nature and the Spaniards, a more aggressive people, were welcomed on the island, now named Puerto Rico.

The institution of slavery and the massive importation of slaves to Puerto Rico represents the second incidence of contact between different cultures. Being forcibly uprooted from their culture, Africans were compelled to adjust to a totally alien culture. What had resulted from amalgamation was the "mestizo" a combination of Indian and White. With the importation of Africans and through further amalgamation, Puerto Rican skin shades and hair types became that much more complex - the typical Caribbean experience during this time. Lewis (1974) uses the term "home caribiensis" as he refers to at least sixty different combinations of black and white in the Creole populations and to the ravages worked by color psychology in the Caribbean life, both past and present.

The United States' acquisition of Puerto Rico from Spain in 1898 represent the third incidence of contact between different cultural groups. The prevailing institutions will come into conflict with the imposed American values. According to A. Carrasquillo & C. Carresquillo, (1982),

On May 12, 1898, the city of San Juan, Puerto Rico was bombarded under the direction of Admiral William Sampson and on July 15th, American forces occupied Guanica and, three days later, Ponce. On October 18th, the last of the Spanish troops to sail embarked for Spain....In 1900, the island of Puerto Rico was confronted with a new government, a new culture and a new language. During the first decades of United States' domination, many critical decisions affecting native Puerto Ricans were made without their expressed consent.

One area where the imposition is clearly seen is in the case of education and language. In 1900, Puerto Rico faced with a new and entirely different educational system - the North American system which had no relation to the culture and language of Puerto Rico. After 1898, there were different commissioners of education and their approaches to language differed. Although in 1900 the Commissioner of Education felt it important to preserve Spanish while students acquired knowledge of English, in 1904 a new commissioner, Roland Falkner, made English the official language of Puerto Rico. According to Pedro A. Cebollero (1954), the Falkner policy was used until 1916. In 1916, Assistant Commissioner of Education Jose A. Padin, felt that English should not be used as a medium of instruction until the seventh grade. In 1934, Dr. Jose Padin recommended the use of Spanish as the medium of instruction in the first eight grades. Although many Puerto Ricans welcomed this, the United States' government disagreed with it.

Between 1937 and 1942, there was an absence of a clear language policy for the schools in Puerto Rico. In 1947 a study was conducted by the Consejo Superior de Enseñanza (Superior Educational Council) on the educational problems in Puerto Rico. The conclusions of the study favored the use of Spanish in the teaching process and pointed to the need for the introduction of English through more scientific methods.

After the first gubernatorial elections in 1948, a new commissioner of education was appointed. Governor Luis Muñoz Marín appointed Mariano Villaronga as commissioner. He stated that Spanish would be the medium of instruction at all school levels in Puerto Rico beginning with the 1949-1950 year. Puerto Rico had faced fifty years of a language problem resulting in confusion among educational leaders but it was finally decided to solve this by making Spanish the language of instruction in the classroom and English was taught as a subject - as a second language. Today, Spanish is used as the language of instruction throughout all grades and English is introduced orally in the first and second grades. Reading and writing skills are development in English in the third grade and beyond.

In Maldonado-Denis' (1972) examination of the North American occupation of Puerto Rico, he states that during the first forty years of the North American domination, it was clear that the goal of the colonial power was to make "good North Americans" of Puerto Ricans:

The experience we have had until now with colonialism as a system of domination indicates that one of the basic purposes of colonizers is to make the colonized subject a kind of carbon copy of the colonizer, for upon accepting the values and the behavior patterns of the colonizer, the colonized subject loses one of the elements basic to his struggle against the dominator - his identity and his pride

in belonging to a group whose interests - divergent for those of the colonial power - will lead him unflinchingly to the process which will liberate him from material and spiritual tyranny....The cultural assimilation of a colony by the colonial power by which the nationality of the occupied country is destroyed or dissolved or by which the occupied country's culture is so hybridized that it becomes difficult to distinguish between what is indigenous and what is foreign.

The goal of making Puerto Ricans into good North Americans was seen not only in the language issue but also with other symbols of Puerto Rican nationality, such as the flag and the national anthem. Puerto Rican students had to swear loyalty daily to the American flag in English. Without really understanding the meaning of English songs, Puerto Rican students had to sing songs that were sung by North American children, the purpose of which was to inspire North American patriotism. There was an attempt to replace the festival of the Three Wise Men with Santa Claus and his sled and snow. The practice of law was also affected for the penal and political codes of the states of Nevada and California were adapted. With regard to the teaching of history of Puerto Rico an attempt was made to rewrite the history. According to Maldonado-Denis, everything North American was magnified and everything Hispanic and Puerto Rican was minimized.

Puerto Ricans on the Mainland

The Jones Act of 1917 gave American citizenship to all Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans were free to travel between the island and the mainland because there were no quota restrictions or visa requirements. Puerto Ricans migrated mainly for economic reasons. There was a large population, a high rate of unemployment, and poverty. Puerto Ricans thought that coming to the U.S. would solve their financial problems. A. Carrasquillo & C. Carrasquillo, (1982) state that

Many Puerto Ricans came to the U.S. with the great hope of 'making it' in the mainland. Many Puerto Ricans came to the mainland with their idea of staying for a few years. The majority of them were rural people, poor, unskilled, relatively young, and seldom with more than a few years of elementary school education.... The U.S. had a great demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor.

Puerto Ricans not only wanted a job but also a better life. This often meant water and electricity, furniture and food for their children and forms of entertainment.

According to Sierra-Berdecia (1956), the Puerto Rican government did not discourage migration. There were arrangements made to establish low transportation rates and the government did not make it known to the people that they would also face poor life conditions in the U.S. Such being the case, Puerto Ricans are the minority group that least benefits from educational programs, health, housing and political involvement in the United States.

Although many Puerto Ricans had intended to come to the mainland for only a few years, they stayed and raised their children in the United States. Most second and third generation Puerto Ricans on the mainland are from New York, thus acquiring the name "New Yorkers" or "Nuyoricans".

A. Carrasquillo and C. Carrasquillo (1982) identify certain characteristics which are applicable to New Yorkers:

a) Traveling back and forth between Puerto Rico and the United States is now common. This is common with the first generation who look back to Puerto Rico with nostalgia. b) New Yorkers receive inadequate education on the mainland. c) New Yorkers show social and emotional disorientation, inferiority, and poor self image. Most Puerto Rican

youths came from the lower socio-economic class.....These social class patterns are combined with various ethnic and cultural patterns making it more difficult for the youths to enter the task of self analysis and identification. In many instances, the New Yorkers do not know to which group they really belong. d) There is growing Puerto Rican participation in higher education. e) English is used by New Yorkers in every day situations.....Today, however, New Yorkers are showing more interest in knowing the Spanish language and using it as a medium of communication.

New Yorkers seems to be becoming increasingly conscious that they are Puerto Ricans and that increased education helps improve their image on the mainland. They are also studying history and culture of Puerto Rico and are realizing that knowledge of the vernacular language of Puerto Rico puts them closer the island.

The pattern that has prevailed most recently has been reversed migration. First, second and third generation Puerto Ricans are returning to the island. Reasons seem to include the difficulty in getting jobs and the deterioration of living conditions in the U.S.

New Yorkers often go to Puerto Rico in search of their cultural roots and with a desire to know more about their ancestors, culture and language. However, when they return they often find that their parents and grandparents' homeland is no longer theirs. They often feel or are made to feel like they are not "real" Puerto Ricans.

Quantitative Measures of Puerto Rican Acculturation

McCauley (1972) developed the Degree of Assimilation Scale (DOA) in her work with Puerto Rican immigrant couples. This standard

measure tapped three types of behavior that have been shown to correlate highly with acculturation: language competence (Tharp et. al, 1968), interethnic contacts (Broom & Kitsuse, 1955), and the desire to remain on the mainland (McCauley, 1972). The more acculturated individual was more likely to speak English rather than Spanish, had more significant interethnic contacts and showed no desire to move permanently to Puerto Rico.

Torres-Matrullo (1976) focused on levels of education and degree of acculturation among Puerto Rican women. Acculturation was defined according to the degree of exposure to American society and measured by length of residence in the U.S. and marriage to Anglo men. The acculturation instruments used in this study were questionable in terms of validity and reliability. However, she found that there was a positive relationship between levels of education and degree of American acculturation. Santiago (1978) developed the Coefficient of Puerto Ricanness and Lijtmaer (1978) developed the Scale of Acculturation as they measured Puerto Ricans' first-hand contact with the dominant culture and defined Puerto Ricanness according to the amount of evident traditional knowledge and customs. Using McCauley's (1972) DOA, Ginorio (1979) compared Puerto Ricans in New York with native Puerto Ricans and native Americans on two measures of acculturation: gender role and racial identification. She found that Puerto Ricans in New York are partially acculturated in the area of gender roles and that females were more acculturated than males.

According to Inclan (1979),

the work on acculturation and Puerto Ricans done up to this date leads to several conclusions: 1) acculturation is an important factor that needs to be considered further, 2) socio-economic measured need to be differentiated from psychological and behavioral measures of acculturation, 3) the American and Puerto Rican ends of the acculturation phenomena appear to be both important considerations, 4) acculturation is a multi-dimensional phenomenon.

Inclan (1979) recognized the importance of studying the process of acculturation as an integrational phenomena involving both the prevalence or loss of the Puerto Rican traditional culture or the adaptation of American norms. He developed the Puerto Rican Acculturation Measure (PRAM) and the Puerto Rican Acculturation Measure-Revised (PRAM-R) which measure both dimensions of acculturation.

B. Separation-Individuation

It is clearly documented in the literature that there are psychological aspects to the process of acculturation. However, there is also a need for a deeper examination of what the actual psychological processes involved might be. It seems to this researcher that implicit in the theories of acculturation, there is a kind of separation. It seems intuitively possible to conceive of an emotional separation that occurs during acculturation from mother country as being akin to the separation that occurs from one's biological mother. Margaret Mahler's theory of separation-individuation specifically refers to this psychological separation. It would be useful at this point to review the theory of separation-individuation and its related psychological processes.

During Margaret Mahler's year of training at the Psychoanalytic Institute in Vienna in the 1920's, she began to notice that "the human infants biological, actual birth experience did not coincide with his psychological birth" (Mahler, 1974). By "psychological birth" she meant becoming a separate individual entity - acquiring a first level of primitive self identity. The main characteristics of the psychological birth of the human infant are the major shifts of libidinal and aggressive cathexis in the bodily self and the self and the changing nature and degree of approaching and distancing behavior between infant and mother. The developmental process extends from birth through the second year.

Mahler noticed that "the sensorium of the newborn and the very young infant, didn't seem to be 'tuned in' to the outside world: he

appeared to be in a twilight state of existence" Mahler (1974). During these few weeks, the newborn is in a sleep-like state which supersedes the state of arousal, and is referred to as the state of normal autism. At this time, physiological processes are dominant over psychological processes: the infant spends most of the day in a half sleeping, half waking state, awaking only when hungry or when need tensions result in crying. When satisfied, the infant will fall back asleep. It is referred to as normal autism because "in this stage the infant seems to be in a state of primitive hallucinatory disorientation in which need satisfaction seems to belong to his own unconditional, omnipotent, autistic orbit" (Ferenczi (1913).

The main task of the normal autistic phase is to maintain homeostasis, predominantly by using physiological mechanisms. Although the autistic phase can be characterized by a relative absence of cathexis of external stimuli, Wolff (1959) describes fleeting states of "alert inactivity" in which there is responsivity. This fleeting responsivity to external stimuli is what is believed to make for the continuity between the normal autistic phase and later phases.

Mahler (1974) refers to Benjamin (1961) is stating that a physiological maturational crisis occurs at around three to four weeks: "Without intervention of a mother figure for help in tension reduction, the infant tends to become overwhelmed by stimuli, with increased crying and other motor manifestations of indifferentiated negative affect". From Mahler's developmental approach, this marks the "cracking of the autistic shell" - a diminishing of the stimulus barrier which is contingent upon a cathetic shift. Mahler states that

in terms of energy or libidinal cathexis, this means that a progressive displacement of libido has to take place, from the inside of the body (particularly from abdominal organs), toward the periphery of the body. It is this which marks the beginning of the symbiotic phase.

Symbiosis is a term used in biology which refers to a close functional association of two organisms which is advantageous to both. The protective and selective stimulus barrier creates a common shield that envelopes both parts of the mother-infant dyad. The beginning of the phase of normal symbiosis is marked by the infant's dim awareness of the need satisfying object. The infant shows increased perceptual and affective investment in stimuli. To observers, it is recognized that these stimuli are coming from the outside world, but as Mahler postulates, the infant does not recognize it as having a clearly external origin. The infant behaves and functions as though he and his mother were an omnipotent system. His experience is that they are a dual unity with one common boundary. The world becomes increasingly cathected, especially in the person of the mother, but as one dual unit with a not yet clearly demarcated, bordered-off and experienced self. The cathexis of mother is the principal psychological achievement of this phase, but the experience of inside and outside is still vague. The most highly cathected object, the mother, is still a part-object, that is, she is not experienced as a separate person in her own right.

While the infant is absolutely dependent on his partner during symbiosis, the dual unity has a different meaning for mother. The

mother's need for the infant is not absolute, it is relative. Thus the term "symbiosis" describes the state of the infant's undifferentiation, or fusion with the mother. The "I" is not yet differentiated from the "Not-I". The inside and the outside are only gradually sensed as different. It is within this symbiotic dependency that the structural differentiation that leads to the formation of the ego takes place. During symbiosis, one speaks not of an ego but of "ego states" of the infant who alternates his attentional investment between his inner sensations and the symbiotic libidinal attractions. It is only in the states of "alert inactivity" that the infant takes in stimuli from the outer world, but these still closely related to the mother. Spitz (1965) calls the mother the 'auxiliary ego of the infant'.

In terms of energy theory, during the symbiotic phase, the undifferentiated ego-id still contains an undifferentiated mixture of libido and aggression. While it is still marked by primary narcissism, it is not absolute. Throughout, the infant is perceiving need-satisfaction as coming from a need satisfying part-object, still from within the orbit of his omnipotent mother. It is to this mothering again, however, that he is turning libidinally. Toward the latter part of the symbiotic stage, it is assumed that primary narcissism declines and gradually gives way to secondary narcissism. The infant takes his own body, as well as the mother, as the object of his secondary narcissism. According to Hoffer (1950), from the age of three or four months on, "primary narcissism has already been modified, but the world of objects has not necessarily yet taken on definite shape".

At five to seven months, the infant's exploration of mother peaks. Manual, tactile and near visual exploration of the mother's nose, mouth, and face, as well as an increasing awareness of the feel of her skin occur. According to Bowlby (1958), "the major achievement of the symbiotic phase is the creation of the specific bond between the infant and mother". This is indicated by the specific smiling response at the peak of symbiosis. This affirms that the infant is responding to the mother in a manner that is different from the way in which he responds to others.

Normal autism and normal symbiosis are prerequisite to the onset of the normal separation-individuation process. According to Spitz (1965) "normal autism and normal symbiosis are the two earliest stages of nondifferentiation - the former is objectless, the latter preobjectal". "The two stages occur..... before separation and individuation and the emergence of the rudimentary ego as a functional structure have taken place" (Mahler and Furur 1963, cf also Glover 1956).

The process of separation-individuation is divided into four subphases: differentiation, practicing, rapprochement and object constancy. According to Mahler, neither the normal autistic, the normal symbiotic, nor any subphase of separation-individuation is completely replaced by the subsequent phase. "The separation-individuation is completely replaced by a steady increase in awareness of the separateness of the self and the 'other' which coincides with the origins of a sense of self, of true object relationship and of awareness of a reality in the outside world" (Mahler, Pine, and Bergman, 1975).

Differentiation Subphase

Differentiation, the first subphase of the separation-individuation process, begins to occur at about four to five months. At this point, the infant is at the peak of symbiosis and is familiar with the "mothering half of his symbiotic self" (Mahler, Pine and Bergman, 1975). This is demonstrated by his unspecific social smile. However, this smile becomes a specific or preferential smile in response to his mother, which according to Bowlby (1958), is the crucial sign that there has been the establishment of a specific bond between the infant and his mother. The infant is responding to the mother in a manner that is different from the way in which he responds to others.

This subphase extends up to about ten months of age. A smooth differentiation process will take place when an infant experiences pleasure in the outer sensory perceptions such as looking, hearing or outward listening, because the infant experiences inner pleasures a result of feeling safe within the symbiotic unit. With a smooth expansion from symbiosis, an infant would also be able to demonstrate outward-directed attention.

At about six months, normal infants begin pulling mother's hair, nose, ears and strains his body away from other's in order to see her better and scan the environment. The infant is beginning to differentiate his own body from his mother's. At six to seven months, is the peak of manual, tactile and visual exploration of his mother's face is at its height. The infant is familiarizing himself more thoroughly with what does and does not belong to mother's body. For example, many children begin to notice and show interest in eyeglasses.

At about seven to eight months, infants venture slightly away from their mother's arms. When they are motorically capable, they slide down mother's lap. However, they tend to stay near or crawl back in order to play close by mother's feet. Attention becomes increasingly directed outward which is prototypical of turning to an outside stimulus and then checking back to the mother, specifically looking at her face. He is discriminating between mother and others, that is, comparing her to what is and is not similar to her.

The differentiation subphase is characterized by a new look of alertness, persistence and goal-directedness...a behavioral manifestation of "hatching". The child is no longer drifting in and out of alertness: rather when he is awake his senses are more consistently alert.

If a child's development of trust is optimal, then his curiosity and wonderment seen in his checking back to mother pattern, are predominant when the child is inspecting strangers. However, when development of trust is less than optimal, then there might be some stranger anxiety or a prolonged period of mild stranger reaction both of which interfere in pleasurable inspective behavior. In addition, in cases in which the symbiotic process has been delayed or disturbed, the process of differentiation seems also to be delayed or premature.

Practicing Subphase

At approximately ten months to eighteen months, the differentiation subphase overlaps with the practicing period. The infant now has the ability to move away from the mother through quadrupedal locomotion. Mahler subdivides this subphase into two

parts: a) the early practicing period, characterized by crawling, paddling, climbing and righting himself but still holding on and b) the practicing period proper, characterized by bipedal locomotion or free upright locomotion; walking followed by running.

Locomotion indicates the second massive shift of cathexis throughout development. Cathexis is now invested in the autonomous apparatuses of the self, and in functions such as locomotion, perception and learning. "Autonomous functions of the ego" is a term Hartmann (1939, 1950) uses and Mahler refers to. Hartmann uses the term to denote certain functions of the ego that evolve without conflict. According to Hartmann, we know of the functions of the ego which develop from conflicts with the id, but there are independent aspects of the ego such as intelligence, perceptual and motor capacity and environmental scanning. During the practicing subphase, cathexis is invested in these ego functions. The child is then ready for action, practices locomotion and explores wider segments of reality. Furthermore, his perceptual activities are allowing for more real representation and differentiation of self from objects.

During the early practicing subphase, with locomotive maturation, the child begins to venture further away from mother's feet. He can, on occasion, become so absorbed in his activities that he appears to forget his mother's presence. However, he returns periodically to his mother, needing her to be physically close. According to Mahler, the optimal distance in this early practicing subphase seems to be one which allows the child to move and explore and crawl freely to exercise his autonomous functions at some distance from the mother.

However, mother is at the same time needed as the "home base" for what Mahler refers to as "emotional refueling" through physical contact. For instance, she observed seven to ten month olds crawling back to mother and either righting themselves on her leg, touching or just leaning against her, for emotional refueling. Shortly after the physical contact, the infant perks up and resumes exploring pleurably. Thus the ability to explore the world is closely linked with the child's ability to return and reestablish contact with the mother when necessary.

During this early practicing subphase, Mahler notes that most children go through a brief period of increased separation anxiety. Distance sensory modalities of seeing and hearing are important in the child's ability to move away independently while remaining connected with mother. Children did not like to lose sight of the mother, behaviorally manifested in a sad stare at her empty chair or at the door through which mother left.

