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**NUYORICANS IN PUERTO RICO:
A STUDY OF SOCIAL CATEGORIZATION**

by

JOSE LORENZO

**A dissertation submitted to the Faculty in Psychology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of
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Abstract**Nuyoricans in Puerto Rico:
A Study of Social Categorization****by****Jose Lorenzo****Adviser: Professor Suzanne C. Ouellette**

This study investigated the experience of Nuyorican adolescents residing in Puerto Rico. The sample consisted of 121 Nuyoricans, 121 Natives and 65 non-classified students recruited from seven high schools in Puerto Rico. The students responded to several scales and questionnaires. They evaluated the extent to which adolescents raised in New York City differed from adolescents raised in San Juan. Students also evaluated three adolescents differing in saliency of Nuyorican features presented through photos and audiotapes. Perception of the three adolescents as like most youths raised in the United States or Puerto Rico and rejection of each of them were assessed. A questionnaire measuring perceived similarity and differences with Natives and the Acceptability to Others Scale (Fey, 1955) were administered. A modified

version of the Symptoms Questionnaire (Kellner, 1987) was used to assess anxiety, depression and hostility. The GPA was obtained from the student's academic records. Finally, teachers completed an evaluation form about the performance of each student.

It was found that Native adolescents excluded Nuyoricans from the category "Puerto Rican". Nuyoricans also perceived themselves as being different from Natives. Both groups evaluated the mainland-raised adolescents as more agitated, bolder and more intelligent than Natives. Nuyoricans evaluated mainland-raised adolescents as more dominant than island-raised adolescents. The students evaluated their own group as more intelligent and careful than members of the other group. It was found that language characteristics and physical appearance are used for categorizing and rejecting mainland-raised adolescents. Length of time in Puerto Rico was related to perception of similarity with Natives. Perception of being different from Natives was associated with negative psychological well-being, but not with academic performance. It seems that being excluded from the "Puerto Rican" category adversely affects Nuyoricans' psychological stability.

These findings support the importance of helping Nuyoricans recently arrived from the United States to (re)acculturate to life in Puerto Rico. Intergroup contact may promote rapid (re)acculturation, which is beneficial for Nuyoricans. Segregating Nuyorican students from Natives (i.e., bilingual programs) may delay (re)acculturation. This results in negative consequences for these students.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the loving memory of my son Jose Alejandro Lorenzo-Lorenzo. Jose Jr. was born and died while I was collecting pilot data for this study. His life was very short, but his two days among us made a great impact in my life. After the death of my premature son, my commitment to life, particularly to the defense of the life of the unborn, became stronger.

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**Nuyoricans in Puerto Rico:
A study of social categorization**

Specific Aims

The focus of this study is the experience of Nuyorican students in Puerto Rico. The term "Nuyoricans", as used in the literature, generally refers to the second and third generation of children of Puerto Rican parents born and raised in the Continental United States. Frequently, the term Nuyorican is also used as an identifier of those adolescents who have been raised in the Continental United States and exhibit distinctive attributes and behavior. For example, Nuyoricans are said to incorporate many English words in their usage of Spanish and speak Spanish with difficulty. In this study the term Nuyorican is used to refer to adolescents born of Puerto Rican parents and raised in the Continental United States.

This study investigated the extent to which mainland-raised Puerto Rican adolescents are excluded from the category "Puerto Rican" and labeled by Native adolescents as members of a different social category (Nuyoricans). It also examined the role of language

and physical appearance used for categorizing an adolescent as a "Nuyorican". Further, this study investigated the psychological and academic consequences of being categorized as a Nuyorican. Finally, Nuyoricans' self-categorization was also examined.

This study makes an important contribution to the literature on Puerto Rican migration by investigating the psychological aspect of the back migration experience. Puerto Rican back migration has been studied primarily from a sociological and economic perspective. The psychological aspects of back migration have been less often studied. The present study is, as far as I know, the first study to investigate the links between being categorized as a "Nuyorican" and psychological well-being. This study is also the first one to employ a quasi-experimental strategy to assess the influence of language and physical appearance on categorizing a target as a "Nuyorican". Other studies (i.e., Lucca-Irizarry & Pacheco, 1992) used a qualitative methodology to study the role of language and physical attributes in categorizing "Nuyoricans".

Conceptual framework

The literature on intergroup relations, particularly Social Categorization (Wilder, 1986a) and Self-Categorization (Turner, 1987) theories guided this research effort. Basically, social categorization deals with the way perceivers classify people in groups or categories. Self-categorization focuses on how people place themselves into existing groups or categories.

For Nuyoricans, social categorization seems to trigger discrimination and rejection against them in both the Continental United States and Puerto Rico. In the Continental United States they are not sufficiently Americans, in Puerto Rico they are not sufficiently Puerto Ricans (Johnson, 1982). Further, in the Continental United States they struggle to maintain a Puerto Rican identity through social and personal practices such as cultural parades and food. Nevertheless, after moving to Puerto Rico they are denied membership as Puerto Ricans and assigned into the category "Nuyorican". Consequently, being categorized as a Nuyorican may trigger psychological problems to the extent mainland-raised adolescents internalize the idea of not belonging or being

different.

Background of the social category "Nuyorican"

The Puerto Rican Migration

In 1898, because of political conflicts between the United States and Spain, the island of Puerto Rico was invaded and taken over by the United States. Through the Paris treaty, Puerto Rico became a territory of the United States. Nineteen years later, in 1917, the Jones Act granted American citizenship to all people born in Puerto Rico (Figueroa, 1974). Although Puerto Ricans cannot vote for the president or have representation in the congress, the Jones Act opened the doors for unrestricted mobility to and from the mainland. Thus, thousands of Puerto Rican families emigrated to the Continental United States in time of financial hardships and returned to Puerto Rico years later.

The literature on Puerto Rican migration identified three major waves of Puerto Ricans' migration (Rodriguez, 1991). The first of these waves, those who emigrated before 1945, are the "pioneers". Most pioneer migrants settled in New York City. Once pioneers were settled, they served as bridges for

future immigrants. Friends and relatives were encouraged to come to the Continental United States, in many cases with employment waiting for them (FitzPatrick, 1987; Junta de Planificacion, 1984). The second migratory wave includes the years between 1946-1964 and it is known as the "great migration" because of the large number of Puerto Ricans who migrated. Finally, from 1965 to the present, the "revolving-door migration" took and continues to take place. This last migratory wave is characterized by the continuous flow of immigrants (back and forth) between Puerto Rico and the Continental United States. Low airfares, lack of traveling restrictions and economic fluctuations in Puerto Rico and the Continental United States encourage and maintain the revolving-door migration.

Despite the many reasons proposed in the literature, it seems that Puerto Rican families migrate to the Continental United States primarily because of economic reasons. Since the island has a very large population and its economic resources are limited, Puerto Ricans migrate to the Continental United States where there are more financial possibilities (Babin, 1991; FitzPatrick, 1987; Junta de planificacion, 1984). In this regard, Rodriguez (1991) reported that

"with increased population growth and displacement from traditional labor pursuits, the result was a growing surplus population that could not be accommodated in Puerto Rico's new industrial order. Much of the surplus labor migrated to the United States" (p. 12).

The above contention was supported by a year long study involving all departing and arriving passengers in the only International Airport of Puerto Rico at that time (Junta de Planificación, 1984). In this study it was found that most migrants left and returned to Puerto Rico because of economic reasons. For example, about 60% (59,261) of the total number of Puerto Rican migrants in that study came to the Continental United States either to work or to seek a job. Economic reasons as the major motivation for coming to the United States it is not exclusive of Puerto Ricans, but it is common to immigrants from all nationalities. As stated by Parillo (1991) about immigration in general, "For the large majority of immigrants, it was the chance to provide a better life for their families, specially for the children, that emboldened them to endure the long journey and to seek their fortune in an unknown land" (p. 131).

Because of the massive migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland, in 1980 over 40% of the total Puerto Rican population lived in the 50 States (Uriarte-Gaston, 1987). In 1990, approximately 2.75 million Puerto Ricans lived in the Continental United States. This figure places Puerto Ricans as the second-largest Hispanic group in the mainland United States (Lemann, 1991; Reddy, 1993).

Return Migration

As suggested by the concept "revolving-door migration" most Puerto Rican immigrants return to the island after a relatively long stay in the Continental United States. In the fiscal year 1982-1983, for example, approximately 54,714 Puerto Rican migrants returned to Puerto Rico to stay (Junta de Planificacion, 1984). The actual number of returning migrants was higher than the number reported because children under 16 were not counted in this study. This study found that 58% (32,002) of the returning migrants in the sample came to Puerto Rico because of work-related issues. A smaller number (14%) came to pursue college studies. A growing number of "Nuyoricans" are returning to Puerto Rico. It is believed that this phenomenon has profound repercussion for people living

in the island as well as those coming. Unfortunately, the amount of scientific studies produced does not seem proportional to the social relevance and the magnitude of this phenomenon. Questions such as how migrant Puerto Ricans who return are received by those in the island and how they might be affected by the attitudes prevalent in Puerto Rico about migrant Puerto Ricans are particularly interesting. Possible answers to these two questions are investigated in the present study.

The literature on Puerto Rican back migration has concentrated on why migrant return to Puerto Rico. An earlier study (Fernandez-de-Cintron & Vales, 1975) found that 28% of the returning immigrants returned because their family sent for them (17.4%) or because of homesickness (10.6%) (see also Maldonado-Denis, 1976). Fernandez-de-Cintron and Vales concluded that the "process of returning to Puerto Rico was highly influenced, both in males and females, by the strength of familistic ties..." (p.77). Nostalgia or missing the people one loves is another motivational factor for returning to the island (Claudio, 1983; Johnson, 1982). Perhaps the most persuasive evidence about the motivational power of nostalgia is found in popular

songs. For example, the songs "My old San Juan" and "Mother, Borinquen calls me" are familiar to most Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States and Puerto Rico. An excerpt of these two songs follows:

One evening I left
 For a strange nation,
 As fate would have it,
 But my heart
 Remained near the sea
 In my old San Juan.

Farewell, Borinquen beloved;
 Farewell, my goddess of the sea;
 I'm leaving, but someday I'll return
 To seek my beloved
 And dream again
 In my old San Juan.
 (Translation in Hernandez-Alvarez, 1967)

Mother Borinquen calls me
 This country is not mine
 Borinquen is pure flame'
 And here I am freezing to death.
 (Translation in Maldonado-Denis, 1976)

Return migration to Puerto Rico is not a new phenomenon. In 1963 the Planning Board of Puerto Rico (Junta de Planificación) published The emigration and its characteristics, one of the first studies about Puerto Rican migration. This study was primarily a census-type description of the characteristics of Puerto Rican migrants. Hernandez-Alvarez (1967) also studied the return migration to Puerto Rico in the

early sixties. The study of the return migration by Hernandez-Alvarez concentrated on sociological aspects such as geographic mobility, fertility and family structure. The psychological implications of the return migration were neglected in this and many other studies (e.g., Fernandez-de-Cintron & Vales, 1975, Junta de Planificacion, 1984). Nevertheless, the return migration involves many psychological issues such as coping with changes and possibly with negative attitudes and expectations from those in the island.

A study conducted by Lucca-Irrizary and Pacheco (1992) is one of the few published studies dealing with the psychological aspects of returning migration to Puerto Rico. Lucca-Irrizary and Pacheco gathered data from professors and return migrant students at several universities in Puerto Rico. They collected their data through semi-structured questionnaires and Likert-type scales. It was found that return migrant students felt highly rejected by their peers in Puerto Rico, whereas they viewed Native students negatively. It was also found that professors reported being able to differentiate migrant students from non-migrant students on the basis of language. These researchers did not measure variables of psychological well-being

such as depression or anxiety. Also the extent to which Nuyoricans are perceived as being different from Natives was not measured by Lucca-Irrizarry and Pacheco.

In their research report, Lucca-Irrizarry and Pacheco (1992) stated that:

"Return migrants to Puerto Rico have grown in such numbers that now impact the local island resident habitat in a very significant way . . . at times almost like shock waves as they smash against the resistance and prejudice of many local residents who view them as hybrids, as New Yoricans [variant of Nuyoricans]" (p. 228)

This quotation suggests the relevance of social categorization for understanding the return migration to Puerto Rico. The phrase "who view them as hybrids, as New Yoricans" points to categorization as the cause of "resistance and prejudice of many local residents." The possible role of social categorization in the adjustment of returning migrants to Puerto Rico is of primary importance for the present study.

Regarding problems found by "Nuyoricans" in Puerto Rico, Ramos-Perea (1972) found that mainland-raised Puerto Rican students want to go back to the Continental United States because of difficulty adjusting to the life in Puerto Rico. The role of social categorization as a possible source of difficulties for returning migrants and its implications were not studied by Ramos-Perea. This researcher focused on school adjustment of Nuyoricans students in Puerto Rico.

Relevant to the difficulties faced by returning Puerto Ricans, FitzPatrick (1987) reported that the Puerto Rican Family Institute has established an office in San Juan Puerto Rico to help returning migrants to deal with problems resulting from migrating back to Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican Family Institute is a social services organization with a central office in New York City that helps Puerto Rican immigrants to cope with problems generated by immigrating. Johnson (1982) mentioned a "Neo Rican Society" established in San Juan to facilitate the adjustment of "Puerto Ricans returning to Puerto Rico". The Department of Education also has an island-wide program (PEEM which stands for Educational Program for Migrant Students) that serves

returning students to "facilitate their social and cultural adaptation in Puerto Rico" (Flyer distributed by the Department of Education of Puerto Rico). The present study hypothesized that being perceived as different from Natives partially accounts for any difficulty encountered by returning migrants in Puerto Rico.

Emergence of the category "Nuyorican"

Historically, most Puerto Rican immigrants have settled in New York City: 81.3% in 1950, 62% in 1970, and 42.7% in 1980 and 40% in 1990 (FitzPatrick, 1987, Reddy, 1993). During the first two migratory waves, the destination of most Puerto Rican migrants was New York City. Thus, the label "Nuyoricans" began to be used as an identifier of children from a Puerto Rican parentage raised in any part of the Continental United States.

Migration to the Continental United States is more likely to occur in late adolescence and early adulthood (Junta de Planificacion, 1984; Parillo, 1991). Consequently, many Puerto Rican migrants procreate and/or raise their children in the Continental United States. The children of these immigrant families, are

dually socialized. At home they have to speak Spanish, eat cultural food, celebrate Puerto Rican holidays and so forth. At school they are exposed to the values and customs prevalent in the American culture. Similarly, in the streets they are influenced by adolescents from other ethnic groups (e.g., Blacks) who have different customs and values which may contrast with that of their parents. These adolescents develop a "double consciousness" (DuBois, 1961) or a divided ethnic loyalty (Brown, [1990] called this phenomenon "dual socialization"). Thus, they might become increasingly different from their Puerto Rico-raised cousins. Richard Rodriguez (1982), a Hispanic writer, described how his behavioral pattern, language preference and sense of belonging to the Hispanic community changed as he internalized American values transmitted by school and peers.

Many studies in the acculturation literature have investigated how social groups are affected by their participation in a host society (See LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton 1993; Rogler, Cortes & Malgady, 1991; Berry, 1990). The acculturation literature establishes that, as a consequence of their participation in the host society, immigrants undergo significant changes in

the direction of the dominant group. These changes become more visible in the second and third generation (Cameron & Lalonde, 1994; Rogler, Cortes & Malgady, 1991).

Based on the acculturation literature, it is reasonable to expect that Puerto Rican adolescents raised in the Continental United States will exhibit a distinctive behavioral repertoire contrasting with that of most adolescents raised in Puerto Rico. These differences might be responsible for the label "Nuyoricans". This label may lead to the psychological exclusion of Puerto Ricans raised in the mainland from the category "Puerto Ricans". That is, in Puerto Rico, adolescents raised in the mainland may be considered and treated as a distinct group by native Puerto Rican peers. Thus, "the Puerto Rican born in the United States discovers that he [sic] is the target of the hostility of those of the island. They call him New Yorican 'because he hasn't learned Spanish' 'because he doesn't dress like everyone else', etc." (Maldonado-Denis, 1976, p. 127). In a similar way, Johnson (1982) mentioned that "The mainland Puerto Rican usually looks very different from her island cousin... [therefore, they] experience prejudice on the island" (p. 143).

According to Johnson, personality characteristics (being pushy and aggressive), clothing and language style are some aspects in which Native and mainland-raised adolescents differ. A major problem of this literature is the little research data available to support its postulates. Consequently, very often the authors make remarks based on their personal experiences and observations rather than in empirical data.

Differences in values, life styles, attitudes and social behavior also contribute to the separation of Native and mainland-raised Puerto Ricans as two distinct groups (Claudio, 1983). Claudio found significant differences between Natives and return migrants in the importance attributed to love, honesty and acceptance. Consistent with this formulation Ramos-Perea (1972) stated that "the [returning] student must develop certain personality traits commonly accepted as desirable for his [sic] performance in the school system and, subsequently, in the larger society" (p. 154). These investigators suggest that the returning student are often different from island-raised students in dispositional attributes and that their adjustment in Puerto Rico may require changes in

these attributes. This last issue is also investigated in the present study. It is believed that "Nuyoricans" become similar to Natives as a function of length of time in Puerto Rico.

Social categorization depends on attributes shared by members of the same group which serve to distinguish one's group from others (See Wilder, 1986a). Consequently, the observation that adolescents from returning families are often different in many characteristics (language, clothes) requires a label that differentiate them from Native adolescents. That is, "as the differences perceived between groups increase; compared to the differences perceived between individuals belonging to the same group, then the more salient will the social category become in the perception of those individuals" (Oakes, Turner & Haslam, 1991, pp. 126-127). In this sense, the observation of differences between Native and mainland-raised adolescents results in the creation of the "Nuyoricans" category. Certain characteristics such as a particular appearance (grooming, hair style, etc.) and speech style seems to be central for categorizing an adolescent as a "Nuyorican".

Relevance of Social Categorization

Aspects of social categorization

Social categorization, like object categorization, serves to organize and simplify one's social world. Wilder (1986a) argued that "on the simplest level, groups may be defined as categories of persons subject to the same principles of organization and inferences attributed to any category" (p. 293). Nevertheless, social categorization deals with people who, contrary to objects in the physical world, are reflexive and can modify many aspects of themselves and their environments. Adolescents categorized as Nuyoricans, for example, can monitor and modify those aspects of self that produce undesirable consequences. They also can influence and produce changes in their physical and social context.

In addition, in social categorization the perceiver's self-concept is intertwined with the given category, (Lingle, Altom & Medin, 1985; Wilder 1986a). The identity of native Puerto Rican students, for example, is involved when they categorize others as Nuyoricans or non-Puerto Ricans. In this way the category "Nuyorican" expresses the idea that "you are

not like us", "you do not belong to this group". In other words, being categorized as a "Nuyorican" is a process in which Nuyorican students are excluded from the group "Puerto Rican". This exclusion seems to be a consequence of being perceived as different from those raised in the island.

Fiske and Neuberg (1990) suggested four steps involved in social categorization. These steps could be useful for understanding the process of categorizing mainland-raised adolescents as "Nuyoricans". When first presented with a social stimulus, in this case an adolescent from a returning family, the island-raised adolescent spontaneously assesses and categorizes the target. Salient features requiring little cognitive effort, such as appearance, language and speech style, serve as the basis for spontaneous categorization. Once categorization has occurred, the perceiver seeks information that supports the assignment of the target into the given category.

When the attributes presented by the target are obviously inconsistent with the given category he or she has been assigned to, recategorization takes place. In the case of Nuyoricans, if they become fluent in

Spanish, dress and behave as most Native adolescents, recategorization should take place. Further, mainland-raised adolescents who claim being Puerto Ricans in the United States may recategorize themselves as a result of perceiving themselves as being different from Natives.

The last step proposed by Fiske and Neuberg is piecemeal integration. This occurs "when the available information as a whole does not seem to fit any particular category" (p. 12). Piecemeal integration is an individuated response in which the perceiver considers each attribute one by one in reference to the target person (e.g., a Nuyorican). That is, the perceiver reacts to the person as a unique individual (not as part of a group). This individualized response takes place when the target (a Nuyorican) does not fit any of the existent categories. Thus, the perceiver has to consider the target as a unique individual.

Differentiating the "Nuyorican" category

Social Categorization serves various functions. It is a strategy for cognitive economy (Fiske and Neuberg, 1990). It also gives meaning to the categorized stimulus and enables the perceiver to make

predictions about a target (Oakes & Turner, 1990; Wilder, 1986a). Consequently, since we are "cognitive misers" (Fiske and Taylor, 1974), people are motivated to simplify the many social stimuli in their context by categorizing or classifying them.

Through social categorization, multiple stimuli are organized and reduced to simple units of meaning. Thus, the phrase "Danny is a Nuyorican" communicates a description of Danny as possessing a series of features specific to the category Nuyorican. It also conveys information about Danny's background and elicits certain feelings and attitudes. Further, Danny's behavior could be predicted based on previous knowledge about the category Nuyorican. Thus, categorizing an adolescent as a Nuyorican serves a pragmatic function: to better understand and predict the target's behavior.

Social categorization is the consequence of perceived differences among two or more groups. The category "Nuyorican", for example, excludes from the general category "Puerto Rican" those adolescents raised in the mainland who exhibit a distinctive behavioral pattern. The label "Nuyorican" seems to be a way of communicating the perception that mainland-

born Puerto Rican adolescents are different from those raised in the island. Once the mainland-raised adolescent is categorized as a Nuyorican, differences with Natives are emphasized. In the study of returning migrants by Lucca-Irrizary and Pacheco (1992), for example, Nuyorican students reported that Native students "tried very hard to stress differences between the two groups" (p. 230).

In social categorization research, it is often assumed that categorization has occurred in the mind of the participants without testing it. For example, social categorization is assumed to happen between categories such as gender (e.g., Linville, Fischer & Salovey, 1989; Park & Rothbart, 1982) or rival colleges (e.g., Quattrone & Jones, 1980; Wilder & Shapiro, 1984). These studies are based on the assumption that subjects perceive (and behave toward) members of the opposite sex or different college as outgroups. However, it is not tested whether participants categorized the target as assumed by the experimenter. This is a major problem in social categorization research because assuming that categorization has occurred could bias the findings.

The assumption that research participants perceived others as members of a different group need to be examined. For this reason, in this study, the existence of the social category "Nuyorican" was demonstrated by investigating whether participants perceived mainland-raised adolescents as being different from those raised in the island. Further, differences in attributes assigned to mainland and island-raised adolescents were assessed.

Categorizing a target as a Nuyorican

Characteristics associated with being a Nuyorican

The salience of a social category differs from individual to individual. As argued by Oakes, Turner and Haslam (1991), the saliency of a category is determined by the extent to which the individual's behavior and attitudes fit the expectations for that category. Therefore, social categorization could be seen as a continuum. The number and magnitude of category-consistent attributes shared by a target will determine the strength of the categorization. In this sense, the category Nuyorican becomes a matter of degree. An adolescent born and raised in the mainland from Puerto Rican parentage could be anywhere within the Nuyorican continuum. In simpler words, the

category "Nuyorican" will be salient to the extent one's behavior fits the expectations associated to that category (a peculiar grooming, gait, speech, etc.).

