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BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: MAINLAND PUERTO RICAN YOUTH
SOME CORRELATES OF ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

A Thesis Presented
By
NYDIA I. SANTIAGO NAZARIO

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Psychology Department
BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: MAINLAND PUERTO RICAN YOUTH
SOME CORRELATES OF ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

Para mis padres -------

por el amor que han compartido conmigo
el apoyo que siempre me han dado,
el ejemplo de humildad y sinceridad que me brindaron
todos sus sacrificios que han logrado esta obra

los abrazo con mi cariño y amor

A mi pueblo -------

aplastado por la opresión,

le entrego esta arma de lucha.*

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The term "alienation" is in widespread use today among psychologists and sociologists to define the estrangement of adolescents within our society. In spite of the considerable literature focusing on American adolescents and the dilemmas they encounter (creating the alienation syndrome) no research has been initiated assessing the situation of Puerto Rican youth on the mainland (United States).

The general consensus regarding alienated youth is that an incongruity among certain cultural and familial factors, as well as societal forces combine to produce conflicts during adolescence. The literature abounds with similarities in the case of alienation amongst adolescents but the author was unable to find any which addressed the unique cultural differences which exemplify the situation of Puerto Rican youth on the mainland. One possible reason for the dearth in the literature may be that Puerto Ricans as a group are relative newcomers. Thus, the Puerto Rican adolescent population has received little attention with regards to their adjustment to the North American culture. Research leading to a recognition of the academic problems of Puerto Rican youth as a result of migration and research on the skills needed for the adjustment of these youngesters has established a foundation for more research about ethnic identity and cultural values.

In addition to surmounting the hurdles of adolescence--the transi-
tions from one series of roles, from one social identity to another--Puerto Rican youth also struggle with the stresses of biculturality. These adolescents are not only in transition from one age-defined social status to another but also in transition from the social world of their parental culture of origin--a socially defined minority world--to that of the surrounding dominant United States society. Many of the problems faced by Puerto Rico as a colony of the United States are also found and magnified in the American metropolis: the question of identity, the problem of language, and the achievement of political power. The colonization of Puerto Rico under the United States rule has meant a gradual erosion of the culture and the slow but persistent erosion of the Puerto Rican's sense of identity.

The author presents the concept of alienation and its effects on Puerto Rican adolescents through a psycho-socio-historical perspective. Alienation of Puerto Rican youth was viewed as stemming from: 1) the historical colonization of Puerto Ricans as it affects their cultural identity, 2) the effects of migration, i.e., the situation of the Puerto Rican adolescent on the mainland. The migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland is a phenomenon that must be seen within its historical context in order to fully understand the application of the term, "alienation," which the author proposes is an integral part of the Puerto Rican adolescent's psycho-dynamic sphere. It is necessary to examine factors which contributed to the unique historical conditions which place the Puerto Rican adolescent on the mainland through his/her parents' migration. The present study is an investigation of reports of alienation among Puerto Rican adolescents on the mainland in relation to different
aspects of their lives.

The author's intent is not to examine all of the variables which contribute to the situation of the mainland Puerto Rican adolescent, but to explore alienation in conjunction with the variable ethnic identification among Puerto Rican adolescents.

Cultural Background

Puerto Rico is an island at the eastern end of the Caribbean Sea, 1,000 miles southeast of Florida. It is a small island, 100 miles from east to west and 35 miles from north to south. It is part of an elongated cluster of 7,000 tropical islands of varying shapes and sizes known as the West Indies.

The Island was sighted and claimed for Spain by Christopher Columbus, during his second voyage, on November 19, 1493. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Arawak Indians occupied the island. The Arawak name of "Boriquen" is still fondly applied by the islanders to describe themselves and their island. The national anthem of Puerto Rico is entitled, "La Boriquena."

In 1508, a Spanish colony was established by Juan Ponce de Leon. He named the island, San Juan Bautista and named a port on the northern coast Porto Rico. In later years, the names were reversed, the island was known as Puerto Rico and the port city, San Juan. Following the establishment of the colony several uprisings took place by the Indians in the hopes of regaining their island and dissolving their exploitation by the Spaniards. Through the ensuing battles the Indian population was nearly exterminated. For nearly four hundred years, it remained a
stronghold possession in the Caribbean for the Spaniards. The island was attacked on several occasions by other European nationals due to its excellent strategic location in the Caribbean Sea. Then in the early part of the century, Spain's stronghold over various territories began to weaken and consequently lost almost all of her Latin American colonies. Meanwhile, on the island, the "Nacionalistas" had gained some power and political gains. In 1897, Spain granted a charter of autonomy to Puerto Rico. The charter gave Puerto Rico a substantial degree of home rule, and was the most liberal political status ever attained by the island in its history. But the rejoicing was premature, the new autonomous government convened for the first time on February 11, 1898. No sooner had the voices been raised to exalt the new government were arms being taken up on North American soil. War was declared on April 25. Six days later, Admiral George Dewey crushed the Spanish fleet at Manila; Santiago in Cuba was surrendered to American troops on July 3. The Americans landed on Puerto Rico's southern shore by way of Guanica on July 25 and it was surrendered by Spain on October 18. The Treaty of Paris on December 10 released Cuba from Spain, surrendered the Philippines to the United States for $20 million and ceded Guam and Puerto Rico "as compensation for the losses and expenses occassioned...by the war." Thus, accounting for the loss of Puerto Rico as a mere pawn in the United States power struggle. The Puerto Rican people had no representation in the Treaty of Paris negotiations. The fledgling autonomous government was stripped of its powers, and the island came under military rule.

Prior to the establishment of the United States rule in December, a
proclamation had been issued by General Miles (1898) explaining the plans for Puerto Rico:

"In the prosecution of the war against the Kingdom of Spain, the people of the United States in the cause of liberty, justice, and humanity, its military forces have come to occupy the Island of Porto Rico. They come bearing the banners of freedom. . .
... fostering arm of a nation of free people, whose greatest power is in justice and humanity to all those living within its fold.

The chief object of the American military forces will be to overthrow the armed authority of Spain and to give to the people of your beautiful island the largest measure of liberties consistent with this military occupation. We have not come to make war against a people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed, but on the contrary, to bring you protection, not only to yourselves but to your property. . . . This is not a war of devastation, but one to give all within the control of its military and naval forces the advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization."

The bestowed blessings of enlightened civilization were no more than the despotic North American colonialism and economic imperialism. The hopes of the people had been raised just long enough to establish the new regime. Mariano Abril (1892) in his address to his fellow countrymen encapsulated the destiny of the Puerto Rican people.

"To believe that the Yankees will grant us all their freedoms and all their progress just for our pretty faces is nonsense. Yes, they would grant us those liberties which they judge to be adequate, in exchange for guaranteed and ample exploitation. Yes, we would have elevated trains crossing our streets; big, beautiful ports, with jetties and docks; bigger factories and commerce than ever before; but all of this in their hands; taken over and exploited by them; because all those things are not achieved without large amounts of capital, which would be Yankee capital, because there is nothing here to support such enterprises. And after a few years industry, commerce, and even our agriculture, would be monopolized by the Yankees, and the Antillean would be reduced to the condition of miserable tenant farmer, without a homeland, without a home, and without fortune. . . . And, as for liberties, we
would have a Yankee army, a Yankee navy, a Yankee police, and Yankee courts, because they would need all of this to protect their interests. And this and beautiful Castilian would disappear from our lips to be substituted for by the cold, barren English language. . . ."

His words were the prophecy which would be enacted in the preceding history of Puerto Rico as a colony of the United States. Despite the despair, frustration and subsequent pleas of the islanders to regain autonomous control the United States government forged ahead. The attempts were viewed as futile and the United States as a father who reprimands his children called them ungrateful. President Taft had the following comments to make regarding the pleas of the islanders:

"In the desire of certain of their leaders for political power Puerto Ricans have forgotten the generosity of the United States in its dealings with them. . . .the present development is only an indication that we have gone somewhat too fast in the extension of political power to them for their own good."

The islanders continued their struggle in the hopes of achieving home rule. Instead the United States gave Puerto Rico a choice--a choice to give up their own citizenship and take on that of the North Americans or reject it. However upon rejection of the American citizenship they would not be able to vote or hold offices on the island, thus becoming aliens in their own country. The choice having been made clear was ratified in Congress in 1917 through the Jones Act. The Puerto Ricans were now American citizens. Puerto Rican leaders persisted in their demands for complete autonomy or their request that Puerto Rico become a state in the Union. Some leaders believed Americanization could resolve the dilemma that permeated the lives of the Puerto Rican
people. But there were some leaders such as Luis Munoz Marin (1929), who believed this conflict could not be resolved so easily.

"Will this ever come about? Will the island retain its historical personality? An unqualified answer to either of these questions would necessarily fall short of the possibilities. Perhaps a more absurd fate is in store for us. Perhaps we are destined to be neither Puerto Ricans nor Americans, but merely puppets of a mongrel state of mind, susceptible to American thinking and proud of Latin thought subservient to American living and worshipful of the ancestral way of life. Perhaps we are to discuss Cervantes and eat pork and beans in the Child's restaurant that must be opened sooner or later. Perhaps we are going to a singularly fantastic and painless hell in our sweet way. Perhaps all this is nothing but a foretaste of Pan-Americanism."

The prophecy on which rested Puerto Rico's destiny became a reality. On July 25, 1952, 54 years after the American troops marched on Puerto Rican soil, Puerto Rico became a Free-Associated State and entered into its present status as Commonwealth. The liberties granted by the United States were paid for through the exploitation of the natural resources on the island. Commercial relations between the United States and Puerto Rico increased rapidly, and the island became an important overseas market of the United States. Simultaneously there was a growing concentration of agricultural property in the hands of the United States corporations, followed by the creation of cash-crop, plantation-style economy whose life-line was sugar. This led to the creation of a large rural proletariat.

The years between the 50's and the present have brought about many changes in the Puerto Rican reality. From the United States, Puerto Rico was not viewed as the "patria" (homeland) of nearly one million people with a distinct culture and nationality, but as a tract of trop-
ical "real estate"; a fine naval station with a "commanding position between the two continents"; the "real gem of the Antilles"; with "prolific" soil and an "exceptionally salubrious climate" and a "charming winter resort."

In the first four decades after Puerto Rico became a colonial possession of the United States, the island underwent a dramatic, often painful, transformation. Roads and bridges were built and new schools opened; Puerto Rico's first university was established, and improvements were made in health and sanitation facilities. As United States citizens, thousands of young Puerto Ricans were taken into the Armed Forces.

Soon after the arrival of the American troops came the American schoolteachers. The military government set up a bureau of education and ruled that all children from six to eighteen years of age were entitled to free education. The first United States Commissioner of Education in Puerto Rico reported with pride that because of his efforts the average Puerto Rican child knew more about Washington, Lincoln, and Betsy Ross, than the mainland child. Furthermore, since Puerto Rico was now a United States possession, the only "logical" thing to do was conduct all classes in the English language. Such were the atrocities committed on an island that had spoken Spanish for over four hundred years. Classes were to be conducted by teachers speaking English. The core of former teachers on the island were not allowed to go on teaching their classes in Spanish but they had to learn English and teach with it. For more than thirty years, Spanish and English were alternated as teaching vehicles, the result was confusion. Finally, in 1948, the island's de-
partment of education made Spanish the language of instruction with English taught throughout the educational system. Today the teaching of English begins in pre-school, kindergarten and is intensified from the fourth grade on.

Vestiges of colonialism have been seen in (1) the Puerto Rican educational system that had not emphasized the study of Puerto Rican history and culture until recently; (2) in the protest of national Puerto Rican leaders; and (3) the analysis of the progress of Puerto Rico as seen through the writings of American researchers who highlighted its involvement with the United States (Brameld, 1959; Lewis, 1956; Nieves-Falco, 1975). A cultural clash has been acknowledged by both Puerto Rican and American researchers as well as the island's confused social and political situation (Mills et al., 1950; Steward, 1953; Mendez, 1956).