The onset of the second part of this period, practicing proper, is characterized by free, upright locomotion. Mahler observed that locomotion seems to take place with the child moving in a direction away from the mother, rather than toward her. This is in contrast to the popular belief that the first steps are toward mother and indicates a child's innate tendency to separate from mother and thereby further his own individuation. The ability to walk gives the child an increased ability to discover the world and to be in control of his explorations.

This gives the child a sense of being a magical master. There is

also an increase of goal-directedness and aggressiveness. The mother must renounce possession of the child's body in order to facilitate his normal separation individuation and promote his autonomous growth. According to Mahler, this is also a prerequisite for the later development of a child's self esteem, and lays a foundation for healthy narcissism.

At the peak of this subphase, the child's experience is one of exhilaration at his new capabilities. He wants to share and to show. It is the phase of solicited admiration - he begins to act, to put on a show for people and take delight in his own motor activity. The child behaves as though he is having a love affair with the world. He is loved by everyone and is in love with his own grandeur and omnipotence. Narcissism is at its peak: "The chief characteristic of this practicing period is the child's great narcissistic investment in his own functions, his own body, as well as in the objects and objectives of his expanding reality. This feeling of omnipotence is still to a considerable extent, derived from this sense of sharing his mother's magical powers, but,..... we might consider the possibility that the elation of this subphase has to do not only with the exercise of the ego apparatuses, but also with the elated escape from fusion with, or from engulfment by mother" (Mahler, Pine, and Bergman, 1975).

Locomotion also provides the child with other experiences. His plane of vision and the relation to his upright body in space allows him to see the world from an adult angle. It is at this time, that according to Piaget, representational intelligence begins. It is the time of cognitive and perceptual achievement of permanence of

objects. Symbolic thinking and upright free locomotion are forerunners of the attainment of the first level of self-identity - of having a separate individual identity. Locomotion is the behavioral sign which indicates most visibly the end of the hatching process. The child now belongs to a world of independent human beings. Upright locomotion, then, is crucial in achieving the psychological birth experience.

During this practicing proper subphase, there are times when the infant sustains knocks and falls and becomes "low-keyed". When he becomes aware that mother is absent from the the room and that a person other than mother is trying to comfort him, he loses his emotional balance and cries. His low-keyed state ends, however, when he is reunited with his mother. Mahler, Pine and Bergman (1975) conclude that there is a dawning awareness that the symbiotic mothering as been missed. This longing for a state of well-being and unity with mother is lacking in children whose symbiotic relationship has been disturbed or unusually prolonged.

Rapprochement Subphase

The rapprochement subphase begins to emerge between the ages of fifteen and eighteen months and can extend to the next eight months. Based on clinical cases, it was found that this subphase could be subdivided into three periods: a) beginning rapprochement b) the rapprochement crisis and c) individual solutions to the crisis. These result in personality characteristics with which the child enters the fourth subphase of separation-individuation - the consolidation of individuation.

At around fifteen months of age, the child no longer simply needs mother as a "home base" at which to refuel. The mother seems to develop into more of a person with whom the child wants to share his discoveries. Behaviorally, this is seen by the child continually bringing things to mother's lap. The child has a need to have mother share these things with him. Two other patterns of behavior are characteristic during this period. The child is "shadowing" mother, that is, watching mother and following her every move. The child is also "darting away" from her, that is, expecting to be chased and swept into her arms. These patterns indicate both a wish to reunite with the love object and a fear of being reengulfed by it. Increased separation anxiety is observed. At first it consists of the fear of object loss of love. This represents an element of the conflict in the internalization of the object.

During this time, there appears to be the power of the word "NO". Some children show sensitivity to disapproval but autonomy is bolstered by their use of "NO". This can also represent increased aggression and negativism, competitiveness, envy, jealousy and the possessiveness characteristic of the anal phase.

The child has not only acquired primitive skills and perceptual cognitive faculties, but there has also been more of a differentiation or separation between intrapsychic representation of the object and the self-representation. He begins to realize that the world is not "his oyster" and that, in fact, he is a relatively helpless, small and separate individual. He begins to realize that relief or assistance does not come just by feeling the need for it or even by voicing the

red. He is realizing that his love objects are separate individuals with their own interests. He becomes painfully aware of his separateness and tries to undo this separateness from mother. During this time, the child once again experiences mother as an extension of himself. However, no matter how much time he tries to coerce his mother, she can no longer function as a dual unit - the child can no longer maintain his delusions of parental omnipotence. He also gradually gives up delusions of his own grandeur. Although mother becomes less omnipotent, the reality is that she is still more capable than he is. This, often results in fights with mother, (less so than with father). This period of time is referred to as the rapprochement crisis and occurs around eighteen to twenty four months.

The rapprochement period is characterized by mood swings and temper tantrums. The mood swings emerge from the child's feeling of not wanting to be reminded of times when he cannot manage independently. However, his desires to be separate and omnipotent conflict with his desires to have mother magically fulfill all his wishes. He would also be ignoring that help is coming from mother—from outside—and not from himself. This time is characterized by quick alternations between desires to reject mother on the one hand, and desires to cling to her on the other. This behavioral sequence is described as "ambitendency" - the ambivalence that children experience in the middle of rapprochement.

Of major importance is the mother's reaction to the child's shadowing, darting away and increased autonomy. In normal circumstances, shadowing gives way to some repression of object

constancy toward the second and a half to the third year. With mother who is less emotionally available, the child desperately and intensely attempts to woo her. Sometimes, this drains the child of considerable developmental energy the result of which is that there is insufficient libido and neutralized aggression remaining for the development of other ego functions. As mentioned before, separation anxiety reappears during this time. There are cases in which the mother is physically present and the child reacts with sudden anxiety. A child can lose the feeling of the mother's presence during the time when he is experiencing himself and his mother as increasingly separate.

The child is now increasingly social - a source of pleasure for him. The child's autonomy leads to an expansion of the mother-child world, primarily to include the father. With the recognition of his mother as a separate person, the child is also aware of other children's separate existence and differences from his own self. The child now shows a greater desire to have or do what another child has or does. There is a desire for mirroring and imitating during this period, as well as a wider experience and expression of affect during this time. The child now has to manage affects of sadness and anger, disappointment in mother and realization of his own limited abilities and relative helplessness.

By approximately twenty-one months old, there is a diminishing of the rapprochement struggle. The need for omnipotent control, extreme periods of separation anxiety and alternation of demands for closeness and autonomy subside as the child seems to find an optimal distance from mother. Growing individuation in several areas facilitates the

child functioning at a greater distance from mother and without her physical presence. These include: a) development of language: the child can name objects and express desires; he uses the pronoun "I"; is able to recognize familiar people and oneself in photographs, b) internalization process: from identifying with the "good", (providing mother and father) and internalization of rules and demands, (beginning of super ego), c) progress in expressing wishes and fantasies through symbiotic play and use of play for mastery.

In the average expectable environment, a child's sense of self and objects are recognized as having both good and bad qualities, not as two separate selves or objects each having these qualities as seen in the use of splitting mechanisms. The relationship between mother and child can exist even when the child has a fight with mother. The sense of identity of self representation, (as distinct from object representation), becomes consolidated.

However, significant differences are observed in the development of boys compared with the girls during rapprochement. When given a chance, boys show a tendency to disengage themselves from their mothers and enjoy their increased ability to function. Girls, however, seem to become more enmeshed in the ambivalent aspects of the relationship. According to Mahler, this seemed connected with the realization of sexual differences.

Girls experience a narcissistic injury upon realizing that they do not have a penis and this is blamed on the mother. Becoming a separate individual at this point seems to be generally more difficult for girls than for boys because upon discovering the sexual

difference, they turn back to the mother to blame her, demand from her, be disappointed in her, while they are still ambivalently tied to her. On the other hand, boys struggle with castration anxiety later on in life. During this time then, boys find it more feasible than girls to function separately. They are better able to turn to the outside world or to their own bodies for pleasure and satisfaction, while also identifying with their father.

Object Constancy

The fourth subphase of the process of separation individuation involves the achievement of a more definite individuality and the attainment of a degree of object constancy. This occurs at roughly the third year of life and is the major importance in terms of establishing a stable sense of identity (self boundaries).

Object constancy implies the ability to maintain the representation of the absent object and the unifying of "good" and "bad" objects into one whole representation. Mahler agrees with Hoffer (1955) in stating that object constancy is regarded as the last step in the development of mature object relationships. Thus, a love object will not be rejected or exchanged if it is no longer satisfying and the love object can be longed for yet not rejected. In order to establish emotional object constancy a child must: a) develop trust and confidence through the relief of need tension attributed to the need satisfying whole object (mother), and gradually transfer to intrapsychic representation of mother by the process of internalization, b) acquire object permanence, (Piagetian sense) of the love object (mother). This occurs at about eighteen to twenty

months of age and it means that the child cognitively acquires the symbolic inner representation of the permanent object. It is after object constancy has developed, that the mother can be partly substituted for by a reliable internal image that remains stable irrespective of instinctual need or discomfort. The development of libidinal object constancy is complex. Unlike the first three subphases of separation-individuation, this fourth subphase is not completed at a certain age, rather continues to become solidified over time.

When this subphase proceeds normally, the child is gradually able to accept a separation from mother. For instance, when he is involved in play, he seems to prefer staying in the toddler room without the mother rather than leave the toddler room with her. This is regarded as a sign of the beginning of (the achievement of) emotional object constancy. However, given both the conflictual and the conflict-free processes occurring at this age, this stage is marked by fluidity and possible reversible achievement.

The fourth subphase is characterized by complex cognitive functions such as verbal communication replacing other modes of communication, fantasy play, role playing, playing make believe, reality testing, the development of a sense of time. The child also begins to actively resist the demands of adults and a need and wish for more autonomy grows. Mild or moderate negativism which is necessary for sense of identity is characteristic during this phase. The establishment of mental representations of the self as separate from objects allow for the development of self identity formation and individuality.

C. Acculturation and Separation Individuation: Theoretical Model

Definitions of and issues involved in the process of acculturation have been presented thus far. Mahler's developmental theory of separation-individuation has also been delineated. It is the relationship between these two phenomena that is of interest to this researcher. Consideration of a possible relationship between the two depends on the extent to which we believe that culture affects an individual, that an individual negotiates cultural demands during the process of acculturation and that subsequent experiences in one's life present the opportunities to renegotiate earlier conflicts of separation-individuation.

The 1954 SSRC definition of acculturation is rather inclusive and reminds us of the complexity of the process. Acculturation involves an adaptation of value systems, processes of integration, and differentiation, the generation of certain developmental sequences and personality factors. The time taken throughout this process depends on the historical circumstance and purposes of the group. On an individual level, it depends on internal adjustments during the acceptance or rejection of alien cultural traits.

It is the subprocesses that occur during acculturation, those of integration and differentiation that bear a likening to the processes involved in psychological separation individuation. Mahler's theory of separation and individuation is really a theory of psychological birth which includes autistic and symbiotic phases and the subsequent subphases: differentiation, practicing, rapprochement and object constancy. Throughout this process, the infant is constantly

adjusting to newly negotiated boundaries between himself/herself and his/her mother. To say that someone is truly individuated finally means that the person is able to maintain the representation of the absent object (mother). The love object will not be rejected or exchanged if it is no longer satisfying and love object is longed for and not rejected in its absence. Similarly, to say that someone is truly acculturated means that through negotiation, the individual has reached a comfortable compromise between differing cultural norms so that traditional cultural (love object) is not rejected, rather aspects are maintained and internalized even in their absence.

One's mother country and one's biological mother are crucial during acculturation and separation-individuation respectively. An individual undergoing a process of acculturation is constantly negotiating differing cultural norms and values from the traditional and host cultures in order to attain a cultural identity. An infant undergoing separation individuation is constantly negotiating developmental pressures in order to attain a sense of separateness and individual identity. In both processes one alters preexisting norms and during these processes, emotional and psychological separation occur resulting in a more defined and differentiated identity. It seems to this researcher that the similarity between these two processes is not coincidental, rather, that acculturation actually re-elicits the issues inherent in the psychological process of separation individuation.

One's first relationship is with one's mother and is, at best, a very complex relationship. Resolution or non-resolution of the issues

of separation-individuation can depend on an infinite number of circumstances, most of which depend on the relative availability of an average expectable environment. Linton's (1963) definition of culture indicates that culture is transmitted through members of society. Since an infant's first relationship is with his/her mother, we can say that just as the mother is critical in the infant's individuation process, she is critical in the process of acculturation, since she transmits psychological as well as cultural information to the infant. The immigrant mother communicates information to her children about her own degree of acculturation as well.

The development of a sense of identity is the underlying factor both in acculturation and in separation individuation. I view the relationship in the following manner: a woman is raised on the mainland in a home with first generation Puerto Rican parent. One can assume a certain degree of traditional cultural norms, but this individual is also exposed to American cultural norms. This individual needs to negotiate this cultural frontier, which is what occurs during the process of acculturation. However, by definition, when an individual undergoes acculturation, a certain differentiation occurs, which also implies separations. It seems to this researcher that what occurs is that the process of acculturation actually reelicits one's earlier separation and differentiation experience which occurred during infancy while undergoing separation individuation.

An individual's growing awareness of the host culture revives earlier issues of the differentiation subprocess when there is outward

directed attention and a beginning awareness of boundaries between himself/herself and mother/host culture and mother country. The phenomena of returning to Puerto Rico in search of cultural roots is reminiscent of earlier needs for emotional refueling during the practicing subphase. Returning to "home base"/motherland is crucial for the development of a sense of self. In some ways this is more directly observable with first generation immigrants, but as mentioned earlier it also occurs with the second generation; as we see increasing cases of New Yorkers, going to Puerto Rico. According to Wong-Valle (1981),

One parallel between the newly arrived immigrant and the growing infant can be seen immediately. The child, during his first independent explorations, needs to return to his mother frequently. In this way he avoids the distress caused by leaving her for long periods of time. Similarly, the immigrant needs to return physically or symbolically, to his native country several times before his adjustment to his new environment. The symbolic return is especially significant to the exiled immigrant, who, for economic or other reasons, cannot return to his motherland.

During acculturation, a person may struggle with feeling torn between differing cultural expectations. A person may undergo conflict from the potential separation process. This re-evokes earlier conflicts during the entire progression through separation individuation, but highlighted in the rapprochement subphase when a child struggles with his/her desire to both reject and cling to her/his mother.

As one is developing a cultural identity, that is, a bicultural identity a certain degree of adaptation can be assumed. This process revives earlier developmental issues of late rapprochement and the

development of object constancy. A compromise between the two cultural identities might be reached in a bicultural New Yorican identity. Motherland/mother can be internalized and kept constant without there being a constant threat of cultural/psychological loss, as in the solidifying of the process of object constancy.

I view acculturation then as a phenomena during which psychological processes are reelicited and possibly reworked to a certain degree. Acculturation then involves psychological separation, not unlike other situations in life in which separation is involved.

D. HYPOTHESES

Separation-Individuation was measured by the Olesker-Separation Individuation Test and by the categories of Similarity, Intimacy and Comfort with Mother on the New Yorican Women Interview. Acculturation was measured by the PRAM-R, (AaF and PRaF factors), the DOA and the Subjective Acculturation question on the New Yorican Women Interview.

1. Healthier resolutions to issues of Separation-Individuation as seen in midrange to moderately lower scores on the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test and on midrange scores in Separation categories of Similarity, Intimacy and Comfort with Mother on the New Yorican Women Interview will be associated with a bicultural identity seen in high AaF and PRaF scores, (positive Z-scores on the AaF and positive Z-scores on the PRaF), and midrange scores on the DOA and on the question of Subjective Acculturation on the New Yorican Women Interview.

2. Unresolved issues of Separation-Individuation as seen in extreme scores in either direction on the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test and on the Separation categories of Similarity, Intimacy and Comfort with Mother on the New Yorican Interview will be associated either with extreme American Acculturation seen in high AaF scores and low PRaF scores, (positive Z-scores on the AaF and negative Z-scores on the PRaF), or with extreme Puerto Rican Acculturation seen in low AaF scores and high PRaF scores, (negative Z-scores on the AaF and positive Z-scores on the PRaF), extreme scores in either direction on the DOA and on the Subjective Acculturation question of the New Yorican Women Interview.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

A. Subjects

Forty second generation Puerto Rican women formed the sample in his study. By definition, they were daughters (second generation) of Puerto Rican immigrants (first generation), born and raised in the United States, and more specifically, in the New York Metropolitan area. Although a certain degree of acculturation among members of this generation was assumed, the possible psychological factors influencing the degree of acculturation was the area of interest.

Subjects' ages ranged between 25 and 35. This age range was chosen so that developmental issues expected to emerge prior to and subsequent to this age range could be controlled for and therefore minimize the possibility of blurring or confounding variables attributed to age.

Subjects' income level ranged between \$17,000 and \$37,000. This range was chosen for a number of reasons. People earning substantially less than the lower limit would probably have been struggling with economic issues which might have affected their availability and outlook on mental health. The upper limit was chosen as this appeared to be a reasonable expectation of a salary particularly for subjects who were closer to the upper end of the age range. Although initially a smaller range was considered, a \$20,000 salary range was necessary in order to realistically ensure the availability of subjects.

Although marital status was not controlled for, motherhood was. All subjects were non-mothers. Theoretically, as the second partner

of the dual unit of symbiosis and subsequent stages of separation-individuation, the mother is expected to experience a certain blurring of boundaries and eventual separation from her infant. For the purposes of this study, it was important to assess the subjects' experience of psychological separation from her biological mother in its present state. Motherhood would have presented another psychological separation but from one's infant and from the perspective of the mothering half of the symbiotic unit. In order to control for the possible confounding variables that motherhood would present, one of the criteria for the subjects in this study was that they be non-mothers.

The use of only female subjects was based on several related factors. The main factor was that it has been fairly established in the psychological literature that separation-individuation is basically more difficult for women because of identity issues. It is more difficult to experience oneself as separate from one's mother because one's mother as an introject is more easily perceived as self, thus tending to prolong symbiotic relationships, (Mahler, Pine and Bergman, 1975; Greenson, 1978). Between birth and three years of age, psychosexual development in moving toward gender identification and perhaps the recognition of mother and self as gender equals prolongs attachment (Mahler, Pine and Bergman, 1975). Since the process of separation-individuation has appeared to be more difficult for women, it was the opinion of this researcher that a more in-depth study of women was indicated.

It was of special interest to study this phenomena as it related to acculturation. Puerto Rican women born in the United States and in

New York in particular, have repeatedly been confronted with situations in which personal and cultural identity have been questioned and challenged. It was the dynamics of these variables which elicited this author's research interest.

B. Measures

Olesker Separation-Individuation Test

The Olesker Separation-Individuation Test (1986), a story telling test, consisted of ten chromatic pictures painted on a white background (See Appendix B). Cards 1,2,3,7,8,9,10 involved scenes between a child and his/her parents(s) and/or peers. Card 5 depicted peer interaction and in cards 4 and 6 a child was alone. All pictures were intended to elicit responses which reflected different issues involved in the psychological process of separation and individuation.

Subjects were instructed to make up a story very much following the instructions of the Thematic Apperception Test. For the purposes of this study however additional instructions were given:

This is a story telling test. I have some pictures that I am going to show you and for each picture, I want you to make up a story. Tell me what has happened before, what is happening now and what will happen. Tell me what the people are feeling and thinking. As you create a story, try to imagine yourself responding as you would if you were a child. I will be writing down what you say and if necessary, I will ask questions after you have finished your story.

Subjects' response time, total verbalization time and total testing time were recorded.