As suggested before, Puerto Rican children raised in the mainland are likely to develop distinctive behavior and preferences that are often different from those of island-raised adolescents. For example, they speak Spanish with difficulty (Kaplan, 1982) and often mix English and Spanish in what has been called "Spanglish" (Maldonado-Denis, 1976). In addition, since these adolescents often come from big cities such as New York or Chicago, they exhibit a particular gait and physical expressiveness that contrast with that of native Puerto Ricans. Often, Puerto Rican male adolescents raised in the United States incorporate behavior and attitude learned in the streets from other groups (e.g., from Blacks). It has been hypothesized that the perception of these differences results in the categorization of mainland adolescents as members of an outgroup ("Nuyoricans"). Similarly, mainland-raised adolescents may categorize themselves as different from Natives too.

Social groups evolved, in part, from the

perception of commonality within the ingroup and differences with the outgroup (see Turner, 1987; Stephan, 1985). For Hogg (1987), for example, group cohesiveness is nothing else but interpersonal attraction (in contrast to interdependence). In the same tradition, Turner, Sachdev and Hogg (1983) argued that interpersonal attraction is the primary psychological basis of group formation. Two individuals attract one another to the extent they are similar (Byrne, 1969) and share common goals and values (e.g., Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1961). Thus, for an individual to be accepted as a member of the ingroup, he or she needs to meet certain criteria (e.g., similarity of attributes, interests or values). Those who are perceived as different will be left out and classified as members of a different category. This seems to be the case for mainland-raised adolescents. Those who are different from Natives in language characteristics and physical appearance are treated as members of a different category.

As suggested above, the category "Nuyorican" is not arbitrary. It stems from the observation of real differences between island-raised and mainland-raised Puerto Ricans. In fact, many Puerto Rican families

returning to Puerto Rico "found that they were very different in their style and family practices from the people in Puerto Rico" (FitzPatrick, 1987, p.57). Claudio (1983) stated that the returning population "is characterized as having different cultural values, life styles, attitudes and social behavior and many of them show social and emotional disorientation as well as poor self-image" (p. 2). This is consistent with the argument that representation of a social group should approximate the actual organization of the social world (Wilder, 1986a). Therefore, mainland-born Puerto Rican should be accepted by Native peers to the extent their behavior and preferences deviate from the category "Nuyorican" and conform to the category "Puerto Rican". That is, when intergroup differences are not observed the mainland-raised Puerto Rican will not be categorized as Nuyorican.

People often communicate their group memberships through the use of symbols and markers (Deaux, in preparation). Stangor, Lynch, Duan and Glass (1992) found that categorization may be based on features such as the use of a particular clothing style. Keefe (1992) also suggested a relationship between physical appearance and group identity. In a similar vein,

Eastman (1985) argued that certain aspects of language such as culturally-specific vocabulary and context-sensitive topics are related to the sense of uniqueness of the social group. Studies and scales of acculturation recognize the importance of language usage, music preferences, and cultural behavior for measuring affinity to one's social group (Montgomery & Orozco, 1984; see review by Rogler, Cortes and Malgady, 1991).

These issues are brought up here, because it seems that the category "Nuyoricans" is associated with features such as clothing style, language usage (accent, code switching, etc.) and other overt behavior. This idea was supported by Lucca-Irrizary and Pacheco who found that Nuyoricans felt rejected by their peers in Puerto Rico mainly because of language (70%), and fashion and appearance (76%). The present study takes this finding one step further. Rather than relying on self-report, the investigator manipulated the saliency of Nuyorican-consistent attributes. In this way, the role of language and physical attributes, in categorizing a target as a Nuyorican was assessed. Further, the extent to which targets differing in Nuyorican features were rejected was also investigated.

The importance of language

Language is an important symbol of group identity (Gudykunst & Schmidt, 1987). It is perhaps the most frequently used attribute for categorizing a mainland-born adolescent as a Nuyorican. Consistent with the above argument, McKirnan and Hamayan (1980) argued that language and speech differences may comprise the basis for differentiating between the ingroup and the outgroup. Further, the speech accommodation model (Giles & Powesland, 1975) proposes that speech symbolizes acceptance or rejection of group values. Thus, native Puerto Ricans may react against Nuyoricans who do not speak Spanish fluently. These Nuyoricans will be perceived as violators of the values of the Puerto Rican society. On the other hand, Nuyoricans could struggle to maintain their peculiar speech style as a way of reaffirming their attachment to the mainland ("I am from Chicago") or even for expressing resistance.

Further evidence for the idea that language usage could be a source of rejection is provided by McKirnan, Smith and Hamayan (1983). Using Standard-English and Black-English-Vernacular as independent variables, these investigators found that speech style has an

effect on prejudice as mediated by assumed cultural similarity. The literature consistently supports the idea that language, as a marker of group identity, may facilitate or hinder adjustment to a new social context (Neff & Hoppe, 1993; Nicassio, Solomon, Guest & McCullough, 1986). Thus, language could be a cue used by Native adolescents for either rejecting or accepting a Nuyorican.

Nuyoricans as violators of the group consensus

Kristiansen (1990), following Rokeach's belief-similarity hypothesis of racism (1979), found that discrimination and unfavorable attitudes toward outgroups symbolically represent the belief that they violate important group values. This argument leads to the hypothesis that Nuyorican adolescents are rejected by Native adolescents because they are perceived as violators of the values and norms prevalent in the island. Kaplan (1982), for example, argued that Nuyorican students are often rejected by teachers and peers in Puerto Rico because they "crack the homogeneity of the typical Puerto Rican classroom". Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that hostility toward Nuyorican students increases as they move apart from the normative speech and behavior of Native

adolescents.

Effect of length of time in Puerto Rico

Lucca-Irrizary and Pacheco found that interpersonal difficulties between Nuyorican and Native students were related to length of time lived in the mainland and language differences. This finding is consistent with the acculturation literature (Lafromboise, Coleman & Gerton 1993; Rogler, Cortes & Malgadi, 1991) and the contact hypothesis (Quattrone, 1986; Wilder, 1986b) which predict that repeated favorable exposure to members of another group decreases intergroup conflicts. The present study investigated, not only the effect of categorization in interpersonal relationships, but also its effects on Nuyorican's psychological well-being.

The contact hypothesis of intergroup relations could be useful for understanding Nuyoricans' assimilation to the Puerto Rican culture. This hypothesis establishes that repeated positive contact: (a) reduces intergroup discrimination, (b) fosters positive attitudes, and (c) increases ethnic/racial tolerance (Wilder, 1986b). Through contact the individual learns and internalizes the beliefs and

values of the dominant group. Consequently, the perception of similarity with one's ethnic group and dissimilarity with the majority group decreases. Based on this literature it is expected that Nuyoricans in Puerto Rico learn the typical behavioral repertoire of the native Puerto Ricans and modify their behavior accordingly as a function of the length of stay in Puerto Rico. Consistent with the contact hypothesis, the acculturation and immigration literature establishes that with the passage of time people modify their behavior and beliefs to adjust to the new social context (Berry, 1990; Parillo, 1991; Rogler, 1994).

Consequences of being categorized as a Nuyoricans
Nuyoricans perceived as a threat

Nuyoricans might be perceived as a threat for the "purity" of the dominant group and for the few resources available. The idea that Nuyoricans are seen as a threat for the "purity" of the group is supported by the research tradition on social categorization (see review by Wilder, 1986a). The outgroup is often devalued as a carrier of undesirable attributes that may contaminate the ingroup.

Nuyoricans may also be perceived as a threat to

the available resources (i.e., jobs) in Puerto Rico. As stated by Colon-Reyes (1984) "the returning migration represents a serious threat for the developmental project... [because it] implies providing services ... to people whom in many cases (such as that of school children) need special services and because ... of its effect on the rate of unemployment and other social problems" (p. 18, my translation). Obtaining the inverse phenomenon, Nuyoricans depreciating Natives seems very unlikely because (a) In the mainland, Nuyoricans identify themselves as Puerto Ricans, even more strongly than many other ethnic groups (Water, 1990), and (b) for Nuyoricans, depreciating the category "Puerto Rican" implies depreciating their own parents and significant others raised in Puerto Rico (e.g., grandparents, cousins). In addition, as suggested by the literature on outgroup homogeneity, members of a minority group such as Nuyoricans in Puerto Rico need to learn as much as they can about the dominant group. This should lead Nuyoricans to have a more complex view of native Puerto Ricans.

Rejection and prejudice

Social categorization always involves two or more groups. One group could be compared with a specific

group (e.g., Blacks vs. Whites) or multiple groups (Puerto Ricans vs. Dominicans, Cubans, Mexicans, etc.). Preference of one's group over the others seems to be a spontaneous consequence of categorization. This phenomenon was labeled ethnocentrism by early theorists (Sumner, 1906). In laboratory experiments this is often referred to as ingroup favoritism. Ethnocentrism was defined by Sumner as the "view of things in which one's group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (p.13). As observed by Brewer (1986), ethnocentrism appears to be a universal phenomenon, mutually reinforcing and a precursor of intergroup conflicts and competition. The standards and values of the ingroup are perceived as universal and intrinsically true. Further, through ethnocentrism, people see their own groups as strong, virtuous and superior. These attributes are relative. Thus, the ingroup is perceived positively at the expense of the outgroup which is derogated and seen as weak, vicious and inferior (Wilder, 1986a).

As established by Social Identity Theory, people are motivated to evaluate their group positively. Positive ingroup evaluation is only possible by derogating the outgroup. As hypothesized in this

study, Nuyoricans in Puerto Rico seem to be perceived as members of an outgroup. Consequently, differences between the mainland and the island-raised adolescents are emphasized and the distinctive attributes of the Nuyorican adolescents are devalued. This favorable comparison serves Native adolescents to enhance their self-esteem and it increases their sense of control and self-efficacy (Hogg & Abrams, 1990). In short, it seems that native Puerto Ricans benefit from derogating Nuyoricans because this enhances their self-esteem (appearing superior by comparing their group with the Nuyoricans).

Prejudice is a negative attitude toward a target outgroup and discrimination is the behavioral translation of prejudice. Allport (1954) suggested that for reducing prejudice it is necessary to replace or eliminate the existing traditional category systems (See also Rothbart & John, 1985). It is known that ethnic labels activate positive or negative associations. The reaction time, for example, is lower when Anglos are presented with a combination of the word "White" with favorable attributes than when presented with the same attributes paired with the word "Black" (Gaertner & Mclaughlin, 1983). Words

associated with the ingroup (eg., "we") acquire a positive connotation, while the words associated with the outgroup ("they") acquire negative connotations (Perdue, Dovidio, Gurtman & Tyler, 1990). Following this research tradition, it is reasonable to expect that the label "Nuyoricans", as a definer of an outgroup, will elicit negative reactions toward mainland-raised adolescents.

As discussed earlier, the belief-similarity hypothesis of racism (Rokeach, 1979) could be useful for understanding the conflicts between Natives and mainland-raised adolescents. This hypothesis proposes that cross-ethnic conflicts are induced by the assumption that members of other groups hold dissimilar values and attitudes. This hypothesis stems from the work of Byrne (1969) who claimed that we like those who are similar and dislike those who are dissimilar to us. Consequently, Nuyoricans could be rejected by Native adolescents to the extent they are perceived as dissimilar from the prototype or the expectations they have on how Puerto Ricans should present themselves (behavior, grooming, etc.).

Psychological well-being and academic performance

The psychological well-being of mainland-raised adolescents being categorized as "Nuyoricans" might be adversely affected by several events. Among these are: (a) disconfirmation of the expectation of being accepted as Puerto Ricans, (b) internalization of negative expectations about the "Nuyoricans" or triggered by social categorization, (c) difficulties in accomplishing their goals because of discrimination from teachers, school workers or the community as a whole, and (d) conflicts with island-raised adolescents.

Perhaps one of the major goals of the returning Puerto Rican adolescents is to be accepted by other adolescents in Puerto Rico. Frequently, Nuyorican adolescents are coached by their parents to identify as Puerto Ricans before returning to Puerto Rico (FitzPatrick, 1987). Consequently, these adolescents might expect to be readily accepted by Native adolescents when they move with their parents to Puerto Rico. For this reason, being denied membership into the Puerto Rican category and labeled as a Nuyorican might produce anxiety, depression and/or other types of psychological discomforts. Maldonado-Denis argued that the rejection of Nuyoricans by Native peers increases

their feeling of insecurity and adversely affects their sense of belonging. A similar argument is made by Martinez (1982), who stated that "Adjustment to local conditions could also depend on the degree of acceptance by neighbors or others who have never migrated" (p. 168).

Teachers and school officials also react to the differences seen in the mainland-raised adolescents. In this regard Claudio (1983) stated that return migrant students are stereotyped as "low achievers, trouble makers, aggressive, undisciplined, disrespectful, lacking an identity, and not knowing either English or Spanish" (p. 3-4). As predicted by the literature on self-fulfilling prophecy (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968), teachers' expectations may affect the students' performance. Thus, it is possible that mainland-raised adolescents have to invest more time and efforts to get a positive evaluation from teachers and school official than native Puerto Ricans. Difficulties in accomplishing their goals because of discrimination can generate anxiety, anger and distress. In addition feelings of hopelessness, inadequacy and even antisocial behavior can be precipitated because of limitations in their

influential power (Berry, 1990; Dion & Earn, 1975; Vega, Gil, Warheit & Zimmerman, 1993).

Because of intergroup differentiation, members of the majority groups often derogate minorities (Simon & Brown, 1987; Brown & Smith, 1989). This seems to be the case of "Nuyoricans" in Puerto Rico. Following social categorization models, Native adolescents may strive to obtain a positive group-evaluation by devaluing Nuyoricans who are perceived as members of an outgroup. Nuyorican adolescents can internalize the negative affects predominant in Puerto Rico, which might adversely affect their psychological well-being.

As already established, intergroup differentiation produces prejudice and discrimination. Lucca-Irrizarry, for example, suggested that unless the language problem is properly managed, Nuyorican will be exposed to "labeling and discrimination". In a study with returning migrant to Jamaica, Hickling (1991) found a high incidence of psychiatric hospitalization among returning immigrants. This investigator concluded that returning immigrants have moved from one difficult situation to another; what the investigator called "double jeopardy". This situation is similar to

that of Nuyoricans. The experience of being rejected in the land of their parents could be detrimental for the Nuyorican adolescent.

In the same way that being categorized as a "Nuyorican" may precipitate psychological discomfort, it may affect academic performance. The negative feelings and stress generated by being excluded from the dominant group and the hostility found by mainland-raised adolescents in Puerto Rico may interfere with these students' performance. Further, poor expectations from teachers may be internalized by them, fulfilling the teacher's prophecy and perpetuating the negative perception that Native people might have about Nuyoricans.

HYPOTHESES

Based on research literature on social categorization and Puerto Rican migration the following hypotheses are proposed:

- 1) Students raised in Puerto Rico perceive those raised in the Continental United States as members of a different social category (Nuyoricans).
- 2) Being categorized as a Nuyorican depends on distinctive attributes and behavior such as linguistic cues, grooming and postures. So, the extent to which a person is categorized as a Nuyorican is positively related to the salience and number of category-consistent features exhibited by that person.
- 3) The number of "Nuyorican-consistent attributes" exhibited by a target is related to negative attitudes (e.g., disliking, rejection) elicited in Native adolescents. Thus, the number of Nuyorican attributes relates positively with being disliked and rejected by Native adolescents.
- 4) The perception of similarity of mainland-raised adolescents with those raised in the island correlates positively with their length of stay in

Puerto Rico.

- 5) Nuyoricans' perception of dissimilarity with Native students is positively correlated with high rejection by others, high anxiety, high depression, high hostility and academic problems (low grades, absenteeism, classroom and interpersonal problems).

Besides these hypotheses, other additional questions are asked:

- 1) How do Nuyoricans in Puerto Rico perceive themselves in term of group membership?
- 2) Do Nuyoricans differ from Natives on the variables assessed in this study?
- 3) How familiar are students with the term "Nuyorican" and what meanings are associated with it?
- 4) Does gender have any effect on the relationships between the variables assessed in this study?

METHODS

Overview

Adolescents raised in the United States ("Nuyoricans") and Puerto Rico ("Natives") were recruited in six high schools. Students completed several instruments intended to measure categorization of mainland-raised adolescents, perception of similarity with Natives, psychological well-being and other pertinent variables. All the instruments in the package were administered in group settings. In addition, teachers's evaluation of the students and their GPA were obtained as a measure of academic performance.

Categorization of Nuyoricans was assessed through two instruments using scenarios and scales. The first instrument consisted of two scenarios depicting a New York City-raised adolescent and a San Juan-raised adolescent involved in a neutral situation. Respondents reported the extent to which they perceived these two adolescents as being different. The second categorization instrument consisted of two sets of eight bipolar attributes (e.g., calm versus agitated). In the first set of attributes, students evaluated

adolescents raised in the United States. In the second set of attributes, they evaluated adolescents raised in Puerto Rico. Evaluation of adolescents raised in the United States as being different from adolescents raised in Puerto Rico was interpreted as indicative of categorization.

The instruments package included a manipulation procedure. This procedure was intended to assess the influence of physical appearance and language in categorizing a Nuyorican target. Photos and audiotapes of three adolescents who represented three levels of saliency of Nuyoricans features (high, medium and low salience) were presented to the participants. Each adolescent presented in the photos and audiotapes were evaluated by the students in scales provided in the instruments package.

Other measures included in the instruments package were intended to measure psychological well-being, acceptability to others and perception of similarity to Natives. Additional data was obtained through five English to Spanish translation exercises and a demographic data sheet. Teacher's evaluation of the participating students and GPA from the academic

records were obtained and combined as a measure of academic performance.

Subjects

A sample of 325 high school students was recruited from public schools in the west of Puerto Rico (Mayaguez Regional District). Students were recruited from seven high schools, four schools in the cities of Mayaguez and Aguadilla and three schools in the towns of Moca, San Sebastian and Aguada. All students who volunteered to participate were recruited by cooperating teachers. Cooperating teachers were blind to the hypotheses of the study. Thus, it is unlikely that the recruitment of students by teachers could bias the results. The students participated in the study for the opportunity to win a walkman in a drawing involving all the participants in their school.

From the original sample, 18 students were dropped from analysis. Four students were dropped because they were born and partially raised outside of the United States or Puerto Rico. Another 14 students were dropped because they failed to provide information about the length of time they had lived in the Continental United States or Puerto Rico. This

information was necessary for group assignment and for assessing whether the student met the criteria for inclusion. After excluding students who did not meet the inclusion criteria, 307 students were left for analysis.

From the total, 307 students whose responses were used in the study, 120 (40%) were males and 186 (60%) were females. The age of the students ranged from 14 to 19 with a mean of 16 (16.17) and standard deviation of .93. One hundred eighteen students (39%) were in twelfth grade, 110 (36%) in eleventh and 78 (25%) in tenth.

One hundred twenty-one students met the criteria to be considered Nuyoricans and another 121 met the criteria to be considered Native. Sixty-five students could not be assigned to either the Nuyorican or the Native categories because they had not lived in the Continental United States long enough to be classified as "Nuyoricans". Although this study was primarily interested in the responses of Native and Nuyorican students, the data provided by the 65 non-classified students were preserved. These data were useful for testing some hypothesis. For example, including the 65

non-classified students provided a better test of the relationship between length of time in the Continental United States and perception of similarity with Native students. Table 1 summarizes the demographic characteristics of the sample as a whole and the demographics for the Nuyorican and Native groups.

The criteria for being considered a native Puerto Rican were: (a) being born in Puerto Rico or in any of the 50 states, but (b) not living outside of Puerto Rico for more than one year. If the student lived outside of Puerto Rico before age five (inclusive) and less than two years they were also assigned to the Native group. These criteria were established to ensure that the responses of Native students were not contaminated by ideas or behavior acquired through the exposure to a different culture. The Native sample consisted of 41 (34%) males and 80 (66%) females. Age ranged from 14 - 19 with a mean of 16 (16.37) and standard deviation of .81. Ten (8%) Native students attended tenth grade, 48 (40%) eleventh grade and 63 (52%) were in twelfth grade.

The students assigned into the Nuyorican group

Table 1
Demographic characteristics of the overall sample,
Nuyoricans and Native students.

<u>Demographic</u>	<u>Overall sample</u> n=307	<u>Natives</u> n=121	<u>Nuyoricans</u> n=121
Gender			
Male	120 (40%)	41 (34%)	56 (46%)
Female	186 (60%)	80 (66%)	64 (54%)
Age			
Range	14 - 19	14 - 19	14 - 18
Mean(STD)	16.17(.93)	16.37(.81)	16.14(.99)
Grade			
10	78 (25%)	10 (08%)	42 (35%)
11	110 (36%)	48 (40%)	37 (31%)
12	118 (39%)	63 (52%)	41 (34%)
Born			
PR	205 (67%)	115 (95%)	45 (37%)
NY	47 (15%)	02 (1.5%)	35 (29%)
NJ	19 (06%)	01 (01%)	15 (12%)
IL	11 (04%)	01 (01%)	07 (06%)
Other- USA	25 (08%)	02 (1.5%)	19 (15%)
Time in PR (months)			
Range	1 - 228	156-228	1 - 120
Means(STD)	127(69.0)	197(12.5)	52(32.1)
School			
City	161 (52%)	66 (55%)	57 (47%)
Town	146 (48%)	55 (45%)	64 (53%)
Family Income			
Median	\$6- 9,999	\$6- 9,999	\$6- 9,999
75 %tile	\$10- 13,999	\$14-17,999	\$10-13,999

Notes. *Overall sample includes Nuyoricans, Natives and 65 students who could not be classified. N varies because of missing values. Family income was measured using intervals. First digit in the interval is expressed in thousands (i.e., \$6- = \$6,000).

were born of Puerto Rican parents and either, (a) have lived in the Continental United States longer than in Puerto Rico or (b) have lived in the Continental United States from age 5 or younger until age 11 or older. These criteria were established to ensure that the students assigned to the Nuyorican group had been exposed long enough to the culture of the United States. It was reasoned that exposure to life in the mainland during critical periods of time (such as school years) increases the likelihood of being influenced by it. The length of time Nuyorican students had lived in Puerto Rico ranged from 1 to 120 months with a mean of 52 months (about 4.3 years) and standard deviation of 32. Fifty six (46%) Nuyorican students were male and 64 (54%) females. Age ranged from 14 - 18 with a mean of 16 years (16.14) and a standard deviation of .99. The distribution for school grade was 42 (35%) in tenth, 37 (31%) in eleventh, and 41 (34%) in twelfth.