In the post-war period, the population of Puerto Rico continued to increase rapidly and efforts were begun to industrialize the island. Operation Bootstrap brought profits to the United States investors but left untouched the misery of the majority of Puerto Rico's islanders. In fact, by limiting the development of the island's economy and forcing continual dependence on the United States, Operation Bootstrap deepened the cycle of poverty in Puerto Rico. The new program was a perfect example of imperialism, guaranteeing tax-free investment to United States firms, cheap labor and tax "holidays" of ten to fifteen years. Bootstrap was acclaimed as the "miracle of the Caribbean" and "Showcase of Development" (Meyerson, 1970).

On the other hand, on the United States mainland, there was a
shortage of labor and wages were rising. The imbalance, plus the availability of cheap air transportation between Puerto Rico and the mainland, and the policy of the Puerto Rican government to encourage emigration as a means of alleviating the "surplus" population explain, in large part, the exodus of Puerto Ricans in the post-war decade.

Migration

In researching the writings concerning migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States, we find three types of analysis. The first of these studies and interpretive writings are the works issued by the Puerto Rican Planning Board and the Migration Division of the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico. Clarence Senior was the dominant figure in the earlier investigations on migration and instrumental in his efforts to convert the concept of migration to an instrument of policy in the planning of economic development in Puerto Rico. Dr. Senior assessed the stages of migration from its conception and massive colonization projects from 1946, through 1966 when the status Commission sought an overall assessment. A second group of writings tends to treat the appearance and experience of Puerto Ricans on the mainland as just another wave in the steady process of incorporating newly arrived minorities into the United States society. The works of Fitzpatrick (1971), Handlin (1959), and Wakefield (1959) tend to reflect this current interpretation. The third and perhaps the most important are the contributions being made by Puerto Rican scholars, demographers such as Maldonado-Denis (1976), Nieves-Falcon (1975), Vazquez-Calzada (1974), and Hernandez-Alvarez (1967), who have been questioning the official version of the
events and documenting the destructive effects of migration on the Puerto Rican society and on the persons displaced from their "patria."

In a recent study undertaken by the Center of Puerto Rican Studies (1974) on migration the following components for justifying the formulations for the origins and dynamics of the population exodus were outlined.

1) Puerto Rico had a problem of overpopulation. Poverty, unemployment, and retarded developments were the consequences of the adverse balance between resources and population. Migration was a necessary means to attain a new impulse of growth and production in order to arrive at a new equilibrium at a level comparable at least to that of the poorest regions of the United States. At that point migration was projected to cease.

2) Migration was a rational process. It is the better qualified individuals, those with initiative and imagination, who chose to transfer to places which offered better employment opportunities and material conditions. The correlation exists between the movement of migrants and improvements in the economic situation in the United States to where the unfavorable situation on the island is a constant and there is consistent exodus of Puerto Ricans.

3) The policy of the government of Puerto Rico is not directly to promote migration, but to provide information, orientation and legal protection of the migrant thus ensuring a successful change of residence (succinct interpretation of rapid adapta-
tion and permanent settlement away from Puerto Rico).

4) The United States benefits by successfully providing a work force in its lower ranks and provides benefits for the impoverished people from an underprivileged country. Since Puerto Ricans are United States citizens, North Americans do not have to view them with the prejudice, hatred and distrust with which they have always received incoming foreigners. But the difficulty arises when Puerto Ricans are not only viewed as foreigners because of their language but as blacks or seen as non-whites because of their racial differences.

After thirty-five years of consistent exodus some dissonance has begun to penetrate the rationale for the dynamics of migration. The Center (1974) also concluded the following findings:

1) The escape valve originally planned for overpopulation has backfired! There has been in the recent years a significant number of migrants returning with their children born and raised, in part acculturated, in the United States. This has raised a good deal of concern.

2) There are questions being raised regarding the basis and morality of migration policy in view of the poor results both in Puerto Rico and the United States.

3) The systematic dispersion of the migrants to the United States outside of New York is being proposed as a solution to the process of assimilation and as a way of minimizing the danger of potential return migrants.

The term "migration" has been traditionally used to imply the move-
ment of residence of individuals. Puerto Rican migration carries the connotation of a massive move of Puerto Ricans from the island of Puerto Rico to other places, especially the United States and particularly New York.

Maldonado-Denis (1975) applies the use of the term "emigration" instead of the term "migration" when addressing the exodus of Puerto Ricans to the United States. He applies the following:

Puerto Rico is a Latin American nation subjected to North American colonization since 1898. In spite of the fact that we Puerto Ricans were declared United States citizens in 1917 (over the opposition of the Puerto Rican leaders at the time), to accept exodus towards the United States as a simple "internal migration" would be tantamount to accepting the fact that Puerto Rico is an already integral and indissoluble part of the North American Union. The concept of "migration" has been used as an ideological weapon by the defenders of the colonialism suffered by the Puerto Ricans.

The author believes the use of the concept of "emigration" applied to the exodus of Puerto Ricans can also create the interpretation of their presence on the mainland as aliens to the United States government. Therefore the author will revert to using the term "migration" in discussing the movement of Puerto Ricans to the mainland United States.

A closer examination at the movement of migration will afford the foundation necessary for the overall assessment. A historical review reveals that migration occurred at least in two massive cycles, the latter with its concentric cycle of seasonal migration. The first covers the period from 1900-1945, while the second corresponds to the period subsequent to 1945.

Nieves-Falcon (1975) outlines the four phases in the first cycle:
voluntary transfer of individuals to indeterminant parts of the United States. This was followed by government induced movements to the cane fields of Hawaii and southwestern areas of the United States, particularly Arizona. The third phase was set off by officially endorsed relocation of Puerto Ricans in various Latin American countries. Finally there was the displacement of Puerto Ricans from Vieques and Culebra to the Virgin Islands. While some of these people moved out on their own accord, they were nevertheless drawn into the tragic drama which was evoked by the very name given at the time to the government sponsored migrations--"las expediciones."¹ During this period, it became official policy to stimulate and facilitate migration. Efforts were directed at relocating Puerto Ricans in Cuba, Mexico, the Dominican Republic and other countries. These efforts were no doubt part of a policy to weed out Puerto Ricans from the island. However, there were, as there continue to exist, recognizable characteristics in the conditions of the migrant who in the very process of transferring ethnically differentiated individuals to culturally different environments for work purposes is inhuman and unjust (Rodriquez, 1974). These characteristics are the mainspring of the process of exploitation and the shifted getting caught in its stream, inevitably suffering disillusionment, humiliation, and degradation (Nieves-Falcon, 1975).

The question for economic opportunity was the catalytic element that drove hundreds of Puerto Ricans to migrate. The "jibaro"² without

¹"Las expediciones" means the expeditions.
²"Jibaro" means countryside folk.
means tended first to make his way to the island's capital, San Juan. There he joined others in a pool of unskilled laborers working for low wages. The women supplemented the income with needlework. Unemployment was chronic and steadily rose seasonally to alarmingly high levels. While the unemployed were immobilized by their poverty, the pressure of labor surplus enticed and created among those with some means of ambition, the opportunity for the islanders to migrate (Chenault, 1956; Mills, 1959; Handlin, 1959).

The dearth of data on the motivation of Puerto Ricans who come to the United States is surprising, especially in light of the sizeable literature on the Puerto Rican migration to the United States. The 1948 Mills study is the only comprehensive survey of the attitudes of Puerto Rican migrants on the mainland. The data demonstrate conclusively the primacy of economic motivations as a factor in migrating to the United States. The second major reason for migrating was the family situation. The study notes that the migrants either were drawn to New York by relatives already settled there or less often they "wanted to escape or avoid family situations on the island." Expressions were commonly as follows: "was not making enough to support the family, was looking for a better paying job, did not have a job, no opportunity on the island, hoped to make money and return to Puerto Rico." Family-related reasons were expressed as: "husband sent for me, we (husband and wife) decided to come to visit family and settled, had family problems, wanted to marry, wanted better education for the children" (Center for Puerto Rican Studies, 1974).

Various shifts in the demographic characteristics have been noted,
particularly as regards to sex (more males than females), age (young rather than older adults) and occupational background (skilled rather than unskilled). The group of 204 migrants in the 1974 study showed a marked geographical stability while in Puerto Rico contrary to the typical second-time migrant, they had not passed from rural settings to the metropolitan San Juan area but came directly from the small towns in the island where they were born and raised.

Why do Puerto Ricans come to the mainland to face prejudice and discrimination? The answer lies in the colonial ties the island has with the United States. Those who cannot find jobs in Puerto Rico are forced to migrate. As a result, those who migrate have limited education, skills, etc.--to sum it up, they are the poor who cannot survive in the exploited colony. The assimilation of Puerto Ricans to the mainland culture appears difficult, perhaps even impossible. There are strong ties between the "boricuas" (islanders) on the mainland and those on the island. For this reason, a constant transportation exists between the island and the United States, a "psychological wish to be on the homeland" (Nieves-Falcon, 1975).

Alienation

Alienation from a psychodynamic perspective has been viewed as rooted in the individual's developmental history with origins in early experiences such as separation anxiety (Rank, 1929), loss of relatedness (Fromm, 1941) or basic mistrust (Erickson, 1959). The psychological syndrome of alienation consists of the following variables: powerlessness, meaninglessness, self-estrangement, value-rejection, confusion,
social alienation, anomia (personal anomie), and depression.

The concept is a pervasive theme in the literature and there is no universal agreement on its definition. Sociologically the concept has been used to describe various psycho-social conflicts which are related to some societal dysfunction (Durkheim, 1953; Merton, 1957; Lemert, 1964). Culture conflict and social change have been regarded as major determinants of alienation. Critical analyses have been presented of modern industrial society in which alienation has been viewed through both conformity and deviation (Adorno et al., 1950; Fromm, 1955; Jaco, 1950; Marx, 1932; Reisman, 1953). Several studies have directly investigated the relationship between authoritarianism and alienation (Dean, 1961; Roberts and Rokeach, 1956; Srole, 1951). Alienation has been presented in relation to man being detached from his own nature and the world as a consequence of socialization.

The alienation literature indicates that differential levels of alienation are experienced between groups judged to be dissimilar according to specific demographic variables. Important factors include socioeconomic status, degree of perceived or real opportunity, race, location (rural or urban), and level of aspiration (Meir and Bell, 1959; Rhodes, 1964). There are those theories and studies which differentiate between the adolescent who expresses his/her alienation in terms of complete withdrawal and apathy (McConville and Boag, 1973; Anthony, 1970; Solnit et al., 1969) or open deviance and destructiveness (Jaffe, 1964; Marwell, 1966; Gold, 1969).

The author believes alienation is a phenomenon which permeates the lives of Puerto Rican adolescents because of their status as "displaced
strangers" in the American urban societies. Puerto Ricans often find themselves faced with the rejection of other minority groups, judged by other Puerto Ricans, criticized by other Spanish-speaking groups and ignored by whites. Another area which exacerbates the problems which Puerto Rican adolescents encounter is the need to acquire a second language. Some educational programs intended to strengthen the components of cultural identification are, in fact, geared to increase the rate of assimilation into the American culture—primarily by means of language acquisition. Frantz Fanon (1963) has pointed out that the essential goal of any colonial regime is the cultural assimilation of the colonized people. He further states colonialism creates in the minds of the colonized people a sense of inferiority, a feeling of impotence and self-destruction, as a desire to negate themselves by becoming more like the colonialist. Accordingly one of the responses to colonialism may be not liberation but submission to the colonizer, assimilation, not the struggle for identity. Maldonando-Denis (1969) stated that the price a Puerto Rican youth often pays for his assimilation is the cost of his emotional impairment.

As mentioned earlier the author believes that language often creates a situation for the Puerto Rican family in which the adolescent encounters the phenomenon of alienation. A frequent phenomenon among Puerto Rican families is the bilingual family in which the children and their parents converse in two different languages: parents address the children in Spanish and the children answer in English. The fact that children often times adapt to the language and habits of the new culture faster than their parents has many psychological implications. Among
other things, it may reinforce their questioning of the authority of the parents. It may also make the parents dependent on the adolescents for contacts in the outside community. This role reversal may take place and burden the adolescent with the responsibility of surrogate parent for the uprooted parents. This conflict involves the individual's assumption of roles and values that are alien to the parents' traditions and values. He and his parents no longer share the same world. Often times this results in serious communication gaps, not only with parents and grandparents but with the whole ethos of their ancestry. He may be compared with the "marginal man" who has one foot in the majority world and one in his own but does not feel completely accepted by or comfortable in either (Brody, 1968). Lewin (1948) has stated that the marginal man by virtue of his transitory condition and ambiguous status suffers from "uncertainty of belongingness."

