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**Order Number 8801787**

**The effects of acculturation and racial identity on self-esteem  
and psychological well-being among young Puerto Ricans**

**Martinez, Angel Robert, Ph.D.**

**City University of New York, 1987**

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THE EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION AND RACIAL IDENTITY ON  
SELF-ESTEEM AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING AMONG  
YOUNG PUERTO RICANS

by

ANGEL R. MARTINEZ

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.

1987

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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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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was devoted to the exploration, investigation and consideration of the many theories surrounding the acculturation process of Puerto Ricans living in New York City. More particularly, it was concerned with those elements such as race, which might influence Puerto Ricans' particular mode of acculturation. This study presented concerns and theoretical problems which have long been investigated and recognized by social scientists and psychologists. In its simplest form this study presents the possible conflicts which an ethnic group member might encounter when placed in a cultural situation where two not entirely compatible social, racial, and political positions exist.

A study as complex as this leaves one indebted to a great many people and institutions. I must acknowledge my continuing debt to my professor, chairperson, and mentor, Dr. Vera Paster for her continue guidance, counseling, and sincere devotion to my study. I am generally indebted to the members of my dissertation committee, Professors Wilensky, Gerstman, Silverstein and Rodriguez for their guidance, support, wise counsel and inspiration. I am sincerely appreciative of the help and encouragement given me by Dr. Clara Rodriguez whose own work in the area of race relations, gave me the energy and courage to continue with my work. My deepest appreciation is also extended to the different colleges in New York City; Brooklyn College,

Hunter College, City College, La Guardia College and to the students to the Fordham University Puerto Rican Research Center and their staff for their willingness to open their Center for my use. I am grateful to Gary Simons and to the Prep for Prep Program for their special support and aid while I undertook this study. I have been privileged to have had the opportunity to be associated with an organization such as Prep for Prep which is committed to the enhancement and education of minority students.

The manuscript was substantially improved by Dr. Ralph Larkin who read all parts and made many useful and significant editorial changes and advised on the data analysis. Dr. Larkin, I am forever grateful.

I never would have written this manuscript had it not been for the loving support of my wife Ceci, our children; Dino and Nicky, and my mother Felicita Martinez.

Finally, I would like to thank my two other loving parents, Buddy and Linda Tackett for giving me the chance of a life time when life was difficult for me. I owe them much more than I can humanly give for having given me the chance to learn about life in the United States. I dedicate this work with love to them, their children, and family. Love, Angel.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

It has been observed by social scientists and psychologists (Lewin, 1948; Sullivan, 1953; Mead, 1956; Erikson, 1968) that an individual needs a clear sense of identification with the heritage and culture of his ingroup in order to find a secure basis for a sense of well-being. Insufficient ingroup identity results in a myriad of psychological problems.

Ingroup identity is complicated when a collectivity immigrates to, or becomes dominated by an alien culture. This results in a confrontation between the dominant and the native culture, resulting in a situation of marginality for those sharing in the native culture. The term "marginal man" was introduced by Park (1928) to describe a cultural conflict which evolved as immigrants attempted to assimilate into the dominant white Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) culture. He stated:

When people of divergent races and cultures seeks to live within the limits of a cosmopolitan society and escape the limitations of caste and class then, under the conditions of modern life, what we call culture conflict take place. Further, the mental conflict of individuals flow from culture conflicts and hence the often quoted

statement that, "It is in the mind of the marginal man that the moral turmoil which new cultural contact occasions, manifest itself in the most obvious form." (Park, 1928, cited in Clark, 1966, p. 8)

Thus marginality, occurs when people find themselves caught between two cultures, but not fully participants in either. The marginal individual finds himself being tugged between the old culture and the new. "The moral turmoil stemming from new cultural contacts shows itself most clearly in the mind of the marginal man. This is probably inevitable but for the marginal man it is likely to be relatively permanent, so that he becomes a personality type, characterized by instability, intensified self-consciousness, restlessness and malaise" (Park, 1928, cited in Mann, 1973, p. 213).

Marginality among Puerto Ricans is further intensified when their racial attitudes, perceptions and racial definition are in sharp opposition to those of the dominant culture. The Puerto Rican living in New York is not only at the margin of two different cultures, but also at the margin of two societies with different racial categories which conflict as the individual moves between the two cultures. This cultural situation can be experienced by Puerto Ricans living in New York as a trauma to their ethnocultural identity giving rise to a fragmented and diffused sense of self. Comas-Diaz and Jacobsen (1983) have said:

Forced psychosocial definition may then lead to identity diffusion. During acculturation of majority group transitional period, ethnocultural minority group members may face changes in their self-images and [incur] subsequent identity crises. (p. 1)

The concept of marginality is not only a cultural and racial issue, but a clinical one as well. An individual lacking a firm and clear sense of identification with an ethnic or majority culture is lacking the basis for the development of a sense of well-being and the formation of a positive identity. Add to this the racial redefinition, and the situation is further complicated.

This study investigates the effects of the U.S. and Puerto Rican racial systems and how they affect the acculturation and assimilation process among Puerto Ricans. Further, it seeks to determine the effects of three modes of adaptation to marginality on Puerto Rican's sense of personal well-being and self-esteem. The three modes of adaptation are: (1) assimilation, in which the culture of origin is rejected in favor of the host culture; (2) rejection, in which the host culture is rejected in favor of the culture of origin; and (3) biculturalism, in which a synthesis is made between the two cultures. As noted above, since race is a complicating factor, it is likely that, as Puerto Ricans encounter the United States's racial system of classification into black and white, modes of adaptation will be influenced by how a Puerto Rican is racially classified in the U.S.

#### Significance of the Study

Marginalilty results in a core of psychological traits which are representative of a dual pattern of social con-

flict and identification. With members of some subcultures, marginality is a minor problem; while in others it seems to develop into an intense conflict. Marginal individuals become aware of this conflict through one or more experiences which call upon them to reflect on this dual cultural role. Stonequist (1935) stated,

At this point, the individual's life organization is seriously disturbed, confusion, even shock, restlessness, disillusionment, and estrangement may result. A new self-consciousness develops to mirror the two attitudes of the two groups toward each other and towards himself, not yet knowing how to negotiate these differences. In this case the individual becomes something of a divided personality. (p. 10)

Kerckhoff (1953) studied the personality characteristics of marginality in eighty four Chippewa Indian children by employing an inventory based on a composite profile of marginality derived from the work of Park and Stonquist and others. He examined the factors that were associated with the choice of either the dominant or subordinate group as a reference group, and which individuals were most likely to develop marginal personality characteristics. The variables for the study were: (1) group orientation; (2) psychological marginality; (3) achievement; (4) Indian appearance; (5) ancestry; and (6) economic level.

His results revealed that: (1) an individual's group orientation was significantly influenced by his primary group associations with the norms of the dominant and subordinate groups and his degree of ancestry from the two groups; (2) visibility influenced the individual's attitudes toward

the two groups depending on the response by the dominant group; (3) age played a major factor in marginality (i.e., older children were more aware of the problem and attempted to solve it by choosing one of the two alternatives, while younger children were less likely to make a definite "choice"); and (4) individuals, who showed a sharp incongruence between the use of the dominant group as a reference group and the degree of acceptance by that group, experienced the greatest degree of marginality conflict. In sum, orientation and visibility towards the dominant group were the most important explanatory variables.

In further research, Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955) found that the degree of resemblance to the dominant or subordinate group was a major contributor to the development of marginal personality traits among American Indians. Although there appeared to be no direct association between visibility and psychological marginality, they pointed out that the more Indian-like subjects, rather than the white-like, showed the most severe symptoms of psychological marginality. In addition, the more white-like of their Indian subjects had a greater orientation towards the whites than the Indian-like subjects. This suggests that skin color is a social barrier among American Indians, through which the lighter-skinned, more Anglo-complected can pass, and the more "Indian-like" cannot. Marginality, then becomes a function of social exclusion.

In a study concerning South African blacks, Mann (1957)

focused on the social situational determinators of marginality. He claimed that blacks were not racially nor culturally marginal. Instead, they were in a marginal situation due to the domination of them by the whites who distributed privileges largely along color lines. According to Mann, the following three conditions are essential factors which contribute to development of a marginal personality: (1) at least two groups should be in lasting contact; (2) there should be definite advantages in belonging to the privileged group; and (3) there should be a barrier which makes passage into the privileged group difficult. He held that these conditions were present in his subject pool in South Africa.

Mann (1958) agreed with Kerckhoff's view that an individual's group orientation towards the dominant group and the barriers which were present between the dominant and subordinate groups were important in the making of the marginal personality. However, Mann showed that these elements had several aspects. Orientation was defined in three ways: (1) preferring white to blacks; (2) uncertain as to which group one preferred; and (3) acceptance or rejection of white dominance. He also expanded the definition of barriers to include: (1) the ability to penetrate the dominant group by degree of passability; (2) level of resistance; and (3) an individual's perceived or felt understanding of the barriers. His results demonstrated that there were two types of subjects prone to the develop psychological marginality traits: (1) an individual who had low passa-

bility in terms of skin color and relationship to the dominant group; who found it difficult to distinguish between the dominant group and his subordinate group while deploring dominant group barriers; and (2) an individual who had a high passability and deplored dominant group barriers, but nonetheless who strongly preferred dominant group members to subordinate group members. Furthermore, Mann reported that mixed-bloods were not necessarily more liable to develop peculiar signs of psychological marginality than were those of unmixed ancestry.

Berry (1970) conducted a study of Aboriginal Australians in a community composed entirely of mixed-ancestry on the coast of New South Wales. Using scaled variables which characterized marginality (e.g., alienation, social deviance, psychosomatic stress, attitudes towards modes of relating to dominant white society, degree of Westernization, personal barriers to interacting and ethnic identification, etc.), he found a pattern which only in part supported marginality theory. His most important finding was that these symptoms and attitudes of marginality were stronger among individuals who rejected dominant white society. This was a new revelation which contradicted previous findings that psychological marginality would be present in those who identified with the dominant white group, but experienced resistance.

Berry posited that the high marginality among those who rejected dominant society was reflective of a reaffirmation

and not a retention of traditional minority group values. In sum, the high marginality of these individuals was a reaction to the dominant white society. Moreover, he claimed that this conflict can only be resolved by assuming an ethnic identity and the subsequent climate of acceptance of said identity by the majority society. If these conditions are impeded, then minority groups may be doomed to psychological discomfort.

In a study of non-white natives and foreigners in Canada, Berry (1985, p. 10) focused on acculturative stress. Acculturation was defined as a process that lead to the following outcomes: assimilation, integration, separation, or marginalization. He found that individuals who preferred separation and marginalization tended to experience greater stress while those who accepted a continuing relationship with the host society were the least stressed.

Therefore in light of these empirical findings, this study makes the point that it becomes essential in a society such as ours, a "melting pot" with several marginal subcultures, to investigate the clinical consequences of the marginal experience, as well as the factors involved in resolving or maintaining the marginal cultural conflict.

## CHAPTER 2

### BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

#### Identity

Problems of identity have always been in the forefront of psychological investigation and have always been of concern to social scientists and clinicians. Charles Cooley (1902), in his conceptualization of the "looking-glass self," stated that in order for one to develop an identity or a social self it must be part of an interaction between the individual and other individuals who make up his/her social system. Cooley (1902) spoke of the development of the social self as having three principal elements:

the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgment of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification. The comparison with a looking-glass hardly suggests the second element, the imagined judgment, which is quite essential. The thing that moves us to pride or shame is not the mere mechanical reflection of ourselves, but an imputed sentiment, the imagined effect of this reflection upon another's mind." (p. 152)

Erik Erikson (1968), a Freudian successor to Cooley conceptualized identity in the following way:

In psychological terms, identity formation employs a process of simultaneous reflection and observation, a process taking place on all levels of

mental functioning, by which the individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in comparison to themselves and to a typology significant to them; while he judges their way of judging him in the light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him. (p. 22)

It is clear that Cooley and Erikson conceived of the development of an identity as having two dimensions, the personal and the social. In fact, Erikson (1968) spoke of these two dimensions as being inseparable:

And finally, in discussing identity, as we now see, we cannot separate the personal growth and communal change, nor can we separate the identity crisis in individual life and contemporary crises in historical development because the two help to define each other and are truly relative to each other. In fact, the whole interplay between the psychological and the social, the developmental and the historical, for which identity formation is of prototypal significance, could be conceptualized only as a kind of psychosocial relativity. (p. 23)

It is also quite clear that identity is a cultural artifact. Included in a personal history is the history of the ethnic group to which this individual belongs. George Herbert Mead (1956), in his conceptualization of the self, gave great importance to the group to which an individual was a member:

I have pointed out, then, that there are two general stages in the full development of the self. At the first of these stages, the individual's self is constituted simply by an organization of particular attitudes of other individuals toward himself and toward one another in the specific social acts in which he participates with them. But at the second stage in the full development of the individual's self, that self is

constituted not only by an organization of these particular individual attitudes, but also by an organization of the social attitudes of the generalized other or the social group as a whole to which he belongs. (p. 224)

Central to this study is the belief that an individual's identity is largely shaped by the character of the ethnic group to which he belongs, and the relationship of that ethnic group with the larger society in which it exists. Erikson (1956) was one of the first to note the importance of belongingness to a group as a determinant of a sense of self, or ego identity. Schafer (1968) summarized Erikson's conception of identity as follows:

Perhaps one comes close to the spirit of Erikson's conception by regarding identity formation as the subjects relatively successful struggle for integrated functional and experiential continuity in a changing biological, familial, cultural, and experiential past, present, and future. The term best serves a large and highly impressionistic view of man. (p. 41)

Festinger (1954) and Turner (1975) pointed out that the need to identify and evaluate oneself as an individual is also coterminous with oneself as a group member.

It has been proposed by other social scientists and psychologists, such as Kurt Lewin and Harry Stack Sullivan that an individual needs a clear sense of identification with the heritage and culture of his ingroup in order to find a secure basis for the development of the formation of an identity and a sense of well-being. Aboud and Skerry (1984) maintained: "The awareness of one's group identification and evaluation is strengthened by contrasts

and comparisons with other groups. In this way self-evaluation leads to attitudes about one's own group and other groups. (p. 29) Insufficient ingroup security or group identification results in identity problems. Devos (1982) has stated:

Ethnicity. . . is in its narrowest sense, a feeling of continuity with the past, a feeling that is maintained as an essential part of one's self-definition. Ethnicity is also intimately related to the individual need for collective continuity. The individual senses to some degree a threat to his own survival if his group or lineage is threatened with extinction. Ethnicity, therefore, includes a sense of personal survival in the historical continuity of the group. For this reason, failure to remain in the group leads to feelings of guilt. (p. 17)

#### Marginality and Identity

For immigrants into an alien culture, the process of identity-formation is complicated by the fact that they have, at some level, abandoned one culture and have moved into a second culture of which they know very little and in which they have not been accepted. On the one hand, there are social pressures to accept the alien culture, while on the other hand, there are counter-pressures to embrace the culture of origin. The dilemma of the immigrant, then, is how much of the old culture should be retained and how much of the new culture should be embraced. This problem has been conceptualized as "marginality" by sociologists.