Instruments Package

An instruments package was used to assess most of the variables pertinent to this study. Instrument packages were available in English and Spanish. From the 307 packages used in the analyses, 275 (90%) were in

Spanish and 32 (10%) in English. Only Nuyorican students chose English packages. To ensure comparability of the English and Spanish instruments the method of back translation was used. The first back-translated instruments package was comparable to the original. The English and Spanish versions of the instruments are shown in Appendix A and B respectively. The instruments included in the package are described below.

Categorization scenarios

Two categorization procedures were developed for this study. These procedures were intended to assess the extent to which adolescents from the Continental United States and Puerto Rico are perceived as belonging to different social categories. The first of these procedures consisted of two scenarios and it is called categorization scenarios hereafter. The two scenarios depicted either a San Juan-raised or a New York-raised adolescent exhibiting a neutral behavior such as entering a classroom or sitting down in a table in the cafeteria. Other than place of origin, there was no descriptive information about the adolescents in the narrative. Each scenario was followed by an open-ended question asking for a description of the

adolescents in each of them. The order of presentation of the two adolescents in the scenarios was counterbalanced. Thus, the adolescent described in the first scenario was identified as "born and raised in New York City" in one version and as "born and raised in San Juan" in another. San Juan is the largest city of Puerto Rico. The instructions for the categorization scenarios were, "Please imagine the following students and describe them".

Students were asked to evaluate the extent to which the adolescents in the two scenarios differed from each other on a seven-point scale. The heading question here was "How different or similar are Ruben and Luis?" Ruben and Luis were the names given to the two adolescents in the scenarios. The extremes of this scale were "very different" (1) and "very similar" (7). Thus, a value of seven suggested that little or no differences were perceived between the New York-raised and the San Juan-raised adolescents depicted in the scenarios. Values lower than seven indicated increasing degrees of perceived differences between the two adolescents as they approach "1".

Categorization Scales

The second procedure used to assess categorization of the mainland-raised adolescents consisted of two sets of eight nine-point scales. These scales prompted students with eight bipolar attributes (i.e., submissive - dominant). Students responded to these scales by describing adolescents born and raised "in Puerto Rico" in one set of attributes and "in the Continental United States" in the other. The eight bipolar attributes were adapted from eight factors in the High School Personality Questionnaire, HSPQ, (Cattell, Cattell & Johns, 1984). Selection of these eight attributes, among the factors in the HSPQ, was based on pilot data obtained from 15 adolescents and interviews with teachers and school authorities in Puerto Rico. The eight bipolar attributes used in these scales were: dull - intelligent, calm - agitated, submissive - dominant, rebel - conforming, shy - bold, enthusiastic - withdrawn, dependent - independent and careless - careful.

Evaluation Scales

The third measure in the instrument package was used to assess how targets differing in saliency of "Nuyorican attributes" are categorized and evaluated.

Three Evaluation Scales assessed the respondents' reactions to three adolescents differing in saliency of Nuyorican features who were presented through photos and audiotapes. A description of these adolescents follows in the next section (Photographs and audiotapes).

Each Evaluation Scale consisted of five five-point Likert scales, which assessed: (a) the extent to which the target adolescent was perceived as like "most adolescents raised in Puerto Rico" (item 1) and as like "most adolescent raised in the United States" (item 2), and (b) the feelings of rejection aroused by the target (item 3, 4 & 5). Items 3, 4 and 5 were combined as a measure of rejection. An example of the statements used to measure feelings of rejection was "I dislike Carlos". The combination of the three rejection items obtained an alpha of .76 for all responses (sample as a whole) and an alpha of .77 for the Spanish version. No alpha was calculated for the English version because too few questionnaires were available for this analysis.

As a complement of the Evaluation Scales, students' familiarity with the term "Nuyorican" was

assessed in the third Evaluation Scale. Also the meanings given to the term "Nuyorican" by the students and by others were assessed. This information was useful to appraise the definition of a "Nuyorican" possessed by the students. A nine-point scale with labels at point 1 ("Never"), 3 ("Rarely"), 5 ("Sometimes"), 7 ("often") and 9 ("Very often") assessed "How often do you hear others using the term Nuyorican?" Two open-ended questions asked about the meaning of the term Nuyorican to the student and to other people (as perceived by the student).

Photographs and audiotapes

As stated above, three photos and audiotapes were judged by students in the Evaluation Scales (described above). These photographed adolescents (named Carlos, Felipe, and Tony) and a short audiotape presumably of their voices were presented to the students simultaneously. These photos and audiotapes presented three levels of saliency of Nuyorican features (high, medium and low salience). Photos were presented on a screen and the projector was placed at eight feet from the screen in all groups. The volume of the cassette player was set to a comfortable level depending on the size of the room. After viewing each photograph and

listening to each audiotape, students were asked to complete the corresponding Evaluation Scale. Six orders of presentation of the photos and audiotapes were used.

The order of presentation of photos and audiotapes was counterbalanced. Thus, the photo and audiotape of the "Nuyorican" target was presented first for some groups, second and third for others. The six orders of presentation of the photos and audiotapes were: ABC, CAB, BCA, ACB, CBA and BAC, where each letter represented one of the three conditions in saliency of Nuyorican features. Thus, all possible orders of presentation of the photos and audiotapes were exhausted.

The three photos and audiotapes used in this study were obtained out of ten available. For this, ten adolescents thought to differ in the extent they resembled a "typical Nuyorican" were photographed and audiotaped. These adolescents were recruited from Hispanic groups in churches and social services organizations in New York City. All adolescents photographed and audiotaped were children of Puerto Rican parents. The adolescents and their parents

consented to the photos and audiotapes.

The target adolescent in each photo posed facing the camera at a distance of 8 feet. The whole body was photographed. The face of each adolescent was covered with a white mask which they wore to protect their anonymity and to reduce the possible effect of facial attractiveness. For preparing the audiotapes, the ten adolescents were asked to deliver a one-minute long speech in Spanish. The speech was about the importance of sports, an issue considered to be neutral.

To decide about the extent to which the photos and audiotapes represented a typical Nuyorican, three judges evaluated each of them. Three high school students raised and living in Puerto Rico (age 15, 16 and 18) served as judges. Puerto Rico-raised adolescents were chosen as judges because this study is interested in the category Nuyorican as defined by high school students in Puerto Rico. The average score given to the photos and audiotapes (presented separately) by the three judges was used to select them. There was agreement among the three judges in the evaluation of the photos and audiotapes. The inter-rater reliability for the evaluation of the

photos was .69 and for the evaluation of the audiotapes was .93.

The three photos and audiotapes chosen for this study were those judged as: (a) to best represent a typical Nuyorican, (b) to least well represent a typical Nuyorican, and (c) to be neutral or in the middle of the continuum between best and least well representative of a typical Nuyorican. The extent to which an adolescent was judged as a typical Nuyorican is called "saliency of Nuyorican features" in this manuscript. The photos were selected apart from the audiotapes and later combined to create the saliency of Nuyorican features condition. For example the combination of the photo and audiotape judged to be the best representation of a typical Nuyorican were combined to create the target high on saliency of Nuyorican features. Similar procedures were used to create the medium and low salient targets in Nuyorican features.

As seen in Appendix C, the three adolescents in the chosen photos differed in their grooming and their postures. The adolescent chosen as the one that best represented a typical Nuyorican wore baggy jeans below

his waist, a T-shirt and a long sleeved shirt over his T-shirt. The T-shirt was not tucked in and the collar of the shirt was up. The long-sleeve shirt was opened showing the T-shirt underneath. This adolescent also wore sneakers and a baseball hat pointing to the side. His hands were in the pockets, his legs were spreaded and his head was up. The adolescent judged to be neutral wore baggy jeans, a wide T-shirt not tucked in. His hands were in the front. He also worn sneakers and a baseball hat with the back side to the front. The adolescent judged as the one who "least well" represented a typical Nuyorican worn baggy jeans adjusted to his waist by a belt. He also worn a long sleeved shirt tucked inside the pants. In contrast to the high and medium salient targets, this adolescent worn casual shoes and did not wear a hat. He placed his hand in his pocket and his posture gave the impression that he was posing.

The only salient characteristics in the three selected audiotapes were the quality of the Spanish and the accent. The audiotape identified as the one that best represented a typical Nuyorican presented the following features: (a) an English accent, (b) many mispronounced words or wrongly used pronouns, (c) slang

rarely used among Native Puerto Rican adolescents (i.e., "you know"), (d) some English words inserted in the Spanish message, and (e) a distinctive melodic rhythm. The audiotape identified as the one that least well represented a typical Nuyorican contrasted with the one that best represented a Nuyorican in all the listed features. The neutral audiotape contained some mispronounced words and short pauses between words and between syllables ("sports helps you to --re--duce"). These features gave the impression that the communicator did not speak Spanish very often.

Acceptability to Others Scale

A modified version of the Acceptability to Others Scale (Fey, 1955) was administered to measure the extent to which participants felt accepted or rejected by other students in their school. The only modification made to the original scale consisted in replacing "people" by "students in my school". For example, the revised item 1 read: "Students in my school are quite critical of me". The possible responses to the five items of this semantic-differential instrument range from "always" (scored as 1) to "very rarely" (scored as 5).

The reliability coefficients obtained in this study for the Acceptability to Others Scale was lower than the .89 split-half value reported by Fey (1955). The alpha for the Spanish version was .73. The alpha for the English and Spanish versions combined was .72. Again, no alpha was calculated for the English version because the number of English questionnaires was too little.

Acceptance of Others Scale

A five-items instrument was derived from the Acceptability to Others Scale. This additional instrument explored whether Nuyorican students rejected Native students. For the construction of this additional measure the five statements of the Acceptability to Others Scale were inverted. For example, before being inverted, an item of the Acceptability to Others Scale was "Students in my school are critical of me". After being inverted to assess acceptance of other, the same item read "I am critical of students in my school". The alpha for this instrument was .62 for all the responses. Since the internal consistency of this instrument was low, it was dropped from all analyses.

Symptoms Questionnaire

A revised version of the anxiety, depression and hostility subscales of the Symptoms Questionnaire (Kellner, 1987) was used to assess psychological well-being. The original subscales consisted of 23 items each, with "Yes" - "No" alternatives. Test-retest coefficients for the original anxiety, depression and hostility subscales as reported by Kellner are .71, .95 and .82 respectively. Split half correlations for each subscale range from .75 to .95 for anxiety, .74 to .93 for depression, and .78 to .95 for hostility. The correlation between the original anxiety and depression subscales and the Hamilton Rating Scales for the same constructs are .69 and .66 respectively.

The original Symptom Questionnaire was revised to eliminate potential translation problems, reduce the possibility of fatigue effect and to better account for variance in the feelings of the respondents. The concern for translation problems stems from the observation that the original meaning of many phrases and words are lost when translated from English to Spanish. For example, the phrase "enjoying yourself" is a nonsense phrase when translated to Spanish ("disfrutarse a uno mismo"). To reduce the possibility

of fatigue effect, 13 items of each subscale were eliminated. The criteria for eliminating these 13 items were: (1) the presence of synonymous items (e.g., frightened, scared, terrified; the last two were dropped), (2) items with translation problems, and (3) items less compatible with the criteria established by the DSM IV (American Psychiatric Association, 1994) for the given category. To increase the variance in students' responses, 6-point Likert scales replaced the "Yes" and "No" alternatives of the original scales. The six points in the revised scale ranged from "Not at all" (1) to "All of the time" (6). Students responded to each item prompted by the question "How have you felt during the past week?".

The alpha obtained in this study for the anxiety subscale was .72 for both, all the responses and the Spanish version (low n in the English version). For the hostility subscale, the alpha obtained was .83 for both, all the responses and the Spanish version. The alpha for the 10 items in the depression subscale was .71. However, it was observed that by dropping items 2 (Feeling "tired") and item 21 ("Looking forward toward the future") the alpha increased to .78. Therefore, items 2 and 21 were dropped from the computation of the

depression score. The 8-items measure of depression obtained an alpha of .78 for all the responses and .77 for the Spanish version.

Perception of Similarity and Differences Questionnaire

This questionnaire was designed by the experimenter to measure perception of similarity and differences with "most students in my school". Seven-point scales were used in this questionnaire. The extremes of the scales were "Very different" (1) and "Very alike" (7). This questionnaire consisted of eight items tapping into relevant attributes (language, gait, clothes, hair style, music preference, dancing style, food and hobbies). These items were used in the analysis as independent measures and they were also combined as a single measure of perceived similarity or difference. The Perception of Similarity Questionnaire obtained an alpha of .87 for all the responses and .86 for the Spanish version.

English/Spanish Dominance Test

Language barriers could be a secondary variable affecting the academic performance of mainland-raised adolescents. To control for the anticipated effect of language problems, a Spanish/English Dominance Test was

included in the instruments package. This test consisted of four short sentences to be translated from English to Spanish. These sentences were extracted from a basic English grammar book. The sentences in this test were:

"She writes quickly"

"Who called last night?"

"The child seems unhappy today"

"The tiger walks quietly through the jungle"

Participants were given one point for each word translated correctly. One additional point was given for correct grammar (e.g., placement of adjectives) and another for proper use of tenses.

Demographic Data Sheet

The Demographic Data Sheet was intended to gather demographic and social data about each student. Basic information such as sex, age and place of birth was collected. Other relevant data such as years outside of Puerto Rico, years in Puerto Rico, Spanish and English fluency were also obtained.

Other Instruments

Other instruments and material used in this study

were the Teacher's Evaluation Report and the GPA obtained from the academic records. These instruments are described below:

Teacher's Evaluation Report

The Teacher's Evaluation Report was designed by the investigator to assess teachers' evaluation of their students. As shown in Appendix D (Appendix E for translation), the Teacher's Evaluation Report consisted of questions about attendance and 14 statements. These statements were divided in three sections headed: "Relationship with peers" (7 items), "Relationship with teachers" (2 items) and "General classroom behavior" (5 items). Teachers evaluated the student on each of the 14 statements by checking the frequency the mentioned behavior was exhibited by them. There were three possible responses to each statement: "often" "sometimes" and "never". A "Comments" section was also provided at the bottom of the form. One hundred students were briefly described by their teachers in the "Comments" section.

Several measures were derived from the Teacher's Evaluation Report. Two factors were obtained from the seven statements in the section "Relationship with

peers". This two-factors solution accounted for about 60% of the variance (eigenvalue = 4.19). As presented in Table 2, the statements 1 ("Isolates self"), 2 ("Shows leadership"), 3 ("Helps others or shows concern"), and 6 ("Is popular") comprises factor 1. This factor was labeled involvement with others because it seems to measure students' involvement with classmates. The alpha for this measure was .78.

The second factor appears to cluster together problematic behavior. Items 4 ("Teases others"), 5 ("Is physically aggressive to others") and 7 ("Is rejected by others") comprised the second factor. The alpha for the combination of these three items as a single measure of problematic behavior was .59. Given the low internal consistency of this measure of problematic behavior, it was decided to use items 4, 5 and 7 separately.

The correlation between the two items in the section "Relationship with teachers" was .16 which represents only 2.5% of the overlapping variance. These two items were used as separate measures accordingly. They were "Prefer to stay with teachers", and "Is defiant".

Table 2

Varimax rotated factor matrix of the statements in the
"Relationship with peers" section of the Teacher's
Evaluation Report

<u>Statement:</u>	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 2</u>
1) Isolates self (Reversed)	.5804	.0476
2) Shows leadership	.8498	-.0556
3) Helps others or shows concern	.7882	.2052
4) Teases others	.0018	.8320
5) Is physically aggressive to others	-.0536	.7998
6) Is popular	.8577	-.0772
7) Is rejected by others	.1134	.6132
Eigenvalue:	2.447	1.746
Percent of Variance:	35%	25%

The five items of the General classroom behavior section were used as a single measure of classroom behavior. This measure obtained an alpha of .77. Some examples of the type of items here are: (the student) "Is responsible about homework" and "Concentrates, pay attention". Finally, teacher's comments were used as another measure of the teacher's evaluation of the student. It was observed that teachers' comments were almost always a list of evaluative statements (the student is "distracted... attention seeker"). These evaluative statements could be classified as either positive or negative statements. So, adding the number of positive and subtracting negative statements generated a value for the teacher's evaluation contained in the "Comments" section. Two judges classified the statements made by the teachers as either positive, negative or neutral (not counted). The judges agreed in the classification of all but three statements. The three statements in which inter-judges agreement was not reached were the adjectives "quiet", "introverted" and "simple". These statements were discarded.

Attendance was also obtained through the Teacher's Evaluation Report. However, it was not used in the

analyses because most teachers did not respond to the questions about attendance. This made it difficult to interpret whether the teacher meant to skip the questions or that the student has not been absent.

GPA

The students' GPA was obtained through the academic records. The GPA was calculated from the grades obtained during the last two school years in Puerto Rico. Grades obtained in Spanish, English, math, natural sciences and social sciences were used to calculate the GPA. These five subjects are considered the core curriculum in Puerto Rico. The GPA of 45 students could not be computed because of missing records (262 or 85% were computed). Grades registration in the public schools of Puerto Rico is not computerized, but manual. In addition, in some schools, academic records travel from the official file cabinets to the desk of teachers, counselors and other school officials. This makes it difficult to track down academic records and increases the possibility of misfiling or losing them.

Procedures

Permission to conduct this study was obtained from

the Department of Education of Puerto Rico. Approval was also obtained from the Institutional Review Board of the Graduate School of the City University of New York. A full description of the study, and the telephone numbers of the Office of Sponsored Research at CUNY and the dissertation supervisor were given to the school principals of the participating schools.

Parental consent was obtained of all participants. Parental consent forms and an introductory letter were sent to the parents with the students. As explained before, cooperating teachers recruited all participants. Cooperating teachers taught English, a mandatory subject for all grades in Puerto Rico. It was reasoned that English teachers were more able to identify adolescents-raised in the United States than any other teachers. In four schools social workers or bilingual counselors were assigned by the director to help the researcher to negotiate recruitment with the teachers. In two schools the researcher was introduced to the teachers and met with them to discuss recruitment. In another school the director contacted the teachers and made all the arrangements for recruitment.

Teachers, social workers and other cooperating school personnel were told that this study was about how students evaluated other adolescents. They were also told that the investigator was particularly interested in the opinion of Nuyorican students. The hypotheses of the study were not revealed to cooperating school personnel, except the director. All school directors were given a summary of the proposal. The investigator discussed with the school directors the importance of not revealing the hypotheses of the study until all data had been collected. This precaution was taken to prevent teachers, counselors or social workers from communicating the hypotheses to potential participants. Given the recruitment procedure the actual refusal rate is unknown to the researcher. However, there was not any drop out among students who agreed to participate in the study.

The students were tested in groups that ranged from 15 to 42 students. Most groups (58%) consisted of 22 - 30 students. Students identified as "coming from the United States" were tested together, apart from Native students. Testing Nuyoricans and Natives apart did not pose a threat to the validity of the study because they were engaged in individual tasks in which

there was no interaction between participants. Since Nuyorican students were scattered throughout the schools they were recruited from several classes. Native students were recruited from single classrooms. This procedure facilitated recruitment of Native students and reduced disruption in other classes. Again, given the individuality of the task and the absence of interaction between subjects, it is unlikely that this procedure influenced the results.

Native students were recruited from five schools. Nuyorican students were recruited from the same schools as Native students plus two additional schools. This procedure was necessary to increase the number of Nuyorican participants. All groups met in the mornings for about 50 minutes. Most of the students completed the questionnaires in less than 40 minutes. The place where the questionnaires were administered varied from school to school. The library was used in three instances, and classrooms were used for the other nine groups.

Participants were told that their participation in this study was voluntary and that "you can quit the study any time". They were also told that this study

was about how students evaluated other adolescents. After these instructions were delivered, participants were given the instruments package.

After completing the instruments package the students were thanked for their participation in the study. After all students in a given school filled out the questionnaires, debriefing sheets were distributed and sent to their parents with the students.

RESULTS

Testing hypothesis 1: Nuyoricans are perceived as members of a different social category

Are Nuyorican students perceived as being different from Native students? If so, do Nuyorican respondents differ from Natives in their evaluations of other Nuyoricans? These questions were answered by data obtained from the categorization procedures (scenarios and Categorization Scales).

In the categorization scenarios students were asked to provide a description of an adolescent depicted as born and raised in New York and another born and raised in San Juan. In addition, students were asked to indicate how similar or different were these adolescents. In an attempt to analyze the narratives produced by the students, three judges were used. The judges evaluated whether the description given by the students of the adolescent depicted as raised in New York differed from the description of the adolescent depicted as raised in San Juan. The three judges disagreed in their judgments of most narratives produced by the students. Accordingly, students' responses to the open-ended questions in the

categorization scenarios were not used in this analysis. Instead students' response to the single closed-ended question, "How different or similar are Ruben and Luis?", was used as an indicator of perceived differences between the two adolescents in the scenarios.

To test hypothesis 1, it was necessary to determine whether or not the two adolescents in the scenarios were perceived as different from each other and to what extent. To accomplish this, a point in the scale had to be chosen as the smallest possible value indicating perception of differences between the two adolescents. In statistical terms, this point is called the test value.

Accordingly, two t-tests for a single sample were performed to assess whether the adolescent depicted in the scenarios as "born and raised in New York City" was perceived as being different from the adolescent depicted as "born and raised in San Juan". The first t-test examined the extent to which Native students perceived the adolescents in the scenarios as being different from each other. The second t-test did the same for Nuyorican students. The values given by the

students to the differences perceived between the two adolescents were recoded to invert the poles of the scale. In this way the perception of difference could be presented in an ascending fashion. This recoding did not alter the results, but facilitated interpretability.

In order to set a test value it was necessary to determine the meaning of each value in the scale. Based on the question that headed the scale it was decided to have values 7 - 6 represent evaluation of the targets as very different, 5 - 3 moderately different, and 2 - 1 similar to each other. Accordingly a test value of three was set for the t-test. Thus, any score above three was considered as an indication of perceived differences between the adolescents presented as raised in New York and the adolescents raised in San Juan.

It was found that Native students perceive adolescents raised in New York as different from adolescents raised in San Juan, $t(107) = -6.53$, $p < .01$ ($\underline{M} = 4.15$, $\underline{SD} = 1.83$). This was also true for Nuyorican respondents, $t(106) = -8.54$, $p < .01$ ($\underline{M} = 4.41$, $\underline{SD} = 1.71$). In order to assess possible

differences between the responses given by Natives and Nuyoricans a t-test for independent samples was performed. No differences were found between the scores given by Native and the scores given by Nuyorican students. Both, Nuyoricans and Natives evaluated the adolescents depicted as raised in New York as different from the adolescents depicted as raised in San Juan. Figure 1 shows these results.

To further test whether adolescents raised in the mainland are seen as different from adolescents raised in Puerto Rico, responses to the Categorization Scales were examined. The Categorization Scales provided a description along eight attributes for the adolescents presented as raised in the United States and as raised in Puerto Rico. Since the data to be evaluated came from a repeated measure and students were either Nuyoricans and Natives (a between variable) repeated measure mixed ANOVAs were in order.