Ethnic Identification

The relevance of cultural identity to the migration problem is of special significance since lack of cultural identity has been linked to poor mental health (Cohen, 1970; Fitzpatrick, 1971; Padilla, 1971). The issue of ethnic identity is very closely related to "culture." Even though some question the existence of an actual Puerto Rican identification or "national culture" the problem of identity has been explored from the perspectives of history, along with ample data in regards to migration from Puerto Rico and return migration to Puerto Rico.

The process of uprooting leads to three kinds of adjustments (Babin, 1971). The first involves escape from the migrant group and an ef-
fort to become as much like the established community as possible in as short a time as possible. These people seek to disassociate themselves from their past. They sometimes change their names, they change their reference groups and seek to be accepted by the larger society. Occasionally a Puerto Rican obtains a white collar job or succeeds in a profession, often times these individuals will disappear into the suburbs or into "respectable" and "safe" neighborhoods, sometimes passing as "Spaniards" in order to avoid being labeled Puerto Rican by those into whose community they move. But the latter is not the case of all Puerto Ricans, only those whose identity is affected through the process of uprooting. These individuals are in great danger of becoming marginal.

Having abandoned the way of life of their own people in which they had a sense of "who they were," there is no assurance that they will be accepted by the larger community. They may find themselves in a "no man's land of culture." In this stage, the danger of personal frustration is acute.

A second reaction is withdrawal into the old culture, a resistance to the new way of life. These people seek to retain the older identities by locking themselves into the old ways of life.

The third reaction is the effort to build a cultural bridge between the culture of the island and that of the mainland. They seek to establish themselves in the new society but continue to identify themselves with the people from whom they came.

Serious problems can arise when the individual tries to adapt to an alien culture. His self-esteem is strongly influenced through interactions with representatives of the alien social system--and he has to
develop coping mechanisms to master these adaptational crises. On the mainland, Puerto Ricans are readily stereotyped by Anglos who cannot, and in many instances do not want to, understand them. They are confronted with prejudice, discrimination, rejection and alienation. They are often a minority within the ethnic minorities of the United States.

Wherever Puerto Ricans have settled they have found themselves sharing the poverty and degradation of ghetto life with Blacks. Puerto Rican ghetto life became for many a dream turned into a nightmare; cold winters in unheated roach-infested apartments, decaying and overcrowded buildings, broken families, small children bitten by rats, unsympathetic and insulting welfare case workers, and young men and women driven by their surroundings to crime and drug addiction. The burden of poverty, along with the experience of culture shock were among the experiences faced by individuals and families who tried to adapt to the urban environment where they encountered linguistic and cultural barriers (Reisman, 1964; Cohen, 1970). These individuals suffer from discriminatory practices limiting their access to adequate housing, employment, and full educational opportunities. The greatest complexity of the adjustment lies largely in the social sphere. Mead (1955) has stated that under situations of stress and strain, of rapid change and consequent disorientation there is likely to be an increase in manifest ill health.

Migration among members of minority groups has often been considered to have an extremely disruptive effect on the individual's links with family, friends, and historical roots, to the point of behavioral disorganization (Brody, 1968). Migration often produces various types of disruptions in the social and cultural systems. Out of the strains and
tensions there results possible personality disintegration. One of the
first consequences of migration for the individual is the destruction of
his system of social relations. "The result," according to Maldonado-
Denis (1972), "is the phenomenon of alienation; a feeling of impotence
and fatalism in the face of the surrounding world." Many Puerto Ricans
face psychological and sociological problems as they migrate to the
mainland and they try to rebuild their lives (Cohen, 1970; Tannenbaum,
1955). The following excerpt from Stan Steiner's "The Islands" (1974)
portrays the conflict faced by Puerto Rican adolescents.

"When I was thirteen, we came here [to Chicago]. At thirteen
I grew up, I had to. I grew up very angry at thirteen, I
would come home from school, throw my books on the floor, bang
things around. I didn't know where this bitterness came from.
Except I knew that these streets, the concrete, the people
around me, weren't part of me at all. My roots were not in
this, in these Yankee institutions that were destroying me.
So I was angry, I was being torn up inside I was an American
on the outside, but on the inside I was still a Puerto Rican"  
(p. 438).

Purpose of Study and Hypotheses
The central purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship
between the cultural experience of Puerto Rican youth to variables
of ethnic identification and alienation. The major independent variable, cultural experiences, is necessarily quite complex and requires considerable elaboration and clarification. The major components in defining the variable will include an assessment of:

1) length of time (proportion of time) in Puerto Rico and the
   United States;
2) place of birth (Puerto Rico or the United States);
3) residence (i.e., Puerto Rico or the United States) during certain critical age periods; and
4) number of grades of school completed in Puerto Rico and the United States (i.e., relative proportion of education in the two cultures).

Based on these factors a general typology will be constructed which will describe groups within the sample in terms of the several aspects of cultural experience. These typologies (i.e., categories) will allow an analysis of the cultural heterogeneity and range of ethnic identity. The individuals will be placed on a continuum ranging from High Puerto Rican typology to High American typology. From the perspective of the larger project, a focus would be to ascertain the extent to which Puerto Rican adolescents in the various typology categories experience alienation as a product of their cultural experience.

The typologies are as follows:

Typology A--High Puerto Rican Identity. Those students who were born in Puerto Rico (or moved from the mainland within the first four years of life) and whose education has included at least half of their education in Puerto Rico.

Typology B--Mixed Identity. Those students who were either born on the mainland or Puerto Rico and have experienced migration to or from Puerto Rico or the mainland and whose education has been in proportion to their residence in Puerto Rico and the mainland.

Typology C--High American Identity. Those students who were born on the mainland (or moved from Puerto Rico within the first
four years of life) and whose education has been entirely on
the mainland.

It was hypothesized that: 1) Puerto Rican youths in the High
Puerto Rican typology would have a stronger identification with and
preference for symbols of Puerto Rican ethnic background; 2) Puerto
Rican youths in the mixed typology would readily identify with expres-
sions and symbols of both the Puerto Rican and American cultural back-
ground; and 3) Puerto Rican youths in the High American typology would
have the least identification with and preferences for symbols of Puerto
Rican ethnic background. No differences were expected due to grade or
sex of participants.

The second section of this study attempted to measure feelings of
alienation within different aspects of the Puerto Rican adolescents' life. The areas were as follows: general alienation, self-alienation, family, peers, community, social agencies, school, education, work and the white world as described in Turner's Alienation Index Inventory Scale (1975). It was hypothesized that Puerto Rican adolescents in the Mixed typology would be reporting more alienation in general than those in the High Puerto Rican or High American typologies. The contention
would be that these individuals would be subject to greater psychologic-
al stress, cultural alienation and marginality because of the fluctua-
tions in residence and education and perhaps due to an absence of famili-
arial and community resources.

The literature indicates that there have been more reports of ali-
encion experienced by males than females. It was further hypothesized,
therefore, that Puerto Rican males would report more feelings of es-
trangement than Puerto Rican females in general.

Finally it was hypothesized that Puerto Rican students at the intermediate level would be reporting more feelings of estrangement in general than the Puerto Rican students at the secondary school level.
CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

The sample studied, which was drawn from intermediate and secondary level schools in Western Massachusetts, consisted of 276 interviewees. The sample was comprised of Puerto Rican adolescents: 132 males and 143 females. The students were enrolled in either the bilingual or English dominant programs at the various schools. The interviewees ranged in age from 12 to 21 years old and were enrolled in the seventh through twelfth grades. Respondents were selected in a survey conducted at the various schools to constitute the sample for the data collection.

The subject selection procedure was as follows: (1) initial contact was made with the Superintendent of the public school system; and the experimenter (a bilingual, Puerto Rican, female graduate student) secured permission to request student participation at the various schools. (2) The experimenter presented a written consent statement from the Superintendent to the principals at the various schools, who then made arrangements to excuse students from two class periods to participate in the study. (3) The sampling procedure involved the identification of Puerto Rican adolescents at the various schools. In order to select only Puerto Rican students for participation, the experimenter made a request to the Bilingual Director and the Director of Guidance whereby the hispanic counselors were instructed to conduct a survey to
identify the adolescents of Puerto Rican ethnic background. (4) Prior to the administration of the questionnaire, the experimenter made arrangements to secure permission from the subject's parents as stipulated by the Psychology Department Human Subjects Committee for their child's participation in the study. The parents have primary responsibility for activities that their children participate in, therefore it was necessary to convey to them the nature and possible effects of the study upon their children. To expedite the process of securing parental consent the experimenter often times visited the homes of various students to insure maximum return of the parental consent forms. There was often quite a delay in the response from parents due to students loosing, misplacing or forgetting to return the consent forms. Due to the various factors involved in this process the administration of the questionnaires was delayed approximately three to four weeks. (5) The experimenter made arrangements with the various principals to: (a) notify the various classroom instructors of the schedule for the administration of the questionnaires, (b) contact the students to report at a designated time and location for their participation in the study, and (c) administer the questionnaire to the students in the bilingual program in their respective classrooms and in the school cafeteria to students in the English dominant program.

The various personnel, i.e., principals, teachers, counselors, involved in this process were very cooperative in making the necessary arrangements. On several occasions due to inadequate scheduling of school activities, i.e., exams, auditorium speakers, or due to unexpected emergencies, i.e., fire drills, the experimenter found it necessary to post-
pone the administration of the questionnaires to a later date.

Data Collection

During recruitment the subjects were told that the purpose of the study was to survey attitudes and opinions among Puerto Rican students in junior and senior high school. Prior to the administration of the questionnaire the experimenter secured the appropriate consent statements as requested by the Psychology Department Human Subjects Committee. The consent took form as follows: (1) written consent by the individual parents (see Appendix C), and (2) written consent from the individual participant (see Appendix E).

Following this, the study was conducted in group sessions of 15 students who were administered a questionnaire during two consecutive class periods. The completion of the questionnaire took approximately 90 minutes. The subjects were asked to work independently. The order of presentation of the scales were as follows: the Alienation Index Inventory Scale (AI) (see Appendix G), personal information sheet (biographical and demographic), and the Ethnic Identification Scale (see Appendix G). The experimenter did not attend class periods in which the course content dealt with Puerto Rican history and culture so as to not bias the students' answers on the ethnic identification scale. The students made note of their answers in the questionnaire booklet provided by the experimenter.

After the completion of the data collection at the various schools, the experimenter shared with the students the specific purpose of the study: to explore the relationship between cultural experiences of
Puerto Rican adolescents to variables of ethnic identification and alienation. The concept of alienation was explained due to the unfamiliarity of the term and its usage by the students.

**Measures**

**Personal data sheet.** A personal data sheet was used to collect the information necessary to determine the typologies of the sample population (see Appendix G). Basic biographical data were requested of the subjects such as age, sex, place of birth and educational background both in Puerto Rico and the mainland, United States.

**Alienation Index Inventory Scale.** The second part of the questionnaire consisted of Turner's (1975) Alienation Index Inventory Scale (AII) (see Appendix G). The scale indicates the extent to which an individual feels that his/her values are consistent with those of various groups in his/her sociosphere. The measure taps into feelings of estrangement or disengagement with respect to different aspects of his/her life. The scale contains nine subtests encompassing the various aspects of the alienation concept. For the present investigation some changes were introduced in the AII scale: questions were phrased so that the content was appropriate to the age group of interest and the adaptation addressed itself to "Puerto Ricans" rather than "Black-Americans." The nine, five-item subscales as defined by Turner (1975) are as follows:

1) General alienation core concept: ...assess feelings of hopelessness and normlessness, as well as feelings of estrangement from the society at large,

2) Self-alienation core: ...the degree to which an individual
perceives his/her behavior or himself/herself as ego alien,

3) Alienation from family core: ...degree to which an individual perceives the family as making negative to neutral judgments about his/her behavior and about himself/herself as a person,

4) Alienation from peers core: ...degree of involvement and perception of common values,

5) Alienation from community core: ...degree to which an individual perceives the community (or neighborhood) as an unfriendly place or as having values, which are foreign to his/her own.