Park (1928) was the first to use the term "marginal man". He defined the marginal man as:

One who is living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct people, never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice in the new society in which he now seeks to find a place. (p. 892)

Thus, ethnic identity may be a source of anxiety and psychological insecurity for those individuals who find themselves in a marginal situation. Two general types of situations that produce a marginal personality may be distinguished: (1) a bi-cultural or multi-cultural situation in which members of one cultural group are seeking to adjust themselves to the group which possesses greater prestige and power and (2) where cultural differences overlay racial and genetic difference (i.e., bi-racial groups of different skin color gradations).

The major focus of this investigation is to identify conflict among Puerto Ricans living in New York City as a function of skin color, ethnic identity, and racial identity. It can be assumed that Puerto Ricans living in New York City experience the other dimension of marginality more directly--a bi-cultural, multi-cultural situation.

Puerto Ricans, because of their heritage and racial make-up, include among their members people who by virtue of their physical appearance are able to pass, given criteria of the U.S. racial classification system, as members of the privileged dominant group, i.e., whites in U.S. society. There is an intermediate section of the Puerto Rican population who are passable as white (light brown skin color) yet

not clearly defined, and black members who are not passable at all. Within the intermediate (brown) skin color group, there are many gradations of skin color.

Stonequist (1937) has stated that the mere likelihood of being mistaken for a member of the dominant race, or of a race less subject to prejudice, tends to create personality problems. Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955) found that visibility was a factor in the determination of marginal personality traits among American Indians. Sommers (1964) reported three cases of patients who had developed defense systems based on depreciated and deceptive self-image. These patients were what she called "cultural-hybrid" or "multiethnic." She stated:

Although the initial complaints and symptoms of these men varied in many ways, they were all concerned with the question of their identity. They all wanted to be something they were not. Almost all of them worshipped the American image, they all wanted to be "sociologically white"--that is, white Anglo-Americans. (p. 333)

An individual who lives between two societies with different social structures, betwixt and between their own cultural group and the host culture, will be influenced by the host culture. Even if the dual-culture individual's life is influenced predominantly by one culture, they are often keenly aware of their connection with the other culture or group.

Most important for this investigation, Puerto Ricans are members of an ethnic group which is composed of multi-racial people with different gradations of skin color which gives them high, medium and low visibility in terms of skin

color in the United States. Therefore, there are members of the Puerto Rican community who can identify themselves as white American, Black American, Spanish American, and Puerto Rican American or Puerto Rican on the bases of their physical traits and their sense of ethnic identity. The genetic situation places Puerto Ricans racially as well as culturally in a marginal situation. Thus, skin gives those Puerto Ricans who possess the physical traits which most closely resemble those of the dominant group, and who are ambitious, an advantage in social mobility.

Antonovsky (1956) in his definition of marginality stated that marginal people are pulled into the non-marginal culture because of the promise of greater rewards. What this actually means is that minority group individuals may perceive the majority group as being the group which allows for the greatest opportunity. Thus a rationally-calculating minority group person who realizes that social mobility is easier for whites may attempt to adopt the attitudes and behaviors of whites in order to pass. Yet, as the review will show, this is not always possible, which adds to the psychic conflict of the marginal person.

Marginal people suffer from identity conflicts, not knowing what their roles are nor what is expected of them in each culture. They find that they are expected to do something which they have no desire to do and that the two cultures are incompatible and contain contradictory expectations.

Lewin (1951) described racial minority group members as individuals who stand on the boundary between two groups. They may not belong to either of them, or are uncertain about their belongingness. They come to feel that they are in a "no man's land." Their awareness of the conflict situation signifies that in looking at themselves from the standpoint of each group the conflict is experienced as a personal problem.

According to theoretical formulations of Stonequist (1937), Goldberg (1941), and Park (1950) and the subsequent empirical findings of Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955), Mann (1958), and Berry (1970), the marginal situation produces a dual pattern of identifications and divided loyalties. There seems to be an attempt to maintain self-respect which in certain cases gets transformed into feelings of ambivalence, emotional instability and sensitivity. The marginal situation creates an imbalance or ambivalence in behavior, resulting in shyness, introversion and increased feelings of insecurity, self-pity, sensitivity, anxiety and, at times, self-estrangement. In contrast, research by Antonovsky (1956) and Mann (1973) suggested that not all outcomes of the marginal situation are unfavorable and may even lead to challenging rewards. Antonovsky has made the point that some people who are in a marginal situation seem to develop definitions of the situation which allow them to live in the situation by laying greater or lesser stress on their relations to one or the other culture. Therefore, they could draw from the advantages of both cultures. Mann

stated:

one might. . .remember that not all outcomes of the marginal situation need be unfavorable. The marginal position need not be ordinarily distressing, and the conflicts of marginality need not always be painful. Conflicts can be bracing and challenging. Furthermore, while biculturality may torture, it may amount on the other hand, to the best of two worlds. (p. 221)

Eduardo Seda Bonilla in Requiem Para Una Cultura (1980) makes the following point about Puerto Ricans living in New York:

Americans are usually startled to hear that only 7 percent of the population of Puerto Ricans is black, with 19 percent in an intermediate racial category such as mulatto, grifo, or jabao, and 74 percent being white. Analogous astonishment, but for precisely the opposite reasons, is experienced by Puerto Ricans when it dawns on them that Americans consider all Puerto Ricans black. Most Puerto Ricans simply refuse to believe that anyone might take them for anything else but white. With equal candor, most Americans take for granted the non-whiteness of Puerto Ricans. (p. 205)

It seems that if one is going to make an adequate evaluation of Puerto Rican marginality, three areas must be discussed: (1) skin color and its effect on ethnic/racial identification; (2) the differences in racial definitions and perceptions between Puerto Ricans and North Americans; and (3) the consequent problems of identification for Puerto Ricans.

Skin Color: Ethnic/Racial Identification and Self-Concept

Research investigating the importance of skin color on self-concept and ethnic identification among different eth-

nic groups, including Black, Mexican-Americans, Dominicans, and Puerto Ricans held the attention of social scientists during the late 1960s and early 1970s (Banks, 1976; Deblassie, and Healey, 1970; Gitter, et. al. 1971; Healey, et. al., 1974; Lincoln, 1967; Megenny, 1974; Nobles, 1973; Petersen and Ramirez, 1971; Rice, Ruiz, and Padilla, 1974; Shelibow, 1973; Teplin, 1976.) This research, for the most part, has reached no clear consensus on the effect of skin color on self-concept and ethnic/racial identification. This may be due in part, to the specific methods used in investigation and the questions asked. The research does show a difference between an individual's self-concept and ethnic identification as influenced by the different gradations of skin color. It has been demonstrated that light-skinned Blacks are in higher status positions and higher socio-economic strata (Allport, 1954; Drake and Cayton, 1962; Frazier, 1948; Franklin, 1962; Freeman, Ross, Armor, and Pettigrew, 1966; Grier and Cobbs, 1968; Ransford, 1970; Silberman, 1964).

In examining the research on attitudes towards skin color among Negroes, Spurlock (1969) found that darker children feel that their parents give preference to children of lighter complexion. Myrdal (1944) expressed the concern that the color caste order of American's has directly stamped the Negro class system by determining status within the Negro community by degree of whiteness.

Mixed bloods have always been preferred by the

---

white and were assumed to be mentally more capable. They had a higher sales value on the slave market....The mulattoes followed the white people's valuation and associated their privileges with their lighter color. They considered themselves superior to the black slave people and attribute their superiority to the fact of their mixed blood. (p. 91)

Ransford (1970) found that darker Negroes showed more anti-white feelings than light Negroes and that the darker skinned Blacks exhibited greater feelings of powerlessness than did light-skinned Blacks. Ransford (1970) stated:

Taking account of earlier findings on the color barrier, a cumulative pattern can be noted: dark color and feelings of powerlessness interact to produce the lowest returns in income and occupational status and to produce intense antagonism toward white society. (p. 176)

Interviewing 312 randomly selected Black males, ages 18 to 65, after the Watts riot in 1965, Ransford found that darker skinned Blacks were expressing more hostility toward white people and white society than lighter Blacks. He also found that dark Blacks were in lower occupational and income categories than light Blacks even when education was held constant. He found that light skin Blacks were more likely to be in white collar jobs than dark skinned Blacks, and that color, in part, determined whether or not the person would be employed at all, with higher proportions of dark Blacks being unemployed.

Freeman and Ross, (1966) in their study on attitudes of middle income Black families found that skin color of both husbands and wives were associated with social status. His

findings, he states suggest that, "color among American Negroes can be viewed, like occupation, as a contemporary status symbol shaping the individual's personal world, rather than as a status ascribed at birth and related to the total life experience of the individual" (365). Freeman and Ross (1966) also indicated that husbands in white-collar occupations are more likely to marry light-color wives than husbands in blue-collar occupations, on the other hand, husbands in blue-collar occupations are likely to obtain a wife lighter than they are if they marry a woman from a blue-collar family.

Skin color and its influence on behavior has also been investigated with children. Clark (1950) found a fantasy among Black children that they were really white. When three year old Black children were shown white and Black appearing dolls and asked to color pictures of themselves many of them rejected the dark-skinned dolls, and colored themselves a lighter color. Goodman (1970) found that nursery school Black children displayed a tendency to see themselves as lighter skinned than they actually were. They saw white dolls as "prettier" and "nicer"; the brown doll was seen as "dirty". Dennis (1963) in his study of Black college students and Black children found that Blacks who were asked to draw a man, almost always drew a white rather than black figure. He concluded that the drawings were a reflection of the type of person whose appearance they admired, and they preferred a white appearance.

Clark and Clark (1950) using the Dolls Test, a line

drawing technique, and a coloring test used to measure ethnic evaluation and its emotional components in 160 children, ages five to seven, found that children commenting on their choices and rejections of white and brown dolls were aware of the fact that to be colored in contemporary society is a mark of inferior status. This basic finding of preference for the white or lighter skin color and rejection of the black or darker skin color has been noted over a range of locations, materials, and settings for Black children (Asher and Allen, 1969; Goodman, 1970; Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1968; Helgerson, 1943; Landreth and Johnson, 1953; Horowitz, 1939; Morland, 1962; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958) as well as for white children (Asher and Allen, 1969; Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1968, Helgerson, 1943; Landreth and Johnson, 1953; Morland, 1962; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958).

Several researchers have used figure drawings tests to assess how Black children evaluate themselves. Coles (1964) observed that Black children evaluate themselves. Coles (1964) observed that Black children when drawing a Black person drew less complete faces and limbs than when drawing a white person. He concluded that the drawings reflected the feelings of helplessness and negative identity of Black children. In another figure drawing test, Frish and Handeler (1967) found that 122 Black adolescents students, tended to grossly overemphasize and distort hair on the figure drawings than the 103 white subjects. Another finding was that Black children often did not draw persons

with Negroid features. The authors concluded that these Black children's performance reflected their desire for assimilation and integration.

In a classic study, Seeman (1946) found that skin color was an operative factor used by Black preadolescents to make social judgements. Seeman used a self-rating scale and an interview technique with 81 all-Black school children in all-Black classes in grades three through six. The subjects' skin color was determined by judges using a 5-point scale to estimate shade. The children's self-ratings showed a significantly higher choice of lighter shades than the judges. Skin color also had an effect on friendship choices and status among the peer group.

There is also strong evidence in the literature that skin color has an effect on the development of self-esteem and self-concept. Butts (1963) found that among 50 Black children, there was a preference for lighter skin color shades. The children's self-esteem was measured by using California Test of Personality (CTP) on personal worth and by ratings by social workers and counselors on a 5-point scale designed by Butts. The test devised by Clark and Clark was used to measure the subjects' perception of skin-color. The children were asked to first color a figure that was their skin shade and then color a second figure a shade they would like children to be. The subjects' skin color was rated by the experimenter who estimated which of the crayon colors provided the best approximation to each of the subjects' skin color shade. It was found that there was a

correlation between the accuracy of skin color perception of subjects and the CTP self-esteem scale. There was no correlation between self-esteem and the social workers' and counselors' ratings. The author concluded that inaccurate perceptions of one's own skin color was positively related to a desire to be a lighter color.

In contrast to the previous studies, more recent research (Greenward and Oppenheim, 1968; Gregor and McPherson, 1966, Harba and Grant, 1970; Kline, 1970; Kircher and Furby, 1971; Ward and Braun, 1972) has reported a more positive self-image among black children (e.g., a strong identification with the black doll or photographs stimuli). Taylor (1976) felt that the findings of the the past studies on racial preference and identification may have been an artifact of poor methodology (e.g., biased sampling, poor construct validity, etc.) and ambiguous theoretical framework.

Ward and Braun (1972) in a study of self-esteem and racial preference in Black children found that there was a relationship between self-esteem and racial preference. The authors gave the Piers-Harris self-esteem test, and a racial preference test to 60 Black girls and boys between the ages of seven and eight. Thirty children came from a middle-class interracial, suburban school in Pennsylvania and the other 30 came from a lower-class interracial inner-city school also in Pennsylvania. The racial preference test consisted of two pairs of puppets chosen to match as closely as possible the children's sex and ages. Each of the pairs

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of puppets was identical except for skin and hair color. One puppet was black with a medium brown face and black hair, the white puppet had light skin and light hair. The children were asked (1) "give me the puppet that you would like to play with," (2) "give me the puppet that is the nice puppet." (3) "give me the puppet that is a nice color." (4) "give me the puppet that looks bad." A significant relationship between self-esteem and racial preference was found. Subjects with higher self-concept scores made more black color preference choices. Ward and Braun (1972) concluded that this relationship was indicative of a new spirit of dignity in the lives of Afro-Americans (i.e., "Black is beautiful") and black children have come to appreciate their uniqueness, beauty, and special value.

In review of 21 studies on racial preference among black children, Bank (1976) stated 20 percent demonstrated a black preference, 10 percent a white preference, and 70 percent exhibited a "nonpreference." In another review of the research, Aboud and Skerry (1984) reported that 27 percent of the studies done after 1976 indicated a black preference (Aboud, 1980; Lavine and Ruiz, 1978; Semaj, 1980; Spencer, 1982), 16 percent indicated a white preference (Davey and Mullin, 1980; Rohrer, 1977), and 57 percent showed no consensus on preference (Branch and Newcombe, 1980; Klein, Lavine, and Charry, 1979). These changes in the more recent research may be a reflection of social and political changes wrought by the sixties (e.g., Civil Rights, Black Pride, Affirmative Action).

It is apparent from this review that considerable attention has been given to the effects of skin-color on black self-concept, ethnic and racial identification. The research has consistently found that within the Black populace, there has, at least until the Black culture revolution of the late 1960s, been a tendency to internalize the negative evaluations of Blacks by whites and that those who internalize white definitions of goodness and badness of skin color suffer from loss of self-esteem. This psychological artifact of racial domination has been documented in the psychiatric literature (e.g., Fanon, 1967; Grier and Cobbs, 1968; Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951). In the review that follows on racial identification among Puerto Ricans and other Hispanic groups the results are similar.

Among Hispanic minority groups, Mexican-Americans have received the most attention. Anderson and Safar (1967) found negative perceptions of Mexican-American among Anglo and Mexican Americans. In studies of choice of ethnic dolls, Werner and Evans (1968) found that following exposure to school, Mexican American children began to group the dolls by color, instead of by size and sex. The most critical finding was that Mexican children were identifying themselves more with the white doll than the other color dolls. Peterson and Ramirez (1971) found that there existed a greater discrepancy between real and ideal-self among fifth through eighth grade Black and Mexican American

students than among white students. Coleman (1966) in his report of equality of education opportunity reported that Mexican-American children showed a significantly lower self-concept than white children, but not lower than black children. Carter (1968) averred that the supposed negative self-concept of Mexican children was a function of projections or stereotypes directed at them by others.