An alternative measure was a doubly MANOVA. A doubly MANOVA is used for repeated measures designs that combine several dependent variables. As advised by Tabachnick and Fidell (1989), "often MANOVA is considerably less powerful than ANOVA. Thus, our

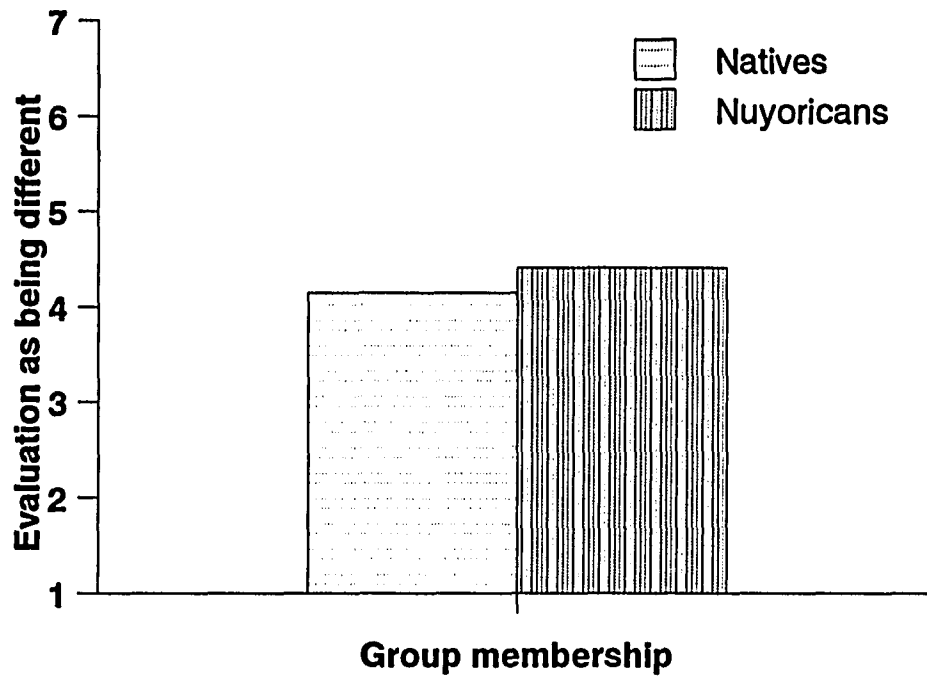


Figure 1. Natives' and Nuyoricans' evaluation of the adolescents (depicted in the scenarios) as raised in New York City as being different from the adolescents raised in San Juan.

recommendation is to avoid MANOVA except when there is compelling need to measure several DVs" (p. 373). For the Categorization Scales, the investigator was interested on how adolescents raised in the United States and Puerto Rico were evaluated on each individual attribute. It was expected that adolescents coming from the United States would be evaluated as different from those in Puerto Rico on some attributes and as similar on others. Further, interaction was expected on some attributes such as "dull - intelligent". For these reasons, it was decided to use both, a doubly MANOVA and separated mixed ANOVAs. The doubly MANOVA informed about the effects of the combined attributes. The separated ANOVAs informed about the effects produced by each attribute considered individually.

A doubly MANOVA was performed on the eight attributes. Group membership (Native and Nuyorican respondents) was entered as the between subjects factor. The description of the target adolescents as either, "... born and raised in Puerto Rico" and "born and raised in the Continental United States", was the within subjects factor.

With the use of Wilks' criterion, the combination of all attributes was affected by the interaction of group membership and the description of the adolescents, $F(8, 209) = 5.92, p < .01$. Group membership did not have a significant effect on the combined attributes, except through the interaction. The description of the adolescents as raised in the United States or Puerto Rico had a significant main effect on the combined attributes, $F(8, 209) = 3.96, p < .01$. These results indicated that adolescents raised in the United States were perceived as being different from those raised in Puerto Rico. The interaction effect revealed that the direction of the evaluation of the target adolescents is determined by who is making it. That is, whereas Nuyoricans evaluated the mainland-raised adolescents as high in the combined attributes, Natives did the opposite. Separated mixed ANOVA clarified this finding.

Eight mixed ANOVAs were performed, one ANOVA for each attribute. The scores given to each attribute of the Categorization Scales were the dependent variables. As explained above, the independent variables were group membership and the description of the adolescents as either raised in the United States or Puerto Rico.

Interaction effect was found on the attributes "dull - intelligent", "careless - careful" and "submissive - dominant". Adolescents raised in the United States were evaluated as more agitated, bold and independent than those raised in Puerto Rico. This was true for both the responses of Nuyoricans and Native students.

Interaction effects were found between Nuyoricans and Native respondents and the scores given to adolescents presented as either raised in the United States or Puerto Rico. These significant interactions were for the attributes "dull - intelligent", $F(1, 233) = 26.76, p < .01$ and "careless - careful", $F(1, 232) = 26.37, p < .01$. Nuyorican students evaluated the "adolescents raised in the Continental United States" as more intelligent ($M = 6.37, SD = 1.62$) and more careful ($M = 5.85, SD = 1.89$) than the "adolescents raised in Puerto Rico" ($M = 5.54, SD = 1.59$ and $M = 5.19, SD = 1.78$ respectively). As expected, the Native sample did the opposite. They evaluated the adolescents "raised in Puerto Rico" as more intelligent ($M = 6.24, SD = 1.54$) and more careful ($M = 6.20, SD = 1.86$) than the adolescents raised in the United States ($M = 5.65, SD = 1.28$ and $M = 5.14, SD = 1.85$ respectively). Figure 2 illustrates the interaction

for "dull - intelligent" and Figure 3 for "careless - careful". In addition, Table 3 shows the mean and standard deviation of the evaluation of mainland and Puerto Rico-raised adolescents in the eight attributes arranged by group (Natives and Nuyoricans).

An interaction effect, $F(1, 226) = 6.76, P < .05$, along with a main effect for the description of the adolescents (raised in the United States vs. Puerto Rico), $F(1, 226) = 4.66, p < .05$, were found for the attributes "submissive - dominant". Nuyorican students evaluated the adolescents raised in the United States as more dominant ($M = 6.09, SD = 1.50$) than the adolescents raised in Puerto Rico ($M = 5.30, SD = 1.71$). Native students evaluated the adolescents presented as raised in the United States and the adolescents raised in Puerto Rico as not different from each others in the "submissive- dominant" attribute ($M = 5.71, SD = 1.75$ and $M = 5.63, SD = 1.52$, respectively). The relatively large mean difference of the Nuyorican students accounts for the main effect of the description of the adolescents on the "submissive - dominant" attribute. Figure 4 illustrates the interaction and main effect found for this attribute.

Table 3

Mean and standard deviation of the evaluation of United States and Puerto Rico-raised adolescents in the Categorization Scale

Attribute*	Evaluation made by			
	Nuyorican students		Native students	
	of a target presented as raised in:			
	the USA	Puerto Rico	the USA	Puerto Rico
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
dull- intelligent	6.37 (1.62) ^a	5.54 (1.59) ^b	5.65 (1.28) ^b	6.24 (1.54) ^a
calm- agitated	5.74 (1.88) ^a	5.34 (1.68) ^b	6.03 (1.70) ^a	5.23 (1.72) ^b
submissive- dominant	6.09 (1.50) ^a	5.30 (1.71) ^b	5.71 (1.75) ^{ab}	5.63 (1.52) ^{ab}
rebel- conforming	5.04 (1.92)	5.21 (1.70)	5.06 (1.90)	5.22 (1.70)NS
shy- bold	6.34 (2.17) ^a	5.52 (1.92) ^b	6.09 (1.90) ^a	5.52 (1.91) ^b
enthusiastic-withdrawn	4.07 (2.03)	4.63 (1.95)	4.06 (2.02)	4.08 (2.15)NS
dependent- independent	5.84 (2.23) ^a	4.70 (2.12) ^b	5.92 (2.32) ^a	5.23 (2.07) ^b
careless- careful	5.85 (1.89) ^a	5.19 (1.78) ^b	5.14 (1.85) ^b	6.20 (1.86) ^a

Notes. *Values for each attribute ranged from 1 to 9. Number of students per group varied from 115 to 120.

Mean differences significant at $p < .05$ are expressed by different superscripts.

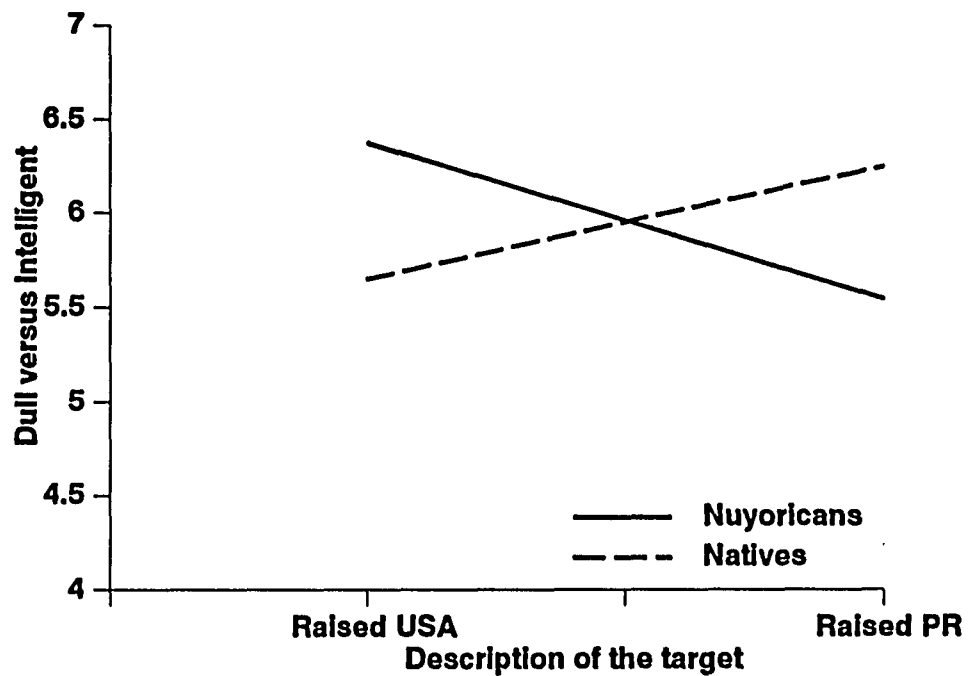


Figure 2. Evaluation of the adolescents presented as raised in Puerto Rico and raised in the United States in the attribute "dull - intelligent" by group membership.

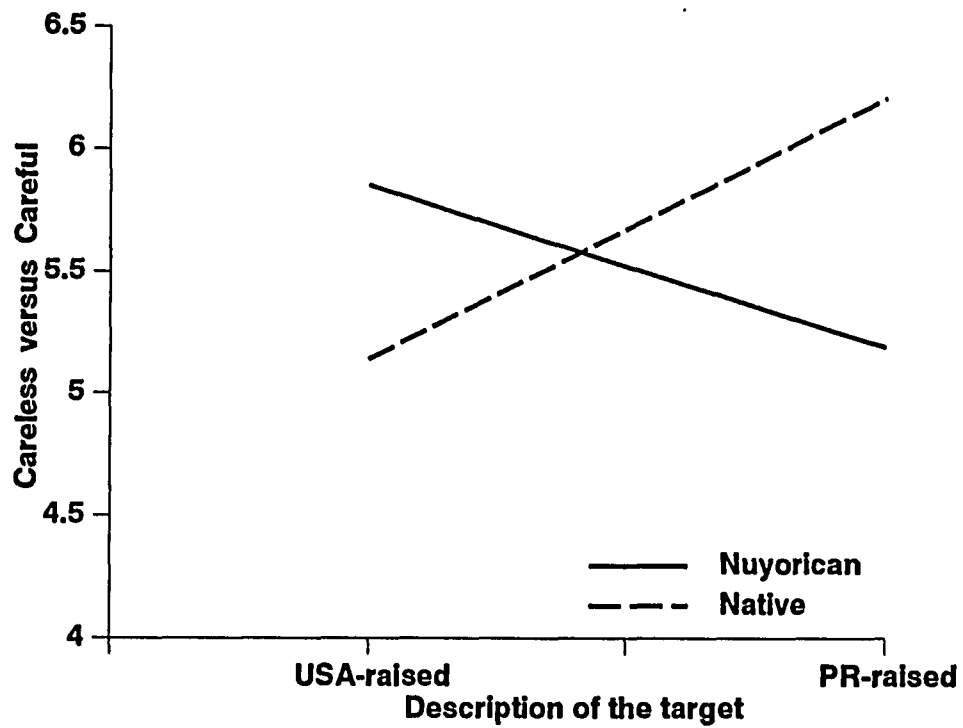


Figure 3. Evaluation of the adolescents presented as raised in Puerto Rico and raised in the United States in the attribute "careless - careful" by group membership.

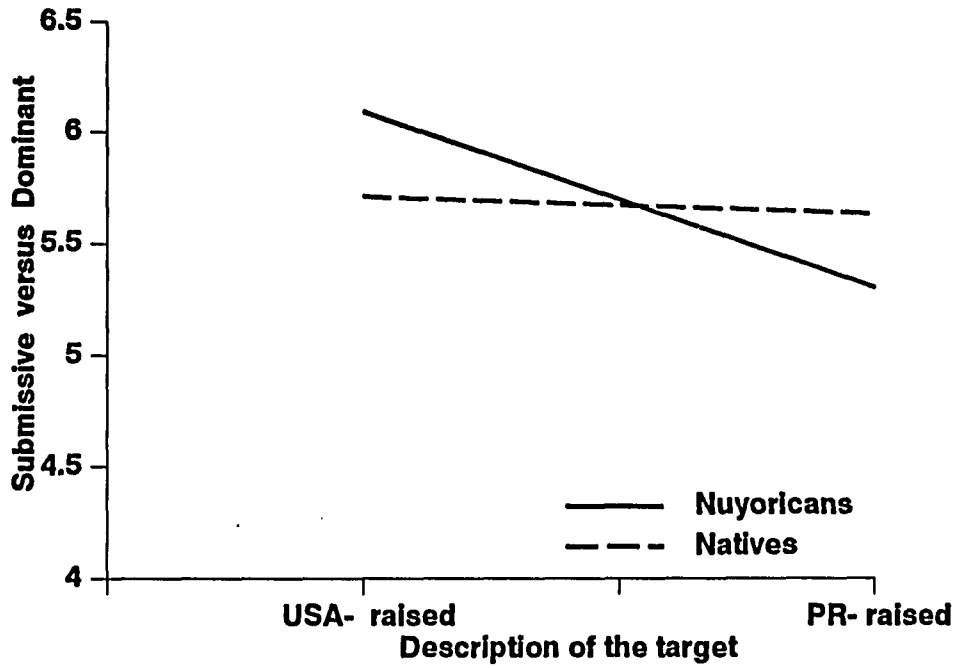


Figure 4. Evaluation of the adolescents presented as raised in Puerto Rico and raised in the United States in the attribute "submissive - dominant" by group membership.

In the absence of interaction, main effects of the description of the adolescents as either raised in the United States or Puerto Rico were found for three attributes. These attributes were: "calm - agitated", $F(1, 231) = 11.09, p < .01$, "shy - bold", $F(1, 219) = 569.80, p < .01$ and "dependent - independent", $F(1, 232) = 19.20, p < .01$. The absence of interaction and main effect of group membership indicated that the adolescents presented as raised in the United States and raised in Puerto Rico are perceived as being different in the given attributes by both Nuyorican and Native students. Both Nuyorican and Native students evaluated the adolescents presented as raised in the United States as more agitated, ($\underline{M} = 5.74, \underline{SD} = 1.88$ and $\underline{M} = 6.03, \underline{SD} = 1.70$ respectively) than the adolescents presented as raised in Puerto Rico ($\underline{M} = 5.34, \underline{SD} = 1.68$ and $\underline{M} = 5.23, \underline{SD} = 1.72$ respectively). Similar patterns were found for the "shy - bold" and "dependent - independent" attributes. The adolescents raised in the United States were evaluated as bolder ($\underline{M} = 6.34, \underline{SD} = 2.17$ for Nuyoricans, and $\underline{M} = 6.09, \underline{SD} = 1.90$ for Natives) than the adolescents raised in Puerto Rico ($\underline{M} = 5.52, \underline{SD} = 1.92$ for Nuyoricans and $\underline{M} = 5.52, \underline{SD} = 1.91$ for Natives). The adolescents presented as raised in the United States was also evaluated as more

independent (\underline{M} = 5.84, \underline{SD} = 2.23 for Nuyoricans, \underline{M} = 5.92, \underline{SD} = 2.32 for Natives) than the adolescents raised in Puerto Rico (\underline{M} = 4.70, \underline{SD} = 2.12 for Nuyoricans, and \underline{M} = 5.23, \underline{SD} = 2.07 for Natives). These results are summarized in Figures 5, 6 and 7 respectively.

Finally, no significant differences were found for the attributes "rebel- conforming" and "enthusiastic-withdrawn". Nuyoricans and Natives assigned similar scores to both, the mainland-raised adolescents and the island-raised adolescents.

The results of the Categorization Scales can be summarized as follow. When the eight attributes were combined as a single dependent measure, a main effect for the description of the adolescent and its interaction with group membership was produced. Adolescents raised in the United States were evaluated as more agitated, bolder and more independent than Puerto Rico-raised adolescents. Both Nuyoricans and Natives concurred in this evaluation. The direction of the differences in intelligence, carefulness and dominance as attributes associated with mainland-raised or Puerto Rico-raised adolescents depended upon the

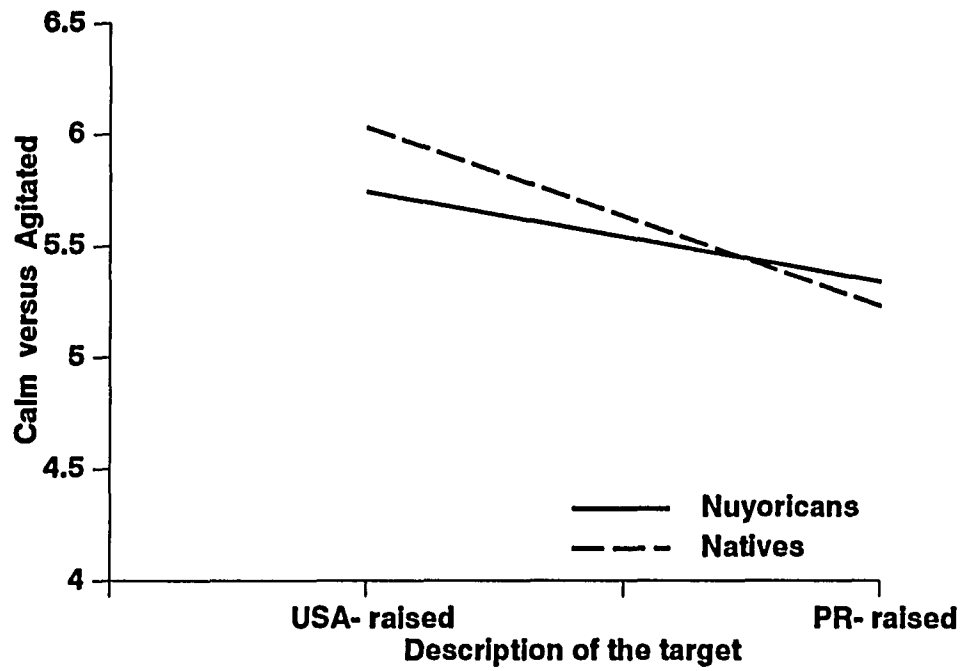


Figure 5. Evaluation of the adolescents presented as raised in Puerto Rico and raised in the United States in the attribute "calm - agitated" by group membership.

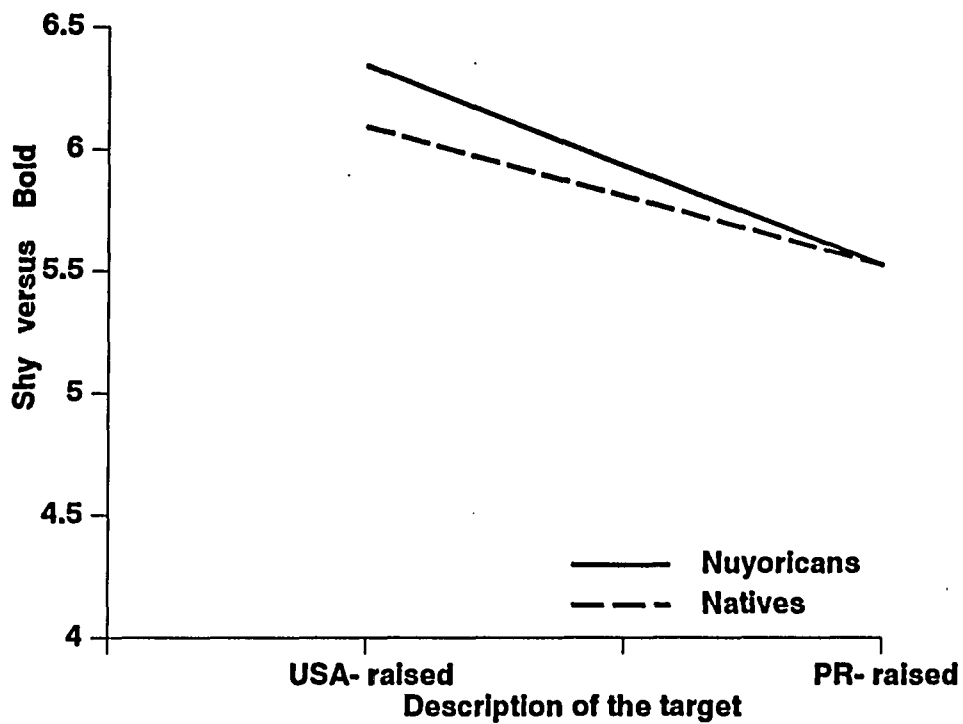


Figure 6. Evaluation of the adolescents presented as raised in Puerto Rico and raised in the United States in the attribute "shy - bold" by group membership.