6) Alienation from social agencies: ...extent to which an individual feels that formal community agencies represent his/her interests and values,

6) Alienation from school and education core: ...degree to which an individual sees education as having meaning and importance to himself/herself or to his/her future,

8) Alienation from work core: ...degree to which a) working as such is something which an individual sees as positive, b) an individual feels that he/she will be appropriately rewarded, and c) working satisfies both primary and secondary needs, and

9) Alienation from white world core: This subtest has been adapted to focus on the Puerto Rican in the white society in terms of "general alienation." The Srole alienation items have been adapted to this change. The issues focus on attitudes toward whites and attitudes toward oneself as a Puerto Rican.
In this scale, the subjects were presented with a series of state-
ments regarding different feelings that people have about different 
things. The subjects were asked to indicate their agreement or dis-
agreement as follows: STRONGLY AGREE (SA), AGREE (A), DISAGREE (D), or 
STRONGLY DISAGREE (SD).

Ethnic Identification Scale. The second part of the questionnaire 
consisted of the symbolic expressions of ethnic identity (see Appendix 
G). The central concept with which the author dealt with were those 
points of reference whereby persons (or a group) define themselves in 
relation to the world and other people: an awareness of persons (or a 
group) of who they are and where they belong. When a person is uprooted 
he/she loses those perceptions of values and points of reference by 
which he/she has learned to define his/her relationship to others. The 
problem of adaptation to a new way of life, the process of assimilation 
and integration, involves developing a new set of reference points which 
enable the person or a group to define who they are, and where they be-
long.

Ethnic identity is expressed through the symbols surrounding race, 
religion, caste, language, food, music, kinship systems, friendships and 
residential patterns. Ethnic identity refers to expressions of loyalty, 
commitment and belongingness towards an ethnic group. Factors such as 
sex, age, educational level and family status do not influence the con-
sistency in the reporting of ethnic identity to a great extent. The 
differences in symbolic participation between groups is only partly re-
lated to the recency of migration. The more recent migrants are more 
likely to respond to cultural symbols than the others. However, many
will identify and cannot escape the force of ethnic identity and respond to the symbols that are associated with their families' ethnic background. Part of the explanation for this finding lies in their desire to participate in a distinctive cultural system in order to attain psychological security and self-fulfillment. Many of the traditional customs, beliefs and values are modified through interaction with different institutions and individuals in the United States culture, but cultural uniqueness will still be maintained. The desire to speak an ethnic language or dialect better, preparation of ethnic foods, listening to ethnic music, having ethnic friends, reading ethnic literature are associated with one's ethnic background and demonstrate the existence of ethnic identity. The scale prepared ranges from expressions of symbols both in the Puerto Rican and American culture whereby consistency of expressions of Puerto Rican culture, ethnically identify the participant.

In order to administer the questionnaire to the Puerto Rican population, the experimenter provided questionnaires in English and Spanish in the data collection booklets. The students were instructed to complete the questionnaire in whichever language they preferred and were more proficient in. They could refer to the questions in either language for clarity if they were not sure of its meaning. But they should insure that their answers were marked in the language that they initially used to respond (see Appendix G).

To discern the manageability of the questionnaires, the experimenter conducted a pilot study in both languages by surveying a group of Puerto Rican students from various grades. The pilot study accounted
for the following: manageability of the questionnaires, period of time required to complete, and feedback from respondents.

Spanish versions of the questionnaires were provided in the booklets. The version was validated according to a method described by Child (1968). Child recommends that a culturally informed individual independently translate the instruments from Language A (English) to Language B (Spanish) and another individual translate back from Language B to Language A. The translators discussed discrepancies that arose and resolved them through a joint agreement.
CHAPTER III
RESULTS

Demographic and Social Characteristics of the Sample

The subjects were enrolled in junior and senior high schools. The sample contained 132 males and 143 females, with one subject not indicating gender (see Table 1). The age range of the sample was between 12 and 21 years, with only one individual not reporting age. As displayed in Table 2, 12 students have been retained and repeated a grade level at some point in their education. Seventh graders accounted for 24.6% of the sample followed by eighth graders (24.3%), ninth graders (23.6%), tenth graders (14.1%), eleventh graders (8.0%) and twelfth graders (5.1%) (see Table 3). Students in the Bilingual program constituted 40.8% of the sample as compared to 59.4% enrollment in the English dominant program (see Table 4).

Three typologies were formulated based on cultural experience and relative proportion of education acquired both on the island (Puerto Rico) and the mainland (United States). The educational proportion consisted of an individual receiving less than two years of education or none in either Puerto Rico or United States and more than or equal to four years of education in Puerto Rico or United States. The distribution for the typologies were in the following order: High Puerto Rican (15.9%), Mixed (23.2%), and High American (60.9%) (see Table 5).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>47.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>51.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Reported</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>276</td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2

Age Distribution within Sample: Percentage within Age Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>19.20</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>20.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>21.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>13.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Reported</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean = 15.26

Standard Deviation = 1.75
Table 3

Number and Percentage of Students in Grades 7-12 within the Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>24.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>24.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>23.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Reported</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4
Number and Percentage of Students Enrolled in the Bilingual and English Dominant Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>40.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainstream</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>59.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5

Number and Percentage of Students in the Typology Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typology</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Puerto Rican</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High American</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>60.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Establishment of Reliability of Instruments

Prior to the reporting of the results of the data collected, it was important to review the reliability of the various measures constructed for this study or adapted from previous research. The measures were as follow: Alienation Index Inventory Scale and the Ethnic Identification Scale. The measures were translated into Spanish with appropriate adaptations for the population sampled.

Alienation Index Inventory Scale

The Alienation Index Inventory Scale devised by Turner (1975) has been used with adolescent populations in previous research on alienation. The experimenter translated the scale and adapted the subscale on "Black Srole" for use with the Puerto Rican adolescent population. The AII scale contains nine subscales (see Appendix G). A low score indicates strong agreement, the person in responding to the scale is indicating the extent to which he/she feels that his/her values do not correspond to the values of various groups in his/her life. To the extent that a person is in agreement with or accepts the values of a particular group, he/she is not alienated. The reliability for all subscales with the exception of the "Puerto Rican Srole" has been reported previously. A Chronbach Alpha test was performed on the "Puerto Rican Srole" subscale and the Total AII scale score. The results of the test are displayed graphically in Table 6. The alpha coefficient of .65 for the "Puerto Rican Srole" and .80 for the Total scale sets the scales within the limits of acceptable reliability.
Table 6

Inter-Item Correlations and Alpha Reliability Coefficients
for the Puerto Rican Srole Subscale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>X09</th>
<th>X18</th>
<th>X27</th>
<th>X35</th>
<th>X44</th>
<th>Corrected Item-total Correlation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X09</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X18</td>
<td>.299</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X27</td>
<td>.237</td>
<td>.338</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X35</td>
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<td>.242</td>
<td>.367</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<td>.412</td>
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<tr>
<td>X44</td>
<td>.290</td>
<td>.169</td>
<td>.292</td>
<td>.224</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.352</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reliability Coefficients:

Alpha = .65168
Standardized Item Alpha = .65373
Ethnic Identification Scale

Because the Ethnic Identification Scale was devised by the experimenter (see Appendix G), it was necessary to demonstrate the reliability of the scale. Therefore the most widely used internal reliability coefficient test measure was applied to determine its reliability. The results of the Chronbach Alpha test are represented in Table 7. The results indicate that the alpha level of the Ethnic Identification Scale is well within the established acceptable limits of scale reliability (cf. Nunnally, 1967). The intercorrelations of the items are moderate and thus support the demonstration of internal consistency. Although the correlation of the variable "Official Language" is low, .22 is within the limits of establishing reliability. Factors justifying this representation are perhaps based on the premise that this question elicits an implicit political response and does not deal directly with how well an individual identifies with his/her ethnic background.

Design

In the present study, the statistical design best suited to deal with unequal cell sizes and empty cells was the analysis of variance. The design utilized represented the main effects and the two-way interactions of the independent variables. The independent variables were as follows: sex, grade and typology. The dependent variables were the nine subscales of the Alienation Index Inventory Scale and the Ethnic Identification scale.

The statistical analysis of the data employed the following procedures: 1) numerical description of the sample (i.e., demographic
Table 7
Inter-Item Correlations, Item Scale Correlations and Alpha
Reliability Coefficients for the Ethnic Identification Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
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Reliability Coefficients

Alpha = .70004
Standardized Item Alpha = .74115
characteristics), 2) the establishment of reliability for the subscale, "Puerto Rican Srole" and Total scale for the Alienation Index Inventory Scale, 3) the establishment of reliability for the Ethnic Identification Scale utilizing the Chronbach Alpha reliability computation, and 4) inspection of the main and interaction effects of the analysis of variance.

An initial inspection of the results revealed no significant findings for several of the subscales of the Alienation Index Inventory Scale. Community alienation and Puerto Rican Srole subscales did not contribute main or two-way interaction effects in the overall analysis. No further presentation will be made in the text of results for these variables although the overall F values have been presented in Table 8.

The significant findings are presented and interpreted on the basis of the dependent variables. The format will focus on an initial presentation of the main and interaction effects, illustrated by tables of F values, and compiled tables of means and standard deviations. The differences indicated in the analysis of variance were inspected by simple comparison of means. No hypotheses were generated in the present study; the central purpose was to investigate the relationship between cultural experience of Puerto Rican youth to ethnic identification and alienation.

**Alienation Index Inventory Scale (AII)**

The second part of this study was carried out in order to generate basic data regarding the degree of alienation or feeling of disengagement experienced by the Puerto Rican adolescent with respect to differ-
Table 8
Analysis of Variance--Main and Interaction Effects
Distribution of Significant Values on Dependent Variables

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<th>Type</th>
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<th>Sex by Type</th>
<th>Grade by Type</th>
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<td>.04*</td>
<td>.04*</td>
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<td>.029*</td>
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Table 9

Analysis of Variance—Ethnic Identification Scale
Main and Two-Way Interaction Effects—F Significance

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Table 10

Means--Standard Deviations--Ethnic Identification Scale by Type

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</tr>
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<td>-----------</td>
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<td>n = 39</td>
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</table>
ent aspects of his/her life. The findings reported feelings of estrangement in several areas as indicated by the various scales: general alienation (Srole), self-alienation, distance from the family, peers, social agencies, school and work.

**General alienation--SROLE.** The attempt here was to assess the degree to which the subject felt that the world was an unfriendly place and that he/she felt separated from it. The main effects for the dependent variable "Srole" are illustrated in Table 12. An analysis of the variable by sex reveals the females as feeling estranged from society at large (see Table 13).

Table 14 illustrates the tenth graders are reporting feelings of alienation. There appears to be a strong discrepancy as reported by the seventh graders indicating perhaps these students are not in touch with society at large as of seventh grade. As displayed in Table 15 individuals in the category, High American typology, are reporting more alienation from society at large.

**Self-alienation core.** As shown in Table 16 there were main effects for the variables, sex and grade. There were no significant findings; main or two-way interaction effects, for the remaining independent variables. Table 13 displays an indication that the females perceive a discrepancy between their ideal self and present self. The sample in the eighth grade is representative of the endorsement of feelings of estrangement from their ego core (see Table 14).

**Alienation from family core.** The results of the analysis of variance indicate a relationship between the family alienation subscale and the individual's sex and grade (see Table 17).
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Main Effects</th>
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<th>F Significance</th>
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Table 13
Distribution by Sex--AII Subscales
Means--Standard Deviations

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Table 14
Distribution by Grade--AII subscales--Means--Standard Deviations

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<td>2.57</td>
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<td>1.89</td>
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<td>15.35</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>14.07</td>
<td>2.09</td>
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</table>
Table 15
Distribution by Typology--All Subscales
Means--Standard Deviations

Typology | Srole | Social Agencies |
---------|-------|-----------------|
         | M     | S.D.            |
---------|-------|-----------------|
High Puerto Rican | 11.67 | 3.07 | 15.20 | 2.15 |
  n = 44 |
Mixed    | 10.83 | 2.79 | 15.28 | 2.04 |
  n = 64 |
High American | 10.59 | 2.61 | 14.46 | 2.05 |
  n = 168 |
Table 16

Analysis of Variance--Self-Alienation Subscale

Main Effects--F Significance

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<tr>
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<th>F Significance</th>
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Table 17

Analysis of Variance--Family Alienation Subscale

Main Effects--F Significance

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<th>F Significance</th>
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</table>
Table 13 displays significant differences existing on the variable, sex. The female experiences the degree to which she perceived her family as making negative to neutral judgments about her behavior or about her as a person. Although a continuous linear trend exists there is an indication that the seventh graders are reporting a degree of estrangement revealing the individual does not consider himself/herself as an integral part of his/her family structure. A second major issue assesses the individual as feeling the family as having values different from his/her own (see Table 14).

