This is a guide to materials and research on Puerto Ricans who have returned to Puerto Rico after living in the United States. Part 1 is an annotated bibliography of books, journal articles, printed documents, doctoral dissertations, master's theses, journalistic accounts, and unpublished papers on characteristics of Puerto Rican return migrants; their sociocultural, language, and educational adjustment problems in the United States and upon their return to Puerto Rico; employment experiences; and their economic and social impact on American and Puerto Rican societies. Part 2 is an inventory of completed, current, and planned research on the characteristics, language and educational needs, and self-concept of return migrant students; return migrants' employment patterns; and demographic, social, and economic influences and effects of return migration. Information provided on each study includes the investigator's name, sponsoring institution, funding source, completion date, and a description of the research. An author index and a directory of persons involved in Puerto Rican return migration studies are appended. (MJL)
PUERTO RICAN MIGRATION: THE RETURN FLOW
LA MIGRACION PUERTORRIQUEÑA: EL REFLUJO A LA ISLA

An Annotated Bibliography
Compiled by
Paquita Vivó

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Introduction

This bibliography has been compiled with the purpose of identifying published and unpublished literature, from both the island and the United States, regarding the migrant population that has returned to Puerto Rico.

Although a considerable body of literature exists about Puerto Rican migration, this search did not attempt to identify and describe the entire body of materials available on this subject. Instead, it sought to deal only with works directly examining the return flow of Puerto Rican migration to the island, and those which, even though they deal with the larger question of migration, provide facts and insights into this return flow. For example, the search conducted in the data base of the Smithsonian Science Information Exchange yielded 71 references to studies about Puerto Ricans, but only three of those specifically touched on the subject of return migration. Thus, although a body of literature much larger than the one listed here was taken into consideration, only works found to deal specifically with the subject at hand were listed.

Because of the paucity of easily accessible materials on the return flow, it was decided early on that it would be useful to try to identify ongoing or planned research that might lead to publications in the future. Doing this would, at the same time, provide an opportunity for networking among those interested in the question of the return flow of Puerto Rican migration. Precisely for this reason, the appendix offers a list of names and addresses of individuals and groups who were identified in this process as either working directly on the subject or interested in keeping informed of what is happening in this field.

The compiled material has been divided into two sections: I. Annotated Bibliography containing books, journal articles, documents, doctoral dissertations, journalistic accounts, and a few unpublished materials that were identified. II. Research Inventory, which provides information on research that has been completed, or is in progress or planned. The Appendix includes an author index and the resource list already mentioned.

Sources used

This compilation is based on a combination of manual and computerized searches. Besides the catalog of the Library of Congress, the catalogs of the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños at the City University of New York, and of the libraries of the University of Puerto Rico's Social Science Research Center and of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Planning Board, were checked for relevant entries. Additionally, computerized searches were requested from Datrix II, the search and retrieval service provided by University Microfilms International to locate and abstract dissertations and theses; ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education; National Clearinghouse for Mental Health Information; National Clearinghouse on Bilingual Education; and the Smithsonian Science Information Exchange.

A brief questionnaire, intended to elicit information on research that has been completed, is in progress or is planned, was mailed to more than 80 individuals and institutions in Puerto Rico and the United States with an interest in the subject of Puerto Rican migration.
During the information gathering period, the area of masters' theses done in Puerto Rico eluded the compiler. However, this area was later identified at the time of reviewing the initial draft of this document. At the University of Puerto Rico's School of Education, in particular, numerous dissertations have been devoted to the subject of the returned migration. These theses have now been identified and listed in Section I.D. but, since copies are not readily available in the United States, no annotations have been included. It is suggested, however, that anyone wishing to consult a particular thesis should write to the Librarian of the respective University of Puerto Rico Graduate Department inquiring how to obtain a photocopy.

Some general observations on the literature

An analysis of the uncovered literature and research reveals certain facts and trends:

-- The return flow of Puerto Rican migrants is not an entirely new phenomenon (see, especially, I.6 and I.17) \(^1\), yet it only seems to become a widely accepted fact in the 1970s and '80s.

-- Considerable attention has been paid to the analysis of motivational factors for the return flow (I.1; I.5; I.10; I.26; I.27; demographic change and characteristics (I.2; I.5; I.6; I.14; I.18; II.14), and labor force characteristics and mobility (I.16; I.19; II.8; II.11), but the need to improve data collection and analysis is stressed in several works (I.5; I-12; I.14), and an increase is seen in the use of a Marxist framework for the analysis of migratory flows (I-3; I.7; I.9; II.11).

-- Problems encountered by returned migrants, many of them centered on language difficulties and questions of cultural adjustment and reinsertion, have been the subject of much discussion (I.1; I.4; I.10; I.21; I.22; I.26; I.28; I.29; I.30; I.31), but, until recently, of relatively little hard research (I.20; II-2; II.7; II.9; II.10; II.15).

-- Increasing attention is being accorded to the self-identity and self-concept of returned migrant students and adolescents (I.11; I.22; I.33; II.4; II.9; II.10), as well as to the question of school adjustment or rejection (I.22; II.12).

-- Other items of special interest to education planners and policy makers are figures and perceptions on the turnover of school-age children to the island (I.17; I.25; I.26); a survey of the inservice needs of language teachers of returned migrant youths (II.2); and a preliminary agenda for further research (I.13).

-- The benefits to Puerto Rico of the returned migrants, in terms of improvement of human capital, the potential upgrading of occupational skills, and as a mechanism for technological transfer, have received scant attention (I.1; I.10; I.21; I.23).

\(^1\) Numbers in parentheses refer to entry numbers.
Two new topics have been inserted recently in the discussion: the "re-return" of migrants to the United States due to disenchantment with the island (I.1, II.13), and some political implications of the return flow (I.32).

Implicit in the growing body of literature and research that is evident in this compilation is an acknowledgment of the fact that returned migration poses a serious challenge to policy makers and educational practitioners. However, there still seems to be widespread uncertainty about formulating policies that will respond effectively and creatively to a serious human dilemma. Although some of the materials reviewed advance some action and policy recommendations, it has been impossible to locate a single official document that outlines a research agenda, or which suggests a wide range of short- and long-term policy options to deal with the multiple problems and opportunities presented by the increasing numbers of Puerto Ricans who are returning to their native land.

A note on statistical data sources about returned migration

The best known and most widely used statistical series on Puerto Rican migration has been the Passenger Movement Data series, which since 1940 has reported all civilian passengers entering or leaving Puerto Rico in commercial transit. Compiled by the Puerto Rico Ports Authority and then submitted to the Puerto Rico Planning Board for analysis, the series is simply a body count offering no additional information on the characteristics of the persons counted. It has been estimated that, taken over a sufficiently long period of time, most tourist and vacation figures in this series are cancelled out, thus leaving reasonably reliable numbers on the net migration.

However, Planning Board Consultant Steven Zell has pointed out that "there is no dynamic, continuous up-to-date body of data on the characteristics of persons entering and leaving Puerto Rico. For a country which logically appears to have so many facets of its existence closely tied to the fluctuating migrational streams, there is literally no way to ascertain with any certainty just what the nature of those connections might be and just when and how they might occur. Zell has repeatedly urged, not simply a passenger movement count, but an inclusive population study of all air travelers making it mandatory for the airlines to administer a questionnaire in flight to all air passengers arriving and leaving Puerto Rico, including questions on age, sex, residence, education, occupation, and other aspects.

From 1957 to 1964, a Ramp Survey was conducted at the airport in San Juan to obtain information on place of residence, place of birth, age, sex, occupation, employment, educational level and purpose of travel. The survey, which resulted in periodic statistical reports titled Characteristics of Passengers Who Traveled by Air Between Puerto Rico and the United States, was discontinued in 1964 because of methodological and administrative deficiencies. As this is being written, a new effort has been undertaken in Puerto Rico to administer systematically an extensive questionnaire along similar lines to a sample of passengers arriving and leaving San Juan airport, an effort that will be carried out by specially trained interviewers.