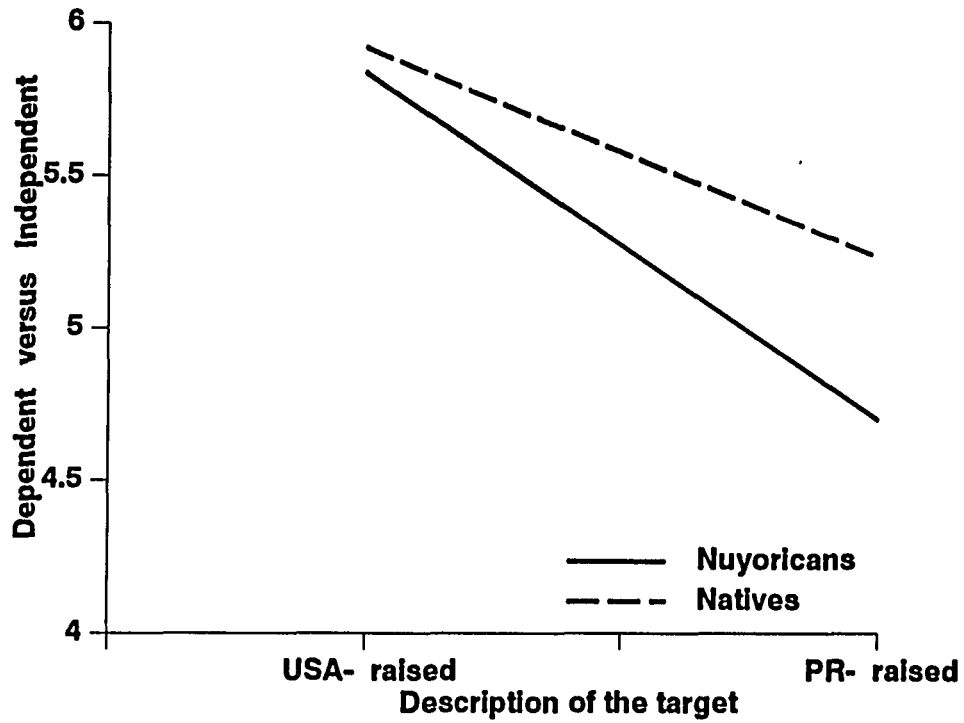


Figure 7. Evaluation of the adolescents described as raised in Puerto Rico and raised in the United States in the attribute "dependent - independent" by group membership.

group making the evaluation. Natives perceived themselves as more intelligent and careful than Nuyoricans. On the contrary, Nuyoricans perceived themselves as more intelligent, careful and dominant than Natives.

Testing Hypothesis 2: Effect of saliency of Nuyorican features on categorization

The effect of saliency of Nuyorican features on categorizing and rejecting a target was examined by using the students' evaluation of the photographs and audiotaped voices. Only responses of Nuyorican and Native students were used in this analysis. Two mixed ANOVAs were performed for the first two items of the Evaluation Scales. These two items read "[the target] is like most youths raised in Puerto Rico" and "is like most youths raised in the United States". These dependent variables were not combined in a MANOVA because they were intended to assess two different aspects of the categorization process. These aspects are: inclusion to or exclusion from the category "Puerto Ricans" and assignment in the category Nuyoricans ("is like most youths raised in the United States"). The within and between subjects factors were the same for the two ANOVAs. Group membership

(Nuyorican and Native students) was the between subjects factor. The saliency of Nuyorican features (high, medium and low) was the within subjects factor. As explained before, saliency of Nuyorican features refers to the extent a target adolescent represents a "typical Nuyorican". The effect of saliency of Nuyorican features received particular attention in all the analyses because of its relationship with hypothesis two. The mean and standard deviation of the variables measured through the Evaluation Scales are shown in Table 4.

The dependent variable for the first ANOVA was the extent to which an adolescent was categorized as "like most youths raised in Puerto Rico". The response to item 1 was indicative of inclusion in or exclusion from the category "Puerto Ricans". It was expected that the adolescent high salient in Nuyorican features, would receive a lower score in this variable than the medium and low salient adolescents. In other words, it was anticipated that saliency of Nuyorican features will trigger exclusion of the target from the "Puerto Rican" category. Main effects, in the absence of interaction, were found for group membership, $F(1, 237) = 20.13, p < .01$ and for saliency of Nuyorican features, $F(2, 474) =$

Table 4

Mean and standard deviation of the scores given to the target adolescents in the Evaluation Scales

Variable	Range	Saliency of Nuyoric features		
		Low Mean (SD)	Medium Mean (SD)	High Mean (SD)
For Nuyoricans				
- "like most youths raised in Puerto Rico"	1 - 5	3.33(1.35) ^a	2.94(1.34) ^b	1.88(1.07) ^c
- "like most youths raised in the United States"	1 - 5	3.08(1.24) ^a	3.01(1.24) ^a	4.12(1.07) ^b
- Rejection score (items 3,4 & 5)	3 - 15	6.39(2.50) ^a	7.21(2.82) ^b	7.43(2.55) ^b
For Natives				
- "like most youths raised in Puerto Rico"	1 - 5	3.70(1.11) ^a	3.33(1.06) ^b	2.36(1.17) ^c
- "like most youths raised in the United States"	1 - 5	2.95(1.12) ^a	2.90(1.07) ^a	3.71(1.19) ^b
- Rejection score (items 3,4 & 5)	3 - 5	5.23(2.19) ^a	6.58(2.39) ^b	7.39(2.75) ^c

Notes. Means in the same row that do not share superscripts differ at $p < .05$

103.07, $p < .01$. As seen in Figure 8, Native students gave higher scores to all adolescents than did Nuyorican students.

Since there were three levels of saliency of Nuyoricans features, contrasts were performed using the Bonferroni criterion. The Bonferroni is a multiple comparison procedure that adjusts the observed significance level for the fact that multiple comparisons are being made (Norusis, 1994, p. 138). The contrasts served to test the null hypothesis that the score given to the adolescent high salient in Nuyorican features did not differ from the scores given to the medium and low salient adolescents.

With a t value of -3.54 , the difference between scores given to the medium and the low salient adolescent was significant at $p < .05$. The adolescent low salient in Nuyorican features was evaluated as more like a youth "raised in Puerto Rico" ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 1.35$ for Nuyoricans and $M = 3.70$, $SD = 1.11$ for Native students) than the medium salient adolescent ($M = 2.94$, $SD = 1.34$ for Nuyoricans and $M = 3.33$, $SD = 1.06$ for Natives). Further, the score given to the adolescent high salient in Nuyorican features differed from the

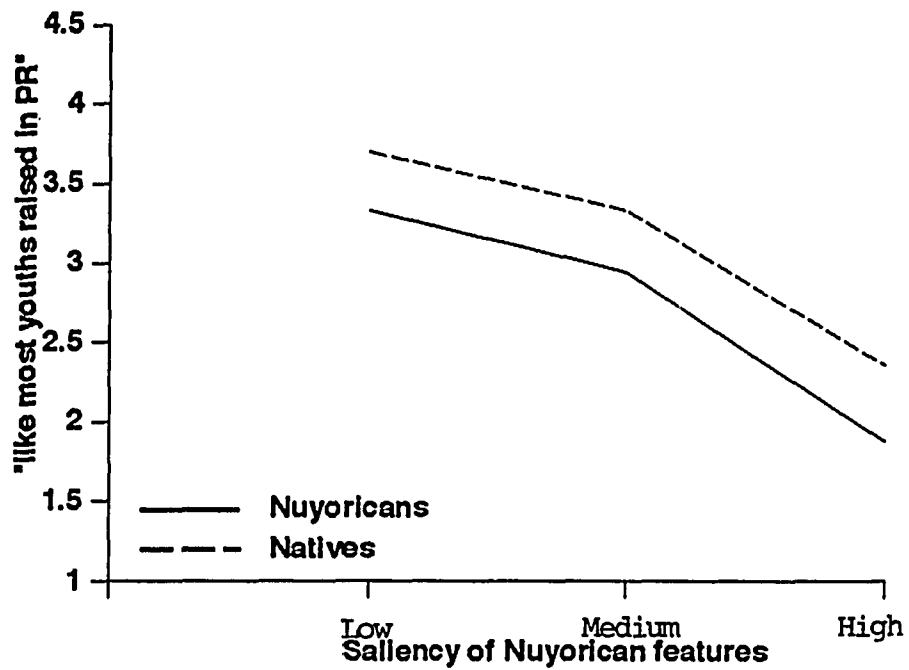


Figure 8. Evaluation of the targets differing in saliency of Nuyorican features as "like most youths raised in Puerto Rico" by group membership.

scores given to the medium and low salient adolescents. The t value for this last contrast was robust, 15.22, $p < .01$. For Nuyorican and Native students, the adolescent high salient in Nuyorican features was evaluated as less like the "youths raised in Puerto Rico" ($M = 1.88$, $SD = 1.07$ and $M = 2.36$, $SD = 1.17$ respectively) than the adolescents presenting medium and low salient Nuyorican features (See Figure 8).

The second mixed ANOVA employed the extent to which the target adolescent was evaluated as "like most youths raised in the United States" as the dependent variable. Main effects in the absence of interaction were obtained for group membership, $F(1, 234) = 7.50$, $p < .01$, and for the saliency of Nuyorican features, $F(2, 468) = 52.17$, $p < .01$. As shown in Figure 9, Nuyorican students evaluated all the target adolescents as more "like youths raised in the United States" than did Native students.

The Bonferroni procedure was used to examine the contrasts for the saliency of Nuyorican features. The difference between the scores of the medium and the low salient adolescents was not significant. As predicted, the score given to the high salient target differed

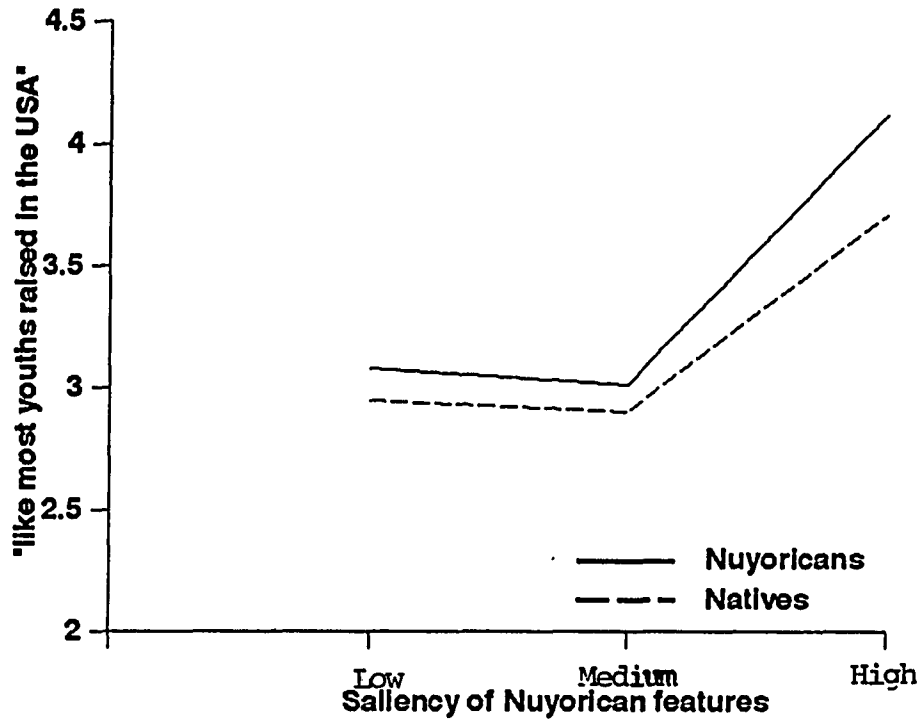


Figure 9. Evaluation of the targets differing in saliency of Nuyorican features as "like most youths raised in the United States" by group membership.

from the score given to the medium and the low salient adolescents (t value = -10.63, $p < .01$). For Nuyorican and Native students, the adolescent presenting high salient Nuyorican features was judged more like "most adolescents raised in the United States" ($M = 4.12$, $SD = 1.07$ and $M = 3.71$, $SD = 1.19$ respectively) than the adolescents presenting medium ($M = 3.01$, $SD = 1.24$ and $M = 2.90$, $SD = 1.07$) and low salient Nuyorican features ($M = 3.08$, $SD = 1.24$ and $M = 2.95$, $SD = 1.12$ respectively).

In summary, the null hypothesis that the saliency of Nuyorican features does not affect categorization of a target adolescent was rejected. Saliency of Nuyorican features influenced the categorization of the target as a Nuyorican. The less Nuyorican features presented by a target the more similar to Natives he or she is perceived.

Testing hypothesis 3: Effect of saliency of Nuyorican features on rejection

It was hypothesized that the saliency of Nuyorican features was related to rejection. To test this hypothesis a mixed ANOVA was performed for the rejection score given to the target adolescents

presented through photos and audiotapes. Items 3, 4 and 5 of the Evaluation Scales were combined as a single measure of rejection. These items consisted of statements such as "I dislike [the target]". Group membership (Nuyorican and Native students) was the between subjects factor. The saliency of Nuyorican features (high, medium and low) was the within subjects factor.

It was anticipated that the adolescent presenting high salient Nuyorican features would be more rejected than the adolescents presenting medium or low salient Nuyorican features. A modest interaction between group membership and saliency of Nuyorican features was found, $F(2, 468) = 4.40, p < .05$. A main effect for group membership, $F(1, 234) = 5.83, p < .05$, and for saliency of Nuyorican features, $F(2, 468) = 36.88, p < .01$, were found as well.

The saliency of Nuyorican features had three levels. Therefore, it was necessary to investigate for what pair of means interaction occurred. Again, the Bonferroni criterion was used to examine the contrasts for the interaction effect and the main effect of saliency of Nuyorican features. The interaction

involving the mean differences for the medium and low salient targets was not significant (t value of 1.52, $p > .10$). The interaction occurred for the difference between the rejection score given to the target high salient in Nuyorican features and that given to the medium and low salient targets, t value = -2.45, $p < .05$.

The Bonferroni criterion was also used to examine the contrasts for the main effect of saliency of Nuyorican features. These contrasts revealed a significant mean difference between the medium and low salient targets, t value = 6.01, $p < .01$. Further, the difference between the target high salient in Nuyorican features and the targets medium and low salient in Nuyorican features was significant, t value = -6.12, $p < .01$.

Examination of the means indicates that the medium salient target was given a higher rejection score ($M = 7.21$, $SD = 2.21$ for Nuyoricans, and $M = 6.58$, $SD = 2.39$ for Natives) than the low salient target ($M = 6.39$, $SD = 2.50$ and $M = 5.23$, $SD = 2.19$). The target high salient in Nuyorican features was also more rejected ($M = 7.43$, $SD = 2.55$ for Nuyoricans, and $M = 7.39$, $SD =$

2.75 for Native students) than the target with medium and low salient Nuyorican features. As indicated by the interaction effect this latter relationship was particularly true for Native students. The possible values of rejection score ranged from 3 to 15. The results of the rejection score given to the targets are summarized in Figure 10. The means and standard deviation for the rejection scores classified by group membership are shown in Table 4.

The finding that Nuyorican students rejected adolescents high salient in Nuyorican features more than they did to adolescents low salient seems to be counterintuitive. In order to facilitate interpretation of this finding, additional analyses were performed to rule out plausible explanations. The additional analyses were performed in an exploratory basis.

First, item 3 ("I would be happy to have X as a friend" - reverse) and item 4 ("I dislike X") were examined apart from item 5 ("I think X will be well liked in my school"- reverse). The rationale for this decision was that item 5 asked whether others would reject the target whereas item 3 and 4 assessed

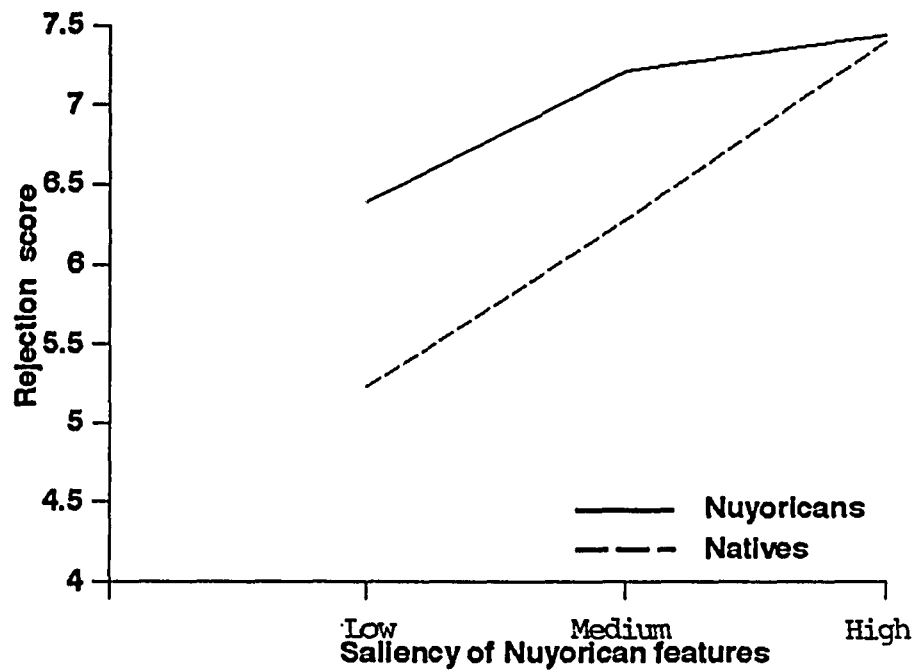


Figure 10. Rejection score given to the targets differing in saliency of Nuyoric features by group membership.

respondents' rejection of the target. Mixed ANOVAs for the combination of item 3 and 4 produced a similar curve as for item 5 and for the combination of the three items. In all the ANOVAs, Nuyoricans rejected the target high salient in Nuyorican features more than they did to the low salient target.

The target adolescents presented through the photos and audiotapes were all males. Consequently, it was possible that female and male students gave different scores to the targets because of the targets' gender. A mixed 2 X 2 X 3 ANOVA with group membership and gender as between subjects variables and saliency of Nuyorican features as a within subjects variable was performed. This analysis was performed to assess whether the rejection curve produced for males and females examined separately differed from the analysis in which they were examined together. It was found that both females and males considered separately rejected the target high salient in Nuyoricán features more than the low salient, $F(2, 462) = 32.62, p < .01$.

The findings of this study supported the prediction that saliency of Nuyorican features influences whether or not a Nuyorican adolescent is

rejected by Natives. Further, even Nuyorican students rejected the target high salient in Nuyorican features more than they did to the target low salient in Nuyorican features. As explained before, saliency of Nuyorican features was determined by linguistic cues, clothing and posture. Therefore, the more an adolescent resembles a typical Nuyorican in language, clothing and posture, the more he or she is rejected.

Testing hypothesis 4: Length of time in Puerto Rico and perception of similarity with Natives

Hypothesis 4 predicted that perceiving oneself as similar to or different from members of the dominant category (Native students) was associated with length of time in Puerto Rico. To test this hypothesis Pearson's correlation coefficients were calculated between length of time in Puerto Rico and each of the eight items in the Perception of Similarity and Differences Questionnaire. In addition, these eight items were combined as a single measure of perception of similarity and differences with Native adolescents.

For this analysis all students who had lived in the United States, and who could not be classified as Natives were used. Including students who had lived in

the United States for less time than the Nuyoricans group strengthened the test by increasing the variance of length of time in the United States. The 121 Nuyoricans and the 65 students assigned to neither group comprised the sample for testing this hypothesis. Five questionnaires measuring perception of similarity and differences were discarded because of typographical errors. Consequently, a sample of 181 students was used for this analysis.

A significant correlation was found between length of time in Puerto Rico and the combination of all the items of the Perception of Similarity and Differences Questionnaire ($r = .30, p < .01$). The longer Nuyoricans had lived in Puerto Rico the more similar to Natives they reported themselves to be. Significant correlations were also obtained for the individual items assessing perception of similarity in speech ($r = .35, p < .01$), the way they walk ($r = .15, p < .05$), the way they dress ($r = .24, p < .01$), music preference ($r = .20, p < .01$), food preference ($r = .18, p < .05$), and hobbies ($r = .30, p < .01$). Only hair style and way of dancing, were not significantly related to length of time in Puerto Rico. Table 5 summarizes the correlations between length of time in

Puerto Rico and perception of similarity.

Testing hypothesis 5: Consequences of being different from the majority (Natives)

This study also investigated the possible consequences of perceiving oneself as a member of a different category (Nuyoricans). Two canonical correlational analyses were performed. Only Nuyoricans students were used for the canonical analyses. Canonical correlational analysis is employed to study relationships between two sets of variables (Thompson, 1988). Through canonical correlation the variables in one set are combined to produce the best prediction of the combination of variables in the second set. The first canonical correlational analysis investigated the association between evaluation of being different from Native students and psychological well-being. The second analysis investigated the association between evaluation of being different and academic performance. The same set of predictors was used for the two analyses. The predictors were: (1) perception of differences with Natives as assessed by the Perception of Similarity and Differences Questionnaire, (2) Spanish fluency as reported by the students, (3) length

Table 5

Correlation between length of time in Puerto Rico and perception of similarity

Perception of similarity variables	Time in Puerto Rico
Way of talking	.3514***
Way of walking	.1483*
Way of dressing	.2381**
Hair style	.1403
Music preferred	.1977**
Way of dancing	.1349
Food preferred	.1822*
Hobbies and daily activities	.2243**
Sum of all the items above	.2975***

Notes. Positive values indicate that longer time in Puerto Rico is associated with larger perception of similarity. All inter-items correlations were significant at $p < .001$.

* = $p < .05$

** = $p < .01$

*** = $p < .001$

of time in Puerto Rico (4) evaluation of the adolescents in the categorization scenarios as being different from each other, and (5) the tendency to categorize the adolescent high salient in Nuyorican features as a Nuyorican and the adolescent low salient in Nuyorican features as a Native. Hereafter, this last predictor is called tendency to categorize. The tendency to categorize was computed from item 1 and 2 of the Evaluation Scales. The score given to the photograph of the high salient adolescent in the statement "... is like most youths raised in the United States" (item 2) was added to the score given to the low salient adolescent in the statement "... is like most youths raised in Puerto Rico".

The psychological well-being variables were anxiety, depression, hostility, acceptability to others (or feeling rejected) as assessed by the Acceptability to Others Scale (excluding item 1) and feeling criticized by others. Feeling criticized by others was assessed through the first item ("Students in my school are critical of me") of the Acceptability to Others Scale. Since item 1 of the Acceptability to Others Scale was included in this set as a separate variable, it was not used in the computation of acceptability to

others.

The first canonical correlation obtained in this analysis was .58 (33% of the variance). With all five canonical correlations included, the first canonical correlation was significant $\chi^2(25) = 46.14, p < .01$. The remaining four canonical correlations were not significant and therefore not interpreted. Thus, the first two pairs of canonical variates (combination of variables in one set) accounted for the significant relationships between the two sets of variables. Relevant information about the pairs of canonical variates is shown in Table 6.

With a cutoff correlation of .30, the variables in the categorization set correlated with the first canonical variate were perception of being similar/different from Natives, Spanish fluency, tendency to categorize and the evaluation of the adolescents in the scenarios as being different from each other. The pair of canonical variates indicated that students who perceive themselves as being less similar to Natives (-.76), who do not consider themselves as being fluent in Spanish (-.63), who

Table 6
Canonical correlation analysis between evaluation of
 being different and psychological well-being variables
 for Nuyorican students

	<u>Canonical variate</u>	
	<u>Correlation^a</u>	<u>Coefficient^b</u>
Set for evaluation of being different		
Perception of similarity	-.76	-.44
Spanish fluency	-.63	-.36
Tendency to categorize	.62	-.36
Evaluation of scenarios	.35	.20
Length of time in PR	.08	.05
Percent of Variance	.30	
Redundancy	.10	
Set for psychological well-being		
Acceptability to others	-.92	-.56
Feeling criticized by others	-.72	-.41
Depression	.61	.35
Anxiety	.46	.27
Hostility	.45	.26
Percent of Variance	.43	
Redundancy	.14	
Canonical correlation	.58	

^a correlations between the individual variables in the set and the canonical score in the other set.