The Olesker Separation-Individuation Test (1986) represents one of two recent instruments developed to directly assess the resolution of issues involved in the process of separation-individuation. Abramson (1985) developed the Separation-Individuation Scale (SIS) based on a few cards selected from the Thematic Apperception Test. There are subscales based on the Rorschach which measure the experience of objects, an underlying factor of separation and individuation. Based

on human responses, Blatt (1976) measured normal and pathological experience of objects. Urist (1977) developed a scale which measures the degree of object relatedness. The Olesker Separation-Individuation Test correlates highly with the Blatt (1976) scale.¹

Scoring the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test

Olesker developed a scoring system, (See Appendix C), in which a score was obtained in the following areas: child's attitude toward separation, mother's attitude toward separation attitude toward aloneness, attitude toward aggression, behavior of parent in reaction to aggression of child, ambivalence and guilt in role as mother, attitude toward firmness, attitude toward sexual identity development, attitude toward sexual stimulation, and attitude toward relations with others. Responses were grouped together, and a score of either "0" or "1" was given: "0" was given to a healthy resolution to the conflict and "1" was given to an unhealthy resolution to the conflict. These scores were then summed and three sub-scores were derived in the areas of Maternal Availability, Handling of Aggression and Handling of Sexuality. Finally, a Total Separation-Individuation score was obtained by summing the three subscores. The possible range of the total score was between 0 and 37. Although lower scores would reflect a tendency toward a healthier resolution of issues of separation and individuation, they might also reflect excessive use of defense mechanisms, suggesting internal conflicts.

1. The Olesker Separation-Individuation Test will be more fully discussed in a forthcoming article, as it has yet been published. However, in a personal communication with Dr. Olesker, I was informed that the correlation between scores using the Olesker scoring system and the Blatt scoring system (on the Concept of the Object on the Rorschach) was approximately .80, with good reliability and validity.

In this study, a second rater scored the first ten subjects' responses to the entire Olesker Separation-Individuation test. Scores were compared to this researcher's scores of the same ten subjects' responses. Since an inter-rater reliability score of .91 was obtained, this researcher scored the remainder of the subjects' responses independently.

Puerto Rican Acculturation Measure-Revised (PRAM-R)

The Puerto Rican Acculturation Measure (PRAM) (See Appendix D) is the outcome of research conducted on Puerto Rican women. It was subsequently revised resulting in the Puerto Rican Acculturation Measure-Revised, (PRAM-R), (Inclan, 1979) (See Appendix E).

The development of the PRAM-R reflected two basic concerns. The first was that an effort was made to include both dimensions of acculturation, that is, acculturation is seen as a two dimensional phenomenon: maintenance or loss of the traditional culture and the adoption of traits from the new culture. The rationale for this was that previous models of acculturation focused on either the prevalence or the loss of Puerto Rican traditional culture and the adoption of American norms. The second concern was the development of a psychological measure of acculturation and was defined as "an ethnic identification capable of being reflected in a person's cultural knowledge, (American and Puerto Rican), personal preferences, attitudes, behaviors and language" (Inclan, 1979).

The PRAM consisted of sixty items drawn from ten categories: food and drinks (15 items), geography (5 items), medical practice (5 items), religion (3 items), traditions (6 items), sports (4 items), language (4 items), popular celebrities (5 items), music (5 items),

politics (8 items). Twenty four of the items required that subjects write in the correct answer.

The sixty items measured different sources of acculturation. Twenty items measured knowledge about Puerto Rican matters (i.e., name of the biggest mountain in Puerto Rico), sixteen items measured knowledge about American matters (i.e., who lives in Gracie Mansion?), ten items measured Puerto Rican preferences (i.e., do you keep "alcoholado" in your house?), seven items measured American preferences (i.e., do you listen to jazz or rock music?), seven items asked about open preferences (i.e., do you prefer to eat french fries or green plantains (tostones) more often?). In summary, the PRAM consisted of thirty six knowledge items and twenty four preference items. Approximately equal number of items correspond to each of the five sources of acculturation.

The PRAM was administered to a control group and was factor analysed (See Inclan, 1979). Of the sixty original items, twenty six were eliminated for one of the following reasons: a) Subjects tended not to answer the item b) The question was improperly formulated and the response was therefore invalidated. c) The item correlated highly with another item. d) Subjects tended to answer the item in the same way - little variance. e) Item had a small loading, (less than thirty), on any of the factors.

Two factors were identified upon various factor analysis: a Puerto Rican Acculturation Factor (PRaF) and an American Acculturation Factor (AaF). The PRaF contains twenty items and the AaF contains eighteen items. Four items are shared, (PRAM items 35, 36, 37, 53).

Of the ten PRAM item categories which were originally proposed, only one (religion) was not represented in either the PRaF or the AaF. Items in Food, Drinks and Politics categories were most represented (seven each) and the medical practice category was least represented, (one item). Of the thirty-four items in the PRaF and the AaF, twenty nine are knowledge items and five are preference items.

Given this analysis, the original PRAM was shortened to a thirty four item measure, the PRAM-Revised, which utilized only the items that loaded in the PRaF or the AaF. The thirty four items were derived from the nine general categories and the five sources of acculturation. (See Appendix F). Inclan (1979) warns that since the scale is weighed strongly in favor of knowledge items, one is to exercise caution in interpreting the results. Further research on the PRAM-R is recommended to assess the effect of education and other variables on the PRAM-R.

The instructions to the subjects taking the PRAM-R are included in the questionnaire. They are as follows:

Below is a list of questions about your traditions, habits and familiarity with American and Puerto Rican ways. Some questions are answered by placing an "X" in the appropriate line and others require that you write out your response. If you do not know an answer, leave the space blank. Nobody is expected to know all the answers.

Scoring the PRAM and the PRAM-R

Scores included "1" or "0" or a blank. A score of "1" was given to a Puerto Rican type answer. A score of "0" was given to an American type answer. When no answer was provided, it was a blank. "Knowledge" items that were left blank were given a score of "1" or

"0" but check off items that were left blank were not included in the scoring. Since the PRAM-R consists of two factors, that is, the AaF and the PRaF, the total number of "0" responses in the AaF are summed as are the total number of "1" responses in the PRaF to arrive at the total AaF score and PRaF score, respectively.

Inclan's model converts the AaF and PRaF scores into Z-scores and he considers a graph made up of an American and a Puerto Rican axis. There are four quadrants, each representing a type of ethnic identification and are described as follows:

- American: Positive score on the AaF and
 Negative score on the PRaF.
- Puerto Rican: Negative score on the AaF and
 Positive score on the PRaF.
- Bicultural: Positive scores on both the AaF
 and the PRaF.
- Marginal: Negative scores on both the AaF and the PRaF.

The strength of the ethnic identification is indicated by the absolute Z-score value for each factor and Z-score group means can be calculated and plotted.

Inclan's scoring system was aimed at reflecting subjects' familiarity with the concepts and not the mastery of the information. The items were constructed to load on the Puerto Rican or the American end of the acculturation process. For the purposes of statistical reliability and validity, four raters were given a sample PRAM for scoring and they independently reached 100% agreement in scoring all the sample answers "0" or "1" in accordance with criteria already established for scoring, (Inclan, 1979). (See Appendix G for Scoring Guide).

Degree of Acculturation Scale (DOA)

Because the PRAM-R is heavily weighed in terms of knowledge items, another acculturation scale was deemed necessary in order to create a more comprehensive measure of acculturation. The Degree of Assimilation Scale (McCauley, 1972)², (See Appendix H) is the scale from which the Degree of Acculturation Scale (Ginorio, 1979) is derived, (See Appendix I). McCauley (1972) developed the original DOA as part of a more comprehensive interview which she conducted with Puerto Rican immigrant couples. It is a standard measure consisting of fifteen questions which tap three types of behavior that have been shown to correlate highly with acculturation: language competence, interethnic contacts and desire to stay on the mainland.

Ginorio (1979) made some adjustments to meet her research purposes with adolescents. This study will utilize the DOA with Ginorio's, (1979) adjustments: a) Questions which referred to spouse were changed to parents. b) Question #4 was eliminated because it was repetitive. c) The last three questions were eliminated. d) Two questions were added: #4, which specifies ethnic groups involved in interethnic contacts, and #5, which asks the subjects' opinion about intermarriage.

2. The original scale is called The Degree of Assimilation Scale. However, Ginorio (1979) used this scale, made revisions and called it the Degree of Acculturation Scale. In a personal communication with Dr. Ginorio, it was explained that the difference in title reflected the state of the art, that is, what was referred to as assimilation earlier on, was now called acculturation but that both McCauley and herself were measuring the same thing. This researcher is also aware that this may reflect differences in disciplines and controversies in the field rather than conceptual differences. Since the DOA taps language competence, interethnic contacts and desires to stay on the mainland and since these correlate highly with acculturation, (as documented in the literature), this researcher is in agreement with Dr. Ginorio in believing that the DOA is an appropriate instrument to measure acculturation.

Scoring the DOA

McCauley developed a scoring guide for the DOA, which Ginorio (1979) used reflecting her adjustments (See Appendices J and K). Responses were grouped into three categories: Cultural Assimilation (questions #7-13), Social Assimilation, (questions #1,2,3,5) and the Desire to Remain on the mainland, (question #6). Question #4 was not entered in the score. Each response to questions of Social Assimilation was given score of 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 reflecting increased acculturation. Each response to questions of Cultural Assimilation was given a score of 1, 2, or 3, reflecting increased acculturation. For the desire to remain on the mainland or to live in Puerto Rico, a score of 1, 2, or 3 was given for low, middle or high acculturation, respectively. Simple averages were obtained for cultural assimilation and Social Assimilation. The score for the Desire to Remain on the mainland was added to the sum of the means of Cultural and Social Assimilation. Overall, the lower the sum of the means, the lower the degree of acculturation with a possible range of 3 - 10.75.

The New Yorican Women Interview

An adapted version of Shirley's (1981) interview with Hispanic immigrant women was developed. Questions which were eliminated, adjusted or added reflected this researcher's interests and purposes, (Appendix L). Like Shirley (1981), this researcher's interview was taped recorded.

The following changes were reflected in the New Yorican Women Interview: a) Some questions were eliminated from Shirley's (1981) interview: #s 4, 5, 8, 10-18, 20-28, 30-34, and 38. b) Some

questions from Shirley's (1981) interview were adjusted: #s 6, 35, 36 and 37. c) Some questions were added by this researcher: #s 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 15-23, 32 and 33.

As a result of having added Question #32 to this interview, (See Appendix L), a third and subjective measure of the Acculturation variable was developed. Subjects were asked to rate themselves respect to acculturation on a scale from "0" to "10", with "0" representing the American end of the continuum and "10" representing the Puerto Rican end of the continuum, thus resulting in the measure "Subjective Acculturation".

Scoring the New Yorican Women Interview

In addition to the demographic information provided by the interview, Question #29 and its probes, (Tell me about your mother), (See Appendix L), generated separation categories.

In order to determine separateness, probes were asked in the areas of subjects' experience of how similar, intimate and comfortable they felt in their relationships with their mothers. Responses to these probes collectively were read and rated by five independent judges on a seven-point scale reflecting Dissimilar to Similar, Distant to Intimate, and Discomfort to Comfort continuums. These resulted in three additional dimensions of the variable of separation. Inter-rater reliability values for measures of Similarity, Intimacy and Comfort were .61, .86 and .63, ($p < .05$), respectively.

The Four Factor Index of Social Status

As has been mentioned before, a person's socio-economic status should be differentiated from other factors affecting acculturation.

Educational and income levels appear to be correlated with acculturation. Inclan (1979) found differences in levels of acculturation among three socio-economic groups of second generation Puerto Rican women in New York. Low socio-economic group women were low in both American and Puerto Rican acculturation factors. As the socio-economic factors increased, so did the scores on both the Puerto Rican and American acculturation factors. These results imply that a person's position in society can either restrict or expand the availability of experiences and opportunities.

Many studies which measure socio-economic status utilize the Four Factor Index of Social Status (FFISS) (Hollingshead, 1977). The Four Factor Index of social status, replaced an earlier but deficient index of social status, the two Factor Index of Social Position (Hollingshead, 1958). The 1958 measure used as its indicator of social status, the head of household's occupation and education. The revised measure uses a formula to derive the status of an individual from his/her sex, marital status, educational level and occupation. Therefore, a wide range of distinct family situations are more accurately assessed.

The educational factor is scored using the following FFISS seven-point scale:

<u>Level of School Completed</u>	<u>Score</u>
less than seventh grade	1
junior high school (9th grade)	2
partial high school (10th or 11th grade)	3

high school graduate (whether private preparatory, parochial, trade or public school)	4
partial college (at least one year) of specialized training	5
standard college or university graduation	6
graduate professional training (graduate degree)	7

The occupational factor is scored using the occupational titles utilized by the United States Census in 1970. The nine-point scale assigns one of the following scores to an individual and spouse, if appropriate:

Score 9	Higher Executives, Proprietors of Large Businesses and Major Professionals
Score 8	Administrators, Lesser Professionals, Proprietors of Medium sized Businesses
Score 7	Smaller Business Owners, Farm Owners, Managers, Minor Professionals
Score 6	Technicians, Semi-Professionals, Small Business Owners
Score 5	Clerical and Sales Workers, Small Farm and Business Owners
Score 4	Small Business Owners, Skilled Manual Workers, Craftsmen and Tenant Farmers
Score 3	Machine Operators and Semi-skilled Workers
Score 2	Unskilled Workers
Score 1	Farm Laborers, Menial Service Workers, Welfare Dependents, Unemployed

The Scale value for occupation is multiplied by a weight of 5 and the scale value for education by a weight of 3. The results are totaled and scores range from a high of 66 to a low of 8. The following are the five major groups of scores that according to Hollingshead encompass the social strata of social standing in contemporary America:

<u>Social Strata</u>	<u>Range of Computed Scores</u>
I Major Business and Professional	66-55
II Medium Business and Minor Professional Technical	54-40
III Skilled Craftmen, Clerical, Sales Workers	39-30
IV Machine Operators, Semiskilled	29-20
V Unskilled Laborers, Menial Service Workers	19-8

Hollingshead evaluated the validity of this measure by comparing scores derived from the Four Factor Index of Social Status on the 1970 data with prestige scores developed by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). The Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient between Hollingshead's nine-step occupational scale and the National Opinion Research Prestige score was $r = .927$.

In this study, each subject was given the Four Factor Index of Social Status. This information was obtained within the context of the New Yorican Women Interview as the subjects were all female and were asked for information about their marital status, educational and occupational levels.

C. Procedure

The purpose of this study was to explore whether a relationship existed between the resolution of issues of separation and individuation and the degree of acculturation among second generation Puerto Rican women. In order to operationalize these variables, several instruments and interview methods were utilized. Subjects were administered the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test (1986), the Puerto Rican Acculturation Measure-Revised (PRAM-R), (Inclan 1979), and the Degree of Acculturation Scale (DOA), (Ginorio, 1979) The New Yorican Women Interview, adapted from Shirley's (1981) Hispanic Immigrant Women Interview Schedule was conducted and tape recorded. Throughout the interview, information was obtained for the Four Factor Index of Social Status.

The Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted for the purpose of anticipating any possible difficulties during the administration of instruments to the actual sample. The sample for the pilot study consisted of three women who met all the criteria of the actual sample. Two major changes resulted as a consequence of the pilot study. One change was that in addition to all the instruments, the pilot sample was also administered the Rorschach. It was after the pilot study was conducted that the researcher learned that the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test scores correlated highly, ($r=.80$), with the scores from Blatt (1976) scoring system on the Concept of the Object on the Rorschach. Since it was felt that there would be a redundancy, the Rorschach was eliminated from the choice of

instruments administered to the actual sample. The second change was that during the pilot study, the New Yorican Women Interview was not tape recorded, but was tape recorded when it was conducted with the actual sample. The decision to tape record the interview was in the interest of capturing the subtle nuances in affect, interpersonal dynamics and speech which might be lost in the note taking. In addition, it was less time consuming to tape record the interview.

The Interview

Prospective subjects were initially identified through the assistance of friends and colleagues who knew of this researcher's study. Other potential subjects were identified by the very subjects in the study, that is, at the conclusion of the interview, subjects were asked if they could identify other women whom they thought met the criteria.

Initial contact with prospective subjects was made by telephone. During the telephone contact, this researcher provided the following information: identified myself and how I obtained their name and telephone numbers, the topic I was researching, the necessary criteria subjects had to meet, material to be used, method of recording data and assurance that all information was voluntary and confidential. Upon agreement, appointments were made at the subjects' convenience and interviews were conducted either at the subjects' job or home locations. For the most part, subjects who indeed met the criteria were interested and agreed to participate. Only four or five eligible candidates did not agree to participate. Some prospective subjects who did not meet the criteria were helpful in identifying possible subjects.

Interviews began by the subjects' reading and signing the Statement of Informed Consent (Appendix A). All subjects were then administered the instruments in the following order: the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test, the Puerto Rican Acculturation Measure-Revised (PRAM-R), the Degree of Acculturation Scale (DOA), and the New Yorican Women Interview which was taped recorded. On the average, the total interview time per subject was 1 1/2 hours.

D. Statistical Analysis

Mean scores were obtained from the responses to the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test and its subscales, the responses to the New Yorican Women Interview Separation Items of Similarity, Intimacy and Comfort in Relationship to Mother, the AaF and PRaF factors of the PRAM-R, the DOA and the New Yorican Women Interview Subjective Acculturation Score. Cross tabulations were run on some demographic questions and Separation-Individuation and Acculturation Variables. Pearson correlations were obtained to assess significance in the relationships between these measures. Finally, multiple regressions were run to assess the extent to which scores on Separation-Individuation measures could explain the variance in Acculturation scores.

CHAPTER II

RESULTS

A. Demographic Data

This study explored the relationship between Separation-Individuation and Acculturation among forty second generation Puerto Rican women. Demographic information was obtained from responses to the New Yorican Women Interview and is presented in Tables 1 to 8.

The average age of the women in this sample was thirty years old. The average income was \$26,767. Tables 1, 2 and 3 present the Educational Factor, Occupational Factor and Index of Social strata respectively, as per Hollingshead (1977). Seventeen women, (42.5%), had a graduate training or degree; fourteen, (35%), had completed college; seven, (17.5%), partially completed college and two, (5%), completed high school. Twenty-three, (57%), of the women were administrators or lesser professionals; thirteen, (32.5%), were small business owners or minor professionals and four, (10%), were technicians or semi-professionals. When educational and occupational scores were combined to derive at the Index of Social Strata, twenty-two women, (55%), were in the major business and professional status and eighteen women, (45%), were in the medium business and minor professional status. Although income was controlled for in this study, on the average, the women in this sample were fairly well educated and fell into the higher levels of social strata.

Table 1

Hollingshead Scale - Educational Factor

Level of School completed	N	%
1. Less than seventh grade	0	(0%)
2. Junior High School (9th grade)	0	(0%)
3. Partial High School (10th or 11th grade)	0	(0%)
4. High School Graduate	2	(5%)
5. Partial College	7	(17.5%)
6. Standard College or University Graduate	14	(35%)
7. Graduate Professional Training	17	(42.5%)

Table 2:

Hollingshead Scale - Occupational Factor

Occupational Titles	N	(%)
9. Higher Executives, Major Professionals	0	(0%)
8. Administrators, Lesser Professionals	23	(57.5%)
7. Smaller Business Owners, Minor Professional	13	(32.5%)
6. Technicians, Semi Professionals	4	(10%)
5. Clerical, Sales	0	(0%)
4. Small Business Owners, Skilled Manual Workers	0	(0%)
3. Machine Operators, Semi-Skilled Workers	0	(0%)
2. Unskilled Workers	0	(0%)
1. Farm Laborers, Welfare Dependents, Unemployed	0	(0%)

Table 3:

Hollingshead - Index of Social Strata

Social Strata	Range	N	%
I. Major Business and Professional	66-55	22	(55%)
II. Medium Business, Minor Professional Technical	54-40	18	(45%)
III. Skilled Craftsmen, Clerical, Sales	39-30	0	(0%)
IV. Machine Operators, Semi-skilled	29-20	0	(0%)
V. Unskilled Laborers, Menial Service Workers	19-8	0	(0%)

Tables 4 and 5 present additional information regarding subjects' marital status and living situation, respectively. Twenty-seven out of the forty women, (67.5%), were single, seven (17.5%) were married, two, (5%), were separated and four, (10%) were divorced. Seven, (17.5%) lived with their husbands, four, (10%), with their live-in-boyfriends, two, (5%) with siblings and seven (17.5%) with their mothers. Out of the subjects who lived alone and answered how they felt about it, eleven expressed positive feelings, one stated she did not like it and six were ambivalent. The average age for moving from home was twenty-two years old, (based on twenty-four responses).

