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A LOOK AT HOW MAINLAND PUERTO RICANS BELIEVE THEMSELVES TO BE PERCEIVED BY THEIR ISLAND COUNTERPARTS AND ITS IMPACT ON THEIR ETHNIC SELF-IDENTITY AND GROUP BELONGINGNESS

by

GLADYS ACEVEDO

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Date

Steven B. Tuber, Ph.D.
Chair of Examining Committee

1-17-00
Date

Executive Officer

Anderson J. Franklin, Ph.D.
Committee Member

Paul L. Wachtel, Ph.D.
Committee Member

RoseMarie Pérez Foster, Ph.D.
Committee Member

Richard H. Fulmer, Ph.D.
Committee Member

ABSTRACT

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GLADYS ACEVEDO

Advisor: Professor Steven B. Tuber

The clinical literature speaks of the important connection between group belongingness and self-concept development (Freud, 1921; Lewin, 1948). This connection is complicated when an individual identifies with more than one group and particularly when one of the groups is socially disadvantaged and ethnically different from the majority group. Early researches found that this situation led to self-group affiliations marked by over- or under-identification. It was also found that the psychological constituents underlying these polar styles of identification were characterized by rigid defenses such as splitting, denial and projection, dichotomized thinking and an intolerance of ambiguity and ambivalence. The focus of these studies centered on the dynamics emanating from the boundaries between the minority 'in-group' and the majority 'out-group.'

The present dissertation focuses on the sense of group belongingness and self-concept evolving from a style of

self-group identification described as 'ambivalent.' This style has been attributed to the dynamics emanating from the boundaries existing between multiple group identifications. The case of the mainland Puerto Rican is unique in several aspects. Not only is the mainland Puerto Rican identified with the majority group (American) and the ethnic reference group (Puerto Rican), but within the reference group, there are two geographically (and some argue, culturally) distinct subgroups. Furthermore, the impact of the political relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico on the Puerto Rican character cannot be ignored for: "as long as Puerto Rico remains in direct colonial bondange to the United States, Puerto Rican cultural expression in the United States evokes the relation, above all, between Puerto Rican people here [mainland] and there [island]" (Flores, 1993). This 'here' and 'there' dichotomy has led to an 'othering' process giving rise to the question: 'Who is a Puerto Rican?' and the belief among some mainland Puerto Ricans that their island counterparts do not accept them as authentic Puerto Ricans.

Ambivalence is hypothesized as a normative trend representing an integrative function in the face of the contradictions and paradoxes inherent in the complexities underlying mainland Puerto Rican identity. The perception of not being accepted as 'authentic' has produced feelings of abandonment and defenses such as displacement.

DEDICATION

Mi madre quería que yo fuera sus alas, para que volara como ella nunca tuvo el valor de hacer. Yo la amo por eso. Amo que ella quería dar a luz a sus propías alas.

My mother wanted me to be her wings, so that I could fly like she never could. I love her for that. I love that she wanted to fly her own wings.

Erica Jong

To my parents, Maria and Natividad,

the First Generation

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> I am two parts/a person/a boricua/spic/past and present/alive and oppressed/given a cultural beauty...and robbed of a cultural identity (Esteves, 1980)
>
> I'm Puerto Rican and I consider myself Puerto Rican, but when I go to the island I'm something else to them. (Marquez, 1982)

The above words spoken by a Puerto Rican poet and musician reflect the existential dilemma experienced by many mainland-born Puerto Ricans when confronted with their island counterparts. The geographical distinction between mainland and island-born Puerto Ricans suggests a distinction beyond mere physicality. How do mainlanders reconcile membership in a group that questions whether they are "real Puerto Ricans"? How do they anchor themselves onto a group that is differentially structured along cultural, racial and linguistic lines and is 'ethnic' only on one side of the geographical divide? How do these superstructural and situational factors impinge on their self-concept and what are the psychological consequences?

A. In Search of the Puerto Rican Character

In 1882 Brau described the nature of the Puerto Rican character along biological deterministic terms:

> And there you have the primordial source of our character: From the Indian that remained was his indolence, taciturnity, disinterestedness and his sense of hospitality; from the African (came) resistance, vigorous sensuality, superstition and fatalism; while the Spaniard injected into our

> character its chivalrous sincerity, its characteristic pride, its festive taste, its austere devotion, constancy under adversity, and its love for the homeland and for independence (quoted in Flores, p.34).

Silen (1974) opposed this deterministic characterization and noted that: "We cannot accept as our heritage from this generation that consumed itself in its own "creative fire" the determinism of many of its ideas, the errors of many of its concepts of man, the soil, history, and struggle as the process of liberation" (p.194). Still, one hundred years after Brau postulated his "primordial source" theory, mainland Puerto Ricans continue to define their character in terms of the vicissitudes of their geographical displacement:

> here lies Juan/here lies Miguel/here lies Milagros/here lies Olga/here lies Manuel/who died yesterday today/and will die again tomorrow/always broke/always owing/never knowing/that they are beautiful people/never knowing/the geography of their complexion (Pietri, 1973)

Flores (1993) contends that the shaping forces of geographical displacement have had a negative impact on the process of ethnocultural identification and compares "Latino affirmation...[to] a fending off of schizophrenia, of that pathological duality born of contending cultural worlds and, perhaps more significantly, of the conflicting pressures toward both exclusion and forced incorporation." By comparing the dilemma of Latino affirmation to the most

devastating of psychiatric disorders, Flores invokes a pathologized image of the identification process confronting mainland Puerto Ricans.

According to Flores, mainland Puerto Ricans exist in a 'state of abandonment' that is characterized by an anxiety of ambivalence towards their cultural identity. He contends that this state of abandonment develops, in part, from a sense of geographical displacement that is simultaneously reinforced by a host culture that does not accept them as American and a parent culture that does not accept them as Puerto Ricans. Mainlanders exist and do not exist in two geographical landscapes. Tatum (1987) identifies geographical displacement as a recurring theme in mainland Puerto Rican literature and associates it to its psychological sequelae: "(1) a growing attitude of insecurity in a new environment; (2) an attitude of uncertainty and anxiety, an existential impotence, a passivity and disgust; (3) a state of psychological and existential dependency; (4) a negative self-image; and (5) spiritual frustration and solitude." Pointing to the significance of this latter dimension, Gastón (1974, p.153) writes "This curious dispute is nothing more than another symptom of the spiritual confusion in which Puerto Ricans live because of the lack of confidence in their destiny as a people. Either they exaggerate their condition as a Puerto Rican or claim not to give it any importance."

The multiplicity of self-designated labels - Rican, Neo-Rican, Puerto Rican, Puerto Rican-American, American-Puerto Rican, Boricua, Boriken, AmeRican, Nuyorican, PR - reflects the Mainlander's preoccupation with finding a cohesive group identity that incorporates their multiple group affiliations. According to Garza (1977) the movement towards an expanded group definition emerged out of a consciousness of difference between them and their island counterparts: "a growing number of young Puerto Ricans born and raised in the U.S. are adopting attitudes, mores, and viewpoints distinct from Puerto Ricans in the colony. Some refer to themselves as *Riqueños* or *Niuyorriqueños* in order to designate this distinction" (p.17). Commenting on this development, Mohr (1987) wrote that "We, Nuyoricans...are no longer an island people. This reality has become increasingly incomprehensible to the Puerto Rican from the island" (p.157). Referring to this 'reality,' Novoa (1987) stated that "There are ties, similarities, concordances with the mother country and language, certainly, but there are just as many with the United States. That is exactly the point of the names, to emphasize difference in sameness" (p.234).

The differentiation between Mainlanders' and Islanders' experiential fields is further complicated by the differing systems of racialization operative in the United States and in Puerto Rico. Betances (1974) writes "Puerto Rico has a

problem of color; America has a problem of race." This dichotomy in racialization has influenced how each subgroup views the other. For example, Mohr (1987) describes the reaction to 'dark' island immigrants in the 1950's:

> Their presence disturbed not only the non-Hispanics who reacted with hostility and fear, but unsettled those of us who had deluded ourselves into thinking we had attained a peaceful and worthwhile coexistence with the White society that dictated our destiny. We had, in fact, only achieved a most tenuous arrangement. Fair-skinned Puerto Ricans were seeking a life alongside other White ethnic groups. Dark-skinned Puerto Ricans were becoming resigned to life alongside Black Americans. This polarization of racial identification permeated right into one's immediate family. (p.159).

As with the self-designated ethnic labels, the multiplicity of racially-rooted categories - blancos, indios, morenos, negros, grifos, príetos, trigeños - reflect the racial heterogeneity of the Puerto Rican people. These racial distinctions also reflect the legacy of the Spanish caste system (Kinsbruner, 1996) inherited by the Puerto Ricans and reveal an underlying bias towards their collective identity: "Thus racial attitudes in Puerto Rico involve ambivalences that rotate around the cultural ideal that there is no racial prejudice among Puerto Ricans" (Padilla, 1958, pp.72-73). Diaz (1996) asserts that "The direct confrontation with our racial selves alters drastically the terms of the discussion of our identity as Puerto Ricans" (p.5).

During the ethnic affirmation movement of the 1960's and 1970's Mainlanders alligned themselves with the African American community in order to strengthen their political base. Mainlanders, however, resisted racial identification with American Blacks preferring instead to refer to themselves as "non-white." Rodriguez (1980) defines this term as: "[it] is to New York Puerto Ricans what Puerto Ricans and blacks are; "white" is what Puerto Ricans and blacks are not. However, "black" is what blacks are and Puerto Ricans are not." Thus, Puerto Ricans considered "white" in Puerto Rico are "non-white" on the mainland; whereas Puerto Ricans who are differentially defined on the island are viewed as 'Black' by the dominant U.S. culture and "non-white" by their mainland counterparts. With respect to how the majority culture viewed Mainlanders, Grosfoguel and Georas (1996) noted that "Unable to place Puerto Ricans in a fixed category, either as white or black,...white Americans increasingly perceived them as a racialized Other" (p.191).

"In Puerto Rico I discovered that my Spanish was atrocious" (Thomas, p.157). In addition to the influencing forces of biology, geography and race on the markers of group identity, the Spanish language connects Mainlanders to the island even though many of them no longer speak the language. For them this discordance represents yet another distinction between them and Islanders that impacts on their experience of group belongingness: "The rejection of

Nuyoricans is based on perceptible differences in characteristics that are identified as Puerto Rican, notably language" (Morris, 1995, p.125).

For many Mainlanders, this rejection is experienced as an assault on their ethnic identity: "Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity - I am my language. Until I take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself" (quoted in Flores, p.217). Maldonado-Denis (1976) states that the socialization process that begins when 'Juan' becomes 'John' results "in a kind of no-man's land, where his command of English is as problematic as his knowledge of Spanish." This loss of Spanish language competency has led some Islanders to conclude that "Puerto Ricans born in the United States have ceased to be Puerto Rican and that, therefore, they should be considered dead weight...." Maldonado-Denis denounces the "terrible mutilation that this idiomatic ambivalence implies."

The century-long search for the nature of the Puerto Rican character has thus produced paradoxes and contradictions. In defining his identity the Mainlander has had to contend with those who say that "The Puerto Rican in New York is different. He has a strange mixture that we can't say is Puerto Rican because that's not the real Puerto Rican....It's because they're different, and they feel different and we perceive that" (quoted in Morris, p.124).

Nuyorican poets have portrayed this paradox through their literary expressions:

> Being Puertorriqueña Americana Born in the Bronx/not really jibara/Not really hablando bien But yet, not gringa either/Pero ni portorra/Pero si portorra too/Pero ni que what am I? (Esteves, 1980)

B. The Search for Reconciliation

> no, not yet, no, not yet/I will not proclaim myself a total child of any land/I'm still in the commonwealth stage of my life/wondering what to decide/what to conclude/what to declare myself? (Laviera, 1979)

The 1990 debate over whether Mainlanders should be allowed to vote in the 1991 referendum on the island's political status was fundamentally a debate over 'who is a Puerto Rican.' The debate highlighted the existing alienation between both groups and the sense of abandonment experienced by Mainlanders - "For Puerto Ricans here, the fact that their nationality is now being openly debated on the island is a triumph. But now that these discussions are heating up, some may find that they will have to confront new discrimination - the kind that is most painful, because it comes from home" (Perez, 1990). As the island prepared for yet another plebescite, the debate over 'who is a Puerto Rican' continued. Puerto Rico's Governor Rossello was reported to have called those mainland Puerto Rican politicians who supported Mainlanders' participation in the status debate, "interlopers" that aren't "real Puerto Ricans" (in Critica, No. 29, October 1996).

The notion that there are "real Puerto Ricans" derives from a bipolar construct in which the space between the poles assumes an inferiorized status. Novoa contends that "From the perspective of the poles, the in-between stage is no longer, or not yet, fully acceptable" (p.229). Gaston labels these poles "Puertoricanists" and "Occidentalists" and accuses both of viewing the other through distorted ethnocultural lens. She contends that "[both] need corrective lenses. Because Puertoricanists need to be Occidentalists, or Western, and Occidentalists have to be Puerto Ricans" (p.153).

Levine (1987) drew an analogy between the plight of Puerto Ricans and that of the pre-World War II Jews studied by Kurt Lewin. Lewin argued that when underprivileged groups are denied access into the dominant culture, one of the psychological manifestations of such forced exclusion - and conversely forced inclusion - is 'negative chauvinism' or disidentification with one's reference group. Levine believed that the Puerto Rican testimonial literature reflects the type of 'negative chauvinism' which Lewin had identified in his Jews. Levine states: "as in the case of the Jews," the process of assimilation into the dominant group leads to "a kind of introjection of externally originated hate" and, quoting Lewin, "hatred against one's group as the source of the frustration." Levine's analysis, while pertinent to the case of Puerto Ricans, is narrow in

its scope in that it limits the impinging forces leading to negative chauvinism to dominant-nondominant group dynamics. Levine's parallel analysis does not take into consideration the within-group dynamics fostered by the United States-Puerto Rico sociopolitical context on each side of the geographical divide and as such is limited in its scope.

Santiago (1993) alludes to this within-group 'ingroup-outgroup' dynamic when she writes of the "two kinds of Puerto Ricans: the newly arrived, like myself, and the ones born in Brooklyn of Puerto Rican parents. The two types didn't mix" (p.230). Perhaps most poignant, however, is the title of her autobiography: 'When I was Puerto Rican.' Although her story is one of triumph over social determinism, the title appears to suggest the loss of reference group affiliation which Lewin identified in his Jews.

This study attempts to explore whether there is a perception of intragroup negative bias and, if so, its impact on the sense of group belongingness. In particular, it seeks to measure whether the perception of within-group negative bias contributes to a sense of group belongingness described in the literature as 'ambivalent.' It is anticipated that the factors contributing to a "not-we-though-related" dynamic are essentially of a cultural nature: "...the determining factor of whether or not a person is Puerto Rican lies in the cultural question as the definitive central element of his or her Puerto Ricanness" (Maldonado-

Denis, p.70). In essence, how do Mainlanders map their cultural landscape in the midst of multiple cultural contradictions? What are the psychological implications of this contrastive perspective that is simultaneously true and false?

Puerto Rican ambivalence has been described in the Puerto Rican literature - poetry, prose, testimonial and political - as a psychological state resulting from a hybridization of ethno-cultural identity: "of not-we-though-related, of less-than-fully-us" (Novoa, p.233; Maldonado-Denis, p.102). According to Esteves the unique United States-Puerto Rico relation is responsible for producing this psychological state: "Ambivalence is a constant political condition that goes beyond the boundaries of our Puerto Rican identity" (p.168). A central underlying assumption of this study is that the cultural landscape confronting Mainlanders, Islanders and their interaction cannot be understood outside of the ecological context created by this relation. Implicit in this notion is the idea that ethnicity and its correlate cultural identity are sociopsychological constructs that do not develop in an ahistorical vacuum. Herbstein (1978) contends that "ethnicity is not an inevitable phenomenon, but a complex historical process. As such, its organizational counterpart, the ethnic group, not only emerges at a specific point in time, but is subject to the changes in the

national society of which it is a part. In other words, ethnicity can only be understood as the product of the operation of the total society" (p.406).

In Morris' (1995) investigation on Puerto Rican island identity she indicated that "A key part of defining collective identity involves the distinction between group members and outsiders" (p.8). An underlying premise of this study is that the shaping forces on the Puerto Rican character - sociopolitical, geographical, cultural, racial and linguistic - have <u>differentially</u> impacted on Puerto Ricans on each side of the geographical divide creating an ingroup-outgroup dynamic within a single ethnic reference group (Quintero Alfaro, 1987). Of course, that mainland-side Puerto Ricans are affected by the host society (regardless of whether the valuation is positive or negative) is not experientially unique to them. What is distinctive, however, is that the ongoing unique United States-Puerto Rico relation has created a parallel unique Mainlander-Islander relation as well. The manifestations of this relation is perhaps most dramatically played out in the political arena where the question of ethnic authenticity has been invoked in relation to the status debate: "The demonization of the statehood leaders by their opponents, portraying them as un-Puerto Rican and servile lackeys of imperialism, has served no constructive purpose, as has the

charge of un-Americanism hurled by the statehooders against their adversaries" (Monge, 1997, p.195).

Steward & Healy (1989) contend that the influence of social history on personality development within dissimilar as well as similar cohorts depends on the particular experience of the individual group member. In other words, group membership in and of itself does not account for distinct cohort differences. Nevertheless, pointing to the 'social history' which has contributed to the expression of individual experiences at the collective level among New York Puerto Ricans, Herbstein (1978) notes that: "Not until the 1960s, when cultural pluralism became the prevalent official ideology, did Puerto Ricans use the term "community" to emphasize their common national origin" (p.412). The historical events resulting from the United States-Puerto Rico relation differentially influenced the experiences of each sub-cohort of Puerto Ricans both individually and collectively. Furthermore, social events occurring independent of that relation in the United States (i.e. the Civil Rights Movement, the Women's Movement and the 'sexual revolution') - and in New York City in particular for purposes of this study's target population - impacted on Mainlanders in a way that did not impact on their island counterparts. Herbstein (1978) for example, argues that the ethnic connotations embodied in 'Nuyoricanism' emerged as a direct response to the political

ideology of cultural pluralism aimed at maintaining the existent power structure: "ethnic groups are not pre-existing entities but are organizational responses to the existing power structure" (p.406). Islanders on the other hand found themselves bewildered by the struggle for ethnic affirmation based on a racialized system for economic preservation. From their unique perspective, the Puerto Rican struggle was one of national affirmation. This differentiation between national and ethnic identity was highlighted by Morris (1995): "Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico are a nation; Puerto Ricans in New York may still be part of the Puerto Rican nation, depending on who is doing the defining, but in the U.S. mainland they constitute an ethnic group" (emphasis added, p.13). One dimension along which this difference can be gauged is by one's position on the 'status question' on the island side and by one's psychological response to the 'ethnicization' of their group on the mainland-side.

Lewin and other theorists identified both under and over-identification with one's reference group as possible responses to the multiple identity demands in a pluralistic society. Between these poles some of the intermediate stages may be characterized as ambivalent. Indeed, in the Mainland Puerto Rican case, ambivalence has been described as the product of simultaneous identification with both the island and mainland cultures.

Thus, the assumption underlying this study is that 'ambivalence' is an expectable and appropriate psychological response to this ingroup-outgroup dynamic and as such is a normative component of mainland Puerto Rican identity and group belongingness.

C. Defining 'Us' and 'Them'

> Let it be known that despite our lingual deviations, despite our geographic separation, despite the varieties of our color and interchange of blood, we will continue...our identity as a people who in body, mind, and soul have remained a nation undivided (Esteves, p.168)
>
> But at the same time, separations begin to take place and identifications are made of those from "here" and "there" (Quintero Alfaro, p.200)

The Puerto Rican literature associates the ambivalence attributed to Mainlanders to a confluence of various factors (Flores, 1993; Kinsbruner, 1996). One of these factors is the bipolar racial classification system which denies their reference group's racial fusion: "The conceptualization of Puerto Rican-ness based on American racism makes the New Yorrican a human being marginal to two cultures" (Seda Bonilla quoted in Maldonado-Denis, p.103). A second marginalizing factor stems from the idiomatic differences between the two geographical groups which on the mainland-side has been described as a "hybrid speech" - between English and Spanish (Novoa, p.230; Alvarez, 1997). Within the mainland population the sub-group most identified with these characteristics is the 'first' second generation

comprising the children of those who migrated during the post-World War II period which has remained the high water-mark of Puerto Rican migration.

The existential dilemma posed by these polarities and the negative reaction from members within the reference group who consider themselves to be the 'true Puerto Ricans' is not unique to Mainlanders. For example, Mexican writers note similar expressions of disdain for the 'pocho' (the Nuyorican equivalent) (Novoa, 1987) and among Dominicans, second generation mainlanders are derisively referred to as 'Dominican Yorks' by their island counterparts (Daily News, 1994). In fact, the 'us-them' phenomenon was first clinically observed in post-World War II Jewish immigrants in whom it was found to lead to group affiliations that were marked by extremes of xenocentrism and ethnocentrism (Rinder, 1953). These early studies were prompted both by the turbulent political climate and the psychoanalytic trend at the time of applying clinical theory to social processes. One of the theoretical models to emerge out of this union was the concept of the Race Relations Cycle formulated by Park (1950) to describe the 'normative' process of immigrant assimilation. Park theorized that each successive generation progressed through a normative stage corresponding to it along a linear path towards assimilation.

According to Park's model the second generation occupies the 'conflict' stage which is characterized by an

identification that is intermediate between the host country and country of origin with an emphasis on the latter (the country of the parents birth). The third generation corresponds to the 'accommodation' stage and is also characterized by an intermediate identification, but with the emphasis on the host country (the country of the parents birth). Park stated that the failure of a subgroup of second generation Jews to resolve the conflict inhering to this stage led to pathological identity styles. Stonequist (1937) described the psychological sequelae which could result from occupying an intermediate position in his conceptualization of the 'marginal man':

> When the standards of two or more social groups come into active contrast or conflict, the individual who is identified with both groups experiences the conflict as an acute personal difficulty or mental tension. (p.4)

When identity is viewed as developing along a continuum instead of as a linear process, however, the dynamic aspects can be located within the sociopsychological sphere which may be differentially affected along any point on the continuum. For example, Cordazco and Galatioto (1970) maintain that the 'melting pot' assumption implicit in Park's linear concept does not take into consideration the "importance of ethnicity in American inter-group life" (p.184) and, therefore, fails to account for the socio-psychological complexities characteristic of Puerto Rican assimilation. The role of ethnicity as a construct for

defining group boundaries within a larger collectivity, assumes particular significance for racialized minorities. For Mainlanders, it has meant defining an ethnic identity within a multiethnic society, whereas this has been an unnecessary task for their island counterparts whose 'ethnicity' is no different than that of the collectivity (this has been changing in recent years due to the influx of Dominicans).

Steinberg (1981, p.63) contends that the problem of forming an identity based on group ethnicity "is that those elements of traditional culture that have been preserved are removed from the social and cultural matrix in which they once belonged. It is fundamentally a crisis of authenticity." Triandis et al.'s (1988) study on the self-ingroup relation in individualistic (i.e. United States) cultures in which there are multiple ingroups and collectivistic (i.e. Japan, Puerto Rico) cultures in which there are few ingroups (and often just one) concurs with Steinberg's notion of cultural dislocation. Triandis et al. found a higher level of stability in self-ingroup relationships in societies which emphasize group harmony: "However, idiocentric persons in collectivist cultures feel ambivalent and even bitter about acceptance of ingroup norms" (emphasis added, p.325). From the perspective of cultural dislocation then, it may be hypothesized that an additional factor influencing the second generation in focus is that it found

itself at the cross-roads between two distinctly centrically-oriented cultures forcing them to negotiate between collectivistic and individualistic values (Miller, 1997). It may further be speculated that the resolution of this tension led to increased ideological differences between them and their island counterparts which were then negated through an overemphasis on their *Puertoricanness*.

This larger social and cultural framework is essential to understanding the within-group dynamics that evolved in this population. Flores contends that "When account is taken of the full trajectory and shifting geography of Nuyorican identification, it becomes clear that something other than assimilation or cultural separation is at work" (p.191). The psychological trajectory emerges out of the structural - socioeconomic and political - relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico (Flores, 1993). Lopez (1973) noted that "the colonial situation, therefore, creates a psychology all its own." He maintains that "the great psychological difference between the first and second generations...was that the first had known the island ....Without a feeling of historical continuity, the [second generation] Puerto Rican found his identity completely crushed." Maldonado-Denis postulates that "The most characteristic thing about the colonial relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States, when seen from the cultural perspective, has been its ambiguity. We Puerto

Ricans are and are not North Americans, we are and are not Latin Americans. The definition in each case takes place necessarily within the framework imposed by the system in force" (p.127).

With respect to how the 'system in force' influenced how Mainlanders and Islanders viewed one another, Maldonado-Denis stated that: "They [island-born Puerto Ricans] call him *New Yorrican* "because he hasn't learned Spanish," "because he doesn't dress like everyone else," etc....The so-called *New Yorrican* becomes a scapegoat...because those who have come to be called *New Yorricans* are the reminder - in flesh and blood - for those who believed that they could give up one-third of our population as a necessary means so that those of us who did not have to emigrate could enjoy a high standard of living" (p.127). Flores (1993) maintains that the ambivalence attributed to 'Nuyoricans' stems from a failure to understand that Puerto Rican identity is "not a question of division or unity, but of circulation and reciprocity" (p.103). In considering "how did the second generation respond to these feelings of identity-lessness[?]" Lopez (1973) concluded that "the reaction...was the syndrome of self-blame" (p.165).