^b coefficients of each variable which were used to form the canonical correlation. Each coefficient represent the contribution of the variable to the canonical correlation.

perceive fewer similarities between New York-raised and San Juan-raised adolescents ($-.33$) and who do not have a tendency to categorize ($-.62$) also feel less accepted by others ($-.92$), more criticized ($.72$), are more depressed ($.61$), more anxious ($.46$) and more hostile ($.46$). In summary, the set of all variables of psychological well-being was strongly associated to all the variables in the evaluation of being different set, except for length of time in Puerto Rico.

The second canonical correlation analysis used a set of academic performance variables as outcomes. These variables were GPA, involvement with others, general classroom behavior, teachers' comments about the student, defiant behavior, and items 4 ("Bother others"), 5 ("Is physically aggressive") and 7 ("Is rejected by others") of the Teacher's Evaluation Report. There were not significant canonical correlations for this set of variables and the predictors described before.

Contrary to expectations, GPA of Nuyorican students was not affected by Spanish fluency as assessed by either the English/Spanish Dominance Test or by self-report of Spanish fluency. GPA of

Nuyoricans was not related to length of time in Puerto Rico either.

Canonical correlations are used to examine the relationship between two sets of variables. To examine the relationship of a single predictor variable on a set of outcomes, Pearson's correlations are usually calculated. Thus, Pearson's correlations were performed to examine the relationship between perception of similarity/differences (examined in isolation from other variables) and psychological well-being. Only Nuyorican students were used to calculate these correlations. It was found that perception of being similar to Native students was negatively associated with feeling rejected by others ($r = -.35$, $p < .01$), and feelings of being criticized ($r = -.23$, $p < .05$). It was also found that perception of being similar to Natives corresponded to less depression ($r = -.30$, $p < .01$), less anxiety ($r = -.20$, $p < .05$) and less hostility ($r = -.30$, $p < .01$).

From the nine variables of academic performance, only two were significantly related to perception of similarity. Perception of similarity was positively related to the item "is rejected by others" ($r = .23$, p

<.05) of the Teacher's Evaluation Report. Also, Nuyorican students who perceived themselves more similar to Natives were given a better evaluation in the comments section of the form completed by teachers ($r = .34, p < .05$). Correlations between perception of similarity and variables of psychological well-being and academic performance are shown in Table 7.

Group differences in psychological well-being and academic performance

Five t-tests for individual samples were calculated to investigate on what variables (if any) of psychological well-being Natives and Nuyoricans differed. Natives and Nuyoricans did not differ in depression, anxiety or feeling rejected by others. Significant differences between Natives and Nuyoricans were only found for hostility, $t(228) = -2.48, p < .05$, and feeling of being criticized, $t(239) = -3.30, p < .01$. Native students scored lower in hostility ($M = 22.08, SD = 8.20$) than Nuyorican students. Similarly, Natives reported feeling less criticized ($M = 1.76, SD = .91$) than Nuyorican students ($M = 2.23, SD = 1.28$).

T-tests were also performed to compare Natives and Nuyoricans in academic performance. Among the

Table 7
Correlations between perception of similarity,
psychological well-being and academic performance of
Nuyorican students

Variables	Perception of similarity
<u>Psychological well-being</u>	
Anxiety	-.2008 (n=104) *
Depression	-.3032 (n=107) **
Hostility	-.3033 (n=108) **
Being criticized	-.2321 (n=112) *
Rejected by others	-.3515 (n=110) ***
<u>Academic performance</u>	
GPA	.0719 (n=87)
Involvement with peers	.0671 (n=95)
"Teases others"	.1465 (n=103)
"Is physically aggressive"	.1932 (n=103)
"Is rejected by others"	.2325 (n=97) *
"Is defiant"	.1409 (n=101)
"...stay with teachers"	.1128 (n=101)
Classroom behavior	.0541 (n=97)
Teacher's comments	.3423 (n=47) *

Notes. n varies because of missing values

* p < .05

** p < .01

***p < .001

variables of academic performance, Natives and Nuyoricans differed only in preference to stay with teachers, $t(224) = 2.22, p < .05$. Natives preferred to stay with teachers more than Nuyoricans ($\underline{M} = 1.75, \underline{SD} = .63$ and $\underline{M} = 1.56, \underline{SD} = .66$ respectively).

Supplemental section: How often do adolescents hear the term "Nuyoricans" and its meanings

This study dealt with categorization of Nuyorican adolescents. As discussed earlier, the literature on Puerto Rican migration documents that the label Nuyorican is used to refer to Puerto Ricans raised in the Continental United States. Therefore, it was anticipated that both Nuyoricans and Natives were familiar with the term Nuyorican and that they had a definition of it. Further, since the term "Nuyorican" is more relevant to mainland-raised adolescents than to Natives, it was expected that Nuyoricans reported more familiarity with this term than Natives.

A t-test for paired sample found a significant difference between the frequency Nuyorican and Native students reported hearing the term "Nuyorican", $t(230) = 3.15, p < .05$. As expected, Nuyoricans reported

hearing the term "Nuyorican" more often ($M = 6.40$, $SD = 2.36$) than did Native students ($M = 5.52$, $SD = 1.87$). The mean score of Native students was higher than the point in the scale labeled "sometimes" (number 5). The mean score of Nuyorican students approached number 7 which in the scale was labeled "often". This finding suggested that most adolescents in Puerto Rico are familiar with the term "Nuyorican". This finding was further supported by the fact that 201 (95%) students were able to provide a definition of the term "Nuyorican".

Regarding the definition of the term "Nuyorican", students tended to give the same definition to what it meant to them and what it meant to others. The most common answers to the question "What does the term "Nuyorican" means to you?", alluded to: (1) place of birth, (2) place where the person grew up, (3) being of Puerto Rican descent and (4) language. Being born in the Continental United States was mentioned by 31% of the Nuyoricans and 38% of the Natives. Being raised in the Continental United States was in the definitions provided by 64% of the Nuyoricans and 60% of the Natives. Many Nuyoricans (36%) and Natives (28%)

specified that to be considered a Nuyorican, the person should be either born in Puerto Rico or of Puerto Rican parents. Language (i.e., the person speaks English) was mentioned in 11% of the definitions provided by Nuyorican and 8% of those provided by Natives.

Supplemental section: Considerations about gender

This study investigated the experience of Nuyorican students in Puerto Rico. Gender differences were not of primary interest in this study. Nevertheless, it was possible that gender could interact with group membership (Nuyoricans versus Natives) to affect the variables of this study. Thus, to determine what dependent variables were affected by the interaction between gender and group membership. ANOVAs were performed for all the variables in the study.

General factorial 2 X 2 ANOVAs were computed for all the variables of psychological well-being and academic performance. Gender (males vs. females) and group membership (Nuyoricans vs. Natives) were the independent variables. Among the variables assessing psychological well-being, only a significant interaction between gender and group membership was

found for feeling of being criticized, $F(1,236) = 5.22$, $p < .05$. Nuyorican males felt more criticized ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 1.35$) than Nuyorican females ($M = 1.97$, $SD = 1.16$). On the other hand, Native females felt more criticized ($M = 1.79$, $SD = .95$) than Native males ($M = 1.71$, $SD = .84$). For the variables of academic performance a significant interaction between group membership and gender was found for the item "teases others" of the Teacher's Evaluation Report, $F(1, 224) = 5.96$, $p < .05$, only. Native males were given the highest score ($M = 3.35$, $SD = .86$) in this statement. The second highest score was given to Nuyorican males ($M = 3.13$, $SD = .39$). Finally, Nuyoricans and Natives females were given the lowest scores in the statement "teases others" ($M = 3.05$, $SD = .35$ and $M = 3.04$, $SD = .25$ respectively).

ANOVAs performed for the variables measured through the categorization scenarios and the Perception of Similarity and Differences Questionnaire found no interaction for any of these variables. Repeated measures mixed ANOVAs were performed for the attributes assessed through the Categorization Scales and the variables of the Evaluation Scales. For the attributes in the Categorization Scales the within subjects factor

was the description of the adolescent as either raised in the United States or Puerto Rico. Significant interactions were found for two attributes only. These attributes were "calm-agitated", $F(1,228) = 9.57, p < .01$, and "submissive-dominant", $F(1, 227) = 5.57, p < .05$.

For the attribute "calm - agitated, the target presented as raised in the United States was given a mean score of 6.12 ($SD = 1.60$) by Native females, 6.08 ($SD = 1.88$) by Nuyorican females, 5.85 ($SD = 1.89$) by Native males, and 5.40 ($SD = 1.80$) by Nuyorican males. The target presented as raised in Puerto Rico was given a mean score of 5.75 ($SD = 1.61$) by Nuyorican females, 5.58 ($SD = 1.89$) by Native males, 5.05 ($SD = 1.60$) by Native females, and 4.85 ($SD = 1.64$) by Nuyorican males.

The mean score given to adolescents raised in the United States on the attributes "submissive - dominant" was 6.17 ($SD = 1.51$) for Nuyorican females, 6.02 ($SD = 1.51$) Nuyorican males, 5.75 ($SD = 1.90$) Native males, and 5.69 ($SD = 1.68$) Native females. The adolescents raised in Puerto Rico were given a mean score of 6.08 ($SD = 1.59$) by Native males, 5.53 ($SD = 1.67$) by

Nuyorican females, 5.40 ($SD = 1.44$) by Native females, and 4.98 ($SD = 1.65$) by Nuyorican males.

For the mixed ANOVAs computed for the Evaluation Scales, the within subjects factor was saliency of Nuyorican features. No interaction between gender and group membership was found for any of the variables measured through the Evaluation Scales. In a similar way, gender did not interact with group membership to affect the rejection scores given to the high salient, medium and low salient targets.

As demonstrated by these analyses, the interaction between gender and group membership affected a few variables only. These variables were: feeling of being criticized, the score given to the student by teachers in the item "teases others", and the attributes "calm-agitated" and "submissive-dominant".

DISCUSSION

Preamble

This study dealt with an important social phenomenon seldom investigated in the psychological literature: the phenomenon of back migration. Puerto Rican adolescents raised in the mainland United States who come to live in Puerto Rico were the focus of the study. Throughout this paper these adolescents have been referred to as Nuyoricans. This is the label most often used in the migration literature to refer to Puerto Rican adolescents raised in the mainland (Fitzpatrick, 1987; Johnson, 1982). The use of the term "Nuyorican" by this investigator is not intended to support its perpetuation, but to make salient the categorization process that affects mainland-raised adolescents who move to Puerto Rico.

The results of this study point out that mainland-raised adolescents are categorized as different from those raised in Puerto Rico. This holds true for both Nuyorican and Native respondents. An adolescent described in a scenario instrument as raised in New York City was evaluated as being different to another adolescent described as raised in San Juan. In a similar fashion, students rated mainland-raised and

island-raised adolescents as being different on six out of eight attributes. Interaction effects between group membership and the rating of mainland and island-raised adolescents were found for the attributes "dull - intelligent" and "careless - careful". Nuyoricans rated the adolescents raised in the mainland as more intelligent and careful than the adolescents raised in Puerto Rico. Natives did the opposite.

In a quasi-experimental procedure, a target high salient in Nuyorican features was evaluated by the students as more Nuyorican than a medium and a low salient target. Physical appearance and language were the features manipulated in this quasi-experimental procedure. The target high salient in Nuyorican features was given a higher rejection score than the low salient target.

Analysis of data obtained through the instrument that assessed perceived similarity with Natives found that this variable was positively related with length of time in Puerto Rico. Finally, those Nuyoricans who perceived themselves as more similar to Natives scored higher in psychological well-being than those who perceived themselves as less similar to Natives.

Social categorization and self-(re)categorization of the Nuyoricans

The first issue investigated in this study was the categorization of mainland-raised adolescents as members of a different category. It was anticipated that Natives evaluate Puerto Rican adolescents raised in the United States as being different from them. Information that an adolescent was raised in the mainland triggers an evaluation of him or her as being different from adolescents raised in Puerto Rico. This finding suggests that Native adolescents exclude Nuyoricans from the category "Puerto Rican" and placed them in a different category. Perhaps, Native adolescents have different expectations about those raised in the mainland and those raised in Puerto Rico.

As established in the literature review, the category "Nuyorican" is the most commonly used term for Puerto Ricans raised in the United States. However, it was observed that some students use the term "frikis" (freaky) for referring to mainland-raised adolescents. The term "frikis", as a replacement for "Nuyoricans", appeared in the answers to some open-ended questions and it was also used by some students who spoke with the investigator after the study. This observation

supports the argument that mainland-raised adolescents are excluded from the category "Puerto Ricans".

Categorization of Natives and Nuyoricans as members of two different groups was also true for Nuyorican respondents. Nuyoricans seems to perceive themselves as members of a category different from that of Natives. Inspired by Turner's Self Categorization Theory (1987), this process was given the name "self-(re)categorization". The concept "(re)categorization" is used here to imply the possibility of changes in Nuyoricans' identity. The literature about Puerto Ricans in the United States (i.e., FitzPatrick, 1987; Johnson, 1982; Rodriguez, 1991; Waters, 1990) establishes that Nuyoricans in the mainland claim membership in the "Puerto Rican" category. However, the Nuyorican adolescents involved in this study, reported being different from their Native peers. Thus, since this investigator cannot be certain whether simple self categorization or self- recategorization has taken place, the term "self- (re)categorization" is used throughout this section.

According to Fiske and Neuberg (1990), recategorization consists in the reassignment of the

target to a different category. Recategorization takes place when the target realizes that the target is different from most members of the group in some critical attributes. When applied to Nuyorican respondents, the term "self-(re)categorization" communicates that Nuyoricans are targets and perceivers simultaneously. Inspired by Fiske and Neuberg, the investigator suggest that, Nuyoricans (re)categorize themselves as being different from Natives because of the repetitive observation that they possess attributes inconsistent with the category "Puerto Rican" as defined by their Native peers. The process through which Nuyoricans come to perceive themselves as different from Natives was not investigated in this study. Future research may clarify this issue.

Perceived differences in personality attributes

Besides testing the extent to which Nuyoricans are evaluated as being different from Natives, the Categorization Scales provided information about attributes associated with each group. The attributes used in the Categorization Scales represent, to a certain extent, personality dimensions. The eight attributes used in this scale were derived from Cattell's personality factors. Some authors (i.e.,

Claudio, 1983; Johnson, 1982) argued that Nuyoricans and Natives differ in personality characteristics. Further, examining group differences in the evaluation of mainland-raised and Puerto Rico-raised adolescents provided useful information to test the extent to which categorization is an objective process.

Differences in the evaluation of the adolescents described as raised in the mainland and raised in Puerto Rico were found in six of the eight personality attributes of the Categorization Scales. These findings are consistent with the results obtained for the scenarios. This supports the hypothesized evaluation of Nuyoricans as being different from Natives. That is, Nuyoricans are excluded from the category "Puerto Ricans".

Mainland-raised adolescents and Puerto Rico-raised adolescents were evaluated as being different in the attributes "calm - agitated", "shy - bold" and "dependent - independent". This suggests that categorization of the Nuyoricans is greatly elicited by real differences between those coming from the mainland and those raised in Puerto Rico. Nuyoricans and Natives concur in the evaluation of mainland-raised

adolescents as more agitated, bolder and more independent than those raised in Puerto Rico. Perhaps, as a result of being exposed to the style of life of the United States, Nuyorican adolescents become more agitated, bolder and more independent than Natives. Thus, when they come with their parents to live in Puerto Rico, they are categorized as being different from Natives.

The argument that Nuyoricans may be perceived as different from Natives because they are different deserves further attention. The immigration literature establishes that children of immigrants are influenced by the ideas and values prevalent in the host society. Often, the beliefs and values in the host society differ from those in the sending society. In the United States, attributes such as independence and perhaps boldness are considered desirable attributes. Consequently, society reinforces independence and punishes interdependence. Adolescents raised in the United States learn from teachers and other socialization agents to be independents. It is known that attributes such as independence are not valued in Puerto Rico as much as they are valued in the United States (Triandis, Botempo, Villareal, et al., 1988).

In this sense, the judgement that Nuyoricans are different from Natives seems to be greatly based on real differences resulting from socialization.

Along with the importance given in the mainland to certain attributes, some characteristics may be more adaptive than others. For example, the hostile environments in the streets and schools of the big cities (from where most Nuyoricans in this study came from) may require being tough, aggressive and daring. This argument is documented in novels such as Down these mean streets (Thomas, 1967) and West-side story (Laurentz, 1958). In Down these mean streets, for example, a Nuyorican youth named Piry struggled to survive in the dangerous streets of East Harlem, NY. Piry was initially shy and became tougher as he met the challenges of the East Harlem streets. The argument here is that, as a consequence of being raised in environments posing different demands, it is very likely that Nuyoricans and Natives come to differ in their personality profiles. Therefore, Native and Nuyorican students might be correct when they reported that mainland and Puerto Rico-raised adolescents differ along these dimensions. This is presented as possibilities because investigating differences in

attributes between Nuyoricans and Natives is beyond the scope of this study. Our discussion here is intended to present the possibility that the differences between Nuyoricans and Natives perceived by participating students are partially based on existing differences. Future studies may investigate those areas in which Nuyoricans and Natives are really different.

The interaction effects found on three attributes suggest that perceiving adolescents raised in the United States as being different from the adolescents raised in Puerto Rico may also involve subjective judgements. Native students claimed that Puerto Rico-raised adolescents are more intelligent and more careful than those raised in the mainland. Nuyoricans did the opposite, they claimed that the mainland-raised adolescents are more intelligent and careful than adolescents raised in Puerto Rico. Further, while Natives do not perceive differences for the attribute "submissive - dominant", Nuyoricans perceive adolescents raised in the United States as being more dominant than adolescents raised in Puerto Rico. If these judgements were based on objective differences, Nuyorican and Native students should concur in their opinions. The fact that they differed in their

opinions suggests that the attributes associated with each category (Nuyorican and Native) are influenced by subjective judgements. Therefore, it seems that the category "Nuyorican" is based on real differences and subjective expectations.

Ethnocentrism in Natives and Nuyoricans

The interactions found in the attributes "dull-intelligent" and "careful-careless" suggest the presence of an ethnocentric bias. In contrast with the attributes where only a main-effect was found ("calm - agitated", "shy - bold" and "dependent - independent"), the attributes "dull - intelligence" and "careless - careful" could be easily classified as desirable or undesirable. Intelligence and carefulness are desirable attributes for most people in most cultures. Consistent with the literature on ethnocentrism and ingroup favoritism, Natives and Nuyoricans evaluated their groups more favorably than the other group. They consider their own group as being superior in intelligence and carefulness than the other group.

Since ethnocentrism is a relative process, the enhancement of one's group is done at the expense of the other group which is derogated. This ethnocentric

bias, is believed to enhance ones' self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). However, for Nuyoricans, this ethnocentric bias could have a different effect. Nuyoricans are born from Puerto Rican parents who very often have been raised in Puerto Rico. In addition, many relatives of Nuyorican adolescents are being or were raised in Puerto Rico. Consequently, they cannot derogate adolescents raised in Puerto Rico without derogating many of their significant others who were also raised in Puerto Rico. Derogating the adolescents raised in Puerto Rico might result in confusion and feelings of guilt, which might adversely affect their psychological well-being rather than enhance their self-esteem. This argument was supported in this study by the negative relationship found between Nuyoricans' perception of being different from Natives and psychological well-being. In any case, conclusive evidence on the effect of ethnocentrism in Nuyoricans could not be drawn from this study. This question requires a study on its own.

Saliency of Nuyorican features and categorization

The results of this study supported the hypothesis that saliency of Nuyorican features influences categorization of "Nuyoricans". Saliency of Nuyorican

features in this study consisted of the combination of linguistic cues and physical appearance (grooming and posture). The first impression given by Nuyorican adolescents to others is determined by linguistic cues, grooming and other physical features (i.e., posture) readily available to the perceiver. These observable features are used to evaluate the fitness of Nuyorican adolescents into the category "Puerto Rican". Thus, adolescents coming from the mainland who talk, dress and behave like most Natives are likely to be accepted by their Native peers as members of the "Puerto Rican" category.

Adolescents high salient in Nuyorican features are not only perceived as most like youths raised in the mainland, they are also perceived as less like youths raised in Puerto Rico. These findings support the argument that language and physical attributes contribute to the exclusion of mainland-raised adolescents from the category "Puerto Ricans". Consequently, reducing differences in linguistic cues, grooming and other physical features should result in more acceptance of the Nuyoricans as members of the category "Puerto Ricans".

Based on linguistic and physical attributes, Nuyoricans and Natives concurred in their evaluation of adolescents as either like most youths raised in the mainland or as like most youths raised in Puerto Rico. Once again, Nuyoricans evaluated themselves as being different from Natives. These data point out that Nuyoricans' self-(re)categorization is largely influenced by the observation that they differ from Natives in observable characteristics such as linguistic cues, grooming and even postures. Contrary to personality attributes which need to be inferred from behavior, linguistic cues and physical appearance are directly available to the perceiver. Consequently, there is less room for subjectivity in assessing intergroup differences in physical attributes than in assessing differences in personality attributes.

Saliency of Nuyorican features and rejection

People prefer those who are similar and reject those who are dissimilar to them (Byrne, 1969). The perception that Nuyoricans differ from the dominant group (Natives) in important attributes may lead to unfavorable attitudes against Nuyoricans. As found in this study, rejection of the Nuyoricans is a function of the extent to which they are perceived as being

different from Natives .

The more Nuyorican features possessed by an adolescent, the more he or she will be rejected by Native adolescents. Natives reported that they dislike and refuse to be friends of adolescents who are high salient in Nuyorican features more than to adolescents who are low salient. Further, Natives believed that the adolescent high salient in Nuyorican features would be disliked by other people more than the low salient. Perhaps Nuyoricans are perceived by Natives as violators of informal norms that govern the behavior of most adolescents in Puerto Rico. One might suggest that Natives are motivated to preserve the homogeneity within the Puerto Rican category. Nuyoricans who are different from the majority pose a threat for the group homogeneity and consequently they are more likely to be rejected by Native adolescents than those who are similar to them. Nuyoricans who deviate from societal norms because of the way they present themselves could be rejected by teachers and other adults in the community as well. Nevertheless, the present study concentrated on how Nuyoricans are perceived by peers. Future studies may consider the reaction of adults and the community as a whole.