Table 6 presents subjects' and their spouses'/boyfriends' ethnic identification. Thirty-four out of the forty women, (85%), identified their ethnicity as Puerto Rican. Four, (10%), identified themselves as Puerto Rican Americans. One, (2.5%), identified herself as American and one, (2.5%) as Spanish, ("other" column). Of the ones who responded or to whom it applied, three, (7.5%), were either married, lived with or in a relationship with Puerto Ricans from Puerto Rico, three, (7.5%), with Puerto Rican Americans and six, (15%), with men whom they identified as "other ethnicities", including, Black Americans, Greeks, Italians, Orientals, or of mixed cultural backgrounds, (Puerto Rican and Italian or Puerto Rican and Mexican).

Table 7 presents subjects' and their parents' language fluency. Thirty-four out of the forty women, (85%), were fluent in both English and Spanish. Six, (15%) were only fluent in English. Their parents' language fluency was very similar to each other, as nineteen of thirty-eight, (50%), of the subjects' mothers were fluent in both

English and Spanish and nineteen, (50%), were only fluent in Spanish. Eighteen of thirty-seven, (48.6%), of the subjects' fathers were fluent in both English and Spanish, while nineteen, (51.4%), were only fluent in Spanish.

Table 8 presents the religions of the subjects and their parents. Twenty one of forty women, (52.5%), were Catholic and nine, (22.5%), were Protestant. One, (2.5%), woman identified herself as Christian and two, (5%) had "other" religions, including Mormon and Budhist. Seven, (17.5%), stated they had no religion. Twenty-nine out of thirty-nine, (74.4%), of their mothers were Catholic, eight, (20.5%), were Protestant and two, (5.1%), were Christian. Twenty-five out of thirty-seven, (67.6%), of their fathers were Catholic, nine, (24.3%), were Protestant and three, (8.1%), had no religion.

Table 4:

Subjects' Marital Status

Sample	N/%	Single	Married	Separated	Divorced
Subjects	40 %	27 67.5	7 17.5	2 5	4 10

Table 5:

Subjects' Living Situation

Sample	N/%	Alone	<u>Who Subject lives with</u>			
			With Husband	With Boyfriend	With Sibling	With Mother
Subjects	40 %	20 50	7 17.5	4 10	2 5	7 17.5

Experience of Living Alone

Sample	N/%	Positive	Negative	Ambivalent	Missing Data
Subjects	18 %	11 61.1	1 5.5	6 33.5	2

Table 5 cont'd

<u>Age Left Home</u>				
Sample	N	Mean Age	Minimum Age	Maximum Age
Subjects	24	22	14	27

Table 6:

Ethnicity of Subjects and their Spouse/Boyfriend

<u>Ethnicity</u>						
Sample	N/%	Puerto Rican	Puerto Rican American	American	Other	Not Applicable
Subjects	40 %	34 85	4 10	1 2.5	1 2.5	0 0.0
Subjects' Spouse/Boyfriend	40 %	3 7.5	3 7.5	0 0.0	6 15	28 70

Table 7:

Language Fluency of Subjects and Parents

Sample	N/%	Language			Missing Data
		English and Spanish	English Only	Spanish Only	
Subjects	40 %	34 85	6 15	0 0.0	0
Mothers	38 %	19 50	0 0.0	19 50	2
Fathers	37 %	18 48.6	0 0.0	19 51.4	3

Table 8:

Religion of Subjects and Parents

Sample	N/%	Religion					Missing Data
		Catholic	Protestant	Christian	Other	None	
Subjects	40 %	21 52.5	9 22.5	1 2.5	2 5	7 17.5	0 0.0
Mothers	39 %	29 74.4	8 20.5	2 5.1	0 0.0	0 0.0	1
Fathers	37 %	25 67.6	9 24.3	0 0.0	0 0.0	3 8.1	3

B. Separation-Individuation and Acculturation

Separation-Individuation was measured by the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test and by the Separation categories of Similarity, Intimacy, and Comfort with Mother on the New Yorican Women Interview. Acculturation was measured by the PRAM-R, DOA and by the Subjective Acculturation question on the New Yorican Women Interview.

Hypothesis One: Midrange to moderately lower scores on the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test and midrange scores on the Separation categories of the New Yorican Women Interview will be associated with a bicultural identity, that is, a balanced identification with the American and Puerto Rican cultures, seen in high AaF and PRaF scores on the PRAM-R, and midrange scores on the DOA and on the Subjective Acculturation question of the New Yorican Women Interview.

Hypothesis Two: Extreme scores in either direction on the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test and on the Separation categories of the New Yorican Women Interview will be associated with extreme American acculturation seen in high AaF and low PRaF scores on the PRAM-R, and extremely high scores on the DOA and on the Subjective Acculturation question on the New Yorican Women Interview. An alternative possibility is that extremes on the Separation measures will be associated with extreme Puerto Rican acculturation

seen in low AaF and high PRaF scores on the PRAM-R, and extremely low scores on the DOA and on the Subjective Acculturation question on the New Yorican Women Interview.

C. Overview of Measures

Cross tabulations were done between some demographic items and separation-individuation and acculturation items. Chi-Squares yielded no significant frequencies.

Table 9 presents means, standard deviations and range of scores of separation-individuation and acculturation measures used in this study. As evidenced in this table, the mean score on the Olesker Separation- Individuation Test was 11.55. This mean score which is below a midpoint score of eighteen, suggests a tendency toward healthy resolutions of issues of separation-individuation. The mean scores on the Maternal Availability, Handling of Aggression and Handling of Sexuality subscales were 6.07, 4.55 and .92 respectively. They were all lower, but not extreme in relation to their respective midpoints therefore, reflecting tendencies toward healthy resolutions.

Mean scores on the New Yorican Women Interview Separation items of how Similar, Intimate and Comfortable subjects felt with their mothers were 4.25, 4.73 and 4.73 respectively. These were all midrange scores and leaned slightly toward greater similarity, intimacy and comfort in their relationships with their mothers. Results on the New Yorican Women Interview were consistent with the Olesker Separation- Individuation Test.

The PRAM-R score consists of two factors: the AaF and the PRaF. The mean AaF score was 12.93 and the mean PRaF scores was 8.75. This indicates that this sample demonstrated greater adoption of American cultural traits and a loss of some traditional Puerto Rican cultural traits.

On the DOA, the mean score of 7.76 also reflected a greater American acculturation. However, this mean is considered midrange, thus reflecting a tendency toward a bicultural compromise. ON the DOA subscales, the greatest degree of acculturation was seen in the area of the Language Preference.

On the Subjective Acculturation question on the New Yorican Women Interview, however, the mean was 5.95. When asked to rate themselves along the acculturation continuum, subjects expressed feeling bicultural with the tendency toward greater identification with the Puerto Rican culture.

As is evident in this overview, results lend partial support to hypothesis one. Subjects were relatively separated and individuated, but they were more American acculturated on the PRAM-R. They were only fairly bicultural on the DOA and on the Subjective Acculturation question on the New Yorican Women Interview. Since extreme scores were not obtained in neither the Separation nor the Acculturation measures, hypothesis two could not be tested.

Table 9:

Means, Standard Deviations and Range of Scores on Olesker Separation-
Individuation Test, Interview Separation Items, PRAM-R, DOA and
Subjective Acculturation Interview Item

Variable: Separation- Individuation	Mean	S.D.	Range	
Olesker Separation-Individuation Total Score	11.5	6.48	0-37	<u>Note 1</u>
Sep.-Ind. Subscale: Maternal Availability	6.07	3.71	0-21	"
Sep.-Ind. Subscale: Handling of Aggression	4.55	2.86	0-13	"
Sep.-Ind. Subscale Handling of Sexuality	.92	.72	0-3	"
Interview: Similarity with Mother	4.25	1.45	1-7	<u>Note 2</u>
Interview: Intimacy with Mother	4.73	1.36	1-7	"
Interview: Comfort with Mother	4.73	1.48	1-7	"

Table 9 cont'd

Variable: Acculturation	Mean	S.D.	Range	
PRAM-R				<u>Note 3</u>
AaF	12.93	2.28	0-18	"
PRaF	8.75	3.8	0-20	"
DOA-TOTAL	7.76	1.26	3-10.75	<u>Note 4</u>
DOA Subscale: Social Preference	2.87	.48	1-4.75	"
DOA Subscale: Living Preference	2.27	.96	1-3	"
DOA Subscale: Language Preference	2.53	.24	1-3	"
Interview: Subjective Acculturation	5.95	1.81	0-10	<u>Note 5</u>

Note 1. Lower scores on the Olesker Separation-Individuation test reflect healthier responses.

Note 2. Lower scores reflect dissimilarity, distance and discomfort in their relationship with their mother. Higher scores reflect greater similarity, intimacy and comfort in their relationship with their mother.

Note 3. Low AaF scores reflect little American acculturation and high AaF scores reflect greater American acculturation. Low PRaF scores reflect little Puerto Rican acculturation and high PRaF scores reflect greater Puerto Rican Acculturation. An individual will have both an AaF and PRaF score.

Note 4. DOA scores consist of the sums of means. Low scores on the DOA reflect a lesser degree of acculturation. High scores on the DOA reflect a greater degree of acculturation.

Note 5. Low scores reflect the American end of the continuum, thus greater acculturation. High scores reflect the Puerto Rican end of the continuum, thus less acculturation.

D. Separation-Individuation and PRAM-R

Following Inclan's (1979) model, AaF and PRaF scores were converted into Z-scores. It was possible to group the scores according to where they fell in relation to the ethnic identifications:

American	= positive AaF and negative PRaF
Puerto Rican	= negative AaF and positive PRaF
Bicultural	= positive AaF and positive PRaF
Marginal	= negative AaF and negative PRaF

Arithmetic and Z-score group means were obtained for the AaF and PRaF factors of each of the ethnic identifications. The corresponding Separation-Individuation Total scores were identified and Separation-Individuation Total Score means were obtained for each of the four ethnic identifications. Table 10 presents the arithmetic and Z-scores AaF and PRaF group means and the Olesker Separation-Individuation Total score mean for the American, Puerto Rican, Bicultural and Marginal groups. Figure 1 presents a graph of the mean scores on the AaF and the PRaF and the corresponding Olesker Separation-Individuation Total Score means. The graph reflects how the mean scores fell along the AaF and PRaF axis forming the four quadrants.

As evidenced in Table 10 and Figure 1, hypothesis one was only partially supported. Although, a bicultural identity was obtained by women who were moderately separated and individuated, the healthier resolutions to separation issues were seen in women who were more strongly identified with the American culture. The Puerto Rican acculturated subgroup demonstrated less resolution of separation issues and the marginal group reflected increased separation conflict as their scores were that much more removed from moderate intervals.

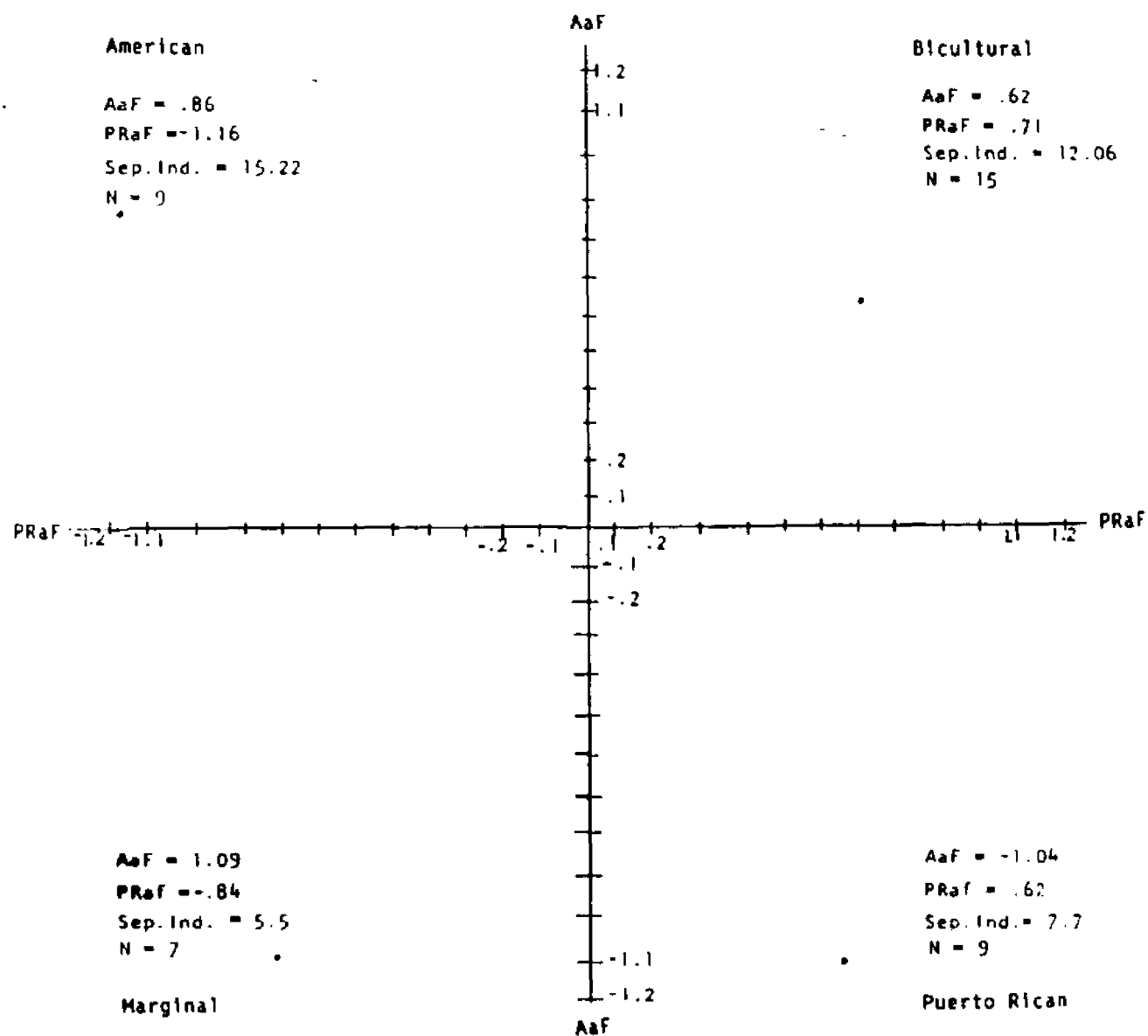
Table 10

Arithmetic and AaF and PRaF Z-score and Separation-Individuation Total Score Group Means for American, Puerto Rican, Bicultural and Marginal Ethnic Identifications.

Group Means	PRAM-R ETHNIC IDENTIFICATIONS			
	American	Puerto Rican	Bicultural	Marginal
	+AaF -PRaF	-AaF +PRaF	+AaF +PRaF	-AaF -PRaF
Arithmetic AaF	14.9	10.6	14.3	1-.4
Arithmetic PRaF	4.3	11.11	11.5	5.5
AaF Z-score	.86	-1.04	.62	1.09
PRaF Z-score	-1.16	.62	.71	-.84
Separation-Individuation				
Total Score	15.22	7.7	12.06	5.5

Figure 1

Ethnic Identification Types for Second Generation Puerto Rican Women.
(Z-Score group means of AaF and PRaF, and Corresponding Olesker
Separation-Individuation Total Group Means.



E. Pearson Correlations

Hypothesis One: Midrange to moderately lower Olesker Separation-Individuation Test Scores, and Midrange scores on the Separation categories on the New Yorican Women Interview will be associated with high AaF and PRaF scores on the PRAM-R and midrange scores on the DOA and Subjective Acculturation questions on the New Yorican Women Interview.

Hypothesis Two: Extreme scores in either direction on the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test and on the Separation categories on the New Yorican Women Interview will be associated with either high AaF and low PRaF or low AaF and high PRaF scores on the PRAM-R, and extreme scores in either direction on the DOA and the Subjective Acculturation question on the New Yorican Women Interview.

Table 11 presents Pearson Correlations between the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test Scores and the AaF and PRaF factors of the PRAM-R, the DOA and Subjective Acculturation Scores. As evidenced in this table, the Olesker Separation-Individuation Total Score was significantly related (negatively) to the PRaF indicating that the more separated and individuated, the stronger the identification was with the Puerto Rican culture. In addition, the Olesker Separation Individuation Total Score was positively correlated with the Language Preference Subscale of the DOA, indicating that the less separated and

individuated, the stronger the preference for English over Spanish. The Handling of Aggression Subscale was significantly related (negatively) to both the AaF and the PRaF on the PRAM-R. This indicates that the resolution of aggressive feelings was associated with the development of a bicultural identity. In addition, the Handling of Aggression Subscale was significantly related (positively), to the DOA Total and its Living and Language Preference Subscales indicating that increased aggression was associated with increased American Acculturation, and specifically with a preference for living in the United States over Puerto Rico and with a preference for English over Spanish.

Since lower separation-individuation scores were associated with higher PRaF scores, the suggestion is that difficulty in attaining psychological separation from one's mother may be underlying increased identification with the Puerto Rican culture - the culture of the mothers of the women in this sample. Language was the area in which this issue was manifested as preference for Spanish or English was significantly related to either potentially pseudo resolution or non-resolution of issues of separation, respectively, either extreme of which could imply excessive use of defenses.

Significant relationships were found between the difficulty the women had in expressing angry feelings toward their mothers and their subsequent cultural identifications. Lower and potentially healthier resolutions to conflicts around aggression were associated with both high AaF and PRaF Scores on the PRAM-R, which is how biculturalism is defined on this measure. This suggests that in developing a balanced

compromise between the American and Puerto Rican cultures, the women in this sample, had successfully expressed their angry feelings toward their mothers. The implication is that underlying their ability to negotiate cultural differences between themselves and their mothers was a successful resolution of aggressive and destructive fantasies in the relationship with their mothers and subsequent experience of themselves as different from their mothers. In addition however, higher scores and potentially less healthy resolutions to issues of aggression were associated with increased American acculturation, as seen in significant relationships between aggression scores and the DOA Total and Living and Language Preference Scores, that is, a preference for living in the United States over Puerto Rico and a preference for English over Spanish. An alternative way of explaining this is that lower scores and potentially healthier resolutions to issues of aggression were significantly related to increased Puerto Rican identification seen in preference for living in Puerto Rico over the United States and preference for Spanish over English. These results suggest that potential pathological expression of anger could be underlying extreme American or Puerto Rican identification. Given these significant relationships, hypothesis one is only partially supported but hypothesis two could not be tested.

Table 11:

Pearson Correlations Between Olesker Separation-Individuation Scores and the PRAM-R factors of AaF, PRaF, DOA, and Subjective Acculturation Scores

Sep.-Ind.	PRAM-R FACTORS			DOA SUBSCALES			
	AaF	PRaF	DOA. Tot.	Soc. Pref.	Liv. Pref.	Lang. Pref.	Subj. Accult.
Maternal Availability	.252	-.206	.219	.059	.209	.293	-.19
Handling of Aggression	-.383*	-.402*	.397*	.229	.335*	.327*	-.128
Handling of Sexuality	-.081	-.173	.004	-.106	-.006	.239	-.132
Sep.-Ind. Total	.305	-.315*	.298	.121	.267	.338*	-.105

*p < .05

Table 12: presents Pearson Correlations between Separation Items on the New Yorican Women Interview and the PRAM-R, DOA and Subjective Acculturation Scores. As evidenced in this table, correlations between these scores were not significant. Although we know from earlier analyses that subjects obtained midrange mean scores on these Separation Items of Similarity, Intimacy and Comfort with Mother, these were not significantly related to their experience of the culture, thus lent negligible support to hypothesis one and did not contribute to the ability to test hypotheses two.