Elements of this syndrome may be gleaned from the literary works produced by mainland-born artists and intellectuals who have felt compelled to document their search for a transcultural understanding through their

artistic medium. A contemporary example of this genre is the off-broadway production of 'La Gringa' (Rivera, 1995). In this semi-biographical play, the protagonist, a second-generation Mainlander, goes to the island in search of her ethnic roots. In Puerto Rico she is told by her island-born relatives that she is ethnically American and not Puerto Rican. Confronted with this 'us-them' dilemma, La Gringa undergoes a spiritual identity crisis from which she emerges with an understanding that her *Puertoricanness* resides within her, unrestricted by geographical boundaries or labels.

D. Pushing Beyond the Cultural Comfort Zone

Although the body of Puerto Rican literature, particularly mainland originated, contains an abundance of research and polemical discourse on the "obvious psychic impact of [the] inside-outside paradox" (Flores, 1993, p.101; emphasis added), the body of clinical literature is significant for its dearth of research and theory on the psychological constituents of this paradox. As noted earlier, the first decades of this century were marked by a keen interest in applying clinical theory to social phenomena. With the influx of new - and racialized - immigrant groups, however, the emphasis shifted away from 'person-in-the environment' dynamic theories towards scientific measures of behavior. Interestingly, Langman (1997) argues that American psychology's movement away from

traditional psychoanalysis with its contextual focus towards empirical behaviorism corresponded to a movement away from "the role of Jewish culture in the evolution of psychotherapy" (p.214) towards "white culture and its emphasis on the rational and the objective, linear thinking, quantification and control and mastery" (p.215). Comprehensive theories (i.e. gestalt) were replaced with sub-specializations in psychology creating artificial divisions that were assumed to reflect divisions in the real world. Langman (1997) noted that "It hardly seems coincidental that psychoanalysis and Gestalt, the two schools of thought that most clearly emerged from European Jewish milieus, met with hostility and opposition among American psychologists...This was not only a clash of views but also a clash of cultures" (p.215).

In addition to the theoretical shift that resulted from the rejection of the Jewish influence on psychoanalysis, other factors constrained the application of clinical theories to social processes. Griffith (1977) argued that the tendency to abstract minorities from their social realities resulted from the belief that "true regard" for clients required a "color-blind attitude." He goes on to state that: "This, in effect, denies the impact of racism on his psychological development while subscribing to the presumption of universal psychodynamic forces underlying his behavior" (p.29). Griffith further states that the "era of

integration" which the Civil Rights movement ushered in inadvertently discouraged research into the psychological essence of social realities. With respect to the dearth of research pertaining to Puerto Ricans, Sanchez Korrol (1994) points to an even more specific factor: "academic gate-keepers have tended to devalue the seriousness of the scholarship on Puerto Ricans...[it] is subject to disdain, perceived as too narrow, superficial, or "off the mark," or as a "potential threat" to the fundamental principles of American society" (p.xviii). In Reaching Across Boundaries of Culture and Class - Widening the Scope of Psychotherapy (1996), the editors note that the psychoanalytic community has not escaped these constraining influences:

> there has been a prejudice on the part of the psychoanalytic community in general against giving cultural factors their due weight....they do not pause to consider that the primary object experiences so intimately involved in the formation of internalized psychic structures are in fact the dynamic bearers of the cultural surround. For groups establish unique, ethnocentric parameters about such things as self-definition, self-other differentiation, permeability of ego boundaries, and the titration of impulse/emotional life (p.xiv).

It is the hope of this study to contribute towards filling the void left since those earlier investigations on the psychological permutations of the 'cultural surround' as they relate to one particular group. In addition, this study seeks to go beyond relativistic views of ethnic group identification based on singularity (i.e. those deriving

from the notion of cultural pluralism) towards a view based on multiplicity. To quote one of these earlier researchers regarding the multiplicities underlying ethnic identification:

> we may conceptualize ethnic identification -- Jewish identification -- as a further complication of "selves"....The Jewish identification (or "Jewishness") with which one emerges from this multiple involvement in life indicates one's responses and adjustment to their ethnicity (Rinder, p.31)

The rationale for reviving the application of clinical theory to the psychological components of social processes may be further supported by a review of current headlines and social trends. For example, in recent months, the question of ethnic 'authenticity' has been raised by ultra-conservative Jewish groups concerning Jews 'outside' of their religious boundaries and a multiracial golf champion continues to evoke controversy within the African American community for embracing his ethnocultural multiplicity and resisting categorization. The sociopolitical response to increasing ethnocultural complexities is reflected in the movement to allow multiple racial and/or ethnic self-identifications in the census (This Week, 1997). The psychiatric community's response to the demand for ethnocultural sensitivity has been to include cultural markers in its current Diagnostic and Statistical Manual and to deliberate whether to medicalize 'maladjustment to acculturation' in its next revised manual of mental

disorders (New York Times, 1997). The psychological training community has also responded through efforts aimed at increasing cultural sensitivities through their curriculum and training philosophies.

This study seeks to contribute to that effort by highlighting, through the focus on one group, the complexities of ethnocultural identity. Through this endeavor it hopes to challenge current theoretical thinking and application to expand its focus to include the dynamic interplay between the individual and his cultural matrix and their manifestation on an intrapsychic and interpersonal level. The particular perspective taken is one which views historical, social and political variables as dynamic forces shaping the psychological development characterizing ethnocultural identity formation. The following section will explore these forces as they pertain to mainland Puerto Ricans.

CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

It is beyond the scope of this study to address with ample depth the political and sociohistorical forces that created and shaped the post-World War II exodus of Puerto Ricans to the United States, in general, and to New York City, in particular. Nevertheless, a contextualized perspective is both relevant and needed to understand the phenomenon described as 'Puerto Rican ambivalence' that has been attributed to the children of this migratory generation; therefore, a brief although admittedly fragmented and incomplete, historical overview is presented.

A. From Puerto Rican in New York to New York Puerto Rican

> Spaniard became Spaniard and the Puerto Rican, Puerto Rican (Corretjer, 1968)

> Without a doubt, in order to stand on our own two feet Puerto Ricans of all generations must begin by affirming our own history. It is as if we are saying - we have roots, therefore we are! (Vega, quoted in Iglesias)

The island later to be called Puerto Rico was claimed by Spain in 1493. Puerto Rican immigration to the United States began in the early to mid-19th century. The majority came to New York City where trade routes had already been established. The first immigrants came in response to the changing economic structure and trade restrictions that were imposed by Spain in its effort to curtail Puerto Rico's thriving commerce with the United States. Those who followed them were spurred on by the independence movement

that was officially launched in the 1868 insurrection known as 'El Grito de Lares.' Although unsuccessful in its mission, the insurrection reflected the islanders embrace of a national identity that was independent of the motherland's and that was rooted in the 'home land.' These early immigrants came as students and political exiles and settled in the enclaves established by the merchants who preceded them. The majority of both groups came from the elite landowning creole classes. In addition, each group embraced a Puerto Rican national identity that emphasized the island's Iberian history and de-emphasized the indigenous and African influences.

After four centuries of Spanish domination, Puerto Ricans succeeded in obtaining relative autonomy in 1897. In 1898 the United States seized control of the island as compensation for losses incurred during the Spanish-American War. The American arrival was welcomed by many, in particular the land-holding classes, who were "firmly convinced that the United States, once the island has been rescued from Spanish control, will give them independence" (in Wagenheim, 1994, p.90). The United States declared martial law, silenced the press, Anglicized the island's name to 'Porto Rico' and established an English-only policy in the school system. As a colony of the United States, Puerto Rico enjoyed fewer rights than it had under the Spanish Crown.

Following the American colonization of the island, American interest proceeded to usurp that of the Puerto Ricans and immigration increased as Islanders found themselves displaced from both land and traditional employment opportunities. The United States' control of the island's resources is reflected in the trade statistics with the United States before and after 1898. In 1897 fifteen percent of Puerto Rico's exports went to the United States and twenty-one percent of its imports came from the United States, by 1930 these figures were ninety-five and eighty-seven percent, respectively (Fernandez, 1994).

Unlike the earlier groups of immigrants (i.e. merchants, students and political exiles) the post-United States control immigrants were mostly comprised of the proletariat landless classes. For the most part, they were the descendants of the indigenous and African people. Despite the fact that they were racially differentiated under Spain's caste system, they too embraced a Puerto Rican national identity as had their creole compatriots.

Once they arrived in New York, these immigrants established formal and informal networks that functioned as a transcontinental bridge between themselves and those left behind on the island. That bridge kept the cultural bond between the two geographical locations alive; a culture that now included the symbols of the indigenous and African contributions that had not been in evidence in the earlier

immigrant groups. In 1917 the United States imposed American citizenship on all Puerto Ricans against the expressed wishes of the Puerto Rican people. The 1917 Second Organic Act transformed the Puerto Rican immigrant into an American migrant. Their new status did not alter the goal of the New York City settlements which were structured to preserve the Puerto Rican national identity (i.e. through the establishment of National Clubs and hometown associations). Sanchez Korrol contends that "most Puerto Ricans did not envision themselves spending the rest of their lives as English-speaking 'Americans'." In spite of these strong nationalist ties, however, the American influence was observed as early as 1916 by Bernardo Vega, an island-born immigrant who chronicled his experiences: "what a difference between our customs back home and the behavior of Puerto Rican men and women in New York" (quoted in Iglesias).

The imposed economic structure, strategically enacted laws, and complicity in overlooking others designed to protect the small farmers who remained on the island (i.e. the Sherman Anti-trust Act), contributed to the post-World War II mass migration. After four decades of United States domination, it was clear to the Islanders that the Americans had not come as liberators. This was reflected in Senator Robert Taft's comment in May of 1943: "I can understand a certain amount of autonomy, but I cannot understand how you

can reconcile complete independence of the island with the effective and necessary use of Puerto Rico for a military control of the Caribbean" (in Fernandez, 1994, p.121). The infrastructure of the cultural bridge to the island was reinforced with the introduction of air travel. American citizenship combined with political and economic factors to propel economically dislocated Islanders towards a new location which, in time, became the 'main land' for their descendants.

This second post-American-colonization group brought with them a legacy of American colonial domination. Throughout its history of Spanish colonialism, the emblems that came to symbolize Puerto Rican culture were allowed to develop without interference from The Crown. This was not to be the case under American colonialism and for the first time in Puerto Rican history, these migrants carried to New York City the legacy of a national identity infused with the character 'imposed by the [American colonial] system in force.' All of these factors combined to create a population that experienced itself marginal to two cultures: "How can a man who has two homelands, two flags, two constitutions, and two anthems feel integrated, whole?" (Gaston in Babin, 1974).

In addition to the socioeconomic political "push" factors (i.e. displaced labor market), Sanchez Korrol (1983) contends that it is important to acknowledge that there were

personal "pull" factors, such as employment and educational goals, that merged with the colonial status of the island to further encourage external migration:

> Of what significance to migration would these changes in employment and national income be if the colonial ties were not present? Would an increase in national income in the United States provoke migration from Puerto Rico but for the colonial ties? Would those factors that have generally been seen as facilitating the Puerto Rican migration ... have existed but for the colonial relationship? Why weren't cheap and easy airfares established to nearby cheap labor pools of French Canadians, Cubans or Appalachians? Would military service and the radio have been similarly perceived by Puerto Ricans but for the colonial tie? But for the colonial relationship, would the "pull forces" have been perceived, responded to, or perhaps even generated? Put bluntly, would Mayor Wagner of New York have gone to Puerto Rico to tell Puerto Ricans about the jobs available in New York? (Rodriguez, 1979)

The oppressive systems established on the island were institutionalized on the mainland through political and social policies (see U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976). These policies, coupled with a changing U.S. economy and a tenacious Puerto Rican national identity, prevented these migrants from following the straight-line (i.e. melting pot) pattern of assimilation that had characterized earlier immigrant groups. In the 1960's and 1970's, their children - the 'second generation' - began to aggressively oppose these policies through political activist movements (i.e. The Young Lords Organization) and a re-affirmation of their ethnic identity that ultimately came to be described as a

new ethnocultural category: Nuyorican. The Puerto Rican in New York had become the New York Puerto Rican.

B. Nuyorican Ethnic Identity

Unlike their predecessors, this generation openly desired to embrace both the individualistic American values of their birth country and the collectivistic Puerto Rican values of their parents' birth country. In addition to the activist movements, the literary arena became an important venue through which the paradoxes between this desire and the need to remain in contact with the island culture unfolded. For example, in a work intended to celebrate 'The Nuyorican Experience' Mohr (1982) comments that a common theme in the poetic discourse is the conflict between the "outside" American world and the "foreign" parents. If both America and Puerto Rico were 'outside' or 'foreign,' how did the New York Puerto Rican mediate his identity?

Like the cultural bridge built by their parents and grandparents, the political and social movements were intended to preserve cultural and historical continuity with the island while simultaneously legitimizing their cultural transformation. Maldonado-Denis explained this process in apologetic terms:

> living in the very guts of the most powerful capitalist society cannot help but produce a group of people who want to "pass" into the society of the metropolis, even at the cost of losing their identity and national culture. This process of "de-Puerto Ricanization" takes place at the same time as the process of "Puerto Ricanization" or

> Puerto Rican affirmation, whose main protagonists are Puerto Rican youths born in the United States during the post-World War II period. The dialectical development of the struggle between these two tendencies is still uncertain....(107-108)

Thus 'loss of identity and national culture' is viewed as a defining characteristic of second generation Mainlanders. Rivera (1974) disagreed with Maldonado-Denis and stated that there was "no evidence of [their] wanting to establish a distinct identity from the Puerto Ricans on the island." In fact, Herbstein (1978) found that the emergence of New York Puerto Ricans as an ethnic group coincided with 'new' cultural patterns aimed at reinforcing their ties to the island via their *Puertoricanness* on the mainland:

> These cultural traits, however, are not found in Puerto Rico. Although a "culturologist" might argue that they are traditions carried over from the mother country, which, with the process of assimilation, will fade away, the fact still remains that there are newly created and reinforced cultural patterns among Puerto Ricans in New York. (p.427)

Herbstein's thesis is supportive of Flores' contention that neither of the two national ideologies which developed in the United States, that of the melting pot nor cultural pluralism, accurately describe the process of Nuyorican identity formation. Rather than a model of loss, Flores advocates a developmental model premised on the ecological factors unique to this population. He describes this scheme as "a range of constantly intersecting possibilities and responses arising simultaneously at the individual and

collective level" (p.186) and comprising four "definitive moments." The clinical utility of these moments which are reviewed below will be explicated later.

The first of these moments is the 'here and now' and is characterized by the subjective experience of exclusion from the host culture and a sense of powerlessness in the face of it. The existential focus is on survival. The second moment represents a spiritual and psychological transcendence from the 'here and now' to an idealized and romanticized orientation towards the island. Existentially, this turning towards the island represents an active search for cultural guidance and identity. The third moment is a turning back towards New York with a 'trans-culturalized' self-image shaped by the reinforced identification with the island culture and the New York Puerto Rican cultural experience. Finally, the fourth moment takes place at a point of intersection with the host culture. Unlike the subjective experience in the first, this moment represents "something other than assimilation or cultural separation" and emerges from a position empowered by a firm sense of identity.

Viewed from this perspective, Nuyorican ethnic group identity may be understood as a developmental achievement in which contradictory aspects of self-identity along with their psychological constituents (i.e. ambivalence) are

incorporated instead of cut-off, denied or lost as suggested by Maldonado-Denis.

C. Ethnicity as a Social Construct

The concept of ethnicity as a social construct is a fairly recent one in American history (Herbstein, 1972; Aversa, Jr., 1978; Tricarico, 1984; Steinberg, 1981). Steinberg (1981) contends that the problem of equating ethnicity with culture is that it reifies both as ahistorical phenomena: "to demystify ethnicity requires an explanation of how social forces influence the form and content of specific relationships between ethnic factors on the one hand, and a broad array of historical, economic, political, and social factors on the other" (p.x). Wolf (1982) concurs with Steinberg regarding the danger of reifying social constructs: "the world of humankind constitutes a manifold, a totality of interconnected processes, and inquiries that disassemble this totality into bits and then fail to reassemble them falsify reality. Concepts like "nation," "society," and "culture" names bits and threaten to turn names into things" (p.4). Melville (1988) writes that the "essence of the concept [of ethnicity] is one of contrast between two or more groups, not the objective cultural content possessed by one of the groups in and of itself" (p.71). She maintains that official terminological labels aimed at collapsing various groups into a single category (i.e. Hispanic) are politically motivated

strategies designed to downplay subgroup differentiation: "When one puts unwarranted emphasis on similarities, while disregarding more important differences, an error of perception or analysis is committed, resulting in "stereotyping" (p.67).

Driedger (1976) examined the influence of socioeconomic power on the ethnicization process across seven groups in Winnipeg, Canada. He found that groups possessing 'institutional completeness' (Jews, French), which he described as organized systems designed to preserve group cohesion and to negotiate interaction with the outgroup, scored lower on ethnic denial. Ethnic affirmation was also linearly correlated with 'entrance status,' defined as "the position to which ethnic groups are admitted and at which they are allowed to function in the power structure of a society," and with 'Charter group status,' defined as the legal recognition of the rights of the original migrating groups (British and French) to perpetuate their cultural distinctiveness. On the other hand, groups that scored lowest on institutional completeness and entrance status (Germans, Ukrainians, Poles) were characterized by an "abandoning [of] their ethnic self-identity....Historical and cultural ethnic experiences for these groups no longer seem sufficiently dynamic for a well rounded ethnic self-concept, one which can survive with pride alongside the outgroups."

A number of studies which have examined the relationship between self-concept and ethnic group membership support Driedger's conclusions that the broader social context bears a particular determining influence on the ethnic self-concept of "disadvantaged" group members (Drusine, 1955; Sobrino, 1966; Coleman, 1966; Zirkel & Moses, 1971). Pointing to the influence that the 'broader social context' had on New York Puerto Ricans' emergence as an ethnic group, Herbstein (1978) noted that:

> Because the national ideology of cultural pluralism invested new meanings upon the concepts of community and leadership, the popular perception of "what it means to be Puerto Rican" has changed. Although there are many instances in which "passing" is advantageous for the individual, there are visible manifestations of a new pride based upon ethnicity at the collective level....These developments must be seen as part of a historical process taking place within "minority" groups...." (p.415)

Ruiz (1984) agrees with Herbstein's position and argues that a "psychopolitical" point of view is essential to providing clinically responsible treatment for the intrapsychic problems rooted in socioeconomic oppression and ethnic prejudice. He advocates an ecological approach that views the individual and the reference group as coexistent and correlative. From this perspective Ruiz maintains that clinical interventions must be "geared toward the correction of the conditions created by the society...which lead to destruction of coping mechanisms, personal alienation and self-destruction" (p.23). The psychological fibers of

ethnic group identification and self-concept are thus woven into the fabric of the socioeconomic political structures that texture how these groups are perceived by the majority culture and how they in turn perceive themselves.

D. Ethnicity as a Psychological Construct

Erikson (1968) viewed the establishment of a firm identity as a major developmental task. According to his psychosocial formulation, a diffuse (later 'confused') status exists in the absence of a firm identity; a foreclosed status exists in the presence of a rigid identity; moratorium exists when identity is being searched for and, when found, a firm sense of identity is achieved. Erikson viewed ethnicity as having particular psychological significance for minority group members: "The individual belonging to an oppressed and exploited minority...is apt to fuse the negative images held up to him by the dominant majority with the negative identity cultivated in his own group" (p.303). Pointing to the manifestations of that process, Rinder (1953) posited that over-identification and under-identification derived from the same psychological relation to one's ethnic reference group; in other words, that each resulted from an over-reference to the fact of one's ethnicity. He and other researchers found that an intolerance of ambiguity towards one's reference group led to attitudes of ethnocentrism or xenocentrism (Erikson's foreclosed status).

As earlier stated, the sociopolitical events confronting Jews motivated interest in the attitude-ideology and psychological dynamics underlying prejudice towards ethnic minorities. Using various psychological measures, researchers identified a constellation of traits characteristic of the prejudiced individual which they labeled 'The Authoritarian Personality' (Frenkel-Brunswik, 1949; Adorno, 1950; Glaser, 1950). Among those traits were a rigid moralistic pattern of categorizing behavior, dichotomized thinking (i.e. 'black or white'), an intolerance for ambiguity (i.e. 'shades of gray') and a rejection or repression of ambivalence marked by an inclination toward displacement and projection. Frenkel-Brunswik (1949) inquired into the personality-centered aspects of intolerance of ambiguity and its relationship to ethnic prejudice. Based on earlier research showing a correlation between perceptual intolerance of ambiguity (i.e. premature closure) and rigid stereotyping, she and her colleagues explored whether polarized thinking in the emotional sphere represented a denial of ambivalence or its absence. Frenkel-Brunswik found that those who scored high on prejudice manifested both emotional and perceptual intolerance of ambiguity:

> [those] with a tendency to resort to black-white solutions, to arrive at premature closure as to valuative aspects, often at the neglect of reality, and to seek for unqualified and unambiguous over-all acceptance and rejection of

> other people. The maintenance of such solutions requires the shutting out of aspects of reality which represent a possible threat to these solutions. It is this problem of "reality-adequacy" versus "reality-inadequacy" which injects a distinctly cognitive element into the broader sphere of the problem of ambivalence." (p.215).

These studies established a correspondence between a particular attitude-ideology (i.e. ethnocentrism) and majority group orientation (i.e. White Christian Protestant). The question was then raised whether a similar correspondence existed between the Authoritarian Syndrome of which these attitudes were an expression and minority group orientation. In particular, whether identification with more than one group was a sufficient condition for the type of identity conflicts contributing to an intolerance of ambiguity and, if so, whether such intolerance was resolved through polarized identification (i.e. over or under-identification).

The large numbers of European Jews immigrating to this country at the turn of the century provided a fertile population base for researchers. Commenting on the interest given to the question of Jewish American identity, Eisen (1983) notes that:

> Sociologists of American Jewry have made the Jews' adjustment to America the principal focus of their researches, and more popular works have also treated the problem [of] the conflicting desires of "the ambivalent American Jew." (p.4).

Adelson (1958) found that the psychological traits underlying the Authoritarian Personality as manifested in majority group members (i.e. dichotomized thinking, rigidity of defense, intolerance of ambiguity, rejection of ambivalence) were indeed evidenced in minority Jews. According to Adelson, the authoritarian Jew dichotomized the Jewish group into a preferred ingroup and a derogated outgroup (Gentiles were similarly dichotomized). Interestingly, Adelson also discovered that the non-authoritarian Jew was not free of conflict and at times even appeared to be more "disturbed" due to the lack of rigidity of defense. In addition, he found various styles of identification across generations "so much so as to call into question whether we are dealing with the same phenomenon in both [second and third generation] cases" (p.491).

Rinder (1953) viewed Jewish ethnic identity as a psychological response to complex social demands: "Ethnic identification, then, may be thought of in terms of the resolution of multiple alternatives or ambiguous demands as to life patterns and loyalties" (p.32). Given the complex nature of Jewishness with its religious, racial, cultural and national elements, he advocated the serialization of Jewish identification along a continuum instead of as a typology based on notions of authenticity.

Rinder defined the experience of belongingness as "the subjective, affective, and sentimental aspect of group

membership" (p.80). He theorized that the inability to sustain belongingness due to the demands of "multiple loyalties" led to "symptoms of maladjustment." In other words, the intolerance of a hyphenated identity (Jewish-American) was 'solved' through over- or under-identification. Furthermore, he found that both those high in Jewish chauvinism (over) and Jewish self-hate (under) met criteria for the Authoritarian Personality type. Rinder asserted that intermediate to these polarities and within each successive generation, there was a normative trend appropriate to that generation. For example, the normative trend within the second generation is an intermediate identification between the parental culture and the host culture with an emphasis on the former whereas the emphasis reverses in the third generation. To control for generational variance, Rinder focused his study on third generation Jews of Eastern European origin. He found that with respect to their minority group identification those who "either embrace or reject their ethnic identification with inappropriate zeal are manifesting ideologically and cognitively a pattern of behavior which unites them psychologically although dividing them relative to marginality outcome or minority orientation, i.e., chauvinist or separatist vs. assimilationist. Both show an intolerance of ambiguity relative to the acceptance of the

ambiguity and heterogeneity of their identities" (emphasis in original, pp.118-119).

Rinder's formulations were consistent with Adelson's finding of distinct styles of identification across generations. In Gehrie's (1979) ethnic case studies two decades later, he also found that generational trends were not without complication. Gehrie reported that the internalized representation of culture, as transmitted by one's parents and other culture-carriers, led in the case of one second generation Japanese-American, to cultural depreciation and in the case of third generation Japanese-Americans to anger, disidentification and disappointment towards their second generation parents for their failure to transmit an 'authentic' cultural identity:

> The sense of self that was a product of the "melting pot" was gained at the expense of internal factors, which were not in accordance with the system of values, ethics, or behavioral norms that formed the traditional basis of the ethnic group. It stood for an external ideal or standard, in which it was necessary to deny the qualities of the self in order to mesh, or "fit in." (p.169).

As with Rinder's definition of Jewish identity, it is the contention of this thesis, that by virtue of the "ambiguous demands" introduced by the unique United States-Puerto Rico relation, Puerto Rican identification is a multifaceted process. It is therefore, useful at this time to revisit Rinder's work and, in this regard, to acknowledge this writer's indebtedness to him for his formulations

locating the psychological concomitants of individual identity to reference group orientation within the relevant historical context.

