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The effect of depression on the acculturation of Puerto Rican adolescents

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City University of New York, 1994

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THE EFFECT OF DEPRESSION ON THE ACCULTURATION OF PUERTO RICAN ADOLESCENTS

BY

SALLY MARIA ROBLES

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

1994

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

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Chair of Examining Committee

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Abstract

THE EFFECT OF DEPRESSION ON THE ACCULTURATION OF PUERTO RICAN ADOLESCENTS

by

Sally Maria Robles

Adviser: Professor Vera Paster

Is there a relationship between the acculturation patterns of adolescents of Puerto Rican background and their levels of depression? This is a study of the effects of depression on overall acculturation, language acculturation, social affiliation acculturation and ethnic self-identification acculturation, when gender, the youth's proximity to the generation born on the mainland, and having visited Puerto Rico are controlled. An acculturation scale with three subscales: language acculturation scale, social affiliation acculturation scale and ethnic identity acculturation scale as well as the Childrens Depression Inventory and the Symptom Checklist-90 was administered to 7th and 8th graders of Puerto Rican background (n=57). The findings indicate that gender and generation of mainland birth were not related to any acculturation domain. On the other hand, participants who visit Puerto Rico had lower overall, language and social affiliation acculturation scores. Higher depression scores were related to higher overall, language and social affiliation acculturation scores, both when socio-demographic variables were equalized and when they were not. The relationship between depression and acculturation was explained in terms of adolescents'

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withdrawal and detachment from parents with concomitant loss of the modeling and positive reinforcement of behaviors that represent the Puerto Rican culture.

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Finally, I am thankful to my parents, Ines and Emilio Robles, who raised six children in New York with a sense of pride and dignity in being Puerto Rican.

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CHAPTER 1.

Introduction

Epidemiological studies have documented that Hispanic youth are at high risk for mental illness (Special Populations Sub-Task Panel on Mental Health, 1978). Hispanic youth are disproportionatly poor, live in single parent households, and are likely to drop out of high school (Aspira, 1983). In addition, many clinicians have stated that conflicts over ethnic identity and biculturalism are additional sources of stress for Hispanic youth (Costantino, Malgady & Rogler, 1988; Rendon, 1974; Szapocznik & Kurtines 1980). Psychologically distressed bicultural youth have been observed to adopt an acting-out overacculturating mode of acculturation or a depressed, underacculturating mode. In either case, members cleave to one cultural group and reject their other ethnic identity, thereby limiting the success with which they cope with the complexities of their socio-cultural milieu (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980). Though these acculturation strategies among Puerto Rican youth have been observed clinically, there has been little empirical research in this area. The proposed study will focus on the psychological factors which influence the manner in which Puerto Rican youth in New York manage acculturation issues.

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Significance of the Study

Emslie, Weinburg, Rush, Adams & Rintelmann (1990) write that there is a dearth of information on the mental health problems specific to Hispanic adolescents. In a study examining depressive symptoms in adolescents, Emslie et al. found that African-American and Hispanic adolescents had significantly higher depression scores than whites, with Hispanic females having the highest scores of all. When compared to African-Americans and whites, Hispanic adolescents were more likely to "internalize their depression, blame themselves, feel hopeless, withdraw and drop out" (p. 120). African-Americans tended to externalize their depression and manifest conduct problems; whites were more self-punitive. Similarly, Lester & Anderson (1992) report that Hispanics have higher suicide rates than African-Americans. They conducted a study using the Beck Depression Inventory in order to explore the suicidal ideation and self-reported depression of Hispanic and African-American high school students. They found that the Hispanic adolescents had significantly higher scores on the Beck Depression Inventory and were more likely than African-Americans to have serious suicidal ideation.

These findings are particularly important in light of the fact that Hispanics are the fastest growing racial/ethnic group in the United States. After Blacks, (who constitute 12% of the population), Hispanics are the second largest minority group, constituting 7.9% of the total population (Ponterotto & Casas, 1991). Large numbers of Hispanics from the Caribbean, Central and

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South America and Mexico are immigrating to urban areas of the United States. From 1980 to 1989, "the size of the Hispanic population grew by 39% to 20.1 million, primarily as a result of immigration and secondarily because of an excess of births over deaths. This does not include unknown numbers of undocumented migrants and Puerto Rico's population, which was 3.2 million in 1980" (Rogler, Cortes & Malgady, p. 585). Consequently, write Rogler, Cortes and Malgady (1991) research on acculturation among Hispanics in the United States is a timely subject. As Hispanics begin to constitute a larger percentage of the American population, there will be a pressing need to examine the process of acculturation and its relationship to psychological adjustment.

Similarly, Bird & Canino (1982) note that most of the information on Puerto Rican families has been based on clinical observations or from studies lacking large samples and randomization. Rogler, when referring to Puerto Ricans in New York City, states that very little is known: "Few indeed are the field studies based upon systematic, methodological procedures, clearly articulated concepts and culturally-sensitive hypotheses" (Rogler, 1978, p.250). Rosado (1980) concludes that data on Puerto Rican psychocultural values and lifestyles is scant. Canino, Earley & Rogler (1980) state that: "next to nothing is known of the socialization experiences of Puerto Rican children on the United States mainland and...there is a pressing need for research to investigate the inculcation of values and attitudes in the Puerto Rican child and what these values and attitudes are. In general,

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we should study which values are being retained from traditional Puerto Rican culture and how effectively they function in a new setting" (p. 103-104). Emslie et al. (1990) found that in a high school located in a low-income area, Hispanic students had both a higher drop-out rate and higher depression scores than African-American and white students. It may be that dual cultural membership is an additional stress which interferes with the learning process. It is important to understand the relationship between depression and biculturalism that may put Puerto Rican youth at risk for school failure. The current study is designed to contribute to these needs.

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CHAPTER 2.

Review of the Literature

Puerto Rican Children in New York

Historical Background

Rodriguez (1990) writes that the most important factor driving Puerto Rican migration to the United States is "the political and economic relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States...without this context, increases in national income or employment in the United States would not have provoked emigration as quickly from Puerto Rico; there would not have been open borders, a military experience for Puerto Rican men and women, citizenship status, accessible and frequent air travel, and early communications and educational systems tied to the colonial center" (p. 12-13). This political context began in 1898 when Puerto Rico was invaded and conquered by the United States during the Spanish-American War. In 1917, the Jones act granted American citizenship to Puerto Ricans. It also enabled the American government to control many of the island's major institutions and to appoint the island's governor.

In 1947 legislation was passed which granted tax exemptions to companies which developed industry in Puerto Rico. However, many of the industries lured to the island were high-technology and capital intensive; for the most part they required the skills of specialized professionals and did not employ large numbers of islanders. During this period, however, illiteracy decreased, education levels increased and health conditions improved, but

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levels of unemployment increased. Agricultural laborers formerly employed in rapidly disappearing labor intensive industries such as sugar, tobacco and coffee were displaced as much of the landscape was cemented over for the construction of suburban residences and roads.

It is this displaced labor force that made up the migration to New York in the 1950's when the number of Puerto Ricans who migrated to New York averaged 46,000 a year (Rogler & Santana-Cooney, 1984). Many of these migrants were employed in low-skilled jobs in the manufacturing sector of New York City. In the 1970's, when New York City experienced a fiscal crisis and manufacturing jobs declined by one-third, the Puerto Rican community was severely effected. The consequence was a reversal of the migration. In 1970, 44,000 Puerto Ricans returned to the island, outnumbering the number of Puerto Ricans migrating to the United States in that year.

Many of the return migrants were mainland raised inner-city children. Zentella (1990) writes that almost 20% of the population in Puerto Rico is comprised of Puerto Ricans who lived on the mainland and returned to the island. Canino, Early, and Rogler (1988) cite New York City Board of Education statistics to gauge the number of Puerto Rican school age children who migrated in the 1970's. In the 1974-75 school year, 8,547 children transferred from island to New York City Public schools; 9,254 transferred from New York City schools to Puerto Rican public schools (p.17). According to the 1990 census, between 1985 and 1990, 51,402 Puerto

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Ricans migrated to New York City. This is compared to 138,089 Puerto Ricans who migrated back to Puerto Rico, leading to a net loss of 86,687 Puerto Ricans (New York City Planning Commission, 1993). Unfortunately, what cannot be determined by these statistics is how many children have experienced a circular migration pattern in which moving to the mainland (or island) and back again has occurred several times. Zentella concludes that

> for the majority of Puerto Ricans - who are lower working class - migration and reverse migration in response to the vagaries of a fluctuating interlocking economy are a fact of life and a matter of survival. Their pursuit of English, Spanish and a dual cultural identity may be anathema to secure professional politicos, but it is essential to their survival and should not be judged apart from that sobering truth (1991, p. 95).

A major educational problem confronting Puerto Rican children in the United States is a high drop-out rate. Rodriguez (1991) cites statistics which put the Hispanic drop out rate in New York anywhere from 62% to 82%. She states that the exact rate is difficult to determine since various methods are used to determine the drop out rate. What is clear, according to Rodriguez, is the differential drop-out rate by grade: "Hispanics and Blacks have the largest share [of students] at each grade level up to the ninth grade, when Hispanics decline precipitously (and Blacks more evenly), while Whites increase. By the twelfth grade, Whites outnumber Hispanics and equal Blacks. Thus, at the formal exit

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point, so many Hispanics have left that the compositions of graduating classes do not reflect the schools from which they graduated" (p. 122).

Socio-demographic and Economic Profile

Rogler and Santana-Cooney (1984) characterize the Puerto Rican migration as relatively young and recent. In 1940 the census reported 70,000 Puerto Ricans on the mainland; in the 1950's the number rose to 892,000. In 1970 about 1,429,000 people of Puerto Rican birth or parentage lived on the mainland; the population stabilized in 1980 at 2 million. In 1990, the Census Bureau's current Population Survey estimated that there were 2.2 million Puerto Ricans on the mainland, a figure they state may be an undercount. Falcon (1991) states that this makes Puerto Ricans 10.5% of the Latinos in the United States. The 1990 census also showed that as opposed to previous years, the majority of Puerto Ricans in New York City were born in the mainland United States and not on the island (New York City Planning Commission, 1993).

The migration from Puerto Rico to the mainland has been predominantly an urban one, with New York City as the first area of settlement. While New York City remains the largest Puerto Rican community in the mainland and the absolute numbers of Puerto Ricans in New York City has increased, the proportion has decreased. In 1950, 88 percent of mainland Puerto Ricans lived in New York, by 1970, this number decreased to 59 percent.

Within New York City, the residential settlement pattern has also changed. After World War II, Manhattan had the largest percentage

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of Puerto Ricans. From 1960 to 1970, Manhattan experienced an 18 percent decline in Puerto Ricans (40,300) while the Bronx and Brooklyn experienced a 70 (129,000) and 51 (91,700) percent increase, respectively, during the same period. Thus in 1987, 38.2 percent of the city's Puerto Rican population lived in the Bronx; 30.3 percent lived in Brooklyn; and 20.5 percent lived in Manhattan (Falcon, 1989, p. 7).

The Puerto Rican community is also young, with a median age in 1991 of 26.7 as compared to 33.8 for the United States as a whole (Datanote, 1992). Educationally, Puerto Ricans have lower levels of schooling than many other Hispanics or the majority population. According to the 1990 census, 46 percent of Puerto Ricans aged 25 or over and living on the mainland, had completed high school (New York City Planning Commission, 1993). However, Puerto Ricans have significantly increased their high school completion rates over generations. For Puerto Ricans 25 to 34 year of age, the high school completion rate is 71.5%; for those over 35 years of age, the completion rate is 48.1% (Datanote, 1990).

A major contributor to the prevalence of poverty in New York's Puerto Rican households is the large numbers of female headed households. In 1990, 45 percent of Puerto Rican children under 18 lived in a female headed household. This is a 10% decline since 1980. However, the New York City Planning Commission states that the decline is partly due to the growth of subfamilies i.e., families within families where "children are living in families where someone other than a parent is the head of household" (p. 3).

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These are often members of an extended family living under one roof in order to combine their resources and cope with the stress of poverty. One third of the Puerto Rican households in New York City receive public assistance and twice as many Puerto Ricans as other New Yorkers live below the poverty line. For Puerto Rican children under 18, more than half live below the poverty line. Puerto Rican New Yorkers income is a low 56% of the income of all New Yorkers. The situation is better for married Puerto Rican New Yorkers whose incomes were 75% of that of all married couples in New York City (New York City Planning Commission, 1993, p.5).

These factors contribute to Puerto Ricans having the lowest income of all New York City ethnic groups in 1986: $10,032, or half the median household income of all New Yorkers (Falcon, 1989). In the Bronx, the average income of Hispanic female headed households (the overwhelming majority of which are Puerto Rican) was $6,581, as compared with $15,872. for intact Hispanic families (also mostly Puerto Rican) (Rogler & Santana-Cooney, 1984).

According to Falcon (1989), Puerto Rican poverty rate was 36.7% in 1989 as compared to 19.1% for the city in general. Therefore, "while Puerto Rican poverty rates hovered close to 50% for the first half of the 1980's, in 1989 it improved, although it remained the highest in the city" (p. 13). It is often against this backdrop of circular migration and poverty that Puerto Ricans in New York acculturate. In the next section, the process of acculturation and its relationship to mental health will be explored.

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Acculturation

Culture is "the distinctive body of customs, beliefs, and social institutions characterizing each separate society" (Levine & Padilla, 1980, pp.2-3). Each society is to some degree distinguishable by the range of acceptable behavior individuals develop to adapt to their socio-cultural milieu. Migration and immigration to a culturally foreign environment undermines established identity as learned ways of thinking, behaving, and dressing are rendered non-functional in the new environment. Similarly, children of immigrants (or migrants) are often socialized at home into a culture which is at odds with the host culture. In 1936, the Social Science Research Council convened a committee to define the parameters of the field of acculturation research. The resulting report defined acculturation as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact with subsequent changes in the original pattern of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton and Herskovits, 1936, p. 147). While originally the process was defined as affecting both the native and host culture, when immigrant European groups in the United States were studied, emphasis was focused on the change in the native culture as its members became increasingly "American" in culture and forfeited their native culture. Santisteban (1980) cites Gordon (1964) as providing an exhaustive analysis of this one way acculturation which he termed assimilation. Gordon identifies seven stages in acculturation/assimilation which "range from the

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mere external changes of cultural patterns of the migrant group to those of the host society, to the resolution of value and power conflict between migrant and native groups" (p. 7). Gordon also distinguishes between behavioral assimilation (i.e., changing cultural patterns that do not affect the core of the group's cultural heritage) and structural assimilation (changing intrinsic cultural traits such as religious and ethical values and cultural identification). Szapocznik, Scoptetta, Kurtines and Arnalde (1978) make a similar distinction between a value and behavioral dimension of acculturation: "Behavioral acculturation involves the gradual adoption by the individual of the more overt and observable aspects of the host culture, including the host culture's language, customs, habits and life style. The value dimension is less overt and involves the gradual adoption by the individual of the host cultures basic value orientation " (p.115).

Mendoza and Martinez (1981) describe four patterns of acculturation. Cultural shift is exchanging native customs for the norms of another culture. Cultural incorporation is the separate acquisition of both the native and alternate culture which is compared to cultural transmutation, the creation of a subculture which includes aspects of the native and host culture. Cultural resistance is the active or passive resistance to acquiring the norms of the alternate culture, while holding on to native ways.

The identity which forms when the individual accepts significant aspects of both cultures is a bicultural identity. Rotheram-Borus (1993) cites Ramirez (1983) as providing the most

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extensive definition of a bicultural or multicultural identity for the Hispanic population in the United States. Ramirez' four types are described below:

1. Synthesized multicultural - Feels accepted and functions competently in more than one group. Holds positive attitudes toward several cultures and feels committed to more than one culture.

2. Functional multicultural/mainstream orientation - Feels more comfortable in mainstream culture though functions competently in both Latino and mainstream culture.

3. Functional multicultural/Latino orientation - Feels more comfortable in Latino culture though functions competently in both mainstream and Latino culture.

4. Monocultural - Functions competently in Latino culture, where he/she feels more comfortable interacting.

Many researchers have studied the process of acculturation and the related concept of biculturalism. Culture change is viewed as having value and behavioral dimensions. Moreover, researchers have seen that individuals and ethnic groups vary in their willingness to accept customs of the new culture. The following section will highlight research efforts aimed at operationalizing the multi-dimensional concept of acculturation.