Investigations dealing with self-concept in relation to Puerto Ricans are less numerous but continue to show similar results to those of Blacks and Mexican-Americans. Drusine (1955) found that Puerto Ricans saw their own ethnic group as being below that of Anglo-Americans, but significantly above that of Blacks. Coleman (1966) found that Puerto Ricans' self-concept was significantly lower than that of Negro and White students. Sobrino (1966) found that friendships were influenced by skin color.

Rodriguez (1974) conducted a survey of racial identification among 52 Puerto Ricans living in New York. She was interested in observing how Puerto Rican subjects identified themselves racially. These subjects were divided into first and second generation groups, plus a group of 12 leaders (Puerto Ricans elected and appointed to political positions). Subjects were asked to categorize themselves in terms of skin color. Rodriguez found that there was a disjunction between self-perception and others' perceptions of their racial image. The second generation classified themselves as darker than Rodriguez had judged them based on a 4 point scale designed to reflect what she perceived to be

"U.S. Standards." Rodriguez's findings revealed that the only group that showed no confusion was the Black-appearing Puerto Rican. These subjects perceived themselves to be Black and were classified as Black. She suggested that her findings may be understood as a possible darkening of the racial self-image of Puerto Ricans living or raised on the mainland. She further suggested that her findings may be due to identification with the Black movement that was emergent then or as a reaction to New York's definition of Puerto Ricans as non-white.

Shelibow (1973) studied the relationship between skin color and self-concept in the Dominican population and found that the Black Dominican child showed a considerably lower self-esteem than the lighter skinned Dominican child. There is evidence of a lower self-concept existing in the Puerto Rican population as a result of skin color. Sereno (1947) used the term "crytomelanism" to refer to denial of Negro characteristics among upper class Puerto Ricans. Other literature on Puerto Ricans suggest that skin color may affect Puerto Ricans differently depending on whether one is living on the island or on the mainland (Green, 1972); Megenny, 1974; Rodriguez, 1974; Tumin and Feldman, 1977). If greater racial demarcations exist in the U.S.A., the Puerto Ricans who may not experience them on the island are confronted with a conflict in racial classification. Fitzpatrick (1958) described the conflict which Puerto Ricans experience in the U.S.A.:

When the Puerto Rican migrates to New York, they meet an attitude toward color and a type of discrimination that they have never experienced on the Island. Identification as "colored in New York" involves handicaps for greater than similar identification would involve in Puerto Rico.

In the first place, the intermediate category tends to disappear, and people are considered white or colored. Secondly; like the previous immigrants, they feel very sharply the resentment of the community to their coming, and the pressure to win acceptance by the American community becomes extremely strong. It is not long before they realize that acceptance by the American community is much easier if one is white. (p. 225)

This literature review makes it clear that the color of individuals, including Hispanics, will influence their self-concept. This part of the literature review on skin color affectively shows how skin color can effect an individual's self-concept, and ethnic/racial preference. The next part of this literature review will concentrate on reviewing the literature which highlight how differences in racial perceptions between Puerto Ricans and Americans create a conflict for the Puerto Rican living in New York.

#### Differences in Racial Perceptions and the Problem of Acculturation

Rodriguez's (1974) research suggests that skin color and racial perceptions acquire new meaning for Puerto Ricans living in the United States. The American racial model is dichotomous (i.e., white and black), while the Puerto Rican model includes several intermediate positions and a broader definition of "white." Glazer (1958) commented that ethnic

group members in America are not classified in terms of their ethnic identification (i.e., "a person's use of racial, national or religious terms to identify himself, and thereby, to relate himself to others") (p. 31). According to Rodriguez (1974) and Seda (1980), the American model is based on a caste-like system which makes skin color the major criterion for classifying one racially as white or black. Thus, there is no room for those individuals who do not fall directly into one of these two skin color groups. These persons are then classified as nonwhite, or as blacks.

Eduardo Seda (1980) considered the racial classification of Puerto Ricans as nonwhite in New York City as a barrier to their adaptational process. He stated:

It is my thesis that the condition that followed from being placed on a nonwhite racial category is the single most important factor determining the adaptation of Puerto Rican migrants to New York. If this categorization had not taken place, Puerto Rican adaptation would have followed the patterns set by other immigrant groups within the melting pot. The so-called "closed frontier" is pure rationalization. When the frontier was open, the Indians, Blacks, and Mexicans "did not make it." Now the frontier is closed, but recent "white" immigrants are "making it." (p. 204)

Seda (1976) pointed out that in Puerto Rico as well as in Latin America, racial classifications allow for discrimination between white and black, and produces intermediate groups such as "mulato", "grifo" and "Jabao" which lie between them. In Latin America as well as in Puerto Rico, the intermediate groups are recognized as distinct groups, and are stratified according to physical appearance and social class. This indicates, "that a person

can have in his genealogical tree direct ancestry which is considered black, without this affecting his position as white, which his physical appearance indicates" (p. 592). In the American racial classification system, one's national and racial ancestry is a significant factor. In this way people are distinguished as Irish, French, German, Mexican, Italian, Yankee, or Polish, and so forth. The Latin American social structure does not make such discrimination, so that a person who has a last name of O'Neill, Bruckman, Santini, Wiscovitz or Ramirez, is nothing more than Puerto Rican. Seda made the point that these people in the United States would be Irish, German, or Spanish, and so forth, "one drop of black blood doesn't make that social identity invalid" (p. 593).

Ginorio (1985) has also written about the differences between the Latin American and the United States conception of race:

As a result of all the extensive racial mixture and the fluidity of racial definitions, the conception of race in Latin America is one of a continuum with no clear demarcation between categories. In contrast to this racial system, in the U.S. race is seen as a dichotomous variable of white or black. Not only does the U.S. racial system differ from the Latin American one in recognizing discrete as opposed to continuous groups, it also limits racial distinctions to a very small number of categories--four or perhaps five, if in addition to white, black and yellow, red and "brown" are seen as distinct racial categories. The basis for such distinctions in the U.S. is genealogical. If any amount of black blood can be determined to exist, the individual is classified as black. Thus, an individual is racially defined at birth and can change that identity only by "passing" (p. 14-15)

In an effort to find answers to questions about what Puerto Ricans perceive as factors in determining one's race, Tumin and Feldman (1961) conducted research to try to investigate the relationship between skin color and social class and how they affected the social categorization of Puerto Ricans. They asked Puerto Ricans of varying classes and color groups to answer such questions as: (1) "Would you say that persons of your color are respected much more than, the same, or less than persons of different skin color?" (2) "Would you say that persons of your color have more, the same, or less opportunity to make their way in life than persons of other skin colors?" (3) "So far as opportunity in life, respect, and similar things, which color is best to have, worst to have, and why?" (p. 233-234)

Tumin and Feldman showed that skin color had very little relationship to education, income, occupation, or any other indices of racial and economic positions. The majority of Puerto Ricans denied that skin color was an important factor on how much respect they received, and the population was split 50 to 40 percent in favor of the proposition that white is the best skin color, as against the notion that skin color doesn't matter. Tumin and Feldman stated that: "There was an overall correspondence between what the objective analysis shows about the minor and insignificant role of skin color and what people themselves subjectively perceive and feel" (p. 245). The Tumin and Feldman study, although somewhat outdated, still points to the fact that,

although racism may exist in Puerto Rico (as any where else), skin color is less of a factor in establishing racial definitions.

Lincoln (1967) stated that skin color in the United States often becomes a major criterion for denigration, and segregation. In the United States, color becomes one of the most distinguishing features of racial identity. This attitude toward color conflict applies to the Puerto Rican living on the mainland. In the United States, Puerto Ricans are faced with a racial classification system that they do not understand. Longres (1974) articulated the problems with which Puerto Ricans are forced to come to grips:

Psychologically, the most damaging experience encountered by a Puerto Rican continental is an encounter with racist attitudes. It is a racial experience of the most profound and disturbing sort because it frequently undermines the sense of autonomy and initiative brought by the migrating Puerto Rican and leaves a residue of self-doubt and inadequacy; such forces make it difficult to meet the challenges of a capitalistic society. The racial experience on the continent is a collective one. All Puerto Ricans are forced to confront and question their racial ancestry and identify themselves according to the socially defined racial standards of the United States. The experience may be more or less debilitating depending on a number of factors, but it is an experience which can not be avoided. It is part of the initial shock of arriving on the continent, and its result persists as a psychological dilemma even among the seemingly assimilated. (p. 67)

Puerto Rican racial mixing has given Puerto Ricans a unique racial history (Rodriguez, 1974). Glazer (1963) said of Puerto Rico's racial mixing, "Indeed, the mixture of

racess in Puerto Rico has been proceeding on a level that is almost without example in history" (p. 133). This racial mixing history has yielded a unique set of social attitudes which have created a racial ambiance quite different from that in the U.S. Some of those differences are: (1) Racial identification is subordinate to cultural identification on the island, while in the U.S. racial identification appears to determine cultural identification. (2) Racial classification in Puerto Rico is based on phenotypic and social class definitions of what a person is, rather than on genotypic characteristics. (3) Color, class, facial features and hair texture are the salient aspects which compose racial categories, this being in contrast to the mainly color-based, white-nonwhite, or black, yellow, red, and brown classifications of the U.S. (4) The U.S. is a biracial, multi-ethnic society compared to Puerto Rico's homogeneity (Rodriguez, 1974). The U.S. ethnic-racial minorities have traditionally been segregated, while there has never been any such tradition in Puerto Rico. Blacks in Puerto Rico are not a distinguishable ethnic group. "This is not to say Blacks are evenly distributed through the social structure, for there is, at present, some debate on this issue. But in terms of housing, institutional treatment, political rights, government policy and cultural identification, Blacks, white and tan Puerto Ricans are not different. And race is not perceived as an issue on the island by Puerto Ricans of any pigmentation" (Rodriguez

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1973, p. 95). Rodriguez (1974) stated that:

Given the racist perceptions in New York (and the U.S.), Puerto Ricans are not accepted by Blacks or whites as a culturally distinct, racially-integrated group, but are rather perceived and consequently treated as either black or white Puerto Ricans. Racial distinctions are heightened to a degree unnatural to Puerto Ricans (although Blacks may be more aware of the cultural distinctness of Puerto Ricans, they still perceive in American racial terms). Given their racial heterogeneity, different racial perceptions and awareness of the negative effects of racial reclassification in the U.S., Puerto Ricans generally exhibit considerable resistance to these divisive racial perceptions. (p. 97)

Ginorio and Berry (1972) in their study of racial perceptions and racial classification among Puerto Rican subjects asked to categorize slides of Northern Europeans, West Africans and Mediterraneans into "more white" and "more black". Their findings were consistent with Rodriguez's (1974) research. They found that the U.S. dichotomous racial segregation classification system conflicted with the Puerto Rican reality of race and color. They made the point, that in contrast to non-Puerto Rican subjects, Puerto Ricans showed a tendency to rate a person as "black", but no agreement about where the boundary between "black" and "white" should be drawn. Ginorio and Berry's results may have been due to the wide spectrum of phenotypic racial types in Puerto Rico. Within the Puerto Rican racial spectrum such names as Blancos(whites), Indios(similar to East Indians), Morenos(dark-skinned with a variety of features (negroid and caucasian), Negroes (Black people in the U.S.), Trigueno (brunettes), and Mestizo (a combination of Spanish and In-

dian blood) are just a few of the names used to describe an individual. It is very rare to hear someone being classified by race alone in Puerto Rico: very often Puerto Ricans will describe, rather than label a person along racial lines.

These differences in racial attitudes between Puerto Ricans and U.S. whites creates a problem for the Puerto Rican who is trying to assimilate or acculturate into the U.S. mainstream. The multiracial world of the Puerto Rican comes into conflict with the biracial world of the U.S. creating what Rodriguez has called a perceptual incongruence. In psychological terms, there is a split in the ego, and the Puerto Rican starts asking himself, "What am I--white or black?". As a result, Puerto Ricans undergo what Vigo (1976) called a "racial reclassification". The reclassification perhaps may mean becoming "darker" than they were in Puerto Rico. The tan or intermediate group may remain unassimilated for a longer period of time than either white or black Puerto Ricans as they try to hold onto their cultural identity, rejecting the classifications of "nonwhite" or "black." Vigo states:

The intermediate (tan) Puerto Rican has the most difficulty in finding a place for themselves in the larger society because it divides itself into only two parts, black and white, and intermediate Hispanos continue to emphasize the desirability of whiteness in a society where many are not considered white. (p. 10)

Essentially, the conflict that besets Puerto Ricans

living in New York, whether newly arrived or raised in New York, is that the criterion for social and racial identity is solely based on skin color. This means that, for the most part, people who are classified as white enjoy a margin of prestige, status, opportunity and political power, in contrast to that population classified as Black. It appears that, although Puerto Ricans have emerged as a minority group in North America, the racial boundary splits them, weakening them culturally, socially, and politically, subsequently inhibiting the acculturational process.

One such barrier is the U.S. racial classification system, for there is still confusion about their racial identification as North Americans. Seda (1980) makes the point that very often in New York City, unemployment, drug addiction, robbery, divorces and delinquency are often reported maladies of the black population. Puerto Ricans are often assigned to the same social categories as those of Blacks, with the same political outcome. Puerto Ricans have become so conditioned to hearing this association that when they hear "black," they expect it to be followed with "Puerto Rican." This misperception on the part of white as well as black North Americans, is partly due to the fact that in the North American social structure no room has been created for the intermediate group. Therefore, the intermediate Puerto Rican becomes "black," instead of Puerto Rican. A humorous example of this conflict is found in a poem by Langston Hughes:

"I said, 'Puerto Ricans? Are you one?'

He said, 'Si, are you one too?'

I said, 'I am not. I am just plain old American.'

I said, 'You look just like me, don't you. Who's the darkest, me or you?'

He said, 'You, darkest.'

I said, 'I admit I have an edge on almost anybody. But you are colored (too, daddy-o, don't forget, Puerto Rican or not.'

He said, 'In my country, no'

'In my country yes, 'I said, 'here in the U.S.A., you me, all colored folks (are colored.)

He said, 'No entiendo. Don't understand.'

(Langston Hughes, cited by Seda 1969, p. 594)

There is no doubt that this situation will have an impact on the interracial patterns of the Puerto Rican in New York, and may create problems for them as they attempt to acculturate.

C.W. Mills, et al. (1950) noted that the white Puerto Rican preferred to give up his national identity rather than to accept being identified as a non-white. They also noted that the Trigeno (intermediate) Puerto Ricans are perhaps the most affected and respond with identity shock. To this group, giving up their national identity means being categorized as black and differentiation becomes difficult. To black Puerto Ricans, the situation is less shocking and they adopt the American identity with little self-consciousness.

Many social scientists, who have investigated Puerto Ricans in the U.S. (Fitzpatrick, 1958; Ginorio, 1985; Rogler, 1972; Rodriguez, 1974; Seda-Bonilla, 1959), have noted

several ways that Puerto Ricans have responded to the American racial system. The following responses are a result of the incongruence in racial perceptions: (1) the phenotypically white Puerto Rican will attempt to assimilate into the white group; (2) the phenotypically non-white will attempt to assimilate into the Black groups; (3) some will come to accept the biracial world of New York and the U.S. and accept being called white, black, or non-white; and (4) some will give up their ethnic identification and become Americanized or, conversely, reject the American way and become alienated from the mainstream.