E. Ethnic Group Membership and Sense of Self

> William James's exuberant and Sigmund Freud's solemn confession of an inner sense of unity with themselves and some of the world around them could hardly be expected in Negro writers who, to be equally truthful, must with equal fervor attempt to formulate the hateful outcome of that psychosocial process which we call identity. (Erikson, 1968, p.296)

The above mentioned studies on the Authoritarian Personality established, among other things, the impact of ethnicity on the individual and on the individual's in- and outgroup orientation as well as the importance of the relevant sociohistorical context within which the construction of ethnic identity takes shape. Lewin (1935) referred to this context as "background." He argued that the individual's relation to his ingroup - that is, his "background" - was an important motivator for action: "There exists a natural relation between the character of a given situation and the character of the group which dominates the behavior of the individual in this situation" (p.148). Lewin (1948) hypothesized a bidirectional relationship between the group and its members that is determined, in part, by the strength and character of the boundary separating the group from other groups (recall Driedger's study). According to his social field theory, ethnic

affirmation connotes a positive reciprocal relationship between the individual and his group. This positive relation is evidenced by such indicators as the retention of the parental language and cultural traditions. Ethnic denial and self-hatred suggests an internalized inferiorization that is manifested by disidentification with the ingroup and perhaps exogamy and disuse of the parental language. A conflictual relation between the individual and the ingroup is reflected in marginality and signifies a tenuous identification with both the parent and host cultures. Socially it is manifested by disassimilation into the host culture and psychically by feelings of insecurity and ambivalence towards the parent culture.

Lewin's formulations were appealing on several levels. It addressed the ideological questions arising from the oppression of Jews (such as the nature of scapegoating), it underscored the influence of the host culture (identification with the aggressor), and it offered the Jewish people a defense against cultural annihilation by appealing to Jewish authenticity (i.e. language, religion). Rinder, on the other hand, thought that the clarion call for Jewish authenticity was ultimately faulty in its premise since "Jews in the United States are simply not homogenous in their Jewishness" (p.170). Rinder argued that the key element in Jewish identification was the quality of the relation between the individual and the group - the nature

of which varied according to sociohistorical, political and economic factors and not the preservation of traditional Jewish symbols. According to Rinder it was the quality of that relation which reflected the individual's sense of self: "Is one capable of developing and integrating within himself both a self and a self-consciousness which can adequately encompass the identifications and roles which his unique life history has provided? Or is one unable to integrate or synthesize some relevant facet of his life career, while resorting to such symptoms of "maladjustment" as evasion, repression, and denial on the one hand or overemphasis and exaggeration on the other?" (p.32).

The task of developing a cohesive sense of self is complicated by minoritized group membership. It is that complication about which Erikson, quoted above, referred: "identity development has...two kinds of time: a *developmental* stage in the life of the individual, and a *period* in history....Unless provoked premature and disastrously...all idiosyncratic developments which are immediately apparent as so many conflicts in the case of a minority-group child" (p.309; emphasis in original). Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) contend that the study of identity among minorities is further complicated by differences in class mobility across ethnic and racial groups. Others, such as Carter (1995) contend that race is the defining factor in how personality and identity is

shaped for all groups in the United States - Black and White - "primarily because one's ethnicity is less visible than one's race" (p.123) and maintains that it is misleading to conflate culture, ethnicity and race. While not giving the supremacy to race that Carter does, Sue (1973) on the other hand, concurs that traditional models of self-concept formation fail to "deal adequately with the impact of cultural racism on the behavior of ethnic minorities" (p.103). In his review of the influence of American and traditional cultures on the psychological development of Japanese and Chinese-Americans, he found that racism plays a dynamic role in self-other valuation: "The individual may develop a kind of racial self-hatred" (p.107). This is consistent with Jones (1972) who believes that many forms of cultural conflict are really manifestations of cultural racism.

Despite the varying opinions as to which factor has the most salience, it is generally agreed that non-majority groups are differentially impacted by these factors in ways that their majority counterparts are not (Alba, 1990). "Races and ethnicities are not primordial groups. They are powerful facts of day-to-day social life. The generic white American is, in semiotic terms, unmarked while the non-normative, the racialized or ethnicized person is marked" (Urciuoli, 1996, p.17). Even Moskowitz (1995) who claims that "ethnicity is an illusion of civilization" concedes its psychological utility as a conceptual framework in defining

one's sense of self: "Ethnicity and race are fantasies that we use to deny our own badness and displace it onto others, as well as to protect ourselves against the very real hatred that others may have for us" (p.553). Moskowitz' assertion is consistent with Herbstein's (1978) thesis that ethnicity, as a social construct, facilitates the individual's need to publicly affiliate himself with his reference group:

> Whereas the white immigrants made up an industrial working class with possibilities of upward mobility, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other "minorities" were barred....Since the class structure of society is perceived mainly in terms of occupation and income, the locus of group allegiances is ethnic rather than class. This is especially true for the lower class, which, because of its structural position, can gain more by attempting to transcend the inequalities of the White-Black dichotomy by allegiance to an ethnic community, which symbolizes equality, and brotherhood. (p.425).

The observation made by Spencer & Markstrom-Adams (1990) is, therefore, not surprising: "Puerto Rican youth are reported to show many identity conflicts...and the identity conflicts experienced are contributed to by migration and <u>transculturation</u>" (p.295; emphasis added). This is the 'background' which Urciuoli (1998) argues is too often neglected in the study of minorities: "it is easy to take the boundary for granted, focusing on the "stuff inside" without questioning how the inside-outside distinction came to be in the first place" (p.14).

The interrelation between race, ethnicity and culture considered relevant to this study is that Puerto Ricans (on

the island and mainland) identify first along cultural dimensions, and second along a continuum of racial phenotypic traits (Falcon, 1995). Culture is not considered synonymous with ethnicity since shared ethnicity does not automatically mean shared culture (recall Rinder's polarities). "Ethnicity is the dynamic interrelation of two or more groups who see themselves in a we-they dichotomy" (Melville, 1988, p.71). As a phenomenon of contrast, therefore, New York Puerto Ricans view themselves, and are viewed, as a separate ethnic group both within the majority-nonmajority context in which Spanish-speaking groups are collapsed into a single category (i.e. Hispanic, people of color, Latino) and within the nonmajority context in which the various subgroups differentiate themselves into ethnic categories (i.e. Cuban, Dominican) (Cortes, Rogler & Malgady, 1994; Huddy & Virtanen, 1995).

A major premise underlying this thesis is that the United States-Puerto Rico relation has created a 'we-they' phenomenon within a single ethnicized group that adds a unique dimension to the development of self-concept among New York Puerto Ricans, particularly that aspect of the self-system that constitutes ethnic identity and contributes to a sense of group belongingness. Maldonado-Denis (1969) described the impact of this dimension on the Puerto Rican character as the 'colonialist syndrome' and equated it with 'Americanization.' The colonial situation and the equation

with assimilation into the American culture has colored how Puerto Ricans on each side of the geographical divide view themselves and each other. On the island side where class issues are more salient than ethnicity - "In other words, ethnicity does not occur where the socio-cultural environment is homogenous" (Melville, 1988, p.76) - it has contributed to the perception that their 'Americanized' counterparts are less authentically Puerto Rican. On the mainland side where ethnicity plays a determining role in the social order, it has bred a complex multifaceted dynamic process of self-other orientation. The 'other' being both the 'outgroup' on the mainland (i.e. non-Puerto Ricans) and the island Puerto Rican. Before describing the characteristics of this complex process, some of the key theoretical ideas underlying the self-concept will be considered.

F. The Self-Concept

In Kirshner's (1989) review of the philosophical underpinnings of that 'thingness' which has come to be called 'the self' in psychoanalytic theory, he concluded that it "is an abstract concept which refers to other abstract concepts" (p.158). From a traditional psychoanalytic perspective, the manifest self is the expression of unconscious drives, motives and conflicts. The traditional analyst rejects the phenomenal self that is the product of a conscious organizing mental apparatus in favor of a manifest self. Meanwhile, at the other end of the theoretical pole

the traditional empiricists reject the intrapsychic-manifest self in favor of the self-knowing-phenomenal self. Kirshner locates his own intersubjective view in the Hegelian idea that self-knowledge requires engagement with an other: "A 'self' even a sense of self, is not intrinsic but, we must suppose, requires intersubjective experience. It is built up out of interactions with others" (p.179). Historically, the self-concept has been conceived as a representation of conscious awareness of all those qualities one uses to differentiate self from other (Wylie, 1961). It is this definition that is most consistent with the popular view of 'self' as defined by Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary: "the union of elements (as body, emotions, thoughts and sensations) that constitute the individuality and identity of a person." The self, however, is not only shaped by conscious self-awareness as demonstrated by the earlier cited studies which established a connection between cognitive perceptual styles (i.e. premature closure) and unconscious processes (i.e. rigid defenses). Grossman (1982) argues that inherent in the self experience is a tension between the subjective-objective and conscious-unconscious. Consequently, he maintains that the mental production of the self (i.e. the self-concept) is a fiction or a fantasy that is "essentially embodied in the idea of self-reference, reference to an entity separate from other people - at least to some degree. Along with separateness

come the issues of connectedness, similarity, and difference" (p.928, emphasis added). Rogers (1947) conceptualized the association between self-concept and psychological well-being as follows:

> It would appear that when all of the ways in which the individual perceives himself - all perceptions of the qualities, abilities, impulses, and attitudes of the person, and all perceptions of himself in relation to others - are accepted into the organized conscious concept of the self, then this achievement is accompanied by feelings of comfort and freedom from tension which are experienced as psychological adjustment. (p.364).

Brownfain's (1951) study on stability of the self-concept as a dimension of psychological well-being supported Roger's observation. Using the scale devised to identify the Authoritarian Personality (the Predisposition for Fascism scale or F scale), he distinguished 'stability of the self-concept' from 'pseudostability.' He described the former as a function of an integrative capacity, and the latter as a function of a rigid personality embodying an inability to integrate ambiguous aspects of the self. Early in the history of American Psychology James (1910) viewed the capacity to integrate different aspects of the self - or different selves - into a coherent self-concept as a dimension of positive self-esteem.

Despite the absence of definitional consensus, there is agreement that a self-concept - a conscious knowing that the self is not the same as the other with unconscious dimensions - exists intrinsically as evidenced most dramati-

cally when it is absent in psychotic disturbances in which self-other boundaries are diffused (recall the schizophrenia metaphor as applied to the 'Hispanic condition'). Epstein (1973) postulates that:

> *the self-concept is a self-theory.* It is a theory that the individual has unwittingly constructed about himself as an experiencing, functioning individual, and it is part of a broader theory which he holds with respect to his entire range of significant experience. Accordingly, there are major postulate systems for the *nature of the world, for the nature of the self, and for their interaction.* Like most theories, the self-theory is a conceptual tool for accomplishing a purpose. The most fundamental purpose of the self-theory is to *optimize the pleasure/pain balance of the individual over the course of a lifetime.* Two other basic functions, not unrelated to the first, are to *facilitate the maintenance of self-esteem and to organize the data of experience in a manner that can be coped with effectively.* (p.407, emphasis in original).

Recent interpersonal psychoanalytic thought and contemporary trauma theory have integrated these key ideas and conceptualizations of that 'thingness' into a theory of the mind in which the self (i.e. the manifest self) is viewed not as a singular self, but as a 'multiplicity' of selves (van der Kolk, et al. 1994; Davies, 1996). This contemporary theory derives from 19th century ideas about actual trauma and processes of dissociation (Janet, 1887, 1889, 1907; Charcot, 1887; Prince 1890, 1906, 1909). Tracing the evolution of contemporary trauma theory, Davies (1996) notes that when Freud recanted his seduction model in 1897, the etiological focus shifted from a multidimensional

dissociation-based model to a repression based model of mind. Davies contends that this paradigmatic shift from actual trauma to psychic trauma led to the replacement of the dynamic interplay between the interpersonal and intrapsychic spheres with the dynamic interplay between the psychic structures of the mind.

The contemporary interpersonal psychoanalytic view attempts to dismantle the theoretical dichotomization between these two experiential spheres by focusing on the intersecting coordinates and thereby broadening the context within which the self-concept derives. Within this frame, dissociation is perceived as the 'normal' psychic state in the face of unresolvable paradoxes of human existence, being and relating. It reflects an ability to 'stand in the spaces' between contradictory realities of self and other without losing one's 'wholeness.' The idea of paradox is consistent with Grossman's position that the self-concept must embody "connectedness, similarity and difference." The notion of 'multiplicity of selves' is also congruent with Epstein's premise of 'postulate systems' designed to 'organize the data of experience in a manner that can be coped with effectively.' According to this theory of self, trauma, in the classical sense, results from the breakdown of the normal dissociative capacity - it is the loss of the capacity to maintain contradictory self-ideas. "In other words" writes Bromberg (1996) "dissociation is primarily a

means through which a human being maintains personal continuity, coherence and integrity of the sense of self" (p.515). When the capacity for normal dissociation breaks down, that is, when the individual cannot reconcile experiential paradoxes, there is a "defensive dedication to retaining the protection afforded by the separateness of self-states (their discontinuity) and minimizing their potential for simultaneous accessibility to consciousness" (Bromberg, p.516).

Rinder's study on the complexity of Jewish identity anticipated contemporary psychoanalytic theorizing on the nature of self. In particular, his notion that the process of ethnic identification "may be thought of in terms of resolution of multiple alternatives or ambiguous demands as to life patterns and loyalties" (p.32) foreshadowed Flax's (1996) focus on the dynamism underlying racial complexity:

> How are racial identifications developed and modified over time? How are they interwoven with other psychic processes?...How do racial meanings affect inter-subjective interactions, both within and across racial identifications? What are the subjective investments in the social construction of racial categories and meanings? (p.581).

Rinder proposed that the failure to resolve the complexities introduced by 'multiple alternatives' resulted in defensive strategies aimed at protecting the separation of ambiguous self-states:

> Is one capable of developing and integrating within himself both a self and a self-consciousness which can adequately encompass the

> identifications and roles which his unique life history has provided? Or is one unable to integrate or synthesize some relevant facet of his life career, while resorting to such symptoms of "maladjustment" as evasion, repression, and denial on the one hand or over-emphasis and exaggeration on the other?" (p.32).

The dynamic interplay between the social and the psychological spheres is once again obtaining clinical focus. For example, Flax is critical of traditional theories which view development as flowing from phase-specific and hierarchically determined ahistorical lines:

> ...richer concepts of subjectivity require deconstruction of concepts like "developmental lines." The appearance of essential, teleological processes should be investigated and treated as consequences of social interventions and discursive constructions, not as natural facts. The purpose of such deconstruction is to highlight and question the collapse of social theory and psychoanalytic ontology; in this respect, psychoanalytic theorizing is often insufficiently relational. It does not do justice to the social, context-specific, and historical processes through which the modern subject emerges. (p. 580, emphasis added).

Flax goes on to say that "Especially significant among these social relations are the multiple meanings of race and their effects in the constitution of modern subjectivities." Perez-Foster et al. (1996) point to some of these effects in their conceptualization of the paradigm of trauma and racialized groups:

> ...we now recognize a second group of traumatized individuals - members of oppressed cultural groups. While they additionally may have experienced their share of early psychic trauma, the circumstances of their daily lives are such

> that their sense of self worth is more or less constantly assaulted. (p.xv).

Once again, Rinder's and Lewin's contextualized theories prefigured contemporary theories of multiplicity of selves, dissociation and paradox as applied to minoritized groups. Lewin stated that: "There exists a natural relation between the character of a given situation and the character of the group which dominates the behaviour of the individual in this situation" (p.148). Four decades after Lewin posited his social field theory, Maldonado (1975) asserted that the 'character of the given situation' for 'new' racialized groups led to "confusing external pressure: to become acculturated to the American way of life, but not to become assimilated into the American Society" (p.620). He posited that the conditioning realities of the sociocultural matrix were such that:

> It has become impossible for an individual to develop any self-identity concepts without reference to his race or ethnicity, especially the individual whose minority status is looked upon as inferior and who is systematically made aware of this status. For the minority person, his race or ethnicity is an issue he must reckon with, not by choice but because of the social environment. (pp.621-622).

Thus the self-concept is how we know who we are and where we are at a given time in history. It is shaped by who we aren't and where we are not at a given time in history. It is both internally and externally derived and under optimal conditions it leads to a positive affirmation

of 'who I am' and 'where I belong.' For New York Puerto Ricans this process is complicated by the fact that they are simultaneously 'in' and 'out' of the American group and the Puerto Rican reference group. How then are we to understand the impingement of paradox on their process of self-concept development? Do the multiplicity of identity labels reflect 'multiplicity of selves'? Do the labels represent an attempt to reconcile these contradictions? Or do they reflect an intolerance of ambiguity and an inability to 'stand in the spaces'? Is code-switching evidence of shifting self-states? Is 'Puerto Rican ambivalence,' in the language of this contemporary theory of mind, a manifestation of a normative state deriving from a multiplicity of cultural selves?

G. Ethnic Self-Concept and New York Puerto Ricans

Maldonado (1975) defined ethnic self-identity as:

> the integration of ethnicity or race into the self-concept or self-image. It is the full recognition of one's ethnicity and the subsequent self-identity that flows from the values, ways and styles of that ethnic background. (p.621).

According to Maldonado "that ethnic background" includes non-assimilation factors that are of central importance to understanding the development of minority self-concept. For New York Puerto Ricans, language and skin color are among the most salient of these factors. In 1970 the New School for Social Research instituted a course in 'Spanglish' at the request of professionals who found

Castilian Spanish ineffective in communicating with the burgeoning Puerto Rican community. The Puerto Rican community reacted by rallying against giving legitimacy to what they viewed as a youth street dialect and charged the school with "a murder attempt against one of the most beautiful languages in the world" (Fernandez, 1972). Despite institutional and community protest, however, Spanglish survived as an idiomatic symbol of that first - and subsequent - Nuyorican generation (Alvarez, 1997). Zentella (1988) maintains that the shaping forces of the United States-Puerto Rico relation created the linguistic context for both Mainlanders and Islanders: "the Puerto Rican first generation arrived as citizens with a history of U.S. control of their national language, and the second generation came of age during a period of social unrest and struggle against class and social stigma in which, together with blacks and *Chicanos*, they participated. Constant migration between the island and mainland contributes to the reaffirmation of Puerto Rican identity, and the language question will continue to be a crucial part of the quest for identity" (pp.160-161; Muga, 1990).

Giles and Johnson (1986) concur that "For many ethnic groups, language or nonstandard dialect is an important dimension of social identity and symbolizes their distinctiveness from other ethnic groups. Accordingly, perceived threats to valued ethnicity may be met by accentuations of

the ethnic speech style" (p.91). Of particular significance to the central hypothesis underlying this study is that the 'perceived threat' to Mainlanders ethnic self-concept and sense of group belongingness derived from both outside and inside the reference group resulting in a linguistic paradox:

> I think in spanish/I write in english/I want to go back to puerto rico/but I wonder if my kink could live in ponce, mayaguez and carolina (Laviera, 1979).

According to Urciuoli (1996): "The parallel lies in a political polarity, when English typifies the position of social, economic, and cultural control, and Spanish typifies the opposite...the safe English used by Puerto Ricans is functional and political and cannot be reduced to grammatical or phonological description" (p.50). Once again, the historical context is germane to understanding the idiomatic permutations contributing to the complexities inhering to mainland Puerto Rican identity.

(1) Language Use - Between Shakespear and Cervantes

> The fact that I am writing to you in English already falsifies what I want to tell you. My subject: how to explain to you that I don't belong to English though I belong nowhere else, if not here in English. (Perez-Firmat, p.124).

There is no doubt that the survival of Puerto Rican cultural identity is linked with the preservation of the Spanish language: "En la esencia del ser puertorriqueño nuestro idioma español posee una fuerza singular de

identidad irrefutable" [In the essence of the Puerto Rican being, our Spanish language possesses a singular strength of irrefutable identity] (Casilas Alvares, 1983, quoted in Zentella, p.84). The language situation currently bearing on Mainlanders began on the island with the United States' occupation and its imposition of English as the only language permitted within its legal and educational institutions. The English-only policy which was in force for nearly 50 years resulted in the educational failure of thousands of Islanders. For the occupying Americans, the imposition of English was necessary for the Americanization of the island's inhabitants. These controlling tactics, however, provoked protest against: "the spirit of absorption and supremacy with which the English language is being imposed" (Negron de Montila, 1975, quoted in Morris).

Zentella (1988) contends that this colonial legacy is evidenced in the current linguistic patterns observed in both island and mainland Puerto Ricans. In an ethnolinguistic study conducted over a ten year period on a single block located in Spanish Harlem - 'el bloque' - she identified four distinct linguistic patterns influenced by familial, migratory, generational, cultural, social and economic factors. Zentella asserts that the politically motivated refusal to consider the role of these factors in shaping and perpetuating these patterns has led to the social stigmatization of both Puerto Rican English and

Spanish: "The consistent attacks that Puerto Ricans encounter against their variety are the consequences of a linguistic posture at the service of political goals" (p.147). Their variety of Spanish, commonly referred to as 'Spanglish,' is defined as a hybrid form of Spanish and English and/or a combination of Spanish and English (i.e. 'el windo is closed' - hybrid form; 'la ventana is closed' - combined form).

Stavans (1995) posits that the continued devotion to Spanish in the United States perpetuates nationally divisive linguistic loyalties and idiomatic differences. He contends that the linguistic context giving rise to Spanglish (i.e. bilingual education) evolved from the "mistake" of introducing Spanish, the "private, personal, [and] intimate" language into the public - English - domain. Urciuoli (1996), on the other hand, opposes the ahistorical 'language as code' position and locates language prejudice within a matrix of power relations: "Although such judgments appear to be about a language or dialect, they are really about institutional legitimacy. It is no accident that the Spanish and English of Puerto Ricans and the English of African Americans are often said to be bastardized" (p.35). Flores (1993) states that the psychological damage resulting from this situation stems from the bias inherent in such language rankings which lead to the inferiorization of Spanglish speakers.

The current idiomatic state for many Mainlanders is that, regardless of the etiological source, they experience themselves as a language minority within their own reference group. On a psychological level, this has produced a defensive refusal to relinquish the Spanish language as a symbol of authenticity even where it no longer has dominance: "By virtual consensus [Mainlander] Puerto Ricans want to maintain Spanish. This is true even for young people who admit to not knowing much Spanish...Puerto Ricans also want to learn English; for most, a person who is more fluent in English than in Spanish is neither a paradox nor an anomaly, much less a case of deliberate or unwitting cultural betrayal" (Flores, 1993, p.167). Nevertheless, Mainlanders have been accused of cultural betrayal by their island counterparts who, perhaps owing to their geographical perspective, are 'closer' to the historical continuity with the colonial legacy equating English with cultural annihilation:

> the problem of the so-called "Neoricans" is a very real one, which demands a thorough analysis that maintains an empathy and sympathy toward those Puerto Ricans who have been stripped of their language, their history and their culture and who seek their own forms of cultural expression. (Maldonado-Denis, 1976, p.17).

Seda Bonilla (1975) calls those who consider themselves Puerto Rican and do not speak Spanish 'pseudoethnics.' The dynamic association between language and identity is further reflected in the fact that after a century of American

influence, only 19% of Islanders speak English fluently (Monge, 1997). The connection between language and identity continues to influence how Islanders and Mainlanders view one another and to inflame the debate regarding ethnic authenticity (Seda Bonilla, 1975). Nowhere is this polemic more evident than on the island where Mainlanders are openly derided for their linguistic differences:

> Ahora regreso con un corazon boricua, y tu me desprecias, me miras mal, me atacas mi hablar [now I return, with a Puerto Rican heart, and you reject me, you look at me funny, you attack my speech] (Laviera, 1985).

The perception of Mainlanders who have returned to the island as being culturally distinct from the native population is reflected in the labels used to describe them: "74 percent have been called 'gringo,' 58 percent 'nuyorican,' and 51 percent 'american'" (Zentella, 1988, p.88). Regarding the impact that these labels have had, one subject in Zentella's study said: "In New York, you defend yourself because they call you a Puerto Rican; here you defend yourself because they call you a gringo" (p.89). The above sentiment was similarly expressed by a 'returning' Mainlander a decade before the subject in that study:

> From the moment he set foot on the Island, Casiano has been looked upon as an outsider who doesn't belong. It is ironic, because in New York he was always a member of a minority group, never fully accepted; and now in Puerto Rico he is not really accepted either. In fact, even less so. "Having been born in New York," he says, "I'm not regarded here as a 'true' Puerto Rican. It's a ridiculous

> feeling, almost like a man without a country." (Whittemore, 1972).

Of course, the idea of a New York-born Puerto Rican 'returning' to the island is itself a contradiction in logic and yet it poignantly reflects the notion of a dominant Puerto Rican identity.

Spanish-language maintenance and English language resistance acquired unique dynamic implications for 'Black' Mainlanders who did not want to be identified with African Americans (Longres, 1974; Kinsbruner, 1996). "Puerto Ricans ...do not equate race in simple ways with descent-based physiological classification. Race in Puerto Rico also involves individual appearance, class, and cultural elements; above all, being Puerto Rican supersedes being black or white. The opposite is true in the United States. Puerto Ricans in the United States draw on both systems depending on context and social pressure" (Urciuoli, 1996, p.25; emphasis added).

(2) Skin Color: La Rajita - African Roots

> If anything taught the Puerto Ricans - including white Puerto Ricans - what life is like in the United States, it was the awareness of discrimination. (Iglesias, p.181).

The American practice of hypodescent in cases of racial admixture in which group membership is automatically assigned to the racial group having the lowest prestige, traditionally has placed both Mainlanders and Islanders in the black racial category regardless of phenotypic traits.

According to Longres (1974), when the United States was forced to consider whether it should grant statehood to its newly acquired possession, the rationale that forced the creation of an unincorporated territory instead: "was cultural and, primarily, racial "inferiority." Puerto Ricans were "mongrels" to most Americans, and as such they could not expect to be given the opportunity for statehood" (p.68).