Acculturation Measurement

There have been several attempts to measure the extent of acculturation to American mainstream culture. Olmedo (1978) reviewed the literature on acculturation scales and concluded that

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"acculturation is measurable, furthermore, it can be measured with a reasonable degree of reliability and validity. Factorially derived scales involving linguistic, behavioral, and sociocultural items have achieved a high degree of internal consistency" (p.1068). In general, Olmedo writes, the major dimensions emerging from a factor analysis of items tapping acculturation are: 1. language use, proficiency and/or preference; 2. knowledge of culture and tradition, including cultural identification preference; and 3. ethnic loyalty or the extent to which persons affiliate with their native culture and adhere to traditional values (p. 1069). The resulting score on an acculturation scale places a study participant on a continuum with the native or host culture on each end of the spectrum. Criterion measures used to validate acculturation scales include cultural membership (i.e., the scale differentiates Anglos from Mexican immigrants), length of individual's exposure to host culture, and generational distance from time of migration. Szapocznik et al. (1978) developed a behavioral and value acculturation scale which they piloted on a Cuban-American and a white, United States born subject pool. They found that when age is held constant, males acculturate faster than females along the behavioral scale. They also found that acculturation is largely a linear function of the amount of time a person was exposed to the host culture, and the younger a person is when the exposure begins, the more rapidly acculturation proceeds. This is demonstrated most clearly in the behavioral acculturation sub-scale in which questions focus on language use, daily habits

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and preferred lifestyle in regard to celebrations. The results on the value subscale were equivocal and were "psychometrically weak" (p. 128). They endorsed the use of the behavioral acculturation scale which were quicker and psychometrically more sound.

Cuellar, Harris and Jasso (1980) developed the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans (ARSMA) which was administered to a predominantly Mexican American clinical and normal population. The ARSMA is a twenty item Likert-type scale in which responses range from Mexican/Spanish (1) to Anglo/English (5). The items were derived from a larger initial scale which tapped language familiarity and usage, ethnic interaction, ethnic pride and identity, cultural heritage, generational proximity, and ethnic distance and perceived discrimination. Item analysis led to perceived discrimination and ethnic distance to be excluded from the scale. The resulting scale achieved a .88 alpha coefficient for internal consistency for non- hospitalized study participants and .81 for hospitalized study participants. Validity was established by correlating the results of the scale to generation in the United States and hospital staff rating of patient's acculturation level. Similar to Szapocznik et al., the factors which were derived from the study were: language familiarity and usage; ethnic identity; reading, writing and general cultural heritage and exposure; ethnic interaction (i.e., the nationality of friends from childhood to present).

Marin, Sabogal, VanOss-Marin, Otero-Sabogal & Perez-Stable (1987) criticized Cuellar et al.'s acculturation scale, however,

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because they used "sociodemographic characteristics as a measurement rather than a correlation of acculturation...[this problem] is found in scales where the validation criterion (e.g. generation) is included in the actual scale that is being validated producing spuriously high correlations between criterion and scale" (p. 184). Marin et. al. developed a scale which excluded sociodemographic items and included instead only twelve behavioral acculturation items which questioned "Language Use and Ethnic Loyalty", "Ethnic Social Relations" and "Media". These three factors together explained 67.6% of the variance. A separate demographic questionnaire was administered which asked gender, age, marital status, educational level, income, length of residence in the United States, and generation. Length of residence and generation in United States correlated significantly with all three subscales and the overall scale. There was no significant difference between males and females on simple t-test. Age of arrival to the United States was negatively related to acculturation (i.e., the younger a participant is at age of arrival, the more acculturated he or she is). The sample upon which the scale was developed was only 2% (n=7) Puerto Rican and the authors state that this "limits the generalizability of the results" (p. 196) though its success with both Mexican-American and Central Americans holds promise for measuring the acculturation of other Hispanic groups.

Mendoza (1989) cautions that a single summary acculturation score may simplify or over-generalize the acculturation process and

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misrepresent its multidimensional nature. He suggests using multifaceted profiles to describe acculturating individuals rather than using a single summary score. He describes the acculturation profile of three demographically similar individuals who were administered multifaceted acculturation scales. He found that the subjects were most similar in the language realm in that they had all shifted to predominantly English language usage. The subjects differed, however, in their pattern of social affiliation, cultural familiarity and cultural identification. Mendoza states that the results are "indicative of the discriminative power that is possible with instruments that are based on assessments of actual cultural practices rather than on demographic indicators" (p. 382). Rotheram-Borus (1993) makes a similar point, stating that "biculturalism varies depending on the behavioral domain being addressed. In some domains, a unique blending evolves, and in other domains, separate norms or routines are differentially presented (p.88).

While Olmedo (1978) strongly endorses the validity of acculturation scales and their improvement over simple ethnic identification as a variable in cross cultural studies, he also notes that there are individual variations within acculturation. He states "psychometric research on acculturation has highlighted the remarkable degree of heterogeneity in individual acculturation levels exhibited by members of American ethnic groups. For example, it has been shown that the variance in raw acculturation scores of Chicano adolescents is three times that of Anglo

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adolescents, with close to 5% of Chicanos scoring above the Anglo mean" (p. 1069). Mendoza (1989) concurs, stating that while demographic factors may predict group trends, they fail to detect individual differences or variability among people in the same socio-demographic group such as siblings. Therefore, research on acculturation measures has highlighted the heterogeneity of people who have the same level of contact with the host culture. The measures are useful in detecting individual differences in the various dimensions of acculturation.

Acculturation as a Factor in Mental Health

Rogler, Cortes and Malgady (1991) reviewed 32 studies on acculturation and mental health among Hispanics. They concluded that a lack of methodological and statistical homogeneity precluded a direct comparison of results. A myriad of scales were used to measure both acculturation and psychopathology. The assessment of acculturation was variably operationalized by comparing Hispanics and non- Hispanics, and by comparing first, second and/or third generation Hispanics to one another or by using acculturation scales which assess the participants' involvement in American or Hispanic culture.

The results of the 32 studies reviewed are equivocal. Twelve studies show a positive relationship between mental health and acculturation; that is, increased acculturation was associated with increased psychopathology. For example, Knight, Kagan, Nelson and Gumbiner (1978) conducted a study with Anglo and second and third generation Mexican-American children. They defined third

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generation as Mexican American children who were born in the United States and whose parents were born in the United States and with one or more grandparents born in Mexico. Second generation participants had both parents born in Mexico though they were born in the United States. All Mexican-American participants lived in traditional communities where there were extended family members living nearby and in Mexico. The results showed that successive generations became more Anglo oriented in field dependence and school achievement, though no differences were found in locus of control. In terms of mental health, the pattern was reversed; that is successive generations of Mexican-Americans in the United States experienced a decline in self esteem. Although acculturation was positively correlated with school achievement, it was negatively correlated with self-esteem. The authors posit several possible explanations for their findings, including increased internalization of negative racist stereotypes, cultural conflicts, the realization of social limits on their attainment and comparing themselves to Anglo children who achieve even higher levels of academic success.

A negative relationship was found in 13 studies which concluded that those low in acculturation had higher rates of psychopathology. That is, those low in acculturation are new migrants who are experiencing an abrupt change in surroundings and an annihilation of supportive networks. This precipitates a decrease in self esteem. Other researchers with similar results concluded that higher levels of psychopathology in less

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acculturated subjects indicated that traditional Hispanic cultural attributes precipitate less emotional well being, especially for women. Torres-Matrullo (1976), for example, hypothesized that increased acculturation among Puerto Rican women would be related to a more positive self concept. She also postulated that recent migrants would experience the greatest degree of cultural conflict and personal adjustment problems. The participants also varied in terms of level of education. The results showed that more acculturated subjects had higher scores on self confidence, self control, lability, autonomy, change and succorance. However, there were no differences between low and high acculturated subjects in personal adjustment. Psychopathology scores in depression, withdrawal and obsessive-compulsion were higher in less acculturated subjects. Torres-Matrullo concludes that the "overall picture of subjects high in acculturation is one of healthy personality adjustment...[while] low acculturated subjects appear to have problems of self acceptance; in addition they seem to be dependent, submissive and lacking in initiative" (p. 715).

A major problem with Torres-Matrullo's study is her measure of acculturation, which is the time spent in the United States. With this definition it is difficult to determine if the higher psychopathology scores among the new migrants is the result of low acculturation or the result of being recently uprooted from their traditional culture. This may account for the difference between her results and that obtained by Knight et al. That is, the latter researcher looked at first, second and third generation Mexican-

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American children. He was able to compare two non-migrant groups of children who differed only in their distance from the migrant generation. In this manner, the potential "trauma" of migration was accounted for and did not confound the acculturation measure. Using this methodology, succeeding generations (who were more highly acculturated) had lower self-esteem, results which conflict with Torres-Maturllo's conclusion.

A curvilinear relationship was posited by three studies; i.e., they hypothesized that emotional distress accompanies acculturation when a person in a bicultural environment is only able to interact comfortably in either the host or native culture, but not both. This is exemplified by Szapocznik's research on Cuban-American adolescents. Using a behavioral and value scale of acculturation, Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, and Aranalde (1978) found that acculturation is largely a linear function of the time a person has been exposed to the host culture. They also showed that an individual's acculturation rate is affected by gender (with males acculturating faster than females) and age of initial contact (the younger a person is, the faster he/she will acculturate). The authors believe these differences have profound effects on the family since parents and children acculturate at radically different rates.

Szapocznik, Kurtines and Fernandez (1980) have observed two dysfunctional trends in acculturating Cuban-American youngsters. One group of teenagers (usually males) are overacculturated and termed "externalizers". In the family, overacculturated children

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and underacculturated parents become alienated from one another. The parents usually try to restrict the Americanization of their children which only serves to further alienate the children and precipitate a rejection of parental values along with a behavioral identification with the host culture. This conflict often manifests itself in behavioral disorders, especially in antisocial behavior and illicit drug abuse by the adolescents, or in abuse of legal substances by the mothers. The other pattern of maladaptive acculturation is termed underacculturation. These teenagers are usually "internalizers" as they "tend to develop few skills in effective interaction and negotiation with the American culture" (p. 363). They tend to be withdrawn, isolated and depressed. They are usually not seen in therapy because they are not behavior problems at school or at home.

Thus, Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) propose that "some of the findings on acculturation and adjustment can best be explained by using a model of biculturalism...individuals living in a bicultural context tend to become maladjusted when they remain or become monocultural" (p. 38). Those who underacculturate or overacculturate do not have the flexibility to cope with their entire environmental cultural surroundings. The data are not clear, however, as to whether lack of biculturalism contributes to maladjustment or is simply a symptom of it.

In order to test the theory of intergenerational gaps in acculturation as the cause of family stress, G. Canino (1982a) conducted a study which consisted of six structured group

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interviews with nine Puerto Rican female adolescents and a two hour family interview for each girl in which Szapocznik and Scopetta's acculturation scale was administered. The quality of family interactions were rated as functional or dysfunctional. Canino found that behavioral or value acculturation was not related to coping patterns or the presence or absence of psychiatric symptomatology. She writes that "value acculturation alone is therefore a narrow dimension for explaining the complex behavior utilized by families for cultural survival" (p.29).

The attitudinal and acculturation scales did not reflect the complexity of family functioning regarding acculturation, adaptation, the formation of values and interpersonal relationships. However, similar to Szapocznik, Canino found that only those girls who had negative parent-child relationships expressed non-traditional and liberal views which differed greatly from those of their parents. Girls who had positive parent-child relationships feared losing parental support by adhering to values that drastically differed from those of their parents. Canino suggests that generational differences in acculturation are a factor in dysfunctional families - and perhaps a culture-specific manifestation of a symptom - rather than the cause of familial conflicts. Moreover, she suggests empirically studying the impact of migration on family functioning and the coping methods used.

Kaufman (1979) writes that in adolescence, the developmental advance of separation from parents is both a cause for celebration and a contribution to depression. Family traditions and cultural

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values which have been internalized during childhood, must, according to Kaufman, survive modifications by the psyche during adolescence and remain meaningful in the youth's socio-cultural environment. He states that "intrapsychic processes...[are] from the beginning...intertwined with equally vital cultural and familial ties in a reciprocally enriching fashion. Failures in this linkage process will result in faulty psychic structure" (p. 112). In adolescence, therefore, there is a loosening of the symbiotic family ties and the establishment of new object ties which are similar to the original family environment.

Kaufman suggests that being "culturally displaced" interrupts this linkage process. There is a real loss which may lead to either anaclitic or introjective depression. In anaclitic depression, a need-fulfilling object is lost before it is sufficiently internalized. The need for the object is therefore very great and there is longing to be soothed. In introjective depression, there are impossible-to-meet demands for achievement. There is much difficulty in expressing ambivalence towards the object and the adolescent identifies with the aggressive part of the object. There are consequently constant self doubts and continuous negative self judgements.

Steinberger (1989) reports that in her clinical work with Hispanic families with adolescent daughters, the individual, interpersonal and cultural issues "appear to promote, particularly at adolescence, a propensity for an affective depressive experience" (p. 3). She writes that the intertwining of cultural

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norms and parental unconscious motivations result in excessive expectations for mother-child closeness. A significant (frequently female) child must "give herself up" to the mother's narcissistic needs for intimacy. The child is compliant, dependent and submissive to the mother, as the child fears losing the mother's love if she (the child) develops a separate identity.

At the same time, writes Steinberger, the child is pressured to succeed outside the family which often demands that the child leave his or her traditions behind. The child is caught between submission at home and "a world stressing individualism, competition, and peer society" (p. 4). If the adolescent tries to separate, maternal approval is often withdrawn and the adolescent begins to complain of guilt, unworthiness and helplessness. Steinberger writes that the first generation Hispanic teenager has the difficult task of meeting "her own developmental needs for autonomy, her mother's ambivalent wishes for her independence (culturally motivated) and also meet her mother's intrapsychic needs for intimacy and dependency " (p. 5). The teenager often feels overwhelmed and unappreciated. Anger is often not conscious as there are cultural prohibitions against directly expressing it to parents. The anger is, therefore, frequently turned against the self. Steinberger believes that while each individual can be more than the sum of her familial and cultural heritage, heritage matters significantly to the quality of the intrapsychic process and to the form in which it is manifested.

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Interestingly, in 1937 Stonequist asked the question, "what is the 'best' way to adjust to a situation in which one's native culture conflicts with the host culture?" He wrote:

> ...the danger often arises from too rapid assimilation. In the United States many immigrants, and particularly the children of immigrants, have been only too willing to discard their traditional values...Perhaps the finest citizens of foreign origin are those who have been able to preserve the best in their ancestral heritages while reaching out for the best that America could offer. They have been able to create a balance between continuity and change, and so have maintained reasonably stable characters. (p.206).

Lambert (1967) came to a similar conclusion when studying French-Americans in New England. He used an attitude scale to determine allegiances to either French or American culture and tested their relative fluency in French and English to determine their mode of adjustment in the bicultural situation. He found that some adolescents repudiated their French culture and were more proficient in English. There was also a group which strongly identified themselves as French who had better French language skills. A third group - seen as least adjusted - were ambivalent about their identity and were retarded in their command of both languages. Lambert uncovered a fourth group, however, that "achieved a comfortable bicultural identity (p. 199)". They were open-minded, non-ethnocentric adolescent who were skilled in both languages and comfortable interacting as full members in both

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cultural groups. Lambert clearly endorses this non-ethnocentric perspective in acculturation as holding promise of universal significance as the world becomes a "global village".

Ramirez (1969) conducted a similar study with Mexican-American adolescents. He called over-acculturated Mexican-American "anglicized"; those who retained Mexican values were "conservative". However, unlike Lambert, Ramirez used adherence to traditional Mexican family and sex role values - rather than language fluency in Spanish versus English - as an indicator of acculturation. Ramirez labeled as "in- grouper" those who scored at the top tenth percentile on the Mexican value scale; he used the term "rebel" to label those who scored at the bottom tenth percentile. Type of psychopathology for each type - and gender differences - were determined. Ramirez found that rebels had many conflicts with their parents and rejected their fathers as ideals of manhood. Rebels also had more psychosomatic complaints, especially among females. Rebels also complained of nervousness, depression and guilt. In-group females obtained higher submissiveness and hostility scores. This could reflect the culturally prescribed submissive role of women in traditional Mexican culture. Ramirez thinks the increased pathology of rebels is due to feelings of guilt and self derogation the adolescent experiences because he or she is rejecting the values of a person (usually a parent) who is important to him or her.