For many years, the Commonwealth Department of Labor has conducted a Household Survey, designed to derive statistics on unemployment. Since approximately 1963, the Puerto Rico Planning Board has appended to each April-May survey a brief questionnaire, designed specifically to gather information on migrants, which is known in the island as the Encuesta de Inmigración (Immigration Survey). In 1972, the Commonwealth Planning Board extracted nearly 6,000 names and addresses from the Labor Department sample, from which a subsample of returned migrants was then obtained. Through a Planning Board contract with the Social Science Research Center at the University of Puerto Rico, a questionnaire limited to motivational probing, known as the Return Migrant Re-Interviews, was administered to this group.3/

Another statistical data source of Puerto Rican migration information is the Social Security Data Tape, which was extracted from the Longitudinal Employee Employer Data (LEED) file of the Social Security Administration. This file is derived from the continuous work history sample of the SSA for the period 1957 through 1968. In 1957, one percent of those employed in covered jobs were placed in the file and followed through 1968, thus providing a longitudinal data source on migration. The Puerto Rico tape contains the entire records of all those who had ever worked in Puerto Rico during the time they were in the file, including any time spent in the U.S. in a job covered by Social Security. This data tape has become an important source for the analysis of mobility patterns, both within the island and between Puerto Rico and the United States.

The Census of Puerto Rico has been used extensively also for the analysis of migration flows between Puerto Rico and the United States.4/ It is expected that, because of the more detailed questions on mobility, employment and language in the 1980 questionnaire, the tapes from the 1980 Census will provide a wealth of data to examine the characteristics of persons returning to Puerto Rico after living in the United States and of persons who, born in the U.S. of Puerto Rican parents, have moved to Puerto Rico. These series will not only provide the more familiar range of demographic characteristics, but will make it possible to determine the level of education, labor force status, field of vocational training and other important questions regarding migration.

* * * * *

Although great efforts were made to provide as comprehensive a compilation as possible, involuntary omissions are certainly possible and the compiler would


appreciate receiving information regarding other materials available on the subject. It should be pointed out also that inclusion in the bibliography does not imply endorsement. Finally, although the compilation has been supported by funds from the National Institute of Education, the findings and observations herein contained are the sole responsibility of the compiler and they do not necessarily reflect the views of the NIE.

Paquita Vivó.

Washington, D.C.
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Part I

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

This paper views a group (399) of long-term migrants (8 years or more) who have at least marginally profited by their exposure to modernizing forces and acculturation to the U.S. mainland socioeconomic system prior to return to Puerto Rico. Migrants return with a 'revolution of rising expectations' and hope to continue upward mobility and develop to a greater extent their Puerto Rican identity. People are largely attracted back to the island for familial, economic (employment), and patriotic reasons. Problems encountered by returnees follow a continuum: first are language difficulties, followed by cultural adjustment problems, which lead to rejection by natives, that in turn extend to difficulties in schools and the job sphere, and finally end up with disenchantment with poor physical and social services. Thirty-eight percent of the sample, largely young and urban persons, indicate they wish to return permanently to the continental U.S. where they feel there are greater work opportunities, cultural environments more acceptable to their value structure, and better educational institutions. However, the majority (2 of 3) of long-term return migrants will stay in Puerto Rico and, because of their overwhelming working and middle class status, are contributing positively to progress in the island. (Author's abstract)


Based on a larger study (See entry No. II-8) which examines the relationship between migration and labor force characteristics of the Puerto Rican population in New York and Puerto Rico, this paper examines the extent of return migration to Puerto Rico using data from the 1970 Census. It presents a description of the return migration and the characteristics of the migrants based on the traditional five-year fixed interval question in the Census form and the question asked for the first time in 1970 as to whether they had resided in the U.S. for six months or more between 1965 and 1970. Those who did were asked also the year they returned to Puerto Rico, and how long they had stayed in the U.S.

The sample revealed that "this is a return migration of young and, primarily, poorly educated persons," with 40 percent of them between the ages of 20 and 34 and with less than nine years of education.

Bonilla serves as Executive Director and Colón Jordán, as research associate at the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, City University of New York.

The authors conclude that the return of migrants to Puerto Rico, particularly in the 1970's, "springs from the sedimentation of a long historical process, a prolonged circulation of workers, a changing structure of control, and an advanced domination and absorption... Return also signals an extended crisis manifest in its more acute form in the weak sectors of the metropolitan job market and the financially threatened cities where most Puerto Ricans are employed and live." The question, in their opinion, is not one of "how we can be regrouped, redeployed or resocialized to accommodate capital but rather how the active main trends of our time situate Puerto Ricans to take a unified and principled role in resisting oppression wherever they find themselves."


A brief essay on causes and effects of the Puerto Rican migration with emphasis on the language question. In the author's opinion, Spanish has been considered a key to the survival of the island's personality, and because returning students tend to place a high value on English and use it as their primary medium of communication, "Puerto Rican islanders see those mainland students as those who will bring the English language back to the Puerto Rican educational system." As a result, "the mainland-born youth is seen as a cultural agressor."


Dr. Fernández de Cínturón is a Psychologist and Research Associate, Social Science Research Center of the University of Puerto Rico, and Dr. Vales, a sociologist and former Director of said Center.

A preliminary study providing some insights on the motivations responsible for or associated with return migration. The study was based on a sample of 236 migrants, ranging from 14 to over 65 years old, who had returned to Puerto Rico between 1965 and 1972. It analyzed demographic characteristics --age, sex, educational background, civil status, knowledge of the English language--, as well as migratory experience.
Main motivational factors for the migration to the U.S. identified in the study were: (1) Personal, subdivided as follows: health problems, family sent for them, children were studying there, other family problems and military requirements; (2) economic; (3) educational; (4) environmental and (5) others. In the motivations for return, personal reasons ranked first, especially among females. Personal reasons for returning were subdivided as follows: health problems; family sent for them, death or other problems in the family; homesickness; to place children in Puerto Rican schools, and others.

The study found that the return migrants had been traveling since 1918, with more than half of them having a history of repeated migration and an average of 3 trips per person.

The authors conclude that "the study of return migration requires a redefinition of the concept as to allow for a more objective and reliable perspective. We can no longer talk about migration as a one-way process, nor of the migrants as a homogeneous marginalized group." They identify four different variations of the concept:

1. Those who migrate and become assimilated to the host community, thus developing new ties and competence, even a new identity.
2. Those who migrate and, although they may be successful, return to their place of origin and reinforce their cultural values and ties, thus at the same time reinforcing a conceptual construction of migration as a temporary experience.
3. Those who migrate, do not become assimilated or relatively successful, and soon return to Puerto Rico never to migrate again.
4. Those who migrate, reconstruct a Puerto Rican social, and perhaps even physical environment, in the place to which they migrated.

A preliminary version of this report was issued previously under the title "A Pilot Study: Return Migration to Puerto Rico."


A demographic study of Puerto Rican migration based on the 1960 Census of Puerto Rico which revealed that 55,284 persons 5 years old or older who were living there at the time of
the Census had been living in the United States in 1955. Through careful analysis, Hernández estimated at 150,000 the number of Puerto Ricans who returned to the island between 1950 and 1965. This study is considered the first in-depth analysis of the numbers and significance of Puerto Rican migration, the diversity of outgoing and returning flows, and the economic implications of the return to the island. An earlier, preliminary version of the study was issued with the same title by the Social Science Research Center of the University of Puerto Rico in 1964.