Thus the American system of biracial polarity places the Puerto Rican in a dialectical dilemma since racially they represent an admixture of Taino, Iberian and African roots. In a study looking at how Mainlanders racially classified themselves versus how the interviewer classified them using American racial categorizations, Rodriguez (1980) found that more respondents considered themselves white than were so classified by the interviewer. Others who were seen as "unquestioningly white" saw themselves as brown or tan and others who were not seen as black, saw themselves as black. This study suggests that a process of internalization of dominant culture skin-color norms has occurred among Mainlanders (Rodriguez, 1980). Urciuli (1996) noted that: "The ways in which Puerto Ricans have been racialized are embedded in U.S. action toward Puerto Ricans both in Puerto Rico and in the continental United States" (p.68). During the 1970's the perceptual incongruence between how Mainlanders racially viewed themselves and how Americans

viewed them was negotiated through the creation of a new racial category: nonwhite.

The construction of 'Puerto Rican' as a racial category - neither white nor black - made the contention that racism does not exist in Puerto Rico untenable. This new categorization forced Puerto Ricans on both sides of the geographical divide to confront 'su rajita' (their African ancestry): "American racism has begun to threaten Puerto Rican unity and to divide Puerto Ricans along the racial lines which divide Americans" (Longres, p.72). Mainlanders who identified as nonwhite or who insisted on Puerto Rican as a racial category viewed it as a defense against the loss of group belongingness through an identification with either the white or black groups. Islanders, on the other hand, whose racial signifiers reflect a continuum (as opposed to a dichotomy) and who owing to their not being a minority on the island had no need to affirm an ethnicized identity, were unsympathetic to this new designation. Within the Puerto Rican community a well-documented polemic arose concerning "race as it applied to Puerto Rico and the diasporic Puerto Rican communities in the United States" (Ellison, 1997, p.154). Once again, the racial debate emerging out of the United States-Puerto Rico relation shaped the 'othering' process between the two geographical groups.

The reverberations emanating from the convergence of all these factors and components of identity into the internal life of the mainland community gave rise to a new theme in the Puerto Rican literature: ambivalence.

H. Ambivalence

> Puerto Rico has been a place of many contradictions: an island of Indian heritage where few Indians survived the ravages of early colonization; a slave society with fewer slaves than whites or free people of color; a racially restrictive society where free people of color enjoyed considerable freedom; a country to many, a colony to some, and a common-wealth in legal fact; an island of grand beauty and blight; a place of large-scale out-migration but also of large-scale in-migration. Not surprisingly, therefore, Puerto Rico has been a place of ambivalences. (Kinsbruner, 1996, pp.3-4).

Concerning the ambivalence attributed to Mainlanders, Betances (1974) notes that: "If more Puerto Rican adults would but share some of their ambivalency and their confusion and end "the conspiracy of silence," it could lead more second generation Puerto Ricans to the conclusion that given the historical experience of Puerto Ricans in the island and in the "barrios" in the mainland, confusion and ambivalency may not be abnormal as all that" (p.437).

The early research into the constitutive relationship between the individual and his group found a connection between within-group ambivalence and disadvantaged and negatively stereotyped group status (Lewin, 1948; Adelson, 1958; Driedger, 1976). As a psychological outcome, ambivalence has been viewed as an expectable consequence of two

opposing attractions. Stonequist (1937) summarized it as follows: "When the standards of two or more social groups come into active contrast or conflict, the individual who is identified with both groups experience the conflict as an acute personal difficulty or mental tension." Steinberg (1981) concurs with Stonequist and notes that second generation immigrants in particular - the first generation born in the host country - are characterized by a marginality that is psychically expressed as "ambivalence toward both the ethnic subculture and the dominant society." In Eisen's (1983) analysis of the transformations that the meaning of Jewishness underwent in the first decades of this century, he too focused on the second generation which he defined as the children of the mass migration of Eastern European Jews: "Attention must be paid to the needs and situation of the 'second generation' if the character of its religious thought is to be understood...the 'ambivalence' generated by the conflicting desire for integration and survival as Jews found clear expression among the rabbis...and so symbolized the American Jew" (pp.8-9).

Inasmuch as the process of identity development occurs within this broader context in which the ethnic subculture and the dominant culture coexist, the attitude of the host culture - whether it is positive or negative - contributes to the dynamism between the individual and his group. According to Akhtar (1995): "the emotions with which the

host culture receives the migrant also play a role in the latter's assimilation and associated identity change. A particular era in the history of a nation might be more receptive than another era to receiving immigrants. In an ironic twist to Freud's "anatomy is destiny" remark, skin color and the thickness of epicanthic folds acquire significance in this context. In other words, race might also play a role here" (p.1055). The 'receiving' culture's racialized view of Puerto Ricans in 1972 can be gleaned from the following excerpt published in a regional New York magazine:

> These people were "Spanish." They came in swarms like ants turning the sidewalks brown....they grew in numbers rather than stature, that they were neither white nor black but some indelicate tan...the best you could do to avoid contamination was to keep them out of mind. And if they got too close...you just knew he had a razor up his sleeve. (Goldstein, 1972).

The national view was not any more welcoming as suggested by the words spoken by J. Edgar Hoover: "You never have to bother about a President being shot by Puerto Ricans or Mexicans. They don't shoot very straight. But if they come at you with a knife, beware" (Lopez, 1973). These views were consistent with the 'culture of poverty' theory introduced by Oscar Lewis in 1959 which posited that dys-functional cultural values create and perpetuate the conditions which sustain economic disadvantage. In 1965 Lewis applied his theory to Puerto Ricans in a book titled

'La Vida.' The book was hailed as an 'anthropological' work by the academic community, it received accolades from the New York Times, Newsweek and The New Yorker and went on to win the National Book Award. Concerning its portrayal of Puerto Ricans, Shorris notes that: "Oscar Lewis would picture Puerto Ricans dying in small, hot rooms, on beds with no sheets, sweating, lubricious, third time fourth time fucking while the children waited in grandma's house, unattended by the old whore." With the result, he concluded, that "A stereotype was created and internalized in a single generation" (p.79).

According to Akhtar (1995) migration provokes not only interpersonal, but intrapsychic demands triggering what he calls a "third individuation" in the process of identity formation. Using the language of Mahler and drive theory, he proposes a framework that is reminiscent of the earlier theorists. Akhtar contends that there are four dynamic shifts which gradually give way to psychostructural changes in object and self-representations and lead to identity consolidation. In the first shift, which he terms 'from love or hate to ambivalence,' there is a split along libidinal and aggressive lines between the country of origin and the host country. There is also a splitting of the self-representation psychologically manifested as separation guilt and survival guilt. The successful resolution of the alternating devaluation and idealization of self and other-

representations results in "a capacity for good humored ambivalence" (p.1060). In the second shift, 'from near or far to optimal distance,' the migrant turns towards the mother-country for refueling: "A fantasy of return to the home country also emerges. The wish, like the rapprochement subphase child's regressive search for symbiosis, is, however, not free of ambivalence" (p.1062). Failure to resolve the 'rapprochement' crisis leads to ethnocentric withdrawal or counterphobic assimilation (recall Rinder's poles). The third shift, 'from yesterday or tomorrow to today,' reflects the process of mourning: "Ever wistful, the immigrant convinces himself that "if only" he had not left these places, his life would have been wonderful" (p.1065). Successful resolution of mourning for lost self and other-representations launches the final phase, 'from yours to mine to ours,' and culminates in "the emergence of a hybrid identity" (p.1066).

These four shifts are analogous to Flores' definitive moments in the 'Nuyorican' experience. According to Flores, the Mainlander progresses from a 'here and now' orientation towards New York marked by feelings of exclusion and powerlessness (Akhtar's aggressive investment) to a romanticized orientation towards the island (libidinal investment, refueling). This is followed by a back to New York orientation marked by a reinforced identification with the island culture (resolution of mourning) and culminates

in "something other than assimilation" ('yours to mine to ours'). Akhtar maintains that the analyst needs to be sensitive to the intrapsychic demands of cultural dislocation and "permit the patient ample psychic space to dwell on his lost culture" (p.1073). Garza-Guerrero (1974) agrees with Ahktar that there are "reciprocal developmental influences of environment-culture upon constitutional and intrapsychic differentiation" (p.409). Building on the foundational work of earlier theorists on mourning and melancholia, he proposes that encounter with a foreign culture precipitates a process of mourning that is comparable to that which is triggered in single object loss and that, as in single object loss, the integrity of the mourner's internalized object representations determines whether the process is successfully resolved:

> Now, if the mourner's identity (mourning related to individual single object loss) is so painfully threatened, what are the vicissitudes of the mourner's identity in a mourning secondary to a massive object loss, as in the case of culture shock?. (p.414).

Garza-Guerrero postulates a Kernbergian formulation in which ongoing internalization of object relations parallel ongoing structuralization of the internalized object relations into the Id, Ego and Super Ego substructures. From this perspective, Ego identity is the product of a continuous and dynamic dialectic. An external threat, such

as that which may occur in culture shock, can transform each of the psychic substructures.

The theoretical position framing this investigation is consistent with the perspective of the contemporary psychoanalytic theory of mind in which individual psychology and culture are viewed as mutually constitutive: "It [culture] is neither the objective world of brute facts, nor the subjective world of individual psychological experience, but rather an intersubjective world of shared meanings and practices...." (Miller, 1997, p.219). This constitutive relation guides the central question underlying this thesis: whether Mainlanders believe themselves to be negatively perceived by their island counterparts and, if so, whether this belief has contributed to an identity style which has been labeled 'ambivalent.'

I. Synthesis

The United States annexation of Puerto Rico produced two geographical groups of Puerto Ricans and set off an 'othering' process between them. The historical and sociopolitical context within which this process unfolded must be invoked for: "...as long as Puerto Rico remains in direct colonial bondage to the United States, Puerto Rican cultural expression in the United States evokes the relation, above all, between Puerto Rican people here and there" (Flores, P.14; emphasis added). In the early decades of this century there was a keen interest in the

assimilation processes of immigrant groups and in the correlative impact on individual psychology. These investigations found that the members of disadvantaged and negatively stereotyped minority groups were characterized by ethnic identities that were described as ambivalent (Lewin, 1948; Park, 1950; Adelson, 1958). Gestalt theorists discovered a relationship between rigid cognitive styles and figure-ground perceptual styles that suggested an intolerance for spatial ambiguity. Frenkel-Brunswik (1949) applied the principles underlying this relationship to emotional and social phenomena (racial prejudice and social discrimination in children) and found a correlation between perceptual ambiguity and attitudes typifying rigidity of thought, fear of ambivalence and ambiguity. She concluded that an intolerance of ambivalence within the social sphere led to psychological compensatory defenses such as dichotomized thinking (i.e. splitting) and stereotyped behavior. Adorno (1950) went on to conceptualize these traits as characteristic of 'The Authoritarian Personality.' Adelson (1958) investigated whether these personality characteristics generalized to minority groups towards whom prejudice was directed. Focusing on Eastern European Jews as the most recent immigrant - and minority - group, he found that authoritarianism existed as a critical dimension underlying attitudes toward Jewishness. These attitudes were manifested in a splitting of the Jewish group into a

preferred in-group and a derogated out-group. Although the nonauthoritarian Jew was not free of conflict or confusion towards his Jewishness, he was characterized by an absence of the personality syndrome and a tolerance for ambiguity. Rinder (1953) sought to measure the ambiguities inherent in the Jewish-American identity of third generation Eastern European immigrants. He concluded that problematic dual identity resolved in either over-identification (Jewish chauvinism) or under-identification (self-hate). Each of these polarities represented defensive solutions to the threat inherent in a dual identity status through repression or denial. The intermediate position between these poles was significant for the absence of the characteristics underlying the 'authoritarian syndrome' and was marked by its opposite - a tolerance for ambivalence - reflecting a synthesis of the two identifications.

This early research into the dynamic relationship between the individual and his group within the broader environmental context provides the theoretical basis for understanding the character of mainland ethnic identity proposed in this study. When we examine this broader context we find that the dimensions of race and language dominance do not impinge on Puerto Rican identity on the island in the same manner as they do on the mainland. Islanders have preserved their Spanish language dominance and national identity in spite of oppressive forces. Like

their island counterparts, Mainlanders have also preserved their *Puertoricanness* by consolidating their ancestral roots with their New York experience. To some this trans-culturalization signifies a betrayal of sorts:

> Such a cultural abyss separates them, such a profound sense of misunderstanding and betrayal, that I am tempted to portray them as twins that were separated at birth, each reacting to different aesthetic, political, and sociological stimuli, united only by their shared love-hate relationship with New York and a strange need to remember each other in bizarre, nostalgic terms. (Stavans, 1995, p.47).

Flores (1993) contends that "it is not a question of division or unity, but of circulation and reciprocity" (p.103). Indeed, utilizing Stavans' metaphor, as twins, Islanders and Mainlanders do share a cultural parentage and, therefore, a cultural history; a point which seems to escape Stavans' view of culture as a purely objective construction. He does, however, make the important observation that their 'separation at birth' led to different developmental paths and "misunderstandings."

In addition to the above-referenced empirical studies, the contemporary psychoanalytic theory of mind also informs the theoretical framework of this thesis. This theory views the self not as a singularity, but as a multiplicity of selves: "A human being's ability to live a life with both authenticity and self-awareness depends on the presence of an ongoing dialectic between separateness and unity of one's self-states, allowing each self to function optimally

without foreclosing communication and negotiation between them" (Bromberg, 1996, p.514). The technical application of this paradigm would aim to facilitate the patient's ability to "stand in the spaces between realities and between past, present, and future, without having to lose any of them" (Bromberg, 1996, p.524).

It is anticipated that Mainlanders who are unable to "stand in the spaces" experience "intrinsically discordant aspects of internalized but essentially irreconcilable aspects of self-other experiences" (Davies, p.553). The clinical manifestations may be evidenced by an under- or over-reference to one's ethnic identity. The therapeutic goal of enhancing tolerance for ambivalence, contradiction and paradox would permit the multicultural patient to relinquish the defenses of splitting, denial, over- (chauvinism, ethnocentrism) and under- (self-hate, xenocentrism) identification:

> Paradox requires bridging; and bridging is just that-a passage back and forth, an "interstate" commerce, and not an integration in the sense of a cumulative, progressive knitting together into one ultimately whole cloth...paradox does not boil down to a synonym for "conflict"....the mind in paradox holds mutually exclusive elements that must continue to co-exist, even while negating each other's existence. (Pizer, 1996, p.502).

J. Statement of the Problem

It is anticipated that a subcohort of second-generation Mainlanders, herein defined as the children of the post-World War II migration, believe themselves to be negatively

stereotyped by their island counterparts (the island 'outgroup'). It is believed that the basis for this negative stereotype is a style of group belongingness that has been described as 'ambivalent.' That is, that Mainlanders are identified with both the mainland and island cultures and hence disidentified with the 'authentic' Puerto Rican culture. It is anticipated that Mainlanders do not themselves feel disidentified with the Puerto Rican culture. Further, it is this writer's contention that 'ambivalence' is best understood as a normative response to the paradox and contradictions emanating from the unique United States-Puerto Rico relation and that its manifestations (i.e. sense of abandonment, anger) will be evidenced in the styles of identification characteristic of this generation:

> In the case of Puerto Rico, the same political ambiguity that perpetuates the growth of cultural nationalism and the need for an "official" view of Puerto Rican identity continues to open up strategic spaces for the development and mobilization of more inclusive definitions of identity...Thus, in Puerto Rico, at the heart of local preoccupations about the permanence of the island's national identity are not solely anticolonial preoccupations but also racist concerns that our language could become "rotten" or...<u>that we might become a "cultural phenomenon" like the Nuyoricans</u>. These fears signal a general awareness of the societal "contradictions" - such as the transnational community of Puerto Ricans...- that will continue to challenge traditional constructs of identity....(Davila, 1997, pp. 260-261; emphasis added).

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

The design for the proposed investigation was informed by the construction of the instruments used and the results obtained in the pilot study. One of the proposed instruments was not used in the final investigation and the proposed hypotheses were reformulated to fit the measures used in the study (see Appendix A for pilot instruments, Appendix B for proposed instruments and Appendix C for study instruments).

A. Proposed Hypotheses

(1) There will be a negative correlation between identity complexity and self-esteem.

(2) There will be a positive correlation between identity complexity and group belongingness.

B. Sample Criteria and Characteristics

Several methods were used to obtain participants. These methods included contacting by telephone and in writing Puerto Rican and Hispanic based organizations (i.e. Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs, Inc., ASPIRA of New York, Inc.), community colleges and universities and individuals listed on various Latino based directories (i.e. Association of Hispanic Mental Health Professionals, Inc., Comité Noviembre Puerto Rican Cultural Resource Directory). In addition, flyers were left in local libraries, churches and community organizations in areas populated by large numbers of Puerto Ricans (i.e. Lower East Side and El Barrio). Participants were also solicited through personal

contacts who distributed the materials to acquaintances who remained unknown to the investigator. The sample was heterogenous for socioeconomic, occupational and educational levels. However, a good command of the English language was emphasized as well as literacy in both reading and writing. The criterion required that they be mainland born Puerto Ricans or Islanders who migrated around the age of five.

The style of group identification described as 'ambivalent' has been most attributed to the 'first' second generation of Mainlanders whose parents migrated post-World War II. The primary source for this observation derives from the Puerto Rican literature which has documented the complexities of mainland identity. This population now range in age between 43 and 60 and efforts were made to limit the population to this age group. Studies on self-concept development suggesting that awareness of group membership is well established by the first and second grades guided the rationale underlying the cut-off at age five (Radke, Trager and Davis, 1949; Goodman, 1964; Ehrlich, 1973; Ostow, 1995). Later-age identity-related ambivalence towards group belongingness may thus be associated with factors independent of the beginning elements of identity formation: "Given that manifest identity changes developmentally through life and during any given developmental period in response to external influence...I think that we must recognize a core identity established early in childhood...." (Ostow, 1995, p.230; Mitchell, 1993; Akhtar, 1995).

It was thus believed that prior to this broadened context, the cultural milieu of the island-born and mainland-born child, although dissimilar in significant aspects, would be significantly similar in others. In particular, that both would be relatively insulated against external threats to a core cultural identity. Furthermore, by controlling for comparable educational experience, the island-born subjects were anticipated to be experientially distinct from those Islanders who obtained their education on the island prior to migration (i.e. Montserrat's (1968) "bridge generation"). It was therefore believed that the island-born Puerto Ricans would be more like Mainlanders in terms of quality and length of exposure to mainland culture.

The Puerto Rican ethnic affirmation movement evolved as a direct response to experienced forces of social oppression. As a political strategy, its purpose was to legitimize Puerto Rican identity beyond the nationalistic boundaries demarcated by the colonial-capitalist relation. As an ethnocultural development, however, it was misinterpreted and misunderstood by those who felt that the nationalist identity was being abandoned. For example, Maldonado-Denis defined the "new cultural category" with which the `first' second generation came to be identified - Nuyorican - as a "kind of cultural hybrid." The identity-related themes found in the Nuyorican literature from this historical period reflect the cultural heritage of complexity and confusion that derived from the hybridization of their group status. The perception of Nuyoricans as a hybridized group,

and hence not authentically Puerto Rican, contributed to their experience of intragroup negative bias. It is, therefore, the 'Nuyorican' point of view, as documented in the literature, that is the point of departure for this study. The emphasis on the larger contextual perspective is rooted in the idea that the relation between an individual and his minority group is a constitutive one and must be balanced against the background of the group's relation to the majority group (Lewin, 1935; Akhtar, 1995). The research on the dynamics of Jewish identity provided the theoretical background upon which this issue was explored: "Jewish identity is given not only by the individual's recognition of his own identity, but by the fact that he is labeled as such by others" (Ostow, 1995, p.233).

Consistent with the 'Nuyorican' movement with which this population became identified, the sample was further limited to the New York region only and "Mainlander" as used herein, refers to those born and/or raised within the five boroughs of New York City. Finally, the parents of the cohort were controlled for provenance (Puerto Rico) and ancestry (Puerto Rican). It was hoped that controlling for this variable would minimize confounding factors related to multiple identifications and serve as a control for the core cultural milieu.

Two factors were anticipated to potentially point to gender differences. The first is based on empirical research on acculturation which indicate that Latino women acculturate faster than men (Ginoria, 1979). By extrapola-

tion it may be hypothesized that women may manifest less identity complexity as a consequence of having acquired adaptive strategies for circumventing identity-related contradictions and paradoxes. Although the impact of gender or individual variability along this dimension on group belongingness was not controlled for, its potential for influencing one's relation to the ingroup as a constituent of one's relation to the outgroup (i.e. level of acculturation) is recognized as a confounding variable. The second factor derives from the fact that the social and political organizations through which the Nuyorican movement became institutionalized (i.e. Young Lords, Puerto Rican Forum, FALN) were male dominated and men, therefore, may manifest greater identity complexity as a consequence of their not utilizing mechanisms to circumvent identity-related contradictions and paradoxes. As with the acculturation variable, the impact of political orientation on group belongingness was not controlled for although its potential for influencing one's relation to the ingroup is also recognized.

C. Instruments

(1) **Mainland Puerto Rican Identity Questionnaire (MPRIQ).** The defining characteristics for ethnic identification was borrowed from Rinder's work on Jewish identity (1953) with appropriate changes to the ethnic references:

> [Puerto Rican] identification [refers to] whatever recourse persons may have to real or imagined [Puerto Rican] sources as referential guides for

> their attitudes, opinion, or behavior. In the metaphor of symbolic interaction theory, [Puertoricanness] consists of the variety and intensity of the <u>others</u>, both personal and generalized, of an acknowledged [Puerto Rican] nature which exist for a person and give meaning, perspective, organization, and motivation to his behavior. (p.3).

The MPRIQ is a truncated version of Rinder's Jewish Identification Instrument. Rinder's instrument contains five subsections each consisting of multiple attitude-items which were gathered from various sources reflecting particular types or areas of Jewish identification. Each question offers four to five alternative responses designed to capture the direction underlying the feeling state of the response (i.e. acceptance or rejection) and the intensity of the expressed identification. Respondents were asked to select the two responses most reflective of their attitude in preferred order (i.e. 1 = most preferred). The two responses yielded an identification score from high to low and a polarization score for discrepant response combinations. Rinder's scheme for the various response combinations was used to score the MPRIQ: (A) = high, monistic [Puerto Rican] identification; (B) = moderate, pluralistic [Puerto Rican] identification; (C) = moderate, pluralistic [non-Puerto Rican] identification; and (D) = high, monistic [non-Puerto Rican] identification. The overall reliability of Rinder's instrument was .87 with

varying significant intercorrelational scores between subscales at the $p<.05$ level.

The MPRIQ consisted of the General Subscale only. All of the items in Rinder's General Identification Subscale were used in the MPRIQ. This subscale had the highest coefficient ($r=.57$) and the highest intercorrelation with all of the other subscales ($r=.86$). Rinder stated that the major function of the General Subscale was to get at the "sentiments of Jewish belongingness" without reference to the specific models of identification represented in the other four domains - Religion, Race, Culture and Nationality. The rationale for the use of this subscale in the present study was based on the premise that the complexity of mainland identity is best captured as a generalized phenomenon.

Rinder's item (item 4) designed to elicit attitudinal orientation towards the 'non-Jewish' outgroup was split into two identical questions with appropriate referent substitutions (i.e. 'Mainland' and 'Island' Puerto Rican). One item eliciting reactions towards non-Puerto Ricans which was added to the pilot questionnaire was omitted from the final instrument.

In addition to the item section, a separate section (Section I) was added in which the subjects were asked to number, in the most preferred order, a series of self-

identifying labels (i.e. Puerto Rican, American). The data from this section of the MPRIQ was analyzed qualitatively.

(2) **Identity Complexity Questionnaire (ICQ).** A questionnaire was constructed by this writer in order to assess the complexities underlying Nuyorican identity. Complexity refers to the multiple ways in which Puerto Rican identity may be expressed as a result of the various domains that evolved from the United States-Puerto Rico relation (i.e. racial, national, cultural, political, linguistic). For example, Puerto Ricans may consider themselves White, Black or neither, they may speak Spanish or not, embrace an American or Puerto Rican national identity or both. These multiplicities have produced an identity style that has been described as ambivalent. The questionnaire was constructed to reflect the literary themes which have been associated with an attitude of ambivalence (i.e. dislocation, abandonment, rejection, loss, ambiguous identity, etc.). Ambivalence is treated as a cognitive dimension of an attitude towards group belongingness (Ehrlich, 1973). The items selected to assess the presence or absence of this dimension were culled from the Nuyorican literary domain (i.e. poetry).

The criteria applied for the selection of the 'ambivalence' items were that they be authored by self-identified Mainlanders and that they be representative of the major aspects of the variable in question (i.e. a

subjective sense of rejection by the reference group). These writers view themselves as belonging to a group - the Puerto Rican Group - that is distinct from, but that has membership within, a dominant group - the non-Puerto Rican Group - that is rejecting of them. Within the Puerto Rican Group, they experience themselves as a distinct subgroup - the Nuyorican Group - that is rejected by the reference group. According to Mohr (1982) the reaction to this 'in-out' paradox is an over-emphasis on *Puertoricannism*. However, Mohr contends that this emphasis on *Puertoricannism* does not resolve the paradox since "the sense of being Puerto Rican is not common among Nuyorican poets" (p.96). Consequently, she says that it is this "quest for a world they and their people can inhabit with dignity and a sense of belonging" that defines their poetic genre (p.97). The selected items were chosen because they capture the sentiments underlying this 'quest for belongingness.' Inclusion into this genre within the public domain was accepted as sufficient criteria to meet the demands for internal consistency.