Clark, Kaufman and Pierce (1978) studied quantitative and ethnographic data from interviews with successive generations of

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Americans from various ethnic groups. They measured three dimensions of acculturation. The "Acculturative Balance" scale measured the participants' relative knowledge of traditional culture as compared to American popular culture. It had a 97% correlation with generation of residence in the United States. The "Anglo Face" measure determined the strength with which the participant was identified with the majority culture; the "Traditional Orientation" scale measured the extent to which a participant "acts (in language, citizenship, literacy, and religious affiliation) as though he were a member of his traditional society" (p.233).

They interviewed participants from the immigrant generation, the second generation and the third generation. They found that though Traditional Orientation decreased with successive generations in the United States, this was not necessarily accompanied by a concomitant increase in Anglo Face. Instead, each generation was seen as having two forms of acculturation. One form was considerably more "Anglo Face" than the other. The participants in this group viewed themselves as physically and culturally more Anglo than those in the traditional group. The authors point out that demographic factors did not always account for an Anglo or Traditional orientation. They state that

> the most significant factor in the variation among those types is individual choice in the presentation of the self as more anglicized or more "ethnic"...Our protocols suggest several possible explanations: for example, relative social status in

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one culture compared with the other; the perceived level of ethnic discrimination; the degree of "sheltering" or "cloistering" of the individual within the family or the ethnic community; the degree of outside pressure to interact with Anglos in a new setting; personal circumstances, such as the influence of schooling, intermarriage, migration, relocation; the "acculturative level" of other family members; or the kind of neighborhood in which the person was reared." (p. 236).

Kaplan and Marks (1990) studied the relationship between acculturation and depression among young, middle-aged and elderly Mexican Americans. They measured acculturation using items measuring spoken and written language and ethnic identification; depression was measured using the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D). They found that acculturation and depression was negatively related among older adults but positively related for young adults. The acculturation effects were independent of education and income. The authors conclude that acculturation may remove young Mexican Americans from sources of support and thereby lead to psychological distress. These networks are revitalized in later years, thus reversing the relationship between depression and acculturation in later years. Burnam, Hough, Karno, Escobar & Telles (1987) attempted to differentiate the separate effects of acculturation and immigrant status on mental health. That is, they posited that if the acculturation process itself influences the rate of psychiatric disorders, then

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they would expect rates of disorders among both immigrants and Mexican Americans to vary by acculturation level. They compared the rates of eight major DSM-III psychiatric disorders among high and low acculturated Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants. Within generations, the only significant difference was between low acculturated and high acculturated immigrants on drug and alcohol abuse with high acculturated immigrants exhibiting significantly greater substance abuse. However, Burnams et al.'s study calculates acculturation level by splitting each generation group at its median acculturation level. This is contrary to previous studies which either use the acculturation variable as a continuous variable or calculate the top and bottom 10 or 15% acculturation scores to calculate high and low acculturators, respectively. It is possible that Burham's low acculturation and high acculturation groups were too inclusive. The bicultural group which conceivably has a unique relationship to psychiatric symptomatology was split in two and added to the high and low acculturators. Burnam et al. did divide the acculturation levels into three categorized when examining the prevalence of psychiatric disorders among acculturation levels. However, generation born in the United States was not controlled for. In this analysis, prevalence rates for phobia, alcohol abuse or dependence, drug abuse or dependence, and antisocial personality significantly increased with increased levels of acculturation. When age, sex and marital status was controlled for, acculturation was still positively and significantly related to phobia, alcohol and drug abuse/dependence.

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Nagy and Woods (1992) reviewed the literature on acculturation and alcohol consumption. They found that when generation status alone is used as the measure of acculturation, alcohol consumption increases with increased acculturation. However, when socio-demographic variables were statistically adjusted for, and a behavioral acculturation scale was administered, the highest levels of drinking were among the least acculturated second generation males. The authors conclude that the reliance on generation status is a poor measure of acculturation.

Therefore, while demographic and economic factors have an important influence on manner and rate of acculturation, some theorists have posited that individual factors are also important. The following section will explore the individual intrapsychic and personality factors which have been theorized to influence acculturation rate.

Individual Factors

Most researchers are concerned with the effect acculturation has on mental health and personality rather than the reverse. That is, very few empirical studies examine the effect of psychopathology or character structure on the process of acculturation when demographic variables such as age and length of time in the United States is controlled for. Smither (1982) notes that few theories "take into consideration individual differences and the personality process of the individual which facilitate or retard acculturation" (p. 62-63). Smither criticizes models of acculturation for not systematically accounting for individual

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personality factors which make individuals from the same generation, family, socioeconomic strata and educational background have different acculturation rates and styles.

Smither introduces the concept of psychological role theory to explain the individual role in acculturation. According to him, the minority group member possesses a role repertoire which is suitable for the minority culture. In the process of acculturation, he or she must expand that repertoire of behaviors to interact with the majority culture. Not all minority group members will possess the character structure necessary for this task. Only those with high levels of intellect adjustment, prudence, assertiveness, likability, sociability and ego control will have the interpersonal competency to take on new roles which are consonant with the host environment. A mediating factor is the similarity of the native and host cultures. According to Smither, however, this similarity does not supersede the primacy of character structure in predicting the ability to acculturate successfully. Smither writes: "Thus a knowledge of the host language may facilitate acculturation, but characterological factors bearing on role structure will be more important in the overall process" (p. 66).

Nagy and Wood (1992) cites a Canadian study (Clement, 1986) in which self-confidence was the factor most strongly associated with English proficiency and acculturation. They conclude that acculturation entails taking risks with the host culture by initiating contact with members outside one's ethnic group. A lack of self confidence would preclude risk taking and inhibit the

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practice which is needed to learn the language and behaviors of the host environment. Nagy and Wood also suggest that personal choice may be a factor in acculturation. They suggest that those with attitudes and values similar to Anglo Americans may want to join the mainstream more quickly.

Psychoanalysts have addressed the individual intrapsychic factors which affect acculturation. Freud (1920) noted that "man never willingly abandons a libido position, not even when a substitute is already beckoning him" (p. 166). When mourning an object loss, there is an intense struggle between reality which demands the acceptance of the object as gone and the wish to have the object even if only intrapsychically. In mourning, it is slowly and painfully that the object - after being hypercathected -is given up at the behest of reality. Subsequently, the ego is free to cathect another object. The aforementioned process could be applied to the "normal" mourning of a cultural identity.

From a Freudian point of view, when one is transplanted to a culturally different environment, it is normal to "hypercathect" all aspects of one's culture of origin. In time, the reality of one's new cultural environment is accepted, libido is detached from one's original culture, which is concomitantly internalized, freed to be used to cathect the host culture. One becomes bicultural and accepts the continuously shifting levels of libido attached to each culture.

In melancholia - mourning's pathological counterpart - the

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relationship to the object is ambivalent. Freud states that "countless single conflicts in which love and hate wrestle together are fought for the object; the one seeks to detach libido from the object, the other to uphold the libido position against the assault" (p. 171). On an intrapsychic level, Freud states that those predisposed to narcissistic object relationships are most likely to experience melancholia as a reaction to object loss. The libido, freed from the abandoned object, is "withdrawn into the ego and not directed to another object...[it] served simply to establish an identification of the ego with the abandoned object." (p. 170). When persons abandon or are made to abandon a country, socio-economic group, etc., they must give up their exclusive "cultural cathexis" of his origins. Those predisposed to narcissistic object relationships cannot do this; they may not only retain their culture of origin but may " overidentify" with it at the expense of acculturating to the new environment. They try to incorporate the culture into themselves and do not become bicultural.

When one narcissistically identifies with the lost object, while the object itself is abandoned, "hate is expended upon this new substitute-object, railing at it, depreciating it, making it suffer and deriving sadistic gratification from its suffering". (p. 172). On a group level, one can postulate that the narcissist detours self hate and/or hate toward his or her culture of origin to the host culture. Through this stance, self reproaches and melancholia can be indefinitely postponed and externalized. Whereas

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Freud sees the process of mourning a lost ethnicity as object loss, Winnicott (1964) sees culture as occupying a "space" midway between mother and child. He uses the term "potential space" to describe the area within the mother-infant relationship where the personal and communal (the "me" and the "not me") is negotiated. It is an area which results from the baby's confidence in mother's reliability. Paradoxically, the infant's trust in mother allows him or her to distance him or herself from her while, "At the same time,...separation is avoided by the filling in of the potential space with creative playing with the use of symbols and with all that eventually adds up to a cultural life." (p. 109). Culture, then, links and separates a child from mother. The space culture occupies for the child may be large or small, trustworthy or persecutor, depending on the reliability of mother's love when she brought the child his (and her) world. The child's feelings toward his or her culture and "mother-tongue", therefore, is influenced by the feelings an infant had towards mother.

Consequently, the loss of one's native culture by migration and acculturation is the loss of the symbols which made the world seem safe (if the mothering was good enough) because it was an arena which mother and child created together. One is losing parts of oneself and one's mother and the symbols which joined the two.

Stein (1985) writes that "Culture...is a fantasized maternal object with which the tribalist feels himself to be inextricably tied and upon which he feels himself wholly dependent" (p.315). It is a basic component of personal identity. Acculturation,

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therefore, is a stressful experience because fundamental aspects of one's identity are in danger of being annihilated. This threat unleashes "intolerable anxiety about death, loss and separation". In contrast to Freud, Stein sees two options in the psychic resolution of culture loss. One may deprecate the new culture in order to retain the culture of origin or one may acculturate quickly to the new group in order to eclipse the painful mourning process. He writes that "In response [to acculturation], one may revitalize the group and reaffirm loyalty...[or] one may reaffiliate oneself, this time with a group which is perceived to be more powerful, more nurturant and so on" (p. 319).

In his clinical work, Garza-Guerrero (1974) has seen a similar dichotomy in modes of acculturation. He analyzes these individual differences in acculturation from an object relations perspective. He states that "the degree of stability and integration of the previously internalized object relations will determine the fate of...culture shock. Instability and unintegrated states of internalized object relations will readily lead to pathological variants of coping with...culture encounter" (p. 421). If a person's internalized objects are "good", the person will be less conflicted during culture shock, a time when he will rely more heavily on internalized objects.

Similar to Freud, Garza-Guerrero views underacculturation as the "depressive" position in which the patient finds relief from his mourning by accentuating his culture of origin at a time when it is shaky. This is a normal phase of culture shock which can

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become pathological if it becomes a permanent stance vis-a-vis the host culture. Perhaps more pathological, according to Garza-Guerrero, is when the mourning process is eclipsed entirely. In this "overacculturating" position, a person hastily pseudo-identifies with the objects (e.g. friends, food, and language) that the new culture provides. One is also more likely to denigrate one's culture of origin. This pseudoidentification, however, only postpones the mourning for the lost culture which must take place in order to integrate both cultures. In the book When I Was Puerto Rican, author Esmeralda Santiago (1993) describes two acculturation patterns she observed as a migrant student:

> there were the ones who longed for the island and the ones who wanted to forget it as soon as possible.
>
> I felt disloyal for wanting to learn English, for liking pizza, for studying the girls with the big hair and trying out their styles at home...
>
> I didn't feel comfortable with the newly arrived Puerto Ricans who stuck together in suspicious little groups, criticizing everyone, afraid of everything (p.230).

The aspects of culture which change during acculturation are diverse; they include for example behavior, cognitive strategies and value orientations. The following section will discuss the domains of culture which are most widely addressed in the acculturation literature.

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Domains of Acculturation

Language

> inside my ghetto i learned to understand
> your short range visions of where you lead us
> across the oceans where i talk about myself
> in foreign languages, across where i reach
> to lament finding myself reseasoning my
> coffee beans.
>
> Tato Laviera

Tato Laviera, in the above poem, is lamenting the loss of the cultural world his mother brought him which is painfully at odds with the world which awaits him outside the boundaries of his home. He is struck by how he speaks "in foreign languages". He no longer dominates Spanish - his mother's tongue - and yet the English language he is fluent in seems foreign as it fails to capture the emotional depth of his experience. Stern (1985) writes that when the global experience and language version are at odds, "The global experience may be fractured or simply poorly represented, in which case it wanders off to lead a misnamed and poorly understood existence." (p.175). This was written to describe the monolingual's occasional - and presumably unconscious and/or psychologically impaired - disconnection between language and experience. The present will explore the emotional implications such distance has for people who dominate a language other than the one their mother used to bring them the world.

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Werner and Kaplan (1963) state that verbal symbols or names emerge out of the primordial sharing situation. At first, the infant sees little differentiation between self, mother and referential object. The infant contemplates objects with mother by looking at and manipulating them. He then uses gesture to invite the mother to regard an object with him. A yet higher level of sharing is achieved when objects are contemplated through verbal symbols or names. As stated by Werner and Kaplan, this "relatively slight differentiation between mother-child and object must not be considered... a 'lack of articulation' but rather in terms of providing that necessary primordial basis which relationships are rooted and from which self, objects and others emerge and become differentiated without losing their mutual ties" (p.71)

Therefore, in the early years - a time psychoanalysts believe our most profound layers of sentience are formed - language and words link us to mother. They are transitional objects or phenomena (Werner and Kaplan,1963 ;Stern, 1985; Winnicott, 1971). A transitional object is for an infant, a symbol of its union with mother at a time when separateness is being initiated (Winnicott, p. 96-7). Stern cites Dore (1985) as speculating that "the word, as a transitional phenomenon, does not truly belong to the self, nor does it belong to the other. It occupies a midway position between the infant's subjectivity and the mother's objectivity " (p. 172). The child may say the words the parents did and rejoice in both the creative mastery of the accomplishment and the ability to internally represent (and imitate) part of mother. Its union

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and separateness (its similarity and difference) from mother is emerging through language.

The 'decathecting' of words as transitional objects occurs as children speak to others who are interpersonally more distant. Their words must be understood by a wider audience and so the symbols they use and the objects they refer to become more autonomous from each other and less subjectively meaningful, though a balance between the subjective and consensually validated meaning is maintained. Stern views this accomplishment as a 'mixed blessing' i.e., while the advent of language means the "entrance into a wider cultural membership,...[the risk is] losing the force of and original wholeness of original experience" (p.177). Werner and Kaplan express the idea that the balance between "individual and transpersonal expressiveness" is constantly being negotiated as individuals and societies dynamically create language. Language incorporates body movement and vocalization into an organismic state which also includes affect and imagery.

The area within the mother-infant relationship where this combination of the personal and communal (the "me" and the "not me") occurs is termed "potential space" by Winnicott. It is an area which results from the baby's confidence in mother's reliability. Paradoxically, infants trust in mother allows them to distance themselves from her while, "At the same time,...separation is avoided by the filling in of the potential space with creative playing with the use of symbols and with all that eventually adds up to a cultural life" (p. 109). The potential space and the early

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verbal symbols used to fill it is imbued with profound subjective reactions which are specific to ones interactions with mother (Werner and Kaplan, p. 46) If the interaction is reliable, the infant eventually 'decathects' the words shared with mother and language comes to cover "the intermediate territory between 'inner psychic reality and 'the external world as perceived by two persons in common" (Winnicott, p.5) and potential space comes to cover the child's participation in the cultural world. Culture, then, links and separates a child from mother. The space culture occupies for the child may be large or small, trustworthy or persecutory, depending on the reliability of mother's love she brought the child his (and her) world. The child's feelings toward his or her culture and "mother-tongue" , therefore, is influenced by the feelings an infant had toward mother.

The loss of mother's language and culture by migration and acculturation therefore, is the loss of the symbols which made the world seem safe (if the mothering was good enough) because it was an arena which mother and child created together. One is losing parts of oneself and one's mother and the symbols which joined the two. Consider the following passage from Hunger for Memory, (1982), the autobiography of Richard Rodriguez, a Mexican-American author who is recounting how he felt when his parents, upon his teacher's urging, began to speak English at home.

> I did not realize they were talking
> Spanish, however, until, at the moment
> they saw me, I heard their voices change

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> to speak English. Those gringo sounds they uttered startled me. Pushed me away. In that moment of trivial misunderstanding and profound insight, I felt my throat twisted by unsounded grief. ...I had no place to turn with Spanish. (The spell was broken) (p.22).

Rodriguez was not aware that his parents were speaking Spanish as it was such an intrinsic part of the world he created with them. A different language - English - broke the spell of intimacy and connection. It disrupted his unreflective sense of "going on being". The potential space he and mother had filled with Spanish symbols was being abruptly and traumatically annihilated. The new symbols would never reach the depth of his experience the way his mother's did. He continues: "the Spanish voices I'd hear in public, recalled the golden age of my youth. Hearing Spanish then, I continued to be a careful, if sad, listener to sounds" (p.26). He is lamenting the cultural experiences which cannot be articulated in the language he now dominates. Only through his receptive vocabulary can he re-experience the feelings of his unity with his family.