The message communicated by Native students in this study seems to be that deviations from prescribed norms about language use and presentations of self elicit negative reactions. The more adolescents resemble a typical Nuyorican, the more they are rejected and marginalized by Natives, the dominant group in Puerto Rico. Thus, adolescents who are rejected by the dominant groups in the United States because they are not American enough, are also rejected in Puerto Rico because they are not Puerto Ricans enough. This type of situation is what Hickling (1991) called double jeopardy. As argued by Hickling (1991), double jeopardy is a threat for the emotional stability of the returning migrant. The implications of these findings are discussed later.

Nuyoricans' reaction to adolescents high on saliency of Nuyorican features

Nuyorican adolescents rejected a target high salient in Nuyorican features more than a low salient target. The adolescent high salient in Nuyorican features was identified by Nuyoricans as "like most youths raised in the United States". Similarly, the adolescent low salient in Nuyorican features was identified as like "most youths raised in Puerto Rico".

Thus, Nuyoricans rejected the target who was like most youths raised in the United States more than the target identified as like most youths from Puerto Rico. This finding seems counterintuitive because Nuyoricans themselves came from the United States.

There are two plausible explanations for the finding presented above. The first explanation is that Nuyoricans in this study were expressing self-hatred. This self-hatred explanation seems unlikely because if Nuyoricans were expressing self-hatred they should be more depressed than Natives. This was not the case. The second possibility is that Nuyoricans in this study did not identify themselves with the target adolescent high salient in Nuyorican features. This last explanation is more attuned with the reality of Nuyoricans in Puerto Rico who would benefit by being accepted by their cousins and peers raised in Puerto Rico.

Nuyoricans' unfavorable evaluation of the adolescent identified as like "most youths raised in the United States" implies a dissociation between the respondent and the target adolescent. There are at least three explanations for why Nuyoricans do not

identify themselves with the adolescent high salient in Nuyorican features. The first explanation is that the Nuyorican respondent was never like most youths raised in the United States (being an exception). The second possibility is that the respondent never perceived himself or herself as most youths raised in the United States (perceiving self as an exception). It is possible that parents of Nuyoricans in Puerto Rico strongly socialized them to identify with the island more than with the states. In this way, they were preparing their children for the anticipated return to Puerto Rico. The third explanation is that after several years living in Puerto Rico the respondent has internalized the values and ideas of most Natives and no longer identifies with most youths raised in the United States (change in identity). These three explanations are not mutually exclusive and the combination of all three may serve to explain this finding. This study does not provide any conclusive evidence to support any of the above explanations. Unfortunately, there is not much research dealing with back migration that could be used to support any or all these explanations.

(Re)acculturation: a strategy to protect self-esteem and to increase acceptability

The literature on categorization and identity establishes that the protection of one's self-esteem is of primary importance for one's identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Consequently, people belonging to stigmatized groups employ many alternatives to protect their self-esteem against the effects of stigma (Crocker & Major, 1989). Being a "Nuyorican" seems to be a stigmatized identity. Therefore, it is expected that Nuyoricans devise strategies to reduce the negative effect of the stigmatized identity.

This study strongly suggests that mainland-raised adolescents become involved in an intensive process of (re)acculturation. The length of stay in Puerto Rico is strongly related to Spanish dominance and perception of similarity with Natives in features such as way of talking, dressing, hobbies and food preferences. (Re)acculturation seems to be a strategy to attenuate the negative consequences of being rejected by Natives and categorized as members of a stigmatized group. Given the possibility that Nuyoricans are re-learning customs and behavior rather than learning them, the term (re)acculturation is used to refer to the changes

toward similarity taken place as a function of length of time in Puerto Rico.

The (re)acculturation strategy seems the easiest alternative for Nuyoricans if they are to be accepted by Native peers and to protect their self-esteem. Despite some recent changes, Puerto Rico is a much more homogeneous society than the United States. Therefore, the Puerto Rican society (including parents) may encourage and support re-acculturation of those coming from the mainland. Further, Nuyoricans may learn that to be fully admitted as members of the "Puerto Rican" category they have to modify the way they present themselves. It seems that eventually, through negotiation with Natives, most Nuyoricans modify those aspects of their behavior that separate them from Natives.

The finding that Nuyoricans become more similar to Natives as a function of their stay in Puerto Rico is consistent with the contact hypothesis (see Stephan, 1985; Wilder, 1986b). The contact hypothesis proposes that through intergroup contact members of minority groups, such as Nuyoricans in Puerto Rico, internalize the beliefs, values and behavior of the dominant group.

As stated above, it seems that with the passage of time, most Nuyoricans make modifications in their behavior. They begin to assimilate Natives' way of talking, dressing, and so forth. When these modifications have taken place, the fact that they came from the United States is not longer obvious and they are more likely to be accepted as members of the "Puerto Rican" category. Thus, being categorized as a Nuyorican appears to be a transitory process.

Categorization as a Nuyorican seems to be stronger when mainland-raised adolescents have just arrived from the United States. As time in Puerto Rico passes by, they become more similar to Natives and therefore less categorized as a Nuyorican. One may suggest that intergroup contact play an important role in the (re)acculturation of the Nuyorican. Therefore, intergroup contact between Nuyoricans and Natives should be encouraged. Segregation strategies (such as the bilingual program) may be obstacles for a successful (re)acculturation and therefore they may hurt rather than help Nuyorican adolescents. This issue is detailed later.

Consequences of being different from Natives

Hypothesis five proposed that perception of being different from Natives may affect Nuyoricans' psychological well-being and academic performance. Basically, there are two major postulates in hypothesis five. First, Nuyoricans who perceive themselves as being different from Natives will suffer depression, anxiety and hostility and will feel more criticized and rejected by others. These variables are taken as a measure of psychological well-being. The second part of hypothesis five links perception of being different with low academic performance.

The results of this study supported the hypothesized relationship between perception of being different from Natives and psychological well-being. The more Nuyoricans perceive themselves as being different from Natives, the higher their score on depression, anxiety, hostility and the more they feel criticized and rejected by others. It is important to clarify that not all Nuyoricans scored high in problems related to psychological well-being. It seems that being different from Natives is associated with stressors that adversely affect Nuyoricans' psychological well-being.

There are two possible ways in which categorization as a Nuyorican comes to be associated with negative psychological well-being. First, Nuyoricans may be victims of discrimination and hostility from their Native peers, and perhaps from society as a whole. As discussed earlier, being categorized as Nuyoricans is accompanied by negative attitudes and rejection. In the Categorization Scales, for example, Native students evaluated adolescents raised in the mainland as dull and careless. These are negative attributes. In the Evaluation of the adolescents presented through photos and audiotapes, the adolescent high salient in Nuyorican features was more rejected than the medium or the low salient adolescents. These results support the argument that Natives may be discriminated against by Native students. The negative outcomes in the psychological well-being of Nuyoricans could be partially influenced by experiences of discrimination and rejection in Puerto Rico.

The second explanation for the link between categorization as a Nuyorican and negative psychological well-being has to do with changes in the ethnic identity of Nuyorican adolescents. As asserted

before, Nuyoricans claim membership to the Puerto Rican group while they live in the United States. The literature reviewed for this study establishes that Puerto Rican children in the United States are socialized by their parents to identify themselves as Puerto Ricans (i.e., FitzPatrick, 1987; Rodriguez, 1991). If the Nuyorican lives in an ethnic neighborhood in the United States, the parental efforts to maintain a Puerto Rican identity extend to the community. Then, it is understandable that Nuyoricans come to Puerto Rico with the idea of being accepted by Natives as "Puerto Ricans". In Puerto Rico, through their interaction with Native peers, Nuyoricans learn about the discrepancies existing between them and the Natives. Consequently, Nuyoricans may begin to question their identity as Puerto Ricans and fall victims to an ethnic limbo or a marginalized identity. They begin to feel that they belong nowhere. In the United States, they are denied membership as Americans because they are Puerto Ricans and in Puerto Rico they are denied membership as Puerto Ricans (Colon-Reyes, 1984; Johnson, 1982). This situation is believed to generate distress which partially accounts for the relationship between dissimilarity with Natives and negative psychological well-being.

Two major arguments against the positions defended above are anticipated. It could be argued that the relationship between perception of being different and psychological well-being is an artifact of preexisting differences between Nuyoricans and Natives. This first explanation is rejected because statistical analysis shows that Natives and Nuyoricans are not different in depression, anxiety or feeling rejected by others. Therefore, preexisting differences do not explain the relationship between Nuyoricans' perception of being different from Natives and negative psychological well-being.

A second plausible explanation is that the relationship between being different from Natives and negative psychological well-being is the result of acculturative stress. This second argument is strong and valid. However, it does not contradict the categorization explanation. Ultimately, categorization processes are important components of acculturative stress (Lorenzo-Hernández, 1995). This investigator acknowledges the complexity of the back migration issue. This study investigated categorization of Nuyoricans which is only one aspect of the back migration experience.

Results of canonical correlations further support the explanation that categorization of Nuyoricans account for the relationship between perception of being different and negative psychological well-being. Nuyoricans' perception of being different from Natives was combined with variables such as their tendency toward categorization and the extent they categorize the adolescent depicted in the scenarios in a canonical correlation analysis. In support of the argument that categorization as a Nuyorican leads to negative psychological well-being, the combination of the above variables yielded a strong canonical correlation which accounted for 33% of the variance. Perception of similarity by itself only accounts for less than 13% of the variance in any of the variables of psychological well-being. When variables related to the categorization phenomena are grouped together they are better predictors of psychological well-being than when perception of similarity is considered by itself.

The hypothesized relationship between perception of being different and academic performance was not supported. Nevertheless, this lack of relationship should be further explored in future studies. The investigator's concern here stems from the observation

that teachers tended to give positive evaluation to most students. In addition, data obtained through the Teacher's Evaluation Report are incongruent with the pilot data collected through interviews. Pilot data collected through face to face interviews with teachers and school administrators strongly suggested that teachers hold negative attitude toward Nuyoricans. In the actual study, the impersonal nature of the Teacher's Evaluation Report may have inhibited teachers' responses. It is also possible that teachers just attempted to give a good impression of the student population in their school. Future studies should consider to conduct interviews combined with more objective measures of academic performance. Some examples of variables that could help to clarify this issue are numbers of fights and suspensions, academic aspirations, graduation and drop out rates. If financial resources are available, standardized tests such as the SAT could be included as a substitute of GPA. Ethnographic research in the schools of Puerto Rico is another alternative to deal with the issue of academic performance.

It was found that the GPA, perhaps the most important index of academic performance, was not

related to Spanish fluency or to perception of being different from Natives. This was true when Spanish fluency was measured through self-report or through the English/Spanish Dominance Test. This finding appears to be counterintuitive. However, it seems that Nuyoricans who come from the United States have sufficient knowledge of Spanish before coming to Puerto Rico. This is consistent with the literature on Puerto Rican migration.

The literature establishes that Puerto Ricans in the United States are often required to speak Spanish at home. Further, they tend to live in Hispanic neighborhoods where Spanish is used among neighbors, in the streets, and public places (i.e., stores). In addition, it is reasonable to expect that those parents who anticipate returning to Puerto Rico train their children to be sufficiently competent in spoken Spanish. Even when Nuyoricans show linguistic peculiarities (i.e., an accent) that separate them from Natives, they are competent enough in Spanish to understand the lecture delivered by their teachers in Puerto Rico. In addition, while examining the academic records of Nuyoricans students, the investigator observed that many Nuyoricans students had taken Spanish

classes while they lived in the United States. Spanish classes taken in the United States expose Nuyoricans to the formal aspects of the written Spanish. It is also suspected that teachers in Puerto Rico are somewhat flexible with Nuyoricans recently arrived from the United States. Perhaps, teachers in Puerto Rico give extra credits to Nuyoricans to compensate for any deficit they may have in Spanish. This may result in an inflated GPA. Finally, as argued before, Nuyoricans in Puerto Rico appear to undergo an intensive process of (re)acculturation. With Spanish speaking parents, teachers and relatives, exposed to Spanish media and forced to use Spanish in all their daily transactions (i.e., shopping), Nuyoricans in Puerto Rico are pressured to become increasingly competent in Spanish.

Limitations of the study and future directions

Interpretability of the findings of this study was hampered by the lack of pre-existing research about Nuyoricans in Puerto Rico. Interpretation of findings is easier and it is made with greater confidence when one's data could be compared with data obtained by colleagues studying the same or similar phenomena. Given these limitations, the investigator often extrapolated findings from the migration and the social

categorization literature. This is legitimate, but it subtracts from the strength of the arguments.

Perhaps the major limitation of this study is that it relies on a sample of students from the West of Puerto Rico. Although there is no reason to suspect that students from other places of Puerto Rico will differ from those in our sample, caution is to be exercised when generalizing the results. In addition, this study concentrated on the experience of Nuyorican high school students. Back migration may also affect younger children and adults as well. It is known that the Puerto Rican Family Institute has an office in Puerto Rico to help returning families with the stressors generated by returning to Puerto Rico (FitzPatrick, 1987; November 1994, personal communication with the director of the Puerto Rican Family Institute in New York). The fact that supportive services have been provided to Nuyorican families in Puerto Rico suggests that the back migration experience may adversely affect the whole returning family. Future studies should consider studying the experience of adults and of the entire family of those who return to Puerto Rico.

Summary and recommendations

Back migration in general, and Puerto Rican back migration in particular, have not been sufficiently studied. This lack of research may have to do with difficulties obtaining financial support for psychological studies conducted outside the United States. In addition, the research tradition among Puerto Rican psychologists who could be interested in this issue is not as strong as that of American psychologists. In this sense, this study makes an important contribution to the understanding of Puerto Ricans who return to the island.

The results of this study have many applications and promise to be valuable in many areas. This study informs about the experience of Nuyorican students in Puerto Rico who are perceived as different by Native students. It further produces data about the adverse consequences for Nuyoricans when excluded from the category "Puerto Rican". This knowledge may sensitize psychologists, social workers, teachers and other professionals dealing with Nuyoricans in Puerto Rico.

This study is particularly informative for the design of strategies to help Nuyorican students in the

school system of Puerto Rico. The Florida Atlantic University has created a Multifunctional Resource Center intended to design strategies to help migrant students in the schools of Puerto Rico. The Multifunctional Resource Center supports the idea of bilingual education in Puerto Rico (Cruz-Cabello, non dated recent memorandum). At present, the bilingual program in Puerto Rico is no longer operating. Those schools containing many Nuyoricans have a PEEM counselor. PEEM stands for the Spanish translation of educative program for migrant students. The PEEM counselor helps Nuyorican students with problems adjusting to the school and life in Puerto Rico. In addition, the term "Nuyorican" has been substituted in official documents by the term "returning migrant student" (Santiago, personal communication, November 1994). Apparently the term "Nuyorican" was eliminated from official documents because of the belief that it was loaded with negative associations.

According to the findings of the present study, the decision to discontinue bilingual education in Puerto Rico, to have counseling services to help migrant students to adjust to the life in Puerto Rico and the use of the term "returning migrant students"

were on target. These decisions might be useful to reduce categorization of the Nuyorican students. Regarding bilingual education in Puerto Rico, there is debate in the schools of Puerto Rico about reimplementing it. Even more, as told by an English supervisor to the investigator (Santiago, personal communication, November 1994) the Department of Education is considering opening a school for "returning students" in the west of Puerto Rico. Based on the results of this study, the re-implementation of bilingual programs or opening a school for migrant students might hurt rather than help them.

Bilingual classes segregate Nuyoricans from the mainstream, accentuate differences between Natives and Nuyoricans, promote resentment because of differential distribution of educative resources and perpetuate categorization. Bilingual programs also deprive students from societal rewards and for being competent in the Puerto Rican society. Outside of the school, Nuyorican students will be forced to deal with a monolingual society where Spanish is used for all daily transactions. Further people may react negatively against Nuyoricans if they resist (re)acculturation. The price of resisting (re)acculturation, as shown in

this study, is higher anxiety, depression, hostility, feeling of rejection and feeling criticized by others.

The issue of bilingual education in the United States is not the same as the issue of bilingual education in Puerto Rico. In contrast to Puerto Rico, the United States is a heterogeneous society and often migrant families in the United States resist acculturation. Puerto Rico is a more homogeneous society and parents and other agents of socialization encourage (re)acculturation. Therefore, our criticism of the bilingual programs in Puerto Rico cannot be generalized to the issue of bilingual education in the United States.

This study supports the idea that efforts should lead to decrease differences to an acceptable level. The point advocated here is not against diversity but against extremes. Diversity could be healthy if it conforms to the parameter acceptable to most members of the society. In all schools included in this study, the use of uniform was mandatory and strictly enforced by school authorities. Besides the reasons for the implementation of uniforms in these schools, uniforms may reduce categorization of the Nuyoricans. As

demonstrated in this study, observable features such as clothing are used by the perceiver to categorize an adolescent as a Nuyorican. The results of this study offer another reason to continue the use of uniforms in the school of Puerto Rico.

The findings of this study also indicate that the first years after migrating from the United States could be particularly difficult for Nuyoricans. However, Nuyoricans rapidly (re)acculturate. (Re)acculturation is facilitated by continuous interaction with Natives and pressure toward homogeneity received from peers and perhaps the whole society. Therefore, rather than segregating Nuyoricans in bilingual classes or in a school for migrant students, they should be assisted through supportive counseling and reassurance during the first years following migration. In a similar way, school personnel should be offered in-service training intended to help them to understand the difficulties experienced by Nuyoricans during their first years in Puerto Rico. Such training would sensitize teachers and school administrators about the difficulties faced by Nuyorican students during their first years in Puerto Rico. Further, the school curriculum should

include the discussion of issues such as Puerto Ricans in the United States and the migration experience. This kind of discussion could be held during the home room period or in courses such as social studies or history. It is necessary to expose students to these issues to facilitate acceptance of the mainland-raised adolescents.

The strategies suggested above are expected to reduce the negative effect of categorization in the Nuyoricans' psychological well-being. The goal of such interventions is not to eliminate stress, but to keep it at an optimal level where changes are encouraged and adjustment problems reduced. It seems that promoting (re)acculturation is the best way to help Nuyoricans in Puerto Rico.

Appendix A

English version of the instruments package

**Reseach Questionnaires
(Booklet)**

**José Lorenzo-Hernández
Principal Investigator**

Form: 1

Respondent #: _____

Dear student:

Thank you for participating in this study. This study is being conducted by José Lorenzo for the doctoral degree in Psychology.

The purpose of this study is to understand how certain characteristics in some students are perceived by their classmates. Therefore, our major interest is to know your opinion about certain characteristics in other people.

Participation in this study is strictly voluntary. You can quit as a participant of this study at any time. There is NO penalty for quitting. You can ask any question at any time. If you have any concern about this study you can talk to your teacher or the school principal.

Participation in this study will give you the opportunity to win a walkman in a lottery to be drawn before the last day of classes. For this, please fill out the raffle ticket on the first page of this package. Then, deposit the completed raffle ticket in the box provided for this purpose.

In this package you will find several questionnaires. Each questionnaire has instructions on how to fill it out. Please read the instructions and complete each questionnaire. It is very important that you respond to these questionnaires as honestly as you can. In these questionnaires there are NOT right or wrong answers. We only want to know your opinion and feelings about certain characteristics in other youths. It takes from 30-40 minutes to complete these questionnaires. Your participation is anonymous and confidential.

Sincerely,

Participation.

J. Lorenzo
 Sin/ José Lorenzo-Hernández
 Principal Investigator
 José Lorenzo-Hernández
 Principal Investigator

CQ-1

Please imagine the following students and describe them.

1. It is the first day of classes in your school. You are in a corner of the classroom waiting for the History teacher. Ruben, who is a teenager born and raised in San Juan is also in your class. Ruben came from San Juan six months ago. You are looking through the door when Ruben enters the classroom. You are staring at him. He moves toward a chair near you, says something to another students and sits down.

How would you describe Ruben? (How he walks, talks, dresses, etc)

2. It is Lunch time. You are sitting on a chair in the cafeteria. Luis, who is a teenager born and raised in New York is also in the cafeteria. Luis came from New York seven months ago. You are staring at Luis while he walks toward the table in front of you. He sits on a chair and begins to chat with another student.

How would you describe Luis? (How he walks, talks, dresses, etc.)

How different or similar are Ruben and Luis?

Very Different 1----2----3----4----5----6----7 Very similar

Next page, please...

-4-

CQ-2

Please respond to the following items by circling the place that better represents your opinion.

Sample 1: Puerto Rico is:

Cold -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Hot
 Beautiful -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Ugly

Adolescents born and raised in Puerto Rico are:

1. Dull -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Intelligent
2. Calm -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Agitated
3. Submissive -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Dominant
4. Rebel -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Conforming
5. Shy -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Bold
6. Enthusiastic -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Withdrawn
7. Dependent -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Independent
8. Careless -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Careful

Adolescents born and raised in the Continental United States are:

1. Dull -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Intelligent
2. Calm -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Agitated
3. Submissive -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Dominant
4. Rebel -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Conforming
5. Shy -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Bold
6. Enthusiastic -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Withdrawn
7. Dependent -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Independent
8. Careless -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Careful

STOP... Please wait for instructions

EQ-1

Please circle the alternative that best describes your opinion or feelings about Carlos. Use the following scale.

1. Disagree
2. Moderately Disagree
3. Neither Disagree nor Agree
4. Moderately Agree
5. Agree

Photo/Tape 1

	Disagree.	Moderately Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Moderately Agree	Agree
1) Carlos is like most youths raised in Puerto Rico	1	2	3	4	5
2) Carlos is like most youths raised in the Unites States	1	2	3	4	5
3) I would be happy to have Carlos as a friend	1	2	3	4	5
4) I dislike Carlos	1	2	3	4	5
5) I think Carlos will be well liked in my school	1	2	3	4	5

Next page, please...

EQ-2

Please circle the alternative that best describes your opinion or feelings about Felipe. Use the following scale.

1. Disagree
2. Moderately Disagree
3. Neither Disagree nor Agree
4. Moderately Agree
5. Agree

Photo/Tape 1

1) Felipe is like most youths raised

in Puerto Rico

2) Felipe is like most youths raised in

in the Unites States

3) I would be happy to have Felipe as a

friend

4) I dislike Felipe

5) I think Felipe will be well liked in my

school

	Disagree.	Moderately Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Moderately Agree	Agree
1) Felipe is like most youths raised in Puerto Rico	1	2	3	4	5
2) Felipe is like most youths raised in in the Unites States	1	2	3	4	5
3) I would be happy to have Felipe as a friend	1	2	3	4	5
4) I dislike Felipe	1	2	3	4	5
5) I think Felipe will be well liked in my school	1	2	3	4	5

Next page, please...

EQ-3

Please circle the alternative that best describes your opinion or feelings about Tony. Use the following scale.

- 1. Disagree
- 2. Moderately Disagree
- 3. Neither Disagree nor Agree
- 4. Moderately Agree
- 5. Agree

Photo/Tape 1

1) Tony is like most youths raised in

Puerto Rico

Disagree.	Moderately Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Moderately Agree	Agree
1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5

2) Tony is like most youths raised in

the Unites States

3) I would be happy to have Tony as a

friend

4) I dislike Tony

5) I think Tony will be well liked in my

school

II. Please respond to the following questions:

A. How often do you hear others using the term "Nuyorican"?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9
 Never Rarely Sometimes Often Very Often

B. What does the term "Nuyorican" mean to you?

C. When people say "there is a Nuyorican", What do they mean?

Next page, please...