The pilot instrument contained a total of seven items which reflected a range of sentiments associated with ambivalence. Respondents were asked to respond along a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 'reflects my experience, not at all to very strongly.' In order to elicit the affective tone, respondents were also asked to

explain why they chose that particular response in a space provided below each item. For the final study, six items reflecting ambivalence (items 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10) and six items not reflecting ambivalence (items 1, 3, 6, 8, 11, 12) were selected for a total of 12 items. The criteria applied for the selection of the 'non-ambivalence' items were that they be authored by self-identified Mainlanders and that they be free of the undertones of loss, rejection or conflict which characterize the ambivalence items. Two of the non-ambivalence items were authored by this investigator (items 1 and 3). The Likert scale was removed from the study instrument and the ICQ was used as a qualitative measure only. The rationale underlying the decision to remove the Likert scale was based on the need to adhere to scientific rigor by not using as a quantitative measure an unempirically tested instrument. In order to maximize its qualitative potential, the question aimed at eliciting the affective dimension was split into two specific inquiries. Each of the inquiries aimed at eliciting the subject's interpretation of the item and whether or not it spoke to their experience. The qualitative analysis was performed by this writer who judged the concordance between interpretation of the underlying theme and the affective response to it.

(3) **Demographic and Perceptual Questionnaires.** In addition to the MPRIQ and ICQ, a demographics questionnaire

and a sheet with a single open-ended question inquiring into the perception of negative bias ("Lastly, how do you feel Puerto Ricans born on the island view Puerto Ricans born here? How, if at all, have you been affected by that view?") were attached to the pilot protocol and final instrument.

(4) **The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES).** The RSES was not included in the pilot study and was omitted from the final study. The original research design proposed to correlate the data yielded from this measure with identity complexity. The omission of this scale necessitated the reformulation of the proposed hypotheses to reflect the anticipated themes expressed in the qualitative measures (the ICQ and perception question).

D. Description of Pilot Study and Results

A total of 11 protocols were distributed and returned. All of the described instruments were stapled together and folded into manila envelopes with this researcher's name and address. Demographically, 64% were born in New York, 36% on the island. Of those born on the island, 75% self-identified as Puerto Rican; of the total sample, 64% identified as Puerto Rican, 27% as Puerto Rican-American and 9% as Hispanic. The category of response yielding the highest number of responses corresponded with Rinder's 'moderate, pluralistic Jewish identification' scheme and represented 37% of the responses. The lowest percentage,

19%, corresponded to the 'moderate, pluralistic, non-Jewish identification' category. Respondents did not answer all questions with the required number of responses resulting in only 79% of the total number of responses that the questionnaire is designed to yield.

The average score on the Identity Complexity Questionnaire was 11 (10.6) out of a potential maximum of 35. There were two modal scores of 7 and 13 and one outlier at 19. Overall, the scores were positively skewed.

There were several structural problems with both the Identity and Complexity instruments. The instructions on the Identity questionnaire did not clearly indicate that two responses for each item were required. In addition, the wording on some of the items contained outdated terminology (i.e. "trifle"). Most respondents ignored Section II which was a series of three open-ended questions. Although 82% of the respondents did not order the self-identifiers as requested in Section I, all selected at least one label. Eighty-two percent answered the 'perception' question and many offered lengthy responses.

Based on the above results, several modifications were made to the final instruments. The Identity measure was simplified in its instructions and terminology. Section II was eliminated in view of its failure to elicit meaningful data and in view of the opportunity for affective responses provided for in the Complexity measure. Section I was

reworded to make the instructions clearer and a neutral example was given: "rank the following fruit according to preference: _2_ apple _3_ orange _1_ banana." The number of labels was reduced to those having the most valence based on popular use in the literature. The 'perception' question was retained in view of its potential for tapping the core issue underlying the present study. Finally, the demographics questionnaire was revised to ask for gender identification.

In view of the methodological and structural problems and small sample size, the preliminary results were interpreted as suggestive data to guide the final investigation. A key question which arose was whether the low scores on the Complexity measure represented an absence of ambivalence or a defense against it (i.e. reaction-formation, denial, splitting). A brief review of some of the responses to the 'perception' question suggests the latter:

> Question: "Lastly, how do you feel Puerto Ricans born on the island view Puerto Ricans born here? How, if at all, have you been affected by that view?
>
> Response: Does not bother me at all.
>
> Response: Island Puerto Ricans' vs. Mainland Puerto Ricans' mentality is something to which I have given no/little importance.
>
> Response: They feel jealous that we speak two languages.
>
> Response: I have never spoken with another Puerto Rican about this issue.

An awareness of intragroup differentiation and its psychological correspondence was evidenced most poignantly in the following response:

> Puerto Ricans on the island in my experience believe that those Puerto Ricans that were born here in New York are not true Puerto Rican. I was born there and came to New York at 4 years, so I am forgiven.

In conclusion, the preliminary results pointed to a perception of intragroup negative bias and a negative psychological impact on the subjective experience of group belongingness.

E. Theoretical Reformulation

Consistent with Davila's (1997) psychopolitical contention that the nature of the United States-Puerto Rico relation pulls for strong nationalistic ties, it was anticipated that:

(1) Mainlanders, as herein defined, would identify strongly as Puerto Rican.

In accordance with Rinder's (1953) conceptualization of identity complexity, three main themes or identity styles were anticipated:

(2) Identity complexity would be evidenced in the following styles or themes:

(i) an over-reference to one's ethnic identity (Rinder's ethnocentric);

(ii) an under-reference to one's ethnic identity (Rinder's xenocentric); and

(iii) an intermediate orientation to identity representing both positive and negative self-group aspects (and hence greater identity complexity).

From a psychological perspective, both the over- and under-identifiers would resemble Rinder's authoritarian types who, owing to their inability to accept a hyphenated identity, reject "ambiguity or ambivalence through repressive solutions and the typologizing and dichotomizing of the universe into categories which simplify experience" (p.42). Lastly, it was anticipated that:

(3) Most Mainlanders would report a perception of negative bias towards their subgroup by their island counterparts.

CHAPTER IV. RESULTS

A total of 50 respondents participated in the study. This number represents 41% of the total number of questionnaire packages that were distributed. Seventy-two percent of the respondents were female and 28% were male. Forty-eight percent listed 'white collar' professions (i.e. social work, education, law); the remainder listed 'blue collar' professions, unemployment or retirement. Thirty-eight percent were in the 43-48 age range, 32% were in the 49-54 age range and 24% were 55 or older, one respondent was 41 and another 72. Forty-eight percent were born in Puerto Rico and 52% were born in New York City. All had parents of Puerto Rican ancestry, two had one parent each who was born in New York City and one had both parents born in New York City, all others were born in Puerto Rico. Of the 48% born in Puerto Rico, 88% came to New York prior to the age of five. The remainder came during early latency years.

Although the original design did not call for targeting two groups of Mainlanders, the near equal distribution of island and New York-born Mainlanders permitted between group comparisons on a number of dimensions. Within group comparisons between male and females must be weighed against the low percentage of males represented in each subgroup (19% of the New York-born subgroup and 38% of the Island-born subgroup) and comparative discrepancies viewed as a possible artifact of this numerical difference. Given the

similarity of gender distribution within each group, same sex comparisons were also made.

A. Qualitative Analysis

(1) Self-Group Identifiers

All of the respondents designated self-group identifiers (i.e Puerto Rican, American). Ten percent of the total sample gave identical numerical rankings to multiple labels and were excluded from the analysis (i.e. a primary ranking of '1' to both Puerto Rican and Boricua). A majority of both island and New York-born respondents chose 'Puerto Rican' as their primary identification (80% and 68%, respectively). Similar primary ranking patterns were observed for all of the categories except 'Boricua' and 'Hispanic.' Whereas more island-born respondents preferred 'Boricua,' none preferred 'Hispanic' as a primary label. There were no females of either group who gave a numerical ranking of '1' to 'American' and no males of either group who gave a numerical ranking of '1' to 'Nuyorican.' When compared without regard to numerical ranking or subgroup, 'Nuyorican' was preferred by more females than males (58% versus 33%) whereas more males than females preferred 'American' (67% versus 58%). However, although males appeared to be more receptive to the 'American' label, a within-subgroup gender comparison revealed that there was an even larger discrepancy between females than between males who chose 'American' (70% and 38% versus 60% and 71%,

respectively). Thus, New York-born females were more similar to island-born males in their identification with the 'American' label.

When the self-identifiers were compared without regard to numerical ranking (i.e. primary or '1' ranking) or gender, differences were observed in all but the 'Puerto Rican' and 'Nuyorican' categories. More New York-born respondents preferred 'Hispanic' and 'American' whereas more island-born respondents preferred 'Boricua' and 'Latino.' 'Puerto Rican' was selected 92% and 90% by New York and island-born respondents, respectively and 'Nuyorican' 48% and 45%, respectively. These latter two categories represent the most and least preferred by both subgroups. In addition to these categories, some respondents indicated that they also referred to themselves as New Yorker, Spanish, Afro-Caribbean, First Generation Puerto Rican, Puerto Rican-American and Human.

(2) Identity Complexity Questionnaire

The Complexity instrument was designed to pull for the affective and personalized dimensions associated with identity and group belongingness free of the cognitive and intellectualized parameters found in the Identity instrument. As previously indicated, the items in this measure were selected because they capture the range of identification styles attributed to the generation in focus. In addition, its construction was guided by the underlying

premise that ethnic identification is a dynamic process shaped by unique social and cultural events converging at a particular moment in history. It is this convergence that textures the character of a population universe at a particular moment in history. The particular historical period salient to the phenomena under investigation informed the generational control for the population of interest. These historical events were, in particular, the post-World War II migration wave and the Puerto Rican ethnic affirmation movement. These events and the socioeconomic political context within which they occurred, influenced the identity styles characteristic of the population in question. The items selected reflect a nucleus of variables believed to capture the most relevant and essential characteristics underlying this generation's identity styles. It is this generation that produced the literary expressions from which the items were selected.

All of the items represent in content the main themes of identification which have been attributed to this population. These main themes range from feelings of loss and nostalgia to celebratory expressions of newly forged identities. The complexities inherent in duality were reflected in items that spoke of the contradictions and paradoxes in either positive or negative valuative terms. For example, item 1 places a positive valence on the paradoxes inherent in duality whereas item 2 places a

negative valence on duality. In addition, two items which were somewhat ambiguous in content and tone (items 3 and 12) were included in order to pull for unfettered projection of affect. Below is a thematic key for the items on the ICQ.

IDENTITY COMPLEXITY QUESTIONNAIRE THEMATIC KEY

ITEM	D*	CONTENT	THEME
1	NA	Plena and Salsa/I dance to the rhythms of two worlds/hot or cold, gray buildings, green mountains, tar beach, Luquillo beach/I cannot be confined, defined by geographical landscapes/I belong in two worlds	Positive valuation of duality, geographical transcendence, integrated self-concept
2	A	I am two parts/a person/boricua/ spic past and present/alive and oppressed given a cultural beauty/ and robbed of a cultural identity	Negative valuation of duality, cultural loss due to geographical dislocation, fragmented self-concept
3	NA	I was born away from Home/No, not The Bronx, USA/...Borinquen, Puerto Rico - La Isla de mis Padres/So, when I grew up I went Home/No, not La Isla/...Nuyorico, USA/I'm a Nuyorican Puerto Rican	Geographical, identity and cultural transcendence
4	A	I may never overcome/the theft of my isla heritage/ dulce palmas de coco on Luquillo/sway in windy recesses I can only imagine/and remember how it was	Nostalgia, geographical and cultural loss

5	A	There are no more Puerto Ricans in Borinquen/I am the minority everywhere/I am among the few in all societies/I belong to a tribe of nomads/that roam the world without a place to call a home	Loss of cultural identity in Borinquen and ethnic identity everywhere else due to geographical displacement
6	NA	I was born in New York new blood/I was born in New York/I'm not a Jones Act Puerto Rican/yeah?/ I'm a Neo-Rican man	Transculturalized identity, the Jones Act Puerto Rican was other-constructed, the Neo-Rican is self-constructed
7	A	They had been reminded in the United States that they were Puerto Rican, but here [in Puerto Rico] they are told that they speak English with an "English accent," that "you are not really one of us"	Rejection by island counterpart for not being 'authentic' Puerto Rican and in U.S. for being Puerto Rican
8	NA	How I love to listen/Remind myself there is more to the world - the whole of it - the multiNational ethnicity of it/How I have learned to grow from it/To love and praise myself from it	Transcendence, inclusiveness, positive valuation of duality
9	A	Mother Borinquen calls me/this country is not mine/ Borinquen is pure flame/And here I am freezing to death	Nostalgia, geographical loss, alienation from U.S.
10	A	Yo soy tu hijo/de una migracion.../ ahora regreso, con un corazon boricua, y tu/me desprecias, me miras mal, me atacas mi hablar [I am your son/of a migration.../now I return, with a Puerto Rican heart, and you/despise me, scorn me, attack my speech]	Rejection by island counterpart, geographical loss, nostalgia, loss of linguistic purity

11	NA	A new day needs a new language or else the day becomes a repetition of yesterday...Two languages co-existing in your head as modes of expression can either strengthen alertness or cause confusion ...ordinary life for the Nuyorican happens in both languages	Transcendence, the Nuyorican does not belong in the old word of Spanish only, the Nuyorican speaks a new 'language'
12	NA	Understand that this is now and that was before/now is now/before was before/what happened happened/ and what is starting now is beginning/and what's past has ended	Acknowledgment and acceptance of a changing dynamic reality, the idea that one has to live with the circum-stances of a present reality

*Complexity: A=Ambivalence, NA=NonAmbivalence

Analysis of item response was conducted on three levels. First, responses were rated for understanding of underlying themes. The instrumental task was two-fold. First, it required the subject to read the item and interpret it. Second, the subject was asked to indicate whether it personally resonated for them and why. Thematic understanding was determined by the presence or absence of grammatical and/or substantive agreement expressed in the interpretive narrative. For example, the following interpretation of non-ambivalence item 1: "A Puerto Rican is divided into two worlds and cultures and accepts this status" was judged to be in thematic agreement. Agreement was judged on a 'yes' or 'no' basis with 'yes' given a weight of '1' and 'no' a weight of '0.' This numerical weighting allowed for between and within group comparisons

of thematic understanding. Table 1 below depicts the percentages for thematic understanding by group and Tables 2-5 depict within and between group percentages for thematic understanding by gender.

Table 1. Group Percentages for Thematic Understanding

ITEM	1	2*	3	4*	5*	6	7*	8	9*	10*	11	12
IS-B	.79	.88	.50	.83	.83	.46	.83	.67	.71	.79	.71	.29
NY-B	.85	.88	.62	.85	.81	.42	.96	.77	.92	.88	.58	.46

Table 2. New York-Born Subgroup Percentages for Thematic Understanding

ITEM	1	2*	3	4*	5*	6	7*	8	9*	10*	11	12
M	.80	.80	.60	.80	.80	.40	.80	.80	.80	.80	.60	.40
F	.86	.90	.70	.86	.80	.43	100	.76	.95	.90	.57	.48

Table 3. Island-Born Subgroup Percentages for Thematic Understanding

ITEM	1	2*	3	4*	5*	6	7*	8	9*	10*	11	12
M	.44	.78	.44	.78	.78	.22	.67	.56	.44	.67	.67	.22
F	100	.93	.47	.87	.87	.60	.93	.73	.87	.87	.80	.33

Table 4. Between-Male Subgroup Percentages for Thematic Understanding

ITEM	1	2*	3	4*	5*	6	7*	8	9*	10*	11	12
IS-M	.44	.78	.56	.78	.78	.22	.67	.56	.44	.67	.67	.22
NY-M	.80	.80	.60	.80	.80	.40	.80	.80	.80	.80	.60	.40

Table 5. Between-Female Subgroup Percentages for Thematic Understanding

ITEM	1	2*	3	4*	5*	6	7*	8	9*	10*	11	12
IS-F	100	.93	.47	.87	.87	.60	.93	.73	.87	.87	.80	.33
NY-F	.86	.90	.62	.86	.81	.43	100	.76	.95	.90	.57	.48

*Ambivalence Items

Within the New York-born group, males and females displayed a similar pattern of item interpretation. The biggest discrepancies were observed on ambivalence items 7 and 9 which reflect feelings of loss, alienation and rejection. The island-born group displayed a dissimilar pattern of item interpretation with males demonstrating a lower level of thematic understanding for 7 out of the 12 items (at least 15 percentage points difference). Island-born males were most discrepant (at least 38 percentage points difference) on items 1 and 9 which have polar underlying themes. As with the New York-born group, island-born males were also discrepant with their female counterparts on ambivalence items 7 and 9. Island-born males also displayed a lower level of thematic understanding when compared to their New York-born male counterparts.

Within each of the subgroups, females demonstrated greater thematic understanding when compared to their male counterparts. A same gender comparison between subgroups also revealed that both females and males were discrepant with their same-gender counterparts on nonambivalence item 6 which speaks to the idea of identity reconstruction. Interestingly, the low level of understanding for this item across all subgroups was comparable to the low levels of understanding for the two most ambiguous items (items 3 and 12). In general, there was more discrepancy observed for the nonambivalence items than for the ambivalence items. In

other words, respondents displayed less interpretive variability for those items reflecting ambivalence themes.

The second level of analysis applied was based on consonance or dissonance of expressed feelings with item meaning. Whereas the first level of analysis asked whether the respondent was able to pick up on the underlying themes, the second level of analysis asked whether having achieved thematic understanding, did the respondent feel that the item resonated for him/her on a personal level. This dimension of the response was elicited in the second question following each item: 'This item ___reflects/___does not reflect (check one) my feelings because:.' In determining whether the response reached this more intimate level of agreement, emphasis was placed on the tonal and qualitative aspects of the narrative response rather than on the checked off response. In a few instances where a substantive comment did not accompany the checked off response, consonance was gleaned from the thematic interpretation, if possible, and/or taken at face value based on an analysis of the whole questionnaire. Responses were judged on the presence or absence of harmony between the expressed feelings and thematic understanding. For example, the expressed feelings to non-ambivalence item 1 for the same respondent quoted above: "Though raised in U.S. I live here out of certain conveniences rather than an emotional reason (attachment)" was judged to be dissonant.

This respondent understood the underlying theme of the item, but did not feel that it reflected his personal experience. Consonance or Dissonance were then alternately given a weight of '1' for presence and '0' for absence which allowed for between and within group comparisons of item consonance or dissonance. Tables 6-9 below depict consonance and dissonance percentages by group and gender.

Table 6. New York-Born Group Percentages for Item Consonance

ITEM	1	2*	3	4*	5*	6	7*	8	9*	10*	11	12
F	.83	.58	.93	.44	.06	.78	.86	.94	.40	.79	100	100
M	100	.25	100	0	0	.50	.50	.75	.50	.75	100	100

Table 7. New York-Born Group Percentages for Item Dissonance

ITEM	1	2*	3	4*	5*	6	7*	8	9*	10*	11	12
F	.17	.42	.07	.56	.94	.22	.14	.06	.60	.21	0	0
M	0	.75	0	100	100	.50	.50	.25	.50	.25	0	0

Table 8. Island-Born Group Percentages for Item Consonance

ITEM	1	2*	3	4*	5*	6	7*	8	9*	10*	11	12
F	.87	.50	.43	.62	.23	.22	.93	100	.46	.69	.92	100
M	.75	.43	.50	0	.14	0	.83	.80	.50	.50	100	100

Table 9. Island-Born Group Percentages for Item Dissonance

ITEM	1	2*	3	4*	5*	6	7*	8	9*	10*	11	12
F	.13	.50	.57	.38	.77	.78	.07	0	.54	.31	.08	0
M	.25	.57	.50	100	.86	100	.17	.20	.50	.50	0	0

*Ambivalence Items

Whereas the New York-born group evidenced a higher level of within-group correspondence on thematic

understanding when compared to the island-born group, the reverse was in evidence for both consonance and dissonance response patterns. Discrepancies were observed on half of the ambivalence and nonambivalence items. More females than males expressed resonance with ambivalence items 2, 4 and 7 which reflect self-fragmentation, loss and rejection. The largest discrepancy was on item 4 (44 percentage points difference) which had no male endorsement.

The island-born group displayed greater within group correspondence for both consonance and dissonance. Discrepancies were observed on each of two ambivalence and nonambivalence items. In each case, more females expressed resonance with the underlying themes. Like their New York-born counterparts, females and males were more discrepant on item 4 (62 percentage points difference) which had no male endorsement.

When compared to their same-gender counterparts, females displayed higher correspondence than males. The greatest discrepancy was on nonambivalence item 6 (56 percentage points difference) which had more New York-born female endorsers. Males displayed the greatest discrepancy on nonambivalence items 3 and 6 (50 percentage points difference) each of which had more New York-born male endorsers.

When compared without regard to gender, both groups were more similar than not in their response pattern. Of

the four items for which the groups were discrepant, two were nonambivalence items. In each case, the New York-born group evidenced greater resonance. Whereas the Island-born group evidenced greater resonance for ambivalence item 5 which speaks to feelings associated with geographical displacement, more New York-born respondents endorsed ambivalence item 10 which speaks to geographical displacement and rejection by their island counterparts. It is interesting to note, however, that although the two groups were discrepant on this latter item, more island-born respondents than not endorsed this item (63%).

The third level of analysis compared each respondent's ratio of thematic understanding with consonance for each item type (i.e. ambivalent, non-ambivalent). For example, the respondent quoted above indicated personal resonance for three out of the six ambivalence items for which he achieved thematic understanding (50%), and for one out of the three non-ambivalence items for which he achieved thematic understanding (33%). This analysis served as a measure of the nature of the complexity that the respondent tended towards. For example, consonance with items 1 and 2, which reflect polar themes, would suggest greater complexity than consonance with one but not the other. In addition, a higher or lower ratio of consonance with ambivalence items may suggest greater complexity than a more balanced ratio between both types of items. While suggesting complexity,

however, this response pattern in itself did not reveal identity style (i.e. valence on New York). Therefore in order to determine identity orientation, complexity was corroborated with content analysis for each item in which thematic understanding was achieved. There were three anticipated identity styles: (1) mixed with valence on Puerto Rico, (2) mixed with dual valence, and (3) mixed with valence on New York. In the above example, the respondent evidenced a complexity style marked by ambivalence and an orientation towards Puerto Rico which was expressed through feelings of alienation from the United States and a strong connection to Puerto Rico ("Borinquen is my country"). After this analysis was completed for each respondent, comparisons were made across all subgroups.

Twelve percent of the total sample population endorsed an equal balance of the two item types, 10% endorsed more ambivalence items, 76% endorsed more nonambivalence items and 2% were too ambiguous to be rated. Of those who endorsed more ambivalence items, all were island-born and the majority (80%) evidenced a valence on Puerto Rico and the remainder a valence on New York. Of the nonambivalence endorsers, 68% evidenced a dual valence style, 13% evidenced a valence on Puerto Rico and 16% a valence on New York. One nonambivalence endorser was not analyzed for orientation due to an absence of item content. Of the balanced endorsers, 17% evidenced a valence on Puerto Rico, 33% evidenced a dual

valence and 50% evidenced a valence on New York. One respondent did not return the Complexity instrument. When grouped together without regard to complexity (i.e. ambivalence, nonambivalence), a total of 56% reflected a dual valence, 20% reflected a valence on Puerto Rico, 20% reflected a valence on New York and 4% could not be rated.

(3) Item Content Analysis

In addition to the above analysis for orientation, a more substantive analysis of content was made without regard to the nature of the complexity. The main focus of this analysis was to identify the psychological constituents underlying the responses. There were a number of core feelings and beliefs that emerged. Presented below are the words of the respondents themselves who are best qualified to convey these sentiments.

One of these core feelings was a sense of loss at not having been born and/or raised on the island:

> Puerto Ricans suffer from a feeling of sadness and loss because we are a colony, which at times, make us feel insecure
>
> I was born a Puerto Rican in New York - not having the opportunity to grow up and experience life in Puerto Rico
>
> I was also born away from my home - Puerto Rico
>
> The sense of loss related to immigration is profound and enduring
>
> Having been raised in N.Y.C. my parents maintained our cultural heritage through language, food, customs, etc., however, I now feel "robbed of a cultural identity" because the schools paid no

attention to "who I was" therefore I learned very little about our, my, history, my heroes and my people's struggles. I only learned this later in life because I needed to know

The sense of not being accepted as either an 'authentic' Puerto Rican or American was also a recurring theme:

I've experienced that in P.R. we are not considered full-fledged Puerto Ricans

This is true and it hurts. But the reality is that we New York Puerto Ricans have to fight for our identity every day - it feeds the soul

"Gringa" that is what Puerto Ricans who live in Puerto Rico call us. They forget that we are still a part of them. Our hearts are in Puerto Rico. There should not be a line to divide us

I have experienced this and I have felt a pain in my heart since I feel very Puerto Rican

Many times, I am looked upon as an "outsider" - even though I am Puerto Rican. I am treated as a traitor - when I should not be!!

Puerto Ricans born in the U.S. are discriminated against - both in the U.S. and Puerto Rico

Neuyoricans are not accepted by mainlanders or Island Puerto Ricans

There is not a true niche on the mainland or on the island for those of us born in the U.S.

In the U.S.A. you're really not accepted because you are Puerto Rican, back in Puerto Rico you're not really considered a Puerto Rican because you have American ways

Anger was directed at both Americans and the 'other' Puerto Rican:

I will never forgive the U.S. Government for annexing Puerto Rico and making us a colony, they robbed us of our freedom

> I resent "gringos" who live and work and enjoy Borinquen while I am still here in New York and probably will never return to my native land
>
> I resent what U.S. has done and continues to do to Puerto Rico
>
> The native Puerto Rican can be very cruel and critical to the N.Y.Rican
>
> We show off too much because we come from New York, but not me!