In the language of Werner and Kaplan, perhaps the second language will not be infused with as much "individuality and subjectivity" (p.50) of meaning as the language shared during the primordial sharing situation. English will be "less egocentric, idiosyncratic and contextualized" (p.49) but also less likely to

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capture the emotional depth of one's mother tongue. Whereas this happens to all people as they learn to communicate with other members of their society, one can speculate that the distance between one's idiosyncratic meaning and the collective meaning is even greater for the bilingual child whose meaning is originally contextualized in another word. Perhaps the second language remains more of a sign than a symbol.

Interestingly, those Cuban-American youth who were rated by teachers as most psychologically healthy also rated highly on a biculturalism scale. These youth were involved in both their native and host cultures. Szapocnick et. al. (1978) does not posit individual differences as the cause of different acculturation patterns but one may imagine that the truly bicultural child is able to use "tradition [as] the basis for inventiveness" (Winnicott, p.99). He is able to fill the potential space between him and his mother with the creative products of his own experience of contacting the new culture. Winnicott writes that "playing and cultural experience...link the past, the present, and the future" (p.109). Bicultural children (or communities) play by infusing the symbols of mother with that of the host culture and contributes to the tradition of their world. However, only if the child is secure in the union (both with his mother and mother's symbols) can this occur. The potential space exists only if the child can rely on "the dependability of the mother figure or environmental elements...that is becoming introjected" (p.100). Therefore, for acculturating youngsters, if mother is unreliable or the new

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culture is thrust upon them abruptly, their ability to play may be thwarted. They may attach themselves to one or another culture and not be able to fuse symbols and create in a space which reflects the totality of their experience.

An example of bilingual's dynamic creation of language which integrates his or her personal and social world is code- switching or "Spanglish", a type of language which combines the phonetics, syntax and metaphors of both English and Spanish. Aparicio (1988) writes that "the movement between two codes mimics and expresses in a dynamic fashion the bicultural reality which is in constant movement" (p. 13). The two languages also reflect the bilingual's attempt to reconcile the "me" from the "not me". Spanglish, by its ability to merge and separate from mother while simultaneously creating something new, is able to create a language which encapsulates the organismic and material feature of words for a community whose experience is not captured by so-called "standard" English or Spanish. Interestingly, Aparicio writes that bilingual poets tend to use Spanish to describe affective states, whether positive and or negative. Paralleling the experience Rodriguez writes about autobiographically, bilingual poets express the deeper aspects of their sentience in Spanish.

Ethnic Identity

McGoldrick, Pearce & Giordano (1982) define an ethnic group as members who regard themselves (and are regarded by others) as sharing a common ancestry. It is "a sense of commonality transmitted over generations by the family and reinforced by the

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surrounding community...It involves conscious and unconscious processes that fulfill a deep psychological need for identity and historical continuity" (p. 4). Ethnicity is an important component of individual identity. In 1968, Erikson defined the successful identity formation as resulting from the relatively successful struggle for integrated personal continuity in a changing cultural, and experiential past, present and future. Therefore, according to these points of view, past ethnic ties must be integrated into present identity for psychological integrity.

This sense of belonging to our ancestral group is a basic emotional need. According to Erikson, it depends on the support from the collective sense of identity characterizing the social groups important to adolescents, i.e., their class, nation and culture (Erikson, 1968, p. 89). Many have described the negative consequences of failure to resolve identity issues. For example, (1982) McGoldrick et al. write that we "may ignore it or cut it off by changing our names, rejecting our families and social backgrounds, but we do so to the detriment of our well- being." (p. 5). For the acculturating youngster, fusing and integrating the past and present is a very complex task. The values, behaviors, social networks and language of two distinct cultural groups may be in sharp contrast to each other. Erikson (1968) wrote that when adolescent self-definition is difficult for either collective or personal reasons, fear of loss of identity and role confusion results. Consequently, "...the young person counterpoints rather than synthesizes his sexual, ethnic, occupational and typological

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alternatives and is often driven to decide definitely and totally for one side ore the other" [emphasis added] (p.87). Similar to what Szapocznik speaks of in terms of value and behavioral acculturation, Erikson describes with respect to ethnic identity. That is, when there are personal or social problems with establishing a stable identity, a young person becomes confused and adheres strongly to one ethnic group identification. The adolescent may, according to Erikson, develop an irrational self-hatred or a fanatical hate of otherness. These youth are at risk for developing a "synthetic identity" which is based on extreme nationalism, racism or class consciousness.

Parks (1928), coined the term "marginal man" to categorize those who are not rooted in either culture. They do not choose to be part of either ethnic group and are, instead, anxious and insecure. Stonequist (1937) expanded "marginal man" to label the person who is caught between two cultural or racial groups. The conflicting loyalties engender feelings of ambivalence, excessive self-consciousness, moodiness and hypercriticalness. Issues of ethnic identity among the Puerto Rican population has been subjected to empirical scrutiny.

Rogler and Santana-Cooney (1984) compared migrant Puerto Rican parents and their first generation adult children in terms of ethnic identity and affiliation. One hundred families were studied to determine if length of time in the host society predicted ethnic identity. They found the children were less likely to speak Spanish, listen to Spanish television or radio, had less ability in

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Spanish and less preference for Puerto Rican culture than both their parents. However, while the children's ethnic identity differed significantly from their mothers there were no differences with the ethnic identity of their father's.

Rogler and Cooney note that the first generation shifts to a bicultural identity whereas the parents (and especially mothers) are more likely to identify themselves as Puerto Rican exclusively. Forty-five percent of the children considered themselves exclusively Puerto Rican, the remaining considered themselves part Puerto Rican and part American. The children were also more likely to speak both English and Spanish and were closer to "no preference" in terms of attitude toward American and Puerto Rican culture than to preferring American culture.

The demographic variables which had the most significant independent effect upon ethnic identity for both parents and children was age of arrival to the United States and level of education. Education was related to language spoken, mass media language use, and knowledge of English and Spanish for both parents. However, for the children, education was related only to knowledge of English. Age of arrival was related to the acculturation of mothers, fathers and children. The authors suggest that birthplace cannot be equated with acculturation, but age of exposure to the host environment is related to acculturation. Rogler and Cooney write that although children were more acculturated than their parents, children's responses suggested a movement to biculturalism and not complete

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assimilation. This study is an important contribution to the study of acculturation among Puerto Ricans. However, it studied only intact families, limiting the generalizability of its findings.

Zentella (1990) interviewed 43 high school students in Puerto Rico who had moved from the mainland one to three years previously. The participants were of Puerto Rican parentage and English dominant; they were questioned on issues of language, identity and biculturalism. Sixty-one percent of the participants reported that speaking Spanish was not necessary or indispensable for Puerto Rican identity. Most of them had been referred to as Anglos: 74% were called "gringo" and 51% were called "American" by native islanders. Fifty-eight percent were called "nuyorican" by others and this was the label they were most likely to use to refer to themselves. Zentella notes that when they return, migrant schoolchildren "are being defined as distinct from the native population. They, in turn, participate in this redefinition of their identity by referring to themselves as 'we/us, the bilinguals'...and to their fellow students who are native born Puerto Ricans as 'they/them, the regulars' (p.89). Nonetheless, almost half the sample wanted to remain on the island which they viewed as calmer and more hospitable than the inner city ghettos they left in the United States mainland. According to Zentella, many return migrants want to be considered Puerto Rican but do not want their Spanish language ability to be the barometer which determines ethnic identity. Therefore, for mainland raised Puerto

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Ricans, knowledge of Spanish is not equated with a Puerto Rican identity. In acculturation measures where both language and identity acculturation items are included, it is possible that very different constructs are being measured and averaged. This would obscure the differences between changes in language and changes in ethnic identity during the acculturation process.

Zentella also found that gender is an important variable in ethnic identity. She found that females - both adolescent and older - express more conservatism in retaining cultural values and native language. More adolescent Puerto Rican females than males believed Spanish is indispensable to a Puerto Rican identity and were more concerned if Spanish were not to be spoken in Puerto Rico in fifty years. Females are more likely to maintain links in the private domain of the nuclear and extended family, and Spanish is necessary for maintaining these familial links. Females, therefore, value being able to maneuver both the private (familial) domain and the public domain of education, social services, housing and employment, for which English is needed.

Summary

Acculturation scales have generally included items covering language use, social affiliation and ethnic identity. A summary score is then obtained which estimates a persons relative involvement in their native and host culture (Cuellar et al., 1980; Olmedo, 1979; Marin, et al. 1987; Szapocznik et al., 1978; Nagy & Wood, 1992; Burnam et al., 1987). However, while this summary score was an adequate gross measure, later researchers noted that

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the overall summary score obscured differences among different components of acculturation (Mendoza, 1989; Mendoza et al., 1981; Rotheram-Borus, 1993). For example, language acculturation was seen to occur more rapidly than ethnic identity acculturation; a result which is not apparent in summary acculturation scores (Rogler & Santana-Cooney, 1984; Mendoza, 1989).

Similarly, most acculturation research has compared the emotional well being of various generations of the same ethnic group. That is, the relationship between mental health and acculturation was explored by comparing the emotional well being of first, second and third generation Hispanic Americans (Knight et al., 1978, Torres-Matrullo, 1976, Soto & Shaver, 1982). Few empirical studies have explored the relationship between emotional well being and acculturation among members of the same generation. Fewer still are studies exploring these issues among Puerto Rican adolescents. Equalizing the generation studied would permit the impact of individual factors on acculturation to be studied.

Moreover, by examining the acculturation domains of language, social affiliation and ethnic identity separately, it can be determined if individual factors influence each of these domains differently. Self-confidence, assertiveness and role-flexibility have been posited to accelerate the acculturation process (Smither, 1982; Nagy & Woods, 1992). That is, acculturation involves the imperfect practice of the behaviors associated with the new culture and social affiliation with potentially rejecting members of the

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host culture. Self-confidence and assertiveness are needed to risk engaging in these behaviors.

Conversely, depression has been posited to skew the acculturation process. Specifically, psychoanalytic theory would posit that those with symptoms of depression would experience the greatest degree of emotional disorganization in acculturation. Depressed individuals are those who react to relatively normal losses with an exaggerated sense of melancholia; they cannot give up the lost object and consequently identify with it. Alternately, they hastily give up and substitute the object without experiencing a normal grieving process.

The pattern of clinging to one culture is viewed as the result of impaired early relationships. A person denied a secure early relationship may ambivalently cling to the remnants of it. The native culture may represent such a remnant. As such it provides a modicum of comfort which is not easily relinquished. Conversely, the native culture may be rejected and the new culture embraced as the "better" substitute mother (Garza- Guerrero,1973; Stein, 1983). Social scientists and family system theorists have seen two pathological variants of acculturation which they attribute to personality types and family dynamics: acting out youth, who are termed externalizers, reject their native culture and overacculturate; conversely, internalizers are depressed, lack social skills and underacculturate. The former reject their families' values and the latter cleave to the family and reject the host culture (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; Szapocznik et al., 1980;

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Szapocznik et al., 1978). From a psychoanalytic perspective, the internalizing youngsters are pathologically mourning their culture of origin. Both types are likely to have experienced impaired early relationships which led to this ambivalent association with future objects. They are unable to accept the shifting levels of libido accorded each culture and consequently see one culture as 'bad' and another as 'good'.

In addition to individual factors, socio-demographic factors have been shown to influence acculturation rates of Hispanics. More education has been associated with increased acculturation. Gender has also been found to affect acculturation, with females acculturating less rapidly in order to maintain the emotional links with the private domain of the extended family. In the case of Puerto Ricans, the more recent the date of child's and parent's arrival to the United States and the larger the number of return trips to Puerto Rico, the less acculturated a family will be regardless of other factors.

If not controlled for, these factors are seen to affect acculturation in a way which would mask the unique contribution of psychological symptoms in explaining acculturation. In the present sample, socio-economic status is largely accounted for by the fact that all participants reside in the same low-income - largely bilingual and bicultural - communities.

Hypotheses

Based on the foregoing, the present study will explore whether those Puerto Rican youth who are identified with the Puerto Rican

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culture and reject the majority culture or those adolescents who identify with the majority culture and reject Puerto Rican culture will be more depressed than bicultural adolescents. Moreover, it will be investigated whether gender is a factor in determining the type of maladjustment. Specifically, will more females be in the underacculturated extreme than in the overacculturated extreme? Will the relative percentage of females in the underacculturated group be higher than those in the overacculturated group? Will more males be in the overacculturated extreme than in the underacculturated group? The present study will examine overall acculturation (OA) as well as the three domains of acculturation: ethnic self-identity (EI), language (LA) and social affiliation (SA), in order to determine if acculturation is related to the affective problems of mainland raised children of Puerto Rican parents. Participants will be either born in the United States mainland or will have moved to the mainland before the age of five. The participants will be public school students in monolingual, English speaking classes in a low-income neighborhood.

It is hypothesized that the following relationships will be seen:

1) Mainland reared Puerto Rican youth will exhibit a non-linear relationship between depression and acculturation measures. Those at either extreme of acculturation will be more depressed.

1a) Among first generation youths of Puerto Rican background families, there will be relatively more

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females than males who are depressed-underacculturated.

1b) Among first generation youths of Puerto Rican background families, there will be relatively more males than females who are depressed-overacculturated.

2) Girls will be less acculturated than boys.

3) Behavioral indices of acculturation such as language choice and social affiliation will reflect acculturation to a greater degree than ethnic self-identification.

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CHAPTER 3.

Methodology

Subjects

Participants were recruited from a junior high school and mental health clinic in predominantly Hispanic areas of New York City. The questionnaires were administered to fifty-seven twelve and thirteen year old mainland raised Puerto Rican adolescents, 19 females and 38 males. Study participants were born and raised in the United States. Their mothers (n=36) or grandparents (n=20) were born in Puerto Rico. Twenty students were receiving psychological outpatient treatment and 37 were not in treatment. The treatment and non-treatment groups were viewed as behaviorally similar by teaching staff. Among disruptive and depressed children, parental acceptance of psychological treatment seemed to distinguish treatment and non-treatment students. There were acting-out and dysthymic youth who were not in treatment due to parental non-compliance with psychotherapy, thus justifying the inclusion of both groups in the sample. The two groups did not significantly differ in their depression scores, sustaining the decision to include treatment and non-treatment students in the same group.

Measurements

The battery consists of the following scales:

1) Acculturation Scale for Puerto Ricans - This scale explores subjects' language, social affiliation and ethnic self-identification. It provides a Likert-type scale which ranges from "very Puerto Rican" to "very American". It provides a global score

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of acculturation (OA) as well as scores on its three subscales: ethnic identity (EI), ethnic social affiliation (SA), and language (LA). The OA scale achieved a reliability coefficient of .87. The LA sub-scale achieved a reliability coefficient of .89, the EI sub-scale .60 and the SA .70. The scale was used to assess the impact of folk role-modeling therapy among adolescents of varying levels of acculturation (Costantino, Malgady & Rogler, 1988).

2) The Symptom Checklist-90 (SCL-90) Depression Subscale - This is a 90 item self-report inventory of psychiatric symptoms. Responses are given on a five point Likert scale which ranges from "not at all" to "extremely". It provides an overall score of symptomology as well as subscale scores on: somatization, obsessive compulsion, inter-personal sensitivity, anxiety, depression, hostility, phobic anxiety, paranoid ideation and psychoticism. It has been used with adult Puerto Rican research participants (Soto, E. & Sheaver, P. 1982) and with inner-city black adolescents (Freeman, E., Rickels, K., Mudd, E., Huggins, G. Garcia, R., 1982). Derogatis & Cleary (1977) state that the symptom constructs of the SCL-90 have high validity and that the test-retest reliabilities have ranged from .77 for psychoticism to .90 for depression. In a study using the SCL-90 with Puerto Rican adolescents, the reliability alpha coefficient ranged from .69 for phobic anxiety to .86 for depression (Costantino, G., Malgady, R. & Rogler, L., 1988). It is a standard research measure for indicating psychiatric status.

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3) Children's Depression Inventory (CDI) - This 27 item self report inventory measures the occurrence and relative severity of depressive symptoms in children. When used with public school seventh and eighth-graders it achieved a reliability alpha coefficient of .83 for males and .85 for females. Item-total score product-moment correlations differed for males and females. For females "sadness," "crying spells," "negative body image," and "loneliness" correlated more highly with overall depression scores. For males, "misbehavior" and "disobedience" correlated more highly with total depression scores (Smucker, Craighead, Wilcoxon Craighead, Green, 1986).