More specifically, Seda-Bonilla (1980) noted the possible consequences to the Puerto Rican living in New York:

The Niuyorrican, quite literally the man without a country, can recover from his dilemma only by choosing one of three possible courses of action: Reverse acculturation in order to become Puerto Rican, assimilation into American black community, or passing for "white" and abandoning his Puerto Rican ancestry. (p. 209)

It should be noted that there are differences of opinion among Puerto Rican writers (Zenón-Cruz, 1975; Marqués, 1977; Rodríguez, 1973) concerning the ways in which Puerto Ricans accommodate themselves to the mainland culture. Rodríguez (1973), for example has stated,

An increasing number of [white, black, and tan] New York Puerto Ricans began identifying themselves as Newyorricans or Ricans -- people who claim pride in being Puerto Rican but acknowledge their New York soul. Implied in these terms is an acceptance of a non-white and ghetto status, with all its positive and negative consequences (this

step would have been an impossible one for many Puerto Ricans reared on the island). For Puerto Ricans, this is the start of a new, self-defined position -- an attempt to remain a unified whole and evolve from our own roots, between blacks and whites.

It is not clear where this change will lead, or what political implications it will have for Puerto Rican identity -- resolutions have changed. For it is no longer clear that "black" Puerto Ricans will assimilate into black American culture and that "white" Puerto Ricans will disappear in the white suburbs, while the various beiges, tans and browns inbetween will hold on to the standard bearers of the New York Puerto Rican culture. Although these channels of assimilation still exist and exert pressures upon Puerto Ricans choosing and creating mind worlds and life spaces, it is no longer probable that people will follow these paths without questions. (p. 101)

This investigation will attempt to investigate the differences between the U.S. and Puerto Rican racial systems and how they affect the assimilation and acculturation process among Puerto Ricans. In turn, this study will seek to determine the effects of three modes of adaptation to marginality on sense of personal well-being and self-esteem.

#### Hypotheses

It is therefore hypothesized that:

1. The mode of adaptation to U.S. society by Puerto Ricans will be related to skin color.
  - A. "White" Puerto Ricans will tend to be assimilators.
  - B. "Tan" Puerto Ricans will tend to be biculturals.
  - C. "Black" Puerto Ricans will tend to be

rejectors.

2. The mode of adaptation to U.S. society by Puerto Ricans will be related to problems of self-esteem.
  - A. Those who chose a bi-cultural acculturation mode will have significantly fewer problems of self-esteem than assimilators and rejectors.
  - B. Assimilators will have greater problems with self-esteem than rejectors.
3. The mode of adaptation to U.S. society by Puerto Ricans will be related to problems of psychological well-being.
  - A. Those who chose a bi-cultural acculturation mode will have significantly fewer problems of psychological well-being than assimilators and rejectors.
  - B. Assimilators will have greater problems with psychological well-being than rejectors.

#### Definition of Terms

1. Puerto Rican. This term refers to participant's ethnic and cultural heritage. For the purpose of this study, persons born in Puerto Rico, persons born in the United States or other areas of the world with one or both parents of Puerto Rican descent, and who identify themselves as Puerto Rican on a self-reported ethnic iden-

tification question.

2. Skin color. Skin color for the purposes of this study will refer to the lightness or darkness of a subject's skin color pigmentation which will be operationally defined as the rating made by a subject on a skin color assessment question to which participants must respond. The skin color categories are as follows: (1) Whites, who have very light skin color; (2) Tans, who have medium light brownish skin color; and (3) Blacks, who have dark skin color.
3. Racial Identity. Racial identity for the purpose of this study will be defined as how a participant perceives how others view them. This denotes a consciousness of self as belonging to a specific racial group which is differentiated from other racial groups based on skin color. This will be operationally defined as a subject's response to two self-report items on racial identification in the U.S. and Puerto Rican racial categorization systems.
4. Ethnic Identification. In this study Ethnic Identification will refer to an individual's way of identifying himself in relation to others, and an individual's preference of one cultural orientation over the other. Ethnic identification will be operationally defined by the subject's personal preferences, attitudes, behavior, language preference, choice of friends, spouse, and knowledge as measured by the Behavioral Acculturation Scale, the Bicultural Involvement Scale, and the

Ethnic Category Scale.

5. Marginality. Marginality is defined as a socially structured position in a society in which one is not allowed to participate fully in the mainstream culture by virtue of foreign birth, minority ethnic group origin, racial discrimination, or characterological defect. In this study, marginality is a preexisting social circumstance for all subjects since they are members of a minority ethnic group.
  6. Mode of Adaptation. Defined as a behavioral response to the situation of marginality. In this study, there are three modes of adaptation defined below: assimilation, rejection of the host culture, and biculturalism.
  7. Assimilators. Those individuals who prefer, are more involved in, and identify themselves with the host (i.e., North American) culture, as opposed to their culture of origin (i.e., Puerto Rican). This will be operationally defined as those who are in the third of the sample who are at the Anglo extreme on the Bicultural Involvement Scale.
  8. Rejectors. Those individuals who prefer, are more involved in, and identify themselves with the Puerto Rican culture, as opposed to the Anglo culture. This will be operationally defined as those who score at the Hispanic extreme on the Bicultural Involvement Scale.
  9. Biculturals. Those individuals who have learned to communicate, negotiate, and participate in two cul-
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tures. This will be operationally defined as those who score in the middle third on the Bicultural Involvement Scale.

10. Self-esteem. In this study self-esteem will refer to individual's evaluation of himself as defined by Coopersmith (1981): ". . . an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful, and worthy" (p. 4). This will be operationally defined as the score on the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory.
11. Psychological well-being. For the purpose of this study, psychological well-being will be defined as a person's level of happiness and contentment. Operationally, it will be measured by responses to items on scales of positive and negative affect concerning everyday life activities. This study presupposes that an individual will score high in psychological well-being to the degree that positive affect predominates over negative. This definition is consistent with Bradburn's (1965) and Feld's (1960) definitions that self-ratings of happiness can be used to measure levels of subjective adjustment.

## CHAPTER 3

## METHODS

Selection of Subjects

The subject pool for this study consisted of 367 Puerto Rican College students selected from the different colleges and universities in the New York City area. A cross-section of the population was sampled by selecting half from schools offering courses in Spanish and having a large Puerto Rican population. The other half were selected from colleges that do not offer courses in Spanish but that have a significant Puerto Rican students population. Puerto Rican students enrolled in English-speaking and Spanish-speaking classes were selected for the study in an attempt to use subjects who reflected different levels of acculturation to the mainland at least to the extent of having facility with the English language.

The sample had a mean age of 23.29. The average length of stay in the United states was 18.85 years. The sample came from primarily blue collar workers. Fathers' occupational status was 35.36 and mothers' occupational status was 35.04, on a scale from 1 to 99. For example, a television repairman receives a score of 35, apprentice brick-masons are scored 36, and clerical workers are scored 36.

Table 3-1 contains the means, standard deviations, and number of respondents for age, length of residence in the United States, and mothers' and fathers' occupational status.

The sample was overrepresented among female students: 65.6 percent to 34.4 percent males. Table 3-2 contains the distribution of the sample by sex.

The parental educational background of the sample indicates that most come from families in which the parents had a minimal education, with 40.9 percent of the fathers and 40.1 percent of the mothers having less than a high school education. Table 3-3 contains the distributions of the sample by fathers' and mothers' education. The sample consisted wholly of college students: 26.5 percent were freshmen, 36.9 percent sophomores, 22.3 percent juniors, 11.2 percent seniors, and 3.1 percent graduate students. Table 3-4 contains the tabulation of the sample by college year.

After the administration of the questionnaires, students were categorized into three skin color groups: white, tan, and black, based on a self-perception item. They were also asked to classify themselves given the white-black U.S. system of racial categorization, and the white-tan-black system of Puerto Rico. On self-perception, 33.2 percent classified themselves as white, 59.8 percent as tan, and 7.0 percent as black. Table 3-5 presents distributions on self, U.S., and Puerto Rican racial classification systems.

Table 3-1

Means, Standard Deviations and Frequencies of the Sample on Background Variables

Variable	N	Mean	S.D.
Age	363	23.29	6.34
Length of Res. in U.S.	345	18.85	7.05
Father's Occ. Status	196	35.36	15.66
Mother's Occ. Status	124	35.04	14.48

Table 3-2

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Sample by Sex

	N	%
Males	125	34.4
Females	238	64.9
Total	363	100.0

Table 3-3

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents'Mothers and Fathers on Educational Background

Higher Educational Level Attained	Fathers		Mothers	
	N	%	N	%
Grade School	139	40.9	147	40.1
High School	153	45.0	161	44.8
College	30	8.8	36	9.8
Graduate School	18	5.3	15	4.2
Total	340	100.0	359	100.0

Table 3-4

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Sample by College Year

<u>Year</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Freshman	95	26.5
Sophomore	132	36.9
Junior	80	22.3
Senior	40	11.2
Graduate Student	11	3.1
Total	358	100.0

Table 3-5

Frequency and Percentage Distributions on Racial Composition  
as Determined by Self-perception, U.S. Classification, and  
Puerto Rican Classification

Classification System	White		Tan		Black	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Self-Perception	119	33.2	214	59.8	25	7.0
U.S.	202	58.2	--	--	145	41.8
Puerto Rican	174	48.6	167	46.6	17	4.7

### Procedure

The sample was collected by approaching college student groups which represent Puerto Rican, Hispanic, and/or minority students on New York City metropolitan area campuses. Student activities offices were contacted for lists of student organizations and their officers. For those clubs that might include Puerto Rican students, officers were contacted by the researcher, who explained the purpose of the study and the amount of time needed, and request the participation of the club members on a voluntary basis. In addition students attending undergraduate psychology class were also encouraged to participate in the study. After securing the officers' and teachers' permission to address the group and class, the researcher attended a meeting of the group and classes to explain the purpose of the research, guarantee anonymity and other rights of human subjects, secure informed consent, and administer the survey. This procedure was followed until 367 questionnaires were filled out in each subset of schools.

### Instrumentation

Several commonly used scales and some relatively new instruments were used in this study:

1. the Behavioral Acculturation Scale (BAS),
  2. the Bicultural Involvement Scale (BIS),
  3. the Ethnic Identification Scale (EIS),
  4. the Affect Balance Scale that measures psychological well-being (ABS),
  5. the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI),
-

6. three questions that measure racial perception,  
and
7. demographic information.

#### The Behavioral Acculturation Scale

Szapocznik, et al., (1978) described the development of two acculturation Scales that measured self-reported behaviors and value dimensions. The scales were developed in an effort to outline a psychological model of acculturation and intergenerational differences in immigrants (in this case Cuban) families. Szapocznik stated that the scales were developed based on previous research that there existed at least two distinct dimensions of acculturation - a dimension of behavioral acculturation (Campis, 1947; Caraballo, 1970) and a dimension of value acculturation (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961). Szapocznik stated: "The dimension of behavioral acculturation involves the gradual adoption by the individual of the more overt and observable aspects of the host culture, including the host culture's language, customs, habits, and lifestyle. The value dimension is less overt and involves the gradual adoption by the individual of the host culture's basic value orientations" (p. 15).

In an effort to operationalize this model of acculturation based on these two dimensions, Szapocznik and his associates developed the BAS and Value Acculturation Scale. According to Szapocznik,

the Behavioral Scale provided a highly reliable and valid measure of acculturation and proved superior to the Value Scale in almost every as-

pect. Behavioral and value acculturation were found to be linear functions of the amount of time a person was exposed to the host culture" (p. 113).

In light of Szapocznik's assertion that the BAS proved more reliable and valid than the Valid Acculturation Scale, this study only involved the use of the BAS. Therefore, only the development of the BAS will be discussed.

Two samples were used in the Development of the scales. The first sample was composed of 165 Cuban Americans. The Second sample was composed of 201 white individuals who indicated that they were born in the United States. According to Szapocznik, "Individuals in this sample were intended to be representative of the cultural group toward which the Cuban Community was acculturating" (p. 7).

The BAS consists of 24 self-reported behavior items. The respondent was asked to report using a five-point Likert format to the relative frequency with which he or she engages in each behavior. The scale contains anchors appropriate to the items in the scale. For example, items on language usage have responses ranging from "Spanish all the time" to English all the time" with three intermediate responses (see specimen in the Appendix). Scores on the BAS range from 24 to 120, with 24 indicating minimum acculturation.

Test-retest reliability was obtained by administering the scales to a sample of 30 subjects on two occasions with the Second administration taking place four weeks after the first. The test-retest correlation for the BAS was .86.

Szapocznik reported evidence of criterion-related validity that supported his theoretical model: individual acculturation is a linear process that progresses as a function of the length of time the person has been exposed to the host culture (p. 124). Szapocznik found positive relationships between behavioral acculturation and length of time in the host culture and age. And finally, Szapocznik's study showed that males acculturated faster than females. Szapocznik claimed: "While not conclusive, these studies provide evidence for the validity of the model along a behavioral dimension, and results suggest that the BAS is useful, operational measure of the construct of acculturation presented above" (p. 122).

In closing, Szapocznik indicated that:

The Behavioral Scale is a short, quick to administer (about 5 to 10 minutes), and can be used with populations from a wide range of socioeconomic and educational levels. A simple scoring procedure facilitates its use in research as well as clinical settings. Finally, the apparent generalizability of the behaviors tapped by the items suggest that the scale can be modified to make it applicable for use with other immigrant groups. . . . Used by itself, the Behavioral Scale is the best available measure of acculturation" (p. 129).

He indicated that modifications could be achieved by deleting not more than five culturally inappropriate items and changing the anchors of the remaining items to correspond to the respective host and immigrant culture. Thus, given Szapocznik's et al. claims and findings using the BAS, it appears that the Scale is a reliable and valid indicator of behavioral acculturation among Hispanics.

### The Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire

In 1980, Szapocznik et al. described the development and validation of a Bicultural Involvement Scale (BIS). The 33 items developed for this questionnaire were obtained by modifying and adopting some of the items from the BAS. The items for the BIS, however, was designed to assess the degree to which a person feels comfortable in each culture independent of the other. Szapocznik explained that this was done by modifying some of the acculturation items from his 1978 scale by separating the Anglo-American and Hispanic-American components of the items. He stated that preference for one item indicates dislike for the counterpart item. For example, preference for language usage is measured in such a way that preference for one language is assumed to be negatively correlated with preference for the other language. In essence, the scale measures the extent to which an individual is involved in one culture (the culture of origin or the host), thus being monocultural, and the extent to which an individual is bi-cultural (sharing and part-taking in both cultures).

Lasaga, Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) main interest in developing the questionnaire was to investigate the hypothesis that individuals who favor biculturalism were better socially adjusted than those who favored monoculturalism. They made the following point:

In those instances in which immigrants reside in bicultural communities they characteristically

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need to participate in both communities. This is particularly true with second generation youths who directly experience the contrast between familial and educational institutions, where the former transmits the culture-of-origin norms and the latter introduces the host-cultural norms. (p. 354).