Table 12:

Pearson Correlations Between Interview Separation Items, the PRAM-R, factors of AaF, and PRaF, the DOA Scores and Subjective Acculturation Scores

Interview Categories	PRAM-R FACTORS			DOA SUBSCALES			
	AaF	PRaF	DOA Tot. Pref.	Soc. Pref.	Liv. Pref.	Lang. Pref.	Subj. Accult.
Similarity With Mother	-.033	-.049	-.172	-.081	-.217	-.024	.122
Intimacy With Mother	.018	.001	-.013	.092	.020	-.063	-.037
Comfort With Mother	-.029	-.089	.008	.106	-.053	.077	-.024

F. Multiple Regressions

Table 13 presents the results of a multiple regression analysis used to determine the extent to which Separation-Individuation as measured by the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test could explain the differences in the scores on the AaF factor of the PRAM-R. As evidenced in this table, 23.38% of the variance in AaF scores can be explained by the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test. However, when each subscale was partialled out, 14.7% of the variance was accounted for by the scores on the Handling of Aggression Subscale alone, a significant percent.

The fact that aggression and not separation-individuation was what significantly explained differences in American acculturation means that for the women in this sample, the specific resolution of angry feelings as they related to separation from their mothers, was what predicted their American acculturation. Given these results, hypothesis one was partially supported and hypothesis two could not be tested.

Table 13:

Regression of AaF on Olesker Separation-Individuation Test

Variable	Partial R ²	F Value	R ² = .2338
Maternal Availability	.0634	2.572	
Handling of Aggression	.1470	6.549*	
Handling of Sexuality	.0065	.248	
Separation-Individuation	.0929	3.892	
Combined Total			

*p < .05

Table 14 presents the results of a multiple regression analysis used to determine the extent to which Separation-Individuation as measured by the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test could explain the differences in the scores on the PRaF factor of the PRAM-R. As evidenced in this table, 17.42% of the variance in PRaF scores was accounted for by scores on the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test. However, when each subscale was partialled out, 16.13% of the variance was explained by the scores on the Handling of Aggression Subscale alone, a significant percent. When the Separation-Individuation combined total was partialled out, it explained 9.9% of the variance in PRaF scores, also a significant percent.

The resolution of separation issues was a significant predictor of Puerto Rican identification for the women in this sample. As may be recalled from the correlational analysis, lower separation scores were associated with increased Puerto Rican identification. However, one must remember that if separation scores are too low it could be pathological as it would indicate excessive use of defense mechanisms of denial or reaction formation underlying what may appear to be the resolution of separation issues and increased cultural similarity with one's mother.

Despite the significance of this relationship, success in handling aggression was still a better predictor of Puerto Rican acculturation. This suggests that it was not so much how comfortably separated from their mothers the women in this sample felt, but how they experienced their angry feelings in the midst of their separation

that predicted how identified they would be with the Puerto Rican culture - their mothers' culture.

The fact that aggression, only one aspect of separation-individuation, was a better predictor of acculturation, indicates that hypothesis one was only partially supported and that hypothesis two could not be tested.

Table 14:

Regression of PraF on Olesker Separation-Individuation Test Subscales

Variable	Partial R ²	F Value	R ² = .1742
Maternal Availability	.0422	1.676	
Handling of Aggression	.1613	7.306*	
Handling of Sexuality	.0300	1.177	
Separation-Individuation Combined Total	.0991	4.182*	

*p < .05

Table 15 presents the results of a multiple regression analysis used to determine the extent to which Separation-Individuation as measured by the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test could explain the differences in DOA Total Scores. As evidenced in this table 15.22% of the variance in DOA Total Scores can be explained by the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test. However, when each subscale was partialled out, 15.83% of the variance was accounted for by the scores on the Handling of Aggression Subscale alone, a significant percent.

Again, the fact that aggression and not separation-individuation was a significant predictor of acculturation for the women in this sample, lends only partial support to hypothesis one.

Table 15:

Regression of DOA Total on Olesker Separation-Individuation Test
Subscales

Variable	Partial R ²	F Value	R ² = .1522
Maternal Availability	.0484	1.728	
Handling of Aggression	.1583	6.395*	
Handling of Sexuality	.0000	.9799	
Separation-Individuation combined total	.0891	3.325	

*p < .05

An Additional Analysis: Pearson Correlation

Table 16 Pearson Correlations between Separation categories on the New Yorican Women Interview and the Olesker Separation-Individuation Scores. As evidenced in this table, all correlations were negative. Although none were significant, lower, (and potentially healthier), scores on the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test were associated with higher scores and therefore increasingly similar, intimate and comfortable experiences in their relationships with their mothers. This additional analysis was done to assess the relationship between the New Yorican Women Interview Separation categories and the Olesker Separation Individuation Total and subscale scores. The fact that none of these correlations were significant suggests that they may be assessing different aspects of the relationship between mothers and daughters.

Table 16:

Pearson Correlations Between Interview Separation Items and Olesker Separation-Individuation Scores

Interview Categories	Sep.-Ind. Total	SEPARATION - INDIVIDUATION SUBSCORES		
		Maternal Availability	Handling of Aggression	Handling of Sexuality
Similarities With Mother	-.242	-.223	-.195	-.249
Intimacy With Mother	-.066	-.066	-.032	-.124
Comfort With Mother	-.266	-.298	-.162	-.208

G. Summary of Results

The results reflect that this group of second generation Puerto Rican women were relatively separated and individuated as seen in midrange to moderately lower scores on the measures of Separation including the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test and the Separation categories on the New Yorican Women Interview. This group also reflected a greater adoption of American cultural traits on the PRAM-R and more of a bicultural compromise with a tendency toward increased American acculturation on the DOA with the greatest degree of acculturation seen in the area of language. On the Subjective Acculturation question on the New Yorican Women Interview, subjects expressed feeling bicultural with a tendency toward increased identification with the Puerto Rican culture.

Separation-Individuation was only significantly related to Puerto Rican acculturation and to language in the form of preference for English over Spanish as seen in the correlational analyses and in the multiple regressions. However, these analyses also indicated that how these subjects negotiated issues of aggression in relation to their mothers, and not the overall issues of separation and individuation, was significantly related to the formation of a bicultural identity. Significant relationships were not obtained between acculturation and any of the Separation categories on the New Yorican Women Interview. As the interview became increasingly subjective, the women in this sample expressed feeling increasingly bicultural with a tendency toward greater identification with the Puerto Rican culture. However, the responses did not lend themselves to statistical significance.

H. Hypothesis One

The first hypothesis stated that subjects who demonstrated healthier resolutions to issues of Separation-Individuation, (midrange to moderately lower scores to moderately lower scores on the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test and midrange scores on Separation Categories of Similarity, Intimacy and Comfort on the New Yorican Women Interview), would also have a bicultural identity, (high AaF and PRaF scores on the PRAM-R and midrange DOA and Subjective Acculturation Scores).

Midrange scores were obtained on the measures of Separation-Individuation but the women in this sample were American acculturated on the PRAM-R and more bicultural on the DOA and on the Subjective Acculturation question of the New Yorican Women Interview. In addition, how the women in this sample resolved issues of aggression during the separation process, and not overall issues of separation was significantly related to and a better predictor of acculturation in the form of a development of a bicultural identity or of extreme Puerto Rican or American acculturation. Given these results, this hypothesis was partially supported.

I. Hypothesis Two

The second hypothesis stated that subjects who demonstrated unresolved issues of Separation-Individuation, (extreme scores in either direction on the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test and on the Separation categories of the New Yorican Women Interview), would be associated with either extreme American acculturation (high AaF, low PRaF), or extreme Puerto Rican acculturation (low AaF, high PRaF), on the PRAM-R, and extreme scores in either direction on the DOA and on the Subjective Acculturation question of the New Yorican women Interview. Extreme scores were neither obtained on measures of Separation-Individuation nor on measures of Acculturation. Based on the results from this sample, hypothesis two could not be tested.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

This study originated in this researcher's observations that some second generation Puerto Rican women acculturated quicker and with seemingly more ease than others. Existing anthropological literature deferred to social scientists to examine underlying psychological processes which might affect the experience of acculturation. Although the literature was scarce, it did reveal that psychological factors may affect the process of acculturation. Believing that a certain degree of separation might be involved in the process of acculturation, Margaret Mahler's psychoanalytic theory of Separation-Individuation was the theoretical framework on which this research was based. Two variables, separation-individuation and acculturation, were tested systematically. Although a certain degree of acculturation was expected in this sample of second generation Puerto Rican Women, the main hypothesis was that women who had relatively healthy resolutions to issues of separation-individuation, would also have reached a comfortable and realistic compromise between the Puerto Rican and American cultures resulting in a bicultural identity. In contrast, women who had unresolved issues of separation-individuation were expected to reflect either extreme Puerto Rican or American acculturation.

The results indicated that the main hypothesis was only partially confirmed and that the second hypothesis could not be tested. This sample had fairly healthy resolutions to issues of separation-individuation. However, they were also more identified with the

American culture than with the Puerto Rican culture, as seen in the scores on the PRAM-R. On the DOA they reflected more of a bicultural compromise, but also with a tendency toward increased American acculturation. Subjects expressed feeling more bicultural when they were asked to rate themselves on an acculturation scale during the New Yorican Women Interview.

Further analyses of the results revealed that except for increased Puerto Rican identification and a preference for English over Spanish in which issues of separation and individuation were involved, how successful the women were in resolving their angry feelings was more strongly related to, and a better predictor of acculturation. Specific issues of aggression, and not overall issues of separation were underlying the negotiation of a bicultural compromise among this sample of second generation Puerto Rican women.

In attempts to understand the significant negative correlation between separation-individuation and Puerto Rican acculturation and the significant contribution that Separation-Individuation made to differences in PRaF scores, it must be recalled that lower separation-individuation scores reflect healthier resolutions provided they are not extremely low. Given this, an increased identification with the Puerto Rican culture - the culture of the subjects' mothers - may reflect an ability to identify with this aspect of their mothers without it presenting a threat to their own sense of self. That healthier resolutions to issues of psychological separation were associated with the preservation of Puerto Rican cultural traits among the women in this sample, is in contrast to Torres-Matrullo's (1976)

study which explored the relationship between the stress of acculturation and the existence of psychopathology among Puerto Rican women in the mainland United States, (the women were from Puerto Rico and/or of Puerto Rican heritage). She found that subjects who scored low on acculturation measures exhibited more psychopathology and that women who scored high on acculturation had healthier personalities. However, not only were there questions as to the instruments she used, but also there was no attempt to address bicultural issues in her study. In the present study it is important to be alerted to the potential for extremes in both variables, thus reflecting a pseudo type of separation associated with an extreme Puerto Rican cultural identity and this could imply excessive use of defense mechanisms.

A significant positive correlation was found between separation individuation and language preference, that is, higher separation scores, (less healthy responses), were associated with the preference for English over Spanish. Although 85% of the women in this sample identified themselves as bilingual, when asked more specifically about their language preference, greater acculturation was demonstrated. This may be understood in terms of the fact that language is what one utilizes to connect with and negotiate systems in society. The second generation Puerto Rican woman may learn English in school, (as Spanish may or may not be spoken at home), and even at an early age, may be a necessary vehicle through which her parents negotiate societal demands. For these women, English may therefore be experienced as an important and necessary tool in negotiating their parents' and their own reality.

However, that potentially less separateness was associated with increased acculturation in the area of language may have more subtle psychological significance. Language is not only essential in the transmission of cultural messages, it is also important in the transmission of psychological information. Although the preference for speaking a different language from the language that one's mother speaks may be viewed as a differentiated aspect of one's identity, it may also reflect resistance to being bilingual as the latter may threaten one's sense of self. Ideally, the bilingual compromise in a bicultural person may represent a more comfortable integration of an identification with one's mother in a healthier experience of separateness and a realistic and functional use of English in this society.

However, it remains that the overriding significant issues in acculturation and the development of a bicultural identity among the women in this sample was that of aggression in their relationship with their mothers. Significant negative correlations were obtained between issues of aggression and PRaF and AaF factors of the PRAM-R. The strongest positive correlation was seen between aggression and the DOA Total and significant amount of variance among PRAM-R and DOA scores were explained by how subjects handled their aggression on the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test.

Lower, (healthier), aggression scores were significantly related to biculturalism as per the PRAM-R and to less degree of acculturation as per the DOA. Higher, (less healthy), aggression scores were significantly related to a greater degree of acculturation as per the

DOA. The relationship between aggression and acculturation may be understood when one remembers that theoretically, throughout the process of separation-individuation, ambivalent feelings are normally experienced toward one's mother. Sources of anger and ambivalence are believed to derive from various factors, one of which is feeling a lack of omnipotence vis-a-vis one's mother during rapprochement. "What happens is that the child becomes so aware of its own separateness and relative insignificance, that it can no longer maintain its feelings of omnipotence...the child is torn between simultaneous and mutually exclusive wishes to be autonomous and to be a baby, and clings to the mother while rejecting her at the same time. Resulting ambivalence ...is demonstrated through temper tantrums, whining and sadness", (Abramson, 1987). In addition, it is believed that girls experience anger because of a felt injury and sense of being damaged due to not possessing a penis. Unconsciously, females blame their mothers for this, thereby experiencing more difficulty with normal developmental anger which is necessary for psychological separation. These feelings are seldom experienced without there being a threat to one's sense of self, either through fantasies of hurting the "other" or of being hurt by the "other". Often there is an unconscious fear of being abandoned as a result of one's anger. In the acculturation process, it seems that similar issues are elicited. In the attainment of a bicultural identity, one may undergo an experience of de-idealization, loss, and impotence which may result in angry feelings. One may also experience fear and guilt about feeling angry about not having a "perfect" model with whom to identify, as one's mother is culturally different from

the person one is becoming. A bicultural identity however, may require and reflect increased resolution to conflict over fantasies of unconsciously hurting one's mother or of being hurt by one's mother in the process of developing a different cultural identity. Healthier resolutions of one's angry feelings toward one's mother may also enable one to be increasingly culturally similar, as one may feel freer to identify with her along cultural dimensions. In contrast, less healthy resolutions to conflicts involving one's aggression were significantly related to increased American acculturation suggesting that unresolved angry feelings may be underlying a need to reject a cultural identification with one's mother.

Although Shirley's (1981) study found no direct relationship between childhood developmental issues and issues of adaptation to a new country, Wong-Valle (1981) found parallels between acculturation and stages of separation-individuation. Wong-Valle's (1981) sample was different as it consisted of psychiatric inpatients, but what seems consistent is that the parallels were found between acculturation and the stage of rapprochement during the process of separation-individuation. In the present study, some significant correlations and regressions were also found between separation-individuation and aspects of acculturation but the strongest relationships were seen between aggression issues which are focal during the rapprochement stage and aspects of acculturation. As the women in this sample resolved their angry feelings toward their mothers in a more healthy manner, they were also either increasingly bicultural thus developed a more comfortable compromise between

cultural differences and similarities with their mothers, or were increasingly able to tolerate cultural similarities with their mothers seen in increased Puerto Rican acculturation. However, residual conflictual angry feelings were underlying increasing cultural differences between themselves and their mothers seen in increased American acculturation.

The relationship between aggression and culture may also be examined from the perspective of cultural norms. "The traditional Puerto Rican family structure has been described as male dominant with a double standard relative to the expression of overt aggression of sexual behavior, and one in which women are expected to be homemakers and assume a passive, submissive role", (Canino, Rubio-Stepic, Shrout, Bravo, Stolberg and Bird, 1987). It may very well be that healthier expression of angry feelings was associated with a bicultural identity as it permitted women to tolerate cultural differences between themselves and their mothers. A bicultural identity may reflect an ability to have negotiated anger and hostility related to a perceived sense of loss and disappointment stemming from a need to be sufficiently culturally different from one's mother.

An important observation in this study was that as acculturation measures moved from structure and formality to increased subjectivity, as seen in differences between the PRAM-R, which is heavily weighted in knowledge items, to the DOA which addresses social, living and language preferences, to the Subjective Acculturation question on the New Yorican Women Interview, subjects reflected increasingly bicultural identities. Subjects had midrange scores on the Separation

categories of Similarity, Intimacy and Comfort with Mother on the New Yorican Women Interview, and this was fairly consistent with scores on the Olesker Separation-Individuation Test. However, they were not significantly related to each other or to acculturation scores. This suggests that the interview categories may in fact be measuring other aspects of the relationship between mothers and daughters in this sample. This is suggested statistically as it may be recalled that the inter-rater reliability values for measures of Similarity, Intimacy and Comfort with Mother were .61, .86, and .63, respectively. This variability suggests that raters disagreed to some extent as to what they were measuring and scoring. Furthermore, the interview items may be addressing more conscious processes in the subjects' perceptions of their relationships with their mothers and in their subjective experience of their culture as they perceived themselves as more bicultural in their verbal reports, that is, in the New Yorican Women Interview. In contrast, the more formal instruments may have tapped more unconscious processes in the experience of separation and individuation and acculturation.

A. Clinical Implications of the Study

The results of this study have implications both on group and individual levels of analysis. This study not only sensitizes us to what second generation Puerto Rican Women as a group may be experiencing as they undergo the process of acculturation, but it also highlights the importance of knowing the specific psychological issues of identification and aggression which may underly the experience.

The basic premise of this research is that subsequent separations in life present opportunities to re-work earlier conflicts of Separation-Individuation and that the process of acculturation may very well represent one of these opportunities. It may be helpful for clinicians to know that there are underlying psychological issues in areas of separation and specifically aggression which may be useful predictors of the experience of acculturation and that these should be explored at individual levels.

Furthermore, it may be useful to understand acculturation not only as it relates to one's actual culture and heritage, but also as it relates to other sub-cultures. It seems possible to conceive of situations in which one is constantly facing other cultural frontiers such as in professional, political and personal networks and that these ultimately contribute to the formation of one's identity.

B. Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study are partly a result of an interest on the part of this researcher to look at these phenomena from a

clinical perspective. A sample size of forty lends itself to closer examination of the individuals' experience but limits the ability to generalize results. Since subjects had to meet specific criteria such as culture and birthplace, age, requirements, income level and that they be non-mothers, generalizations if any, are applicable solely to those of the same background.

Moreover, since the inter-rater reliability of the New Yorican Women Interview separation items was not consistently strong, this may have contributed to weaker correlations between the measures, thereby reflecting weaker relationships between the variables in this study.

C. Suggestions for Further Research

The sample in this study was limited to second generation Puerto Rican Women. Future research may be useful if a sample were utilized which also included second generation Puerto Rican Men. It would be helpful to examine if the issues of aggression in separation-individuation were of particular significance in the acculturation of second generation Puerto Rican Men. This is important not only because presumably Separation-Individuation is less conflictual for men, but also because aggression is often more sanctioned in the behavior of men than of women. It would be interesting to look at possible sex differences in separation-individuation and acculturation.

It would also be interesting to study the relationship between separation-individuation and acculturation among second generation Puerto Rican women and men of varying educational and income levels.

Although this may be a more difficult sample to obtain this would certainly begin to address not only sexual differences, but also differences in the experiences of separation-individuation and acculturation which may be partly attributed to differences in educational and income levels.

In general, acculturation and its underlying psychological factors remain areas which require further research. Although the PRAM-R is based on the psychological factor of ethnic identification, it does consist of many knowledge items which Inclan (1979) warns us about. Due to this fact, this researcher felt it necessary to counterbalance this with a second acculturation measure which deals primarily with social, language and living preferences. The need to do this reflects a need for more comprehensive research instruments to measure acculturation by way of either the development of new scales or adjustments in the already existing measures.