Validity studies (Fleming-Saylor, Finch, Spirito, Bennett, 1984) demonstrate that the CDI distinguishes children with general emotional distress from normal children, though the emotionally distressed children may also exhibit additional pathology such as anxiety. Moreover, Fleming-Saylor et al. found that the CDI was highly correlated with negative self-concept as measured by the Piers-Harris Self Concept scales.

The CDI is composed of the following five factor scales: negative mood, interpersonal problems, ineffectiveness, anhedonia, and negative self esteem. Reliability coefficients for the subscales are not reported by the scales' author (Kovacs, 1992).

Prior to using the CDI subscales in the main data analysis of the current study, internal consistency reliability analysis were performed on all sub-scales used in the study. Internal consistency refers to the items on each scale consistently

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measuring the same dimension. The reliability alpha coefficient is an overall summary coefficient of a series of item-total correlation coefficients. Table 1 shows the alpha reliability coefficients for the overall CDI scale and its four subscales. The CDI achieved an alpha reliability coefficient of .73. The Negative Mood CDI subscale achieved an alpha reliability of .66. The Interpersonal Problems CDI subscale achieved a reliability of .26; the Ineffectiveness subscale achieved a .37; the Negative Self Esteem subscale achieved a .49 alpha reliability coefficient. Since the only CDI subscale to achieve a psychometrically acceptable level of reliability was the Negative Mood Subscale, only the CDI and Negative Mood Subscale was used. 4) Migration History Questionnaire - This 12 item questionnaire determines if the research participant is first, second or third generation mainland raised Puerto Rican. It is based on a similar questionnaire used by Cuellar et al. (1980) with Mexican-Americans. In order to incorporate a measure of contact with the parents' (or grandparents') native culture, the questionnaire also asks if the research participant ever visited Puerto Rico.

Procedures

A clinical psychology graduate student assisted in the administration and collecting of the questionnaires. She was trained in the administration of the questionnaire by the writer. Participants were recruited from a public junior high school and a mental health clinic; both were located in predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods in New York City. The study was approved by the

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Division of Strategic Planning/Research and Development of the New York City Board of Education. Approval was also obtained form the district superintendent, school principal, school vice-principal and all teachers. Small group presentations regarding the research were made to six groups of teachers. A presentation was then made in the classroom and students were asked to self-identify as children born in the United States of Puerto Rican parents. Teachers collected consent forms from students.

In the mental health clinic, the study was approved by the Director of Psychological Services. A group presentation was then made to therapists explaining the research project. The clinicians identified patients on their caseload who met the subject criteria. In both cites, a Spanish and English language consent form was sent to each home. Parents were called to confirm receipt of the consent form. Those students who returned the consent forms participated in the study.

The administration of all instruments took approximately one hour. They were administered in groups of about 10 participants. Students with reading difficulties were identified by teachers and they were administered the questionnaires in groups of five students and two researchers. For all participants, the instructions printed at the top of each questionnaire were read aloud by the examiner. The students were asked to read the items silently and answer the questions at their own pace. Questions were answered in a general way in order not to influence responses. The groups were assembled during class time or during assembly.

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CHAPTER 4.

Results

A correlation matrix was generated which included the sociodemographic variables (gender, generation mainland born, and visiting Puerto Rico), the acculturation variables (Overall Acculturation, Language Acculturation, Social Affiliation Acculturation and Ethnic Identity Acculturation) and the depression scales (i.e., CDI, NMS and SCL90-DEP). The sociodemographic variables were included as dummy variables. The omitted categories were 'No visits to Puerto Rico', 'Males', and 'Mother born in the United States', respectively for the variables 'Visiting Puerto Rico', 'Gender' and 'Generation Mainland born'. The resulting zero-order correlation coefficient will indicate if groups significantly differ in the acculturation variables: OA, LA, SA, EI. The correlations will also detect any linear relationships between any of the acculturation domains and depression.

In order to determine if depressed underacculturated participants are disproportionately female and depressed overacculturated participants are disproportionately female, it was proposed a chi-square be used. Depressed participants will be defined as those participants with a CDI score of 18 or above (Kovacs, 1990). For each acculturation domain, overacculturators will be defined as those scoring in the top 20% of the sample in acculturation; underacculturators will be defined as those scoring in the bottom 20% of the sample in acculturation. The chi-square would have tested the hypothesis that among depressed youth, mode

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of acculturation (overacculturation and underaccuturation) is related to sex. That is, it was expected that the proportion of females in the underacculturation category and the proportion of males in the overacculturation category will be greater than would be expected by chance.

The values of each acculturation variable were plotted with the values of each depression scale. This allows non-linear relationships to be detected between acculturation and depression (Norusis, p. 319).

Table 2 displays the characteristics of the subjects. The sample is 67% male and most of the sample (68%) has taken at least one trip to Puerto Rico. Sixty-two percent of the participants' mothers were born in Puerto Rico. Thirty-five percent of the sample is receiving psychological treatment.

Table 3 presents the mean and standard deviation for the three variables measuring depression. The mean depression scores are 9.72, 2.23, and .87 for CDI, Negative Mood Subscale and SCL-90 Depression subscale, respectively.

The migration questionnaire which asked for the place of birth of parents and grandparents revealed that all grandparents were born in Puerto Rico. In the parental data, there was a considerable number of "I don't know" for "Father's birthplace". This probably reflects the number of female headed household where the participant's father is estranged from the family. Therefore, only maternal place of birth was considered in determining participant's generation mainland born. Participants who were born

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in the mainland United States are considered "first generation". Participants whose mother's were born in the mainland United States are considered "second generation".

Hypothesis 1 posited the following:

> 1) Mainland reared Puerto Rican youth will exhibit a non-linear relationship between depression and acculturation measures. Those at either extreme of acculturation will be more depressed.

In order to detect this non-linear relationship between depression and acculturation, scatterplots were constructed. Figures 3a -3c shows the values of OA plotted against each of the three depression scales, i.e., CDI, NMS and the SCL-90-DEP. The scatterplots suggest that participants with high values on depression cluster around middle and high values of acculturation in every domain except identity acculturation, where the pattern seems random. This does not support the main hypothesis. That is, it was posited that participants with low values on depression will cluster along the middle values of acculturation and participants with high values on depression will score on <u>either</u> the extreme high or low range of acculturation. Hypothesis 1 was not sustained.

Hypothesis 1a and 1b posited the following:

> 1a) Among first generation youth of Puerto Rican background families, there will be relatively more females than males who are depressed-underacculturated.

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1b) Among first generation youth of Puerto Rican families, there will be relatively more males than females who are depressed-overacculturated.

The plots show that very few participants received 18 or above on the CDI. This precludes examining gender differences in acculturation among clinically depressed participants as there are not enough highly depressed participants in the sample. Hypothesis 1a and 1b were not supported.

Hypothesis 2 states:

2) Girls will be less acculturated than boys.

Figure 1a shows the means of Overall Acculturation, Language Acculturation, Social Affiliation Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity Acculturation scores for males and females. Females and males OA scores (2.38 and 2.37, respectively) are similar, as are their LA scores (2.90 and 3.05, respectively), their SA scores (2.52 and 2.37, respectively) and their EI scores (.82 and .79, respectively). There is no significant difference between males and females in any of the measured domains of acculturation. Hypothesis 2 was not supported.

Hypothesis 3 posited the following:

3) Behavioral indices of acculturation such as language choice and social affiliation will reflect acculturation to a greater degree than ethnic self-identification.

Figure 1a shows that participants are more acculturated in the language realm, followed by social affiliation acculturation and

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finally, ethnic identification acculturation. That is, language acculturation occurs much more rapidly than ethnic identity acculturation. Whereas the mean language score suggests that on average students are English dominant bilinguals, this language dominance does not translate into an American or Anglo ethnic identification. The comparatively low mean ethnic identification score suggests that students generally identify themselves as Puerto Rican or Nuyorican. Hypothesis 3 was supported.

Figures 1b, 2a and 2b compares the acculturation domain scores for first and second generation participants, participants receiving psychological treatment versus not, and participants who visited Puerto Rico versus participants who have not visited Puerto Rico. Visiting Puerto Rico and outpatient psychological treatment were related to acculturation scores. Participants who visited Puerto Rico had significantly lower OA scores ($t=3.15$, $p>.01$), LA scores ($t=2.32$, $p>.05$) and SA scores ($t=3.45$, $p>.001$) than participants who did not visit Puerto Rico. Participants who were receiving psychological outpatient treatment had higher OA scores ($t=2.58$, $p>.01$) and LA scores (-2.17, $p>.03$). EI scores were not significantly different for any of the two groups compared.

The patterns which emerged from the scatterplots were examined and further for statistical significance. The pattern in Figure 3a suggests that as depression measured by the CDI increases, so does Overall Acculturation (OA). In the clinically depressed population (which is defined as a score of 18 or more by Kovacs, 1992), none of the participants achieved low values in acculturation; instead

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they are clustered in middle to high values of acculturation. Less depressed youth, the pattern suggests, are generally less acculturated and more depressed youth are more acculturated. Figure 3b, using the NMS, suggests a similar pattern. However as values on the NMS increases, the range of OA scores narrow. This suggests that low and high acculturation scorers have low NMS scores. Participants in the middle range of acculturation have low, medium and high NMS scores. Figure 3c, with the SCL-90 Depression scale reveals no particular pattern. The points cluster in a roughly vertical line in the middle of the graph. Most students fall in the middle range of acculturation.

Figure 4a - 4c shows the values of Language Acculturation (LA) plotted against the three depression variables: CDI, NMS, and SCL-90-Dep. In figure 4a, a positive linear relationship between LA and CDI is again suggested. The clinically depressed students all have higher-range LA values. Moreover, the participants with low LA values have low CDI scores. The scatterplot suggests that clinically depressed youth tend to speak (or prefer to speak) English more than less depressed participants. Figure 4b suggests a similar pattern. Low NMS values seem to be equally dispersed along the LA values while high negative mood values cluster around the high LA values. A positive linear pattern is suggested. However, it is the high scorers on NMS who also score high on LA which seem to account for the linear pattern. Figure 4c shows the values of LA plotted against the SCL-90-DEP scale. A clear pattern is not gleaned from the scatterplot. However, as in the previous

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two graphs, the higher values of depression only cluster around higher values of language acculturation. There are no high values of depression in the low acculturation range.

Figures 5a - 5c show the values of Social Affiliation Acculturation (SA) plotted against values for CDI, NMS and SCL-90-DEP. Again, a non-linear relationship is suggested between SA and CDI. That is, participants who score in either the low or high SA range seem to have lower CDI and NMS scores. Middle range SA scorers seem more evenly dispersed among low and high CDI and NMS scores. None of the clinically depressed participants have low SA values. There are no low SA scores in the high NMS range. Figure 5c shows the relationship between SA and the SCL-90-DEP scale. No particular pattern emerges from the graph.

Figures 6a through 6c show the values of Ethnic Identity Acculturation (EI) plotted against three depression inventories: CDI, NMS and SCL-90-DEP. There is no particular pattern which emerges from any of these graphs. Depression values seem randomly represented across the EI scale. The high values of EI do not cluster in any particular range of depression.

To check for the significance of the these linear relationships, the zero-order correlation coefficients was examined. A multiple regression analysis was also performed in order to examine if the linear relationship between acculturation domains and depression suggested by the scatterplots is significant even after socio-demographic variables are controlled for.

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Inspection of the zero order correlation results on Table 5 shows a significant and moderate negative correlation between having visited Puerto Rico and Overall Acculturation (r=-.39, p>.001), Language Acculturation (r=-.30, p=>.012), and Social Affiliation (-.425, p>.001) when no other variables are controlled. The matrix shows that without controlling for other variables, youth who take trips to Puerto Rico are significantly less acculturated overall, as well as less acculturated in LA and SA than those participants who do not visit Puerto Rico. Visiting Puerto Rico accounts for 15% of the variance in OA; it accounts for 9% of the variance in LA and 18% of the variance in SA. Having visited Puerto Rico did not significantly affect EI. Participants who visited Puerto Rico and those who did not visit Puerto Rico were not significantly different in how they identified themselves ethnically.

Gender, working alone, did not significantly effect acculturation in any domain. Without controlling for other variables, generation mainland born is not significantly related to OA, LA, SA and EI.

The matrix also shows that without controlling for other variables, students who are in psychological treatment are significantly more acculturated overall than students who are not in treatment (r=.33, p..006). Students in treatment had higher LA scores (r=.28, p>.02) and EI scores (r=.23, p>.04). Therefore, without controlling for other variables, being in psychological treatment accounts for 11% of the variance in OA, 8% of the

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variance in LA and 5% of the variance in EI. Curiously, receiving psychological treatment was not significantly related to scores on any of the depression scales. That is, students receiving psychological treatment and students not receiving psychological treatment did not differ in their scores on the CDI, the NMS or the SCL-90-DEP.

CDI, working alone, is significantly and positively related to OA ($r=.48$, $p>.00$), LA ($r=.47$, $p>.00$) and SA ($r=.31$, $p>.01$). That is, higher depression scores are associated with higher OA, LA and SA when no other variables are held constant. Twenty three percent of the variance in OA, 22% of the variance in LA and 10% of the variance in SA is accounted for by depression when no other variable is held constant. A similar relationship is seen between acculturation and NMS, which is a component of the CDI. NMS is positively and moderately related to OA ($r=.48$, $p>.00$), LA ($r=.47$, $p>.00$) and SA ($r=.30$, $p>.01$). Higher values on the SCL-90-DEP are associated with increased LA (($r=.23$, $p>.04$) when no other variables are held constant. Five percent of the variance in LA is explained by depression as measured by the SCL-90 DEP when no other variables are controlled for.

Table 6 summarizes the variables which were found to have a significant linear relationship with each of the acculturation domains when no other variables are controlled for. Psychological treatment was significantly related to OA, LA, SA and EI. That is, participants in psychological treatment were significantly more acculturated overall, linguistically, socially and in their ethnic

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identity than participants who were not in psychological treatment. Participants who visited Puerto Rico were significantly less acculturated overall, linguistically and socially than participants who did not visit Puerto Rico. Higher values in CDI and NMS (a component of CDI) were related to higher scores on OA, LA, and SA.

A multiple regression analysis was performed in order to examine if the positive linear relationship between depression and acculturation is significant even after socio-demographic variables are controlled for. For each acculturation domain, the socio-demographic variables - gender, generation mainland born and visiting Puerto Rico - were force entered in Step 1 of a multiple regression equation. This allowed the socio-demographic variables to explain all the variance they could in acculturation (the dependent variable) before entering the psychological variable. The second step entered the depression scale CDI in order to determine if the psychological variable contributed to explaining the variance in acculturation even after socio-demographic variables were controlled for. Step 3 removed CDI from the equation. Step 4 entered a subscale of CDI - NMS - into the equation. This was to determine if negative mood explained any additional amount of the variance in acculturation than what was explained by the socio-demographic variables. Step 5 removed NMS from the equation. Step 6 entered SCL-90-DEP subscale into the equation.

Three different depression scales, therefore, are sequentially included as the psychological variable to explain an additional

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amount of variance in the acculturation variable after the socio-demographic variable explained all they could. The depression variables are not included in the same equation and are removed prior to the inclusion of the next depression variable as they measure the same construct, i.e., depression. They are also highly correlated and would introduce the problem of multicollinearity in the equation if entered together. That is, CDI, NMS, and SCL-90-DEP, being highly correlated with each other would probably share the variance they explain in the dependent variable. To include all the depression variables in one equation would precipitate a "sharing" of the amount of variance they explain in acculturation and possibly underestimate the significance of depression in explaining the variance in acculturation. Therefore, the steps in the multiple regression equations reported for each dependent variables (i.e., Overall Acculturation, Language Acculturation, Peer Socialization Acculturation, Ethnic Identity Acculturation) are:

Step 1 - Socio-demographic variables entered together;

Step 2 - CDI entered;

Step 4 - NMS entered;

Step 6 - SCL-90-Depression entered.