A study of Puerto Rican migration based "on the basic insights and theoretical guidelines provided by Marx, chiefly in Capital, concerning population and labor force movements as essential components in the organization of production." Puerto Rican migration is studied as an instance of a global movement of world capitalist development. The data on return migration is based on José L. Vázquez Calzada's study, "Demographic Aspects of Migration," which is reproduced in the book. (See entry No. I.18.)


Levine, a sociologist, is editor of Caribbean Review.

This book consists of a first-person narrative relating episodes in the life of a Puerto Rican emigrant, with an Introduction and an Epilogue in which the author attempts to discuss "the historical development of the Puerto Rican circuit."

The book provides inside-views of an emigrant, and although they cannot be taken as representing the views of all emigrants, there are insights in Benjy's narrative that would need to be taken into consideration if rigorous empirical research were to be undertaken in the future using a representative sample of returnees. Particularly salient is Benjy's perception of a felt "equality" upon return, as compared with a sense of inferiority which is tied to his earlier island years. Some critics have questioned Benjy's representativeness, particularly the fact that his opinions and ideas upon return are those of a middle-aged person with a career of "hustling" and marginality in both societies, and the sense of vicarious and sometimes real power that is implied in Benjy's "mastery" of English.

Maldonado Denis is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Puerto Rico.

The book, in general, is "a Marxist study of the phenomenon of mass migration from Puerto Rico to the United States and its socio-economic and cultural ramifications, particularly in relation to the struggle for self-determination of the Puerto Rican people."

Chapter 7, "Those who return," (pp.177-128) takes a look at who is returning and why and the consequences of returning for those who have done so.

The author argues that the return migration is a result of the fluctuation of American capitalism which attracts or repels Caribbean unskilled laborers, according to its economic needs. He is highly critical of the view that Puerto Rican migration has acted as a "safety valve" to the island's population explosion, and holds that this interpretation is essentially a "bourgeois" rationalization.


This paper examines the prospective return migrants to Puerto Rico and the prospective permanent residents in New York with respect to a number of factors that relate to their return migration choice, such as ties with Puerto Rico and visits to the island.

The survey was based on a sample of 234 male and female respondents from 136 households interviewed in the last six months of 1965. A third felt they definitely will return to Puerto Rico. According to the authors, "the important question raised of how to identify prospective return migrants should certainly stimulate further research. In fact, the possibility of having migrants as carriers of social change in the areas to which they return could lead to effective transformation of the underdeveloped regions originating emigration. Therefore, careful training of, and planning for, return migrants should be a concern of governmental and private agencies in both the country to which the migrants come and the one to which they return."


Angel M. Pacheco is Associate Professor of the University of Puerto Rico and Adjunct Professor of the Gerontology and Human Development Center-School of Medicine at Cayey, Puerto Rico; Seymour Wapner is
G. Stanley Hall Professor of Genetic Psychology and Chairperson of the Psychology Department, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts; and Nydia Lucca Irizarry is a doctoral candidate at the Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University.

A report on the preliminary findings of a research project sponsored jointly by Clark University and the University of Puerto Rico. The authors develop an "organismic-evolutive" theory on which their work is based. Their research presents somewhat contradictory findings. The first set, obtained with the simple translation of instruments designed for other cultures, results in hardly any significant differences between the group of migrants and the control group of non-migrants. This event led the authors to design their own instruments, which resulted in a profile of the young Puerto Rican migrant who returns to the island: drastic changes in his/her self-esteem, family relations and interaction with the physical, social and cultural environment. It showed also a dramatic and mutual rejection between the migrants and the community. (See also entries No. I.33, II.9 and II.10.)


This study was prepared by the consulting firm of Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co. for the Puerto Rico Planning Board and funded in part by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The object of the study was to recommend methods which could help improve the coverage and quality of data on migration so that a number of policies and programs bearing on housing, health, education, human resources, industrial location and tourism can be evaluated and prepared.

The study provides a general framework of migration analysis and examines the shortcomings in the collection of data on migration. It suggests a number of measures to improve the quality of data and includes questionnaires for use in determining the number of migrants, their socio-economic characteristics, and their mobility behavior. It recommends that an intensive study of return migration be conducted to determine costs and benefits of such migration to Puerto Rico.
Cutting Edge (Newsletter of the Aspira Center for Educational Equity, 205 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10016), Vol. 1, No. 3, Fall 1980, p.3.

A set of educational issues requiring research are outlined by Ramón Daubón: (1) The impact of the drastic change in the language of instruction of the migrant student; (2) qualitative and quantitative adjustments by the schools as a response to the return migrant student's needs; (3) attitudes of the return migrant students towards the schools and how the school personnel responds in turn; (4) demographic data on school age population; (5) the development of arrangements between both school settings that will assure continuity of instruction, while making student records available; and (6) case studies and generalizations of successful and unsuccessful adjustment patterns by children and schools.


The report acknowledges that data on Puerto Rican migration is at best limited, and that the most recent source is the "Encuesta de Inmigración" (Immigration Survey), for which the Planning Board administers a questionnaire annually in May, and which serves to supplement the employment survey conducted by the Department of Labor. The Planning Board survey covers a sample of 6,000 homes, representative of the various geographical regions of the island, in both urban and rural areas.

This 1980 report is based on the 1977 survey and subdivides immigrants into four categories: (1) Puerto Rican migrant who returns-- a person born in Puerto Rico who has migrated and returned; (2) Immigrant Puerto Rican ancestry-- person born outside of Puerto Rico with one or both Puerto Rican parents; (3) North American-- person born in the United States and/or U.S. possessions whose parents are not Puerto Ricans; and (4) Foreigner-- person born in another country and whose parents are not Puerto Rican.

It states that, as of May 1977, the immigrant population of Puerto Rico reached approximately 685,000 persons, of which "495,000 were Puerto Rican migrants who returned, 137,000 were immigrants of Puerto Rican parents, 43,000 were foreigners, and 10,000 were North Americans."
In its analysis of the first group, persons born in Puerto Rico but who migrated and returned, the study found that a majority of the persons who returned between 1965 and 1971 were between 25 and 44 years of age, had a median of 7.7 years of schooling, and an unemployment rate twice that of the persons who had not migrated.

Among the immigrants of Puerto Rican ancestry, the analysis shows that a majority was between the ages of 0 and 13 years old and that this immigrant group in general has a higher level of educational attainment.

The report includes many tables comparing the characteristics—age, educational attainment, reasons for coming to the island—of the various immigrant groups.


This document brings together a series of papers, apparently from diverse sources: Part I. An examination of the economic status of mainland Puerto Ricans: a review of recent census surveys; Part II. Statistical analysis of the Puerto Rican immigration survey; Part III. Selected topics in internal migration; Part IV. Some selected data-oriented topics on migration; Part V. Some future work in migration.


The overall project was designed and directed by Dr. Steven Zell, economic consultant to the Puerto Rico Planning Board. Vol. I was researched and written by Zell. Vol. II was written by Nelson Isaac Colón, José Rafael Rivera and Josué A. Matos.

The purpose of the report was to analyze the nature and implications of the patterns of labor mobility found among Puerto Rican Workers.

Volume I presents both a time series and a cross-section analysis of the work experience of Puerto Rican workers in Social Security-covered employment from 1957 to 1968. The analysis emphasized the contrasts between persons with U.S. mainland labor market experience and those without it.

Volume II concentrated on the agricultural sector of Puerto Rico, based on extensive interviews with and observation of workers and farmers in the municipio of Utuado. It provides a picture of the nature and problems of mobility and seasonality in the rural labor market of Puerto Rico.

The report includes a summary of findings and recommendations for further research on patterns of Puerto Rican labor mobility.