The angriest response came from a New York-born male whose questionnaire was void of content except for ireful remarks written in large equally compelling handwriting: "MEANINGLESS!; YOU MAKE YOUR BED!; I AM A P.R. PERIOD!; B.S.!." The New York Puerto Rican was often the object of the expressed anger as evidenced in the negative connotations attached to 'Nuyorican':

> Made up word 'Nuyorican.' I'm now an 'American' of Puerto Rican descent. Nuyoricans never speak Spanish fluently
>
> I resent being labeled a 'Nuyorican.' No matter where I was born, I'm 100% 'Puerto Rican!' 'Boriqua!'
>
> 'Neo-Rican' (?) Is this a mutation of some kind?
>
> I feel the term 'Nuyorican' is divisive
>
> Bear in mind that in Puerto Rico you can be from Chicago and still be referred to as a 'Nuyorican'

Some self-identified 'Nuyoricans' expressed pride in their status:

> I have a true identity that has a label: Neo-Rican...it is acceptable to me

I am a Nuyorican Puerto Rican and very proud of my home [NYC]

I am a Nuyorican Puerto Rican but I am proud of my culture

The person here is secure with being born in the U.S.A. and does not need to be <u>like</u> the P.R. of Puerto Rico. He's of Puerto Rican descent - background, but he's from New York and he's proud of it - no apologies

Language loss and preservation was a sensitive issue and evoked a range of feelings:

In the U.S.A. they call you Puerto Rican because of your accent and in Puerto Rico they call you an American because of your accent. Irony!

It saddens me when I hear people who were born here or sometimes they are people who came from P.R. at an early age who do not speak Spanish fluently

I have problems with some Spanish words but that doesn't mean I'm not Puerto Rican

Living in N.Y. many years my Spanish is horrible and other Puerto Ricans make sure they make me aware of it

I speak Spanish well because I was taught to have respect for the language of my ancestors. If I show respect, so will others

I feel equally at home and fluent in both Spanish and English. This is an important factor in your adjustment in either the U.S. or Puerto Rico

There are too many variables that contribute to culture. Language is just one small piece

I did experience some of this rejection as a child in Puerto Rico. Some triggered by a mispronounced word or manner of dress. This criticism or put downs did hurt more than any racism in N.Y.

I feel the linguistic and literary handicap

> Native P.R.s are critical of the way I speak Spanish. Although I can speak fairly well, there is always something negative to say about my Spanish
>
> But on the other hand, I don't take that feeling of despise and attack personally. I look at it as a shortcoming on their part
>
> Linguistic skills are only one factor of identity, not the whole of it

The complexity underlying "the whole of it" was reflected in the responses of those who expressed resonance or lack thereof to polar items. Items 1 and 2 which alternately reflect positive and negative valuations of duality were used to survey the ambiguities and struggles inherent in duality. Thirty-three percent of the total sample population indicated that either both items resonated or did not resonate for them. For example, one respondent indicated resonance to item 1 (positive valuation) because: "I am fully bicultural!" and to item 2 (negative valuation) because it reflects: "An angry, marginalized bicultural person!" Others expressed similar sentiments:

> As a Puerto Rican-like it or not-I have two cultures. These two cultures-Puerto Rican and the mainland - are part of every fiber of my being//Even though I have "cultural beauty," I have been denied my cultural identity because I live on the mainland
>
> Most Puerto Ricans are parts of two worlds-at times finding ourselves in a schizophrenic existence. I am the full product of two worlds//Reflects somewhat- parts of it are part of how I view myself-reflects the two-world struggle
>
> My feeling of Puerto Ricaness does not make me feel that I belong in two worlds...although I

> would be more "at home" in P.R. because although I was born here and do not travel to P.R. much, it is my ancestral home//I do not feel oppressed because I am Puerto Rican. Any prejudice I've experienced I feel that it's been more because I'm a woman and/or a person of color
>
> As a mainland born and raised Puerto Rican, there is a duality to my identity and reflects the opposing experiences of American urban life and the idyllic Puerto Rican life//For the longest time, I was made to feel different, neither black nor white, American or truly Puerto Rican, never really accepted by nonPRs or really understood. In addition, as we lived and practiced our culture, we never felt assertive about our heritage, and in fact, were led to believe that we had none
>
> I love both the U.S. and P.R.-I enjoy very much both cultures-I cannot make a choice between the two //However I love the Puerto Rican culture, the music, etc. I love Puerto Rico!
>
> I am Puerto Rican, but I'm also on the mainland a nonwhite person, identified with the Afro-American Negro, yet feel not part of that culture//I am a two part person-Puerto Rican, but also American, partaking of two distinct cultures, which at times bump into each other

These ambiguities and struggles were also expressed in defensive postures aimed at reaffirming identity through attitudes of opposition and resistance against perceived threatening forces. In order to assess these attitudes one of the two somewhat ambiguous items (nonambivalence item 12) which provided a less structured frame for projected affect, was analyzed. Fifty-nine percent of the total sample population gave responses that deviated from the underlying theme of acknowledgment and acceptance of a changing dynamic reality and the idea that one has to live with the

circumstances of a present reality. Most respondents interpreted this item to signify that the past should be forgotten and some personalized it to mean that the past of the Puerto Rican people should be forgotten or that Puerto Rican identity should be relinquished:

> Look to the future! Forget the past!//The past, my roots and my heritage, are very important to me!
>
> Puerto Ricans are expected to forget the past and assimilate
>
> I think it means that some people prefer that Puerto Ricans should forget the past and look towards the future
>
> I am no longer Puerto Rican, I am Neo Rican//I am very much Puerto Rican with a deep New York-Puerto Rican experience
>
> To reject one's past and deal only with one's present
>
> Change is not possible, accept things and flow with it//Puerto Ricans have power to change their political status and recapture their culture
>
> Everything will always count-the past is not the past-you should always keep it in memory-now is not the beginning, only a continuation. Always remember where you come from, your heritage and culture--<u>never</u> <u>never</u> give it up

(4) <u>Analysis of Perceptual Question</u>

The perceptual question: 'Lastly, how do you feel Puerto Ricans born on the island view Puerto Ricans born here? How, if at all, have you been affected by that view?' was presented on a separate sheet at the end of the Complexity instrument. It was hoped that by ordering the question sheet accordingly, respondents would have recent

access to the range of affects elicited by the questionnaire. Ninety-two percent of respondents answered the question. Of these, 8% indicated that they did not perceive negative bias, 14% gave neutral or equivocal responses and 70% answered affirmatively. One hundred percent of those who indicated that they did not perceive negative bias were New York-born and the majority of those who offered neutral or equivocal responses were island-born (21% versus 8%). Seventy-three percent and 67% of New York-born and island-born respondents, respectively, indicated that they perceived negative bias. The majority of those who did not answer the question were island-born.

Almost all of the responses were lengthy and reflected a range of feelings and views and why those views existed and their personal impact. There were few substantive differences in the responses between the two groups, however, a key difference was the labeling of the negatively perceived group as 'Nuyoricans' by the island-born group. This group also distinguished itself as being 'different' by virtue of their having been born on the island. The New York-born group distinguished itself through detailed accounts of experienced negative bias. Both groups identified language as a determining factor in defining *Puertoricanness* and group belongingness.

The outline of the responses presented below address the three components of the question (how, why and personal

impact) separately and by group. The New York-born group is presented first:

> Puerto Ricans born on the island look down on those born and raised on the mainland. To them we are "wanna be" Puerto Ricans
>
> I am aware that Puerto Ricans on the island do not consider New York-Puerto Ricans as being the "same or equal" to them
>
> Puerto Ricans born on the island view Puerto Ricans born here as "Americanos con sangre Puertorriqueña" [Americans with Puerto Rican blood]
>
> I feel that the majority born in Puerto Rico look at us as not truly being Puerto Rican. But these same people would be offended when and if we refer to ourselves as "Americans"
>
> I think now there is much more acceptance than before, although we may still be looked down upon as inferior copies at best

The island-born group expressed similar, but less specific, descriptions:

> I believe island Puerto Ricans view New York born Puerto Ricans as being different
>
> I feel that there is a difference between Puerto Ricans born in the island and Puerto Ricans born in America
>
> Undoubtedly, there are some island born Puerto Ricans who view Puerto Ricans born in the mainland as not being true Puerto Ricans
>
> I feel Puerto Ricans view them more as Nuyoricans and not as Puerto Ricans
>
> In my opinion Puerto Ricans on the island are confused, happy, sad, proud and ashamed of Puerto Ricans born in the USA
>
> They see us as different, and we are. They see us as more American in our way of expressing ourselves, and we are not

The New York-born group identified various factors, including political and cultural, as contributing sources for the "differing perception" between the two groups:

> I happen to speak Spanish very well and have often fooled islanders into thinking I was a native. I have seen how they have treated others that may not speak Spanish as well
>
> They consider NY Puerto Ricans as adopting ways of life or strategies for survival that are foreign to them
>
> I think there is animosity probably based on resentment, envy of their comparative lives; assumptions: that most mainland Puerto Ricans are better off financially
>
> In light of the referendum issue, there is a fear of the mainland Puerto Rican whose views tend to be more progressive, more nationalistic
>
> They view the Puerto Ricans born here especially as what the media has portrayed them to be
>
> That they have been formed, not by Puerto Rican culture and values, but by American culture and values
>
> I feel the islanders think most of us New Yorkers lack knowledge of our island's history, culture, language etc.
>
> Puerto Ricans born on the island cringe when some Puerto Ricans born stateside/USA speak Spanish, muchos matamos el lenguaje [many of us butcher the language]

The island-born group cited similar social, cultural, linguistic and economic factors:

> They don't see New York Puerto Ricans as being the same because they have language accents and their values are changing
>
> Those that were born in the island and left are looked down upon because they deserted their country

> It's more a question of where you were raised than where you were born
>
> I blame the media-TV, radio and print-for painting a picture that has been detrimental to us (on the mainland)
>
> They are more focused on our accent
>
> It is obvious to islanders that I'm "different" in some ways, perhaps how I dress or talk, but mostly, how I walk
>
> Puerto Ricans thought that everyone who stayed in New York either was rich or on welfare
>
> Puerto Ricans born here are forgetting their roots. Nuyorican parents are not interested in Puerto Rican traditions, they feel more American than Puerto Rican; there was a time when I met Nuyoricans and they would not speak Spanish to you even if they knew how to speak it and if they look more like an American sometimes they would not say they are Puerto Rican. Sometimes I felt that Nuyoricans were embarrassed of their heritage

The most notable difference between the two groups was in how each described the personal impact:

> I have also felt their scorn when I was discovered. I have never denied that I am from the mainland. Their assumptions are not my fault
>
> This has been expressed to me by island born Boricuas and I resent it. I consider myself pura Boricua de padres Boricua que desafortunadamente no pudieron quedarse en Puerto Rico [I consider myself pure Boricua of Boricua parents who unfortunately could not stay in Puerto Rico]
>
> Up until a few years ago, my experience with island-born Puerto Ricans was one where I was received as a distant relative, never quite accepted, somewhat tolerated....My last visit to Puerto Rico this year, I did not discern a different treatment-my Spanish has improved immeasurably

My feelings are that their opinion of me doesn't count. What does count is how I feel about myself. I'm proud to be of Puerto Rican heritage, but I'm also proud of being born here

All my life I've battled with the narrow definition of Puerto Rican identity and culture

I have suffered some by this view....Most of the heat I have suffered has come from Puerto Ricans who feel like these writers here. What have I decided to do no matter where the heat comes from? I define who I am

When I first returned to Puerto Rico when I was in my twenties, I resented that my family...looked upon me and my siblings as American

I am proud of being Puertorriqueña. I am proud that I speak Spanish even if it comes out Spanglish....'Speak English you're in America now' my grade school teacher told me this when I was only 8 years old. I knew then that I would walk with my head up and proud not to be American, but Puertorriqueña

At times I feel cheated not having been born in P.R. to experience the beauty of our island and culture, to speak the "beautiful" Spanish spoken there, but it was out of my control where I was born. I just should have made more of an effort in educating myself about our history and improving my Spanish

I am looked upon as being white trying to sound like a Puerto Rican. To these people, I resent that because I love Puerto Rico...when I'm there and I hear the conflicts with being a state/independent, they cannot see the advantages in it as I do, and they resent me talking about it because, as they say "it does not concern me" "I don't live there"

I recall a visit to a small town near Lajas and the father of the family being very curious about why I wasn't married (I was 24) and why I lived (in New York) by myself. The mother explained that in Puerto Rico (in that area anyway) young ladies were married by my age and never lived alone before marriage

> In the 50's I visited Puerto Rico and it is clear that I am not from the island. You are treated as an alien. This has made me stronger in my realization that to be a Puerto Rican is the heritage, culture, language which your parents instill in you
>
> I wish I spoke Spanish more fluently and that my vocabulary was richer! At times I struggle and am concerned about speaking Spanish in large groups, but I feel comfortable, even welcome corrections

A few island-born respondents expressed similar sentiments:

> It saddens me to know that my fellow Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico do not accept us as equals
>
> What still surprises me at times is hearing "usted no es Puertorriqueña, verdad? De donde es usted? [You're not Puerto Rican, right? Where are you from?]
>
> I feel affected by that view because I was born in Puerto Rico and raised in New York and encountered that in a visit to Puerto Rico I was not viewed upon as a full-fledged Puerto Rican
>
> I know who I am even though my Spanish is awful

B. Quantitative Analysis

As previously noted, the Mainland Puerto Rican Identity Questionnaire (MPRIQ) is based on Rinder's General Identification Subscale. Rinder used separate scoring systems for each of the two responses requested for each item on the questionnaire. The first level of response measures identity from high to low in descending order. The second level measures polarization of response with the most polarized receiving a score of 3 and the least a score of 1. This latter measure looks at the degree of dichotomy between responses; for example, a response combination reflecting

high monistic [Puerto Rican] identification and high monistic [non-Puerto Rican] identification would yield a high polarization score indicating a high degree of conflict or incompatibility. Rinder's numerical weighting system was used for scoring every combination of response in the MPRIQ (see Appendix D). As earlier stated, the near equal distribution of island and New York born respondents permitted between group comparisons on a number of outcome measures. The statistical formula used for comparing group differences was the t-test.

(1) Descriptive Statistics

Although respondents were asked to provide two responses for each item, not all did so. There were three styles of response to the questionnaire: (1) two responses for each item as instructed; (2) single responses for each item; and (3) combined double and single responses throughout the questionnaire. There were notable differences in response style between the two groups. Fifty-eight percent of New York-born respondents gave double responses versus 29% of island-born respondents. Fifty percent of island-born respondents gave combined responses versus 23% of New York-born respondents. Seventeen percent of the questionnaires from the island group were unscoreable due to multiple same responses (i.e. two A's for the same item). All of the questionnaires from the New York group were scoreable. An equivalent percentage of males from each

subgroup gave combined responses (44% and 40%) in contrast to females (53% of island group versus 19% of New York group).

In order to determine the range of identification from high to low, the response continuum was established by subtracting the minimum observed value from the maximum observed value and dividing the difference by three to yield three equal intervals corresponding to high, intermediate and low levels of identification. The majority of scores for both groups fell within the intermediate range - 60% and 54% for the island and New York groups, respectively. Thirty-five percent of island group respondents fell within the high range versus 19% of New York group respondents. Five percent of island group respondents fell within the low range versus 27% of New York group respondents.

As with the identity scores, the majority of the polarization scores fell within the intermediate range for both groups - 50% and 61% for island and New York groups, respectively. Of those scoring within the high range, 43% of island and 22% of New York respondents gave polarized responses. Seven percent of island and 17% of New York respondents scored within the low range.

In addition to the statistical analysis of the overall responses on the questionnaire, the item designed to tap into the degree to which an individual feels himself linked to the fate of his reference group (item 9) was also looked

at descriptively. This analysis permitted an examination of the particular dimension of identity that the item tapped into. Group differences were observed in the response pattern to this question. To determine the different levels of response, the score range (1-12) was divided into three equal intervals consistent with the descending identification order of high to low. Once again, although the majority of both subgroups scored within the intermediate range (New York-born: 46.2%; island-born: 55%), there was an opposing trend within the high and low ends. Thirty percent of the island-born group were high scorers whereas only 11.5 percent of the New York-born group scored high. Within the low range, 38.5% of the New York-born group were low scorers whereas only 10% of the island-born group scored low. Five percent of the island-born group and 3.8% of the New York-born group did not answer this question.

(2) Inferential Statistics

An independent samples t-test was performed comparing the New York-born group versus the Island-born group for each level of response (i.e. identity and polarization) on a number of different variables. Once the range for each level of identification was determined (i.e. high, intermediate, low), the levels were treated as separate variables and the subgroups were compared based on the actual number of respondents within each level.

There is significant variance in identity when compared without regard to level of identification (t=.027, p<.05).

There is a significant difference within the low level of identification (t=.029, p<.05). It should be noted, however, that within this level N=1 for the Island-born group and N=7 for the New York-born group.

Both polarization and identity varied significantly when low and high levels were combined (polarization: t=.054, p<.05; identity: t=.042, $p\leq$.05).

The 'attitude-orientation' questions (items 4 and 5), which aimed at tapping sameness or difference in attitude towards each subgroup, were also compared. There were significant variances for both attitudinal sameness and difference (t=.043, t=.055, p<.05, respectively). In each case, greater variability was observed within the New York subgroup.

All other comparisons did not obtain statistical significance. The table below depicts the variable description and t-test values for those comparisons:

Table 10. Non-significant Findings

Variable Description	t-value at p<.05
Polarization and combined low and intermediate levels	t=.529
Identification and combined low and intermediate levels	t=.118
Polarization and combined intermediate and high levels	t=.241

Identification and combined intermediate and high levels	t=.123
Polarization and low level	t=.225
Polarization and intermediate level	t=.654
Identification and intermediate level	t=.289
Polarization and high level	t=.080
Identification and high level	t=.094
Polarization and female	t=.670
Identification and female	t=.156
Polarization and male	t=.346
Identification and male	t=.137
Polarization without regard to levels	t=.333
Polarization and orientation questions for difference in response pattern	t=.073
Polarization and orientation questions for sameness in response pattern	t=.907

CHAPTER V. DISCUSSION

A. Psychological Correlates of Mainland Puerto Rican Identity

> The historical conscience, through the feeling of cohesion that it creates, constitutes the safest and the most solid shield of cultural security for a people. This is why every people seeks only to know and to live their true history well, to transmit its memory to their descendants. (Diop, p.212).

> We must conclude that the psychology of groups is the oldest human psychology; what we have isolated as individual psychology by neglecting all traces of the group, has only since come into prominence out of the old group psychology, by a gradual process which may still, perhaps, be described as incomplete....There must therefore be a possibility of transforming group psychology into individual psychology. (Freud, p.123-124; emphasis added).

The findings reported in the previous chapter substantiate the conceptualization of Mainland Puerto Rican identity presented in this thesis. Mainland Puerto Rican identity is conceptualized as a complex phenomenon containing racial, national, political, cultural and linguistic elements embedded within a psychosocial sphere. The complexity underlying identity was revealed in both anticipated and unanticipated results. It was anticipated that 'Mainlanders' would identify strongly as Puerto Rican and that variability in *Puertoricanness* would be evidenced in the hypothesized three styles of identity. One of the unanticipated variables was the confounding implications of the term 'Mainlander.' A few respondents considered Puerto Rico the 'main land' and 'Mainlander' equivalent to

'Islander.' Although there was no obvious divergence between groups on this perspective, most island-born respondents considered themselves 'islanders' irrespective of length of time spent away from the island. The geographical relation to the island thus seemed to shape the perception of self and 'other.' For the New York-born group the geographical relation was expressed through nostalgic themes for a land considered 'home' whether or not they had actually lived or visited there. The expressed relations towards the island supported Levine's (1987) observation that a sense of geographical displacement is a recurring theme in the Nuyorican literature. Both groups sought to preserve the geographical ties to the island by self-identifying as 'Puerto Rican' above all other designations indicating strong nationalistic ties.

From a psychodynamic perspective this tenacious tie to the island may be viewed as an ego strength in the service of identity synthesis between the 'there and then' and 'here and now.' Erikson (1964), for example, stated that:

> The key problem of identity, then, is (as the term connotes) the capacity of the ego to sustain sameness and continuity in the face of changing fate. But fate always combines changes in inner conditions, which are the result of ongoing life stages, and changes in the milieu, the historical situation. Identity connotes the resiliency of maintaining essential patterns in the processes of change....identity does not connote a closed inner system impervious to change, but rather a psychosocial process which preserves some essential features in the individual as well as his society. (pp. 95-96).

The psychological significance of maintaining the linkage between individual identity and group identity through geographical continuity is also consistent with Loewanthal's (1995) contention, as applied to Israeli Jews, that the "the historical situation" is the relevant context within which the parameters differentiating them from Jews outside of Israel must be located. With regard to the psychological significance emanating from "the historical situation," he maintains that "negative driving forces" (such as required army service) forced Israeli Jews to "develop mechanisms to cope with the trauma of being uprooted in order to form a cohesive Israeli Jewish identity" (p.244). And in a controversial new book, Novick (1999) argues that it was "the historical situation" confronting American Jews in the 1960's (the era of cultural pluralism) that led to their embracing the Holocaust as a galvanizing symbol of American Jewish identity.

It is the thesis of this writer that "the historical situation" that produced the Puerto Rican diaspora (i.e. the United States-Puerto Rico relation) resulted in "negative driving forces" which served to cohere the diasporic population's *Puertoricanness*, but which also produced 'otherness' factors which distinguished it from its reference group. Thus viewed from the context of the "changing milieu," the nostalgia for the island "is in the Puerto Rican case an apprenticeship in social consciousness,

the reconstructed "patria" serving as the relevant locus of cultural interaction and contention" (Flores, p.189).

Viewed from a developmental perspective, the psychological correlates for maintaining a geographical connection may be interpreted as manifestations of a 'core identity.' In his discussion on the determinants of individual orientation to the boundaries separating the Jewish community from the non-Jewish community, Ostow (1995) stated:

> The givers of core identity are the cues that delineate a Jewish life and serve to distinguish it from the non-Jewish life. For the individual, the chief sources of identity in the earliest years are the specific characteristics and qualities of the child's parents (pp.230-231).

Indeed many of the respondents credited their parents for having transmitted a strong sense of ethnocultural identity. Spero (1995) takes this developmental perspective to an even deeper level of analysis. He contends that: "This perspective also brings into focus the profound influence of certain forms of preverbal, presymbolic and even prerepresentational "objects" and amodal perceptual psychic experiences upon religious [that is, Jewish] identity" (p.249).

Thus the hypothesis that 'Mainlanders' - as herein defined - would identify strongly as Puerto Rican was supported in spite of the varying interpretation of this term.

The varying interpretation pointed to the complexity of the phenomenon under investigation and the second hypothesis that variability in the subjective experience of *Puertoricannism* would emerge in the three main themes or styles of identity. It was further hypothesized that these themes would parallel Rinder's poles and intermediate normative trend.

In Rinder's study on Jewish identification, he was most interested in looking at the deviations to Park's Race Relations Cycle as they pertained to third generation Eastern European Jews. He contended that because of the complexities in Jewish identity, they could not be expected to follow a straight line theory of assimilation. Rinder theorized their assimilative process along a continuum on which deviations could occur at any point. He hypothesized that extreme polar styles (i.e. xenocentrism and ethnocentrism) were evidence of "weak ego strength" and concluded that these styles "represent problem solutions which involve denial, repression, and over-simplification" (p.108). Rinder, however, was also interested in the varieties of identification within the intermediate range. Although the present study was not as broad in its scope, it too was concerned with the variations in identity styles characteristic of second generation Mainland Puerto Ricans.

The thesis advanced in this study is that identity complexity encompasses 'ambivalence' as it has been

described in the relevant literature with all of its manifest variations in identity (i.e. Nuyorican). The majority of the respondents did in fact express the salient feelings associated with this trait (i.e. nostalgia, loss, anger). Interestingly, although more New York-born rather than island-born respondents expressed these sentiments, all of the respondents who indicated greater personal resonance with the ambivalent themes were island-born. In spite of this, and although a majority of the total sample expressed greater familiarity with the ambivalent themes, only a minority indicated that these themes had greater personal resonance for them. Not only did the majority endorse more nonambivalence items, but the majority also displayed a mixed identity style with a dual valence on New York and Puerto Rico. This latter observation on the Complexity measure in which the majority tended towards a dual instead of a singular identity orientation, was consistent with the response pattern evidenced on the Identity instrument on which the majority scored within the intermediate level of identity. Thus both instruments reflected a clustering around the mid-range of the hypothesized identity continuum.

A question that may be raised at this juncture is, given the above, how are we to interpret the lower level of ambivalence endorsement within the context of complexity? In other words, would we not expect to find greater evidence of ambivalence as a manifestation of identity complexity?

There are two possible answers. One possibility is that it may reflect the presence of defensive strategies designed to circumvent ambivalence (i.e. denial, repression) and the other possibility is that it reflects a reconciliation of the contradictions and ambiguities inherent in second generation Mainland identity.

The significant variance in identity suggests that there is no singular style pertaining to second generation Mainland identity. On the other hand, the significance within the low and high levels when combined suggests that within this group of 'Mainlanders' there may indeed be distinguishing features that are particularistic to each subgroup. For example, although measures of assimilation were not used, it could be hypothesized that the greater representation of New York-born Mainlanders within the low level (and conversely Island-born Mainlanders within the high level) is consistent with social distance theory which posits that higher out-group affiliation - assimilation - correlates with lower in-group affiliation (and vice versa) (Rinder, 1953; Steinberg, 1981). Although this is an interesting speculation, however, there is no empirical support for this hypothesized relationship offered in the present study. In addition, the identity correspondences assigned to each level were uncorrelated with other valid measures of identity and therefore are not statistically reliable. The levels of low, intermediate and high,

consequently, cannot be interpreted in absolutist terms, but as indices of identity along a continuum. Viewed from this perspective then the differential representation within these two levels can be better understood as reflecting aspects of the two subgroup's distinguishing features rather than as demarcations in identity or assimilative patterns.