Table 7a shows that - without entering the depression variable - visiting Puerto Rico is the only variable with is significantly related to Overall Acculturation even when gender and generation mainland born is controlled for. That is, controlling for gender and generation mainland born, participants who visit Puerto Rico

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score .34 unit less on the OA scale than participants who have never visited Puerto Rico. Step 2 shows that when all three socio-demographic variables are controlled for, higher depression is associated with higher OA. Moreover, the standardized regression for CDI, .46, shows that depression is the relatively most important variable in explaining the variance in OA. The unstandardized regression coefficient shows that controlling for gender, generation mainland born and visiting Puerto Rico, for every unit increase in depression, OA increases by .04. Moreover, the R2, which measures the goodness of fit of a linear model, increases significantly with the inclusion of CDI into the equation. Thirty-five percent of the variance in OA is explained by the socio-demographic and depression variables working as a team. This is an increase of twenty percent over the variance explained by the socio-demographic variables working alone.

A very similar result is obtained when NMS replaces CDI as the psychological variable. This is, when NMS is included with the socio-demographic variables, NMS is the relatively most important variable in explaining the variance in Overall Acculturation (OA). As a team, the socio-demographic variables and NMS explain 35% of the variance in OA, an improvement of 20% over the amount of variance in OA explained by the socio-demographic variables alone. When the SCL-90-DEP subscale replaces the NMS, there is no improvement in the amount of variance explained in OA beyond what is explained by the socio-demographic variables working alone. The R2 increases by 1% with the inclusion of the SCL-90-DEP subscale;

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a change which is not significant and could have occurred by chance. In step 6, visits to Puerto Rico remains the relatively most important variable in predicting OA.

Table 7b shows the results obtained when the independent variables are regressed on the dependent variable Language Acculturation (LA). Step 1 enters only the socio-demographic variable; the results indicate that only visiting Puerto Rico is significantly related to LA when gender and generation mainland born is controlled for. That is, controlling for gender and generation mainland born, participants who visit Puerto Rico score .42 units less on the LA scale than participants who have never visited Puerto Rico. Step 2 enters the depression variable CDI. The results show that when gender, generation mainland born and visiting Puerto Rico is controlled for, for every unit increase in CDI, LA increases by .06. Moreover, depression as measured by the CDI, is the relatively most important variable in predicting LA. When CDI is added as an independent variable in the equation, the amount of variance in LA explained by the equation increases from 10% to 31%. This increase is significant. Similarly, when NMS replaced CDI as the psychological variable in step 4, it becomes the relatively most important variable in predicting LA. The unstandardized regression coefficient show that when gender, generation mainland born and visiting Puerto Rico is controlled for, for every unit increase in NMS, LA increases by .16 units. NMS improves the amount of variance in LA which is explained by the independent variables by 22%. Step 6 shows the results when SCL-

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90-DEP subscale is used as the depression variable. The addition of the SCL-90 DEP does not significantly improve the variation in LA explained by the regression model.

Table 8a shows the results of the equation which regresses the independent variables on the Social Affiliation Acculturation (SA) dependent variable. Step 1 enters the socio-demographic variables and again, controlling for gender and generation mainland born, visiting Puerto Rico is related to significantly lower values on the SA scale when compared to participants who never visited Puerto Rico. In step 2, the CDI scores are entered and the results indicate that when gender, generation mainland born and visiting Puerto Rico is controlled for, depression is linearly related to SA. That is, when socio-demographic variables account for all the variance in SA that they can, for every unit increase in depression, SA increases by .03. However, in contrast to the results in OA and LA, CDI is not the relatively most important variable in explaining the variation in the dependent variable. Visiting Puerto Rico remains the relatively best predictor of SA even after CDI is included in the equation. That is, participants who visit Puerto Rico score .34 units less on SA than participants who do not visit Puerto Rico when gender, generation mainland born and depression is controlled for. The inclusion of CDI does, however, significantly improve the R2. Nine percent more of the variation in SA is predicted by the linear model when CDI is added to the socio-demographic independent variables.

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When NMS replaces CDI as the psychological variable, similar results are obtained. The relationship between NMS and SA is linear and significant. Controlling for gender, generation mainland born, and visiting Puerto Rico, for every unit increase in NMS, SA increases by .07. However, as in step 2, visiting Puerto Rico is the relatively more important variable in predicting SA. That is, controlling for gender, generation mainland born and depression, participants who visit Puerto Rico score .36 units less in SA than participants who do not visit Puerto Rico. The proportion of the variation in SA explained by the linear regression model increases significantly, however, with the inclusion of NMS. Twenty-nine percent of the variance in SA is explained by the socio-demographic and NMS variable working as a team as compared to 21% of the variance explained by the socio-demographic variables working alone.

Step 6 shows the results of the multiple regression analysis when SCL-90-DEP replaces the NMS as the psychological variable. The inclusion of the SCL-90-DEP does not significantly improve the proportion of variation in SA that is explained by the linear model. The socio-demographic variables - gender, generation mainland born and visiting Puerto Rico - explain 21% of the variance in SA; this percent is unchanged with the inclusion of SCL-90-DEP. Moreover, visiting Puerto Rico remains the relatively most important variable in explaining SA whether depression is controlled for or not.

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Table 8b shows the standardized and unstandardized regression coefficients for the dependent variable Ethnic Identity Acculturation (EI). None of the socio-demographic variables were significantly related to the variation in EI. Similarly, none of the psychological depression variables - CDI NMS, or SCL-90-Depression - predicted Ethnic Identity Acculturation. The R2s are non-significant, indicating that even as a team - the socio-demographic and psychological variables did not predict Ethnic Identity Acculturation any more than what would be expected by chance.

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CHAPTER 5.

Discussion of Results

In the present study, the effect of depression on the acculturation of mainland-born Puerto Rican adolescents was examined. Three measures of depression were used: the Childrens Depression Inventory, the Negative Mood Subscale and the Symptom Checklist-90 Depression Subscale. Acculturation was measured using a multidimensional scale which included items covering language use, social affiliation and ethnic identity. The total acculturation score and the acculturation subscales (i.e., language use, social affiliation and ethnic identity) were examined for their relationship to depression when gender, having visited Puerto Rico and generation mainland-born were equalized.

The results showed that the hypothesis that youth at either extreme of acculturation would be more depressed was not supported. Instead, behavioral acculturation as manifested by language use and preference and social affiliation were associated with higher depression scores even when gender, generation mainland born and visiting Puerto Rico was controlled for. This suggests that for Puerto Rican adolescents, depressive symptomology has a unique effect on acculturation. Depression was the single best predictor of total acculturation and language acculturation.

A reciprocal relationship between acculturation and depression is likely. Many writers have stressed the importance of integrating familial norms with the present socio-cultural milieu in adolescence in order to achieve optimal psychological integrity

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(Erikson, 1968; Kaufman, 1979). Moreover, American adolescence is a time of attenuating the symbiotic ties of the parental home and identifying with the peer culture (Kaufman, 1979; Steinberger, 1989). Migration is a social dislocation which widens the gap between the adolescent's outside world and parental home; the fusion between both worlds is, therefore, more difficult (Erikson, 1968; Kaufman, 1979; Steinberger, 1989). Among Puerto Rican youth, this synthesis may be even more problematic due to the Hispanic culture's emphasis on familialism which emphasizes the strong attachment, solidarity, and identification with the nuclear and extended family (Goodenow & Espin, 1993; Marin, 1993). This chasm between cultures and conflicting values may precipitate depression (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1937) among Puerto Rican youth. Concomitantly, family discord may push the youth to seek an ever greater degree of refuge in the host culture. Under such circumstances, the process of individuation with its separation of from the parental home would thus not be the usual developmental synthesis but an abrupt rejection of a parental culture seen as not "good enough" (Winnicott, 1971). A more inviting and idealized cultural membership is sought. The language of the home is practiced infrequently as the new group becomes the main socializing agent. All of this contributing to and being influenced by the youths depressive reactions.

Canino, G. (1982) in her exploratory study with Puerto Rican families noted that only adolescents with dysfunctional families were unusually acculturated in their speech, dress and values.

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Teenagers from warm, supportive families where communication was possible did not over-acculturate for fear of losing parental approval. She suggested that generational differences in acculturation were perhaps a culture-specific manifestation of a symptom. The present study would support this conclusion. That is, the withdrawal and detachment from parental culture is perhaps a result of family discord and adolescent depression.

The relationship between acculturation and depression may change throughout the lifespan. Kaplan and Marks (1990) found that among young adult Mexican-Americans, higher acculturation was related to higher psychological distress; among elderly Mexican-Americans, higher acculturation was associated with lower psychological distress. They suggest that in youth, overacculturated Mexican-Americans are estranged from their ethnic social support network. As they become older, these ties are re-established, leading to increased mental health. Age, therefore, may influence the relationship between acculturation and depression.

The results may also suggest that for mainland born and raised Puerto Rican adolescents depression not only does not interfere with acculturation to American culture but may indeed accelerate it. It may, however, interfere with their maintenance of their parental culture. The lack of maintaining the parental culture may also result from the fear of practicing the native culture "incompetently". That is, second generation adolescents - who are raised primarily in the mainland United States - may fear Spanish

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language use errors, or errors in following the native customs appropriately. Depression - which is often characterized by exaggerated negative self-evaluations - may interfere with the process of engaging in a culture one feels uncomfortable or incompetent in. This inhibition limits the practice needed to acquire, maintain, or regain the behaviors needed to interact in ones behaviorally non-dominant culture.

Ethnic identity differed little among participants as most identified themselves as Puerto Rican or Nuyorican. Consequently there was little variance to account for. Only receiving psychological outpatient treatment was significantly related to a more American ethnic identity.

It seems that while behavioral aspects of culture such as language and social affiliation may vary among second generation Puerto Rican adolescents, ethnic self-identification remains relatively homogeneous. Tajfel (1980) has written that self-identification labels - including ethnic self-identification - serve to segment the social environment and define a person's place in society. In an inner-city community where many migrant groups settle, distinct ethnic enclaves are often formed. Ethnic group membership is thus highlighted as it connotes a person's belongingness to a network and geographic area. In this social environment, ethnic self-identification serves to claim membership to a group rather than reflect within group acculturation.

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Contrary to the hypothesis, there were no significant differences between males and females on any variable. The sample, however, was primarily male. This may have underestimated the gender differences in depression and acculturation. While consent forms were given to all eligible seventh grade students, parents of boys seemed to return the forms at a higher rate. It may be that a study on acculturation issues was of more interest to parents of boys. Perhaps boys are in fact, more acculturated than girls, precipitating parental concern about cultural and family estrangement. These parents may have been more interested in having their children participate in a study dealing with cultural issues.

A surprising result of the study is the lack of significance generation mainland born had on acculturation. However, the present study used only maternal place of birth to compute generation mainland born as there was missing data on father's place of birth. This may not have been an adequate control for generation of migration. Knight, Bernal, Cota, Garza and OCampo (1993) report in their study on socialization and ethnic identity among Mexican-Americans, that only the fathers (and not the mothers) generation was positively and significantly related to teaching about Mexican culture, ethnic pride, discrimination and preservation of ethnic objects in the home. Future research should include both parents in the analysis as well as determine the impact of single heads of households (both male and female) on acculturation.

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It is also possible, however, that many of the students lived in "sub-families", i.e., families within families in which migrant grandparents are the heads of households and/or the custodial parent. The grandparents would probably be Spanish dominant, necessitating the maintenance of Spanish among the second-generation. The socio-demographic profile of Puerto Ricans suggest that this living arrangement is increasingly common, thereby calling into question the consistent effect parental birthplace would have on acculturation level. Future studies should include details on students living arrangements and obtain the generational-level for all significant care-takers.

Similarly, Poplack, S. (1980) writes that circular migration may contribute to the Puerto Rican community being characterized by stable bilingualism rather than transitional bilingualism. She writes that the Puerto Rican community may not follow the language loss trends of past immigrants to the United States. She writes that the "pattern of displacement of the mother tongue has characterized several early twentieth-century immigrant groups in the United States and has usually been brought to completion by the third generation. In contrast, the Puerto Rican community...includes third generation speakers of both Spanish and English" (p.231).

This circular migration pattern of Puerto Ricans may also attenuate the meaning of a "place of birth" variable for Puerto Ricans and render it non-significant (or less significant) in statistical analysis. Interestingly, "trips to Puerto Rico" was

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significantly related to both acculturation and childhood depression whereas generation mainland born was not. The "trips" variable was a gross measurement of contact with Puerto Rico (i.e., ever take a trip to Puerto Rico or never took a trip to Puerto Rico) yet the two groups differed significantly in acculturation and depression. This again suggests that statistical measures of culture contact must correspond to the actual migration patterns and bi-coastal living realities of Puerto Rican youth.

Another explanation for the significance of trips to Puerto Rico and depression is its possible spurious relation to both socio-economic status and social support. While students were all from a low SES neighborhood, it is possible that parental educational levels and occupational status varied. Those students with relatively more affluent parents may have been the same students who were able to visit Puerto Rico. In this case, it is possible that SES and visits to Puerto Rico is confounded.

Moreover, students who visited Puerto Rico may have also been members of families which were integrated into a familial and ethnic base of support. Less acculturation would suggest that maintaining Spanish language ability was important in order to communicate effectively with members of the extended family who reside in Puerto Rico (Zentella, 1991). Thereby, less acculturation may indicate that the bicultural child is raised among a cohesive and supportive multi-generational, bilingual and bicoastal social network which provides a buffer against depression. Alternately (or concurrently), children in cohesive

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families are sufficiently motivated and confident to communicate with their migrant or island-residing relatives.

Limitations of the Study

The majority of significant results were obtained on the Childrens Depression Inventory and its subscale, Negative Mood Scale. The Childrens Depression Inventory is a 27-item scale geared exclusively for use with children. It uses simple language and - for each item - asks participants to endorse one of three sentences which most accurately reflects how the participants feel. Conversely, the Symptom Checklist-90 is a 90 item inventory geared towards both adolescents and adults. Students are asked to select from a Likert-type scale the extent to which they experience a psychiatric symptom. The higher level verbal skills required as well as the length of the Symptom Checklist-90 may have precluded careful attention to this measure. There was evidence of a hasty checking off of answers leading to a response set. This might call into question the accuracy of the Symptom Checklist-90 results.

Conclusions about the impact of family discord and acculturation are limited as the quality of family relationships was not measured. The transmission of cultural norms occurs in the parental home and in the context of a parent-child relationship. Psychoanalytic theory posits that disruptions in these relationships will interfere with the transmission of culture and in cultural identification (Winnicott, 1971; Garza-Guerrero, 1973; Kaufman, 1979; Stein, 1985). However, the quality of the parent-child relationships was not measured in this study. While

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disruption in these relationships are inferred by the presence of depressive symptoms, a measure of the quality of the parent-child relationship would have allowed for a more definitive conclusion to be reached.

Similarly, the small number of females in the sample precludes conclusions on differences between males and females on acculturation. This may have been a biased sample in the sense that (curiously) parents of male students gave consent for their children to participate at a higher rate than parents of girls. It may be that parents who are concerned about the accelerated acculturation of their children were more likely to participate. The sample would then over-represent overacculturators and by extension, boys.

Suggestions for Future Research

It is suggested that future research measure the quality of parental relationship as well as SES, social support, age and family cohesion. These variables may have important mediating effects on the relationship between acculturation and mental health. It is also recommended that larger samples be used and that care is taken to obtain equal numbers of males and females in the sample.

Summary and Conclusions

This was a study to determine whether there is a relationship between acculturation patterns and depression. Fifty-seven mainland-born youth of Puerto Rican background were examined to determine the extent of their acculturation in language, social

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affiliation, and ethnic self-identification. Each acculturation domain's relations to depression was explored. It was found that the most stable area of acculturation was ethnic identity or participants sense of themselves as Puerto Rican. Acculturation occurred most readily in the acquisition of the English language. A positive relationship between behavioral indices of acculturation and depression was found. This relationship remained significant when gender, proximity to migrant generation and visiting Puerto Rico was controlled for. The positive relationship was attributed to conflict with parents who represent the ancestral culture. No differences based on sex were found.