Alienation from peers core. On the peers subscale, an inspection of the findings yielded a significant main effect for the independent variable--sex. Table 18 illustrates an F of 6.16 (df = 1) which was significant at the .01 level. A similar inspection indicated an F of 2.52 (df = 5) significant at the .05 level for the interaction effect, sex by grade.

The analysis in Table 13 displays the females indicating more alienation from their peer group. Table 19 indicates that the females are reporting feelings of estrangement from their peer core group at the tenth grade level revealing a lack of involvement and perception of common values within their age group.

Alienation from social agencies. The social agencies subscale determined the extent to which the individual felt that formal community agencies represented his/her interests or values. The main effects produced results for the following variables--grade and typology (see Table 20). There were no significant findings for sex. The results reported in Table 14 represented by the means and standard deviations indicates
Table 18
Analysis of Variance—Peers Alienation Subscale
Main and Two-way Interaction Effects—F Significance

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<th>F Significance</th>
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Table 20
Analysis of Variance—Social Agency Alienation Subscale

Main Effects--F Significance

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that students in the seventh grade report feeling more estranged from social agencies. The sample in the High American typology indicated to a greater degree that community agencies do not address their concerns as adolescents (see Table 15).

**Alienation from school and education core.** An illustration of the significant variables are presented in Table 21. The main effect for grade yielded an F of 3.67 (df = 5) significant at the .01 level. Table 14 shows a continuous trend indicating that the individuals at the seventh grade level are less likely to perceive education as having any meaning or importance to them or to their future. This finding may be based on the premise that individuals at the early adolescent stage have not formulated or acknowledged the importance of stipulating career goals given their educational background.

**Alienation from work core.** The results (see Table 22) on the work alienation subscale measured a single significant main effect for the variable, grade. An illustration of the results shown in Table 14 demonstrates that the subjects at the seventh grade level see work as less positive. These individuals report that they feel they will not be appropriately rewarded and that work does not satisfy their primary and secondary needs. Following the observation made earlier, age may be a contributing factor in determining the degree of alienation.

**Total alienation scale.** Examination of the Total Alienation Index Inventory Scale demonstrates, as seen in Table 23, main effects for the following variables—sex and grade. No report will be made for the remaining variables which were not significant.

As indicated in Table 13, on the whole, the females tend to be more...
### Table 21
Analysis of Variance--School Alienation Subscale

Main Effects--F Significance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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Table 22

Analysis of Variance--Work Alienation Subscale

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<thead>
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Table 23
Analysis of Variance—Total Alienation Scale
Main Effects--F Significance

<table>
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<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>DF</th>
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</table>
alienated which was a consistent finding on all aspects of alienation. Table 14 indicates individuals at the eighth grade level as estranged from society in terms of general alienation.
This project was an endeavor to survey and document attitudinal differences of Puerto Rican adolescents at the intermediate and secondary school level. The research goal was to examine the correlates of ethnic identification. Cultural alienation was defined as feelings of detachment and estrangement from one's ethnic background. Earlier research work on alienation has been carried out dealing with individuals of the majority culture or with the Black community. Keniston's (1965) alienated adolescents rejected the values of middle class America. Gottlieb's (1969) Black urban youth were a product of an unjust economic system. Individuals viewed themselves as victims of the social order which blocked entry into the dominant culture. The adolescent found himself/herself alienated because he/she was without the resources and referents which have become increasingly more important for goal attainment in our society. Although the situation of the Black and Puerto Rican youth are often similar in the sociological factors that affect their psychological well-being, there appears a dearth in the literature of previous work focusing specifically on the Puerto Rican adolescent population. Various factors explaining this situation may be: 1) recency of migration, 2) language, and 3) a focus on the more immediate educational needs of the hispanic student via bilingual-bicultural education.
Very little research has been done in the area of ethnic identification which considers intermediate and secondary school students as subjects. Most of the published findings of research efforts on alienation have focused on the late adolescence stage or the college age student. The author believes this endeavor to be a pioneer effort in areas untouched by scientific research.

The format for discussion and interpretation of the significant findings will focus on the independent variables: typology, grade and sex. The evidence of significant reports has been presented for Ethnic Identification Scale as well as the Alienation Index Inventory Scale.

**Typology**

From birth onward, an individual's biological functions are molded to culturally prescribed limits and patterned after accepted models and shared attitudes within his cultural milieu. Identification refers to the totality of self-experience, the term "ethnic" identification refers to that part of the self which includes those values, attitudes and preferences which comprise cultural group membership. The differences in symbolic participation in groups is only partly related to the recency of migration. The more recent migrants are more likely to respond to cultural symbols than are others. Moreover, there may be a tendency to identify with symbols that are associated with their families' ethnic background. Part of the explanation lies in their desire to participate in a distinctive cultural system in order to attain psychological security and self-fulfillment.

The literature indicates that a sudden move into another cultural
environment can cause emotional disturbance and, on a continuum of reaction, approach serious psychological trauma. The traditional custom, beliefs and values are modified through interaction with different institutions and individuals in the host culture, United States, but cultural uniqueness will be maintained. Bicultural group membership creates the potential, but not necessarily the actual experience of divided group loyalty and confusion about the self.

The author believed that the degree to which an individual would show ethnic identification and alienation would vary with their cultural experience. Upon isolating the independent variable, typology, the findings suggest that individuals identifying strongly with the Puerto Rican ethnic background have fallen into the High Puerto Rican category. These participants have been exposed to the highest degree of Puerto Rican experience because their longest residence and maximum proportion of education was in Puerto Rico. This finding suggests that those recently arrived have the greatest identification with their cultural background. Those individuals whose residence and education have been primarily in the United States are least identified with the Puerto Rican ethnic background. This finding suggests that these participants have had the greater exposure to the culture of the host society.

Membership in the mixed typology category suggests bicultural group membership. This group has had a relatively equal proportion of cultural experiences on the island and on the mainland. Those in the mixed category were intermediate in terms of ethnic identification. Insofar as one can interpret such a finding does this suggest a degree of marginality? Is there optimal bicultural group membership?
Alienation was hypothesized to be a feeling produced by contact with a second culture. Therefore, the author examined this variable to establish its relationship to cultural experience (typology). The data indicated that individuals within the High American category were experiencing more feelings of alienation from society at large as represented in the Srole subscale. These individuals also more often felt that social agencies were not representing their concerns as adolescents.

The author suspected that the individuals in the High Puerto Rican category would have strong identification with feelings of alienation. The findings suggest that the group in the High American category was reporting more feelings of alienation. The more contact the individual has made with the second culture, the more it appears that they feel that the immediate society and its subsystems are not meeting their needs. This finding is significant in that it generates questions regarding the problems created by assimilation into a second culture. Perhaps these individuals having assimilated the values of the majority culture have thus begun to feel that the world is an unfriendly place and feel separated from it.

That the life of every Puerto Rican in the United States is one of pretty strong continual personal crises cannot be denied. The methods by which he/she can be helped to cope with that crisis apparently have not emerged. Nieves-Falcon (1975) has stated that one of the solutions to the crises of the Puerto Ricans will necessarily be based on the development of a solid Puerto Rican identity and by preventing further pillages on his/her culture.
It appears from the results of the present study that Puerto Rican individuals having the longest residence and maximum proportion of education on Puerto Rico tend to identify strongest with the Puerto Rican ethnic background. Those Puerto Rican individuals with the longest residence and maximum exposure to education on the mainland have the least identification with the Puerto Rican ethnic background. Those in the mixed category appear to be intermediate in terms of ethnic identification.

The results also indicate that the individuals identifying least with the Puerto Rican ethnic background tend to report more feelings of alienation from society at large and that social agencies are not representing their concerns as adolescents. These findings suggest that individuals who have the greater exposure to the American culture believed that this society is not addressing their needs as individuals. An extension of this finding would be to address those needs particular to the Puerto Rican individuals in this society.

**Grade**

It is in the schools that Puerto Rican identity has been subjected to the greatest pressures and it is the educational experience on the mainland which for the Puerto Ricans is generally bad and from which despair and alienation emerge (Cordasco & Bucchioni, 1973). The findings of this study indicate that reports of feelings of alienation on six subscales (Srole, self, family, social agencies, work and school) were related to the independent variable grade. This variable should be considered closely related to the factors such as educational attainment
and age.

The findings on the Srole subscale indicate that students in the tenth grade are more alienated. There appears to be the least feelings of alienation reported in the seventh grade. Feelings of estrangement begin to emerge as students are promoted to the eighth grade. Students at the eighth grade level appear to begin to deal with the impact of the transition from elementary school to junior high school. The promotion to seventh grade has been reported as one which tends to create much anxiety for students. These students are now having to deal with demands placed on them by several teachers rather than the one teacher in elementary school. The findings on the family subscale support this hypothesis. At this stage individuals begin to create social systems outside of their families. They begin to question the values upheld by their families and to initiate the process of breaking away from it. The findings on the social agencies subscale indicate that these students are experiencing a greater degree of alienation. The students at the seventh grade level perhaps have had the least exposure to social agencies. Students at this grade level do not appear to be informed about social agencies representing and addressing their concerns. A similar hypothesis may well be formulated for these students at the seventh grade level reporting alienation on the school and work subscales. These students are not aware of the factors related to the importance of an education and the satisfaction acquired by feeling productive in our society. At the eighth grade level the students appear to begin to contend with the emerging reality that they are in a period of transition from children to adults. Changes both physically and psy-
chologically begin to emerge which the students confront daily. Expec-
tations begin to emerge as these students must act as adults and begin
to assume responsibility for their academic and social performance. The
findings on the self subscale support this hypothesis given the students
are feeling more alienated from their ego core at the eighth grade lev-
el. As they progress along feelings of estrangement appear to be at
their peak level at the tenth grade. The students at this time again
are confronted with the transition from junior high school to senior
high school. The demands have changed in that these students must begin
to formulate plans for career goals. The academic tracking system re-
quires students to either chose vocational or college preparatory pro-
grams to meet their desired objectives. Having had the opportunity of
a greater degree of exposure to their social environment, it appears
they are feeling more alienated from it. The feelings of estrangement
are reduced at the eleventh and twelfth grades and it appears that these
students have been placed in the position of either working on their
goals or that the more alienated have dropped out of the academic set-
ting altogether.

If the more alienated do in fact drop out of school, a question
arises regarding the "holding power" of the educational system. Is the
school system prepared to meet the complex and multiple needs of Puerto
Rican youth? On the contrary, the school system has often highlighted
and emphasized their weaknesses, deficiencies and failures. Insecure
and unable to determine their own political and economic future, the
only recourse Puerto Rican students have had available to them has been
to drop out, both physically and emotionally.
The negative implication of the institutional assault on the culture of Puerto Rican youth has been reflected in the "Results of the First Pilot Study" (Center for Puerto Rican Studies, 1970). The study reviewed the incidence of drop out amongst Puerto Ricans.

"One gets the impression that those who eventually drop out from school, drop out in spirit long before they actually leave. It also seems as if the dropouts do not identify with Spanish terms and that their parents and grandparents have been in the United States longer. This could mean that what they experience in school is not a culture conflict but a sense of cultural loss because they do not have a heritage they can identify with readily. This would mean that they are not bi-cultural or culturally different but that they are marginal mainstreamers" (p. 4).

The above mentioned study points to one singular fact about the Puerto Rican in the United States: the more assimilated he/she is, the less are his/her chances of achieving personality integration and, therefore, the greater is his/her susceptibility to social maladaptation. In other words, the price the Puerto Rican population pays for their assimilation may well be one of emotional impairment.