This paper provides a useful framework for discussion of various aspects of Puerto Rican migration.

Section IV, titled "Return Migration to Puerto Rico" (pp. 717-737) discusses the earlier movement of Puerto Ricans back to the island, and provides points of comparison with other return migrations registered in areas within the United States. The authors use New York Board of Education data to show that the movement of students from U.S. schools to Puerto Rican schools is not an entirely new phenomenon. Although 104,388 pupils moved from Puerto Rico to New York in the decade from 1953 to 1963, some 59,924 students were discharged by N.Y. City Schools to the island's school system during the same period.


Vázquez Calzada is a Demographer at the School of Medicine, University of Puerto Rico.

The article is based on the author's studies, "Las Causas y Efectos de la Emigración Puertorriqueña" (mimeo, 1968), and "El Desbalance Entre Recursos y Población en Puerto Rico" (mimeo, 1966), both done at the School of Medicine of the University of Puerto Rico.

Vázquez holds that migration has received scant attention from demographers and endeavors to put together in this study "the accumulated knowledge about this important variable." He concludes that migration is the symptom of a critical socio-economic situation and that it is beginning to reverse itself. In his view, it is a very costly solution which should be questioned from a moral and human point of view.

The role of Puerto Rican migrants in the island's labor market is examined and, in particular, their effect on the structure of unemployment in Puerto Rico. A new data source provided the means for an exhaustive analysis of the comparative characteristics of age, education, location in Puerto Rico, time spent abroad, labor force participation, and unemployment rates and duration for non-migrants, return migrants as a whole, and migrants classified by years of last return to Puerto Rico. Implications for policy making are discussed and recommendations are included.

(A doctoral dissertation by the author, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1974, with the same title, appears indexed in University Microfilms Comprehensive Dissertation Query Service; however, the dissertation is not available from University Microfilms, nor is it abstracted in Dissertation Abstracts International.)
B. DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS


The purpose of this investigation is to measure the social and economic changes that have taken place among Puerto Ricans who have migrated to the mainland, and to explore the problems of readjustment that are faced by Puerto Ricans who return from the mainland to the island.

A questionnaire was designed for this study and administered to 100 heads of families in each of three rural villages in Puerto Rico: one with little migratory movement; another from which a significant proportion of the population had migrated to the mainland without returning, and a third one which had experienced a migration similar to that of the second village but which, in addition, experienced a heavy return flow.

It was found that the return migrants had acquired new social patterns, after living on the mainland: family size was smaller; the autonomy of the father was diminished; literacy was increased.

The village that had the return migration as a whole was economically behind the village that had a stable pattern of migration. The incomes of the return migrants, individually, were lower than those of their non-migrant neighbors, although unskilled migrants often learned new skills on the mainland.

The return migrants assert a powerful influence on the island's social and economic values, which is combined with feedback to the island from Puerto Ricans still living on the mainland. Several of these areas of change have only been exposed by this study and should be explored in greater depth through future research. (DAI abstract modified.)

The core of research for this study of the return to Puerto Rico of migrants who had formerly settled in the United States was a special tabulation of the Census of 1960, analyzed according to places of residence.

The variables analyzed according to these classifications of settlement included life-time migration, mobility, place of residence in the United States, literacy and ability to speak English, educational attainment, personal and family income, participation in the labor force, fertility, age, sex and family composition. Migrants settling in the San Juan area were largely born outside the capital city, a pattern which was accompanied by a syndrome of related trends: they tended to be more stable, less vulnerable to unemployment, more likely to have lived in New York State, and had higher educational attainment and incomes. The San Juan migrants were also younger than those who settled elsewhere; they formed more cohesive family units and had lower fertility rates. The finding that fertility rates among return migrants in general were considerably lower than those of the total population of Puerto Rico is considered important.

An inverse syndrome of characteristics was found among return migrants outside San Juan, particularly in rural areas. Low incomes and high rates of unemployment, as well as a marked lack of family cohesiveness were factors which led to the conjecture that return migrants in these areas may be persons for whom Puerto Rico was a last recourse for chronic problems on the mainland. A similar suggestion is made in regard to the lowest class neighborhoods of San Juan, where the pattern of demographic traits approached the rural polarity. By way of contrast, return migration would seem to provide an opportunity for social and economic mobility among persons settling in the middle-class areas of the capital city, particularly in suburbs. An intermediate type appears in smaller cities and in Ponce and Mayaguez. In this case, return migration may be the product of factors which are not strictly economic, such as family pressures, nostalgia, and a surfeit of adventure. (DAI abstract modified.)

The main objective of this study was to examine the influence of migration on the school adjustment of Puerto Rican return migrant students. A functional frame of reference was used for viewing mainland and island schools as social institutions with the function of socializing the young in their respective value systems. Since return migrants experienced the socializing influence of two social and school systems while non-migrants have been studying and living in Puerto Rico all their lives, migrant students were expected to be more poorly adjusted to school than non-migrants. School adjustment was conceptualized in terms of the students' own perceptions of school and self. Accordingly, a positive or favorable perception of school and self was regarded as indicative of students who were better adjusted. Conversely, a negative attitude or unfavorable perception of school and self was considered as indicating poor adjustment. Prior research findings and socialization theory have suggested the influence of residential mobility, length of residence, social status, and linguistic ability on the migrant's adjustment in mainland schools. Accordingly, differences in school adjustment were also expected among return migrant students with high, moderate, and low residential mobility; long, moderate, and short length of residence in the United States; high, middle, and low social status; and with high, average, and low linguistic ability in Spanish.

As expected, the data revealed that more migrant than non-migrant students were poorly adjusted to school. Differences in school adjustment between migrant and non-migrant students persisted after the influence of social status and linguistic ability in Spanish were controlled. More poor than well adjusted returnees had experienced high residential mobility, long length of residence in the United States, low social status, and low ability in Spanish. The last was the most influential factor in explaining variation in the migrant's school adjustment. The migrant's previous experience influenced his school adjustment, to some extent, by limiting his linguistic skills in Spanish. All of this indicated the need for nurturing the migrant's linguistic ability to speak, write, and understand Spanish. Thus, the need for further research was stressed in order to examine the nature and extent of this limitation in the migrant's linguistic skills and to assess the influence of related sociological factors on his school adjustment. (DAI abstract.)
Since 1960 an accelerating return flow of native-born and first generation Puerto Ricans have migrated back to Puerto Rico from the United States. The primary research problem was to identify this flow for evidence of human capital improvement which was assumed to have been a function of the migration-return migration process.

The 1960 Census data and annual San Juan airport "ramp survey" have provided static socio-economic information which is inadequate for these research purposes. In particular, available data resources are not appropriate for constructing life histories of the return migrants. Further, the official data resources do not provide residence information which would facilitate continued study of the return migrants in Puerto Rico.

This study of the effect of the migratory experience in terms of Professor Schultz's human capital concept rested on a survey of 310 households of return migrants conducted in Puerto Rico. Structured questionnaires were taken in Spanish which provide detailed information of the migrants prior to emigration, during their residency in the United States and after returning. The data contains economic, social, demographic and motivational information. Care was taken to exclude, as much as possible, questionnaires of sample respondents living in the City of San Juan where economic activity has been considerably affected by external factors.

The sample life-histories indicated that a very significant upgrading of occupational skills occurred during the migrants' residence in the United States. Regression analysis of the sample data strongly suggests that the critical period of skill improvement was during the first five years of residence and that this was more likely to be a function of on-the-job training. Such analysis also indicated that entrepreneurial activity by return migrants in Puerto Rico was considerably greater among those whose residency on the mainland exceeded five years. Return migrants who had not resided in those mainland metropolitan areas with large Puerto Rican communities exhibited greater upward occupational mobility and general income improvement.