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TABLES AND FIGURES

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Table 1. Alpha Reliability Coefficients for Childrens Depression Inventory and its Subscales

Measure	Alpha Reliability Coefficient
Childrens Depression Inventory	.73
Negative Mood	.66
Interpersonal Problems	.26
Ineffectiveness	.37
Negative Self Esteem	.49

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Table 2. Characteristics of Sample

Characteristic	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Females	19	33.3
Males	38	66.7
Trips to Puerto Rico		
Yes	18	32.1
No	38	67.9
Mother's Birthplace		
Puerto Rico	36	63.2
United States	20	35.1
Psychological Treatment		
Yes	20	35.1
No	37	64.1
Age		
12	21	36.8
13	25	43.9
14	11	19.3

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Table 3. Depression Scores of Mainland-born Puerto Rican Youth by Gender, Generation and Psychological Treatment

MEASURE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATON
Childrens Depression Inventory		
Total	9.72	5.3
Male	9.52	4.2
Female	10.10	7.17
First Generation	9.8	5.7
Second Generation	9.65	4.7
Outpatient	10.4	5.5
Normal	9.35	5.3
Negative Mood Subscale		
Total	2.23	1.98
Male	2.05	1.6
Female	2.58	2.6
First Generation	2.36	2.27
Second Generation	2.05	1.4
Outpatient	2.8	2.35
Normal	1.9	1.7
SCL-90 Depression Subscale		
Total	.87	.71
Male	.85	.61
Female	.90	.90
First Generation	.88	.72
Second Generation	.87	.68
Outpatient	.89	.68
Normal	.86	.73

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Table 4. Acculturation Scores of Mainland-born Puerto Rican Youth by Gender, Generation and Psychological Treatment

MEASURE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
Overall Acculturation		
Total	2.37	.42
Male	2.38	.35
Female	2.37	.54
First Generation	2.33	.45
Second Generation	2.45	.36
Outpatient	2.56	.42
Normal	2.27	.39
Language Acculturation		
Total	2.99	.64
Male	3.05	.58
Female	2.9	.73
First Generation	2.97	.69
Second Generation	3.04	.55
Outpatient	3.24	.63
Normal	2.87	.60
Socialization Acculturation		
Total	2.42	.48
Male	2.37	.41
Female	2.52	.58
First Generation	2.34	.50
Second Generation	2.54	.42
Outpatient	2.54	.52
Normal	2.35	.44
Ethnic Identity Acculturation		
Total	.79	.64
Male	.79	.58
Female	.82	.73
First Generation	.78	.60
Second Generation	.85	.71
Outpatient	1.0	.70
Normal	.69	.57

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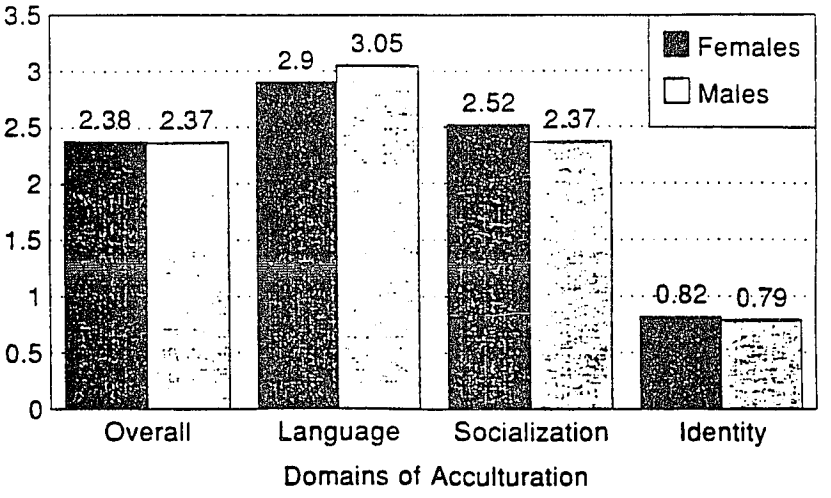
FIGURE 1a.

Acculturation Means:

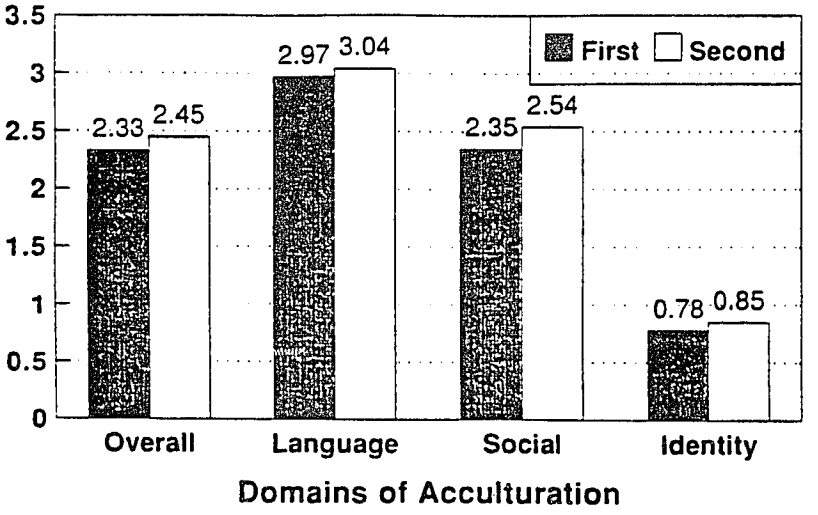
Females and Males



Higher values indicate increased acculturation.

Acculturation Means:

First and Second Generation



Higher values indicate increased acculturation.

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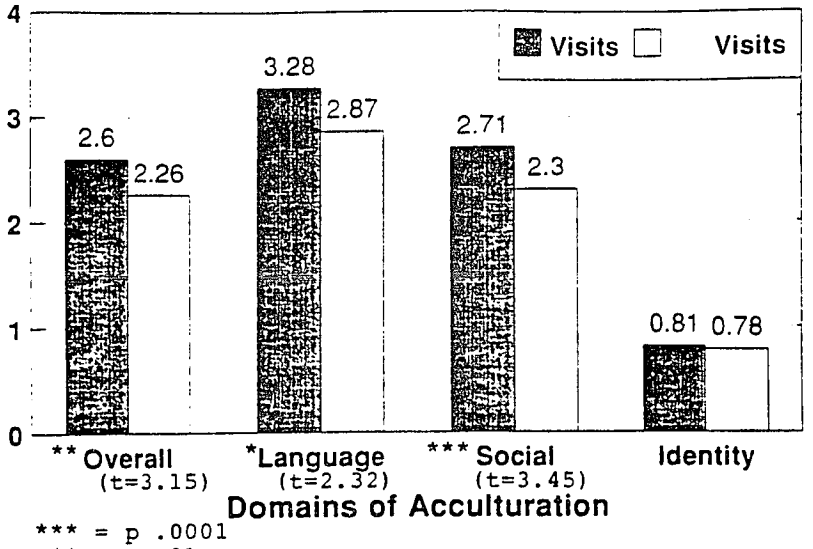
Figure 2a.

Acculturation Means

Visits to Puerto Rico and No Visits to Puerto Rico

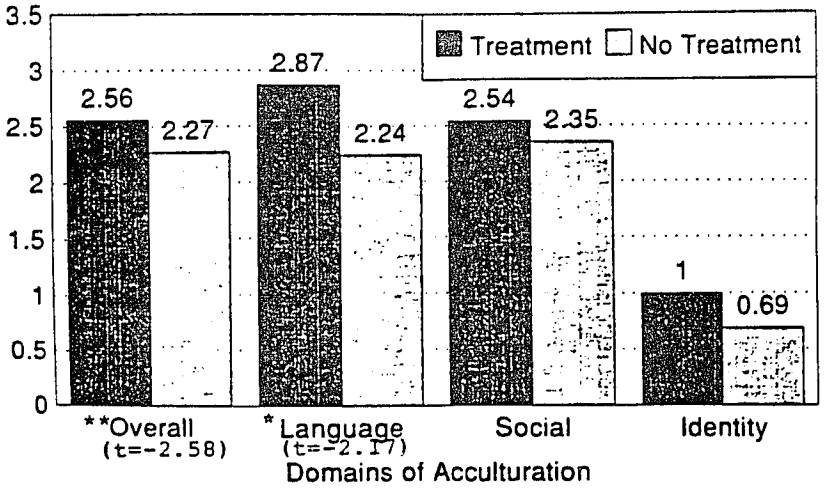


*** = p .0001
** = p .01
* = p .05

FIGURE 2b.

Acculturation Means:

Psychological Treatment and Non-treatment



Higher values indicate increased acculturation.
** = p .01

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Figures 3a - 3c. Plot of Total Acculturation Score with Depression Measures

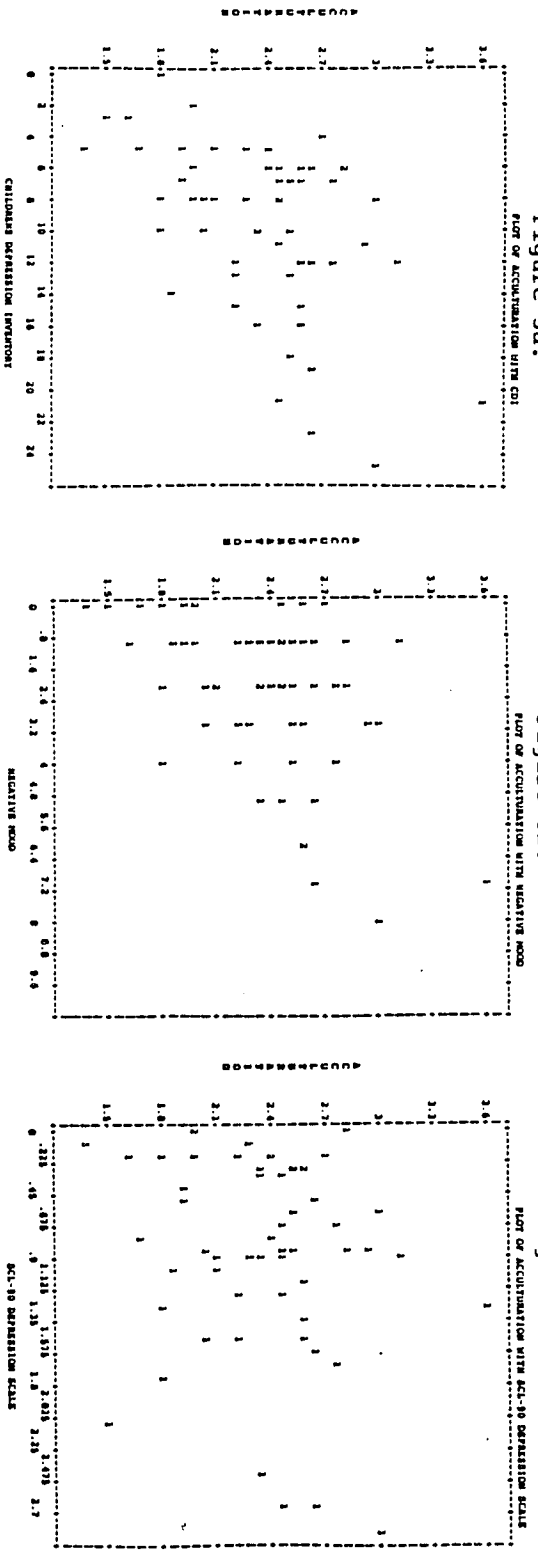

Figure 3a.

Figure 3b.

Figure 3c.

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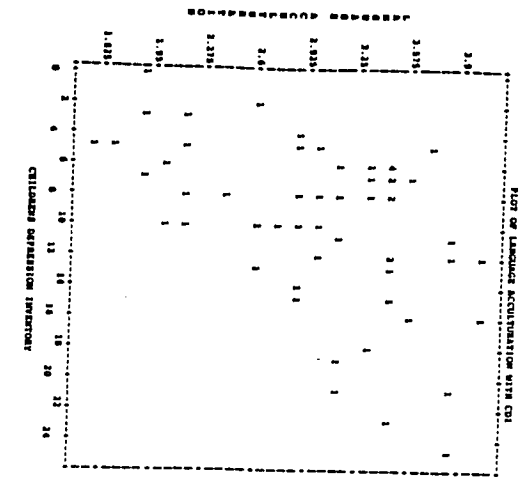

Figure 4a.

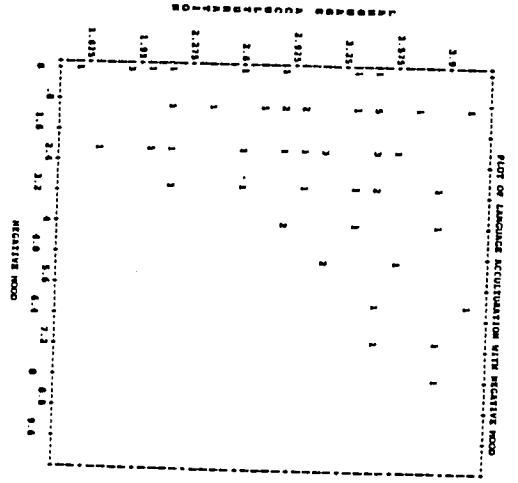

Figure 4b.

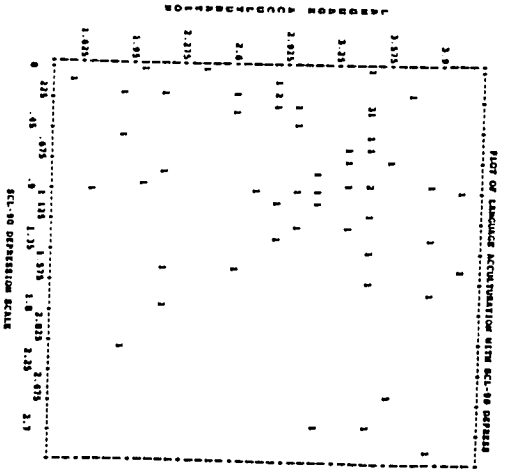

Figure 4c.

Figures 4a - 4c. Plot of Language Acculturation with Depression Measures

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Figure 5a - 5c. Plot of Social Affiliation Acculturation with Depression Measures

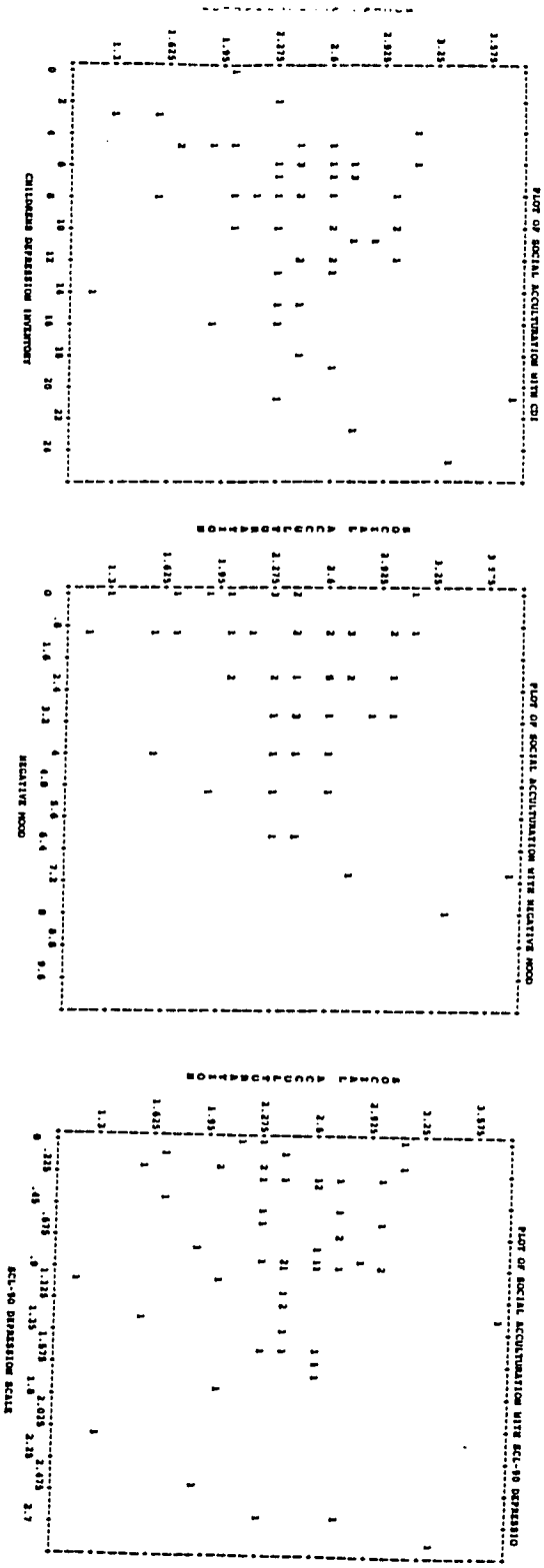

Figure 5a.

Figure 5b.

Figure 5c.

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Figure 6a - 6c. Plot of Ethnic Identity Acculturation with Depression Measures

Figure 6a.