It was earlier noted that the geographical relation to the island seemed to shape the perception of self and 'other.' The differential endorsement to two different but related ambivalence items (5 and 10) reflecting this geographical theme may reveal distinct psychological correlates indicative of at least one distinguishing feature between the two subgroups. While both items speak to geographical displacement, only one speaks to the experience of rejection by the island counterpart. However, while more New York-born Mainlanders endorsed the 'rejection' item, more Island-born Mainlanders than not also endorsed this item. What is equally and more interesting, however, is the extremely low endorsement of the 'non-rejection' item by New York-born Mainlanders. Thus the divergent endorsement of these two items raises a question about the qualitative differences in the experiential nature of the geographical displacement and their distinct psychological correlates which appears to both unite and separate the two subgroups.

The 'normalizing' of this complexity clearly does not preclude the operation of defensive mechanisms in order to

resolve identity-related conflicts. In fact, the statistical difference in polarization scores for the combined low and high levels suggests that these styles of identification are not free of conflict. As previously stated, the polarized response represents incompatibility between the two identity choices selected and as such reveal the presence of contradictions in identity. This relationship between polar identity and conflict was corroborated by the qualitative data which showed that although only a small percentage of the total sample (10%) endorsed more ambivalence items, 100% of them evidenced a polar identity style (i.e. valence on Puerto Rico or New York). This is consistent with Rinder's assertion that the polarized Jews in his study (i.e. xenocentric or ethnocentric) although ideologically dissimilar were psychologically united. In addition, although statistical significance was not obtained, those within the intermediate range also gave polarized responses indicating that their identity styles were not without contradiction or conflict.

Rinder proposed that such polarized thinking was evidence of the ideological traits characteristic of an authoritarian personality (i.e. intolerance of ambiguity and rejection of ambivalence). Akhtar (1995) proposes a psychoanalytic interpretation. He argues that the immigrant experience triggers a psychological rapprochement not unlike the rapprochement subphase in the separation-individuation

process in which such polar or contradictory attitudes are a manifestation of the ego's defenses: "Splitting becomes predominant and colors the immigrant's feelings about his two lands and his two self-representations. The country of origin is idealized, the new culture devalued." He maintains that resolution of this libidinal-aggressive splitting of self- and object-representations involves: "...a capacity for good humored ambivalence toward both the country of origin and that of adoption...."

The sources and nature of the areas of conflict were disclosed in the narrative responses. In addition to the sense of geographical displacement, the sense of not being accepted as either 'authentic' Puerto Rican or American provoked expressions of anger and defiance against subjectively experienced 'annihilating' forces. Once again, the United States-Puerto Rico relation was invoked as the main venue responsible for producing and sustaining this paradox. In looking at the existential dilemma emerging out of this political relation, Flores points to the 'othering' process which evolved from this situation:

> The interaction among popular colonial cultures in New York suggests a markedly different process, one which is indeed pluralist and confluent in nature...But if the transformation of Puerto Rican culture in the U.S. setting is something other than assimilation, what is it? How is it to be defined in terms other than loss of the old and acquisition of the new, or as the fateful confrontation between two unequal and mutually exclusive cultural monoliths? The problem is clearly more than a terminological one, for it has

> to do with detecting a developmental pattern leading neither to eventual accommodation nor to "cultural genocide." Beyond these two options, characteristic respectively of North American and Island-based Puerto Rican commentary on the Nuyorican experience, a more intricate structuring of ethnicity is evident. (p.185).

Indeed, it was the "commentary on the Nuyorican experience" that yielded the most defensive responses. The determining power of labels was evidenced in the low ranking and overall low rating for 'Nuyorican' which was the least preferred label for both subgroups. In a published interview, Dr. Miguel Algarin, professor of English literature and co-founder of the Nuyorican Poets Cafe, explained how - and why - he popularized this label:

> I came to Puerto Rico once with Miguel Pinero and when we came out of the plane we were talking away...and then I heard the word *newyorican* but I did not know they were talking about Pinero and me. I did not understand. Finally, when we were waiting for our bags I paid attention: *new-yo-rican,* that is, New York and Puerto Rican. They were looking down on us, as if we were nothing. We were Puerto Ricans talking in English, and that to them was contemptuous.
>
> I thought, "Well, here they are on this island, under a master who speaks English. We come speaking perfect English." Not only did we speak good English, but we were presenting a play on Broadway, we were writing for TV, and we were famous in Europe, but for them, we were just *newyoricans.* They were passing judgment on us, looking down on us.
>
> Then, when we got back to New York, I found that William Morrow had sent me a contract for an anthology that was published in 1975 and that they wanted to call *Puerto Rican Poets in English.* And I said to Pinero: "Why don't we give the title of *newyorican* to this anthology?" Pinero said: "But I am not new anything, I am not neo, that is an

> intellectualism." So I asked him, "What are we then?" And we both said, "We are *nuyoricans*." We spelled it like that, and we said it like that and in less than six months after the anthology was published the word connected and has currency now all over.
>
> What I did was to take the insult that the island threw at me and take away its sting by making it the title of a book. Puerto Rican intellectuals were left dumbfounded, and they tried to get me to come here and to engage in a discussion about whether that *nuyorican* business was a way of dividing the Puerto Rican people, of weakening their political positions, but I refused to get into that. It was not worth my while to come here and enter into an argument if I had already used the word that they used with contempt as the title to my book. I turned the tables on them and they had to keep silent. (in Hernandez, p.40).

In spite of Algarin's motivation to authenticate the derogated New York Puerto Rican by giving new meaning to the pejorative label, the pain of the "sting" did not disappear. So pervasive is the negative perception of the 'Nuyorican,' that one respondent claimed that "you can be from Chicago and still be referred to as Nuyorican." Thus the Nuyorican acquired the status of the 'other' from whom Puerto Ricans on both sides of the geographical divide did not wish to be identified.

Returning to the question of how we are to understand the lower level of ambivalence endorsement given the observed variances of complexity, it is concluded that although the three styles of identity orientation (i.e. valence on New York and Puerto Rico) observed on the Complexity measure seemed consistent with the three levels

of identity (i.e. intermediate), it cannot be concluded that they are parallel to Rinder's types as was hypothesized. Unlike Rinder's investigation, there were no personality measures used to correlate psychological variables with identity styles. Thus while he concluded that xenocentrism and ethnocentrism correlated with under- and over-identification, the personality variables of those in the study whose scores fell at the polar ends of the continuum could not be similarly classified. Therefore, the lower level of ambivalence endorsement cannot be construed as being representative of the psychological constellations which Rinder associated with his types. Nevertheless, the pattern similarities are compelling and suggests that "a more intricate structuring of ethnicity is evident."

The lower level of ambivalence endorsement in the presence of complexity evidenced across all three styles of identity orientation on the Complexity measure and all three levels of identity on the Identity measure, is understood in Akhtar's terms to reflect "good humored ambivalence" rather than a denial or absence of it. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the majority of the respondents displayed thematic understanding for these items and hence evidenced conscious awareness of the psychological implications underlying them.

Lastly, it was anticipated that most Mainlanders would report an awareness of negative bias by their island

counterpart. This awareness was elicited primarily through the perceptual question and the two attitude orientation questions on the Identity measure. The majority of the total sample answered the perceptual question affirmatively. This view was substantiated by the significant variance between the subgroups on the two attitude orientation questions. The subgroups differed in both orientations suggesting that both groups are psychologically united when it comes to differentially perceiving the "other." Once again, respondents pointed to the United States-Puerto Rico relation as the conditioning force in this 'othering' process. As a result, the most salient aspects of difference were embedded in political and nationalistic contexts (American versus Puerto Rican) and couched in culturalized terms. This was most apparent with the characteristic perceived as most distinguishing - language.

Loss of linguistic competence was associated with loss of Puerto Rican values. In particular, it was linked with loss of respect for parents and the ancestral homeland. Thus the Puerto Rican lacking linguistic competence was described as lacking the traditional value of respect (falta de respeto) and viewed with derision.

In Uriuoli's (1996) study on language prejudice, she noted that: "Puerto Ricans in the United States are told that the origins of their economic and social problems are linguistic and can be remedied through personal efforts,

when in fact their fundamental problems stem from racial and class exclusion." Regarding the psychological impact that this linguistic racialization has had at the individual and collective levels, she further noted that:

> Linguistic racialization is deeply internalized by its agents - the teachers who say things like "those poor kids come to school speaking a hodge podge" - and by its objects - the students ....Racialization emerges in the moral contrast between the Spanish-dominant Puerto Rican student who looks at a Latin face in a picture and sees someone "Puerto Rican just like me" or who "speaks Spanish and...is respectful" and the mainstreamed Puerto Rican student who looks at the same picture and sees someone who "looks like he's in a gang or something" or who "could talk English but mostly he talks Spanish and he does bad things sometimes." (p.38).

The meaning underlying the linguistic difference was misinterpreted by both in culturalized terms much like the conflicts between disadvantaged groups of 'have not' and 'have little' are misinterpreted in cultural instead of class terms. The general impression emanating from these views was that New York-born Puerto Ricans are guilty of cultural abandonment.

Interestingly, those who insist on a 'purist' view of Puerto Rican culture ignore the fact that Puerto Rican culture is the product of a confluence of contending forces:

> As useful as the term might be, it is potentially confusing to speak of a "Puerto Rican culture." For while there are common threads - language, music, folklore, and customs - they did not suddenly appear and were never static. They emerged from the clash among different classes within Puerto Rican society as it developed and they continued to change and adjust as those

> classes battled and influenced one another. And, while there was much communality between the emerging cultures of different classes in Puerto Rico, there were also enormous differences. (Lopez, p.19).

The psychological constituents of the interiorized perception of cultural abandonment were reflected in the language used to describe the personal impact: 'I have also felt their scorn....I resent it....I was never quite accepted....Their opinion of me doesn't count....All my life I've battled....I have suffered....I feel cheated....I just should have made more of an effort....I wish I spoke Spanish more fluently.' And although the island-born group distinguished themselves by virtue of their geographical connection, many expressed similar feelings: 'It saddens me....[It] still surprises me....I feel affected....I know who I am even though my Spanish is awful.'

B. <u>"It is not a question of division or unity"-or is it?</u>

> It is not similarity or dissimilarity that decides whether two individuals belong to the same or to different groups, but *social interaction or other types of interdependence.* A group is best defined as *a dynamic whole based on interdependence rather than on similarity* (Lewin, p.184, emphasis in original).

The unanticipated distribution of the total sample into island-born and New York-born subgroups yielded unexpected findings. The differential responses within the low and high levels of identification, as well as the observed qualitative differences (i.e. the nature of the experienced

geographical displacement), suggests that there may indeed be real distinguishing features between them. As previously noted, the response pattern to the 'shared fate' question on the Identity instrument was looked at descriptively in order to examine whether there were any differences. This question taps into the degree to which an individual feels himself linked to the fate of his reference group. It was this interdependence of fate that Lewin considered the main criterion for a sense of group belongingness. Interestingly, it was within the context of 'shared fate' that Freud declared his Jewish belongingness: "My language is German, my culture, my attainments are German, I considered myself German intellectually, until I noticed the growth of antisemitic prejudice in Germany and German Austria. Since that time, I prefer to call myself a Jew" (Freud, 1925). The differences in response pattern to this question paralleled the overall distribution for identification. More island-born respondents expressed the feeling of 'shared fate' with the Puerto Rican group than New York-born respondents (equivalent to scoring high on general identity).

Although complexity was hypothesized to be a normative feature of 'Mainlander' identity, the consistent differences between the subgroups raises the question whether, as Flores contended:

> What has been emerging in recent years is the understanding that it is not a question of division or unity but of circulation and reciprocity (p.103)

Or, whether these differences signify something other than 'diversity within sameness.' For example, it was anticipated that the age five cut-off criterion would control for mainland cultural exposure and as such would have a homogenizing effect on subsequent experience. Given the observed differences, however, it appears that this criterion did not nullify the differentiating variables. Perhaps those who were born on the island travel there more frequently or have more familial ties there. Or, perhaps, island-born Puerto Ricans do have stronger geographical connections to the island. Or, perhaps, as Flores outlined in his developmental model, what is in evidence are manifestations of the four intersecting definitive moments (i.e. transcendence) that typify the emergence of New York Puerto Rican identity. Still another alternative interpretation may be that the differences reflect psychological processes not unlike those underlying Rinder's poles. The possibilities are not without clinical significance.

C. Clinical Implications

> The essential thing, for people, is to rediscover the thread that connects them to their most remote ancestral past. In the face of cultural aggression of all sorts, in the face of all disintegrating factors of the outside world, the most efficient cultural weapon with which a people

> can arm itself is this feeling of historical continuity. (Diop, p.212).

The respondents who lent their voices to this study, as well as those whose voices were borrowed from the relevant literature, spoke for themselves and, perhaps, for others whose voices were not heard, but whose voices may be daily heard in clinical settings. These 'other' voices may speak of "disintegrating factors" without ever contextualizing those factors within the broad psychopolitical context presented in this investigation. They may, in fact, present their ethnocultural identity as the most stable aspect of their otherwise unstable lives pointing to as proof such cherishly guarded cultural symbols as did one respondent: "I am proud of the fact that I cook with home *recao* [a small green stemmed herb used for making a seasonal base that is also available in commercially processed form] and I soften my beans." Such 'ethnic objectification' is the nature of racialized - and colonized - people:

> When ethnicity is objectified as a commodity...the ethnic objects readily invoke an image of a culture as a set of traits...it is authenticity that makes objects desirable...because authenticity must be linked to a high national culture, racialized people are at a disadvantage. They are seen as people from colonized places so they must seek their authenticity in a past before or beyond colonial status: pre-contact Indian practices, slave customs that signal the "survival" of an African past, Latin hints of African, Native American and/or Spanish high culture, the higher the better. (Urciuoli, p.34).

In her study on culture and politics in Puerto Rico, Davila (1997) concurred with Urciuoli:

> Cultural nationalism in Puerto Rico is a direct result of the limits imposed by colonialism on the development of a politically defined nation-state, which led to the emphasis on culture as Puerto Rico's "domain of sovereignty"...wherein the local government could establish a degree of autonomy even under colonial control. It is this historical function of culture as the only institutionalized channel of nationalism that has since heightened the significance of the idiom of culture as a venue of self-identification and political debate. (p.10-11).

She maintains that this political state of affairs triggered a complementary process in which the 'authentic' and 'not authentic' Puerto Rican was defined: "Moreover, within the official discourse about Puerto Rican culture, authenticity was defined through strict dichotomies....The United States, with its commercial culture, represented the "other" against which authentic Puerto Rican culture was defined" (p.5).

The voices heard in this study testify to the complex nature of perceived 'self' and 'other' emanating from the confluence of various components of historical experience as they relate to the relationship of the individual to the group. They tell us that the psychological consequences flowing from the social and cultural realities that were recognized and articulated by earlier clinical voices (Erikson, Freud, Lewin, Rinder) did not disappear when those

voices ceased to speak or were silenced by an ever-changing historical climate.

In recent history there has been a clarion call to reunite the two axes - cultural/societal and theoretical/clinical - that once typified psychoanalytic inquiry (Kurzweil, 1992; Jahoda, 1993; Carter, 1995; Foster, Moskowitz & Javier, 1996; Fish, 1996; Miller, 1997) provoked in part by advances in related fields (i.e. anthropology), a shrinking geopolitical world environment in which 'cultural nature' along with 'human nature' are becoming more evident and a climate of theoretical pluralism. As Miller (1997) points out:

> A vision for the future is of a field in which cultural considerations, like biological considerations, are taken into account overtly in all theory and research. Arguably, we already have a cultural psychology, in that our theories reflect even now the particular cultural assumptions of the sociohistorical contexts in which they have been formulated. The challenge is to uncover this cultural grounding. (p.229)

A principle goal of this study was to "uncover this cultural grounding" as it pertains to a particular group for whom the intersecting point at the juncture of the two axes was unique to a particular historical moment. Of course, the notion of a unique historical moment is not exclusively relevant to Puerto Ricans. The emphasis on the Jewish paradigm was aimed at uncovering the constitutive relationship between the cultural/societal and theoretical/clinical perspectives by highlighting the

historical dynamisms that provoked so much attention to the psychology of Jewish-American identity. Once again, the axial coordinates are pointing to another peak in the Jewish historical landscape as the question of 'who is a Jew' gains momentum (Chesnoff, 1997; Greenberg, 1997; Horowitz, 1997; Schmemann, 1998; Freedman, 1999). The key point to be underscored in this study is that there are peaks and valleys along the historical landscape for every group and every individual within that group.

The clinical challenge lies in what Winnicott (1971) referred to as the "third area" of theory and practice: "This third area has been contrasted with inner or personal psychic reality and with the actual world in which the individual lives which can be objectively perceived. I have located this important area of *experience* in the potential space between the individual and the environment .... Attention is drawn to the fact that this potential space is a highly variable factor (from individual to individual) ...." (p.102-103, emphasis in original). Stewart & Healy, Jr. (1989) propose a developmental model for locating the "potential space" between significant social events and personality development. According to this model, the age in which a significant social event is experienced will have a differential impact on developmental outcome. For example, an event experienced in childhood or early adolescence may impact on the child's developing world view

around issues of safety whereas an event experienced in early adulthood is likely to impact on issues of identity and life choices. According to Stewart & Healy, Jr. knowing the developmental stage during which a patient experiences a meaningful event can guide our theoretical inquiries into the nature of internal conflicts and manifest identity.

The theoretical roads leading to the 'third area' in which the psychic and actual realities intersect are as varied as there are models of human understanding. One such model to evolve from the interpersonal psychoanalytic school developed from inquiries into the nature of self, that is, whether there is a singular self or a multiplicity of selves. Bromberg (1996), a proponent of this model, uses the phrase "standing in the spaces" to describe an individual's "ability to live a life with both authenticity and self-awareness [in] the presence of an ongoing dialectic between separateness and unity of one's self-states, allowing each one to function optimally, without foreclosing communication and negotiation between them" (p.514). What Bromberg and others (Pizer, 1996; Harris, 1996; Davies, 1996; Flax, 1996) are proposing is a conceptual shift in which seemingly contradictory self-states are viewed as normative rather than as pathological manifestations of a singular core self. It is a model of mind rooted in the notion that paradox is not synonymous with conflict and that the therapeutic focus ought therefore to be on

reconciliation and negotiation between these contradictory self-states as opposed to conflict resolution.

From the perspective of this model, the manifestations of contradiction and paradox inherent in dual (or multi) ethnocultural identity may be viewed as normative characteristics of the 'self' structure. Flores' developmental fields of experience can be theoretically integrated and applied to the relevant population as a framework for negotiating the paradoxes inherent in multiplicity. The area of clinical focus becomes one in which the target for therapeutic change is one's relation to those contradictions and not the contradictions themselves. Manifestations of a pathological relation would result in the type of dichotomized thinking and over-reference to one's ethnicity evidenced in Rinder's poles or, in the language of this model, dissociation. Failure to experience these contradictions and paradoxes as normative may produce the feelings of anger, abandonment, shame and self-blame that were reflected by some of the respondents in this study and defensive strategies in which projection and denial are used.

An example of the intrapsychic and intragroup dynamics that may flow from this relation may be gleaned from the following personal vignette: A professional woman to whom I had been referred was expressing great interest and enthusiasm for this study. Although she herself did not

meet the criteria, she eagerly contacted colleagues who were eligible or might know of others who were. In the course of the meeting, she shared her experiences of growing up in Puerto Rico and coming to New York. In New York she experienced what she called an 'identity crisis.' She stated that the negative Nuyorican image had "shamed" her into disidentifying herself as 'Puerto Rican' and identifying herself as 'Spanish' instead. While she maintained that she eventually resolved the identity issue (in approximately two years), the solution involved adding the qualifier "from the island" to the Puerto Rican label. As she told her story, she continued to speak of Nuyoricans derisively, describing them as suffering from 'an inferiority complex.' While able to discuss her feelings with total disinhibition - much to her credit - this 'Islander' seemed unaware of the potential intersubjective implications between her and this 'Nuyorican.'

D. Study Limitations

There are a number of methodological points that must be considered. Rinder, on whom this investigator so heavily relied for structural guidance, said in relation to his own study that:

> the subject of Jewish identification is one about which there exist firm convictions though little knowledge. It is a substantive area of significant import for behavior, and like many such phenomena, that which is held to be significant is also accompanied with considerable and intensive affect. Because of the minimal

> feed-back which has hitherto obtained in this area, this affect has had no check of reality imposed upon it, but has continued to feed upon and nourish itself in the vacuum of anxiety created by lack of knowledge. It seems a reasonable fear then, that any work submitting techniques, data, and interpretations into this arena of antipathies and cross-purposes runs the risk of arousing considerable hostility. (p.167).

As the quoted responses reflect, there are indeed "considerable and intensive affect" on the subject of Puerto Rican identification. A key challenge to this investigator in pursuing this study was the need to balance her own "considerable and intensive affect" with the need to adhere to the rigors of scientific inquiry. This challenge was most acutely felt in the analysis of the qualitative data. Although an attempt was made to objectify the analysis through the quantification methods described, the total elimination of investigator bias could neither be achieved nor was it desired. In Erikson's (1964) essay on The Nature of Clinical Evidence, he noted that:

> Any psychotherapist, then, who throws out his ethical sentiments with his irrational moral anger, deprives himself of a principal tool of his clinical perception. For even as our sensuality sharpens our awareness of the orders of nature, so our indignation, admitted and scrutinized for flaws of sulkiness and self-indulgence, is, in fact, an important tool both of therapy and of theory. (p.73).

With the foregoing in mind, the problem of objectivity-subjectivity was dealt with by objectifying as much as possible the treatment of the data obtained. Admittedly, 'as much as possible' falls well below established standards

of scientific rigor. Therefore, an inherent limitation of the present study is the difficulty with which any attempt at replication would be faced. One way in which this problem may be addressed in future research would be by having several judges independently analyze the data using the methods employed in a uniform manner. This technique would provide a "check of reality" on the validity of the investigator's judgments.

In addition to the qualitative analysis, descriptive statistics were also presented for patterns of response distribution on both the Complexity and Identity instruments. The interpretive meanings ascribed to these patterns - as in the analysis of the 'shared fate' question - is also subject to methodological limitations.

A further limitation of the study pertains to its generalizability. The target population of interest to this study were second generation Puerto Ricans born and/or raised in New York City. As previous researchers have noted, there are normal and expectable intergenerational differences along the assimilation-acculturation process whether one invokes a straight line theory (Park) or a more dynamic continuum where deviations may occur at any point (Rinder). The essential and generalizable premise to be made from this study, once again, was stated by Erikson nearly a half century ago:

> The key problem of identity, then is (as the term connotes) the capacity of the ego to sustain sameness and continuity in the face of changing fate. But fate always combines changes in inner conditions which are the result of ongoing life stages, and changes in the milieu, the historical situation. (p.96).

A principle goal of this study was to highlight the impact of the "historical situation" on psychic processes by focusing on a specific generation belonging to a specific group. In accordance with Stewart & Healy, Jr.'s conceptual model, this study aimed to demonstrate that the significant social events highlighted in this thesis had a defining impact on the development of this generation's self-group identity styles. It is hoped that this goal was accomplished and that the value of its generalizability lies not in the specifics, but in the generalizations that can be drawn from the broader framework and theoretical principles (once more clinically in vogue) which served as the context for this study.

Finally, the small sample size (N=50) places an even greater limitation on the generalizability of the results to the population of interest. In this regard, the results are presented as suggestive, but not conclusive, of the identity styles and psychological processes that may be characteristic of this population.

Although males represented a small number of the total sample, it was observed that males were quite open to verbally telling their stories. This was evidenced in the

spontaneity and enthusiasm with which they offered their personal histories when contacted by telephone for study participation. Although small in number, the males in this study exhibited potentially significant gender differences. For example, males evidenced a lower level of thematic understanding with the island-born males evidencing the lowest level. Both subgroups of males demonstrated the least thematic understanding on ambivalence items 7 and 9 which speak to feelings of rejection, loss and alienation. In addition to demonstrating a lower level of thematic understanding in general, males indicated a lower level of personal resonance for the ambivalence items. These differences raise the question whether it is due to defensive strategies such as splitting, denial or repression or to adaptive strategies aimed at circumventing ambivalence that account for them. Thus, the low representation of males should not be interpreted as corresponding to low personal resonance for the subject matter. Rather, it appears that the mechanical demands of the instrumentations may have been experienced as more prohibitive for males than females.

E. Summary - "Somos un Pueblo"

> I believe the essence of this perspective remains to a large extent, but I hope Puerto Ricans on the island are developing a better understanding of how their brothers and sisters feel, think and want to be viewed as. Somos un pueblo [we are one people] (Island-born respondent)

The above expressed hope for a better understanding was shared by several of the respondents. One of the obstacles to achieving this understanding has been the taboo surrounding the open acknowledgment of the negative perception of the New York Puerto Rican by the island counterpart. While given expression through the creative arts and intellectual polemic, it has largely remained unspoken at the interpersonal level of discourse. This "conspiracy of silence" (Betances, 1974, p.437) preserves the public image of 'one people' and perpetuates the private psychic experience that fosters disunity and prevents honest dialogue.

This work is offered as a step towards breaking the "conspiracy of silence" and promoting honest dialogue in the hope that the private will reflect the public: "somos un pueblo."

EPILOGUE

The Ideal*

This is where I came from
I passed this way
This should not be shameful
Or hard to say

A self is a self
It is not a screen
A person should respect
What he has been

This is my past
Which I shall not discard
This is the ideal
This is hard

*by James Fentón
Poetry-in-Motion
New York City Transit System

APPENDIX A

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS PRELIMINARY STUDY. THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY IS TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE COMPLEXITIES OF MAINLAND, PARTICULARLY NEW YORK, PUERTO RICAN IDENTITY. YOU CONTRIBUTION WILL HELP IMPROVE THE QUESTIONNAIRES SO THAT THEY CAN BE USED MORE EFFECTIVELY.