I concluded that my human capital investment-migration hypothesis was essentially correct. A secondary conclusion was that the flow of return migrants back to Puerto Rico has provided a mechanism for technological transfer to the island's economy. (DAI abstract.)
C. JOURNALISTIC ACCOUNTS

   Sunday San Juan Star Magazine, September 20, 1981.
   pp. 1-5, 15. Photos.

   This special supplement includes "Impact!", by Connie
   Underhill, a journalistic account of the findings of a research
   study by Dr. Rafaela Robles (see entry No. II-12); "I'm glad to
   be back," by Ellen Hawes, an interview with a three-generation
   family of return migrants; and "But Millions Stayed," by Paquita
   Vivó, an account of the problems and progress of Puerto Ricans in
   the United States.

1. 25. Giacomo, Carol, Jon Sandberg and C. L. Smith-Muñiz, "Mobility: It's
   Back and Forth to Mainland as Many Pursue Elusive Dream."
   In Puerto Ricans in Connecticut: An Island in the American
   Mainstream, a special reprint of an eight-part series by
   C. Giacomo, J. Sandberg and C.L. Smith-Muñiz, published

   The authors contend that the traffic of Puerto Ricans both
   to and from the island "is hurting their chances to develop as a
   strong an stable ethnic community in the continental United States.
   The constant flux also serves to maintain ties between the mainland
   and the island, reinforcing use of the Spanish language, cultural
   identity and family relationships."

   Edna Negrón, the city's bilingual program coordinator, is
   quoted in the article as saying that the Barnard-Brown Elementary
   School in Hartford "turns over almost its whole school population
   in some years."

   Several former Connecticut residents who have moved back to
   Puerto Rico are interviewed.


   Kirchheimer vividly portrays the migration experience of one
   Puerto Rican family and the forces that impel some of them to move
   back to Puerto Rico.

   In an interview, Carlos M. Torres, principal of the elementary
   and intermediate school in Martinica, the town where members of the
   family return, estimates that 15 percent of his 1,275 students are
   return migrants, and explains the difficulties that young migrants
   have in readapting to Puerto Rican school life: "Many children
   coming back from the States don't have the fluency in Spanish. This
   isolates them from the rest; they form separate groups... The students
whom we call New Yoricans whether they come from New York or elsewhere, are more liberal in their conduct, in their dress and the way they establish friendships with the opposite sex."

Kirchheimer concludes that "return migration is presenting a severe educational dilemma for Puerto Rico with a total school population of 750,000 of which 150,000 are return migrants..."

Kirchheimer's article has been reprinted in Metas (Aspira of America, 205 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016), Vol. 2, No. 1, Spring 1981, pp. 1-13.7


Maldonado suggests that the decline in net migration from Puerto Rico since 1953 is closely related to the decline of semiskilled and unskilled job opportunities on the mainland. Insufficient education and training is seen as the key factor keeping Puerto Ricans from the skilled and white collar job opportunities. The author suggests that Puerto Rico must plan to deal with the resulting decline in net out-migration and the increase in the number of return migrants.


Reports that 70,000 Puerto Ricans returned to their island in 1977, and that a "Neo Rican Society has been organized to provide support to those returning to Puerto Rico who are experiencing prejudice because of their changed looks and ways."


Loss of the Spanish vernacular emerges as the characteristic of return migrants that is resented most by their fellow Puerto Ricans: "They call us Newyoreans, and if you don't speak Spanish too well they say, 'Well, why don't you go back where you belong'?!"
D. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS


Report of a study conducted by the Puerto Rican Family Institute aimed at obtaining a socio-economic profile of the students eligible for and participating in the Program of Educational Services for Migratory Students and their Families; identifying the needs and problems of the students related to their adjustment to the school system in Puerto Rico; determining the incidence of specific problems such as health, dropping out of school, learning problems, and others; and obtaining information about the actual operations of the Program.

The study is based on a sample of 64 students selected at random from the lists of 692 migrant students who were actively participating in the program in the municipalities of Bayamón, Carolina, Corozal, and Toa Baja. Interviews were conducted with students, parents and teachers.


Report of a study conducted by the Puerto Rican Family Institute under a grant from the Office of Human Development Services of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Grant # 18-8-00107/2-01).

The study dealt principally with the problems faced by the Puerto Rican returned migrants in the process of readaptation, and with the actual needs of the migrant population. It is based on a sample of 236 returned migrants drawn from the Department of Labor's Household Survey for the Planning Board of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. A total of 112 migrants from 62 families were interviewed and their socio-demographic characteristics, problems, needs, goals, expectations, and services received were identified.


Johnson sees the out-migration from Puerto Rico to the United States as an extension of the basic move from countryside to city that was going on in Puerto Rico and believes that the "Neorican" feels the same aspirations, insecurities, inferiorities and partisan preferences of the Puerto
Rican within the island who has migrated to San Juan or Ponce. She outlines the reasons for the "back migration" -- U.S. recession, retirement, discovery of or return to their roots, family and personal reasons -- and looks into the social and political consequences of their return.

A member of the Politics Board of the University of California at Santa Cruz, Johnson feels that the increase in pro-statehood sentiment in Puerto Rico may be directly related to the numbers of "Neorican"s who are returning to Puerto Rico and who, because they were humiliated for being different, feel the only way they can make it is by being "full fledged" citizens (i.e., statehood).


This unpublished article is based in part on a paper by the authors, "Psychosocial Development of Migrant Adolescents," presented at the XII International Congress of Psychology, July 6-12, 1980, Leipzig, Germany, and refers mostly to the research conducted as a collaborative effort between Clark University and the University of Puerto Rico under NIMH Grant No. ILOIMH 32904-01 (see entries No. I-11, II-9, and II-10).


A collection of papers presented at a conference intended to identify and establish priorities in terms of research needs in the area of inter-migration between Puerto Rico and the United States so as to provide guidance for the activities of the U.S. Manpower Administration's Office of Research and Development. The papers are divided into four subject areas: data on migration and migrants; market factors and public policies affecting migration; the impact of migration on the economies of the source and recipient areas; and the problems and conditions faced by the migrants.


Vol. I analyzes public policy and trends pertaining to Puerto Rican emigration dividing it into five cycles (1910 to 1944; 1945 to 1953;
1954 to 1964; 1965 to 1970 and 1971 to 1974). It touches on characteristics of the migrant population; implications of migration for public policy, and the positive and negative impact of emigration and immigration. Recommendations for further research in these areas are included.

Vol. II summarizes in chart form the results and findings of several studies, while Vol. III reproduces tables from a wide range of previously published studies such as Paquita Ruiz, Vocational Needs of Puerto Rican Migrants (1947); Clarence Senior, Dispersion of Puerto Rican Migration (1953); Stanley L. Friedlander, Labor Migration and Economic Growth: A Case Study of Puerto Rico (1965), and John J. Macisco, Leon Bouvier and Robert H. Waller, the Effect of Labor Force Participation and the Relation with Migration Status (1969).

Master's Theses


Part II

RESEARCH INVENTORY
II.1 Assessment of the Inservice Needs of Language Teachers in Puerto Rico.

Investigator: Eduardo Rivera-Medina
Institution: Inter American University of Puerto Rico
San Juan, Puerto Rico 00928
Funding Source: National Institute of Education
Date Completed: September 30, 1981; Submitted to Congress, February 1982

This 12-month research study was based on self-assessments by a sample of 807 teachers, observations of a cross-section of them at work, assessment of their language skills, and analysis of research data. The full findings and recommendations of the study are contained in a two-volume report, with the above title. A summary report, titled "Assessment of the Inservice Needs of Teachers of English, and of Teachers of Spanish to Returned Migrants, in Puerto Rico," provides an overview of the study, its methodology, and its key findings, as well as useful background on the development of language policy in Puerto Rico.