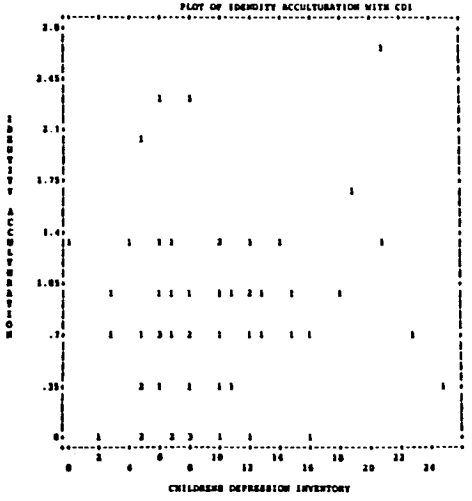

Figure 6b.

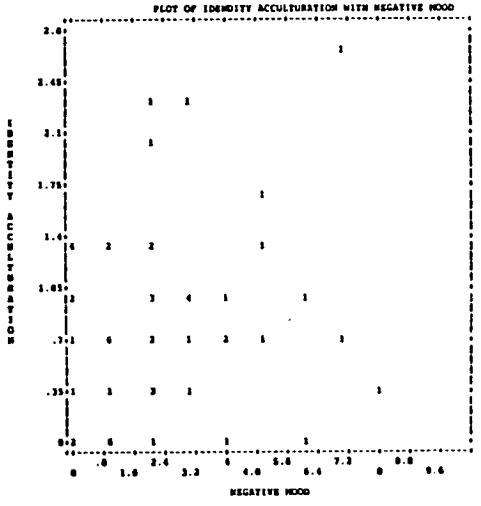

Figure 6c.

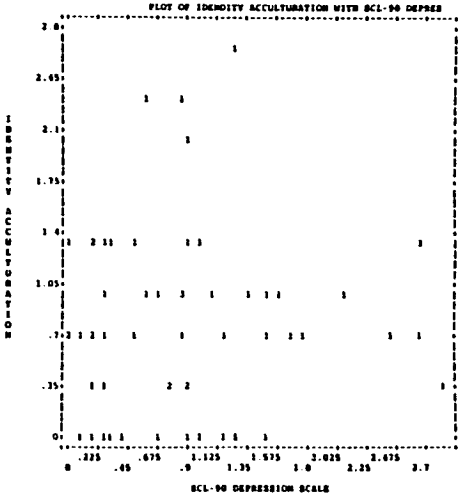

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Table 5. Correlation Matrix for Dependent and Independent Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. FEMALE	1.0000										
	(57)										
	P= .000										
2. GENERATION	-.0169	1.0000									
	(56)	(56)									
	P= .451	P= .000									
3. VISIT PR	-.0721	.1760	1.0000								
	(56)	(55)	(56)								
	P= .299	P= .099	P= .000								
4. TREATMENT	-.1300	-.0169	-.1254	1.0000							
	(57)	(56)	(56)	(57)							
	P= .168	P= .451	P= .179	P= .000							
5. CHILDRENS	.0516	.0191	-.2221	.0947	1.0000						
DEPRESSION	(57)	(56)	(56)	(57)	(57)						
INVENTORY	P= .351	P= .445	P= .050	P= .242	P= .000						
6. NEGATIVE	.1263	.0755	-.1726	.2140	.8038	1.0000					
MOOD SCALE	(57)	(56)	(56)	(57)	(57)	(57)					
	P= .175	P= .290	P= .102	P= .055	P= .000	P= .000					
7. SCL-90	.0330	.0030	-.1738	.0239	.6753	.6421	1.0000				
DEPRESSION	(56)	(55)	(55)	(56)	(56)	(56)	(56)				
SCALE	P= .405	P= .491	P= .102	P= .431	P= .000	P= .000	P= .000				
8. TOTAL	.0070	-.1400	-.3935	.3282	.4798	.4790	.1554	1.0000			
ACCULTURATION	(57)	(56)	(56)	(57)	(57)	(57)	(56)	(57)			
	P= .479	P= .152	P= .001	P= .006	P= .000	P= .000	P= .126	P= .000			
9. LANGUAGE	-.1127	-.0566	-.3014	.2809	.4685	.4721	.2298	.8323	1.0000		
ACCULTURATION	(57)	(56)	(56)	(57)	(57)	(57)	(56)	(57)	(57)		
	P= .202	P= .339	P= .012	P= .017	P= .000	P= .000	P= .044	P= .000	P= .000		
10. SOCIAL	.1502	-.1924	-.4245	.1937	.3135	.2999	.0064	.8225	.4634	1.0000	
ACCULTURATION	(57)	(56)	(56)	(57)	(57)	(57)	(56)	(57)	(57)	(57)	
	P= .132	P= .078	P= .001	P= .074	P= .009	P= .012	P= .481	P= .000	P= .000	P= .000	
11. IDENTITY	.0265	-.0550	-.0255	.2343	.1533	.1658	.0324	.3599	-.0328	.2458	
ACCULTURATION	(57)	(56)	(56)	(57)	(57)	(57)	(56)	(57)	(57)	(57)	
	P= .422	P= .344	P= .426	P= .040	P= .127	P= .109	P= .406	P= .003	P= .404	P= .033	

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Table 6. Significant Correlation Coefficients between Acculturation and Other Variables

Total Acculturation Score	
Psychological Treatment	.38**
Trips to Puerto Rico	-.39***
Childrens Depression Inventory	.48***
Negative Mood	.48***
Language Acculturation	
Psychological Treatment	.28***
Trips to Puerto Rico	-.30**
Childrens Depression Inventory	.47***
Negative Mood	.47***
SCL-90 Depression Inventory	.23*
Social Affiliation Acculturation	
Psychological Treatment	.19*
Trips to Puerto Rico	-.42**
Childrens Depression Inventory	.31**
Negative Mood	.30**
Ethnic Identity Acculturation	
Psychological Treatment	.23*

*** = p>001
** = p>01
* = p>05

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Table 7a. Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients: Total Acculturation Score

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 4	Step 6
Female	-.02	-.02	-.06	-.02
	(-.02)	(-.03)	(-.07)	(-.02)
Generation	-.06	-.13	-.14	-.07
	(-.07)	(-.14)	(-.16)	(-.08)
Visits	-.34**	-.24*	-.26**	-.32**
	(-.37)	(-.26)	(-.28)	(-.35)
Depression		.04***	.10***	.06
		(.46)	(.47)	(.16)
Constant	2.65	2.26	2.43	2.59
Multiple R	.38*	.59***	.60***	.40
R	.15	.35	.35	.16
R Change		.20***	.21***	.01ns

*** = p>.001
** = p>.01
* = p>.05 ns=not significant

Table 7b. Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients: Language Acculturation

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 4	Step 6
Female	-.17	-.18	-.24	-.19
	(-.12)	(-.14)	(-.18)	(-.14)
Generation	-.01	-.11	-.13	-.03
	(-.00)	(-.08)	(-.09)	(-.02)
Visits	-.42*	-.26*	-.29*	.36
	(-.30)	(-.19)	(-.21)	(-.26)
Depression		.06***	.16***	.19
		(.47)	(.49)	(.20)
Constant	3.34	2.74	3.01	3.16
Multiple R	.32ns	.56***	.57***	.37
R	.10	.31	.32	.14
R Change		.21***	.16***	.04ns

*** = p>.001
** = p>.01
* = p>.05
ns = not significant

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Table 8a. Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients: Social Affiliation Acculturation

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 4	Step 6
Female	-.13	-.13	-.10	-.13
	(-.14)	(-.12)	(-.10)	(-.13)
Generation	-.15	-.20	-.20	-.14
	(-.14)	(-.19)	(-.19)	(-.14)
Visits	-.41b	-.34**	-.36**	-.42**
	(-.39)	(-.32)	(-.34)	(-.40)
Depression		.03*	.07*	.04
		(.30)	(.28)	(.05)
Constant	2.74	2.50	2.60	2.79
Multiple R	.46**	.54***	.53**	.46*
R	.21	.30	.29	.21
R Change		.09*	.07*	.00ns

*** = p>.001
** = p>.01
* = p>.05
ns = not significant

Table 8b. Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients: Ethnic Identity Acculturation

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 4	Step 6
Female	.00	-.00	.02	.00
	(.00)	(-.00)	(-.01)	(.00)
Generation	-.00	-.02	-.03	-.00
	(-.00)	(-.02)	(-.02)	(-.00)
Visits	-.07	.04	.04	.01
	(-.01)	(.03)	(.03)	(.01)
Depression		.01	.04	-.01
		(.09)	(.12)	(.01)
Constant	.77	.66	.70	.78
Multiple R	.01ns	.09ns	.12ns	.00
R	.00	.01	.01	.00
R Change		.01ns	.01ns	.00ns

ns = not significant

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APPENDIX

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Consent Form

I consent to my child participating in a study being undertaken by Sally M. Robles, M.A.. My child's participation in this study consists of my child being interviewed by a clinical psychology student. The interview will last approximately fifty (50) minutes.

The goal of this study is to learn more about children who live within two cultures. Children will be asked questions about their involvement in Puerto Rican and American culture as well as questions about their emotional well-being.

I understand that all the information provided about my child will be maintained confidential and that all the necessary measures will be taken to maintain confidentiality. In compiling the data, neither I nor my child will be identified by name.

I also understand that participation in this study does not involve any risk whatsoever to my child. My child's participation in this study is freely given and voluntary. I am free to refuse my child's participation in the study even after I have signed this consent form. I can, at any time, change my mind and refuse to participate.

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My signature on this form signifies that I have read and understand the contents of the form and approve and consent to my child participating in this study.

---------- ----------

SIGNATURE OF MOTHER/FATHER OR PERSON LEGALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CHILD

DATE

CHILD'S NAME

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Concentimiento de Participacion

Por la presente consiento a la participacion de uno de mis hijos(as) en un estudio que lleva a cabo Sally M. Robles, M.A.. La participacion en este estudio consiste en que mi hijo(a) sea entrevistado(a) por un estudiante de sicologia clinica. Dicha entrevista dura alrededor de cincuenta (50) minutos.

El objetivo del estudio es aprender mas sobre ninos que viven en dos culturas. Se les preguntara a los ninos sobre su participacion en la cultura puertorriquena y americana. Tambien se les preguntara sobre su estado emocional.

Entiendo que toda informacion que se provea sobre mi hijo(a) como individuo se mantendra confidencial y que se tomaran las medidas necesarias para mantener esa confidencialidad. Al recopilar la data mi hijo(a) no sera identificados por nombre. No se utilizara la informacion que se provea en forma alguna que revele mi identidad ni la de mi familia.

Entiendo, tambien, que mi parcipacion en este estudio no envuelve riesgo alguno para mi persona ni par mi hijo(a). La participacion de mi hijo(a) en el estudio es libre y voluntaria. Estoy libre de rehusar a participar en el estudio y aun despues de firmar esta forma de consentimiento, puedo en cualquier momento cambiar de opinion y rehusar a participar.

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Mi firma en esta forma significa que he leido y entiendo el plantamiento presentado y que apruebo y consiento a que mi hijo(a) participe en el estudio.

FIRMA DE LA MADRE/PADRE O PERSONA LEGALMENTE RESPONSABLE POR EL MENOR

FECHA

NOMBRE DE SU NINO(A)

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SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE : English: U.S

1. Name:

2. Sex: Male Female

3. Date of Birth:

4. Age:

5. Grade:
   [ ] None: 0
   [ ] Elementary School: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   [ ] High School: 9, 10, 11, 12

6. Where were you born?
   [ ] Puerto Rico
   [ ] Mainland United States
   [ ] Other (please specify)_____

7. Where was your father born?
   [ ] Puerto Rico
   [ ] Mainland United States
   [ ] Other (please specify)_____

8. Where was your mother born?
   [ ] Puerto Rico
   [ ] Mainland United States
   [ ] Other (please specify)_____

9. Where was your father's mother born?
   [ ] Puerto Rico
   [ ] Mainland United States
   [ ] Other (please specify)_____

10. Where was your father's father born?
   [ ] Puerto Rico
   [ ] Mainland United States
   [ ] Other (please specify)_____

11. Where was your mother's mother born?
   [ ] Puerto Rico
   [ ] Mainland United States
   [ ] Other (please specify)_____

12. Where was your mother's father born?
   [ ] Puerto Rico
   [ ] Mainland United States
   [ ] Other (please specify)_____

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EXAMINER:

On the basis of the above answers, circle the generation that best applies:

1. First generation - S born in Puerto Rico
2. Second generation - S born in the U.S., either parent born in Puerto Rico or other.
3. Third generation - S born in U.S., both parents born in U.S., all grandparents born in Puerto Rico.
4. Forth generation - S and parents born in U.S. and at least one grandparent born in Puerto Rico or other with remainder born in the U.S.
5. Fifth generation - S and parents born in U.S. and all grandparents born in U.S.

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NAME _____ AGE_____ GRADE _____
TEACHER_____ DATE_____I.D. NO._____

INSTRUCTIONS:
Below is a list of questions about your habits and familiarity with American and Puerto Rican ways. Please read each question and place an "X" in the space next to the best answer. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers to these questions. We are interested in how you feel personally about the questions asked. If you are undecided between two answers to a question, choose the one that comes closest to your feelings. Be sure to answer every question as best as you can.

1. What language do you usually speak at home?

____ a. Spanish only
____ b. Mostly Spanish
____ c. Spanish and English about equally
____ d. Mostly English
____ e. English only

2. What language do you usually speak with your friends?

____ a. Spanish only
____ b. Mostly Spanish
____ c. Spanish and English about equally
____ d. Mostly English
____ e. English only

3. What language do you prefer to speak at home?

____ a. Spanish only
____ b. Mostly English
____ c. Spanish and English about equally
____ d. Mostly English
____ e. English only

4. What language do you prefer to speak with your friends?

____ a. Spanish only
____ b. Mostly English
____ c. Spanish and English about equally
____ d. Mostly English
____ e. English only

5. How do you identify yourself?

____ a. Puerto Rican
____ b. Nuyorican
____ c. Puerto Rican American
____ d. Spanish, Latin or Hispanic American
____ e. Anglo American

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6. What was the origin of the friends you had, as a child up to age six?

_____ a. Almost all Puerto Ricans
_____ b. Mostly Puerto Ricans
_____ c. About equally Puerto Ricans and non-Puerto Ricans
_____ d. A few Puerto Ricans
_____ e. Almost no Puerto Ricans

7. What was the origin of the friends you had, from age six to the present time?

_____ a. Almost all Puerto Ricans
_____ b. Mostly Puerto Ricans
_____ c. About equally Puerto Ricans and non-Puerto Ricans
_____ d. A few Puerto Ricans
_____ e. Almost no Puerto Ricans

8. What is you music preference?

_____ a. Only Spanish music
_____ b. Mostly Spanish music
_____ c. About equally Spanish and English music
_____ d. Mostly English music
_____ e. Only English music

9. What is your TV viewing preference?

_____ a. Only Spanish programs
_____ b. Mostly Spanish programs
_____ c. About equally Spanish and English programs
_____ d. Mostly English programs
_____ e. Only English programs

10. What is your movie preference?

_____ a. Only Spanish movies
_____ b. Mostly Spanish movies
_____ c. About equally Spanish and English movies
_____ d. Mostly English movies
_____ e. Only English movies

11. In what language do you think?

_____ a. Only Spanish
_____ b. Mostly Spanish
_____ c. About equally Spanish and English
_____ d. Mostly English
_____ e. Only English

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12. What contact have you had with Puerto Rico?

____ a. Lived for 1 year or more in Puerto Rico (How many years?_____)
____ b. Lived for less than 1 year in Puerto Rico
____ c. Only occasional visits to Puerto Rico
____ d. Only occasional communications (letters, phone calls, and so on) with people in Puerto Rico
____ e. No contact or communications with people in Puerto Rico

13. What is your food preference?

____ a. Only Puerto Rican food
____ b. Mostly Puerto Rican food
____ c. About equally Puerto Rican and other food
____ d. Mostly American or other food
____ e. Only American or other food

14. Which language do you read better?

____ a. Only Spanish
____ b. Spanish better than English
____ c. Spanish and English about equally well
____ d. English better than Spanish
____ e. Only English

15. Which language do you write better?

____ a. Only Spanish
____ b. Spanish better than English
____ c. Spanish and English about equally
____ d. English better than Spanish
____ e. Only English

16. How much pride do you have in being Puerto Rican?

____ a. Extremely proud
____ b. Moderately proud
____ c. A little proud
____ d. Not proud at all
____ e. Feel ashamed

17. How would you rate yourself?

____ a. Very Puerto Rican
____ b. Mostly Puerto Rican
____ c. About equally Puerto Rican and American
____ d. Mostly American
____ e. Very American

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