Another reason for the incidence of dropouts may be due to the fact that Puerto Rican youth are often pushed into the labor force to provide additional financial income for the support of their families. These individuals will usually be without formal educational credentials or job skills and experience. As a result they are forced to take the most menial and low paying jobs. These are also the jobs most easily mechanized and they are quickly disappearing. Thus, Puerto Rican youth appear to become alienated from the educational process, dropping out of school and joining the ranks of the unemployed.

Initial inspection of the data revealed twelve individuals were be-
yond what has been considered to be typical age range at the high school level. The individuals ranged from 18 to 21 years of age. If we examine the cell size distribution we find that there are 67 students at the seventh grade level as compared to 14 students at the twelfth grade level. Does this imply that the most alienated have dropped out of school? Another question addresses the level of commitment that must have been necessary for these 14 students to have to have continued in their goal of acquiring minimally a high school degree. Perhaps these findings could lay the foundation for a study to determine areas in which alienation could have emerged resulting in deterring students from completing their degrees earlier.

Overall the results on the various subscales show a tendency for students in the seventh through ninth grades to report more feelings of estrangement than the students in tenth through twelfth grades. Educators and social scientists have found that whenever comparisons have been made of students at various grade levels discrepancies will appear. Given that both physical and psychological processes are beginning to emerge it is difficult to compare various age groups. The literature indicates that during this stage, the adolescent is in a constant state of fluctuation given the transition from child to adult. The move is from the role of conforming, dependent child to that of independent, initiating adult. The individual and the parents are no longer comfortable sharers of the same social world.

This lack of certainty about belonging, and the precarious self-esteem associated with it, appear to account in part for the adolescent's strong need to find others of his/her own kind. Together these
individuals form a community of individuals with shared anxieties, preoccupations, and, to some degree, are experiencing feelings of alienation from age grades which precede them and follow them. Brody (1968) states that cultural prescriptions of a powerful nature often define the usual sequences of statuses and roles that individuals are to assume during their life span. Advances occur according to certain schedules which integrate the individual's capabilities with age-graded requirements of the society. In a certain sense a comparison could be made to that of the "marginal man" who has one foot in the majority world and one in his own but does not feel completely comfortable in either one.

Puerto Rican youth can only begin to formulate educational and career goals if they have been provided with adequate role models and have been sufficiently exposed to these factors throughout their socialization process. Given that the age continuum in this study began with 12-year-olds, the Alienation Index Inventory subscales appear to address issues which have not yet emerged for adolescents in general. Issues such as the conflicts which arise when there is a clash between the Puerto Rican traditional values and middle class American values as well as confusion about one's identity and sexual role.

Having reviewed the importance of role models as part of the developmental process how does this relate to Puerto Rican youth in specific? Do these youngsters have role models available and accessible to them via their peers in the academic setting? The reality that confronts them is that only a handful "make it." Is that enough to provide the assurance and security that they may also have a chance of succeeding, even more so perhaps for the first time as Puerto Ricans? Para-
doxically, even though the peer group seems at times to be at odds with society, this group nonetheless emulates the behaviors of adults and very much wants to become adult. Relatives, teachers, friends of the family and other adolescents serve as models for the early adolescent and as sources of assistance in time of need. Their greatest value, however, is that of serving as models for the adolescent to use as guides in helping him/her to shape his/her growing self in line with his/her unique pattern of individual needs and abilities. If the models are nonexistent or perhaps not visible for Puerto Rican adolescents to emulate what overall effect will this have on the Puerto Rican youth's development?

Sex

The overall sex differences in performance indicated that females were more alienated than males. The findings indicate that the females were more alienated on the following subscales: Srole, self, family and peers. This appears to be an interesting finding given that males have generally been found to be the more alienated members of our society. This finding suggests that females are more exposed to their social environment and are more aware of its shortcomings and this produces in them feelings of detachment from society at large. One possible explanation for the greater feelings of alienation to have emerged in these particular subscales may be due to the fact that these Puerto Rican females seem to be more aware of their reality and are more likely to therefore examine their needs within their immediate network systems. This finding could very well serve as the basis for another study to
examine this phenomenon as compared to females in general.

The independent variables, age and grade, were found to have a significant interaction effect at the .05 level (F = .031). The females at the tenth grade level reported more feelings of alienation than those at other grade levels. Females as compared to males are reporting more feelings of alienation at the seventh grade level. Reports of alienation are also found at eighth grade level, then a complete reversal appears to take place in that females at the ninth grade level are now reporting the least alienation. Feelings of alienation begin to peak for the females at the tenth grade level and then begin to decline at the eleventh and twelfth grades. These findings suggest that alienation is at its highest level for the females at the tenth grade level as compared to the males. This finding concurs with the earlier report that feelings of alienation were greater for individuals at the tenth grade level and it appears that perhaps the most alienated females have dropped out given that we find only three females at the twelfth grade level. In fact, by the tenth grade the number of females has been reduced to half of that found at the seventh grade level. The females are reporting feelings of alienation from society at large, themselves, their families and their peers.

By and large, this finding that females appear to be feeling the most estrangement is most significant. This finding is quite interesting and perhaps one which will have a direct contribution to this research endeavor. Females in the Puerto Rican culture have generally been known to have close relationships with their families. Cultural prescriptions have specified that females are intrinsically enmeshed
with their families and that Puerto Rican females often times do not break away from their families. On the other hand it may be due to the fact that they are so enmeshed in their families that these females experience alienation. Can this also be the factor regarding the finding on the peers subscale and Srole subscale? It appears that the greater exposure the more basis and foundation for producing feelings of alienation.

Peer associations are generally dictated by the school environment and community residence. However it may be possible that the groups to which these females belong are not cohesive because there may be a lack of support within their neighborhoods for maintaining or reinforcing values outside of the family structure. Generally Puerto Rican females have been required to assist the mother in raising younger children and assuming much of the responsibility in performing household tasks. Due to this there is not much time left for the Puerto Rican female to be involved in school extracurricular activities or in activities in their immediate neighborhoods. Not having had the opportunity to build relationships with peers, Puerto Rican females are often unable to establish support networks to help them meet their developmental needs. Puerto Rican females have often been called upon by their parents to represent them in dealing with social agencies often as intermediaries or serving as translators. In this respect Puerto Rican females perhaps are more exposed to dealing with society at large than Puerto Rican males and have become more aware of the shortcomings society has of meeting their family's or their particular needs. How are Puerto Rican females displaying feelings of alienation when compared to Puerto Rican males?
Puerto Rican males have generally been found to drop out of the system in several ways. The Puerto Rican male has often turned to the job market in hopes of remediating his need to contribute to the household, but often joins the ranks of the unemployed. Another display of his alienation has been seen in the number of Puerto Rican men who have turned to crime or drugs to cope with their estrangement. The only recourse Puerto Rican females have often had to take has been to escape the many pressures and demands placed on them by leaving their families and initiating premature marital relationships. Education has not been a value that has been stressed within the Puerto Rican household. Puerto Rican females appear to be exposed to the stereotyped role of raising children and maintaining the needs of their husband and children. Often by the time the Puerto Rican female has reached the age of fifteen she has been pushed out from her family of origin due to the tremendous demands being placed on her. This study does not explore the reasons for the causes of feelings of alienation given that only three females are in the twelfth grade group. A hypothesis would be that these females are dropping out. The case for Puerto Rican females has also been that they drop out to seek employment in the labor force. Another avenue many young adolescent females seek is to run away with the first male they develop an acquaintance with. This may be their only ticket out of the reality that confronts them. They no longer have the pressures of their parents asking them to assist them in all realms of their livelihood or the demands to formulate career goals. Often these goals may be totally alien given the socialization process to which they have been exposed. In the long run they appear to be actually submitting to the culturally
prescribed role thus feeling alienated.

In conclusion, Puerto Rican females reported more feelings of alienation than Puerto Rican males. The findings displayed estrangement from society at large, ego core, family and peers. If in fact this is the reality that confronts Puerto Rican females a cycle of alienation may be maintained in that these women often bear children at an early age. Given these circumstances there is minimal opportunity for exposure to roles other than that of housewife or mother to those of productive individuals who can experience feelings of fulfillment and satisfaction in other roles. There appears to be a dire need to evaluate the reality of the Puerto Rican adolescent's situation whereby a process of orientation, education and moreover exposure to roles other than those that are familiar within their immediate settings. Unfortunately this is a reality that confronts many women today but one which is harder for Puerto Rican females given they lack the appropriate models to emulate. Puerto Rican females not only contend with seeking careers often reserved for males but contend with gaining an education that has been reserved for the majority culture. Once having been permitted to fulfill the requirements for membership there is no guarantee that they will be permitted to enter. This society unfortunately has not recognized the right of an education for the Puerto Rican people due to the fact that they have been maintained at the bottom of the social strata. Puerto Rican females cannot aspire to move out and into another reality until the Puerto Rican people as a race have been afforded equal membership into our society. The fate of the Puerto Rican people can only be determined once they have attained the political power necessary to equip
themselves to move out of the situation they are presently in.

Summary

In summary, this study has demonstrated that reported feelings of alienation are fairly widespread within samples of Puerto Rican junior and senior high school students. The results also indicate that identification with the Puerto Rican ethnic background is correlated to feelings of alienation. There appears to be a correlation between the degree of identification with the Puerto Rican ethnic background to an individual's length of residence and proportion of education in Puerto Rico and the mainland, United States. The individuals identifying strongly with the Puerto Rican ethnic background have fallen into the High Puerto Rican category. The individuals identifying least with the Puerto Rican ethnic background are reporting more feelings of alienation. Those in the mixed category are intermediate in terms of their identification with the Puerto Rican ethnic background and reports of alienation.

The sample also represents differences in reports of alienation throughout the various grade levels, seventh through twelfth grades. The variable grade, however, should be closely examined given its relationship to factors such as age and the stages of adolescent psychological development. The least reports of alienation appear at the seventh grade level. Feelings of alienation begin to emerge at the eighth grade level and appear to peak at the tenth grade level. Estrangement appears to be reduced at the eleventh and twelfth grade levels. Some questions emerge as a result of these findings:
1) How can the educational system establish "holding power" for Puerto Rican adolescents?

2) Is alienation contributing to Puerto Rican adolescents dropping out of the educational system?

In conclusion, the findings reveal that Puerto Rican females report more feelings of alienation than Puerto Rican males. The findings indicate the Puerto Rican females are more alienated in several areas of their lives, i.e., society in general, self core, family and peers. Reports of alienation emerge at the eighth and tenth grade levels and are reduced at the other grade levels. These findings should be reviewed in light of the fact that the number of Puerto Rican females enrolled in the various grade levels have been dramatically reduced by the twelfth grade. These findings also suggest that Puerto Rican females are more exposed to their social environment, are more aware of society's shortcomings and appear to be more detached from society at large. There appear to be questions regarding the implications for Puerto Rican females as alienated members of our society.

Overall the results of this research endeavor suggest that a substantial amount of further research in various areas of social and clinical psychology be viewed as having far-reaching implications in regards to Puerto Rican adolescents. Further investigations should examine sociological, psychological, cultural and political factors in understanding the problems of Puerto Rican adolescents on the mainland given their exposure to the dominant society.
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APPENDIX A

Introduction for Participation

For the purposes of this study, your participation will consist of contributing two of your class periods (approximately 90 minutes) during school hours for the completion of a questionnaire. During this time you will be asked to share your attitudes and opinions about Puerto Rican adolescents.

There will be no need to identify yourselves on these questionnaires. This method will insure confidentiality for those students participating in the study. Your participation will end with this task.

Upon completion of the administration of the questionnaires at your schools, specific times will be arranged so that the major goals and the purpose of this study can be thoroughly explained to you. At that time any questions or comments you might have will be welcomed.

If for any reason you wish to withdraw your participation, you are free to do so. Times will then be arranged for you to discuss your decision with the investigator.

All the information gathered from you will be destroyed upon completion of this study.
APPENDIX B

Presentación Para Participación

Para los propósitos de este estudio, su participación consistirá de contribuir dos períodos de clase (aproximadamente 90 minutos) durante horas escolares para completar un cuestionario. Durante ese tiempo se le pedirá que compartan sus actitudes y opiniones sobre adolescentes puertorriqueños.