APPENDIX A
THE CITY COLLEGE
 OF
THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
 NEW YORK, N.Y. 10031

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CENTER
 DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

(212) 690-6602, 3, 4

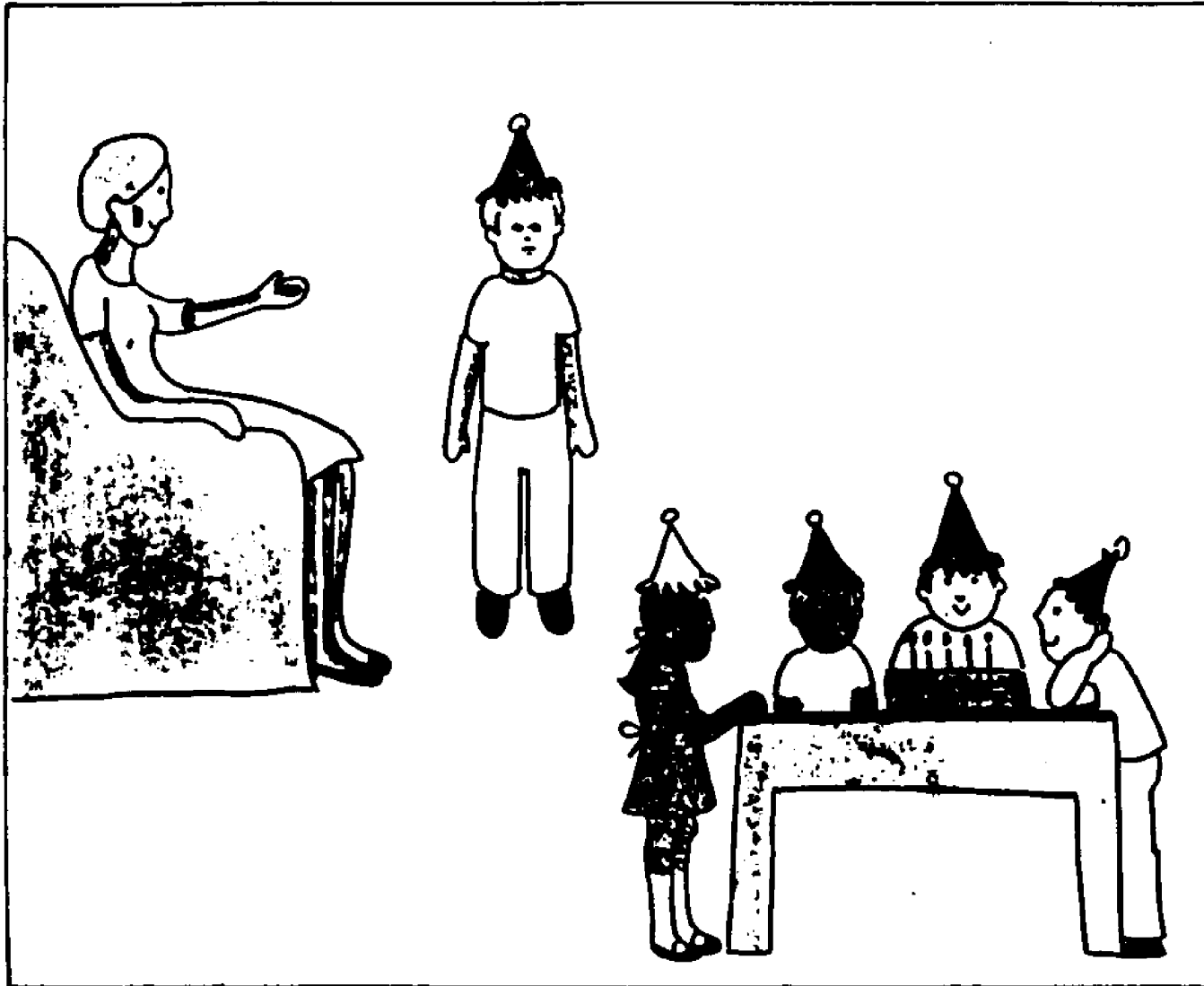
STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT

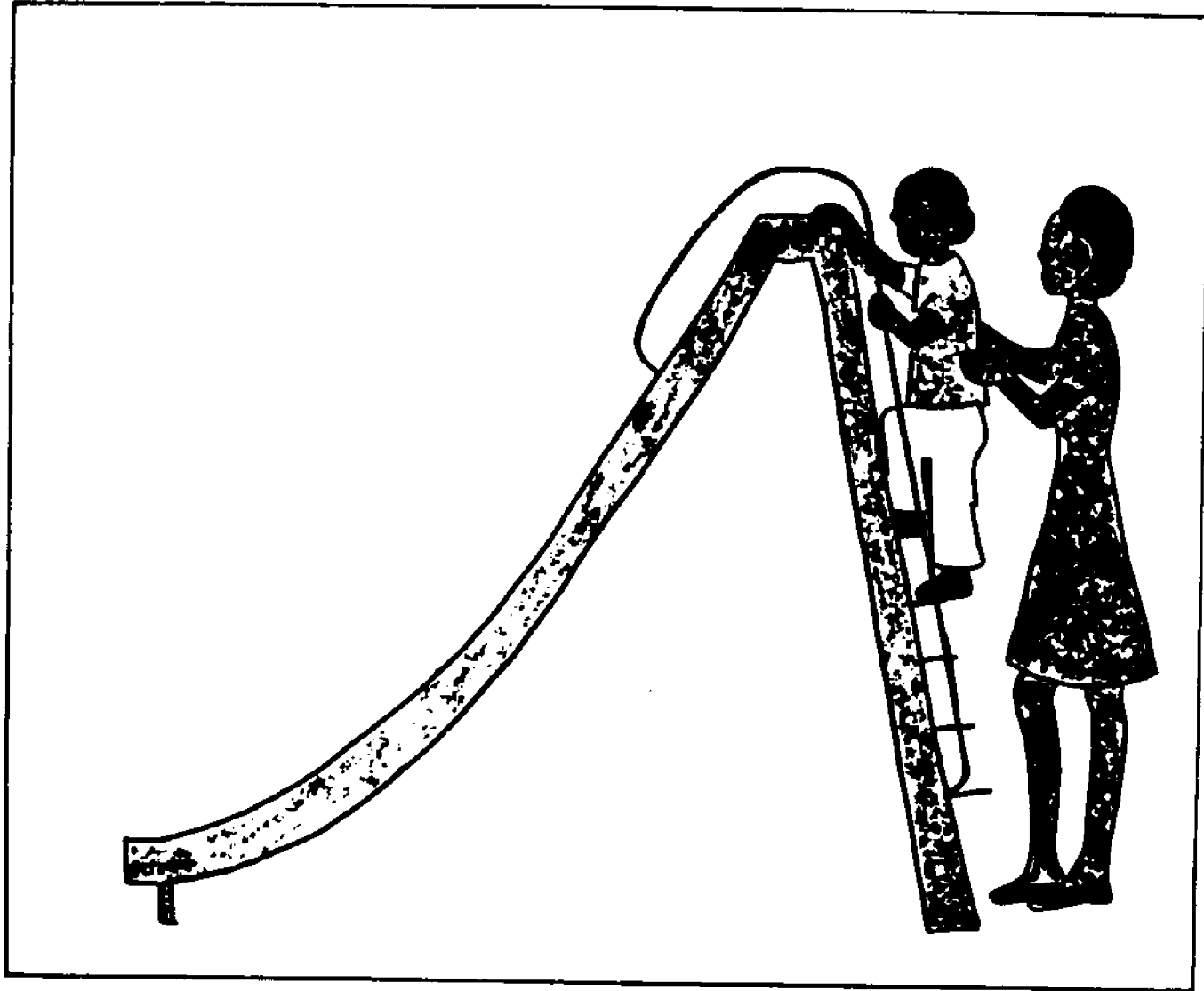
I, _____, hereby consent to be interviewed by Debra D. Domenech for the purpose of her doctoral study at the Clinical Psychology Doctoral Training Program of the City University of New York. I understand that my confidentiality will be respected and that at no time will my name appear in any part of the study. I also know that I have the right to hear the tapes of my interview and see any material related to my case. Furthermore, I also understand that my participation is voluntary and that I have the right to refuse to answer any questions presented to me.

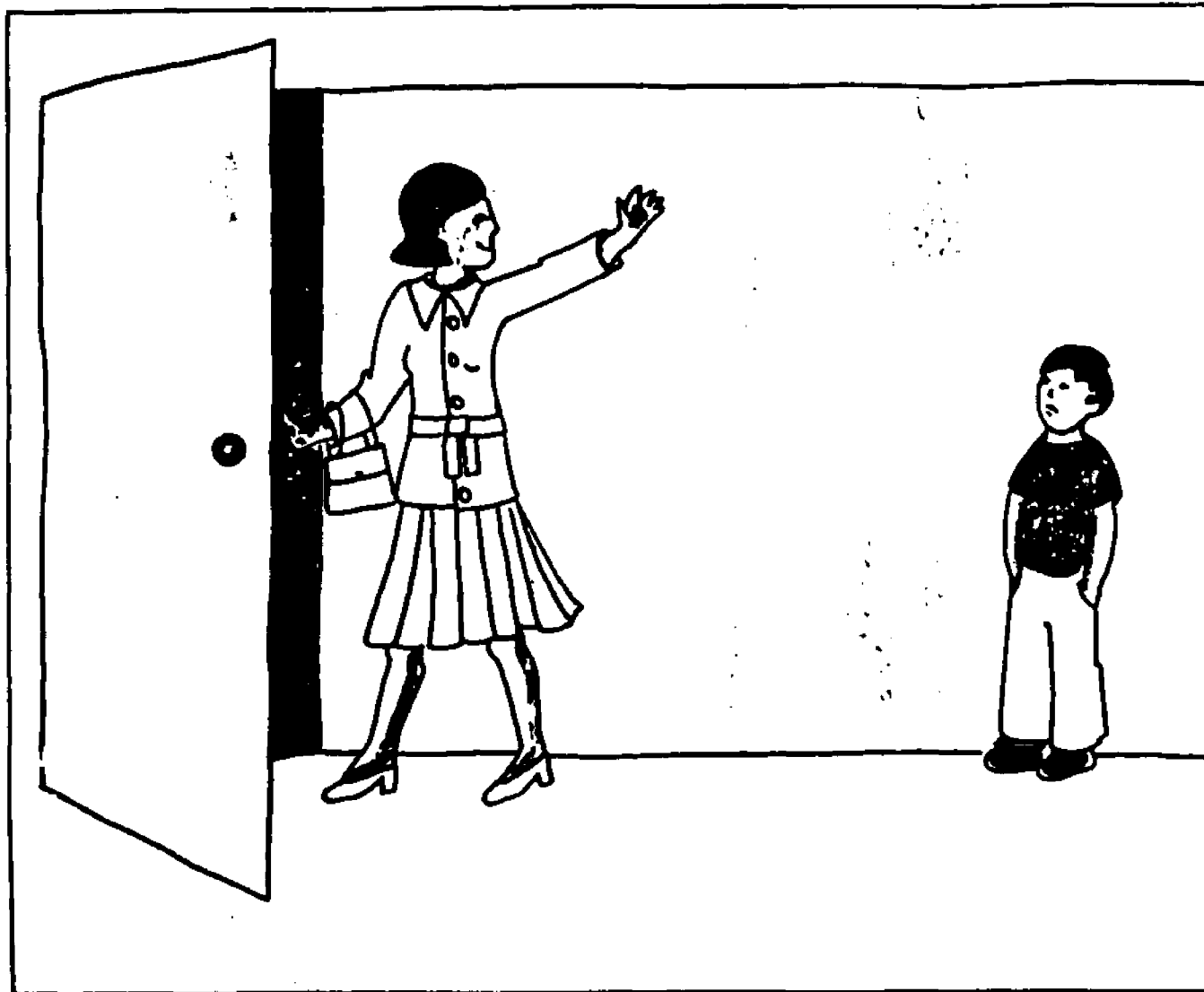
 Signature

 Date

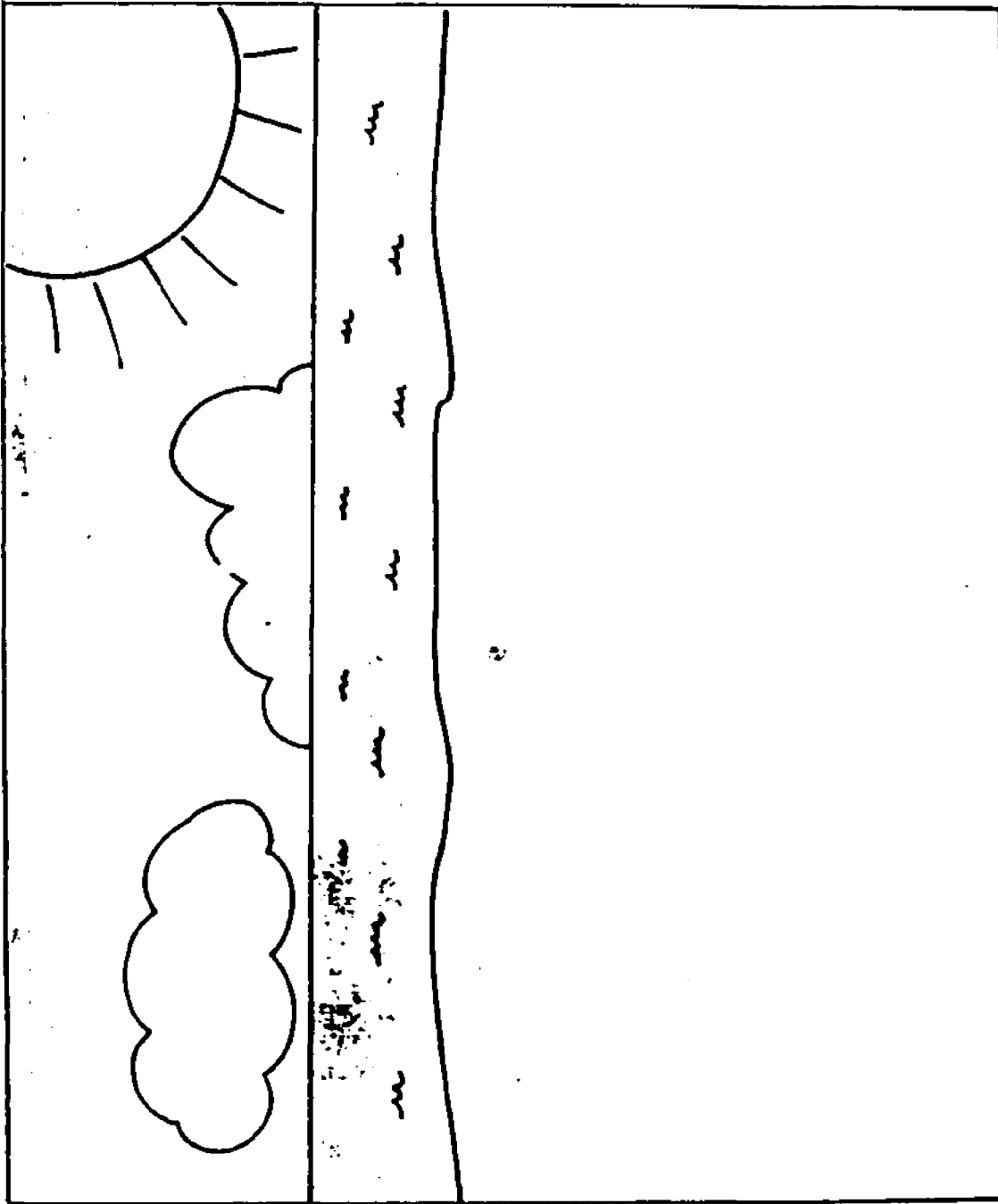
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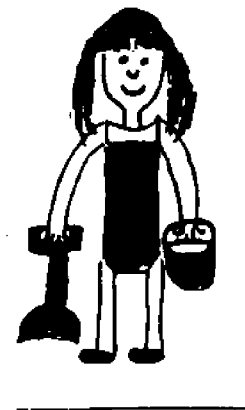
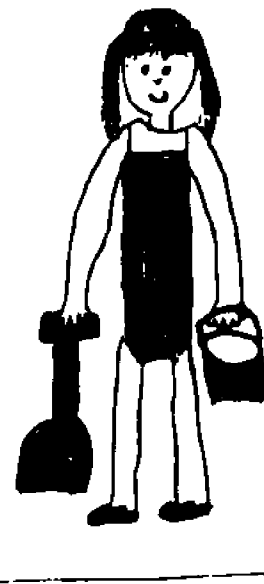




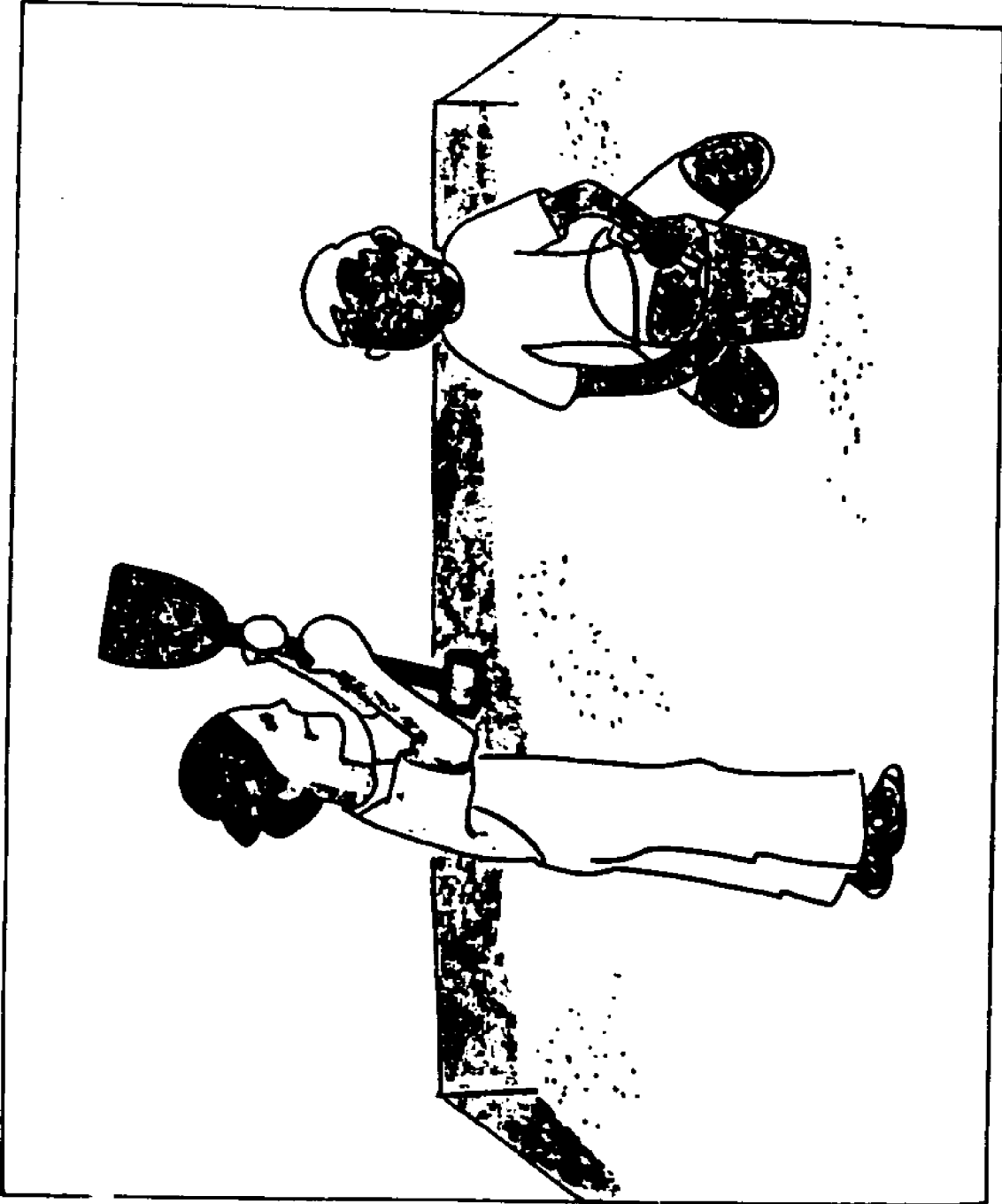
Card #4



For Card #4



Card #5

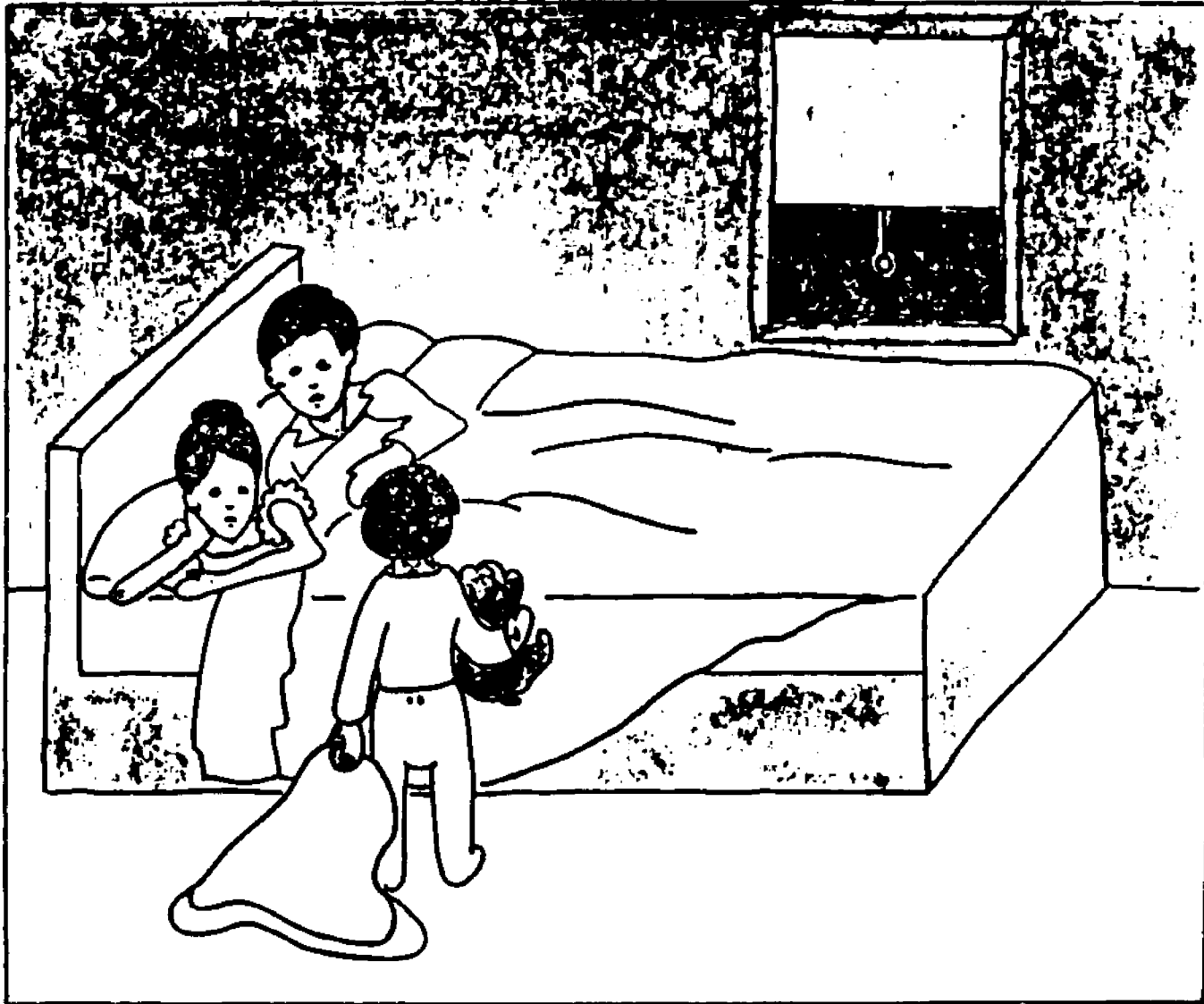


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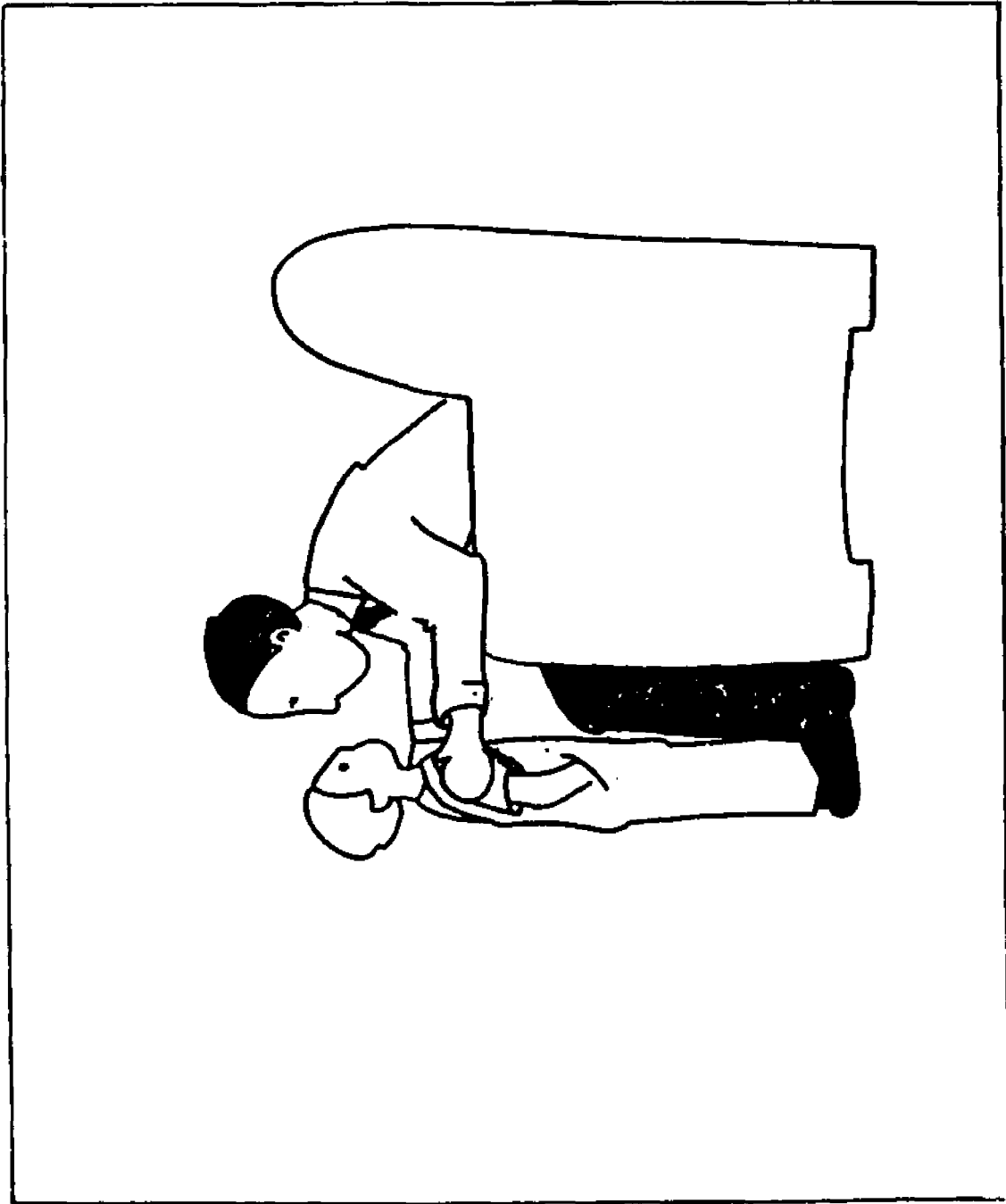


Card #6 for male subjects

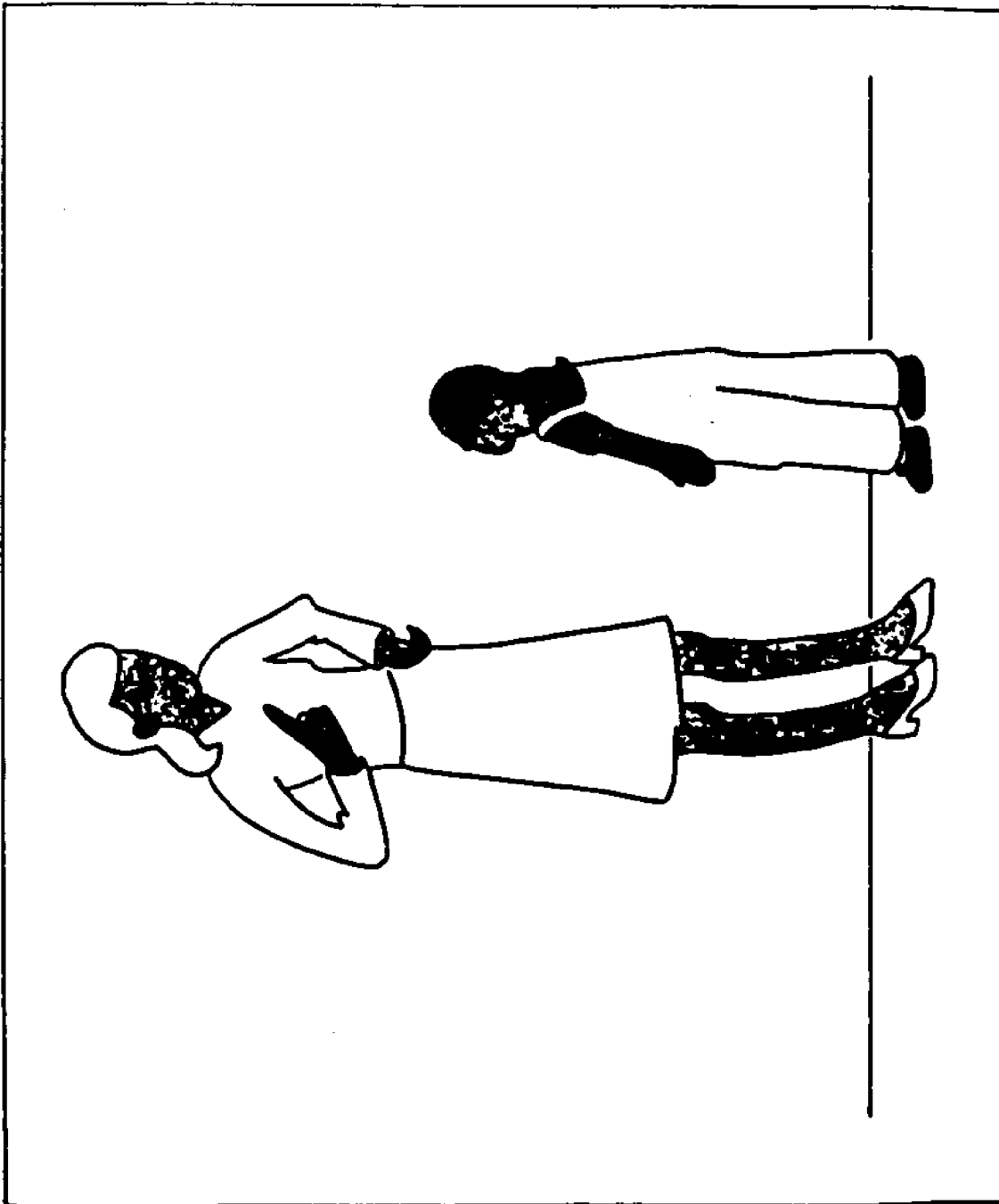








Card #10



APPENDIX CSEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION TEST
SCORING SYSTEM

Wendy Olesker, Ph.D.

- I. A. Attitude toward separation (child's behavior or attitude
(Cards 1, 3, 5, 7, 8)
- (Degree to which child is seen as overwhelmed by separation
as opposed to having adaptive defenses to cope with feelings
aroused by separation)
- 1 denied (child shows no reaction to mother's leaving or
relative separation)
- 1 overwhelmed (very strong reaction to mother's leaving or
relative separation)
- 0 appropriate (some awareness of distress but good adaptive
ability to handle separation)
- B. Attitude toward separation (mother's behavior or attitude
(Cards 1, 3, 5, 7, 8)
- (Degree to which mother is seen as providing appropriate
amount of protection and preparation to deal with separation)
- 1 does not provide adequate protection or preparation
- 1 too much is done to accomodate to child's anxiety
- 0 appropriate
- II. Attitude toward child's inadequate functioning (Cards 1, 2,
3, 5, 8)
- (Degree of pleasure mother and/or child show in independent
functioning vs. pleasure in symbiosis and mutual
identification)
- 1 mother thinks child can do anything so does not provide
adequate protection or facilitation
- 1 mother sees child as needing help but doesn't provide it
- 1 mother thinks child is inadequate--overly intrusive or
facilitating because fears child can't do it
- 0 mother realizes actual strengths and weaknesses of child,
appropriately facilitates if he needs help or inhibits her
worries when she sees child can manage

- III. Mother's feelings of self-esteem (Card 4)
- 1 feels inadequate, small, overwhelmed
 - 1 feels grandiose and omnipotent
 - 0 feels comfortable with herself as a separate entity
- IV. Attitude toward aloneness (Card 4)
- 1 peoples world with others or something distressful happens (uncomfortable with aloneness)
 - 1 overly strong wish to be alone
 - 0 enjoys aloneness at times but enjoys others as well
- V. Attitude toward aggression (Cards 5, 9, 10)
- 1 aggression in relationships is denied
 - 1 aggression is seen as so dangerous one must appease at all costs
 - 1 when there is aggression in relationships, it cannot be worked out
 - 0 accepts there is aggression in relationships and that it can be worked out without squelching autonomy
- VI. Behavior of parent in reaction to aggression of child (Cards 5, 9, 10)
- 1 denies aggression as well as need to intervene, facilitate, or protect
 - 1 projects so much aggression so feels overly strong need to control and monitor aggression (overly controlling)
 - 1 gets somewhat overwhelmed by aggression so fails to act effectively to protect or intervene
 - 0 sees parent's role as one of helping to channel or monitor aggression so conflict can be resolved in a constructive way (appropriately judges need to intervene)
- VII. Ambivalence and guilt in role as mother (Cards 3, 7, 8, 10)
- 1 denial of burdensome aspects of motherhood (denies ambivalence and guilt)

- 1 denial of pleasurable aspects of motherhood (feels overly angry, burdened, or wanting to get away from child)
- 1 overwhelmed by guilt and/or ambivalence (bends over backwards with child)
- 0 acknowledgement and acceptance of ambivalence, guilt, and burdensome aspects of motherhood

VIII. Attitude toward firmness (Cards 7, 8, 10)

- 1 totally follows own desires and forces one's way on child
- 1 totally gives in and follows what child wants
- 1 so conflicted that she is inconsistent in setting limits
- 0 compromise--makes concessions for child's needs but follows own desires as well (offers ways to facilitate child's functioning with limits--optimal balance of gratification and frustration)

IX. Attitude toward sexual identity development (Card 6)

- 1 denial of sex differences or harshness in reaction to child's wish to be opposite sex
- 1 wish for or encouragement of opposite sex behavior
- 0 recognition and acceptance that children may have some conflict over awareness of sex differences and feelings about their gender; pleasure in the sex of their child

X. Attitude toward sexual stimulation (Cards 7, 9)

- 1 denies taking into bed or excessive handling
- 1 is sexually stimulating (allows child in bed or overstimulates)
- 0 acknowledges child's wishes but facilitates child dealing with the frustration of not being allowed into bed or be engaged in too stimulating an interaction

XI. Attitude toward relations with others (father, peers) (Cards 1, 5, 9)

- 1 denies importance of others

1 sees as threat and discourages relationship with others

 0 sees others as healthy alternative sources of pleasure and comfort

Maternal Availability Total

Sum of I, II, III, IV, IX, XI

Handling of Aggression Total

Sum of V, VI, VII, VIII

Handling of Sexuality Total

Sum of (IX), X

APPENDIX DPRAM

Code Number _____ Date _____

Date of Birth _____

INSTRUCTIONS

Below is a list of questions about your traditions, habits, and familiarity with American and Puerto Rican ways. Some questions are answered by placing an X in the appropriate line and others require that you write out your response. If you do not know an answer, leave the space blank. Nobody is expected to know all the answers. If two choices are appropriate, please choose one.

Please leave the spaces to the left of the questions blank.

QUESTIONSANSWERS

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| _____ 1. For Thanksgiving do you have dinner with potatoes or rice with pigeon peas (arroz con gandules) or both? | _____
Potatoes | _____
rice or
both |
| _____ 2. Do you prefer to eat french fries or green plantains (tostones) more often? | _____
french
fries | _____
green
plantains |
| _____ 3. Do you eat blood sausages (morcillas)? | _____
Yes | _____
No |
| _____ 4. If both are available for a quick lunch would you have hot dogs or latin soul food (cuchifritos)? | _____
hot dogs | _____
Latin soul
food |
| _____ 5. Do you prefer eggplant (berengena) parmigiana or stewed (guisada)? | _____
stewed | _____
parmigiana |
| _____ 6. Do you sometimes cook with salt pork (tocino)? | _____
Yes | _____
No |
| _____ 7. What is a piece of pie with ice cream on top called? | _____ | |

- _____ 8. What is usually put on bagels? _____
- _____ 9. Do you sometimes eat broccoli or cauliflower? Yes No
- _____ 10. What town in Puerto Rico is known as "La Perla del Sur"?
- _____ 11. Name the biggest mountain in Puerto Rico. _____
- _____ 12. Which is the largest river in the United States? _____
- _____ 13. Where is Hollywood? _____
- _____ 14. How is the Northeast region of the United States known as? _____
- _____ 15. What color is breadfruit (Pana) inside? _____
- _____ 16. What is a "jobo"?
- _____ 17. What is a "cantaloupe"?
- _____ 18. Why is it considered dangerous to walk outside right after taking a hot shower? _____
- _____ 19. Do you sometimes drink malt punch (ponche do malta)? Yes No
- _____ 20. Is it dangerous for a baby to go out in the dew (coger sereno)? Yes No
- _____ 21. You feed a cold and starve a _____?
- _____ 22. What day is Three Kings Day (Dia De Reyes)? _____
- _____ 23. Do you believe in making vows (hacer promesas)? Yes No
- _____ 24. Do you go to the Botanica? _____
- _____ 25. What is the Christmas partying when people go from house to house playing music and singing called? _____

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| <p>____ 26. If you could take a vacation every year, would you prefer to go to Puerto Rico every year or would you change vacation sites?</p> | <p><u>Puerto Rico</u></p> | <p><u>Other places</u></p> |
| <p>____ 27. Do you yourself ever celebrate or party during Halloween?</p> | <p><u>Yes</u></p> | <p><u>No</u></p> |
| <p>____ 28. Do you picnic, barbecue or engage in other open air social activity on the 4th of July?</p> | <p><u>Yes</u></p> | <p><u>No</u></p> |
| <p>____ 29. Are Christmas stockings prepared for any member of your family?</p> | <p><u>Yes</u></p> | <p><u>No</u></p> |
| <p>____ 30. Do you believe in circumscizing children?</p> | <p><u>Yes</u></p> | <p><u>No</u></p> |
| <p>____ 31. In what sport is the term "se huyo" used?</p> | <p>_____</p> | |
| <p>____ 32. What is "La Extraordinaria"?</p> | <p>_____</p> | |
| <p>____ 33. Do you play the numbers (bolita) regularly?</p> | <p><u>Yes</u></p> | <p><u>No</u></p> |
| <p>____ 34. How many points are scored for a "touchdown"?</p> | <p>_____</p> | |
| <p>____ 35. Do you read the Spanish Press regularly?</p> | <p><u>Yes</u></p> | <p><u>No</u></p> |
| <p>____ 36. Are most of your readings for fun in English or Spanish?</p> | <p><u>English</u></p> | <p><u>Spanish</u></p> |
| <p>____ 37. Do you listen regularly to radio WADO or JIT?</p> | <p><u>Yes</u></p> | <p><u>No</u></p> |
| <p>____ 38. Are you more comfortable speaking English or Spanish?</p> | <p><u>English</u></p> | <p><u>Spanish</u></p> |
| <p>____ 39. Who was Tito Rodriguez?</p> | <p>_____</p> | |
| <p>____ 40. Who was governor of Puerto Rico for 24 years?</p> | <p>_____</p> | |
| <p>____ 41. What was Ed Sullivan famous for?</p> | <p>_____</p> | |

- ___ 42. Who was Benjamin Franklin? _____
- ___ 43. What is the name of the tiny frog typical of Puerto Rico? _____
- ___ 44. What is a "guiro" or "guicharo"? _____
- ___ 45. What is the name of the typical dance of Puerto Rico? _____
- ___ 46. Name an American Folk dance? _____
- ___ 47. Do you listen to jazz or rock music regularly?
Yes _____ No _____
- ___ 48. Give the name of a Christmas Carol. _____
- ___ 49. Name 3 governors of Puerto Rico. _____

- ___ 50. Name 3 mayors of the City of New York. _____

- ___ 51. Do you vote in the U.S. elections?
Yes _____ No _____
- ___ 52. What political party has as its slogan "Pan Tierra, y Libertad"? _____
- ___ 53. What political party has as its emblem the elephant? _____
- ___ 54. Why was Albizu Campos incacerated? _____
- ___ 55. Why is "Lares" famous for? _____
- ___ 56. Who lives in Gracie Mansion? _____
- ___ 57. What is "Pitorro"? _____
- ___ 58. What is "Mavi"? _____
- ___ 59. What part of the United Sates does Bourbon come from? _____
- ___ 60. Do you keep "alcoholado" in your house?
Yes _____ No _____

APPENDIX EPRAM-R

Date _____

Date of Birth _____

INSTRUCTIONS

Below is a list of questions about your traditions, habits, and familiarity with American and Puerto Rican ways. Some questions are answered by placing an X in the appropriate line and others require that you write out your response. If you do not know an answer, leave the space blank. Nobody is expected to know all the answers. If two choices are appropriate, please choose one.