Of particular interest to the users of this bibliography is the "Returned Migrant Sub-Study," which is dealt with in Chapter 6. Since only 115 teachers took part in the sub-study and only eight were observed in their classroom performance, the sample is considered too limited to generalize as to the total population. Nevertheless, the sub-study provides information on areas such as: teachers' preparedness to teach the language, familiarity with and perception of the curriculum, classroom organization and management, teachers' perceptions of returned migrants and the cultural bilingual project, instructional practices specific to the returned migrant student, and others, and points out areas for future research studies of a more controlled type.

The main problem in the teaching of Spanish to returning migrant students, according to the study, lies "in the lack of fit between the prescribed curriculum and the needs of the returning students," and the related lack of appropriate instructional materials.

II.1a. The Attitudes of Permanent and Migrant Puerto Ricans Determined by Language Usage.

Investigator: María Antonia Irizarry
Institution: Sacred Heart University
Santurce, Puerto Rico 00914
Funding Source: n.a.
Date Completed: September 1981

A one year study designed to determine how the Permanent Puerto Ricans (PPR) and the Migrant Puerto Ricans (MPR) see each other, whether PPR and/or MPR attribute positive personality characteristics to speakers of English and negative characteristics to speakers of Spanish and/or vice-versa. The "matched guise" technique was used and permanent and migrant students evaluated 10 voices using adjective scales. The study concludes that all subjects seem to agree on the evaluation of voices #1 and #8, which correspond to the bilingual speaker who uses Spanish only and the bilingual who is a Neorican and is using Spanish, respectively. Voice #1 was rated as the most positive and #8 as the most negative. This could imply certain negativism toward the migrant among the Puerto Rican population including migrants themselves. It can be considered that this has serious implications in the perception the migrant has of himself. (Author abstract)
II.2. Boston/Puerto Rico Cross-Cultural Ethnographic Study.
Investigator: Lucia David
Institution: Institute for Learning and Teaching
University of Massachusetts at Boston
Boston, Massachusetts 02125

Funding Source: Ford Foundation
Expected Completion: n.a.

An ethnographic study to point out strategies used by migrant students in adapting to a new and different school setting. Puerto Rican migrant children find it difficult to adjust to schools both in the mainland and in the island, and through this study the strategies they use in order to ease the process will be identified. It will also analyze teaching and learning styles at both ends. (Investigator's reply to questionnaire)

The same Institute is conducting a Boston/San Juan Exchange Program which trains teachers and future teachers who work with Puerto Rican students in Boston and in Puerto Rico.

Investigator: Rose Nash
Institution: Inter-American University of Puerto Rico
San Germán, Puerto Rico

Funding Source: National Institute of Mental Health (Grant No. Ro3-MH-27764)
Completed: March 1978

This study included three groups of Puerto Rican residents: "Spanish dominant bilinguals, balance bilinguals and Neorican." The psychological and linguistic motivations for lexical transfer errors in high frequency cognate vocabulary (spelling/pronunciation errors, errors in grammatical usage, and semantic error in learning English as a second language) were studied and a specialized reference dictionary was developed for use in studying Spanish-English bilingualism and language contact. The dictionary was compiled with computer assistance and contains information on shared and nonshared meanings, statistical frequencies, and lists of pattern correspondences. Changing judgments of acceptability of semantically deviant uses in native speakers of English were also studies after the students were exposed to a Spanish speaking environment.

The incidence of formal errors was related to formal education in Spanish speaking students, and there was increasing acceptance of semantic deviance after exposure to a Spanish speaking environment among English speakers. It is noted that the strength of the psychological transfer mechanism is affected by age of learner, intensity of exposure to the second language, and desire to communicate. (National Clearinghouse for Mental Health Information Abstract)

A publication is planned from this study with the title, A Parallexicon: a Dictionary of Shared Vocabulary in Spanish and English, with Correspondence Lists of Frequencies, Phonology, Orthography, Grammatical Usage, and Meanings.

Investigator: Ada Elsa Izcoa
Institution: University of Puerto Rico
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931
Funding Source: n.a.
Expected completion: n.a.

A factor analytic study is being conducted of the self concept of Puerto Rican and migrant Puerto Rican intermediate school children. The results of the factor analysis will be used to construct a self concept scale. The self concept of Puerto Rican and migrant Puerto Rican intermediate school children will be studied. Migration has a psychological effect on a person, including the self-concept. This research will focus on the aspects of the self concept which differentiate the Puerto Rican and the Puerto Rican migrant. (Investigator's reply to questionnaire.)

II.5. Employment Patterns of Puerto Rican Youth in the United States.

Investigator: José Hernández
Institution: Department of Sociology
University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201
Funding source: n.a.
Expected completion: n.a.

"Based on a 1976 survey of income and education, results to date on this study show a continued migration of young persons, especially those aged 20-24, from Puerto Rico to the U.S. Unemployment is very high among this group and there is not much mobility to higher paid jobs with promotional opportunities. This would seem to indicate that return migration may be the eventual result of the experience. On the other hand, birthplace (Puerto Rico versus the United States) and language spoken on a usual basis (Spanish versus English) do not have any significant relation to employment and occupational placement, so that the migrant from Puerto Rico may have about the same chances as a Puerto Rican who is English-speaking and born in the United States. The interpretation given is that the ethnic identity of being Puerto Rican is more important as a factor in economic chances than origin and language. That is, people react to Puerto Ricans as Puerto Ricans, not specifically as from Puerto Rico or Spanish-speaking." (Investigator's reply to questionnaire.)
II.6. Estudio de Necesidades de los Migrantes Puertorriqueños (Study of the Needs of Puerto Rican Migrants).

Investigator: Gretchen Coll Martí
Institution: Puerto Rico Migrant Legal Services
Box BT
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00928

Funding Source: n.a.
Expected completion: n.a.

A study that will focus on the size and specific needs of Puerto Rican migrant agricultural workers, many of whom travel back and forth between Puerto Rico and the United States as needed by seasonal crops. (Investigator's reply to questionnaire.)

II. 6a. Family and Economically Induced Migration Between Puerto Rico and Springfield, Massachusetts.

Investigator: Antonio Martínez
Institution: University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Psychology Department; Tobin Hall
Amherst, Massachusetts 01003

Funding source: n.a.
Expected completion: n.a.

Antonio Martínez is a doctoral candidate at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

The study aims to understand the effects of economically induced migration from Puerto Rico to the United States and the returning migration from the United States to Puerto Rico as it affects individual families. The interface between families and the systems involved in the migratory experience will be explored in its natural context. The focus will be on the relationships among work, family and community. The study is qualitative and intensive, and employs multiple instruments, with the aim of specifying in detail the social meanings, normative patterns, behavioral settings, negotiations and interactions, and emotional implications of work-related movements for those most closely concerned -- the migrants and their families. An interesting aspect of the project is that it will follow the process of relocation by a Puerto Rican family in their neighborhood of origin, after living in the United States for at least 20 years. Participant observation, network mapping, intense interviewing are the principal instruments for the study. (Investigator's reply to questionnaire.)


Investigator: Helen I. Safa
Institution: Center for Latin American Studies
319 Grinter Hall
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida 32611

Funding Source: National Institute of Mental Health (Small Grant No. IR03MH 34131-01)

Expected completion: n.a.

This project is examining the impact of employment on the family structure of women garment workers in Puerto Rico. In the process it has found that many of the women are return migrants from the U. S. who have gained experience in the industry on the mainland and used their connections with the ILGWO to obtain employment on the island. (Investigator's reply to questionnaire.)