The questionnaire was designed to measure two independent bipolar dimensions: (1) biculturalism, which ranged from monoculturalism to biculturalism; and (2) cultural involvement, which ranged from marginality to high participation. The BIS consists of two subscales, one measuring North Americanism and the other Hispanicism. Scores were obtained for the two subscales by summing all of the items that reflected involvement in North American culture and by summing all of the items that reflected involvement in Hispanic culture. A score for the BIS was obtained by calculating the difference between Hispanicism score and North American score. A score close to zero indicates biculturalism; and scores deviating from zero indicates monoculturalism. Scores for cultural involvement were obtained by summing the Hispanicism Score and the North American Score, and adding their sum. A high score indicates a greater degree of cultural involvement while a low score indicates cultural marginality--a lack of involvement in either culture.

In validating the scales, Lasaga used four samples with 192 students ranging in age from 12 to 16 years. Alpha coefficients for combined samples 1 and 2 ( $N = 140$ ) were .93 and .89 for the Hispanicism and North Americanism Scales

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respectively. The BIS showed a reliability alpha of .94. The Cultural Involvement Subscale had an alpha of .79.

In validating the BIS, Lasaga et al. (1980) relied on Criterion-related validation. "Criterion-related validation evidence for the Biculturalism Scale was obtained using biculturalism ratings as an external criterion. Criterion related validity concerns the relationship between a measure and some external nontest variable" (p. 359). Lasaga, et al., therefore asked bicultural teachers to rate their students on a Likert Scale from 1 to 5 on degree of biculturalism, with 1 indicating a highly bicultural student (fluent in both languages and comfortable in both cultural contexts) and 5 indicating a student who was not bicultural (a definite preference for one language and culture). For purposes of this analysis absolute scores on the BIS were used, with zero indicating biculturalism and higher scores indicating increasing levels of monoculturalism. Lasaga et al. reported a correlation between the transformed BIS scores and teacher ratings for biculturalism among Cuban-American youth ( $N = 94$ ) was  $r = .42$ ,  $p < .01$ . Moreover, Cultural Involvement Scale scores were also correlated with teacher rating for biculturalism at  $r = .22$ ,  $p < .05$ . On this basis, the authors concluded that the BIS had criterion validity.

The BIS was used in this investigation along with the BAS, in an attempt to examine the adaptational responses of those Puerto Ricans who find themselves living in a marginal cultural situation, as well as examine the relationship between the choice of cultural adaptation response,

and degree of ethnic identity and racial definition.

### Ethnic Identity

The Ethnic Identity questionnaire is a product of Rogler's et al. (1979) work on the Puerto Rican family. Rogler et al. (1979) investigated changes in ethnic identity as influenced by the host society and by length of exposure to the host culture. Rogler developed the Ethnic Identity questionnaire to measure respondents' ethnic identity. The questionnaire's six items reflect: (1) respondents' subjective evaluation of themselves in terms of values, as exclusively Puerto Rican or part Puerto Rican, part North American, or exclusively North American; (2) respondents' lifestyle preferences for their children; (3) respondents' feelings about Puerto Ricans and North Americans; and (4) respondents' ethnicity preference for their children's spouses (see specimen questionnaire in Appendix). Because no reliability or validity statistics are available, Rogler's questionnaire was used in this study for the purpose of cross-validating the BAS and BIS used as a second measure of ethnic identity.

### The Affect Balance Scale

The Affect Balance Scale (ABS) is a measure of general psychological well-being developed by Bradburn (1960). The scale measures two theoretically orthogonal dimensions, positive and negative affect.

The ABS consists of 10 items, five describing positive

affect (pleased, proud, optimistic, top of the world, and things going my way) and five describing negative affect (bored, upset, restless, lonely, and depressed). Bradburn (1969) presented evidence that the discrepancy score between positive and negative affect is the best indicator of overall well-being. Rhoads and Raymond (1981) and Lang, et al. (1982) also reported reliable results in their studies that measured feelings of well-being. Bradburn reported reliability for the ABS using coefficients of association between an individual's responses on two administrations three days apart. He reported test-retest coefficients for the items were uniformly high (with all except one over .90).

He also reported validity estimates for the ABS using gamma coefficients. The positive affect measure correlated positively with measures of avowed personal happiness. In a national sample of 2,737 respondents, the gammas between positive affect and two items of avowed personal happiness were .34 and .37. On a similar sample of 2,122 respondents the gammas were .38 and .36. On the same administration negative affect dimensions ranged from -.27 to -.38, indicates the ABS has criterion validity.

### Self-esteem

The Coopersmith (1969) Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI) was used to assess self-esteem because it has been used by others (Padilla, 1984; Shelibow, 1973; Zirkel and Moses, 1971; and Lederle, 1969) with Hispanics and other minority populations with reliable and valid results.

The instrument consists of 58 short statements to be answered "like me" or "unlike me." It measures participants' evaluative attitude toward the self on academic, family, personal, and social domains. According to Coopersmith (1967), the SEI "determines all levels of self worth and it arrives at a general measure of self-esteem" (p. 6). The Coopersmith SEI test-retest reliability after a three week interval was .70 with a sample of 56 children.

Shelibow (1973) studied the relationship between self-esteem and skin color among Hispanic children using the SEI. She found that black Hispanic children (in this case Dominican children) had lower self-esteem than their white counterparts. Padilla (1984) in his study of the effects of acculturation and stress among immigrants (which included Hispanics), found that recent immigrants obtained lower self-esteem scores than second-generation, third-generation and early immigrants. Padilla also found that self-esteem was inversely related to acculturation stress. These two investigations seem to support the use of the SEI as a valid instrument in assessing self-esteem in Hispanics, and its use relevant to this study which deals with issues of acculturation and skin color. In this study, only a general self-esteem subscale was used (see specimen instrument in the Appendix for specific items).

#### Measures of Racial Perception

Subject's racial perceptions were measured by the use of three questions that were presented to each

subject as part of The Demographic information. The three questions that the subject responded to are as follows:

1. In what racial category do you see yourself?
  - a. White
  - b. Tan
  - c. Black
  
2. How do you feel you are perceived in the U.S.A. in terms of the North American two category system of racial classification?
  - a. White
  - b. Black
  
3. How do you feel you would be perceived racially in Puerto Rico?
  - a. White
  - b. Tan
  - c. Black

Subjects were asked to indicate their own perceptions on these three questions that served as a means of investigating whether there exists a relationship between subjects' own perceived racial categorization, and their ethnic identity, self-esteem, modes of adaptation, and psychological well-being.

#### Parental Occupational and Educational Background

Occupation of father and mother was assessed with self-report items (see Specimen Questionnaire in the Appendix, items #5-6), in which respondents were asked to write in the

occupation of each parent. Occupations were then rated on the Duncan Scale of Occupational Status (Blau & Duncan, 1967), which scored them on a scale from 1 to 99. Separate scores were computed for each parent. Nonresponses occurred when respondents refused to answer, there was only one parent in the home, or the designated parent was out of the workforce (e.g., unemployed, disabled, housewives).

Educational background of mother and father was assessed by asking the respondents to report the highest level of education attained by each parent (see Specimen questionnaire, items #7-8). The respondent was given four alternatives: (1) grade school, (2) high school, (3) college, and (4) graduate school.

#### Assumptions and Limitations

It is assumed that (1) the three types of responses to marginality (assimilation, bi-culturalism, and rejection) are exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories, and (2) respondents answered the questions in an honest and forthright manner.

The sample of this study has not been randomly selected from a defined population. Because the research is conducted using a convenience sample, generalizations must be made with extreme caution. In addition, as is the case in such survey-type research, allocation of the sample to groups were done post-hoc on the basis of their scores on racial identity and acculturation indices. Because the researcher has no control over the assignment of subjects to

groups on a random basis, potential bias is introduced limiting the power of generalization. Obvious sorts of bias such as gender, socioeconomic background, religion, and so forth was tested prior to hypothesis testing for potential influences on the dependent variables in the study.

An additional limitation on this study is that the sample consists only of college students of Puerto Rican descent. This means that the results can only be generalized to a small portion of the Puerto Rican population.

#### Data Analysis

A preliminary analysis of the scales was carried out, assessing internal consistency and concurrent validity. Reliability of the scales were assessed using coefficient alpha. Construct validity was conducted by correlating relations among the scales and conducting statistical analysis for the appropriate level of measurement of the indicators with demographics.

The second stage of analysis was to analyze the relationships between the demographic variables and the independent variables of racial identity and acculturation to see what relations exist. The two dependent variables in this study are at the interval level of measurement. The demographic variables are at the categorical (e.g., gender, racial identity), ordinal (e.g., level of education of parents), and interval or ratio (e.g., length of time in the U.S.A) levels of measurement. In addition, as noted above, demographics were related to the dependent variable set

to assess their influences. Those demographics that influence the dependent variables will be entered into analyses of covariance (ANCOVA) as covariates for the purposes of controlling for their effects.

The third stage of analysis was the running of 2-way ANCOVAs assessing racial identity and acculturation pattern on self-esteem and psychological well-being indicators. The use of a 2-way factorial design enabled an assessment of independent and interactive sources of variance on the dependent variables, which are at the interval level of measurement. The independent variables are categorical.

The fourth stage of analysis was to conduct multiple regression analyses on self-esteem and psychological well-being using the major independent variables for the purposes of examining the antecedents of these variables.

## CHAPTER IV

## RESULTS

Preliminary Analysis

Reliability. The preliminary analysis consisted of conducting reliability and concurrent validity estimates for the scales used in this study. Internal consistency reliability was assessed using Cronbach's (1951) coefficient alpha. Coefficient alpha was described by Cronbach as equivalent to the mean of all possible split-half reliabilities within a given item set. Alpha can be interpreted similar to a factor score on a factor analysis; that is, alpha is the percent of within scale variance accounted for by the items. The criterion for adequate reliability on attitude items is  $\alpha = .50$ . Table 4-1 contains the number of items, means, and standard deviations for the eight scales used in this study. Alpha coefficients for six of the scales are reported.

Since the Bicultural Involvement Scale consisted of subtracting the Hispanicism Scale from the Americanism Scale and the Biculturalism Scale was a sum of Hispanicism and Americanism, they were not assessed for reliability, since reliabilities had already been conducted on their components (Hispanicism  $\alpha = .91$ ; Americanism  $\alpha = .94$ ).  
Table 4-1

Means, Standard Deviations, and Alpha Coefficients for  
Puerto Rican ID, Behavioral Acculturation Scale (BAS),  
Hispanicism, Americanism, Bicultural Involvement,  
Biculturalism, Self-esteem, and Well-being Scales\*, N = 367

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Scale	N of Items	Mean	S.D.	Alpha
Puerto Rican ID	3	9.25	3.71	.54
BAS	24	80.31	17.06	.95
Hispanicism	21	70.81	14.83	.91
Americanism	21	79.40	14.44	.94
Bicult. Involvement	42	146.21	13.62	
Biculturalism	42	12.59	25.93	
Self-esteem	30	52.22	4.60	.79
Well-being	10	17.22	2.23	.71

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Table 4-1 reveals that the six scales tested meet the minimum criterion of internal consistency, since alphas ranged from .54 to .95, with a median of .87. The Puerto Rican Identity Scale was marginal, primarily because it contained only three items.

Validity of the Indicators. In order to assess concurrent validity, the eight scales comprising the study were intercorrelated. Table 4-2 contains those correlations. For all correlations, the .01 level of significance was selected. There were two reasons for this decision: (1) The sample size was large, and (2) such a criterion would reduce the probability of a Type I error in which the null hypothesis would be falsely rejected. All correlations discussed, unless otherwise noted, are significant at the .01 level.

The Puerto Rican Identification Scale (PRID) is conceptualized as a measure of the strength of a person's Puerto Rican identity. A person with a strong Puerto Rican Identity is conceptualized to be a monocultural Hispanic, who rejects Americanism, Anglophonism, and biculturalism. The results in Table 4-2 indicate strong negative relationships between Puerto Rican Identification and Behavioral Assimilation ( $r = -.61$ ), Americanism ( $r = -.53$ ), and Biculturalism ( $r = -.61$ ); and a strong positive relationship with Hispanicism ( $r = .55$ ).

The Behavioral Acculturation Scale (BAS) was designed to assess respondents on behaviors that reflect the extent to which they have assimilated to the host culture. Thus, scores on the BAS would be expected to be related negatively

Table 4-2

Intercorrelations Among Puerto Rican ID, Behavioral  
Acculturation Scale (BAS), Hispanicism, Americanism,  
Bicultural Involvement (BI), Biculturalism, Self-esteem  
(SE), and Well-being (WB) Scales, N = 367

Scale	BAS	Hisp.	Amer.	BI	Bicult.	SE	WB
Puerto Rican ID	-.61*	.55*	-.53*	.03	-.61*	-.10	-.09
BAS		-.76*	.87*	.10	.92*	.10	.05
Hispanicism			-.57*	.49*	-.89*	.04	.12*
Americanism				.44*	.88*	.17*	.12*
Bicult. Involve. (BI)					-.03	.23*	.26*
Biculturalism						.07	.00
Self-esteem (SE)							.53*

\*p < .01

to Puerto Rican Identification and Hispanicism, and positively related to Americanism and Biculturalism. The data in Table 4-2 indicate that the BAS correlated strongly and negatively with Puerto Rican Identification ( $r = -.61$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and Hispanicism ( $r = -.76$ ) and strongly positively with Americanism ( $r = .87$ ) and Biculturalism ( $r = .92$ ). The data indicate that Americanism, Behavioral Acculturation, and Biculturalism Scales constitute measures of the same construct, given that their intercorrelations are consistently above  $r = .85$  (Americanism and Biculturalism correlate at  $r = .88$ ). Thus, the Biculturalism Scale is essentially a measure of assimilation to American culture.

The Hispanicism Scale purports to measure the extent to which respondents embrace Hispanic culture. It is conceptualized to be positively related to Puerto Rican Identification -- already noted above -- and negatively related to Americanism ( $r = -.57$ ). Although originally conceived as somewhat independent of Biculturalism, it is clear from the data that biculturalism is coterminus with assimilation to American culture, since Hispanicism correlates strongly and negatively with both the Behavioral Acculturation Scale,  $r = -.76$ , and the Biculturalism Scale,  $r = -.89$ .

The Bicultural Involvement Scale, a sum of Hispanicism and Americanism Scales, reflects the respondents' cultural participation in either or both cultures. The Bicultural Involvement Scale, according to the data in Table 4-2, was independent of Puerto Rican Identification ( $r = .03$ ), Behavioral Assimilation ( $r = .10$ ), and Biculturalism ( $r = -.03$ ,

n.s.) as would be expected, given the fact that Bicultural Involvement is a measure of social participation without specific reference to which culture. The positive correlations with Hispanicism ( $r = .49$ ) and Americanism ( $r = .44$ ), reflect the fact that these scales constitute Bicultural Involvement. Bicultural Involvement correlates positively with self-esteem and well being,  $r = .23$  and  $r = .26$ , respectively. This suggests that those who engage in more cultural participation have higher levels of self-esteem and well-being.

The Self-esteem (SE) and Well-being (WB) Scales were not strongly related to indicators of acculturation, biculturalism, Americanism, or Hispanicism, although significant relations were found that will be discussed below in the hypothesis testing section. For the purposes of establishing concurrent validity, it was found that SE and WB Scales correlated moderately and positively,  $r = .53$ .

It can be concluded that the scales used in this study have concurrent validity. Concurrent validation is established by relating the tested variable to a criterion variable (Kerlinger, 1965). In this study, concurrent validity was assessed by establishing that the indicators of biculturalism, Hispanicism, Americanism, Puerto Rican identification, and acculturation intercorrelated in meaningful ways. For example, acculturation, Americanism, and biculturalism are strongly inversely related to Hispanicism. This suggests that acculturation, Americanism, and

biculturalism are indicators of shifts away from Hispanicism.