Please leave the spaces to the left of the questions blank.

QUESTIONSANSWERS

- | | | | |
|---|--|-----------|----------|
| _____ 1. What is a piece of pie with ice cream on top called? | _____ | | |
| _____ 2. What is usually put on bagels? | _____ | | |
| _____ 3. What town in Puerto Rico is known as "La Perla del Sur"? | _____ | | |
| _____ 4. Name the biggest mountain in Puerto Rico. | _____ | | |
| _____ 5. How is the Northeast region of the United States known as? | _____ | | |
| _____ 6. What color is breadfruit (Pana) inside? | _____ | | |
| _____ 7. What is a "jobo"? | _____ | | |
| _____ 8. What is a "cantaloupe"? | _____ | | |
| _____ 9. You feed a cold and starve a _____? | _____ | | |
| _____ 10. What is the Christmas partying when people go from house to house playing music and singing called? | _____ | | |
| _____ 11. Do you picnic, barbecue or engage in other open air social activity on the 4th of July? | <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">_____ Yes</td> <td style="text-align: center;">_____ No</td> </tr> </table> | _____ Yes | _____ No |
| _____ Yes | _____ No | | |
| _____ 12. In what sport is the term "se huyo" used? | _____ | | |

- ____ 13. What is "La Extraordinaria"? _____
- ____ 14. How many points are scored for a "touchdown"? _____
- ____ 15. Do you read the Spanish Press regularly?
Yes No
- ____ 16. Are most of your readings for fun in English
or Spanish?
English Spanish
- ____ 17. Do you listen regularly to radio WADO or HIT?
Yes No
- ____ 18. Who was governor of Puerto Rico for 24 years? _____
- ____ 19. What was Ed Sullivan famous for? _____
- ____ 20. Who was Benjamin Franklin? _____
- ____ 21. What is a "guiro" or "guicharo"? _____
- ____ 22. What is the name of the typical dance of
Puerto Rico? _____
- ____ 23. Name an American Folk dance? _____
- ____ 24. Do you listen to jazz or rock music regularly?
Yes No
- ____ 25. Give the name of a Christmas Carol. _____
- ____ 26. Name 3 governors of Puerto Rico.

- ____ 27. Name 3 mayors of the City of New York.

- ____ 28. What political party has as its slogan, "Pan
Tierra, y Libertad?" _____
- ____ 29. What political party has as its emblem the
elephant? _____
- ____ 30. Why was Albizu Campos incarcerated? _____
- ____ 31. Why is "Lares" famous for? _____

____ 32. Who lives in Gracie Mansion?

____ 33. What is "Pitorro"?

____ 34. What part of the United States does Bourbon
come from?

APPENDIX F

ITEM CATEGORIES AND SOURCES OF ACCULTURATION
MEASURED BY THE PRAF AND THE Aaf

PRAM ITEMS ON PRAM-R

PRAM ITEM	PRAM-R ITEM	PRAM FACTOR	CATEGORY	ACCULTURATION SOURCE
7	1	Aaf	Food and Drinks	American knowledge
8	2	Aaf	Food and Drinks	American knowledge
10	3	PRaf	Geography	P.R. knowledge
11	4	PRaf	Geography	P.R. knowledge
14	5	Aaf	Geography	American knowledge
15	6	PRaf	Food and Drinks	P.R. knowledge
16	7	PRaf	Food and Drinks	P.R. knowledge
17	8	Aaf	Food and Drinks	American knowledge
21	9	Aaf	Medical practices	American knowledge
25	10	PRaf	Traditions	P.R. knowledge
28	11	PRaf	Traditions	American knowledge
31	12	PRaf	Sports	P.R. knowledge
32	13	PRaf	Sports	P.R. knowledge
34	14	Aaf	Sports	American knowledge
35	15	Aaf & PRaf	Language	P.R. preference
36	16	Aaf & PRaf	Language	Open preference
37	17	Aaf & PRaf	Language	P.R. preference
40	18	PRaf	Popular Celebrities	P.R. knowledge
41	19	Aaf	Popular Celebrities	American knowledge
42	20	Aaf	Popular Celebrities	American knowledge
44	21	PRaf	Music	P.R. knowledge
45	22	PRaf	Music	P.R. knowledge
46	23	Aaf	Music	American knowledge
47	24	Aaf	Music	American knowledge

(Continued)

APPENDIX FITEM CATEGORIES AND SOURCES OF ACCULTURATION
MEASURED BY THE PRAF AND THE AaFPRAM ITEMS ON PRAM-R

<u>PRAM</u> <u>ITEM</u>	<u>PRAM-R</u> <u>ITEM</u>	<u>PRAM</u> <u>FACTOR</u>	<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>ACCULTURATION</u> <u>SOURCE</u>
48	25	Aaf	Music	American knowledge
49	26	PRaf	Politics	P. R. knowledge
50	27	Aaf	Politics	American knowledge
52	28	PRaf	Politics	P.R. knowledge
53	29	Aaf & PRaf	Politics	American knowledge
54	30	PRaf	Politics	P.R. knowledge
55	31	PRaf	Politics	P.R. knowledge
56	32	Aaf	Politics	American knowledge
57	33	PRaf	Food and Drinks	P.R. knowledge
59	34	Aaf	Food and Drinks	American knowledge

APPENDIX G

Scoring Guide for the PRAM and PRAM-R

PRAM ITEM	PRAM-R ITEM	Score	Scoring Guide*
1		1	rice or both
		0	potatoes
2		1	green plantains
		0	french fries
3		1	yes
		0	no
4		1	latin soul food
		0	hot dogs
5		1	stewed
		0	parmigiana
6		1	yes
		0	no
7	1	1	no response or A0-0**
		0	a la mode
8	2	1	no response, butter, or A0-0
		0	cream cheese; cheese; lox, or any combination of these
9		1	no
		0	yes

(Continued)

PRAM ITEM	PRAM-R ITEM	Score	Scoring Guide*
10	3	1	Ponce
		0	no response, A0-1***
11	4	1	Toro Negro, La Puntita, Yunque, Luquillo, Jayuya
		0	no response, A0-1
12		1	no response, A0-0
		0	mississippi
13		1	no response, or A0-0
		0	California, Florida
14	5	1	no response, or A0-0
		0	East Coast, New England, Eastern Seaboard
15	6	1	yellow, cream, beige, white or any equivalent of these
		0	no response, or A0-1
16	7	1	any mention or it being a fruit
		0	no response, or A0-1
17	8	1	no response, or A0-0
		0	melon, any mention of it being a fruit
18		1	any mention of "pasma," "pasma".
		0	no response, or A0-1
19		1	yes

(Continued)

PRAM ITEM	PRAM-R ITEM	Score	Scoring Guide*
		0	no
20		1	yes
		0	no
21	9	1	no response, or A0-0
		0	fever
22		1	January 6th
		0	no response, or A0-1
23		1	yes
		0	no
24		1	yes
		0	no
25	10	1	"trulla," "Parranda," "aquinaldo"
		0	no response, caroling, or A0-1
26		1	Puerto Rico
		0	other places
27		1	no
		0	yes
28	11	1	no
		0	yes
29		1	no

(Continued)

PRAM ITEM	PRAM-R ITEM	Score	Scoring Guide*
		0	yes
30		1	no
		0	yes
31	12	1	any mention of cocks and/or cockfights
		0	no response, or AO-1
32	13	1	any mention of it being a lottery
		0	no response, or AO-1
33		1	yes
		0	no
34	14	1	no response, or AO-0
		0	seven or 6
35	15	1	yes
		0	no
36	16	1	Spanish
		0	English
37	17	1	yes
		0	no
38		1	Spanish
		0	English
39		1	any mention of performer, singer, artist, show star, etc.
		0	any response, or AO-1
40	18	1	Munoz, Munoz Marin, LMM, Marin
		0	no response, or AO-1
41	19	1	no response, or AO-1
		0	show biz, T.V. or any other reference to his personality or show.

(Continued)

PRAM ITEM	PRAM-R ITEM	Score	Scoring Guide*
42	20	1	no response, president, or A0-0
		0	statesman, inventor, politician, genius, patriot or any other reference to his personal achievements
43		1	"coqui"
		0	no response, or A0-1
44	21	1	no response, or A0-1
		0	any mention of it being a musical instrument
45		0	no response, or A0-1
	22	1	danza, plena, bomba, guaguanco
46		0	no response, salsa, merenque or A0-1
	23	1	square dance, polka, virginia reel, or any other name for these
47	24	1	no
		0	yes

(Continued)

PRAM ITEM	PRAM-R ITEM	Score	Scoring Guide*
48	25	1	no response, a Puerto Rican carol, a Spanish name for an American carol, or AO-0
		0	any reference to an American carol
49	26	1	any 3 from: Romero Barcelo, Hernandez colon, Luis Ferre, Roberto Sanchez Vilella, Luis Munoz Marin (full names not required).
		0	no response, or AO-1
50	27	1	no response, or AO-1
		0	any 3 from: Koch, Beame, Lindsey, Wagner, La Guardia, or earlier ones.
51		1	no
		0	yes
52	28	1	Popular Democratic Party, P.P.O., "Pava," "Populares," or any other reference to the P.D.P. and its symbols.
		0	no response, or AO-1
53	29	1	no response, or AO-0
		0	Republican, G.O.P., or any other reference to these.

(Continued)

PRAM ITEM	PRAM-R ITEM	Score	Scoring Guide*
54	30	1	Nationalist, revolutionary, independence cause, politics, or any other reference to his political praxis.
		0	no response, or A0-1
55	31	1	"Grito," nationalists, revolt, politics, or any other reference to the uprising of 1868.
		0	no response, or A0-1
56	32	1	no response, or A0-0
		0	the mayor of New York City or his mention by name.
57	33	1	"canita," rum, bootleg, moonshine, or any other reference to "illegal" rum.
		0	no response, or A0-1
58		1	drink, refreshment, or any mention of how its made.
		0	no response, or A0-1

(Continued)

PRAM ITEM	PRAM-R ITEM	Score	Scoring Guide*
59	34	1	no response, or A0-0
		0	south, or any mention of a specific "southern" state.
60		1	yes
		0	no

* What is important in scoring the PRAM is that the subject have familiarity with the concepts involved in the questions. What is provided here, therefore, is a "guide" and not a manual that exhausts all possibilities. The researcher will need to judge other responses that subjects may present as demonstrating familiarity or not with the concepts presented.

** A0-0 = any response other than that (those) listed as receiving a score of 0.

*** A0-1 = any response other than (those) listed as receiving a score of 1.

APPENDIX HORIGINAL DEGREE OF ASSIMILATION SCALE* McCauley (1972)

1. About how many of your friends on the mainland are Puerto Rican?
(1) all (2) most (3) some (about half) (4) few (5) none
2. About how many of your close friends on the mainland are Puerto Rican?
(1) all (2) most (3) some (about half) (4) few (5) none
3. About how many of your neighbors are Puerto Rican?
(1) all (2) most (3) some (about half) (4) few (5) none
4. Considering all the social contacts you have - with friends, close friends, neighbors, and acquaintances - would you say they are more with Puerto Ricans, more with non-Puerto Ricans, or just about the same for each group?
(1) all with Puerto Ricans (2) more with Puerto Ricans (3) about the same for each group (4) more with non-Puerto Ricans, (5) all with non-Puerto Ricans.
5. If you could, would you like to go back to live in Puerto Rico or not?
(1) yes (2) uncertain (3) no
6. What language do you speak.....
 - a. with your husband (wife) in your home?
 - b. with your children in your home?
 - c. with your friends in the neighborhood?
 - d. among strangers in the subway, stores, public places?
7. Do you read newspapers, magazines and books in.....
8. Do you hear radio programs in.....
9. Do you watch TV programs in.....

Questions 6 to 9 could be answered with the following alternatives:

- (1) Spanish all or most of the time (2) Spanish and English equally
(3) English all or most of the time

* Questions were extracted from the original comprehensive interview.

(Continued)

APPENDIX H

10. What language did the respondent use during the researcher's visit to the home?
11. How well does the respondent understand English?
(1) poorly (2) fairly well (3) well
12. How well does the respondent speak English?
(1) poorly (2) fairly well (3) well

APPENDIX IDEGREE OF ACCULTURATION SCALE

Ginorio (1979)

1. About how many of your friends in the United States are Puerto Rican?
(a) all (b) most (c) some (about half) (d) few (e) none
2. About how many of your close friends in the United States are Puerto Rican?
(a) all (b) most (c) some (about half) (d) few (e) none
3. About how many of your neighbors are Puerto Rican?
(a) all (b) most (c) some (about half) (d) few (e) none
4. If you have non-Puerto Rican friends, please indicate to which of the following groups do they belong:
(a) Black (b) Chinese (c) Cuban (d) Dominican (e) Irish
(f) Italian (g) Jewish (h) Other (Please specify)
5. Census data for 1970 has shown that 48% of the second generation Puerto Ricans in the United States are marrying non-Puerto Ricans. How do you feel about this?
(a) approve strongly (b) approve mildly (c) disapprove mildly
(d) disapprove strongly
6. If you could, would you like to live in Puerto Rico permanently?
(a) yes (b) no
7. What language do you speak with your parents at home?
(a) Spanish all or most of the time (b) Spanish and English equally
(c) English all or most of the time
8. What language do you speak with your brothers and sisters at home?
9. What language do you speak with your friends in the neighborhood?
10. What language do you speak among strangers in the subway, stores, and other public places?
11. Do you read newspapers, magazines, and books in
12. Do you hear radio programs in.....
13. Do you watch TV programs in

APPENDIX J

SCORING GUIDE FOR DOA

McCauley (1972)

1. Degree of Assimilation Score, for individual = the sum of the following three scores:
- A. Score for Cultural Assimilation = the simple average of the responses to items 6a, 6b, 6c, 6d, 7, 8, and 9. These items measure the respondent's knowledge and use of the English language.
1. averages 1.0 - 1.6 = low = score of 1
 2. averages 1.7 - 2.3 = middle = score of 2
 3. averages 2.4 - 3.0 = high = score of 3
- B. Score for Social Assimilation = the simple average of the responses to items 1, 2, 3, and 4. These items measure the respondent's social contact with non-Puerto Ricans: friends, close friends, neighbors, and acquaintances.
1. averages 1.3 - 2.3 = low = score of 1
 2. averages 2.4 - 3.5 = middle = score of 2
 3. averages 3.6 - 4.8 = high = score of 3
- C. Score for response to item 5. This item measures the respondent's desire to go back to live in Puerto Rico.
1. yes = low = score of 1
 2. uncertain = middle = score of 2
 3. no = low = score of 3
11. Degree of Assimilation Score, for husband and wife = the sum of the husband's individual Degree of Assimilation Score and the wife's individual Degree of Assimilation Score.

An illustration (fictitious):

1. Degree of Assimilation Score, for husband = 7
- A. Score for Cultural Assimilation = 3 (avg. of 2.6)
 - B. Score for Social Assimilation = 2 (avg. of 2.8)
 - C. Score for response to item 5 = 2 (uncertain)
- total score of 7
- Degree of Assimilation Score, for wife = 5
- A. Score for Cultural Assimilation = 2 (avg. of 1.9)
 - B. Score for Social Assimilation = 1 (avg. of 2.0)
 - C. Score for response to item 5 = 2 (uncertain)
- total score of 5

11. Degree of Assimilation Score, for husband and wife = 7 + 5 = 12

(Continued)

APPENDIX J

Degree of Assimilation scores for the husbands and wives were then categorized as follows for purposes of analysis:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. High Degree of Assimilation | = scores 17 to 11
(20 couples) |
| 2. Low Degree of Assimilation | = scores 10 to 6
(20 couples) |

or

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. High Degree of Assimilation | = scores 17 to 13
(14 couples) |
| 2. Middle Degree of Assimilation | = scores 12 to 10
(12 couples) |
| 3. Low Degree of Assimilation | = scores 9 to 6
(14 couples) |

or

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. High Degree of Assimilation | = scores 17 to 13
(14 couples) |
| 2. High-middle Degree of Assimilation | = scores 12 to 11
(6 couples) |
| 3. Low-middle Degree of Assimilation | = score 10
(6 couples) |
| 4. Low Degree of Assimilation | = scores 9 to 6
(14 couples) |

In most cases the two-fold division of Degree of Assimilation into "High Degree of Assimilation" and "Low Degree of Assimilation" was sufficient for analytic purposes. However, "further analysis in terms of the two extreme groups..." as used in the text refers to the two extreme groups, i.e., 14 couples in each group, of the three-fold or four-fold division of Degree of Assimilation.

APPENDIX KSCORING GUIDE FOR DOA (GINORIO, 1979)

1. About how many of your friends in the United States are Puerto Rican?

(a) all 1	(b) most 2	(c) some (about half) 3	(d) few 4	(e) none 5
--------------	---------------	----------------------------	--------------	---------------

2. About how many of your close friends in the United States are Puerto Rican?

(a) all 1	(b) most 2	(c) some (about half) 3	(d) few 4	(e) none 5
--------------	---------------	----------------------------	--------------	---------------

3. About how many of your neighbors are Puerto Rican?

(a) all 1	(b) most 2	(c) some (about half) 3	(d) few 4	(e) none 5
--------------	---------------	----------------------------	--------------	---------------

- Not included in scoring 4. If you have non-Puerto Rican friends, please indicate to which of the following groups do they belong:

(a) Black	(b) Chinese	(c) Cuban	(d) Dominican	(e) Irish
(f) Italian	(g) Jewish	(h) Other (Please specify)		

5. Census data for 1970 has shown that 48% of the second generation Puerto Ricans in the United States are marrying non-Puerto Ricans. How do you feel about this?

(a) approve strongly (4)	(b) approve mildly (3)	(c) disapprove mildly (2)	(d) disapprove strongly (1)
--------------------------	------------------------	---------------------------	-----------------------------

6. If you could, would you like to live in Puerto Rico permanently?

(a) yes 1	(b) no 3
--------------	-------------

7. What language do you speak with your parents at home?

(a) Spanish all or most of the time 1	(b) Spanish and English equally 2
(c) English all or most of the time 3	

8. What language do you speak with your brothers and sisters at home?

9. What language do you speak with your friends in the neighborhood?

10. What language do you speak among strangers in the subway, stores, and other public places?

(Continued)

APPENDIX K

11. Do you read newspapers, magazines, and books in.....
12. Do you hear radio programs in.....
13. Do you watch TV programs in.....

How close/distant were you?

How close/distant are you now?

How do you feel about her now?

How often do you visit her?

What is it like when you spend time with her?

What kinds of things do you talk about?

What kinds of things do you do together?

30. Anything else you'd like to tell me about your mother?

31. Anything else you'd like to tell me about yourself?

32. About acculturation, on a scale of "0-10", with

0 being Very Americanized and 10 being Very Puerto Rican, how would you

rate yourself?

Why?

What does that mean

to you?

33. How would you rate your parents on the same scale? Why?

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