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AC/O

Please respond to the following statement using the following scale:

Very Rarely 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 Almost Always

- | | Very
Rarely | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Almost
Always | | |
|---|----------------|-----|---|-----|---|-----|------------------|-----|---|
| 1. Students in my school are critical of me. | 1 | --- | 2 | --- | 3 | --- | 4 | --- | 5 |
| 2. I feel "left out", as if students in my school don't want me around. | 1 | --- | 2 | --- | 3 | --- | 4 | --- | 5 |
| 3. Students in my school seem to respect my opinion about things. | 1 | --- | 2 | --- | 3 | --- | 4 | --- | 5 |
| 4. Students in my school seem to like me. | 1 | --- | 2 | --- | 3 | --- | 4 | --- | 5 |
| 5. Most students in my school seem to understand how do I feel about things. | 1 | --- | 2 | --- | 3 | --- | 4 | --- | 5 |
| 6. I am critical of students in my school. | 1 | --- | 2 | --- | 3 | --- | 4 | --- | 5 |
| 7. Other students in my school feel left out by me; I don't want to be around them. | 1 | --- | 2 | --- | 3 | --- | 4 | --- | 5 |
| 8. I respect the opinion of other students in my school. | 1 | --- | 2 | --- | 3 | --- | 4 | --- | 5 |
| 9. I like other students in my school. | 1 | --- | 2 | --- | 3 | --- | 4 | --- | 5 |
| 10. I understand how other students in my school feel about things. | 1 | --- | 2 | --- | 3 | --- | 4 | --- | 5 |

Next page, please...

SQ Below are 45 statements. Please describe how you have felt DURING THE PAST WEEK by circling the appropriate response for each statement. Do not think long before answering. Work quickly!

Use the following scale:

- 1= Not at all
- 2= A little of the time
- 3= Some of the time
- 4= Good part of the time
- 5= Most of the time
- 6= All of the time

How have you felt during the past week?

	Not at all	A little of the time	Some of the time	Good part of the time	Most of the time	All of the time
1. Nervous	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Wear, Tired	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Losing temper easily	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Frightened	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Happy	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Feeling unworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Annoyed	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Feeling confident	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Feeling of rage	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Feeling friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Feeling peaceful	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. Feeling a failure	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. Feeling of hate	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Relaxed	1	2	3	4	5	6

Next page, please...

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Use the following scale:

- 1= Not at all
- 2= A little of the time
- 3= Some of the time
- 4= Good part of the time
- 5= Most of the time
- 6= All of the time

How have you felt during the past week?

	1 Not at all	2 A little of the time	3 Some of the time	4 Good part of the time	5 Most of the time	6 All of the time
15. Not interested in things	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Patience	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. Restless	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Thoughts of ending your life	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. Irritated by other people	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. Worried	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. Looking forward toward the future	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. Feel like attacking people	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. Feeling of courage	1	2	3	4	5	6
24. Feeling inferior to others	1	2	3	4	5	6
25. Takes a long time to fall asleep ..	1	2	3	4	5	6
26. Feeling useless	1	2	3	4	5	6
27. Feel like crying	1	2	3	4	5	6
28. Get angry quickly	1	2	3	4	5	6
29. Feeling that something bad will happen	1	2	3	4	5	6
30. Resentful	1	2	3	4	5	6

Next page, please...

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PS

Using the scales below, please tell us to what extent you are alike or different to most students in your school.

Very different 1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7 Very alike

How different or alike are you to most students in your school in:

	Very different	Very alike
1. The way you talk?	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	
2. The way you walk?	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	
3. The way you dress?	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	
4. Your hair style?	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	
5. The music you prefer?	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	
6. The way you dance?	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	
7. Food you prefer?	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	
8. Your hobbies and daily activities?	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	

Next page, please...

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Next page, please...

TR/S

Please translate the following sentences to Spanish. If you don't know the meaning of any word translate the rest of the sentence.

1. She writes quickly.

Translation: _____

2. Who called last night?

Translation: _____

3. The child seems unhappy today.

Translation: _____

4. The tiger walks quietly through the jungle.

Translation: _____

Next page, please..

DO NOT WRITE HERE

	CT	AO	VT	=	ST
1:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	=	<input type="checkbox"/>
2:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	=	<input type="checkbox"/>
3:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	=	<input type="checkbox"/>

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DDQ

This and all other questionnaires in this booklet are anonymous. Please do not print your name on any part of this booklet. We are only interested in your answers.

Please answer the following questions

1. I am: Male Female
2. I am _____ years old
3. My family annual income (total income) is:

<input type="checkbox"/> less than \$5,999	<input type="checkbox"/> \$18,000- \$21,999
<input type="checkbox"/> \$6,000- \$9,999	<input type="checkbox"/> \$22,000- \$25,999
<input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000- \$13,999	<input type="checkbox"/> \$26,000- \$29,999
<input type="checkbox"/> \$14,000- \$17,999	<input type="checkbox"/> More than \$30,000
4. My family size (parents, brothers and sisters):
 _____ Members
5. I am in _____ grade of High School.
6. I was born in _____ (State) .
7. Currently I live in _____ (Town) .
8. From birth, I have lived outside of Puerto Rico for _____ years
 and _____ months.
9. From birth, I have lived in Puerto Rico for _____ years and
 _____ months.
10. How long have you lived in the mainland USA?
 _____ years and _____ months .
11. Currently I live in _____ (Town) .
12. I came to live in Puerto Rico when I was _____ years of age.
 I have always lived in Puerto Rico
13. In a scale from 1 to 9, How well do you speak English?
 Very badly -1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9- Very Well
14. In a scale from 1 to 9, How well do you speak Spanish?
 Very badly -1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9- Very Well

Appendix B

Spanish version of the instruments package

Cuestionarios

Josè Lorenzo-Hernàndez
Investigador principal

Forma: 21

Participante #: _____

Estimado estudiante:

Gracias por participar en este proyecto de investigación. Este estudio esta siendo llevado a cabo por José Lorenzo para el grado de doctor en psicología.

El propósito de este proyecto es entender como ciertas características en algunos estudiantes son percibidas por sus compañeros. Por lo tanto nuestro mayor interés es conocer tu opinión sobre ciertas características en otros estudiantes.

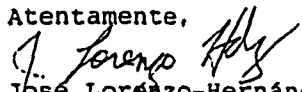
Tu participación en este estudio es estrictamente voluntaria. Tú puedes dejar este estudio en cualquier momento. NO hay penalidad por dejar de participar en el estudio. También puedes hacer preguntas en cualquier momento. Si tuvieras cualquier preocupación sobre este estudio, puedes hablar con tu maestra/o o con el principal de tu escuela.

Tu participación en este estudio te dará la oportunidad de ganar un "walkman" en un sorteo a llevarse a cabo antes del último día de clases. Para esto, favor de llenar el boleto de sorteo que aparece en la primera página de este paquete. Luego deposita el boleto de sorteo en la caja provista para este propósito.

En este paquete encontrarás varios cuestionarios. Cada cuestionario tiene instrucciones de como llenarlo. Favor de leer las instrucciones y completar cada cuestionario. Es importante que respondas a estos cuestionarios de la forma más honesta posible. En estos cuestionarios NO hay respuestas correctas ni incorrectas. Sólo queremos saber tú opinión y sentimientos sobre ciertas características de otros jóvenes. Toma de 30 a 40 minutos el completar estos cuestionarios. Tu participación es anónima y confidencial.

Gracias por tu participación en este estudio.

Atentamente,


José Lorenzo-Hernández
Investigador principal

CQ-1

Por favor, imagine y describa a los siguientes estudiantes:

1. Es el primer día de clases en tu escuela. Tú estas en una esquina del salón esperando por la maestra de Historia. Rubén, quien es un adolescente nacido y criado en San Juan también está en tu clase. Rubén vino de San Juan seis meses atrás. Estás mirando hacia la puerta cuando Rubén entra al salón de clases. Tú le sigues con la vista. Rubén se mueve hacia una silla cerca de donde tú estas, le dice algo a otro estudiante y se sienta.

¿Como tú describirías a Rubén? (Como camina, habla, viste, etc.)

2. Es la hora de almuerzo. Tú estás sentado en una silla en la cafetería. Luis, quien es un joven nacido y criado en Nueva York también está en la cafetería. Luis vino de Nueva York siete meses atrás. Tú estas mirando a Luis mientras el camina hacia una mesa frente de ti. Luis se sienta en una silla y comienza a hablar con otro estudiante.

¿Como tú describirías a Luis? (Como camina, habla, viste, etc.)

¿Cuán diferentes o similares son Rubén y Luis?

Muy diferentes 1----2----3----4----5----6----7 Muy similares

Próxima página por favor...

-4-

CQ-2

Favor de responder a los siguientes ejercicios, haciendo un círculo en el lugar que mejor representa su opinión.

Ejemplo 1: Puerto Rico es:

Frio -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Caliente
 Bonito -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Feo

Los adolescentes nacidos y criados en Puerto Rico son:

1. Torpes -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Inteligentes
2. Calmados -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Agitados
3. Sumisos -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Dominantes
4. Rebeldes -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Conformistas
5. Tímidos -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Atrevidos
6. Animados -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Desanimados
7. Dependientes -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Independientes
8. Descuidados -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Cuidadosos

Los adolescentes nacidos y criados en los Estados Unidos son:

1. Torpes -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Inteligentes
2. Calmados -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Agitados
3. Sumisos -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Dominantes
4. Rebeldes -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Conformistas
5. Tímidos -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Atrevidos
6. Animados -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Desanimados
7. Dependientes -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Independientes
8. Descuidados -1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9- Cuidadosos

PARE ... Favor de esperar por instrucciones

EQ-1

Favor de circular la alternativa que mejor describe tu opinión y sentimientos acerca de Carlos. Use la siguiente escala.

1. En desacuerdo
2. Moderadamente en desacuerdo
3. Ni en desacuerdo ni de acuerdo
4. Moderadamente de acuerdo
5. De acuerdo

Foto/Tape 1

	En desacuerdo	Moderadamente en desacuerdo	Ni en desacuerdo ni de acuerdo	Moderadamente de acuerdo	De acuerdo
1) Carlos es como la mayoría de los muchachos criados en Puerto Rico	1	2	3	4	5
2) Carlos es como la mayoría de los muchachos criados en los Estados Unidos	1	2	3	4	5
3) Yo estaría feliz de tener a Carlos como amigo	1	2	3	4	5
4) Carlos me disgusta (me cae mal)	1	2	3	4	5
5) Yo creo que Carlos sería muy querido en mi escuela	1	2	3	4	5

Próxima página por favor...

EQ-2

Favor de circular la alternativa que mejor describe tu opinión y sentimientos acerca de Felipe. Use la siguiente escala.

1. En desacuerdo
2. Moderadamente en desacuerdo
3. Ni en desacuerdo ni de acuerdo
4. Moderadamente de acuerdo
5. De acuerdo

Foto/Tape 1

	En desacuerdo	Moderadamente en desacuerdo	Ni en desacuerdo ni de acuerdo	Moderadamente de acuerdo	De acuerdo
1) Felipe es como la mayoría de los muchachos criados en Puerto Rico	1	2	3	4	5
2) Felipe es como la mayoría de los muchachos criados en los Estados Unidos	1	2	3	4	5
3) Yo estaría feliz de tener a Felipe como amigo	1	2	3	4	5
4) Felipe me disgusta (me cae mal)	1	2	3	4	5
5) Yo creo que Felipe sería muy querido en mi escuela	1	2	3	4	5

Próxima página por favor...

EQ-3

Favor de circular la alternativa que mejor describe tu opinión y sentimientos acerca de Tony. Use la siguiente escala.

1. En desacuerdo
2. Moderadamente en desacuerdo
3. Ni en desacuerdo ni de acuerdo
4. Moderadamente de acuerdo
5. De acuerdo

Foto/Tape 1

	En desacuerdo	Moderadamente en desacuerdo	Ni en desacuerdo ni de acuerdo	Moderadamente de acuerdo	De acuerdo
1) Tony es como la mayoría de los muchachos criados en Puerto Rico	1	2	3	4	5
2) Tony es como la mayoría de los muchachos criados en los Estados Unidos	1	2	3	4	5
3) Yo estaría feliz de tener a Tony como amigo	1	2	3	4	5
4) Tony me disgusta (me cae mal)	1	2	3	4	5
5) Yo creo que Tony sería muy querido en mi escuela	1	2	3	4	5

II. Favor de responder las siguientes preguntas:

A. ¿Cuán frecuente escuchas a otros usar el término "Nuyorican"?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9
 Nunca raramente a veces frecuente Muy frecuente

B. ¿Qué significa el término "Nuyorican" para ti?

C. ¿Cuando alguien dice "ese es un Nuyorican", que quiere decir?

Próxima página por favor...

-8-

AC/O

Favor de responder a las siguientes ideas usando la siguiente escala:

Bien Raramente 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 Casi siempre

- | | Bien
Raramente | Casi
Siempre |
|---|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Los estudiantes de mi escuela me critican | 1---2---3---4---5 | |
| 2. Me siento ignorado, como si los estudiantes de mi escuela no me quieren con ellos. | 1---2---3---4---5 | |
| 3. Los estudiantes de mi escuela parecen respetar mis opiniones. | 1---2---3---4---5 | |
| 4. Los estudiantes de mi escuela parecen que me aprecian. | 1---2---3---4---5 | |
| 5. La mayoría de los estudiantes de mi escuela parecen entender como yo me siento. | 1---2---3---4---5 | |
| 6. Yo critico a los estudiantes de mi escuela. | 1---2---3---4---5 | |
| 7. Yo ignoro a los estudiantes de mi escuela; no quiero estar con ellos. | 1---2---3---4---5 | |
| 8. Yo respeto las opiniones de otros estudiantates de mi escuela. | 1---2---3---4---5 | |
| 9. Yo aprecio a otros estudiantes de mi escuela. | 1---2---3---4---5 | |
| 10. Yo entiendo como otros estudiantes en mi escuela se sienten. | 1---2---3---4---5 | |

Próxima página por favor...

SQ Debajo hay 45 afirmaciones. Favor de describir como tú te has sentido **DURANTE LA SEMANA PASADA** circulando la respuesta apropiada para cada afirmación. No pienses mucho antes de contestar. ¡Responde rápidamente!

Use la siguiente escala:

- 1= En nada
- 2= Pocas veces
- 3= Algunas veces
- 4= Bastante veces
- 5= La mayoría del tiempo
- 6= Todo el tiempo

¿Cómo te has sentido esta semana pasada?

	En nada	Pocas veces	Algunas veces	Bastante veces	La mayoría del tiempo	Todo el tiempo
1. Nervioso/a	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Cansado/a	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Perdías el control facilmente	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. temeroso/a	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Feliz	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Sentías que no valías nada	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Enojado/a	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Te sentías confiado/a	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Te sentías furioso/a	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Te sentías amistoso/a	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Te sentías en paz	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. Sentías que eras un fracaso	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. Sentías odio	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Relajado/a	1	2	3	4	5	6

Próxima página por favor...

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Use la siguiente escala:

- 1= En nada
 2= Pocas veces
 3= Algunas veces
 4= Bastante veces
 5= La mayoría del tiempo
 6= Todo el tiempo

¿Cómo te has sentido esta semana pasada?

	En nada	Pocas veces	Algunas veces	Bastante veces	La mayoría del tiempo	Todo el tiempo
15. No sentías interés por nada	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Paciente	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. Inquieto/a	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Tenías pensamientos de acabar tu vida	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. Irritado/a por otras personas	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. Preocupado/a	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. Optimista sobre el futuro	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. Con deseos de atacar a otros	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. Te sentías con valentía	1	2	3	4	5	6
24. Te sentías inferior a los demas	1	2	3	4	5	6
25. Tardabas en quedarte dormido/a	1	2	3	4	5	6
26. Te sentías inútil	1	2	3	4	5	6
27. Te daban deseos de llorar	1	2	3	4	5	6
28. Me daban coraje facilmente	1	2	3	4	5	6
29. Sentías que algo malo iba a pasar ..	1	2	3	4	5	6
30. Resentido/a	1	2	3	4	5	6

Próxima página por favor...

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PS

Usando la escala debajo, favor de indicar hasta que punto eres diferente o similar a la mayoría de los estudiantes en tu escuela.

Bien diferente 1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7 Bien similar

Cuán diferente o similar tu eres a la mayoría de los estudiantes en tu escuela en:

	Bien diferente	Bien similar
1. La forma en que hablas	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	
2. La forma en que caminas	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	
3. La forma en que vistes	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	
4. Tu estilo de pelo	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	
5. La música que prefieres	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	
6. La forma en que bailas	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	
7. La comida que prefieres	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	
8. Pasatiempos y actividades diarias	1---2---3---4---5---6---7	

Próxima página por favor...

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TR/S

Favor de traducir las siguientes oraciones a español. Si no sabes el significado de alguna palabra, traduzca el resto de la oración.

1. She writes quickly.

Traducción: _____

2. Who called last night?

Traducción: _____

3. The child seems unhappy today.

Traducción: _____

4. The tiger walks quietly through the jungle.

Traducción: _____

Próxima página por favor....

NO ESCRIBA AQUI

	CT	AO	VT	=	ST
1:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	=	<input type="checkbox"/>
2:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	=	<input type="checkbox"/>
3:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	=	<input type="checkbox"/>
4:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	=	<input type="checkbox"/>

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DDQ

Este y todos los cuestionarios en este formulario son anónimos y confidenciales. Por favor no escriba tu nombre en ningun lugar. Estamos interezados en tus respuestas solamente.

Por favor responda las siguientes preguntas

1. Yo soy: Hombre Mujer
2. Mi edad es: ___ años.
3. El ingreso anual de mi familia es de:

<input type="checkbox"/> menor de \$5,999	<input type="checkbox"/> \$18,000- \$21,999
<input type="checkbox"/> \$6,000- \$9,999	<input type="checkbox"/> \$22,000- \$25,999
<input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000- \$13,999	<input type="checkbox"/> \$26,000- \$29,999
<input type="checkbox"/> \$14,000- \$17,999	<input type="checkbox"/> Mayor de \$30,000
4. El tamaño de mi familia es (padre, madre y hermanos/as)
 ___ miembros.
5. Yo estoy en ___ grado de escuela superior.
6. Yo nací en _____ (Estado).
7. Actualmente yo vivo en _____ (Pueblo).
8. Desde mi nacimiento yo he vivido fuera de Puerto Rico por
 ___ años y ___ meses.
9. Desde mi nacimiento, yo he vivido en Puerto Rico por
 ___ años y ___ meses.
10. ¿Por cuanto tiempo has vivido en el continente de EEUU?
 ___ años y ___ meses
11. Actualmente yo vivo en _____ (Pueblo).
12. Yo vine a vivir a Puerto Rico cuando tenía ___ años de edad.
 Siempre he vivido en Puerto Rico
13. En una escala del 1 al 9, ¿Cuán bien hablas inglés?
 Muy mal -1----2----3----4----5----6----7----8----9- Muy bien
14. En una escala del 1 al 9, ¿Cuán bien hablas español?
 Muy mal -1----2----3----4----5----6----7----8----9- Muy bien

Appendix C

**Target adolescents representing the three conditions
of saliency of Nuyorican features**



Photograph chosen as the one that best
represents a typical Nuyorican
(High salient Nuyorican features)



Photograph chosen as neither the best nor the worst
representation of a typical Nuyorican
(Middle salient Nuyorican features)



Photograph chosen as the one that worst
represent a typical Nuyorican
(Low salient Nuyorican features)

Appendix D

Teacher's Evaluation Report

Reporte del maestro/a

Asunto: _____
(Nombre del estudiante)

Maestro/a: _____ [# _____]

Apreciado/a maestro/a:

El estudiante mencionado arriba esta participando en un proyecto investigativo. Estamos interezados en la evaluación del maestro/a sobre el aprovechamiento académico y la conducta de este estudiante. Su cooperación en llenar este formulario será apreciada. Su respuesta es confidencial.

I. GPA: _____

II. Asistencia (indique el numero):

_____ Ausencias.

_____ Tardanzas

III. Relación con sus compañeros

Frecuente A veces Casi nunca

- Frecuente A veces Casi nunca : Pasa el dia solo(a)
 Frecuente A veces Casi nunca : Demuestra liderazgo
 Frecuente A veces Casi nunca : Ayuda o se preocupa por los demás
 Frecuente A veces Casi nunca : Molesta a los demas
 Frecuente A veces Casi nunca : Es agresivo/a físicamente
 Frecuente A veces Casi nunca : Es popular
 Frecuente A veces Casi nunca : Es rechazado por otros

IV. Relación con los/las maestros/as

Frecuente A veces Casi nunca

- Frecuente A veces Casi nunca : Prefiere estar con sus maestros/as
 Frecuente A veces Casi nunca : Es desafiante

V. Conducta general en el salón de clase

Frecuente A veces Casi nunca

- Frecuente A veces Casi nunca : Es responsable con sus asignaciones
 Frecuente A veces Casi nunca : Se concentra y presta atención
 Frecuente A veces Casi nunca : Parece ser feliz
 Frecuente A veces Casi nunca : Destruye el material
 Frecuente A veces Casi nunca : Sigue instrucciones

VI. Comentarios: _____

Gracias por su tiempo y cooperación.

Appendix E

English translation of the
Teacher's Evaluation Report

Teacher's Report Form

RE: _____
(Student's name)

Teacher: _____ [#]

Dear Teacher:

The above listed student is participating in a research project. We are interested in his/her academic performance and behavior from your point of view. Your cooperation in completing this form will be greatly appreciated. Your answers will be kept confidential.

I. GPA: _____

II. Attendance (indicate number):

_____ Absences

_____ Lateness

III. Relationship with peers

Usually Sometimes Rarely

- Usually Sometimes Rarely: Isolates self
- Usually Sometimes Rarely: Shows leadership
- Usually Sometimes Rarely: Helps others or shows concern
- Usually Sometimes Rarely: Teases others
- Usually Sometimes Rarely: Is physically aggressive to others
- Usually Sometimes Rarely: Is popular
- Usually Sometimes Rarely: Is rejected by others

IV. Relationship with teachers

Usually Sometimes Rarely

- Usually Sometimes Rarely: Stays with teachers
- Usually Sometimes Rarely: Is defiant

V. General classroom behavior

Usually Sometimes Rarely

- Usually Sometimes Rarely: Is responsible about homework
- Usually Sometimes Rarely: Concentrates, pay attention
- Usually Sometimes Rarely: Seems happy
- Usually Sometimes Rarely: Is destructive toward material
- Usually Sometimes Rarely: Follows rules

V. Comments: _____

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

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