No habrá necesidad de identificarse en el cuestionario. De esta manera aseguraremos la mayor confidencialidad para los estudiantes que estan participando en el estudio. Su participación terminará con esta tarea.

Al momento que se haya completado la administración de los cuestionarios en las varias escuelas, se harán arreglos para que la investigadora del estudio regrese y le hable a ustedes sobre el propósito de este estudio. Le invito a comentar, compartir o hacer preguntas que puedan tener sobre el estudio en ese momento.

Si por alguna razón quieren retirarse del estudio, cual pueden hacer sí lo desean, le pedire que se reúnan conmigo para darme la oportunidad para discutir las razones por haber retirado su participación.

Toda la información que obtenga de ustedes será destruida al completarse este estudio.
APPENDIX C

Parental Consent Form

DEAR PARENTS:

This is to notify you that your son/daughter will be participating in a study being conducted by Miss Nydia I. Santiago, at the John J. Lynch Junior High School, William R. Peck Junior High School and the Holyoke Public High School.

Miss Santiago formerly worked as a bilingual counselor at the various schools mentioned above. Her goals will be to survey the students to find way to provide better services in counselling for the Spanish-speaking students. She will ask the students to complete a questionnaire to survey their opinions and attitudes as Spanish-speaking students at the high school and junior high schools.

Miss Santiago will meet with the students throughout the school hours during their various class periods.

All information obtained is confidential and will be used solely for the purpose of this study.

In order to obtain the students' participation in this study we ask that the attached form be returned as soon as possible. It is important that all students participate in the study so that we will find ways to address the problems of the Hispanic students. If you have any questions regarding this study, please feel free to contact Miss Santiago during her visits to the various schools.

Thank you for your cooperation and interest in this matter.

We hereby consent our son/daughter to participate in the study being conducted by Miss Nydia I. Santiago, at the John J. Lynch school, William R. Peck School and at Holyoke High School. We understand the purpose of the study will be to survey the opinions and attitudes of the Spanish-speaking students of the various schools. We understand that we can, at any time, withdraw our consent and our son/daughter's participation in the study, if we so do wish. We agree to meet with Miss Santiago if we withdraw our son/daughter's participation and discuss our reasons for this action. We also understand that we may meet with Miss Santiago during her visits to the schools if we have any questions regarding this study.
Signature ________________________

Date ___________________________
ESTIMADOS PADRES:

Le envío la siguiente carta para informarle que su hijo/hija participara en un estudio que se llevara acabo en las escuelas intermedias; John J. Lunch y William R. Peck, además de la escuela superior de Holyoke, en las proximas semanas.

Este trabajo se llevara acabo por la Srta. Nydia I. Santiago, quien trabaja como consejera en estas escuelas hace varios años. Queremos ver como se le puede ayudar al estudiante hispano por medio de servicios en consejeria. Se le pedirá a los estudiantes que completen un cuestionario guiado a evaluar las opiniones y actitudes como estudiantes en las escuelas de nivel intermedio y secundario.

La Srta. Santiago se reunirá con los estudiantes y los entrevistará durante las horas escolares.

La información que se obtenga sera confidencial y se usara solamente para el proposito de esta encuesta.

Necesitamos que su hijo/hija pueda participar en la encuesta y le pediremos que nos devuelva la siguiente parte de esta carta. Es importante que todos los estudiantes participen en esta encuesta ya que queremos ver o mejor buscar la forma de ayudar el estudiante Hispano en nuestras escuelas.

Sí en algun momento desean saber mas información de este estudio puede hacer contacto con la Srta. Santiago durante las visitas de ella en las escuelas.

Gracias anticipadas por su cooperacion y continuo interes en estos asuntos.

Permitíre a mi hijo/hija participar en la encuesta que se llevara acabo por la Srta. Santiago, en las escuelas intermedias y superior de Holyoke. Entiendo el proposito de esta encuesta y que podemos ponernos en contacto con ella si queremos mas informacion. Entiendo tambien que puedo retirar a mi hijo/hija del estudio y que hablare con la Srta. Santiago para darle las razones por haber tomado esta medida.
Firma

Fecha
APPENDIX E

Consent Form

I hereby give my consent to participate in the study being conducted by Nydia I. Santiago, with the understanding that I can, at any time, withdraw my consent and participation if I do so wish. I agree that if I decide to do so I will meet with Nydia I. Santiago at another time to discuss my reasons for my withdrawal from the study.

Signature:________________________

Date:____________________________
Forma de Consentimiento

Doy mi consentimiento para participar en el estudio que está conduciendo Nydia I. Santiago y entiendo que puedo, en cualquier momento, retirar este consentimiento y mi participación si lo deseo. Estoy de acuerdo en reunirme con ella en otro momento para discutir con ella mis razones por haber retirado mi participación en este proyecto.

Firma:_____________________
Fecha:____________________
APPENDIX G

Presentation Format

The subjects will be informed that the purpose of this study is to survey attitudes and opinions among Puerto Rican students in junior and senior high school.

The experimenter will proceed by distributing questionnaire booklets.

The experimenter will ask the students (respondents) to read along while the experimenter reads the caption on the first page of the questionnaires. The experimenter will ask the students to follow the example. The experimenter will instruct the respondents to locate the answer choices. The experimenter will ask if the subjects have any difficulty understanding how they are to mark their answers in the booklet. The experimenter will follow the instructions in the captions in both English and in Spanish. The experimenter will instruct the respondents that they have the option of answering the questionnaire in Spanish or English. If any difficulties arise the respondents may refer to either of the questions in English or Spanish for clarity. The experimenter will provide no further instructions or clarification for the students once they have begun their task. The subjects will be informed that they will have until the end of their second class period to complete the questionnaire.

The experimenter will proceed by distributing pencils to the participants.

The experimenter will then ask the participants to complete the
questionnaire.

DATE:__________________________

SCHOOL:________________________

GRADE:__________________________

SEX:____________________________

THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME STATEMENTS THAT PEOPLE HAVE DIFFERENT FEELINGS ABOUT. THEY HAVE TO DO WITH MANY DIFFERENT THINGS. READ EACH SENTENCE AND DECIDE WHETHER YOU: STRONGLY AGREE (SA), AGREE (A), DISAGREE (D), OR STRONGLY DISAGREE (SD). THEN CIRCLE THE ANSWER THAT TELLS HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT IT.

FOR EXAMPLE: The main problem for young people is money. (Suppose you "strongly agree" with that statement. Then you would circle SA.)

THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. JUST MARK HOW YOU REALLY FEEL. CIRCLE ONE ANSWER

1. In spite of what some people say, things are getting worse for the average man. SA A D SD
2. I have not lived the right kind of life. SA A D SD
3. No one in my family seems to understand me. SA A D SD
4. I have nothing in common with most people my age. SA A D SD
5. Most of the people in my neighborhood think about the same way I do about most things. SA A D SD
6. A person who commits a crime should be punished. SA A D SD
7. School does not teach a person anything that helps in life or helps to get a job. SA A D SD
8. Any person who is able and willing to work hard has a good chance of making it. SA A D SD
9. These days Puerto Rican people don't really know who they can count on.

10. It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

11. There is very little I really care about.

12. Most of my relatives are on my side.

13. My way of doing things is not understood by others my age.

14. I have never felt that I belonged in my neighborhood.

15. Laws are made for the good of a few people, not for the good of people like me.

16. School is a waste of time.

17. The kind of work I can get does not interest me.

18. There is little use in Puerto Rican people writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the Puerto Rican people.

19. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

20. I usually feel bored no matter what I am doing.

21. My parents often tell me they don't like the people I go around with.

22. It is safer to trust no one—not even so-called friends.

23. Adult neighborhood organizations don't speak for me.

24. It would be better if almost all laws were thrown away.

25. School is just a way of keeping young people out of the way.

26. To me work is just a way of making money not a way to get satisfaction.
27. In spite of what some people say things are getting worse for the Puerto Rican people.  
28. There is little use in writing to public officials because often they aren't interested in the problems of the average man.  
29. I don't seem to care what happens to me.  
30. I don't have anything in common with my family.  
31. Most of my friends waste time talking about things that don't mean anything.  
32. There are many good things happening in my neighborhood to improve things.  
33. It is ok for a person to break a law if he doesn't get caught.  
34. I have often had to take orders on a job from someone who did not know as much as I did.  
35. It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the Puerto Rican people in the future.  
36. These days a person really doesn't know who he can count on.  
37. I do things sometimes without knowing why.  
38. I don't care about most members of my family.  
39. In the group that I spend most of my time with most of the guys (girls) don't understand me.  
40. My neighborhood is full of people who care only about themselves.  
41. In a court of law I would have the same chance as a rich man.  
42. I like school.  
43. Most foremen and bosses just want to use the worker to make more money.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>CIRCLE</th>
<th>ONE</th>
<th>ANSWER</th>
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<tr>
<td>SA</td>
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<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA</td>
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<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
44. Nowadays Puerto Rican people have to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.  

SA A D SD

45. Most stuff I am told in school just does not make sense to me.  

SA A D SD

1. Are you in the Bilingual program now? (Check one)  
   a. Yes _____  
   b. No _____

2. Have you ever been in the Bilingual program? (Check one)  
   a. Yes _____  
   b. No _____

3. Date of Birth: ______ / ______ / ______  
   month    day    year

4. Place of Birth: ______ / ______ / state  
   city/town

5. How many years did you live in Puerto Rico? ______ years  
(If you have never lived in Puerto Rico go to question #9.)

6. Where did you live just before you came to the United States:  
   ____________________________  
   city/town

7. How many years did you go to school in Puerto Rico? ______ years

8. Check all the grades you attended in Puerto Rico.  
   1____, 2____, 3____, 4____, 5____, 6____, 7____, 8____,  
   9____, 10____, 11____, 12____

9. How many years have you lived in the United States? ______ years

10. Where have you lived most of the time in the United States?  
    ____________________________  
    state

11. Check all the grades you have completed in the United States.
12. How many years have you lived in Holyoke? _______ years

13. What is the highest level of education your father (or guardian) reached? (Mark one)

1. _____ less than elementary school graduation
2. _____ elementary school graduation
3. _____ some high school
4. _____ graduated high school
5. _____ technical training after high school, no college.
6. _____ some college
7. _____ I don't know

14. What is the highest level of education your mother (or guardian) reached? (Mark one)

1. _____ less than elementary school graduation
2. _____ elementary school graduation
3. _____ some high school
4. _____ graduated high school
5. _____ technical training after high school, no college
6. _____ some college
7. _____ I don't know

15. What is your father's usual occupation? Give name of job or job title: ___________________________; Briefly describe duties ___________________________

16. What is your mother's usual occupation? Give name of job or job title: ___________________________; Briefly describe duties: ___________________________

17. Why did your parents come to the United States? (explain)_______

18. How do you describe yourself? (Check one)
19. Most of your friends are ______________.  (Check one)
    ___ Anglo-American (Whites)
    ___ Puerto Rican
    ___ Afro-American (Blacks)
    ___ Other (Name)

20. Of the following types of music which do you prefer?  (Check one)
    ___ Latin (Salsa)
    ___ Soul
    ___ Rock
    ___ "Musica Jibara"
    ___ Other (Name)

21. How often do you listen to English radio programs?  (Check one)
    ___ always
    ___ frequently
    ___ rarely
    ___ never

22. How often do you listen to Spanish language radio programs?  (Check one)
    ___ always
    ___ frequently
    ___ rarely
    ___ never

23. If given a choice of food which type do you prefer?  (Check one)
    ___ American
    ___ Puerto Rican
    ___ Chinese
    ___ Italian
    ___ Mexican
    ___ Other (Name)

24. Do you belong to organizations/clubs just for Puerto Ricans?  (Check one)
    a. Yes    b. No    c. Does not apply

If yes, names of organizations/clubs:
25. Which religion do you practice? (Check one)