Investigators: John J. Macisco and Pedro A. Vales
Institution: Fordham University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
Bronx Campus
Bronx, New York 10458

Funding Sources: U. S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration (Grant No. 21-36-74-23), and National Institute of Mental Health (Training Grant No. 13639)

Completed: 1980

A training grant that provided for an examination of the labor force characteristics of Puerto Rican migrants to New York and return migrants to Puerto Rico, determining to what extent characteristics such as unemployment, low-status occupation, and disability are associated with migration. (Smithsonian Science Information Exchange.)

II.9. Mental Health of Puerto Rican Migrant Adolescents.

Investigators: Seymour Wapner, Angel M. Pacheco
Institution: Clark University, Department of Psychology, jointly with Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University
Larsen Hall 718
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Funding Source: National Institute of Mental Health (Grant No. IROIMH 32904-01)

Completed: August 1980

Life quality, mental health and the critical process of transition were described for adolescent Puerto Rican migrants to USA mainland, return migrants to Puerto Rico and analyzed with respect to construals of and modes of coping with the physical, interpersonal and socio-cultural aspects of the host environment. Perspectives of both adolescent migrants and significant members of their worlds (home, school, neighborhood) were sampled.

The research, conducted over a period of six years, focused on "the first generation of migrant Puerto Rican children who were born or raised in the United States and who moved to Puerto Rico during their childhood and adolescence." The data gathered were analyzed using three general categories: relations between self and others, attributes of the self, and the experience of the physical, cultural and social dimensions of the environment.

The study concluded that "many of the difficulties experienced by adolescent return migrants are linked to a lack of competence in Spanish and their inability for grasping key social understandings necessary for living in mainstream Puerto Rican society as well as for coexistence within the youth sectors of the society... Our data yields an unequivocal confirmation from the return migrants' perspective that they in fact face serious problems in understanding and in communicating in Spanish as spoken by the community in Puerto Rico. It is also worth noting that these difficulties grow in geometric proportions if one considers that the language is not merely a series of utterances but a communication system which requires knowledge of referents, cultural symbols, socially shared meanings of contexts and a basic comprehension
of the society's world view. The return migrants' lack of knowledge to perform effectively within the broader cultural context shifts their problem: from the domains of communication and interpersonal relations into the realm of self-identity and personal integrity. The authors warn educators about "the risks of assigning students to special groups without an appropriate assessment of their command of both languages." (Author's abstract, modified.)

II.10. Migration as a Critical Person-in-Environment Transition

Investigator: Nydia Lucca-Irizarry
Institution: Harvard University Laboratory of Human Behavior
             Roy E. Larsen Hall
             Appian Way
             Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
Funding Source: n.a.
Expected completion: n.a.

An outgrowth of a collaborative effort between Clark University and the University of Puerto Rico and, more recently, with the assistance of the Gerontology and Human Development Center—School of Medicine at Cayey. Ms. Lucca Irizarry, a doctoral candidate at Harvard University, is seeking information on the nature of the return migrants' experience as they face the tasks of living in the host community—in this case, Puerto Rico. She is planning to seek further information on the views of the young return migrants regarding their experience of self and others in the new environment. (Investigator's reply to questionnaire.) (See also entries No. I.11, I.33 and II.9.)

II.11. A Perspective on Return Migration: The Puerto Rican Worker's Circulation

Investigator Juan E. Hernández Cruz
Institution: Brooklyn College
             Puerto Rican Studies
             94-11, 59th Avenue D-11
             Elmhurst, New York 11373
Funding Source: n.a.
Expected Completion: n.a.

This study will analyze the characteristics and expectations of potential return migrants, in the context of the material basis that impelled them to migrate in the first place, and to consider a return now.

The proposed research attempts to study migration and return migration departing from a historical analysis of capitalist development in Puerto Rico and the transformation in its mode of production. Within the context of worker's circulation between the colony and the metropolis, interviews will be conducted in an effort to better comprehend the factors associated with movement made before leaving the island for the United States, movement and expectations of Puerto Rican workers in the United States and their expectations regarding return migration.

The research seeks to: 1) determine the circulation pattern of Puerto Rican labor's migration through the technique of life histories, enabling the collection of partial life histories in key areas of people's experiences, and 2) test the usefulness of a Marxist framework for a particular case study: the Puerto Ricans. (Investigator's abstract)
II.12. **Puerto Rican Return Migration: Impact on the Migrant and the Island.**

**Investigator:** Rafaela R. Robles, Ed. D.
**Institution:** School of Public Health
Medical Sciences Campus
University of Puerto Rico
Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00936

**Funding source:** National Institute of Mental Health (Grant No. RO 1 MH 26245)
**Completed:** January 1980

This study had the following four specific objectives: study the phenomena of increasing return migration to Puerto Rico, particularly in regard to the effects of this migration upon the migrants themselves; study the process of incorporation of these return migrants into Puerto Rican society, and the consequences of this process as the dependent variable; study the influence of kin and friends as a major independent variable; and compare a sample of return migrants with a sample of Puerto Rican nonmigrants to show that the results of the study are relevant to the migration process and not coincidental.

The data revealed differences and similarities in terms of antecedents, variables and demographics; incorporation at the macro structure, incorporation at the neighborhood level, acculturation, incorporation at the micro structure, and health.

Of special interest to education policy makers are the following findings: "More migrants' than nonmigrants' children reject school and teachers in Puerto Rico. The high percentages of migrants' children who negatively evaluated teachers and schools surprised investigators." Although findings related to health and social support were as expected, it was a surprise to investigators that return migrants were so positively oriented to USA culture, citizens, services and institutions and that migrants' children were so negatively oriented toward Puerto Rican schools and teachers.

Publications planned from this study: Health and Migration; Migration and Acculturation; Macro-micro Embeddedness among Puerto Rican Return Migrants; Social Support and Health, and Puerto Rican Return Migrants. (Abstracted from NIMH file copy of the final report on the project.)

II.13. **Seminar on "Return" and "Re-return" Migration.**

**Professor:** Guy T. Ashton
**Institution:** Inter-American University of Puerto Rico
Metropolitan Campus
Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00928

Professor Ashton is teaching a seminar which is analyzing questions on "return" and "re-return" migration to the mainland, and
Professor Ashton is particularly interested in exploring whether there is really much difference between "natives" migrating for the first time now, and "re-returnees", and the difference, if any, between the movement of professional Puerto Rico-born and trained professionals and the back-and-forth movement of stateside Puerto Ricans. (Investigator's reply to questionnaire.) (See also entry No. I.7.)


Investigator: Cristóbal S. Berry-Cabán
Institution: Latino Institute
1760 Reston Avenue
Reston, Virginia 22090

Funding source: National Institute of Education-American Psychological Association Minority Fellowship Program

Expected completion: n.a.

The project hopes to look at social and demographic change in Puerto Rico concentrating on return migration from Milwaukee, Wisconsin to Esperanza, a barrio in Arecibo, Puerto Rico. It is an outgrowth of the investigator's work for his dissertation "Puerto Rican Strategies for Survival: Work and Kinship among Espereñeros in Milwaukee," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1981). (Investigator's reply to questionnaire.)

II.15. Two Modes of Assimilation in the United States and Its Effects Among Return Migrants.

Investigator: Eduardo Seda-Bonilla
Institution: Centro de Investigaciones Sociales
Universidad de Puerto Rico
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931

Funding Source: n.a.
Expected completion: n.a.