THE QUESTIONNAIRES ARE COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS SO THAT YOU MAY ANSWER FREELY. HOWEVER, WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR ANSWERING THE FOLLOWING GENERAL DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS:

Age Range: 30 - 39 _____ Occupation: _____
49 - 49 _____
50 - 59 _____
60 - 69 _____

I was born in New York: Yes _____ No _____

If not, where _____ How long in New York?_____

I was born in Puerto Rico: Yes _____ No _____

I have been here at least since age 5: Yes _____ No _____

Both my parents are Puerto Rican: Yes _____ No _____

Both my parents were born in Puerto Rico: Yes ___ No ___

If not, where: _____

I have lived in Puerto Rico: Yes _____ No _____

I have visited relatives in Puerto Rico: Yes ___ No ___

I have been to Puerto Rico: Yes _____ No _____

PLEASE SEAL THE ENVELOPE WHEN DONE TO ASSURE ANONYMITY

THIS QUESTION IS DESIGNED TO AID IN A STUDY OF PUERTO RICAN IDENTIFICATION. YOU ARE ANONYMOUS AND THE ANSWERS YOU MAKE ARE CONFIDENTIAL. THE ONLY CORRECT ANSWERS ARE YOUR MOST ACCURATELY HONEST ANSWERS.

I. Please number the following labels in the order which most reflects how you self-identify. Your first choice ("1" = most identify) will be applied throughout the questionnaire.

___American	___Hispanic	___North American
___Boricua	___Latino/a	___Puerto Rican
___Caribbean	___Nuyorican	___Puerto Rican-American

II. In the following sections, answers will more or less be in terms of the alternatives we have provided. Since you may feel that provision hasn't always been made for precisely the sort of answer you would like to make, this first section is intended as an opportunity for you to give these answers in your own words. You may answer them now or come back to them a bit later. Please use the back of the questionnaire to answer the questions.

1. What does being ___ mean to you?
2. What do you think that being ___ does not include for you that it might include for others?
3. What other important group memberships or identities do you have, and how important are they compared to your identity as a ___?

III. Place a (1) and a (2) in the order of preference before the two alternatives offered here with which you most agree. If you have other comments to make, please do so -- after making two choices.

1. For me, being ___

( ) is one of my stronger identifications and serves to provide me with a sense of belongingness which gives me comfort or security
( ) is one among a number of my identifications
( ) is my most important identification or group membership
( ) is something I acknowledge because of my birth, but I make no effort to participate in or observe anything "____"

2. To be told one is not a "typical" ___

( ) is plain out-and-out insulting
( ) is something of a compliment in that it shows your acceptance
( ) is insulting but also embarrassing if the speaker intended it as a friendly remark
( ) shows that the speaker is a victim of stereotype thinking

3. If the United States had unfriendly relations with Puerto Rico

( ) it would be such a terrible calamity as to force me to leave the country
( ) it would sadden me considerably
( ) I would think that Puerto Rico as a small country should have better sense
( ) it would make me feel only a trifle worse than the United State's having unfriendly relations with some other country

4. In the presence of Puerto Ricans

( ) I usually feel greater freedom than I do when non-Puerto Ricans are present
( ) I sometimes feel warmth and familiarity -- and other times I feel like an outsider
( ) is the only time I can really relax and feel natural
( ) I generally feel uncomfortable and somewhat hostile

5. Being born a ___

( ) is something to be proud of
( ) is no better or worse than being born into any other group
( ) is outside of one's control and therefore shouldn't be sufficient basis by itself for identifying one as ___
( ) has its merits as well as its responsibilities and hardships

6. Puerto Ricans who are trying to leave the Puerto Rican group

( ) deserve the resentment most Puerto Ricans feel toward them
( ) are better off out of the group, for all concerned, since they obviously cannot have too much of a Puerto Rican feeling
( ) would receive my support, if possible, as well as my sympathy
( ) probably have their reasons, but I don't sympathize with them

7. The existence of prejudice against Puerto Ricans

( ) while mostly the fault and responsibility of those who are prejudiced, may possibly be also somewhat the fault of the Puerto Ricans themselves
( ) is a shameful reflection on the ethical codes of those who are prejudiced who profess one thing while these people practice another
( ) is completely due to the stupidity and/or jealousy of the non-Puerto Ricans
( ) is evidence that Puerto Ricans would be better off being either a complete and separate group or stop being Puerto Ricans altogether, rather than following the uncertain in-between sort of practice now current

8. With regard to the notion of ___ sharing a common fate, such as might occur if Puerto Rico became independent

( ) I am a ___ and will not avoid the consequences of that identity, but I can sympathize with others who might not feel as I do
( ) I can see no reason to share a fate for which I did not ask
( ) I will voluntarily share the "common fate" of ___ and would like to see other ___ feel that way too
( ) only a coward or worse would attempt to shirk his identity and fate as a ___

BELOW ARE SOME SELECTIONS FROM POETRY AND OTHER SOURCES WHICH SPEAK OF THE SENTIMENTS OF THE MAINLAND PUERTO RICAN EXPERIENCE. WE ARE INTERESTED IN KNOWING WHETHER THEY REFLECT YOUR EXPERIENCE. PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER WHICH CLOSEST REPRESENTS HOW YOU FEEL. WE ARE ALSO INTERESTED IN KNOWING WHY YOU FEEL THIS WAY AND WOULD APPRECIATE A BRIEF ELABORATION IN THE SPACE PROVIDED. (HOWEVER, PLEASE FEEL FREE TO USE THE BACK OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE IF THE SPACE PROVIDED IS TOO RESTRICTING.)

Item 1 I am two parts/a person/boricua/spic past and present/alive and oppressed given a cultural beauty/and robbed of a cultural identity

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

Item 2 I may never overcome/the theft of my isla heritage/dulce palmas de coco on Luquillo/sway in windy recesses I can only imagine/and remember how it was

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

Item 3 there are no more Puerto Ricans in Borinquen/I am the minority everywhere/I am among the few in all societies/I belong to a tribe of nomads/that roam the world without a place to call a home

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

Item 4 I was born in New York new blood/I was born in New York/I'm not a Jones Act Puerto Rican/yeah?/I'm a Neo-Rican man

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

Item 5 They had been reminded in the United States that they were Puerto Rican, but here they are told that they speak Spanish with an "English accent," that "you are not really one of us." The young Puerto Rican may well ask himself, not only "Where am I going?" but "Who am I?"

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

Item 6 Mother Borinquen calls me/this country is not mine/Borinquen is pure flame/And here I am freezing to death

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

Item 7 Yo soy tu hijo/de una migracion/.../ahora regreso, con un corazon boricua, y tu/me desprecias, me miras mal, me atacas mi hablar[I am your son/of a migration/.../ now I return, with a boricua heart, and you/despise me, scorn me, attack my way of speaking]

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

LASTLY, HOW DO YOU FEEL PUERTO RICANS BORN ON THE ISLAND VIEW PUERTO RICANS BORN HERE? HOW, IF AT ALL, HAVE YOU BEEN AFFECTED BY THAT VIEW?

APPENDIX B

ALL QUESTIONNAIRES ARE COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS SO THAT YOU MAY ANSWER FREELY. HOWEVER, WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR ANSWERING THE FOLLOWING GENERAL DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS:

Age Range: 43 - 48 _____ Occupation:_____
49 - 54 _____ Male _____ Female _____
55 - _____

I was born in New York: Yes ____ No ____

If not, where: _____

If not, how long in New York? _____

I was born in Puerto Rico: Yes ____ No ____

I have been here at least since age 5: Yes ____ No ____

Both my parents are Puerto Rican: Yes ____ No ____

Both my parents were born in Puerto Rico: Yes ____ No ____

If not, where:_____

I have lived in Puerto Rico: Yes ____ No ____

I have visited relatives in Puerto Rico: Yes ____ No ____

I have visited (i.e. vacationed) Puerto Rico: Yes __ No __

PLEASE SEAL THE ENVELOPE WHEN DONE TO ASSURE ANONYMITY

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS DESIGNED TO AID IN A STUDY OF PUERTO RICAN IDENTIFICATION. YOU ARE ANONYMOUS AND YOUR ANSWERS ARE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL

I. Please number the following labels in the order which reflects how you self-identify most of the time. Apply your first choice ("1" = most identify) throughout this questionnaire.

Example: rank the following fruit according to preference:

_3_ apple _2_ orange _1_ banana

___American ___Hispanic ___North American
___Boricua ___Latino/a ___Nuyorican
___Other_____

II. **Each of the following questions require <u>two</u> responses.** Place an **"A"** next to the response that you <u>most agree with</u> and a **"B"** next to the response that you <u>next most agree with</u>. Fill in the blank line following the numbered question with your numbre "1" choice from Section I above (i.e. the label you most identify with).

1. For me, being ___

( ) is one of my stronger identifications and serves to provide me with a sense of belongingness which gives me comfort or security
( ) is one among a number of my identifications
( ) is my most important identification or group membership
( ) is something I acknowledge because of my birth, but I make no effort to participate in or observe anything "____"

2. To be told one is not a "typical" ___

( ) is plain out-and-out insulting
( ) is something of a compliment in that it shows your acceptance
( ) is insulting but also embarrassing if the speaker intended it as a friendly remark
( ) shows that the speaker is a victim of stereotype thinking

3. If the United States had unfriendly relations with Puerto Rico

( ) it would force me to leave the country
( ) it would make me very sad
( ) I would think that Puerto Rico, as a small country, should have better sense
( ) it would make me feel only a little worse than if the United States had unfriendly relations with some other country

4. In the presence of Mainland Puerto Ricans

( ) I usually feel greater freedom than I do when non-Puerto Ricans are present
( ) I sometimes feel warmth and familiarity -- and other times I feel like an outsider
( ) is the only time I can really relax and feel natural
( ) I generally feel uncomfortable and somewhat hostile

5. In the presence of Island Puerto Ricans

( ) I usually feel greater freedom than I do when non-Puerto Ricans are present
( ) I sometimes feel warmth and familiarity -- and other times I feel like an outsider
( ) is the only time I can really relax and feel natural
( ) I generally feel uncomfortable and somewhat hostile

6. Being born a ___

( ) is something to be proud of
( ) is no better or worse than being born into any other group
( ) is outside of one's control and therefore shouldn't be sufficient basis by itself for identifying one as ___
( ) has its merits as well as its responsibilities and hardships

7. Puerto Ricans who are trying to leave the Puerto Rican group

( ) deserve the resentment of other Puerto Ricans
( ) are better off out of the group, for all concerned, since they obviously do not feel Puerto Rican
( ) would receive my support, if possible, as well as my sympathy
( ) probably have their reasons, but I don't sympathize with them

8. The existence of prejudice against Puerto Ricans

( ) while mostly the fault and responsibility of those who are prejudiced, may possibly be also somewhat the fault of the Puerto Ricans themselves
( ) is a shameful reflection on the ethical codes of those who are prejudiced and profess one thing while practicing another
( ) is completely due to the stupidity and/or jealousy of the non-Puerto Ricans
( ) is evidence that Puerto Ricans would be better off being a completely separate group or they should stop being Puerto Ricans altogether, rather than the uncertain in-between status they now have

9. With regard to the notion of ___ sharing a common fate, such as might occur if Puerto Rico became independent

( ) I am a ___ and will not avoid the consequences of that identity, but I can sympathize with others who might not feel as I do
( ) I can see no reason to share a fate for which I did not ask
( ) I will voluntarily share the "common fate" of ___ and would like to see others feel that way too
( ) only a coward or worse would attempt to avoid his identity and the fate of his group

BELOW ARE SELECTIONS FROM POETRY AND OTHER SOURCES WHICH EXPRESS SENTIMENTS AND EXPERIENCES OF MAINLAND PUERTO RICANS. WE ARE INTERESTED IN KNOWING WHETHER YOU IDENTIFY WITH THE SELECTIONS. PLEASE INDICATE IN THE SPACE PROVIDED BELOW EACH ITEM WHAT THE ITEM MEANS TO YOU AND WHETHER OR NOT IT REFLECTS YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT YOUR IDENTITY AS A PUERTO RICAN. (PLEASE FEEL FREE TO USE THE BACK OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE IF THE SPACE PROVIDED IS TOO LIMITING.)

ITEM 1 Plena and Salsa/ I dance to the rhythms of two worlds/hot or cold, grey buildings, green mountains, tar beach, Luqillo beach/ I cannot be confined, defined by geographical landscapes/ I belong in two worlds

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

ITEM 2 I am two parts/a person/boricua/spic past and present/alive and oppressed given a cultural beauty/and robbed of a cultural identity

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

ITEM 3 I was born away from Home/No, not The Bronx, USA/ ...Borinquen, Puerto Rico - La Isla de mis Padres/So, when I grew up I went Home/ No, not La Isla/,,,Nuyorico, USA/I'm a Nuyorican Puerto Rican

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

ITEM 4 I may never overcome/the theft of my isla heritage/dulce palmas de coco on Luquillo/sway in windy recesses I can only imagine/and remember how it was

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

ITEM 5 there are no more Puerto Ricans in Borinquen/ I am the minority everywhere/ I am among the few in all societies/ I belong to a tribe of nomads/that roam the world without a place to call a home

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

ITEM 6 I was born in New York new blood/ I was born in New York/ I'm not a Jones Act[1] Puerto Rican/ yeah?/ I'm a Neo-Rican man

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

ITEM 7 They had been reminded in the United States that they were Puerto Rican, but here [in Puerto Rico] they are told that they speak Spanish with an "English accent," that "you are not really one of us."

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

---

[1]In 1917 The Jones Act imposed American citizenship upon Puerto Ricans.

ITEM 8 How I love to listen/Remind myself there is more to the world - the whole of it - the multiNational ethnicity of it/How I have learned to grow from it/To love and praise myself from it

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

ITEM 9 Mother Borinquen calls me/this country is not mine/Borinquen is pure flame/And here I am freezing to death

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

ITEM 10 Yo soy tu hijo/de una migracion/.../ahora regreso, con un corazon boricua, y tu/me desprecias, me miras mal, me atacas mi hablar [I am your son/of a migration/.../ now I return, with a Puerto Rican heart, and you/despise me, scorn me, attack my way of speaking]

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

ITEM 11 A new day needs a new language or else the day becomes a repetition of yesterday...Two languages co-existing in your head as modes of expression can either strengthen alertness or cause confusion...ordinary life for the Nuyorican happens in both languages

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

ITEM 12 Understand that this is now and that was before/now is now/before was before/what happened happened/and what is starting now is beginning/and what's past has ended

Reflects my experience:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A Little	Somewhat	Strongly	Very Strongly

Because:

LASTLY, HOW DO YOU FEEL PUERTO RICANS BORN ON THE ISLAND VIEW PUERTO RICANS BORN HERE? HOW, IF AT ALL, HAVE YOU BEEN AFFECTED BY THAT VIEW?

PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE FOR EACH ITEM, DEPENDING ON WHETHER YOU STRONGLY AGREE ("1"), AGREE ("2"), DISAGREE ("3"), OR STRONGLY DISAGREE ("4") WITH IT.

(1) On the whole, I am satisfied with myself

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

(2) At times I think that I am no good at all

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

(3) I feel that I have a number of good qualities

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

(4) I am able to do things as well as most other people

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

(5) I feel I do not have much to be proud of

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

(6) I certainly feel useless at times

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

(7) I feel that I am a person of worth

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

(8) I wish I could have more respect for myself

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

(9) All in all, I am inclined to think that I am a failure

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

(10) I take a positive attitude toward myself

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

APPENDIX C

I am currently involved in a research project addressing clinical issues related to Mainland Puerto Rican identity. The project examines the relationship between the process of individual ethnic identity development and the process of group ethnic identification. The study is performed as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree in Clinical Psychology at The City College of The City University of New York.

Your participation in this project will provide important information on this subject. You qualify for participation if you are 43 or older, were born and raised in any of the five boroughs of New York City or were raised in any of the five boroughs since the age of five (5) and both your parents are Puerto Rican.

You will be asked to complete two (2) questionnaires. You will also be asked to fill out a brief background questionnaire (i.e. age range). Pretesting with these instruments indicates that it takes approximately one (1) hour or less to complete all forms. Participation in this study is strictly voluntary and anonymous, however, you can receive a summary of the results of this research by providing a name and address at the bottom of the background questionnaire. Your prompt return of the completed package is greatly appreciated.

Thank you for your contribution to this study.

Gladys Acevedo, M.A.
Doctoral Candidate in Clinical Psychology
(718) 897-5095

ALL QUESTIONNAIRES ARE COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS SO THAT YOU MAY ANSWER FREELY. HOWEVER, WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR ANSWERING THE FOLLOWING GENERAL DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS:

Age Range: 43 - 48 _____ Occupation:_____
49 - 54 _____ Male _____ Female _____
55 - _____

I was born in New York: Yes ____ No ____

If not, where: _____

If not, how long in New York? _____

I was born in Puerto Rico: Yes ____ No ____

I have been here at least since age 5: Yes ____ No ____

Both my parents are Puerto Rican: Yes ____ No ____

Both my parents were born in Puerto Rico: Yes ____ No ____

If not, where:_____

I have lived in Puerto Rico: Yes ____ No ____

I have visited relatives in Puerto Rico: Yes ____ No ____

I have visited (i.e. vacationed) Puerto Rico: Yes __ No __

PLEASE SEAL THE ENVELOPE WHEN DONE TO ASSURE ANONYMITY

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS DESIGNED TO AID IN A STUDY OF PUERTO RICAN IDENTIFICATION. YOU ARE ANONYMOUS AND YOUR ANSWERS ARE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL

I. Please number the following labels in the order which reflects how you self-identify most of the time. Apply your first choice ("1" = most identify) throughout this questionnaire.

Example: rank the following fruit according to preference:

_3_ apple _2_ orange _1_ banana

___American ___Hispanic ___North American
___Boricua ___Latino/a ___Nuyorican
___Other_____

II. **Each of the following questions require <u>two</u> responses.** Place an "**A**" next to the response that you <u>most agree with</u> and a "**B**" next to the response that you <u>next most agree with</u>. Fill in the blank line following the numbered question with your numbre "1" choice from Section I above (i.e. the label you most identify with).

1. For me, being ___

( ) is one of my stronger identifications and serves to provide me with a sense of belongingness which gives me comfort or security
( ) is one among a number of my identifications
( ) is my most important identification or group membership
( ) is something I acknowledge because of my birth, but I make no effort to participate in or observe anything "____"

2. To be told one is not a "typical" ___

( ) is plain out-and-out insulting
( ) is something of a compliment in that it shows your acceptance
( ) is insulting but also embarrassing if the speaker intended it as a friendly remark
( ) shows that the speaker is a victim of stereotype thinking

3. If the United States had unfriendly relations with Puerto Rico

( ) it would force me to leave the country
( ) it would make me very sad
( ) I would think that Puerto Rico, as a small country, should have better sense
( ) it would make me feel only a little worse than if the United States had unfriendly relations with some other country

4. In the presence of Mainland Puerto Ricans

( ) I usually feel greater freedom than I do when non-Puerto Ricans are present
( ) I sometimes feel warmth and familiarity -- and other times I feel like an outsider
( ) is the only time I can really relax and feel natural
( ) I generally feel uncomfortable and somewhat hostile

5. In the presence of Island Puerto Ricans

( ) I usually feel greater freedom than I do when non-Puerto Ricans are present
( ) I sometimes feel warmth and familiarity -- and other times I feel like an outsider
( ) is the only time I can really relax and feel natural
( ) I generally feel uncomfortable and somewhat hostile

6. Being born a ___

( ) is something to be proud of
( ) is no better or worse than being born into any other group
( ) is outside of one's control and therefore shouldn't be sufficient basis by itself for identifying one as ___
( ) has its merits as well as its responsibilities and hardships

7. Puerto Ricans who are trying to leave the Puerto Rican group

( ) deserve the resentment of other Puerto Ricans
( ) are better off out of the group, for all concerned, since they obviously do not feel Puerto Rican
( ) would receive my support, if possible, as well as my sympathy
( ) probably have their reasons, but I don't sympathize with them

8. The existence of prejudice against Puerto Ricans

( ) while mostly the fault and responsibility of those who are prejudiced, may possibly be also somewhat the fault of the Puerto Ricans themselves
( ) is a shameful reflection on the ethical codes of those who are prejudiced and profess one thing while practicing another
( ) is completely due to the stupidity and/or jealousy of the non-Puerto Ricans
( ) is evidence that Puerto Ricans would be better off being a completely separate group or they should stop being Puerto Ricans altogether, rather than the uncertain in-between status they now have

9. With regard to the notion of ___ sharing a common fate, such as might occur if Puerto Rico became independent

( ) I am a ___ and will not avoid the consequences of that identity, but I can sympathize with others who might not feel as I do
( ) I can see no reason to share a fate for which I did not ask
( ) I will voluntarily share the "common fate" of ___ and would like to see others feel that way too
( ) only a coward or worse would attempt to avoid his identity and the fate of his group

BELOW ARE SELECTIONS FROM POETRY AND OTHER SOURCES WHICH EXPRESS SENTIMENTS AND EXPERIENCES OF MAINLAND PUERTO RICANS. WE ARE INTERESTED IN KNOWING WHETHER YOU IDENTIFY WITH THE SELECTIONS. PLEASE INDICATE IN THE SPACE PROVIDED BELOW EACH ITEM WHAT THE ITEM MEANS TO YOU AND WHETHER OR NOT IT REFLECTS YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT YOUR IDENTITY AS A PUERTO RICAN. (PLEASE FEEL FREE TO USE THE BACK OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE IF THE SPACE PROVIDED IS TOO LIMITING.)

ITEM 1 Plena and Salsa/ I dance to the rhythms of two worlds/hot or cold, grey buildings, green mountains, tar beach, Luqillo beach/ I cannot be confined, defined by geographical landscapes/ I belong in two worlds

To me, this item means that:

This item __reflects / __ does not reflect (check one) my feelings because:

ITEM 2 I am two parts/a person/boricua/spic past and present/alive and oppressed given a cultural beauty/and robbed of a cultural identity

To me, this item means that:

This item __reflects / __ does not reflect (check one) my feelings because:

ITEM 3 I was born away from Home/No, not The Bronx, USA/ ...Borinquen, Puerto Rico - La Isla de mis Padres/So, when I grew up I went Home/ No, not La Isla/,,,Nuyorico, USA/I'm a Nuyorican Puerto Rican

To me, this item means that:

This item __reflects / __ does not reflect (check one) my feelings because:

ITEM 4 I may never overcome/the theft of my isla heritage/dulce palmas de coco on Luquillo/sway in windy recesses I can only imagine/and remember how it was

To me, this item means that:

This item __reflects / __ does not reflect (check one) my feelings because:

ITEM 5 there are no more Puerto Ricans in Borinquen/ I am the minority everywhere/ I am among the few in all societies/ I belong to a tribe of nomads/that roam the world without a place to call a home

To me, this item means that:

This item __reflects / __ does not reflect (check one) my feelings because:

ITEM 6 I was born in New York new blood/ I was born in New York/ I'm not a Jones Act[2] Puerto Rican/ yeah?/ I'm a Neo-Rican man

To me, this item means that:

This item __reflects / __ does not reflect (check one) my feelings because:

ITEM 7 They had been reminded in the United States that they were Puerto Rican, but here [in Puerto Rico] they are told that they speak Spanish with an "English accent," that "you are not really one of us."

To me, this item means that:

This item __reflects / __ does not reflect (check one) my feelings because:

ITEM 8 How I love to listen/Remind myself there is more to the world - the whole of it - the multiNational ethnicity of it/How I have learned to grow from it/To love and praise myself from it

To me, this item means that:

This item __reflects / __ does not reflect (check one) my feelings because:

---

[2]In 1917 The Jones Act imposed American citizenship upon Puerto Ricans.

ITEM 9 Mother Borinquen calls me/this country is not mine/Borinquen is pure flame/And here I am freezing to death

To me, this item means that:

This item __reflects / __ does not reflect (check one) my feelings because:

ITEM 10 Yo soy tu hijo/de una migracion/.../ahora regreso, con un corazon boricua, y tu/me desprecias, me miras mal, me atacas mi hablar [I am your son/of a migration/.../ now I return, with a Puerto Rican heart, and you/despise me, scorn me, attack my way of speaking]

To me, this item means that:

This item __reflects / __ does not reflect (check one) my feelings because:

ITEM 11 A new day needs a new language or else the day becomes a repetition of yesterday...Two languages co-existing in your head as modes of expression can either strengthen alertness or cause confusion...ordinary life for the Nuyorican happens in both languages

To me, this item means that:

This item __reflects / __ does not reflect (check one) my feelings because:

ITEM 12 Understand that this is now and that was before/now is now/before was before/what happened happened/and what is starting now is beginning/and what's past has ended

To me, this item means that:

This item __reflects / __ does not reflect (check one) my feelings because:

LASTLY, HOW DO YOU FEEL PUERTO RICANS BORN ON THE ISLAND VIEW PUERTO RICANS BORN HERE? HOW, IF AT ALL, HAVE YOU BEEN AFFECTED BY THAT VIEW?

APPENDIX D

RINDER'S TWO SYSTEMS FOR SCORING "JEWISH IDENTIFICATION"

Response(s) Given	Identification Score	Polarization Score
A	12	
AB	11	
BA	10	
B	9	
AC	9	1
CA	8	1
BC	7	
AD	7	3
CB	6	
DA	6	3
BD	5	1
C	4	
DB	4	1
CD	3	
DC	2	
D	1	
E	0	

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