Effects of Background Variables. Table 4-3 contains the data on the relationships between the background variables of age, length of residency in the United States, year in college, and fathers' and mothers' occupational and educational statuses. The number of respondents on each of the variables differs because of the varying number of nonresponses.

The data in Table 4-3 indicate that age is positively correlated with Puerto Rican Identification and Hispanicism ( $r = .21$ , and  $r = .28$ , respectively), and negatively correlated with Behavioral Acculturation ( $r = -.28$ ), Americanism ( $r = -.29$ ), and Biculturalism ( $r = -.32$ ), indicating that older members of the sample are less likely to be bicultural and Americanized than younger members. There were no effects on self-esteem or feelings of well being ( $r = .00$ , not significant, and  $r = .10$ , not significant, respectively).

Length of residency in the United States was positively correlated with the BAS ( $r = .24$ ), American cultural involvement ( $r = .24$ ), Bicultural Involvement ( $r = .16$ ), and Biculturalism ( $r = .18$ ). It was negatively correlated with Puerto Rican Identification ( $r = -.16$ ). These data suggest that those respondents spending longer times in the United States tended to become more Americanized than those who have been in the United States for shorter periods.

Table 4-3

Relations between Demographic Variables and Race\*\*,  
Puerto Rican ID, Behavioral Acculturation Scale (BAS),  
Hispanicism, Americanism, Bicultural Involvement,  
Biculturalism, Self-esteem, Well-being Scales, N = 367

(N)	Age (362)	U.S. Res. (345)	Coll. Yr. (358)	Fath. Occ. (196)	Moth. Occ. (124)	Fath. Educ. (340)	Moth. Educ. (359)
Race	-.05	-.10	-.03	-.01	.19	-.00	.04
Puerto Rican ID	.21*	-.16*	.15*	-.11	-.20*	-.12*	-.12*
BAS	-.28*	.24*	-.12*	.04	.08	.17*	.10
Hispanicism	.28*	-.08	.17*	-.14	-.15	-.20*	-.09
Americanism	-.29*	.24*	-.15*	-.04	.00	.10	.05
Bicult. Involve.	-.01	.16*	.02	-.18*	-.18	-.10	-.04
Biculturalism	-.32*	.18*	-.18*	.05	.09	.17*	.08
Self-esteem	.00	.09	.06	.04	.08	.09	.03
Well-being	.10	.06	.08	.01	.14	.09	.02

\*p < .01

\*\*Note: Race was coded, 1 = white, 2 = tan, 3 = black;  
 thus, the race indicator is a measure of  
 increasing blackness.

It can be hypothesized that college year would indicate the acculturation effects of college attendance. The data in Table 4-3 demonstrate that length of time in college is positively related to Puerto Rican Identification ( $r = .15$ ) and Hispanicism ( $r = .17$ ), and negatively related to Behavioral Acculturation ( $r = -.12$ ), American cultural involvement ( $r = -.15$ ), and Biculturalism ( $r = -.18$ ). Thus, these data suggest that the effect of college attendance is to encourage Hispanicism and Puerto Rican Identification and the rejection of Anglo culture.

The parental occupational and educational variables were similar in their relationships with the identification and acculturation variables. In general, relationships were weak and nonsignificant, with the exceptions of fathers' occupational status correlating with Bicultural Involvement ( $r = -.18$ ); mothers' occupational status correlating with Puerto Rican Identification ( $r = -.20$ ); fathers' educational background correlating with Puerto Rican Identification ( $r = -.12$ ), Behavioral Acculturation ( $r = .17$ ), Hispanicism ( $r = -.20$ ), and Biculturalism ( $r = .17$ ); and mothers' education correlating with Puerto Rican Identification ( $r = -.12$ ). The indications are that the higher the educational or occupational status of the parent, the lower the level of Puerto Rican Identification and involvement in Hispanic culture, and the greater the Biculturalism.

There were no significant relationships among the background variables and self-perceived racial categorization, self-esteem, or well-being.

Racial Identity. One important concern was the relationship among self-perceptions of racial identity, and self-reports of identity given the two-category U.S. racial system and the three-category Puerto Rican system. Table 4-4 presents the intercorrelations among the three racial identification variables.

The data in Table 4-4 indicate that self-identification is correlated with both the U.S. identification system ( $r = .50$ ) and the Puerto Rican identification system ( $r = .60$ ), and that the U.S. and Puerto Rican systems are only moderately correlated ( $r = .36$ ). They also suggest that the Puerto Rican identification system has more influence on self-identification than does the U.S. system, although the difference may be due to the fact that the self-identification item contained similar racial categories as the Puerto Rican system, both of which included the "tan" category as a mid-point between black and white.

Yet the data indicate that there are serious disjunctions between the U.S. racial classification system and the Puerto Rican system. It also suggests that there are confusions when Puerto Ricans attempt to classify themselves racially. Some use the U.S. system, more use the Puerto Rican system, and some, apparently see themselves racially different from either system.

Table 4-4

Intercorrelations Among Racial Identification Variables

Variable	U.S. ID	P.R. ID
Self-ID (N)	.50* (342)	.60* (353)
U.S. ID (N)		.36* (343)

\*p <.01

When queried on their adhesion to Puerto Rican, North American, or mixed values, only 2.5 percent of the sample stated that they adhered exclusively to Puerto Rican values, 58.7 percent stated that they had a mixed value system, and 38.8 percent stated that they adhered to an exclusively North American value system. The categories of exclusive Puerto Rican and mixed were collapsed, and crosstabulated with racial self-perception. Table 4-5 contains the crosstabulation by self-perceived race. The data suggest that the darker the self-perception of the respondent, the greater the likelihood of claiming adherence to exclusively North American values ( $\gamma = .19, p < .05$ ). This is markedly clear among the blacks in the sample.

Table 4-5

Crosstabulation of Self-perceived Race and Identification  
with North American Values

Racial Category	PR & N. Amer.	N.Amer Only	Total
White			
N	79	40	119
%	66.4	33.6	33.2
Tan			
N	130	84	214
%	60.7	39.3	59.8
Black			
N	10	15	25
%	40.0	60.0	7.0
Total			
N	219	139	358
%	61.2	38.8	100.0

Chi-square = 6.10, 2 df, p < .05, gamma = .19

## Hypothesis Testing

### Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 stated that the mode of adaptation to U.S. society by Puerto Ricans would be related to skin color in the following ways:

1. "White" Puerto Ricans would tend to be assimilators.
2. "Tan" Puerto Ricans would tend to be biculturals.
3. "Black" Puerto Ricans would tend to be nonassimilators.

The data in Table 4-6 contains the analysis of variance for the three self-perceived racial groups on Puerto Rican Identity, Behavioral Acculturation, Hispanicism, Americanism, Bicultural Involvement, Biculturalism, Self-esteem, and Well-being Scales.

The data in Table 4-6 indicate that of the 358 subjects, 119 perceived themselves as "white," 214 perceived themselves as "tan," and 25 perceived themselves as "black," as indicated on the racial self-perception item in the survey (see Appendix A). There were significant differences among the three groups on the Behavioral Acculturation Scale, American cultural involvement, and biculturalism in the following ways: The whites had a mean BAS score of 84.08 with a standard deviation of 18.04, the tans had a mean score of 79.37 with a standard deviation of 15.19, and the blacks had a mean score of 73.68 with a standard deviation of 22.68. The F-ratio was 5.27, which was significant at

Table 4-6

Analysis of Variance: Racial Self-ID by Puerto Rican ID, Behavioral Acculturation Scale (BAS), Hispanicism, Americanism, Bicultural Involvement, Biculturalism, Self-esteem, and Well-being Scales

(N) Scale	Means			F (2,355)	F Sig.
	White (119)	Tan (214)	Black (25)		
Puerto Rican ID	9.12	9.27	9.80	1.30	N.S.
BAS	84.08	79.37	73.68	5.27	<.01a
Hispanicism	64.18	67.62	69.00	2.42	N.S.
Americanism	82.09	78.67	73.60	4.44	<.01a
Bicult. Involve.	146.28	146.29	142.60	0.86	N.S.
Biculturalism	17.91	11.05	4.60	4.10	<.05
Self-esteem	52.83	51.89	51.52	1.89	N.S.
Well-being	17.10	17.28	17.08	0.29	N.S.

Notes: a. Black-White difference  $p < .05$

the .01 level of confidence. Scheffe range tests indicated a significant difference between white and black samples.

On American cultural involvement, the whites had a mean score of 82.09 with a standard deviation of 14.94, the tans had a mean score of 78.67 with a standard deviation of 13.05, and the blacks had a mean score of 73.60 with a standard deviation of 20.30. This resulted in an F-ratio of 4.44, significant at the .01 level of confidence. Scheffe range tests indicated a significant difference between white and black samples. The tan sample occupied a middle point between whites and blacks, but were not significantly different from either.

On the Biculturalism Scale, whites had a mean score of 17.91 with a standard deviation of 28.97, tans had a mean score of 11.05 with a standard deviation of 22.63, and blacks had a mean score of 4.10 with a standard deviation of 33.66, resulting in an F-ratio of 4.10, significant at the .05 level of confidence.

There were no significant differences among the three self-perceived racial groups on Puerto Rican Identification, Hispanic cultural involvement, Bicultural Involvement, Self-esteem, or Well-being.

In each of the three significant indicators, the whites scored at the assimilationist extreme, while the blacks scored at the nonassimilationist extreme, with the tans occupying a mid-point between the two. These data support Hypothesis 1. It should be noted, however, that in absolute

terms, the respondents tend toward assimilation toward Anglo culture, with a mean Biculturalism score of 12.59 (Table 4-1). Thus, in absolute terms, the whites would be strong assimilators, the tans weak assimilators and the blacks biculturals. Yet, relatively, the hypothesized relationship is confirmed.

The sample was then divided into non-assimilators, who scored -10 or lower on the Biculturalism Scale; biculturals, who scored between -9 and +9; and assimilators, who scored 10 or higher. On the basis of these cutting points, which were directed at locating persons using scores around absolute zero, that is, American cultural involvement - Hispanic cultural involvement = 0; there were 53 nonassimilators, 107 biculturals, and 198 assimilators. Table 4-7 contains the crosstabulation of assimilation mode by self-perceived race.

The data in Table 4-7 confirm that Blacks are overrepresented among nonassimilators, tans are overrepresented among biculturals, and whites are overrepresented among assimilators. Thirty-two percent of the blacks are nonassimilators, compared to 14.8 percent of the total sample; 37.9 percent of the tans are biculturals, compared to 19.3 percent of the whites and 12 percent of the blacks; and 67.2 percent of the whites are assimilators, compared to 48.6 percent of the tans, and 56 percent of the blacks.

Table 4-7

Crosstabulation of Self-perceived Race and Identification  
with North American Values

Racial Category	Nonassimilators	Biculturals	Assmilators	Total
White				
N	16	23	80	119
%	13.4	19.3	67.2	33.2
Tan				
N	29	81	104	214
%	13.6	37.9	48.6	59.8
Black				
N	8	3	14	25
%	32.0	12.0	56.0	7.0
Total				
N	53	107	198	358
%	14.8	29.9	55.3	100.0

Chi-square = 21.53, 4 df,  $p < .01$ , gamma = .24

## Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 stated that the mode of adaptation to U.S. society by Puerto Ricans will be related to problems of self-esteem as follows:

1. Those who choose a bicultural acculturation mode will have significantly fewer problems of self-esteem than assimilators and nonassimilators.
2. Assimilators will have greater problems with self-esteem than nonassimilators.

Because it was hypothesized that racial self-perception would influence acculturation modes, Table 4-8 contains a two-way analysis of variance using the three acculturation modes and racial self-perception as factors on self-esteem. Black respondents were eliminated from the analysis due to the smallness of the sample size.

The data in Table 4-8 indicate that race has no significant effect on self-esteem. Acculturation has significant effects on self-esteem at the .05 level of confidence. There is a significant interaction between race and acculturation modes on self-esteem that bears upon the hypothesis. Range tests indicate that among self-perceived whites, biculturals had a mean of 54.35, assimilators had a mean of 52.93, and nonassimilators had a mean of 50.18. Range tests indicate a significant difference between biculturals and nonassimilators, with assimilators occupying a middle position. Among the self-perceived tans, the assimilators had a mean self-esteem score of 52.60, nonassimilators had a mean score of 51.66, and biculturals had a mean score of 51.06.

Table 4-8

Analysis of Variance: Means, Standard Deviations, and  
Summary Statistics for Racial Self-perception and Mode of  
Acculturation on Self-esteem

Race/Acculturation	N	Mean	S.D.	Scheffé Ranges	
				A	B
White					
Nonassimilator	16	50.18	5.16		*
Bicultural	23	54.35	3.28	*	
Assimilator	80	52.93	4.47	*	*
Tan					
Nonassimilator	29	51.66	4.75	*	*
Bicultural	81	51.06	4.48		*
Assimilator	104	52.60	4.21	*	
=====					
Source	SS	df	MS	F	Sig.
=====					
Race	26.36	1	26.36	1.32	n.s.
Acculturation	118.04	2	59.02	2.96	<.05
Race X Accult.	173.78	2	86.89	4.36	<.05
Error	6503.49	327	19.88		

Although Hypothesis 2 is not confirmed by the data, it is noteworthy that among whites, biculturals have significantly higher self-esteem scores than nonassimilators, while among tans assimilators have significantly higher self-esteem scores than biculturals. Additionally, the range tests indicate that white biculturals have higher self-esteem scores than tan biculturals, and tan assimilators have higher self-esteem scores than white nonassimilators. These data suggest that the effects of acculturation mode on self-esteem has differential effect within each self-perceived racial group.

### Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 stated that the mode of adaptation to U.S. society by Puerto Ricans will be related to problems of well-being as follows:

1. Those who choose a bicultural acculturation mode will have significantly fewer problems of well-being than assimilators and nonassimilators.
2. Assimilators will have greater problems with well-being than nonassimilators.

The data in Table 4-9 present the scores on well-being subdivided by self-perceived racial type in a two-way analysis of variance using race and acculturation mode as factors. The black subsample was eliminated from the analysis because of its smallness.

Table 4-9

Analysis of Variance: Means, Standard Deviations, and  
Summary Statistics for Racial Self-perception and Mode of  
Acculturation on Well-being

Race/Acculturation	N	Mean	S.D.		
<b>White</b>					
Nonassimilator	16	16.06	2.74		
Bicultural	23	17.83	1.95		
Assimilator	80	17.10	2.29		
<b>Tan</b>					
Nonassimilator	29	17.38	2.09		
Bicultural	81	17.22	2.05		
Assimilator	104	17.30	2.19		
=====					
Source	SS	df	MS	F	Sig.
=====					
Race	4.75	1	4.75	0.99	n.s.
Acculturation	16.96	2	8.48	1.77	n.s.
Race X Accult.	24.32	2	12.16	2.53	n.s.
Error	1566.03	327	4.78		

The data in Table 4-9 indicate no independent effects of self-perceived racial identification or acculturation mode on well-being. Hypothesis 3 was not confirmed by the data.

#### Supplemental Analysis

Subsequent to hypothesis testing, supplemental analyses were conducted for the purposes of assessing the relative effects of race and acculturation mode on self-esteem and well-being. Table 4-10 contains the summary statistics of the regression analysis of Racial Self-identification, Puerto Rican Identification, Behavioral Acculturation (BAS), and Biculturalism on Self-esteem. All independent variables were entered directly into the equation simultaneously. Therefore the betas are equivalent to partial correlation coefficients controlling for the other four variables.

The data in Table 4-10 indicate that Bicultural Involvement is singly the most important factor in self-esteem, with a beta of .21, resulting in a  $t$ -value of 3.86, which was significant at the .01 level of confidence. This finding suggests that involvement in either or both Puerto Rican and Anglo cultures is related to enhanced self-esteem. The independent contribution of the other variables were not significant after Bicultural Involvement was partialled out. The total variable set resulted in a multiple correlation of  $R = .25$ , when adjusted for covariation, accounted for five percent of the total variation in self-esteem.

Table 4-11 contains the summary statistics of the re-

gression analysis of Racial Self-identification, Puerto Rican Identification, Behavioral Acculturation (BAS), and Biculturalism on Well-being. All independent variables were entered directly into the equation simultaneously.

The data in Table 4-11 reveal two factors accounting for significant variation in Well-being: Bicultural Involvement and Puerto Rican Identity. The Bicultural Involvement indicator had a beta of .25, resulting in a t-value of 4.66, significant at the .01 level of confidence. The Puerto

Table 4-10

Summary of Regression of Racial Self-ID, Behavioral  
Acculturation Scale (BAS), Bicultural Involvement, and  
Biculturalism on Self-esteem

Variable	Beta	t	t Sig.
1. Bicultural Involvement	.21	3.86	<.01
2. Racial Self-ID	-.08	-1.55	>.10
3. Puerto Rican ID	-.09	-1.42	>.10
4. BAS	.03	0.94	>.10
5. Biculturalism	-.02	-0.09	>.10
-----			
Multiple R	.25		
Multiple R Square	.07		
Adjusted R Square	.05		

Rican Identity indicator had a beta of  $-.15$ , resulting in a t-value of  $-2.27$ , significant at the  $.05$  level. These findings suggest that involvement in either or both Hispanic and Anglo cultures are related to increased feelings of well-being. They also suggest that those who most strongly identify themselves as Puerto Ricans are less likely to feel good about themselves than those of weaker Puerto Rican Identification.

The three acculturation variables and the racial and Puerto Rican Identification indicators achieved a multiple correlation of  $R = .28$ , which, after adjusting for covariation, accounted for seven percent of the variation in psychological well-being.

The implications of these findings will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 4-11

Summary of Regression of Racial Self-ID, Behavioral  
Acculturation Scale (BAS), Bicultural Involvement, and  
Biculturalism on Well-bssion of Racial Self-ID, Behavioral  
Acculturation Scale (BAS), Bicultural Involvement, and  
Biculturalism on Well-being

Variable	Beta	t	$\frac{t}{\text{Sig.}}$
1. Bicultural Involvement	.25	4.66	<.01
2. Puerto Rican ID	-.15	-2.27	<.05
3. Biculturalism	-.08	-0.59	>.10
4. Racial Self-ID	.03	0.59	>.10
5. BAS	.01	0.04	>.10
-----			
Multiple R	.28		
Multiple R Square	.08		
Adjusted R Square	.07		

## CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSION

This, the concluding chapter of this study, will summarize the study, discuss the findings in light of theoretical issues and prior empirical findings, and make recommendations for future research.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of the U.S. and Puerto Rican racial systems and their effect on the acculturation and assimilation process among Puerto Rican college students living on the mainland. Further, it sought to determine the effects of three modes of acculturation to the U.S. mainland on Puerto Ricans' self-esteem and sense of well-being. The three modes of adaptation were: (1) assimilation, in which the culture of origin is rejected in favor of the host culture; (2) non-assimilation, in which the host culture is rejected in favor of the culture of origin; and (3) biculturalism, in which a synthesis is made between the two cultures.

It was also hypothesized that race was a complicating factor. It was likely that as Puerto Ricans encountered the United States' racial system of classification into dichoto-

mous categories of black and white, modes of adaptation would be influenced by how Puerto Ricans were racially classified in the U.S. Specifically, this study was directed at determining whether modes of acculturation were related to skin color, self-esteem, or feelings of well-being.

A sample of 367 Puerto Rican college student respondents was collected and administered a questionnaire containing background data; self, U.S., and Puerto Rican racial classifications; Rogler's Puerto Rican identity scale; Szapoznick's Behavioral Acculturation and Bicultural Involvement Scales; Coopersmith's Self-esteem Inventory; and Bradburn's Psychological Well-being Scale.

The major findings of the study were: (1) older students tended to be more nonassimilators and identify more strongly as Puerto Ricans than younger students, who tended to be more assimilative and bicultural; (2) biculturalism was positively related to length of time in the U.S.; (3) students from higher SES families had lower Puerto Rican identity than those from lower SES families; (3) the racial self-identity of the subjects tended to be an amalgamation of U.S. and Puerto Rican racial classification systems; (4) blacks tended to see themselves more exclusively as North American than Puerto Rican; (5) self-identified white Puerto Rican students tended to be more Americanized and bicultural than self-identified black students; (6) among white students, the biculturals had the highest self-esteem and feelings of well-being, nonassimilators had the lowest self-

esteem and feelings of well-being, and the assimilators occupied a middle position; (7) among tan students, assimilators had higher self-esteem than biculturals; and (8) bicultural involvement was the best predictor of self-esteem and well-being.

#### Implications of the Findings

The central focus of this study was the psychological effects of marginality upon Puerto Ricans. It began with a discussion of the common problems of immigrants to a new nation in assimilating within the new society. The term "marginal" was used after Park (1928), to characterize the experience of the Puerto Rican immigrant. Marginality is a condition in which an individual, or a group of individuals find themselves caught between two cultures, each making its own demands for conformance, with the two cultures often making conflicting demands. The experience of marginality is one in which new emigres find themselves caught between two cultures, yet not full participants in either.

A problem exacerbating the marginality of Puerto Ricans in addition to ethnic isolation, is that of racial systems of categorization creating new splits within the community because the North American society, with its unique history of chattel slavery and racial segregation, has developed a two-race system, in which persons are categorized as either black or white, with no middle ground, as exists in Puerto Rican society. This situation has been characterized by Comas-Diaz and Jacobsen (1983) as traumatic

to the Puerto Rican ethnocultural identity, giving rise to a fragmented and diffused sense of self.

Several researchers have investigated the racial influences on the assimilation and acculturation process of Puerto Ricans in the United States (Fitzpatrick, 1958; Ginorio, 1985; Glazer, 1963; Rogler, 1972; Rodriguez, 1974; Seda-Bonillia, 1959; and Zenón-Cruz, 1975). They have documented several routes of adaptation to the American racial and ethnic systems of stratification: (1) the phenotypically white Puerto Rican will attempt to assimilate into the white group; (2) the phenotypically non-white will attempt to assimilate into the Black Americans; (3) some will come to accept the biracial world of the U.S., and accept being called white, black, or non-white; and (4) some will give up their ethnic identification and become Americanized, or conversely, reject the American way and become alienated from the mainstream.

The data in this study support the findings of previous studies in indicating that racial background influences the mode of acculturation. There was a significant relationship between self-perceived race and assimilation. Whites were more assimilative and more Americanized than blacks. Tans occupied a middle position between the two. Yet this study had an anomalous finding: When asked whether they identified their values as exclusively Puerto Rican, partly Puerto Rican and partly North American, or exclusively North American, there was a positive relationship between skin

color and adhesion to exclusively North American values. Sixty percent of the blacks, 39 percent of the tans, and 34 percent of the whites identified themselves as exclusively North American. This is inconsistent with other findings and could be an ungeneralizable characteristic of the sample or a statistical fluke, since there were only 25 self-defined blacks in the study. It is interesting to note that only 2.5 percent of the sample identified themselves as exclusively Puerto Rican, especially in light of prior research conducted by Rodriguez (1975). When Rodriguez asked subjects to identify themselves as Puerto Rican or American, overwhelmingly responded "Puerto Rican." The differences may be due to item formats, since Rodriguez had no middle ground, to sample differences, or to historical changes in the mainland Puerto Rican identity.

This study contains data on the influence of the U.S. system of racial classification on the self-identity of Puerto Ricans. This study found that when compared to the U.S. dichotomous system, nearly 60 percent defined themselves as "tan"; that is, a racial category outside the U.S. black/white dichotomy. What is even more interesting is the fact that only 47 percent defined themselves as tan in the Puerto Rican classification system. This seems to indicate that within this sample, those who see themselves as defined as white in the Puerto Rican system, see themselves as tan in the U.S. system. There were only six subjects who saw themselves as tan in the Puerto Rican system, who subsequently identified themselves as black. This finding sug-

gests that most Puerto Ricans, including those who see themselves as white in Puerto Rico, when encountering the U.S. system, view themselves as racially different from the North American whites.

This finding is in consonance with Rodriguez' (1974) research in which the second generation Puerto Rican judged themselves darker on a four-point scale than did the researcher who graded them using U.S. standards. Drusine (1955), found that Puerto Ricans saw their own ethnic group as being below that of Anglo-Americans, but significantly above that of American Blacks. This may underly the darkening of racial self-perceptions in relation to white Anglos. The implication of this finding is that most Puerto Ricans apparently perceive themselves not only as an ethnic minority, but they additionally perceive a racial boundary. The self-perception of "tanness" is a rejection of the U.S. racial system. That very rejection suggests that many, if not most Puerto Ricans perceive themselves as racially unique. This finding is confirmatory of other studies that have cited Puerto Rican's difficulties in identifying with the white/black racial identification system (Fitzpatrick, 1958; Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Handlin, 1959; McGenny, 1974); Padilla, 1958; Rogler, 1940; Sereno, 1947; Tumin & Feldman, 1961; and Vigo, 1976).

A number of studies (Banks, 1976; Deblassie & Healey, 1970; Healey, et al., 1974; Gitter, et al., 1971; Lincoln, 1967; Megenny, 1974; Nobles, 1973; Petersen & Ramirez, 1971;

Rice, Ruiz, & Patilla, 1974; Shelibow, 1973; and Teplin, 1976) have investigated the impact of skin color on self-concept and ethnic identification among different ethnic groups, including Blacks, Chicanos, Dominicans, and Puerto Ricans. There is no clear consensus on the effect of skin color on self-esteem or ethnic identification. Anderson and Safar's (1976) and Weiner and Evans' (1968) work with Chicanos concluded that within that group, self-esteem was negatively related to skin color. Carter (1968), while not disputing the findings, suggested that such a relationship was a process of negative stereotypifications directed at them by others.

In this study, there was no relationship between self-perceived race and Puerto Rican identity, self-concept, or psychological well-being. This finding suggests that, while racial systems of categorization may result in differing levels of discrimination, that at least among Puerto Rican college students, such effects have had no deleterious effects upon students' self-images as Puerto Ricans or as persons. These findings have to be interpreted in light of the fact that the subjects in this sample are essentially headed for the same stratum of destination. They are, for the most part, upwardly mobile from working class backgrounds into the middle class. Because of the similar levels of aspirations and attainments, self-esteem and ethnic identification differences may be attenuated between racial groups.

Antonovsky (1956) noted that marginality is a cultural

situation in which those who are marginal are pulled into the dominant culture because of the promise of greater rewards. Thus, minority group members may gravitate toward the majority group because they perceive that group as having greater opportunity for social mobility. Thus, rationally calculating minority group members may adopt the attitudes and behaviors of the majority in order to pass.

Puerto Ricans are members of an ethnic group which is composed of multiracial people with different gradations of skin color. Puerto Ricans have the options to identify themselves as white Americans, Black Americans, Spanish Americans, Puerto Rican Americans, or Puerto Ricans on the basis of their physical traits and their sense of ethnic identity. Thus, when entering the U.S., Puerto Ricans who most closely resemble the dominant white group are afforded the greatest choice. This creates pressure on Puerto Ricans, according to Fitzpatrick (1958), Seda-Bonilla (1972), and Zenón-Cruz (1975), to abandon their racial identification as *triguero* (tan) and adopt a white identification. The data in this study seems to contradict the notion that tans adopt a white image. Self-perceptions, as noted above were overwhelmingly tan.

It comes as no surprise that white Puerto Ricans fare better materially on the mainland than their tan or black peers (Tumin & Feldman, 1971). They are overrepresented in high status jobs, better housing, and better schools. Tumin and Feldman concluded that although dark skin is a handicap

in Puerto Rico, it is a much more serious handicap for Puerto Ricans in the U.S.

A number of studies have documented the effects of acculturation mode on ethnic identification, self-esteem, and psychological well-being. Berry (1970) studied Australian Aborigines, finding that those who were most rejectionist in their attitudes toward white society had the highest levels of psychological stress. In a related study of white natives and foreigners in Canada, Berry (1975) found that those who preferred separation and marginalization tended to experience greater stress, while those who were more accommodative to the host culture were less stressed. Szapocznik (1980), in a study of Cubans in Florida, found that those adopting a bicultural mode of existence were better adjusted socially than those who did not. Padilla (1984), in a study of the effects of acculturation that included Hispanics, found that recent immigrants had lower self-esteem than second-generation members and early immigrants. Padilla also found that self-esteem was inversely related to acculturation stress.

Several researchers (Fitzpatrick, 1958; Ginorio, 1985; Rodriguez, 1974; Padilla (1958); Seda-Bonilla (1959); Vigo, 1976; and Zeno-Cruz, 1975) have noted the difficulties that Puerto Ricans have in assimilating to the U.S. Special problems of racial stratification are seen to complicate assimilation patterns. Fitzpatrick (1958) and Vigo (1956) have speculated that white Puerto Ricans would assimilate to the dominant white society, while blacks would assimilate to

Black American society, with the tans left unassimilated. This study seems to indicate that such is not the case. Blacks are the least assimilated of the three racial groups. What the data suggest here is that in response to the racial discrimination black Puerto Ricans experience in the U.S., they become more rejectionist of Anglification or biculturalism and perhaps more militantly Puerto Rican. The data in this study, since it does not contain items on acculturation to Black culture, cannot speak to whether black Puerto Ricans become assimilated to Black American culture. There is, however, evidence that clearly indicates that racial categorization affects the mode of cultural adaptation. The data indicate that, among these college students, the majority are assimilators. However, whites are most likely to be assimilators, tans are overrepresented among biculturals, and blacks are more likely to be nonassimilators than tans or whites.

Vigo (1976) also saw problems in assimilation among the tans. Although there were no differences between whites and tans on either self-esteem or feelings of well-being, tan assimilators had significantly higher self-esteem than tan biculturals. Thus, for tan persons, the assimilation mode stressing the Anglo culture may be more psychologically beneficial for them. This may make sense subjectively, since the tans apparently have two barriers to overcome on the path to success: racial and ethnic discrimination. As individuals, there is little that can be done about racial

discrimination. However, ethnic discrimination may be overcome by Anglicizing oneself. The data here seem to indicate that if given a choice between increased opportunity and maintaining cultural identity, greater psychic benefits accrue from increasing opportunity.

For white Puerto Ricans, it is clear from the data that the bicultural mode of adaptation is most closely associated with elevated self-esteem and feelings of well-being. When compared to the fact that the tan assimilators have the highest self-esteem, this raises the issue as to why different assimilation patterns should have differing psychological effects for whites and tans? The difference between whites and tans in the U.S. is in terms of the level of racial discrimination they experience. Therefore, assimilation for the tans may well be a matter of economic survival. It is likely that tans can make up for their suspect racial backgrounds by adopting Anglo culture. The more "Americanized" tans would be reaping the psychic as well as the material rewards for such accommodation. White Puerto Ricans do not have to worry about racial discrimination. Therefore, they can become bicultural without it affecting their standing in Anglo society. Thus, the data suggest that biculturalism may be a luxury to be enjoyed by the lighter-skinned Puerto Ricans.

The data in this study suggests that there are psychic rewards reaped by white Puerto Ricans for biculturalism that are not reaped by tan Puerto Ricans. In the case of both self-esteem and well-being, white biculturals score

significantly higher than tan biculturals. Also, tan biculturals score lower on both scales than tan assimilators and nonassimilators. Yet tans are significantly more likely to be bicultural than blacks or whites. These results raise the following questions: (1) Is biculturalism more of a burden to tans, while a privilege for whites? (2) Does biculturalism represent something different for tans than whites? (3) Do tans feel they are caught between two cultures?

It was noted above that the self-designation of tan places a Puerto Rican outside the U.S. racial categorization system. Could it be that such estrangement in the biological system create problems among those who attempt to be bicultural?

In the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, the United States witnessed a period of revived ethnic self-awareness. For many ethnic groups, while the goal of social equality with white Anglos was held as virtuous, the deracination effects of assimilation were rejected. Jewish Americans, Italian Americans, Polish Americans, Greek Americans, Mexican Americans, Black Americans, and Puerto Ricans, among others asserted their ethnic identities, rejecting the notion that they wanted to become white Anglo-saxon Protestants (Schulman, Shatter, & Erlich, 1977). The vanguard of these movements were often second- and third-generation youth of immigrants, and the locus of much of the ethnic protest centered in colleges and universities across the U.S., where

there were pressures, after the assault by Blacks and women for Black studies and women's studies, to incorporate new departments centering on studies of major campus ethnic groups. Thus, academia became a locus of ethnic dissent in the 1970s. This would explain why the number of years in college correlated significantly positively with Puerto Rican identification and Hispanicism and negatively with Americanism and biculturalism. There has been ferment in education for the engendering of ethnic pride. It seems that for the Puerto Rican students, school has had just such an effect. Yet these findings are at variance with those of Rogler (1972), who concluded that education weakened ethnic ties because the greater exposure to the host culture. It is important to note, however, that there has been a transformation in the schools, especially in the City University system, in which minorities have sought greater student and faculty presence, plus the development of Hispanic studies programs which are directed at maintaining ethnic integrity.

In the supplemental analyses, it was found that the most critical factor in the enhancement of self-esteem and psychological well-being was bicultural involvement. That is, those who participated in cultural events -- either Anglo or Hispanic -- had the highest self-esteem and psychological well-being. There is obviously a certain amount of recursiveness among the variables; however, it is likely that increased social participation would have positive effects on self-esteem.

To conclude, this study found that skin color influenced the mode of adaptation of Puerto Rican college students, and that the mode of adaptation influenced self-esteem and psychological well-being in interaction with skin color. Surprisingly, skin color acted as a specifier variable when mode of adaptation was related to self-esteem and psychological well-being, in that white biculturals had higher self-esteem and psychological well-being than white assimilators and nonassimilators, and that tan assimilators had higher self-esteem than biculturals and nonassimilators. The black Puerto Ricans, however, showed no differences between mode of adaptation and self-esteem or psychological well-being. It appears that although the blacks tend to be nonassimilators, their self-esteem and feelings of psychological well-being are unaffected.

#### Recommendations for Future Research

Although this research was able to answer certain questions concerning the effects of racial background on acculturation among Puerto Ricans, there were several questions this study left unanswered, and several other questions raised by this research. Two major limitations of this study were (1) that it was conducted among college students, thus narrowing the generalizability of the findings; and (2) there were very few members of the sample who were self-designated as black. Therefore, research of a similar nature should be conducted on samples of subjects who are more representative of the mainland Puerto Rican population in

general. Puerto Rican college students represent those who have met with a modicum of success in school and who are apparently motivated to move into the upper middle class. Since more than half the Puerto Rican population in New York City drop out of school before higher school graduation, college students are an unrepresentative sample. It may be that (1) different patterns of acculturation will be manifested by those whose education is not as extensive, since education can be considered an index of acculturation, (2) that acculturation paths may have different effects on those persons, or (3) that race may affect acculturation differently. These issues have not been tested empirically in this study because of the limitations of the sampling.

Because of the small size of the self-identified black sample, little in the way of generalizations could be made about this group. This study found contradictory and perhaps uninterpretable findings concerning the acculturation of black Puerto Ricans. Research should be conducted in to the specific problems of acculturation of black Puerto Ricans. This would include such research as participant-observation, in-depth interviews, as well as comparative studies with white and tan Puerto Ricans. In addition, Padilla (1980) has suggested studying the effects of perceived discrimination on acculturation, hypothesizing that such perceptions retard acculturation.

As has been noted above, the acculturation process is a complex phenomenon, involving as it does, marginal status

and conflicting cultural demands. Acculturation among Puerto Ricans is additionally complicated because of the unique political and social relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States, which allows for continual travel between the island and the mainland, as well as the complicating racial variable. Thus, research should be conducted on islanders, mainlanders, and those who transit back and forth on acculturation. Again, race should be examined as a specifying variable. In addition, it would be interesting to explore the feelings of Puerto Ricans on the ideal forms of relationships between the U.S. and Puerto Rico, not only politically but culturally. More needs to be known about what it means to be a Puerto Rican, a Puerto Rican American (or Newyorr Rican), or North American to Puerto Ricans. There also needs to be research conducted comparing the acculturation processes of Puerto Ricans with other ethnic groups that may not be so racially diverse or have such a unique situation with the host country. Such research would provide valuable data on which to evaluate the acculturation process among Puerto Ricans. Such data should also include the effects of the acquisition of the host language in the acculturation process.

There has been an ongoing debate among sociolinguists such as Fishman (1964) and the Language Policy Task Force (1980) as to whether Puerto Ricans will conform to the language loss in three generations that has characterized other ethnic groups under the rubric "Americanization." The question to be asked is if there is an upper limit to the

Americanization process below complete assimilation, to which Puerto Ricans will not or cannot go beyond? The evidence suggests that because of the propinquity and easy access Puerto Ricans have to their homeland, nationalist and bicultural desires, and racial factors may limit acculturation. More research should be conducted on the effects of those factors and responses by the U.S. social system to the acculturation process among Puerto Ricans.

Puerto Ricans, unlike emigres from Europe or Central and South America are not merely immigrants from a foreign country seeking a better life in the United States. They are inhabitants of a polity that was taken by force from one colonial power by another. They are citizens of the United States, yet come from a Hispanic culture, to which they can readily return, and which is at variance from the U.S. in its system of racial classification. These differences are bound to create complications in the acculturation process among Puerto Ricans, since acculturation is not only influenced by the clash of cultures, but by the political meanings of acculturation. Research should be ongoing in analyzing the effects of these factors on the acculturation of Puerto Ricans.

## APPENDIX

Specimen Survey Instrument

## PART I: General Information

Please circle the appropriate response or write in the response as indicated by the statement.

1. What is your present age? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Gender:
  1. Male
  2. Female
3. Length of residency in the U.S.A.? \_\_\_\_\_
4. What year of college are you in?
  1. Freshman
  2. Sophomore
  3. Junior
  4. Senior
  5. I do not attend college.
5. What is the occupation of your father?  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. What is the occupation of your mother?  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. What is the highest level of education completed by your father?
  1. Grade school
  2. High school
  3. College
  4. Graduate school
8. What is the highest level of education completed by your mother?
  1. Grade school
  2. High school
  3. College
  4. Graduate school
9. In what racial category do you see yourself?
  1. I see myself as a "white person"
  2. I see myself as a "tan person"
  3. I see myself as a "black person"
10. How do you feel you are perceived in the U.S.A. in terms of the North American two-category system of racial classification?
  1. white
  2. black

11. How do you feel you would be perceived racially in Puerto Rico?
1. white
  2. tan
  3. black

**PART II: Feelings about Puerto Rican and North American Cultures**

Please circle the response which best represents your view.

12. In terms of your values, what do you consider yourself to be?
1. As purely Puerto Rican and nothing else.
  2. As partly Puerto Rican and partly North American.
  3. As purely North American and not Puerto Rican.
13. With respect to kindness and generosity, do you think that Puerto Ricans become less generous, remain the same, or become more generous as result of living in New York?
1. Less generous
  2. Remain the same
  3. More generous
14. How do you feel about the following statement?: If I had children, I would prefer that my children keep Puerto Rican ways and traditions.
1. Strongly agree
  2. Agree
  3. Mixed feelings
  4. Disagree
  5. Strongly disagree
  6. Don't know
15. Which choice would best express your feelings about Puerto Ricans and Americans?
1. Very close to Puerto Ricans, I consider them my real people.
  2. Just as close to Puerto Ricans as to Americans.
  3. Somewhat close to Puerto Ricans but more close to the Americans.
  4. Very close to Americans, I consider them my real people.
  5. I don't feel close to either Puerto Ricans or to the Americans.

16. IF YOU HAD CHILDREN: How would you feel about your child marrying a non-Puerto Rican?
  1. Marriage to a non-Puerto Rican is preferable.
  2. Marriage to a non-Puerto Rican is somewhat more desirable.
  3. To me it makes no difference if marriage is with a non-Puerto Rican or a Puerto Rican.
  4. Marriage to a Puerto Rican is somewhat more desirable.
  5. Marriage to a Puerto Rican is preferable.
  
17. Would you say that everyone in this city has the same opportunity of getting jobs and promotions in their jobs, or that there are practices which favor certain people more than others?
  1. There are equal opportunities.
  2. Practices do exist which favor certain people more than others.

## PART III: Cultural Preferences

Please circle the response that best applies to you.  
Use the following code to represent your response.

1	2	3	4	5
Spanish	Spanish	Spanish &	English	English
all the	most of	English	most of	all the
time	the time	equally	the time	time

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- |     |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18. | Which language do you prefer to speak?                  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. | What language do you speak at home?                     | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. | What language do you speak in school?                   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 21. | What language do you speak at work?                     | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 22. | What language do you speak with friends?                | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 23. | In what language are the T.V. programs you watch?       | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 24. | In what language are the radio stations you listen to?  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 25. | In what language are the books and magazines you read ? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Please circle the response that best applies to you.  
Use the following code to represent your response.

1	2	3	4	5
Puerto Rican all the time	Puerto Rican most of the time	Puerto Rican & American equally	American most of the time	American all the time

- |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26. What sort of music do listen to?            | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 27. What sort of dances do dance?               | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 28. What sort of places do you go out to?       | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 29. What sort of recreation do you engage in?   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 30. My way of celebrating Easter is:            | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 31. My way relating to my boy or girlfriend is: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 32. The gestures I use in talking are:          | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

HOW WOULD YOU LIKE THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS OF YOUR LIFE TO BE?

- |                                  |   |   |   |   |   |
|----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| 33. Food:                        | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 34. Language:                    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 35. Music:                       | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 36. T.V. Programs:               | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 37. Books/Magazines              | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 38. Dances:                      | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 39. Radio Programs:              | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 40. Way of celebrating holidays: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 41. Way of celebrating weddings: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Please circle the response that best applies to you.

A. HOW COMFORTABLE DO YOU FEEL SPEAKING SPANISH

	Not at all comfortable				Very comfortable
42. AT HOME	1	2	3	4	5
43. IN SCHOOL	1	2	3	4	5
44. AT WORK	1	2	3	4	5
45. WITH FRIENDS	1	2	3	4	5
46. IN GENERAL	1	2	3	4	5

B. HOW COMFORTABLE DO YOU FEEL SPEAKING ENGLISH

	Not at all comfortable				Very comfortable
47. AT HOME	1	2	3	4	5
48. IN SCHOOL	1	2	3	4	5
49. AT WORK	1	2	3	4	5
50. WITH FRIENDS	1	2	3	4	5
51. IN GENERAL	1	2	3	4	5

C. HOW MUCH DO YOU ENJOY PUERTO RICAN

	Not at all				Very much
52. MUSIC	1	2	3	4	5
53. DANCES	1	2	3	4	5
54. ORIENTED PLACES	1	2	3	4	5
55. RECREATION	1	2	3	4	5
56. T.V. PROGRAMS	1	2	3	4	5
57. RADIO STATION	1	2	3	4	5
58. BOOKS AND MAGAZINES	1	2	3	4	5

D. HOW MUCH DO YOU ENJOY AMERICAN

	Not at all				Very much
	1	2	3	4	5
59. MUSIC	1	2	3	4	5
60. DANCES	1	2	3	4	5
61. ORIENTED PLACES	1	2	3	4	5

HOW MUCH DO YOU ENJOY AMERICAN

	Not at all				Very much
	1	2	3	4	5
62. RECREATION	1	2	3	4	5
63. T.V. PROGRAMS	1	2	3	4	5
64. RADIO STATION	1	2	3	4	5
65. BOOKS AND MAGAZINES	1	2	3	4	5

## PART V: Feelings about Yourself

If the statement describes how you usually feel, then circle the response(=1) in the column, "Like Me."  
 If the statement does not describe how you usually feel, then circle the response(=2) in the column, "Unlike Me."  
 There are no right or wrong answers.

	LIKE ME	UNLIKE ME
66. I'm pretty sure of myself.	1	2
67. I often wish I were someone else.	1	2
68. I'm easy to like.	1	2
69. There are lots of things about myself I'd change if I could.	1	2
70. I'm a lot of fun to be with.	1	2
71. I always do the right thing.	1	2
72. I'm proud of my school work.	1	2
73. Someone always has to tell me what to do.	1	2
74. I'm often sorry for the things I do.	1	2
75. I'm doing the best work that I can.	1	2
76. I give in very easily.	1	2
77. I can usually take care of myself.	1	2
78. I'm pretty happy.	1	2
79. My parents expect too much of me.	1	2
80. It's pretty tough to be me.	1	2
81. Things are all mixed up in my life.	1	2
82. No one pays much attention to me at home.	1	2
83. I have a low opinion of myself.	1	2
84. I don't like to be with other people.	1	2

	LIKE ME	UNLIKE ME
85. There are many times when I'd like to leave home.	1	2
86. I'm never shy.	1	2
87. I often feel ashamed of myself.	1	2
88. I'm not as nice looking as most people.	1	2
89. I don't care what happens to me.	1	2
90. I'm a failure.	1	2
91. Most people are better liked than I am.	1	2
92. I usually feel as if my parents are pushing me.	1	2
93. I always know what to say to people.	1	2
94. Things usually don't bother me.	1	2
95. I can't be depended on.	1	2

---

## PART V: Feelings about Your Life

Please circle the response that best applies to you:  
YES=1/NO=2.

## DURING THE PAST FEW WEEKS DID YOU EVER FEEL:

	YES	NO
96. Pleased about having accomplished something?	1	2
97. Pleased that things are going your way?	1	2
98. Proud because someone complimented you on something you had done?	1	2
99. Particularly excited or interested in something?	1	2
100. On top of the world?	1	2
101. So restless that you couldn't sit long in a chair?	1	2
102. Bored?	1	2
103. Depressed or very unhappy?	1	2
104. Very lonely or remote from other people?	1	2
105. Upset because someone criticized you?	1	2

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

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