Catholic___ Protestant___ Other___(Name)____________

26. Do you belong to an organization/club in your church? (Check one)

a. Yes____ b. No____ c. Does not apply____

27. How often do you read newspapers in English? (Check one)

_____ always
_____ frequently
_____ rarely
_____ never

28. How often do you read newspapers in Spanish? (Check one)

_____ always
_____ frequently
_____ rarely
_____ never

29. Which language do you use most frequently? (Check only one per row)

A. at home with mother (or guardian) __________ __________ __________

   with father (or guardian) __________ __________ __________

   with brothers or sisters __________ __________ __________

B. In school with friends __________ __________ __________

   with teachers __________ __________ __________

C. In neighborhood with adults __________ __________ __________

   with friends __________ __________ __________

   with children __________ __________ __________

D. With relatives--with adults __________ __________ __________
30. Which language do you prefer when speaking to a Puerto Rican who understands both English and Spanish? (Check one)

___ Spanish  
___ English  
___ English and Spanish mixed

31. What do you consider yourself? (Check one)

___ Spanish speaker  
___ English speaker  
___ Bilingual

32. Who do you think plays an important part in keeping the Spanish language in the Puerto Rican community? (Check all that apply)

___ parents, ___ school, ___ church, ___ family, ___ older people, ___ friends, ___ none of these, ___ Other (Name)

33. What should the official language of Puerto Rico be? (Check one)

___ Spanish  
___ English  
___ Both Spanish and English  
___ Other (Name)

34. What status do you prefer for Puerto Rico? (Check one)

___ statehood  
___ independence  
___ commonwealth (present status)  
___ Other (Name)

35. If given a choice where would you like to live? (Explain) ____________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________
LOS SIGUIENTES SON ORACIONES A LAS CUALES LAS PERSONAS REACCIONAN EN FORMA DIFERENTE. DICHAS ORACIONES TIENEN QUE VER CON MUCHAS COSAS DIFERENTES. LEE CADA ORACION Y DECIDE SÍ TU ESTAS: MUY DE ACUERDO (MA), DE ACUERDO (A), EN DESACUERDO (D), O MUY EN DESACUERDO (MD). ENTonces CIRCULA LA CONTESTACIÓN QUE INDICA O NO TU TE SIENTES.

POR EJEMPLO: El problema principal de la gente joven es el dinero. (Vamos a suponer que estas: "Muy De acuerdo" con esta oración, entonces debes circular MA.)

NO HAY RESPUESTAS CORRECTAS O INCORRECTAS. SOLO MARCA COMO TU TE SIENTES REALMENTE. CIRCULA UNA CONTESTACIÓN

1. A pesar de lo que alguna gente dice, las cosas estan empeorando para el hombre promedio.  
   MA A D MD
2. No he vivido la clase de vida correcta.  
   MA A D MD
3. Nadie en mi familia parece enterderme.  
   MA A D MD
4. No tengo nada en comun con la mayoría de la gente de mi edad.  
   MA A D MD
5. Gran parte de la gente en mi vecindario piensa de la misma manera que yo sobre muchas cosas.  
   MA A D MD
6. Una persona que comete un crimen debe ser castigado.  
   MA A D MD
7. La escuela no le enseña a la persona nada que le ayude en la vida o a conseguir un trabajo.  
   MA A D MD
8. Cualquier persona que es capaz y desea trabajar fuerte tiene una buena oportunidad de alcanzar éxito.  
   MA A D MD
9. En estos días, la gente puertorriqueña no saben realmente con quien pueden contar.  
   MA A D MD
10. No es justo traer niños a este mundo debido a como se ven las cosas para el futuro.

11. Hay muy poco que me importe.

12. La mayoría de mis familiares me apoyan. (estan de acuerdo conmigo)

13. Las personas de mi edad no entienden mi forma de hacer las cosas.

14. Nunca he sentido que pertenezco en mi vecindario.

15. Las leyes estan hechas para el beneficio de pocas personas y no para el beneficio de personas como yo.

16. La escuela es una perdida de tiempo.

17. La clase de trabajo que puedo obtener no me interesa.

18. Es de poco sentido que la gente puertorriqueña le escriba a oficiales publicos porque a menudo ellos no estan interesados realmente en los problemas de la gente puertorriqueña.

19. Hoy en día la persona tiene que vivir casi para el presente y dejar que el mañana se encargue de si mismo.

20. Usualmente me siento aburrido, no importa lo que este haciendo.

21. Mis padres a menudo me dicen que no les gusta la gente con quien ando.

22. Es mas seguro el no confiar en nadieo siguiera en los llamados amigos.

23. Las organizaciones para adultos en mi vecindario no me representan.

24. Seria mejor si casi todas las leyes se eliminaran.

25. La escuela es solamente un medio de mantener a la gente joven fuera del camino.

26. Para mi el trabajo es solamente una manera de
hacer dinero—no, una forma de obtener satisfacción.

27. Apezar de lo que alguna gente dice las cosas están empeorando para la gente puertorriqueña.  
28. Es de poco sentido el escribirle a oficiales públicos porque a menudo ellos no están interesados realmente en los problemas del hombre promedio.  
29. No me parece importarme lo que me ocurre.  
30. No tengo nada en común con mi familia.  
31. La mayoría de mis amigos pierden el tiempo hablando sobre cosas que no significan nada.  
32. Hay muchas cosas buenas ocurriendo en mi vecindario para mejorar las cosas.  
33. Esta bien que una persona viole una ley siempre y cuando no lo descumran.  
34. A menudo he tenido que tomar ordenes en un trabajo de una que no sabia tanto como yo.  
35. No es justo traer niños a este mundo debido a como se ven las cosas para la gente puertorriqueña en el futuro.  
36. En estos días una persona no sabe realmente con quien puede contar.  
37. A veces hago cosas sin saber porque.  
38. No me importan la mayoría de los miembros de mi familia.  
39. En el grupo con el cual paso la mayor parte de mi tiempo, la mayoría de los muchachos (y las muchachas) no me entienden.  
40. Mi vecindario esta lleno de gente que solamente les importa a si mismo.  
41. En una corte de leyes yo tendría la misma oportunidad que un hombre rico.  
42. Me gusta la escuela.
43. La mayoría de los supervisores y jefes solamente quieren usar el trabajador para hacer más dinero. MA A D MD

44. Hoy en día la gente puertorriqueña tiene que vivir casi para el presente y dejar que el mañana se encarque de sí mismo. MA A D MD

45. La mayoría de las cosas que me dicen en la escuela sencillamente no me hacen sentido para mí. MA A D MD

1. ¿Estás en el programa bilingüe actualmente? (Marca uno)
   a. Si _____  b. No _____

2. ¿Has estado en el programa bilingüe alguna vez? (Marca uno)
   a. Si _____  b. No _____

3. Fecha de nacimiento: ________ / ________ / ________
   mes  día  año

4. Lugar de nacimiento: __________ / ______________
   ciudad/pueblo  estado

5. ¿Cuántos años viviste en Puerto Rico? ________ años
   (si nunca has vivido en Puerto Rico pasa a la pregunta #9.)

6. ¿Donde vivías antes de venir a los Estados Unidos?
   ____________
   ciudad/pueblo

7. ¿Cuántos años estuviste en la escuela en Puerto Rico? ________ años

8. Marca todos los grados que completaste en Puerto Rico.
   1__, 2__, 3__, 4__, 5__, 6__, 7__, 8__,
   9__, 10__, 11__, 12__

9. ¿Cuántos años has vivido en los Estados Unidos? ________ años

10. ¿Donde has vivido la mayor parte del tiempo en los Estados Unidos?
    ________________
    estado
11. Marca todos los grados que has completados en los Estados Unidos.
   1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12

12. ¿Cuántos años has vivido en Holyoke? ____________ años

13. ¿Cuál es el grado más alto que alcanzo tu padre o guardián en la escuela? (Marca uno)

1. _____ menos de sexto grado
2. _____ graduación de escuela elemental
3. _____ algunos grados de la escuela superior
4. _____ graduación de escuela superior
5. _____ entrenamiento técnico después de escuela superior—sin universidad
6. _____ alguna educación universitaria
7. _____ No se

14. ¿Cuál es el grado más alto que alcanzo tu madre o guardián en la escuela? (Marca uno)

1. _____ menos de sexto grado
2. _____ graduación de escuela elemental
3. _____ algunos grados de la escuela superior
4. _____ graduado de escuela superior
5. _____ entrenamiento técnico después de escuela superior, sin universidad
6. _____ alguna educación universitaria
7. _____ No se

15. ¿Cuál es la ocupación principal de tu papa (o guardián)? Nombra la ocupación: __________________________ Describe las tareas brevemente: __________________________

16. ¿Cuál es la ocupación principal de tu mamá (o guardián)? Nombra la ocupación: __________________________ Describe las tareas brevemente: __________________________

17. ¿Porque tus padres vinieren a los Estados Unidos? (Explica) ______________________________________
18. ¿Cómo te describes a ti mismo? (Marca uno)
   -- Americano
   -- Puertorriqueño
   -- New Yorican
   -- Hispano-americano
   -- Otro (Menciona)

19. La mayoría de tus amigos son __________. (Marca uno)
   -- Anglo-americanos (blancos)
   -- Puertorriqueños
   -- Afro-americanos (morenos)
   -- Otro (Menciona)

20. ¿Qué tipo de música prefieres? (Marca uno)
   -- Latina (Salsa)
   -- "Soul"
   -- "Rock"
   -- música jibara
   -- Otra (Menciona)

21. ¿Cuántas veces escuchas programas de radio en inglés? (Marca uno)
   -- siempre
   -- frecuentemente
   -- raramente
   -- nunca

22. ¿Cuántas veces escuchas programas de radio en español? (Marca uno)
   -- siempre
   -- frecuentemente
   -- raramente
   -- nunca

23. ¿Si te dieran a escojer entre diferentes tipos de comida, cual de los siguientes prefieres? (Marca uno)
   -- americana
   -- puertorriqueña
   -- china
   -- italiana
   -- mejicana
   -- otra (Menciona)

24. ¿Perteneces a organizaciones/clubes solamente para puertorriqueños?
   a. Si ____   b. No ____   c. No se aplica ____
Si contestases que si: Nombres de organizaciones/clubes:

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

25. ¿Qué religión practicas? (Marca uno)
   ____ Católica, ____ Protestante, ____ Otra (Menciona)

__________________________________________________________

26. ¿Perteneces a una organización/club en tu iglesia? (Marca uno)
   a. Si ____  b. No ____  c. No se aplica ____

27. ¿Cuántas veces lees el periódico en inglés? (Marca uno)
   ____ siempre
   ____ frecuentemente
   ____ raramente
   ____ nunca

28. ¿Cuántas veces lees el periódico en español? (Marca uno)
   ____ siempre
   ____ frecuentemente
   ____ raramente
   ____ nunca

29. ¿Qué idioma usas más frecuentemente? (Marca solamente una fila)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Español</th>
<th>Inglés</th>
<th>Ambos</th>
<th>Igualmente</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. En la casa con la madre (o' guardián)</td>
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<tr>
<td>con el padre (o' guardián)</td>
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<td>con hermanos</td>
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<td>B. En la escuela con amigos</td>
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<td>C. En el vecindario con adultos</td>
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<td>con amigos</td>
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30. ¿Qué idioma prefieres al hablar con un puertorriqueño que entiende inglés y español? (Marca uno)
   ____ español
   ____ inglés
   ____ inglés y español juntos

31. ¿Cómo te consideras? (Marca uno)
   ____ español-hispano parlante
   ____ inglés parlante
   ____ bilingüe

32. ¿Quién (quienes) consideras juega un papel importante en mantener el idioma español en la comunidad puertorriqueña? (Marca todas las que se apliquen)
   ____ padres, ____ escuela, ____ iglesia, ____ familia,
   ____ personas mayores, ____ amigos, ____ ninguno de estos, ____ Otros
   (Menciona)

33. ¿Cuál debe ser el idioma oficial de Puerto Rico? (Marca uno)
   ____ español
   ____ inglés
   ____ inglés y español
   ____ Otro (Menciona)

34. ¿Qué "status" político prefieres para Puerto Rico? (Marca uno)
   ____ estadidad
   ____ independencia
   ____ Estado libre asociado (status presente)
   ____ Otro (Menciona)

35. ¿Si te diera a escoger, donde te gustaría vivir? (Explica)