"The purpose of this study is to verify the assimilation variants in the culture of the United States vis-a-vis a subtractive or additive final product. It will examine the effect of these two processes in the adaptation of Puerto Rican return migrants. An important concept in this analysis is the pseudo-ethnic." In his many writings on the subject (e.g., "On the Vicissitudes of Being 'Puerto Rican' ") Seda has identified pseudo-ethnics as "all the people of the United States that assume they possess an identity based on the biological inheritance of character." (Investigator's reply to questionnaire.)
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</table>
PERSONS WHO REPLIED TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE OR WHO WERE IDENTIFIED AS INTERESTED IN THE SUBJECT OF RETURN MIGRATION

ALUM, Rolando
Center for Labor Studies
Empire State College, SUNY
P. O. Box Meadowview Station
North Bergen, New Jersey 07047
Tel: 201-861-3166

ASHTON, Guy T.
Department of Social Sciences
Interamerican University
Metropolitan Campus
1001 Fordham, University Gardens
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00927

ASPIRA OF AMERICA, Inc.
205 Lexington Ave., 12th floor
New York, New York 10016
Tel: 212-889-6101

BERRY-CABAN, Cristóbal
Latino Institute Research Division
1760 Reston Ave., Suite 101
Reston, Virginia 22090
Tel: 703-471-4527

BONILLA, Frank
Director, Centro de Estudios Puerto-Rriqueños
City University of New York
445 West 59th Street, Room 1206
New York, New York 10019
Tel: 212-489-5264

BRYCE-LAPORTE, Roy S.
Director, Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies
Smithsonian Institution, R-955
L'Enfant Plaza
Washington, D. C. 20560
Tel: 202-287-3443

CALDERON CRUZ, Angel
Institute of Caribbean Studies
University of Puerto Rico
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931
Tel: 809-764-0000 Ext. 3292

CARRASQUILO, Ceferino
Chairman, Department of Puerto Rican Studies
Lehman College, City University of N.Y.
429 White Plains Road
Bronx, New York 10473
Tel: 212-960-8280

CARRERO, Jaime
Associate Director
Department of Art
Inter American University of Puerto Rico
San Germán, Puerto Rico 00753 Tel.

CARRERO, Milagros
Director, Bilingual Programs
Department of Education
P. O. Box 759
Hato Rey, Puerto Rico 00919
Tel:

COLL MARTI, Gretchen
Director
Puerto Rico Migrant Legal Services
P. Box BT
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00928
Tel: 809-751-4581-

CORRADA GUERRERO, Rafael
Director, Social Science Research Center
University of Puerto Rico
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931
Tel: 809-764-2136

DAUBON, Ramón
Inter-American Foundation
1515 Wilson Boulevard
Rosslyn, Virginia 22209
Tel: 703-841-3836

DAVID, Lucia
Institute for Learning and Teaching
Harbor Campus
University of Massachusetts
Boston, Massachusetts 02125
Tel: 617-287-1900 - Ext. 2776

DI NUBILA, Carlos
Calle 3, D-11
Montebello Estates
Trujillo Alto, Puerto Rico 00760
IRIZARRY, María Antonia  
Associate Director, Department of Education  
P.O. Box 12383, Loiza Station  
Santurce, Puerto Rico 00914  
Tel: 809-728-1515

MARTINEZ, Antonio  
Psychology Department  
University of Massachusetts  
436 Prince  
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002  
Tel: 312-996-1408
MIGRATION DIVISION
Department of Labor and Human Resources of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
304 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10010
Tel: 212 - 260-3000

NASH, Rose
Inter American University of Puerto Rico
San Germán, Puerto Rico 00753
Tel:

NATIONAL PUERTO RICAN COALITION
801 North Fairfax St.
Alexandria, Virginia 22314
Tel: 703 - 684-0020

NATIONAL PUERTO RICAN FORUM
450 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10016
Tel: 212 - 685-2311

PACHECO, Angel M.
Laboratory of Human Development
Harvard University, Larsen Hall 718
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
Tel: 617 - 497-0358

PANTOJA, Antonia
President, Graduate School for Community Development
568 5th Avenue
San Diego, California 92101
Tel: 714 - 232-1521

PETROVICH, Janice
Director, Research Institute Central Administration
Inter American University Metropolitan Campus
Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00928

PRICE, Richard
Department of Anthropology
Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Maryland 21218
Tel: 301 - 338-7274

PUERTO RICAN LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATION FUND
95 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10157
Tel: 212 - 532-8470

PUERTO RICAN FAMILY INSTITUTE
116 W. 14th Street
New York, New York 10011
Tel: 212 - 924-6320

QUINTERO ALFARO, Angel
Vesta 835-Dos Pinos
Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00923
Tel: 809 - 765-9607

RAMIREZ, Maria
Assistant Commissioner
State Education Department
Washington Avenue
Albany, New York 12234
Tel: 518 - 474-5915

RAMIREZ, Rafael L.
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of Puerto Rico
Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931
Tel: 809 - 764-0000 Ext. 2471

RAMOS PEREA, Israel
College of Education
Department of Graduate Studies
University of Puerto Rico
Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931
Tel: 809-764-000

RIVERA LUGO, Carmen Inés
Catholic University
8#.727 Rambla
Ponce, Puerto Rico 00731
Tel: 809 - 844-4150 Ext. 253

RIVERA MEDINA, Eduardo
Inter American University
P. O. Box 3255
San Juan, Puerto Rico 00936
Tel: 809-755-0246
ROBLES, Rafaela  
Graduate School of Public Health  
University of Puerto Rico  
P. O. Box 5067  
San Juan, Puerto Rico 00936  
Tel:

RODRIGUEZ, Clara  
Division of Social Sciences  
Fordham University  
College at Lincoln Center  
60th St. and Columbus Avenue  
New York, New York 10023  
Tel: 212 - 933-2333 Ext. 567

ROGLER, Lloyd H.  
Director, Hispanic Research Center  
Fordham University  
Thebaud Hall  
New York, New York 10458  
Tel: 212 - 933-2233 Ext. 514

SAFA, Helen I.  
Director, Center for Latin American Studies  
319 Grinner Hall  
University of Florida  
Gainesville, Florida 32611  
Tel: 904 - 392-0375

SANTIAGO SANTIAGO, Isaura  
Director, Program in Bilingual Education  
Teachers College, Columbia University  
New York, New York 10027  
Tel: 212 - 678-3758

SEDA BONILLA, Eduardo  
Social Science Research Center  
University of Puerto Rico  
Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931  
Tel: 809 - 763-6271

SERRA DELIZ, Wenceslao  
Editor, Revista de Ciencias Sociales  
University of Puerto Rico  
Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931  
Tel: 809-764-000

SUMAZA LABORDE, Irene  
Department of Psychology  
Inter American University  
Metropolitan Campus  
Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00928  
Tel: 809 - 754-7215 Ext. 230

TORRUELLAS, Luz M.  
Department of Social Sciences  
University of Puerto Rico  
Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931  
Tel: 809-764-000

VALES, Pedro  
Department of Sociology  
University of Puerto Rico  
Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931  
Tel: 809 - 763-1971

VAZQUEZ CALZADA, José  
Department of Biosocial Sciences  
Graduate School of Public Health  
University of Puerto Rico  
P. O. Box 5067  
San Juan, Puerto Rico 00936  
Tel: 809 - 767-9626

VEGA, Tony  
Labor Education Center  
Rutgers University  
Ryders Lane and Clifton Avenue  
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903  
Tel: 201 - 932-9502

VELAZQUEZ, Antonia P. de  
Director, Migrant Programs  
Department of Education  
Hato Rey, Puerto Rico 00919  
Tel: 809 - 754-1050

VIVO, Paquita  
927 15th Street, N.W., #512  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
Tel. 202-347-6859

WAPNER, Seymour  
Laboratory of Human Development  
Larsen Hall 718  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138  
Tel: 617 - 497-0358

YLVISAKER, Paul N.  
Dean, Graduate School of Education  
Harvard University  
Longfellow Hall, Appian Way  
Cambridge Massachusetts 02138  
Tel: