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Politics, Language, and Cultural Identity: DetroitRicans and Puertoricanness in Detroit

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Abstract: Due to a surge in racism and anti-immigrant sentiment that intensified during Trump's campaign and presidency, some Americans have reacted to people speaking Spanish in public with hostility as well as verbal and even physical aggression over the last few years in the United States. A particular group of victims of language and identity discrimination has been Puerto Ricans, who are, ironically, American citizens. Drawing on historical perspectives, language and identity attitudes, the politicization of language, and linguistic racism approaches, the present study administered a language and identity questionnaire to 103 Puerto Ricans in Detroit, Michigan (DetroitRicans). Despite the rise of linguistic racism in the United States, 90.3% of respondents said that being able to speak Spanish was necessary to validate their Puertoricanness. In addition, 89% of this study's participants agreed that not teaching Spanish to children was denying them their Puerto Rican culture and identity. DetroitRicans also identified Spanish as their mother tongue, their roots, and their homeland, whereas they identified English as the language of work, school, and economic advancement. The findings agree with the language and identity perceptions of Puerto Ricans living on the Island and in Central Florida; they diverge from the traditional perspectives of Boricuas in New York, North Philadelphia, and Chicago, who do not generally consider Spanish a vital part of their Puerto Rican identity.
Keywords: language and identity attitudes, linguistic racism, politicization of languages, Puerto Ricans of Detroit, Spanish in the United States.

A famous U.S.-born Puerto Rican sang, "I am the streets of New York and Puerto Rico" (Anthony, 2013) to express deep pride in his dualistic identity (American and Puerto Rican) and language (English and Spanish). However, during the last decade, this pride has been attacked by controversial remarks coming mainly from far-right politicians, beginning with former presidential candidate Rick Santorum in 2012 and continuing over the pre-, during-, and post-Trump presidency (2015–2021). In response, in 2020 another famous Puerto Rican heritage singer, Jennifer Lopez, caught the attention of billions of people around the world when she sang "Born in the U.S.A." while wearing a Puerto Rican flag during The Super Bowl halftime performance with Shakira. Some perceived this move as a political statement by Lopez to bring more attention to the mistreatment of Puerto Ricans and to denounce putting Hispanic children in cages under the Trump administration's "zero tolerance" immigration policy (Folley, 2020). Lopez also managed to make

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a second symbolic statement—in Spanish—at President Joe Biden's inauguration to demonstrate that the United States is a multicultural and multiethnic land. She sang "This Land is Your Land" to call for unity. Then she said the closing phrase of *the Pledge of Allegiance* in Spanish: "Una nación bajo Dios, indivisible, con libertad y justicia para todos" [One nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all]. Some critics saw this as a move to anger Trump and his supporters over the use of anything other than American English, especially during the controversial transition of presidential powers (Hernandez, 2021). Despite these public statements and efforts to denounce racism and call for unity by universally known Hispanic heritage figures such as Jennifer Lopez, Puerto Ricans are essentially considered only half-American by some U.S. citizens and politicians (de Vogue, 2022).

To this day, Puerto Ricans, who are, ironically, American citizens but also immigrants of Hispanic origin, are regularly victims of linguistic racism and discrimination for speaking Spanish in public. They have been verbally and sometimes physically harassed and attacked by their fellow American citizens just for speaking Spanish. It is evident that these attacks intensified especially preceding and during Trump's presidency (Acosta, 2017; Jones et al., 2019). For example, in 2015 we heard Trump criticizing Jeb Bush, former Republican presidential candidate, for speaking Spanish. Trump said, "I like Jeb…. He's a nice man. But he should really set the example by speaking English while in the United States" (Gass, 2015, para. 12). And on his Twitter account, Trump posted: "Jeb Bush is crazy, who cares if he speaks Mexican [a pejorative way to refer to Spanish], this is America, English!" (Killough, 2015, para 7). Jeb Bush explained that he spoke Spanish because a Hispanic kid asked him a question in Spanish, and he wanted to be respectful to the child by responding back in the same language. Similarly, during Trump's 2016 U.S. presidential campaign we also heard him say, "This is a country where we speak English, not Spanish" (Goldmacher, 2016, para. 1). According to Badillo Matos (2018), Trump constantly mocked the Spanish language and its speakers, but he had no problem using Spanish as a linguistic and racial weapon. Following are some of Trump's comments published by news media outlets online: "We're going to secure the border, and once the border is secured at a later date, we'll make a determination as to the rest. But we have some bad hombres (bad men) here and we're going to get them out" (Gurdus, 2016, para. 3); "When we have the laws changed, it'll be like perfecto (perfect)," Trump said about border security in June" (Rieger, 2018, para. 5). Referring to media attacks on him, Trump said, "They're worse now than ever. They're loco (crazy). But that's OK, I put up with it" (Schwartz, 2018, para. 16).

As a result of these publicized incidents and the tense political and social situation of recent years, some Hispanic families are giving up the use of Spanish (Fermoso, 2018; Gómez Avella, 2018). In addition, Spanish is often still considered a second-class language, as opposed to French or Italian, according to Maria Carreira, a distinguished Spanish professor at the University of California (France 24, 2019). According to Padilla (2020), cultural prejudices persist, and languages become racialized, which might cause Hispanic immigrants, Puerto Ricans, and their children to be ashamed of their first and/or heritage language and stop speaking it, losing an aspect of their cultural identity in the process. Linguistic racism attacks generally do not occur against tourists who speak European languages such as Dutch, French, or Italian. They are in general directed at people who speak Spanish and who, because of their work or simply because of their physical appearance, appear to be immigrants, which includes Puerto Ricans (Díez, 2019). Therefore, it is possible that during the last few years, attitudes and perceptions toward Hispanic identity and the Spanish language among Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics might shift in non-desirable directions, which will endanger multilingualism and identity in the United States. The persistent public denigration and mocking of the Spanish language—the most spoken and popular

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non-English language in the United States—contributes to the marginalization of Hispanic identity and heritage, as well as current and potential generations of Spanish speakers in the United States. This marginalization of Spanish also weakens interest in bilingual and Spanish heritage programs and enrollment in Spanish foreign language classes across the United States, despite immigration still being a key factor working in favor of Spanish. As Ben-Ghiat clearly put it:

> *Fewer Americans learning foreign languages means more Americans deprived of the openness of mind and understanding of other cultures. That's good news for some supporters of [former] President Donald Trump, who has incited xenophobia and racism ever since the 2016 Presidential election, including with an ongoing misinformation campaign that attempts to link foreigners, especially immigrants, to terrorism and crime.* (Ben-Ghiat, 2019, para. 6)

If derogatory and inappropriate linguistic racism remarks and attacks from politicians in powerful positions continue manifesting, it will hurt in the short term, as it is doing now, and in the long term the future of Spanish, Hispanic, and Puerto Rican identity. It is also important to have on the radar two more recent worrisome, confirmed facts. Although the Hispanic population reached 62.1 million in 2020, up from 50.5 million in 2010, the use of the Spanish language at home has declined from 2000 to 2019, from 78% to 70% (Krogstag & Noe-Bustamante, 2021). The second fact is that enrollment in foreign languages has drastically declined, and foreign language departments around the United States are closing because of a culture now that increasingly values monolingualism, nationalism, isolationism, and politics of hatred. We are also living in times where university administrators value STEM fields over Humanities. According to the Chronicle of Higher Education, a report by the Modern Language Association—based on information from over 2,000 institutions—found that institutions removed 651 foreign language offerings between 2013 and 2016 (Ben-Ghiat, 2019).

Given these controversial and unprecedented social and political circumstances in recent years, the present study endeavors to discover the perceptions of Puerto Ricans of Detroit (DetroitRicans) regarding the role of speaking Spanish as a reaffirmation of their and their children's Puerto Rican linguistic and cultural identity. Furthermore, this study seeks to compare DetroitRicans' current perceptions with those of others in previous studies in different communities on the mainland, such as Puerto Ricans from New York (called NuyoRicans), Puerto Ricans from Chicago (called MexiRicans and PortoRicans), Puerto Ricans from Florida (called FloriRicans), as well as Puerto Ricans from the Island. Although there are commonalities, each Puerto Rican community may well experience its own dynamics (Lamboy, 2011; Torres, 1997). The present study also hopes to contribute by filling the need for more recent data and a larger sample of participants, 103 in total, compared with previous studies of other Puerto Rican communities in the United States (Lamboy 2004, 2011; Potowski, 2014, 2016; Potowski & Matts, 2008; Rúa, 2001; Torres, 1997, 2010; Zentella, 1990, 1997). I hope this study sheds new light and fills a gap in the language and identity perceptions of Puerto Ricans in Detroit who have settled in Motor City since 1960 and have not been examined yet, to the best of my knowledge.

Controversial Remarks and Incidents About Speaking Spanish in Public and Hispanic Identity in the United States

This section provides a summary of the most publicized linguistic racism and identity incidents experienced by Puerto Ricans on the Island and on the U.S. mainland from 2012 to the present. This synopsis will offer more concrete contextualization of how not only Puerto Ricans, but other Hispanics have experienced bullying, intimidation, rejection, and verbal and physical attacks because of their origin and language.

In 2012 Rick Santorum was campaigning for the Republican Party nomination for president of the United States on the Island of Puerto Rico and made the following headlines: "Santorum: Puerto Rico Must Adopt English If It Wants Statehood" (Peralta, 2012), and "Puerto Ricans Slam Santorum for Saying the Territory Should Adopt English If It Wants Statehood" (Sonmez, 2012). Santorum's comments immediately generated a linguistic and political debate, bringing about reactions and criticisms from Puerto Rican politicians, citizens of the Island, and citizens of the mainland. Experts in Latino Field studies reacted to Santorum's comments by stating that "Santorum came across as arrogant and ignorant, because even NuyoRicans (Puerto Ricans from New York) and Puerto Rican descendants who no longer speak Spanish defend their Island's native language" (Juan Flores, as cited in Lilley, 2012, para. 12). Others indicated that such a requirement would be unconstitutional and would clash with the sociological and linguistic reality of the Island (Jaffe, 2012). These remarks ignored that "the majority of Puerto Ricans do not speak English, so they would feel threatened if a candidate would come backing statehood and saying that everybody would have to speak English" (Hunt, 2012, para. 9). After the wave of heated social reactions from Puerto Ricans, Santorum responded by clarifying that he meant that Puerto Rico needed to be a bilingual country to fully integrate into American society and not just a Spanish-speaking country because right now it is overwhelmingly just Spanish-speaking (Jaffe, 2012). Despite Santorum's intent to clarify what he said, his proposal was also seen as a way to ask Hispanics in this country to give up their language and heritage (Martinez, 2012).

The language and identity controversy escalated into a racist and xenophobic one before and during former President Donald Trump's tenure (Canizales & Vallejo, 2021). This new trend—*the Trump effect* (referring to the former U.S. President)—generated a toxic identity discourse and ethnic demagoguery. This has been described by some as *White identity politics*, believed to be responsible for aggressive attacks on different minorities in the United States, such as Asians, Muslims, and Hispanics (e.g., Mexicans, Salvadorians, and Hondurans), and on the Spanish language in the United States (Villanueva et al., 2018). In fact, there were reports from lawmakers that former President Trump complained about "having all these people from s***hole countries come here" (to the United States), singling out Haiti, El Salvador, and Africa as examples (Aizenman, 2018, para 1). He also added that "we should have more people from Norway" (Aizenman, 2018, para 1), meaning he favors more White and affluent immigrants.

Another incident happened in October 2017 during a presidential visit from Trump to the Island to offer relief and support after Hurricane Maria. During his visit, Trump used an exaggerated Spanish accent several times to pronounce Puerto Rico. The press and critics reacted immediately, perceiving the former President's over-enunciating as an insensitive joke about Puerto Ricans and the Hispanic culture. Some people called his pronunciation a sign of prejudice, as well as a mocking of the Spanish language and Puerto Rican accent (Shugerman, 2017). The connection of Puerto Ricans with Spanish worried some Puerto Rican politicians at the time, who believed that the former U.S. President was biased against a predominantly Spanish-speaking Island (Baker, 2017). In addition, associations with the Spanish-speaking regions of Central and

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South America made by Trump marked Puerto Ricans as *other* in the eyes of the rest of the American population (Bouie, 2017). A good example of this specific phenomenon was widely publicized in 2019. In the news headlines, we read: "I hope Trump deports you": Customer threatens Puerto Rican woman for speaking Spanish" (Dayal, 2019). In this incident an in-store video camera caught a customer telling the Puerto Rican clerk to go back to her own country because she was illegal. The ill-informed customer then told the clerk that "we're (U.S. citizens) not your fu***ing piggyback" and that she hoped that Trump deported her (Dayal, 2019, para. 5). Although these linguistic racism incidents keep happening, a recent Pew Research Center study (Horowitz, 2019) found that most Americans (70%) say they would not be particularly bothered if they heard people speak a language other than English in a public place, including 47% who say they would not be bothered at all. A minority (29%) says this would bother them at least some. It remains to be seen if these perceptions will change in a positive or negative direction.

Some Americans consider Puerto Rican Hispanic heritage identity roots and Spanish language proficiency as foreign, and Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics constantly suffer inappropriate remarks and harassment from not only their fellow Americans but from their own government, specifically from the far-right. For example, Kimberly Guilfoyle, the national chair of former President Trump's Victory Finance Committee and fiancée of Donald Trump Jr., was criticized by Puerto Ricans because of her first-generation American remarks. Guilfoyle said, "My mother, Mercedes, was a special education teacher from Aguadilla, Puerto Rico. My father, also an immigrant, came to this nation in pursuit of the American dream. Now, I consider it my duty to fight to protect that dream" (Seddiq, 2020, para 3). Guilfoyle claimed that she was the daughter of two immigrants, when in fact her deceased mother was an American citizen who was born in Puerto Rico. She was criticized for forgetting that after 1940, Congress declared that anyone born in Puerto Rico is born in the United States (N. Acevedo, 2020).

Theoretical Framework

Language, Identity, Attitudes, and Politics

Language is more than a system of communication. It is also the main "marker" of group identity (Edwards, 2009, p. 54). In the present study, identity refers to the sense of belonging to a group. This identity can be affected and influenced by social, political, and ethnic divisions (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1982). The premise is that those who know one's language are also members of one's group, but this assumption is usually incorrect (Edwards, 2009). People from outside the group can also learn the language, or they can have access to it through translation. For example, Puerto Ricans from the Island usually consider speaking Spanish a requirement to be considered truly Puerto Rican. Therefore, sometimes they do not consider mainland Puerto Ricans authentic because of their nonexistent or broken Spanish. However, over the years, mainland Puerto Ricans who do not speak Spanish well or at all perceive themselves as Puerto Ricans, for reasons other than language. For them, blood, culture, and having parents from Puerto Rico are also valid markers of Puertoricanness. Another example is that of Puerto Ricans who move back and forth between the Island and the mainland. They are likely to be bilingual and bicultural and identify themselves as Puerto Ricans (Duany, 2003).

People's attitudes and perceptions about language and identity are based on their assessment of the value of a language and how it relates to their identity and their group. These attitudes and perceptions can be either positive or negative, and they might influence the survival

of a language, in this case, Spanish. If people have positive attitudes and perceptions about a language, that means people value it, they use it, and they try to preserve it. On the other hand, if people do not value the language, they do not preserve it, and the language is in jeopardy (Domínguez-Rosado, 2017). Currently, Spanish and English are both official languages in Puerto Rico. English is mandatory from kindergarten to university, whereas Spanish is the vernacular and is used for everyday communication except for federal court procedures. Puerto Rican attitudes and perceptions about the traditional link between Puerto Rican Spanish and Puerto Rican identity have changed and keep evolving over time, depending on the social and political circumstances of the times (e.g., times of war, times of peace, and technology and communication advancements). Domínguez-Rosado (2017) explained that the link between language and identity is a global issue, not just a Puerto Rican one. She added that no matter what heritage language we talk about, there is a historical link between language and identity and there is also a political link that, in many cases, creates negative attitudes toward languages. In fact, the words and actions of political leaders, past and present, have been shapers and articulators of identity messages in Puerto Rico (Morris, 1996). For instance, the Pro-Statehood party identifies and promotes more English, whereas the Pro-Commonwealth Party and Pro-Independent Party identify more with Spanish. The far-right leaders support English as the primary language of the Island as a means to becoming a U.S. state. Domínguez-Rosado (2017) argued that this is all a power struggle among political parties and suggested the urgent need to depoliticize language because that is the root of the problem. A language is a tool for communication, not a political weapon.

Historical Perspectives: Hispanization and Americanization and Their Impact on Attitudes and Perspectives Toward Language and Identity

The present study also draws on historical perspectives to show how Puerto Rican language and identity perceptions toward Spanish and English have been shaped over more than 100 years. As Joseph (2016) put it, "Language and identity is a topic in which contemporary perspectives cannot be neatly separated from historical ones. Identity, even in the here and now, is grounded in beliefs about the past: about heritage and ancestry, and about belonging to a people, a place, a set of beliefs and a way of life" (p. 19).

There is an undeniable historical link between language and identity (Edwards, 2009). Puerto Rico, being a U.S. territory, has created administrative and commercial links with the United States, which has caused contentious linguistic and political issues over time. For instance, throughout the years, the United States has tried to impose the English language on Puerto Rican education and political systems. This has led to the perception of English as the language of the colonizer and even as a threat to Puerto Ricans' cultural and national identity. In contrast, Spanish is still a strong symbolic marker of national identity, especially on the Island. This decades-old ideological rivalry between the two languages has generated conflicts between Islanders and mainlanders, specifically regarding language and identity. However, in recent years, these ideas seem to be shifting on the Island to a more modern and open view, where language can work independently of identity. In fact, the presence of two languages, and therefore two cultures and identities, seems to be forging a new Puerto Rican identity and culture (Domínguez-Rosado, 2017).

To understand Puerto Ricans' language and identity attitudes and perceptions, it is necessary to provide the key historical and language policy events surrounding the battle between Spanish and English. It began on July 25, 1898, when the United States invaded and seized Puerto Rico as part of the Spanish-American War between Spain and the United States. As a result, Puerto Rico came under U.S. control as the spoils of war. This event resulted in a generation of poorly

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educated citizens because of the imposition of English as the language of instruction in Puerto Rico. The following timeline provides the context for the more than 100 years of struggle between Spanish and English (Pousada, 2017):

- 1898: Spain ceded Puerto Rico to the United States under the Treaty of Paris—a military government and English as the medium of instruction at all levels.
- 1900: Foraker Act installed civil administration with a governor and commissioner of education appointed by the United States.
- 1902: Official Languages Act passed with English and Spanish as co-official languages.
- 1917: Jones Act declared Puerto Ricans to be U.S. citizens (although unable to vote for their own governor or for U.S. president).
- 1917-1934: Spanish was the medium of instruction in Grades 1-8; English was the medium of instruction in Grades 9-12.
- 1934-1942: Spanish was the medium of instruction in Grades 1-2 with English as a subject in Grades 3-8; Spanish and English with increasing emphasis on English in high school, where English was the medium of instruction with Spanish as a subject.
- 1945-1946: Bills proposing Spanish as the sole medium of instruction were passed by the Puerto Rican legislature but vetoed by President Truman.
- 1947: Puerto Ricans were given the right to elect their own governor.
- 1948: Luis Muñoz Marín was elected as governor, and he appointed Villaronga as Commissioner of Education.
- 1949 to present: Spanish is the medium of instruction at all levels with English as a mandatory subject.
- 1991: Puerto Rican legislature revoked the Official Languages Act, and Spanish was declared the sole official language.
- 1992: Official Languages Act reinstated. Spanish and English returned as co-official languages of Puerto Rico.

The last language proposal came in 2012 from Luis Fortuño, ex-governor of the Island, who intended to make Puerto Ricans bilingual by the year 2022 (Marcano, 2012). His plan, which was never implemented, was that all classes in public schools on the Island, except Spanish literature and grammar, would be taught in English from kindergarten through high school. At that time, the Puerto Rico Teachers Association expressed that teaching all courses in English was extreme. Similarly, many Puerto Ricans were skeptical of this proposal, fearing they would lose a key part of their identity. Fortuño's proposal was categorized as a new step toward the further Americanization of the Island.

Circular Migration and the Battle Between Spanish and English as Markers of Identity

Circular migration is another phenomenon within the Puerto Rican diaspora that helps explain how their language and identity perceptions have been influenced over many decades. Circulation migration refers to Puerto Rican migrants moving back and forth between the Island and the U.S. mainland, usually spending substantial periods of time residing in both places (G. Acevedo, 2004).

Before Hurricane Maria hit Puerto Rico on September 20, 2017, there was already unprecedented outmigration from the Island to the mainland, at least in part due to Puerto Rico's financial crisis. After the hurricane, people started using words such as *exodus* and *stampede* to describe the massive outflow of people (Sutter & Hernandez, 2018). Historically, massive proportions of Puerto Ricans have come to the U.S. mainland during various time periods (e.g., 1916–1940, 1980–1990, and after Hurricane María in 2017). Reasons include the development of capitalism and the inextricably linked economic considerations and market cycles, such as the shortage of labor in the United States during and after WWI. As a result, about 3.4 million people of Puerto Rican origin ended up residing on the U.S. mainland. Physical proximity and relatively affordable transportation have continued to encourage Puerto Rican migration to the mainland. However, at the same time, thousands of Puerto Ricans have been returning to the Island, resulting in a circular migration that has resulted, demographically and geographically, in a nation on the move, or *La nación en vaivén* (Duany, 2003). Hence, because of the long history of colonialism, massive and mainly labor migration, American citizenship rights, financial crises, as well as natural disasters, Puerto Rico became a divided nation. This has provoked a political and social battle between Spanish and English as markers of Puerto Rican linguistic and cultural identity on the U.S. mainland and on the Island.

Linguistic Racism

Linguistic racism is defined as the different ideologies and practices used to conform, normalize, and reformulate unequal and uneven linguistic power between language users (Dovchin, 2019a, 2019b, as cited in De Costa, 2020). Some victims of linguistic racism describe their experiences with this issue even in their own community, due to both their language use and the color of their skin. De Costa (2020) explained that linguistic racism must be analyzed and understood within the sociopolitical context that surrounds multilingual speakers. It is also closely connected to linguicism or discrimination based on the language one speaks (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2015), native-speakerism where "native speakers" are considered better language models (Cook, 1999), and raciolinguistics or the role that language plays in shaping our ideas about race and vice versa (Flores & Rosa, 2015).

De Costa (2020) pointed out that linguistic racism is pervasive in many societies and can reveal itself in diverse ways. It can manifest by implicit passive–aggressive actions against one's linguistic repertoires or an (in)ability to speak English or other languages for example. It could also be observed in explicit verbal attacks such as mocking, slurs, and name-calling. For example, in recent years U.S. media have reported multiple incidents against Hispanics (including Puerto Ricans), Asians, and Muslims, who have been the victims of verbal attacks, physical harassment, and mocking in public, not only from their fellow, mainly White American citizens but also from former President Trump (Arce, 2019; Canizales & Vallejo, 2021). The ultimate purpose of linguistic racism is to hurt an individual or group using insulting and demeaning labels that revolve around ethnic and linguistic differences (Dovchin, 2020). De Costa (2020) warned that

> *particular attention needs to be dedicated to ideological [forms of linguistic racism] as multilingual learners attempt to have their identities and, correspondingly, their linguistic repertoires ratified by dominant groups who may continue to cling on to elitist monolingual ideologies. Unfortunately, the linguistic practices of such minoritized multilingual learners continue to be determined by the white listening subject (Flores*

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> *and Rosa 2015) who expects those speaking to her to conform to the use of a singular and standard language.* (p. 835)

De Costa (2020) and Dovchin (2020) strongly emphasized the need to pay serious attention to linguistic racism because it can do long-term emotional, mental, and psychological damage to minorities and immigrant communities. It can cause, for instance, distress, feelings of inferiority, social withdrawal, isolation, low self-esteem, anxiety, and fear of speaking (Dovchin, 2020). For example, the serious consequences of linguistic racism manifested in the Hispanic community (including Puerto Ricans) mainly under Trump's presidency. One study found that Hispanics suffer from "Trump-induced anxiety," which was true for English-only, bilingual, and Spanish-only speakers of all skin colors (Jones et al., 2019, p. 69). According to the authors of the study, "the election of Donald Trump resulted in a confluence of two streams: the mixing of overt, nativist, anti-immigrant rhetoric with policies designed to animate this rhetoric and bring it to fruition" (Jones et al., 2019, p. 84). Some Hispanics always carried proof of citizenship. Some had tough conversations with their children about race and discrimination. Some were afraid to speak Spanish in public. Mental health professionals reported seeing increased anxiety or despair among their clients, especially people of color (Sumagaysay, 2019). Furthermore, a phone survey by the Pew Research Center during Trump's presidency revealed that Hispanics experienced discrimination or unfair treatment for speaking Spanish in public and were called offensive names (Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, et al., 2018).

Literature Review

Spanish Language and Identity Perceptions Among Puerto Ricans on the U.S. Mainland

Given the unique situation of Puerto Ricans, language and identity have created a dilemma and are sensitive topics for those who live on the Island, as well as for those who live on the U.S. mainland. For Puerto Ricans in the United States, issues of identity remain extremely ambiguous (Duany, 2010). Early studies of language and identity among continental Puerto Ricans, specifically in New York, found that stateside Puerto Ricans' identities were reconceptualized regarding language as well as birthplace, specifically among those who belong to the second, third, and even first generation (Zentella, 1997). As a result, speaking Spanish is no longer a crucial component or requirement for claiming Puerto Rican identity. Puerto Ricans have used many other elements of Puerto Rican culture, such as traditions, customs, music, food, and even blood, to reclaim their identity. In 1979, a study found that 100% of 91 East Harlem residents of New York believed that a person could speak English and still be part of Puerto Rican culture (Attinasi, 1979, as cited in Zentella, 1997). Later, 83% of East Harlem participants said that Spanish was not necessary or indispensable for Puerto Rican identity (Zentella, 1990). Similarly, another study conducted among 371 respondents from the Puerto Rican community of Brentwood, a suburb of Long Island, New York, suggested that there was a strong emotional loyalty to Spanish, such as cultural, heritage, and affective factors, although it was not the key ingredient that constitutes Latino identity (Torres, 1997).

A different study proposed that one of the reasons for the rapid shift to English among first- and second-generation Puerto Ricans living in New York might be that "pride in their ethnicity is not inexorably linked to the Spanish language" (Torres, 2010, p. 51) as it is in Puerto Rico. In North Philadelphia, research revealed that young Puerto Rican descendants did not want their identity to

be associated with the Spanish language because it was synonymous with poverty and unemployment (Freeman, 2004). Finally, an interethnic study on language and identity among 24 MexiRicans in Chicago indicated that 17 of 24 (70%) reported that one does not need to speak Spanish to be Latino (Potowski & Matts, 2008). Interestingly, those participants who reported that speaking Spanish was indeed necessary to be Latino had higher levels of Spanish proficiency.

In contrast, a small ethnographic study on perspectives on language and identity conducted among five participants in the city of Chicago who were both Puerto Rican and Mexican (called PortoMexicans and MexiRicans) revealed that some respondents expressed that in relation to their identity Spanish was "a real piece that is missing" (Rúa, 2001, p. 125). The participants in that study redefined "what it means to be Puerto Rican and Mexican in Chicago by linking their identity formation not only to family and language, but also to their neighborhoods, their educational experiences, and their circle of friends and acquaintances" (Rúa, 2001, p. 126).

Lamboy's (2004) study of 20 first- and second-generation Puerto Ricans in New York found that Spanish was a necessary requirement for membership in the ethnic community and the Hispanic/Latino community. Lamboy's (2011) study on language and identity construction with 57 Puerto Ricans from New York and 45 from Central Florida indicated that those from Central Florida value the Spanish language and its use more than those from New York do. The participants reported that Boricuas (Puerto Ricans) in New York are very Americanized and that being in contact with the Island is very important to maintain a sense of self in the new environment and a reinvigoration of their Spanish. The author explained that these perceptions may be attributed to the relatively short time they have lived in Central Florida and to generational factors. On the other hand, those Boricuas from New York have a different view of this issue. In general, this group disagrees with the need to connect with the Island and speak the language to maintain or enhance their Puerto Rican identity. But they recognize that speaking Spanish is a positive thing. This trend in change of perceptions compared to the past is in part due to the different profiles (educational level, socioeconomic status, and location) of the Puerto Ricans (newcomers) who have arrived on the mainland in recent years. As a result, language has indeed altered Puertoricanness (Lamboy, 2011).

Potowski (2014, 2016) conducted a study in Chicago of a unique, mixed Puerto Rican identity (called MexiRicans) construction and the role of Spanish with 125 participants of Puerto Rican, Mexican, and MexiRican origin (people with one parent from Mexico and one from Puerto Rico). The participants took part in interviews in Chicago about their ethnolinguistic identities, linguistic ideologies, stereotypes, and prejudices. All were bilingual in Spanish and English. Analysis revealed that there is a shift in discourses across different generations. First, it seems that Spanish no longer figures prominently in the third-generation participants' identity construction (Puerto Ricans and Mexicans), which also means that cultural authenticity is less tied to Spanish, or there is a loosening of the bond between Spanish and Latino identity (Potowski, 2014). This specific generation of Puerto Ricans and Mexicans has little productive capacity in Spanish, which corroborates the shift from Spanish to English (Potowski & Matts, 2008). The results of the interviews with 46 MexiRicans regarding their identity revealed the following: "There was a greater degree of acceptance of an inter-Latino hybridity, adamantly, claiming to be equally Puerto Rican and Mexican" (Potowski, 2014, p. 26) or having dualistic identities, although when they spoke people could recognize a definite dialect. As a result, the Spanish language or certain Spanish features appeared to play a key role in how MexiRicans were read ethnically and challenged on their identity by others (Potowski, 2016). Finally, MexiRicans in Chicago apparently do not face nationalist tensions among themselves, to the point that they recognize and appreciate the positive aspects of each culture instead of focusing on negative stereotypes. In sum, non-English languages

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in the United States have a vital role not only for communication purposes for immigrants but also because they serve important identity functions for immigrants' descendants or their children raised in the United States. Language, then, plays a key role in individuals' identity configurations (Potowski, 2014).

Spanish Language and Identity Perceptions Among Puerto Ricans From the Island

In Puerto Rico, the Spanish language has always been a central symbol of national identity (Morris, 1996). In fact, political activists and some academics from the Island have condemned and criticized the idea of considering monolingual English speakers as Puerto Ricans (Zentella, 1997). Although American culture has penetrated the Island, its identity reflects a strong allegiance to the Spanish. Morris found that there is a "tenacious fealty" to language as a symbol of Puerto Rican identity, or the element of Puertoricanness, contrary to what Puerto Ricans on the U.S. mainland feel. For instance, she found that pro-statehood (make Puerto Rico a state of the United States) participants did not see English as a threat to Puerto Rican identity, whereas pro-commonwealth and pro-independence participants did see English as a threat and insisted that the Spanish language was a part of being Puerto Rican. Remarkably, all groups have expressed that Spanish should continue as the dominant language and should be a symbol and a marker of Puerto Rican identity, as expressed by political leaders of the Island from different affiliations. However, Domínguez-Rosado's (2015) study on language and identity on the Island appears to indicate that attitudes and perceptions might be becoming more flexible regarding Spanish as a requirement for being Puerto Rican.

Duany (2003) argued that national identities among Puerto Ricans have been "reconfigured" because of their constant migration back and forth or relocation between the Island and the mainland. He claimed that this migration has reinforced long-distance nationalism. In other words, there is an insistent claim to national identity by those who live away from Puerto Rico. Therefore, although Islanders still consider Spanish a basic symbol of national identity, Spanish has become a less reliable component of Puertoricanness on the mainland. However, that was in 2003, and now there are some shifts in perspective, as Domínguez-Rosado's (2015) research with three families indicates, despite the very small sample. According to her findings, Puerto Ricans on the Island appear to be moving beyond the traditional belief that Spanish is mandatory in order to identify oneself as Puerto Rican. Many Puerto Ricans have family in the diaspora and are becoming more flexible in their perspectives on the link between language and identity, especially the younger generation. Finally, a more recent study on language attitudes toward Spanish and English in Puerto Rico, also with a small pool of participants (n = 39), indicates that 86.11% of participants still consider Spanish a symbol of their identity (González-Rivera, 2021). However, they recognize the growing instrumental and economic value of learning English and do not consider it a threat to their society, contrary to what some Puerto Ricans thought in the past. Finally, Dominguez Rosado argued that it is possible that a new identity is emerging on the Island of Puerto Rico, an identity not associated with any language. This suggests the need for studies with larger samples on the Island as well as on the mainland.

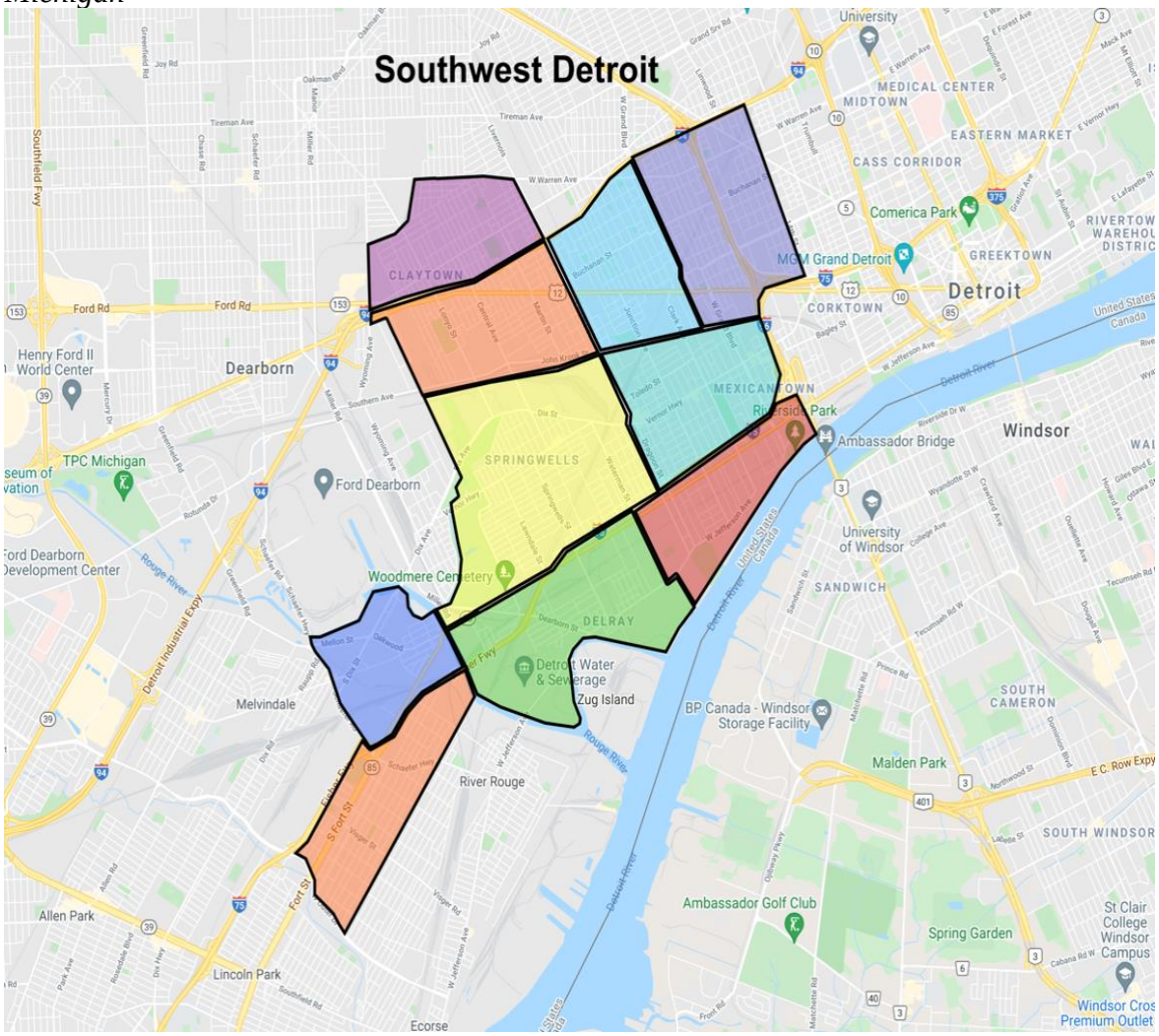
The Present Study: **Puerto Ricans of Detroit**

During the 1960s and mid-1970s, most Puerto Ricans arriving in Detroit came directly from the Island. Others migrated from Chicago, fleeing the high crime rates and in search of better job opportunities in the steel, agriculture, and auto industries (such as Ford). The affordability of living in the city was and still is a key factor in their settlement. In fact, in the present study, of the 103 participants, 67 participants (65%) had no plans to leave Detroit, but 30 (29.1%) were considering such a move. Some of the primary reasons for staying are the following: being born and raised in the city, family, job, liking/loving the city/location/area/community, good location, having purchased a house, low rent, cheap city, and personal preference to live in Detroit.

The present study was conducted in Southwest Detroit (Figure 1), Michigan, between 2017 and 2018. It took place specifically in the area commonly identified as Mexicantown. Mexicantown is considered one of Detroit's most diverse and culturally rich areas and is located in Southwest Detroit.

Figure 1

Map from Google Maps of Southwest Detroit (District 6) and the Area of Mexicantown in Detroit, Michigan



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The 40,657 Mexicans comprise most of the Hispanic population, followed by 6,199 Puerto Rican residents, 692 Cuban residents, and 3,954 Hispanic residents from other countries (Detroit's NPR Station, 2017). No other city district in Detroit has more Hispanics than does this zone. Southwest Detroit and "Greater Mexicantown" are interspersed with Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Cuban, Arab, and White residents. Among these groups, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans have managed to create a strong and visible community. For instance, the visibility of Puerto Ricans has manifested through events such as the Puerto Rican Family Festival and organizations such as the Puerto Rican Club (founded in 1950), La Casita Cimarrón y Yuketi de Detroit, and BombaRica Puerto Rican Performing Artists & Cultural Group.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to discover the perceptions among DetroitRicans about the role of being able to speak Spanish as a reaffirmation of their Puerto Rican cultural and linguistic identity, as well as that of their children, in the context of the environment of linguistic racism the United States has been experiencing in the last few years. I also seek to compare the results with those of previous studies within other Puerto Rican communities in the United States and on the Island of Puerto Rico. The following research questions guided this study:

1. To what extent do Detroit Puerto Ricans perceive that Spanish is part of their Puerto Rican culture and identity, and how does this perception vary according to education, length of time spent in the United States, generation, and language proficiency?
2. To what extent does not teaching Spanish to their children deny them a part of their Puerto Rican culture and identity, and how does this perception vary according to education, length of time spent in the United States, generation, and language proficiency?
3. How do perceptions of DetroitRicans about the role of speaking Spanish as a reaffirmation of their Puerto Rican identity and culture compare with those of previous studies in other Puerto Rican communities in the United States and in Puerto Rico?

Participant Profiles

Of the 103 participants in this study, 49 were males (47.6%), and 54 were females (52.4%). Their age range was 18 to 84, with a mean age of 44.21 years and a median of 44 years. For the analysis, the participants were divided into four age groups: under 30 (n = 27), 30 to 44 (n = 28), 45 to 59 (n = 26), and 60 and older (n = 22). Only 12 (11.7%) of the participants spent more of their lives in Puerto Rico, whereas 91 (88.3%) participants spent most of their lives on the U.S. mainland. Seven (6.8%) participants spent less than 12 years in the United States, and 96 (93.2%) spent 12 or more years in this country.

Regarding the place of birth, 49 (47.6%) participants were descendants of Puerto Rican families, but they were born in the United States. The other 54 participants (52.4%) were born in Puerto Rico in the following municipalities: Aguirre (1), Aibonito (1), Bayamon (2), Caguas (8), Camuy (1), Cayey (1), Cidra (1), Fajardo (1), Guayama (1), Hatillo (2), Juana Diaz (1), Mayagüez (1), Naranjito (1), Ponce (4), Rincón (2), Rio Piedras (1), Salinas (3), San Juan (3), San Lorenzo (1), Santa Isabel (1), Toa Alta (6), Toa Baja (2), Utaudo (1), Yabucoa (2), and Yauco (1). Those born in Puerto Rico arrived in the United States at different ages: 11 (20.4%) were brought when

under the age of 6, four (7.4%) participants arrived when they were 6 to 10 years of age, 18 (33.3%) of them came when they were 11 to 20 years of age, and 20 (37%) entered the United States when they were 21 or older. At the time of the interview, participants reported that they had spent from less than a year to 66 years in Detroit, with an average time of 27.66 years, and a median duration of 27 years.

Thirty-one participants (30.1%) were married, and 72 (69.9%) were not married. Of those married, 26 provided information about their spouse's ethnicity as follows: 16 spouses (15.5%) were Puerto Rican, five (4.9%) were Mexican, and the remaining five were African American, American, Dominican, European, and Venezuelan. Although fewer than one-third of the participants were married, 74 (71.8%) said they had children whose birthplace was the United States in most cases (88.4%) and in Puerto Rico in only eight cases (11.6%).

Only 61 (59.2%) participants were employed at the time of their interview, whereas the other 42 (40.8%) did not have a job. Of those who were employed, 51 provided the following job titles: driver, maintenance, security, social worker, volunteer, and Mitsubishi Electric Automotive (2 respondents declared each of these positions), and assembly, automotive factory, barber, bookkeeper, bricklayer, carpeting, car painter, cashier, commerce, communication specialist, construction, data entry specialist, Detroit public schools, director for the Academic Center for Latino and Latin American Studies at Wayne State University, dispatcher, elementary school, factory, fixing robots, Ford Motor Company, Girl Scouts, human services, casino, college, labor, landscaping, legal assistant, machine operator, mechanic, mortgage banker, nurse, pharmacist, promotions, public employee, research, state worker, supervisor, trucks, meat department, work with pregnant moms, and youth services (one respondent declared each of these positions).

The educational level reported by the participants of the present study was the following: 34% had completed university, 34% had a high school diploma, 4% had some post-secondary education, 4% had completed middle school, 7% had some middle school, 4% had some primary education, and 3% had no education.

Language Proficiency

Table 1 shows participants' self-perceived proficiency in Spanish and English (See Items 24 to 29 of the questionnaire in the Appendix). The percentages of participants who said they were unable to speak, read, or write in Spanish or English were all in the single-digit range. The participants with limited proficiency had trouble with reading and particularly with writing more than they had with speaking. In English, more participants had limited ability to speak than to read and write. The largest percentage of participants who declared proficiency in Spanish was for speaking and in English for reading.

Table 1

Participants' Self-Perceived Proficiency in Spanish and English

Questions Asked	*% No*	*% Some*	*% Yes*
Can you speak Spanish?	1.0	7.8	91.3
Can you read Spanish?	5.8	15.5	78.6
Can you write Spanish?	6.8	20.4	72.8
Can you speak English?	3.9	17.5	78.6
Can you read English?	4.9	13.6	81.6
Can you write English?	9.7	13.6	76.7

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Tables 2 and 3 display participants' self-perceived proficiency in speaking Spanish and English by generation. Spanish proficiency by generation appears to be similar between the first and second generation, whereas English proficiency was higher in the first generation.

Table 2
Participants' Self-Perceived Proficiency in Speaking Spanish by Generation

Generation	Spanish	*n*	%
Generation 1 born P.R.	Some/No	8	16.3
	Yes	41	83.7
	Total	49	100.0
Generation 2 born U.S., parents P.R.	Some/No	1	2.0
	Yes	50	98.0
	Total	51	100.0
Generation 3 born U.S., parent U.S.	Yes	3	100.0

Table 3
English Speaking Proficiency by Generation

Generation	English	*n*	%
Generation 1 born P.R.	Some/No	2	4.1
	Yes	47	95.9
	Total	49	100.0
Generation 2 born U.S., parents P.R.	Some/No	20	39.2
	Yes	31	60.8
	Total	51	100.0
Generation 3 born U.S., parent U.S.	Yes	3	100.0

Table 4
Participants' Self-Perceived Proficiency in Spanish and English by Education

Skill	Elementary to High School			College / University			Difference
	% No	% Some	% Yes	% No	% Some	% Yes	% Yes
Speak Spanish	0	9.0	**91.0**	2.9	2.9	**94.3**	**3.3**
Read Spanish	7.5	20.9	**71.6**	2.9	2.9	**94.3**	**22.7**
Write Spanish	9.0	23.9	**67.2**	2.9	11.4	**85.7**	**18.5**
Speak English	6.0	23.9	**70.1**	0	5.7	**94.3**	**24.2**
Read English	7.5	19.4	**73.1**	0	2.9	**97.1**	**24.0**
Write English	14.9	14.9	**70.1**	0	11.4	**86.6**	**16.5**

Table 4 reveals the differences between participants with and without college/university education. As expected, higher education was associated with consistently higher percentages of proficiency in both Spanish and English. The largest differences were in reading Spanish and speaking and reading English.

Use of Spanish and English Among Participants and Members of Their Community

Figure 2 shows the participants' current use of English and Spanish for daily communication (See Items 36–37 of the questionnaire). Not surprisingly, frequent and very frequent use of English combined (reported by 87.4% of the participants) exceeded frequent and very frequent use of Spanish combined (76.7%). The predominance of English was stronger at the highest frequency level (advantage of 22.3% over the very frequent use of Spanish).

Figure 2

Use of Languages for Daily Communication

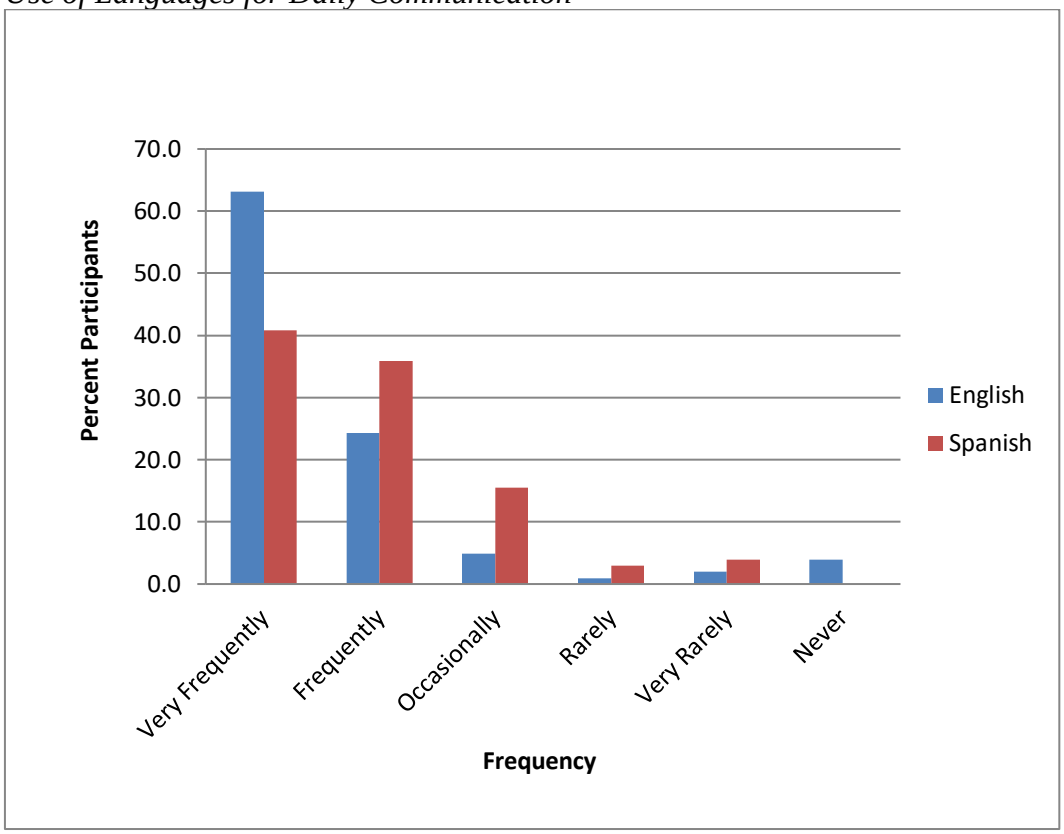

Figure 3 displays the use of languages at home, at work, and with friends (See Items 38, 42, 43, and 45 of the questionnaire). At home, the participants used more English or more Spanish in almost equal proportions (about one-third of the respondents), and fewer of them used a combination of the two languages (28.2%). At work, about one-third of the participants used more English, fewer (29.1%) used both languages, and much fewer (10.7%) used Spanish.

With friends, almost two-thirds of the participants used more English, and the other third used more Spanish. The much higher percentage of participants who used English with friends correlates with the relatively low percentages of people who said they had mainly Puerto Rican friends (37.9%), mainly Mexican friends (12.6%), or mainly Latino friends (1.9%). One third of the participants said their friends were of "different nationalities," "all nationalities," or a "mix of nationalities."

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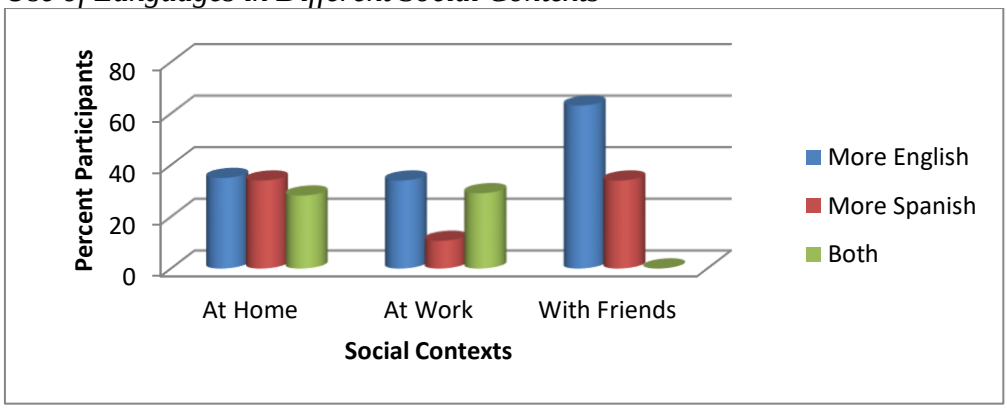
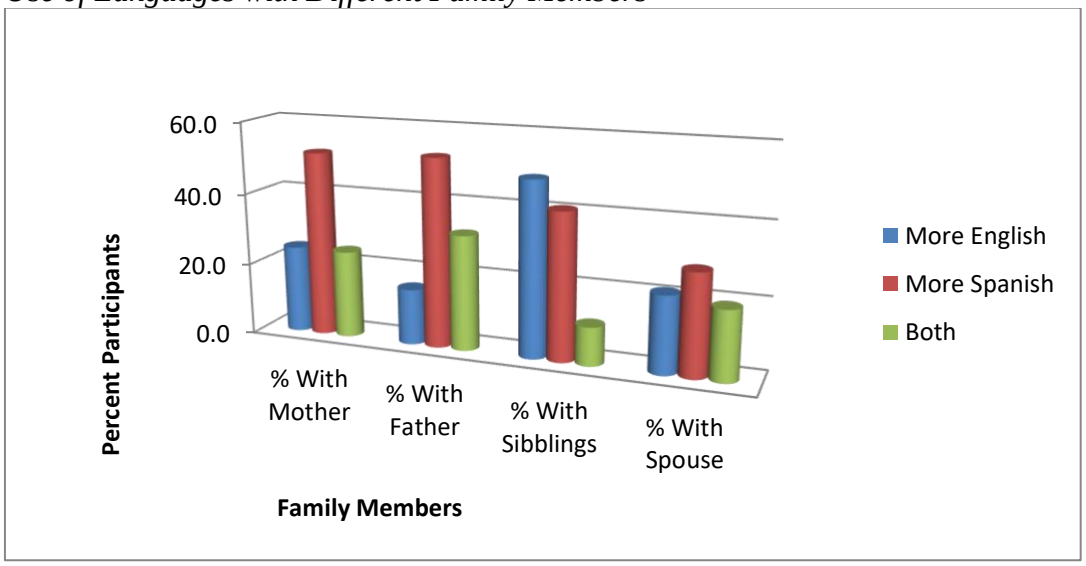
Figure 3
Use of Languages in Different Social Contexts



Use of Spanish and English Among Participants and Their Family Members

Figure 4 presents participants' use of languages with different family members (See Items 39, 40, 41, and 44 of the questionnaire). More than half conduct more communication with their parents in Spanish. Fewer than 25% of the participants use more English with their mother, and only 15.5% use more English with their father. These numbers suggest more conservatism in the use of Spanish in family communication by the male parent, who may exercise more authority with the children. Unlike communication with parents, which is primarily in Spanish, communication with siblings is primarily in English (48.5% use more English, compared to 40.8% more Spanish). The participants found it harder to identify the language they use more for communication with their spouse (only 68.9% could make that judgment). Slightly more participants use more Spanish with their spouses (28.2%) rather than more English (21.4%). The percentage of participants who use both languages in their communication with family members decreases from the highest with the father to the mother, spouse, and siblings.

Figure 4
Use of Languages with Different Family Members



Attitudes About the Use of Spanish and Perceptions About Its Connection to Identity

In the present study, participants self-reported attitudes toward Spanish are highly positive. Most (95%) agree that knowing Spanish is important and useful in the United States (See Item 56 of the questionnaire). These positive attitudes reflect participant responses and commentaries to open-ended and non-open-ended questions (See Items 48, 56, 57, 58, 59, 75, and 77). Most respondents consider Spanish the language of their ancestors; the language of their origin; the language of their roots; the language of their parents; a key component of their identity, culture, and traditions; and a language that might allow them and their own children to have better employment opportunities and a good future in the United States, thanks to the growing Hispanic population. For example, 86% of participants agree that bilingual Puerto Ricans have more job opportunities (See Item 58 of the questionnaire). On the other hand, participants describe English as the language of communication for work, for school purposes, the language of the long history with the United States, as well as the language for economic advancement (See Item 63 of the questionnaire).

Data Collection Procedures and Analysis

The data for this study come from a sociolinguistic questionnaire designed by the author with the assistance of a statistical consultant (see questionnaire in Appendix). The questionnaire was available in English and Spanish, and the participants selected the language version with which they felt most comfortable. The questionnaire includes demographic questions such as gender, age, place of birth, age of arrival in the United States, length of stay in the United States, educational level, occupation, marital status, language competence, self-reported usage of Spanish with different family members, friends' attitudes toward Spanish and English, and language and identity perceptions. The questionnaire is a combination of Likert-type statements and multiple-choice, fill-in-the-blank, open-ended, and binary-response questions.

The author and an assistant interviewed 103 participants in person by going to the following places and local community events: Puerto Rican Family Festival, Fall Festival, and LA SED Senior and Youth Center in Southwest Detroit. The author and assistant also visited community sites such as Latino Family Services (a Detroit nonprofit organization located in Mexicantown that provides Human services to residents of Wayne County) and recruited more participants, who referred the author to more potential volunteers for this study. A $25 gift card compensated the participants.

The author and a statistical consultant designed the methodology and data analysis for this study. The author and the assistant entered the data into an Excel file, and the statistical consultant ran the analysis using SPSS version 11 Mac OS X to generate the descriptive statistics (frequencies and percentages). This study used mainly qualitative data and included participant responses to open-ended questions in order to supplement the findings. The author and assistant translated the participants' answers from Spanish to English, when necessary.

Findings

For Research Question 1, the interviewer asked participants if speaking Spanish is part of the Puerto Rican culture and identity. Answer choices were *Yes/No* and *Why*? (See Item 62 of the questionnaire). An overwhelming majority of participants responded *Yes*. Statistical comparisons for Item 62 by education level, length of time spent in the United States, generation, and language

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proficiency revealed no significant findings. The results indicate a homogeneity of perceptions across the four different variables among DetroitRicans. The results suggest that speaking Spanish is a crucial component of DetroitRicans' culture and identity even though they live in Detroit. Two of the most common reasons listed for considering Spanish a vital component of PuertoRicanness are their Hispanic heritage and the fact that Spanish is spoken on the Island of Puerto Rico. The following are some of the participants' responses to Item 62:

Because it is our first language, and it identifies us.
It is our first language.
Our roots are Hispanic.
Because people speak Spanish in Puerto Rico.
Spanish is part of life in Puerto Rico.
It is part of the Island.
It is the main language in Puerto Rico.
It is our culture, and we are of Hispanic origin.
It is the national language.

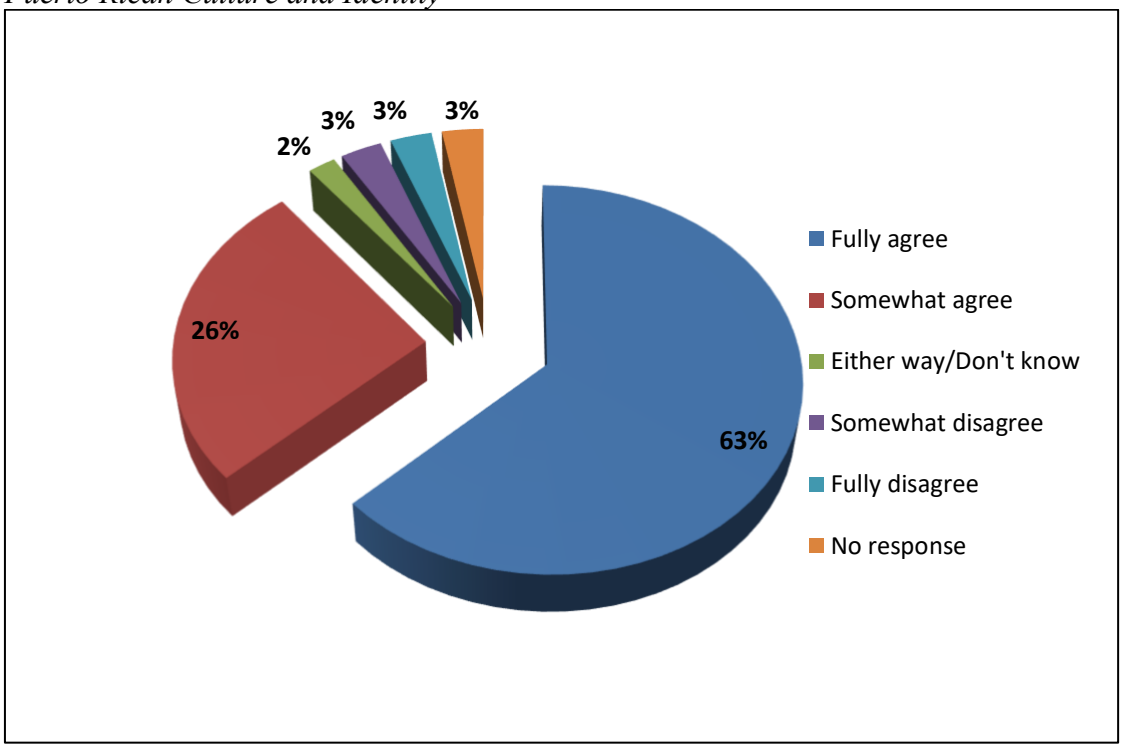
Puerto Ricans constantly referred to the Island in their written comments. It may be a way to legitimize Spanish as a necessary component of their culture and identity in the United States. This happens in diasporic communities where identity is associated with cultural and emotional ties to an ancestral homeland, in this case, Puerto Rico (Duany, 2003). The responses to the first research question are in alignment with DetroitRicans identifying themselves as Hispanic (See Item 60 of the questionnaire) even though they are American citizens. The overwhelming majority of participants (95.2%) consider themselves Hispanic for reasons such as being of Hispanic and Puerto Rican origin, having parents of Puerto Rican origin, being born in a Hispanic country, as well as speaking Spanish. The following are some of their responses:

Because I am 100% Puerto Rican.
Because I am from Puerto Rico.
Because I am Hispanic.
Because I am of Hispanic descent.
Because I speak Spanish.
Because I was born in Puerto Rico.
Because I was born on a Hispanic island.
Because my parents are 100% Puerto Ricans.
Both of my parents are of Hispanic origin.
I come from a Hispanic background.

To address Research Question 2, participants responded on a scale from 0 (*Fully Agree*) to 4 (*Fully Disagree*) to the following statement: Not teaching Spanish to your children is to deny a part of their Puerto Rican culture and identity (See Item 75 of the questionnaire). To this statement, 89% of participants responded that they fully agreed or somewhat agreed (Figure 5). The parents' desire to preserve Spanish for their next generation of children so they can maintain their Puerto Rican cultural and linguistic heritage is reflected in the parents' overwhelming endorsement of the statement.

Figure 5

Agreement with the Statement "Not Teaching Spanish to Children Is Denying Them Part of Their Puerto Rican Culture and Identity"



Comparisons of responses to Research Question 2 by language proficiency in speaking Spanish indicate that there was a statistically significant difference (p = .029) between parents who are proficient in speaking Spanish compared with those with low or no proficiency in speaking Spanish (Table 5 and Figure 6). The results of the Mann-Whitney presented in Figure 8 indicate that parents' proficiency in speaking Spanish has a statistically significant direct/positive effect on their belief that "Not teaching Spanish to your children is to deny a part of their Puerto Rican culture and identity," U = 562, p = .029. There were no statistically significant results for the following variables: language proficiency in reading or writing Spanish; language proficiency in reading, writing, or speaking English; education level; length of time spent in the United States; or generation.

Table 5

Participant Proficiency in Speaking Spanish

	Speak Spanish	Frequency	%
Valid	Yes	94	91.3
	Some	8	7.8
	No	1	1.0
	Total	103	100.0

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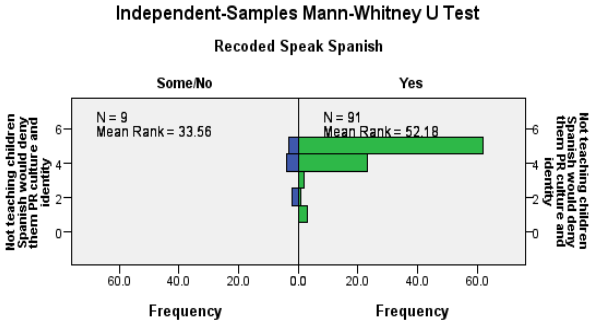
Figure 6
Hypothesis Test Summary and Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test



Total N	100
Mann-Whitney U	562.000
Wilcoxon W	4,748.000
Test Statistic	562.000
Standard Error	69.746
Standardized Test Statistic	2.186
Asymptotic Sig. (2-sided test)	.029

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The distribution of Not teaching children Spanish would deny them PR culture and identity is the same across categories of Recoded Speak Spanish.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.029	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

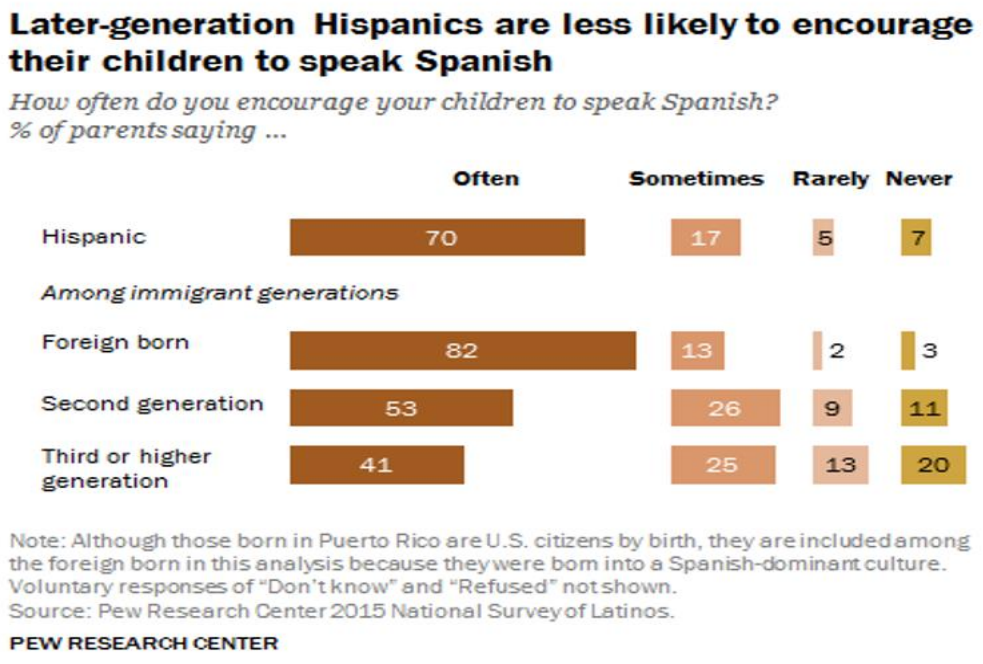
DetroitRicans' responses to Research Question 2 also support the idea that parents would like their children to maintain and speak Spanish, as expressed by 75.7% of respondents (See Item 59 of the questionnaire); their full support (97.1%) for bilingual education in English and Spanish for their children (See Item 57 of the questionnaire); as well as parents' effort and reasons to talk to their children in Spanish (See Item 48 of the questionnaire). The most common commentaries provided by parents regarding the importance of speaking Spanish to their children were Hispanic roots and culture, Spanish as their heritage language, Spanish as the mother tongue of Puerto Rico, the significant Hispanic presence in the United States, the benefits of being bilingual, and employment opportunities. The following are some of the participants' responses in support of their children maintaining Spanish:

As a Puerto Rican, not only is it from pride it is also our duty.
Because it is their native language.
Because it is their heritage.
Better job opportunities and helps maintain culture.
For maintaining cultural tradition.
For economic advancement.
Heritage and job opportunities.
I want them to maintain the culture.
It is important for my child to be bilingual because it opens more opportunity in life.

It is our mother tongue.
It is part of his roots and who he is.
It is part of the culture.
It is their heritage language.
They can keep their heritage and descent.
We are of Hispanic origin.
There are a lot of Hispanic people in the U.S.
They can be bilingual.
I tell them they are Hispanic.

DetroitRicans appear to be aware that Spanish has become unquestionably the second most-used language in the United States and are aware that the number of Spanish speakers is projected to rise. Data indicate that by 2050 one in three people in the United States will speak Spanish (Thompson, 2021). This is relevant for the intergenerational transmission of Spanish, in addition to its role in the identity construction of Spanish speakers (Potowski, 2014). Most of the participants in this study agree about the importance of teaching their children Spanish and supporting bilingual education (English-Spanish) as an integral part of their Puerto Rican cultural and linguistic identity. However, a Pew Research Center analysis (Figure 7) indicates that Hispanic parents speaking Spanish to their children declines across second and third generations as their immigrant connections become more distant (Lopez, Krogstad, et al., 2018).

Figure 7
Immigrant Hispanics' Encouragement of Their Children to Speak Spanish, by Generation



Note. Retrieved August 20, 2018, from http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/04/02/most-hispanic-parents-speak-spanish-to-their-children-but-this-is-less-the-case-in-later-immigrant-generations/ Copyright 2018 by Pew Research Center.

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More plausible explanations for perceiving the crucial role of speaking Spanish as a key component of Puertoricanness among DetroitRicans and their children in this study are the following: (a) more than half (52.4%) of the participants in this study were born in Puerto Rico (See Item 8 of the questionnaire); (b) 94.2% of the respondents still have family and communication with their families in Puerto Rico, which might account for a deeper and closer attachment to the Spanish language and the culture of the Island (See Item 71 of the questionnaire); (c) 84.5% of the participants consider it *Important* or *Very Important* to be able to speak Spanish with their family in Puerto Rico (See Item 73 of the questionnaire); (d) DetroitRicans are surrounded by other Hispanic groups (e.g., Cubans and Mexicans) within the same neighborhood; and (e) some participants in this study are in mixed-identity marriages (e.g., Mexican and Puerto Rican), all of which could account for the central role of speaking Spanish in their identity and cultural perceptions. In fact, research studies inform us that a higher interconnection between Latino or Hispanic friends and colleagues is linked to lower levels of U.S. identification and vice versa (Repke & Benet-Martinez, 2017). For instance, the following quotes reflect common thoughts and feelings of participants in this study about living in Southwest Detroit and Mexicantown with a large Hispanic presence:

> *I like it here because I live with people who speak Spanish and who have similar customs and traditions.*
> *I love it, it is who we are and what we need to celebrate our identity with one another.*
> *It feels good to go places and be able to speak Spanish.*
> *I feel good because most of my friends speak Spanish and I am surrounded with people like me.*
> *I feel good because I am with others of my culture.*
> *I love it. I enjoy different Hispanic races and cultures and learning how different yet similar we are*
> *It is great as of now, but I would like to see changes and more Hispanic festivals like in Florida, Nueva York, and Chicago.*
> *Very good because of the use of the Hispanic language*

Regarding Research Question 3, our results in Detroit, using a larger sample compared with some earlier studies, do not support previous findings in other U.S. cities, such as those of New York (Torres, 1997; Zentella, 1997), Chicago (Potowski & Matts, 2008), and North Philadelphia (Freeman, 2004). The previously mentioned studies reported that Speaking Spanish was not considered a necessary component of Puerto Rican identity. This study in Detroit, Michigan, elicited a favorable opinion of speaking Spanish as a key component in the reaffirmation of Puerto Rican linguistic and cultural identity, which agrees with Lamboy's (2004, 2011) results in New York and Central Florida, as well as the most recent perceptions and comments made by Puerto Ricans living on the Island. For 86.11% of the Islanders, Spanish is a symbol of their identity because it is the language they use for daily communication on the Island, it is the language through which they forge their cultural identity, and it is their mother tongue (González-Rivera, 2021). However, the perceptions of a small percentage (6.8%) of participants in this study—who reject the notion that speaking Spanish is a must to validate their Puerto Rican identity (See Item 62 of the questionnaire)—support earlier findings in New York that cultural affiliation also counts as a marker of Puertoricanness. This challenges the dominant discourse that being Puerto Rican and

speaking Spanish are essentially synonymous (Zentella, 1990). Like NuyoRicans, a few DetroitRicans claim that blood or heritage, especially parents, should account for validation of their Puertoricanness, as seen in their comments on the questionnaire:

> *You do not have to speak a language. Culture is enough.*
> *Can be Puerto Rican with other components of the culture.*
> *There are other parts of culture that make you Puerto Rican.*
> *It is in your blood line.*
> *Because my blood is Puerto Rican.*
> *Puerto Rican blood is what you need.*

Finally, our statistical comparisons by Spanish-speaking proficiency support the results of the Potowski and Matts (2008) study with MexiRicans in Chicago, in which those participants who reported having a high level of Spanish proficiency also believed that Spanish is necessary for identity purposes. However, keep in mind that the present study did not include participants of Mexican origin as the Potowski study did.

Discussion

Despite the frequent linguistic racism against Hispanics and speaking Spanish in public over the last few years, the findings of the first two research questions reflect DetroitRicans' positive attitudes toward speaking this language, transmitting it to the next generation (children), and recognizing it as part of their Puerto Rican cultural and linguistic identity. However, although these perceptions about language and identity play a powerful role in the use of Spanish in the future, research points to a loss of language with each succeeding generation (Potowski, 2014). In addition, another growing and contributing factor for the loss of Spanish language is the fear of speaking Spanish in public. Bullying of Hispanic children in schools and Hispanic people in general has increased in recent years. This is reflected in testimonies such as the one from Jennifer Acosta, a graduate of Duke University, of Hispanic origin, and who was a year old when she came to the United States:

> *I worry that my little sister (who is now 8) won't learn Spanish. Not because I'm afraid it'll mean she's less Latina, but because of the shame she has learned to connect to her native tongue. With Trump in the Oval Office and a spike in hate crimes—which, perhaps, have only become more visible—I noticed I hesitated to speak Spanish in public. Recently, this aspect of my cultural identity has become more salient to me. I find myself becoming more vigilant in public spaces. I've also realized, to my dismay, that I've become more and more silent. Because of this fear, I'm losing my voice. I'm losing parts of me. When people glare at me for speaking Spanish in public, refer to it as a "dirty" language, tell me to "go back to your country" or say, "Speak English. You're in America!"—is it any wonder that some Latinas/Latinos begin to feel ashamed about their language and/or cultural/ethnic identity? Perhaps that's the detractors' point: They want to make us feel ashamed about who we are. As anti-immigrant sentiments grow more vocal, I worry about the shame other Latina/Latino children will feel about their identity and language. For a developing child like my*

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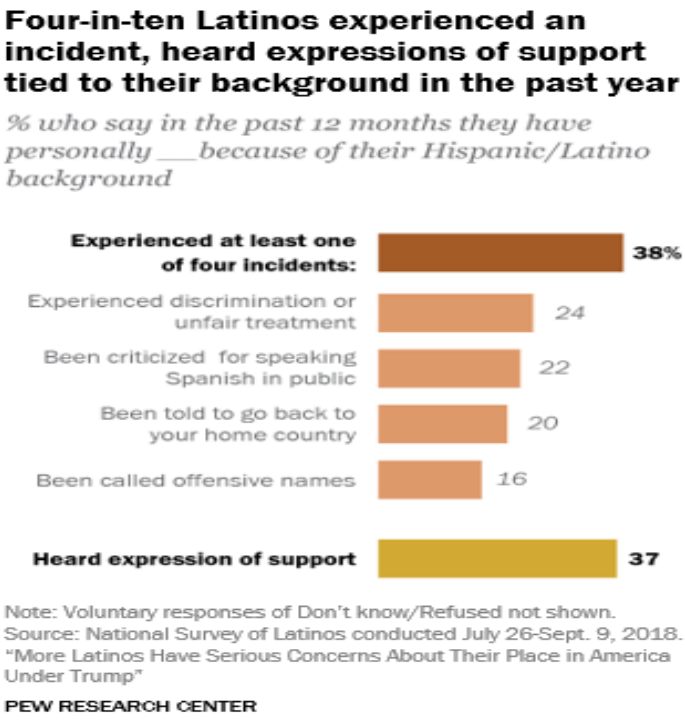
> *sister, this shame could mean resisting to learn their home language, whether it be Spanish or another non-English language. (Acosta, 2017, para. 6–10)*

Carroll (2016) pointed out that former president Trump's rhetoric fueled school bullies across the United States, which has led to playground fights and violent exchanges in classrooms against children who speak Spanish, are of Hispanic origin, and have brown and/or dark skin. Carroll (2016) also explained that Trump's political rhetoric invaded elementary, middle, and high schools and encouraged some children to use racist insults, such as "You'll get deported," "You weren't born here," and "You were born in a Taco Bell" (para 4), that have caused anxiety and fear of speaking Spanish among Hispanic children and Hispanics in general. Research also suggests that the Spanish language itself may induce anxiety because, in context, it is an attribute negatively connected to the immigration issue debate, which intensified under former President Trump (Jones et al., 2019). Additionally, a Pew Research Center investigation (Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, et al., 2018) found that more Hispanics expressed serious concerns about their place in the United States under former President Trump. A majority (54%) of Hispanics say it has become more difficult in recent years to be Hispanic in the United States. They have experienced discrimination or unfair treatment, criticism for speaking Spanish, and name calling because of their Hispanic background (Figure 8). Nevertheless, the investigation also revealed that Hispanics, including Puerto Ricans, are overwhelmingly (97%) proud of their heritage.

Figure 8

Latino Experiences Tied to Their Background and Language in the Past Year



Note. Retrieved August 20, 2019, https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2018/10/25/more-latinos-have-serious-concerns-about-their-place-in-america-under-trump/ Copyright 2019 by Pew Research Center.

Finally, the findings of this study suggest that the perceptions about how speaking Spanish relates to Puerto Rican linguistic and cultural identity are complex and vary across the different communities. The unique status of Puerto Ricans, their history and connections with the United States, their "Neither here nor there" circular migration, and the growing of the diaspora on the mainland account for a big part of the variability. Perceptions also depend on the influence of social, political, and cultural factors; technology; geographical location and period or time of data collection; sample size; and so on. Therefore, it is risky to generalize the results. The perceptions of Puerto Ricans in New York and Chicago differ from those of Puerto Ricans in Detroit. The perceptions of newcomer Puerto Ricans (coming from the Island) differ from those of Puerto Ricans who have been settled on the mainland for many years, or the ones who were born here. Perceptions of younger people, who are now more exposed to English and technology, are not the same as those of the older generations (e.g., grandparents). Perceptions of those in mixed-identity marriages (e.g., PortoMexicans: Puerto Ricans and Mexicans) might not be the same as those of Puerto Ricans of non-mixed-identity marriages. Perceptions of Puerto Ricans with high proficiency in Spanish or those who are bilingual (Spanish-English) might not be the same as those of Puerto Ricans who are not bilingual or proficient in Spanish.

Despite the complex variations in perceptions, our findings reveal positive attitudes toward speaking Spanish as a significant marker of Puertoricanness, and strong support for bilingualism (Spanish-English), similar to the perceptions on the Island of Puerto Rico. These positive attitudes are reflected in the maintenance of Puerto Rican cultural traditions from the Island, which include language. For example, when asked what elements/traditions of Puerto Rican culture our participants maintain within their families in the United States, DetroitRicans gave the following responses: Spanish language, food, dance, music, religion, and celebrations (See Item 66 of the questionnaire).

Conclusions

The anti-immigrant, anti-speaking-Spanish-in-public rhetoric, and mocking of this language, beginning with Santorum back in 2012 and continuing through the recent years with former President Trump and some of his supporters, have not been a strong deterrent yet for the positive perceptions toward speaking Spanish and considering it an integral component of DetroitRicans' and their children's linguistic and cultural identity. The overwhelming majority of DetroitRicans view speaking Spanish and its role in their Puerto Rican linguistic and cultural identity favorably. In addition, DetroitRicans believe that Spanish is their mother tongue, as do Puerto Ricans on the Island (González-Rivera, 2021). Leading up to the time of this study, these positive perceptions hold steady. However, despite these favorable views and Puerto Ricans in general being American citizens, they are still marked by a colonial legacy of inferiority and racialization as a foreign other, which is sometimes aggravated when they speak Spanish in public. Thereby, Puerto Ricans have U.S. citizenship on the ground, but have colonial/racialized citizenship in practice (Badillo Matos, 2018).

On the political spectrum, it remains to be seen how the current right-wing rhetoric will impact the future of the Spanish language, other languages, and the perceptions of Hispanic identity in general in the coming generations. Far-right nationalism and White identity politics in the United States do not envision foreign elements and multilingualism as part of their agenda (Ingraham, 2019; Walton 2019). Furthermore, Spanish and Hispanics seem to be used by former President Trump to visualize the supposed risks posed by a language and a community (Badillo Matos, 2018). For example, during Trump's presidency, the White House took down its Spanish language website

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and broke with the tradition of the Cinco de Mayo celebration initiated by George W. Bush. This rhetoric and these actions coming from politicians not only cause potential harm to Hispanic linguistic and cultural identity in the long run, but they can also prevent Hispanics and their children from developing positive attitudes toward languages, becoming bilingual, and enjoying the accompanying social and cognitive benefits. Right now, there is a cultural war in the United States—that includes language and identity—that has been manufactured by some politicians to get Americans angry at and fearful toward others such as minority groups. It is imperative that we depoliticize language and identity because this is where the main problem lies. Therefore, it is the voice of second language acquisition and multilingualism research, the voice of linguistic and cultural identity research, and more importantly the voice of the communities and parents themselves that should be a part of new and future language policies and decisions, not just the voice of politicians. Former Director of the CIA Michael Hayden warned that we need to be attentive now more than ever because we are not living in normal times. He claimed that the modern far-right is the most dangerous political force they have observed in his lifetime (Lemon, 2022).

Finally, New York has been home to the nation's largest Puerto Rican population on the mainland, so most studies about the role of Spanish and English on Puerto Rican cultural and linguistic identity have taken place in that city. These studies have been the main or gold standard for research in the continental United States. However, many of these studies need to be updated. It is necessary to consider that language attitudes and perceptions are not static and that they are changing constantly because of our surrounding circumstances, like the ones we are living in recent years. It is necessary to expand and update our existing knowledge by conducting new studies, with larger samples, in different and emerging communities of Puerto Ricans across the United States. This is especially true now that White identity politics consider the Spanish language, Hispanics, and bilingualism as linguistic and cultural threats (Chotiner, 2019). As Domínguez-Rosado (2017) explained in her YouTube video,

> *language attitudes and perceptions are like a thermometer, they are taking the temperature, they are telling us what is going on and why? Is it because we are in war? Is it because we are in peace? Times of peace, times of war. What is going on? Why is it changing?*

Thus, this creates the need to reevaluate the research results of the past, not only to get a general sense of how these perceptions have changed over time, but also to avoid generalizations and eradicate negative stereotypes of, and attitudes toward, identity and language. This would help us to create and propose language policies that encourage the preservation of linguistic and cultural traditions within the different Puerto Rican diasporas on the mainland, no matter what language they identify with.

Limitations of the Study

Because this study, to the best of my knowledge, is the first attempt to study the role of Spanish in the linguistic and cultural identity of Puerto Ricans and their children in Detroit, there is need for more longitudinal studies, quantitative and qualitative, as well as explorations of the influence and impact of other sociolinguistic variables such as gender, socioeconomic status, use of technology (Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, TikTok), and U.S. political party affiliation. The findings of this study are representative only of the sample contained here, and therefore one should

take care when generalizing the results. Another limitation is the tremendous variation in Puerto Ricans' perceptions regarding language and identity in the different communities in the United States, which makes it challenging for researchers to generalize the conclusions to all Puerto Rican communities.

Further Research

Further research should include specific questions that focus on the different Puerto Rican diasporic communities, about how or in what ways the mocking of Spanish and the anti-immigrant rhetoric impact participants' attitudes and feelings toward speaking Spanish in public, their pride in their Hispanic and Puerto Rican linguistic and cultural identity and heritage, and their interest in either learning or maintaining Spanish. Further research should also include longitudinal studies of Puerto Ricans in Texas (TexaRicans) and California (CaliRicans), for which there are no data yet about the role of Spanish as a validation of their PuertoRicanness. Finally, future research should explore the impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic and the current threats to Puerto Ricans' and other Hispanic groups' cultural and linguistic identities (Noe-Bustamante et al., 2021). The pandemic not only increased political divides but has released a wave of xenophobia and the rise of White nationalism that has promoted a harsh societal context of reception for speaking Spanish in public, Hispanic immigrants, and their descendants in the United States today.

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Notes on Contributor

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Appendix

No. _____

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. What is your gender? 1. Male _____ 2. Female _____

2. Age: _____ years

3a. Are you married? 1. Yes___ 2. No

3b. If "Yes": Spouse's nationality or origin:……..

4a. Do you have children? 1. Yes___2. No ___

4b. If "Yes": Where were they born? 1. United States ___2. Puerto Rico ___

5. Education:

1. No education __ 2. Some primary __ 3. Completed primary __ 4. Some middle __

5. Completed middle __ 6. Some high school __ 7. Completed high school __ 8. University __

6a. Are you currently working? 1. Yes ___ 2. No ___

*6b. If "yes": What do you do?*_____

7a. How would you describe yourself?

1. American ___ 2. Hispanic-American ___ 3. Hispanic ___ 4. Other:

7b. If "Other": What ethnicity? (Write in) _____

8a. Were you born in the United States or Puerto Rico? 1. United States___ 2. Puerto Rico___

8b. If born in Puerto Rico: What municipality?.....

9. If born in Puerto Rico: Age when you arrived in the United States

1. 0-5 ____ *2. 6-10* ____ *3. 11-20* ____ *4. Over 21* ____

10. Place where you have lived the majority of your life:

1. United States ____ 2. The Island of Puerto Rico ____

11. Number of years you have lived in the United States:

1. Less than 3 years ____ 2. 3-7 years ____ 3. 8-12 years ____ 4. Over 12 years ____

12a. Place of origin of your father:

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1. Puerto Rico ____ 2. United States ____ 3. Other ____ 4. N.A. ____

12b. If other, where: ……..

13a. Place of origin of your mother:

1. Puerto Rico ____ 2. United States ____ 3. Other ____ 4. N.A. ____

13b. If other, where: ……..

14. Place of origin of your paternal grandfather:

1. Puerto Rico ____ 2. United States ____ 3. Other ____ If other, where: _____

4. N.A. ____

15. Place of origin of your maternal grandfather:

1. Puerto Rico ____ 2. United States ____ 3. Other ____ If other, where: _____

4. N.A. ____

16. Place of origin of your paternal grandmother:

1. Puerto Rico ____ 2. United States ____ 3. Other ____ If other, where: _____

4. N.A. ____

17. Place of origin of your maternal grandmother:

1. Puerto Rico ____ 2. United States ____ 3. Other ____ If other, where: _____

4. N.A. ____

18. What year did you come to live in Detroit? *1.* _____ *2. N.A.* _____

19. Why did you originally come to Detroit to live?

1. Quality of life/work ___ 2. Education ___ 3. Retirement ___ 4. Family moved ___

5. Other reason? _____ *6. N.A. ___*

20. Why do you stay in Detroit?

_____

21. Where did you live before moving to Detroit? 1. _____ 2. N.A. ___

22. Why have you not moved to a different state or city knowing that Detroit is in serious financial crisis and is a dangerous city?

_____

_____

23. Are you planning to move away from Detroit in the near future? *1. Yes* ___ *2. No* ___

ENGLISH AND SPANISH PROFICIENCY AND USE

24. Can you read Spanish? *1. Yes* ___ *2. Some* ___ *3. No* ___

25. Can you write in Spanish? *1. Yes* ___ *2. Some* ___ *3. No* ___

26. Can you speak Spanish? *1. Yes* ___ *2. Some* ___ *3. No* ___

27. Can you read English? *1. Yes* ___ *2. Some* ___ *3. No* ___

28. Can you write in English? *1. Yes* ___ *2. Some* ___ *3. No* ___

29. Can you speak English? *1. Yes* ___ *2. Some* ___ *3. No* ___

30. Where did you learn **English**?

1. United States ___ *Where?* _____ *2. Puerto Rico* ___ *Where?* _____ *3. N.A.* ___

31. Where did you learn **Spanish**?

1. United States ___ *Where?* _____ *2. Puerto Rico* ___ *Where?* _____ *3. N.A.* ___

32. What was the first language you spoke when you were a child?

1. English _____ *2. Spanish* _____

33. Which language do you speak best now?

1. English ____ *2. Spanish* ____ *3. Both* ____

34. Do you consider yourself **bilingual** (Spanish-English)? *1. Yes* ____ *2. No* ____

35. What language is (was, if deceased) spoken most frequently in your parents' home?

1. English _____ *2. Spanish* _____

36. How often do you use **English** for daily communication?

1. Very Frequently ____ *2. Frequently* ____ *3. Occasionally* ____

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4. Rarely ____ *5. Very Rarely ____* *6. Never ____*

37. How often do you use **Spanish** for daily communication?

1. Very Frequently ____ *2. Frequently ____* *3. Occasionally ____*

4. Rarely ____ *5. Very Rarely ____* *6. Never ____*

38. Do you use **more** English or Spanish **at home** now? (in Michigan)

1. English ____ *2. Spanish ____* *3. Both ____*

39. Do you use **more** English or Spanish to speak **to your mother**?

1. English ____ *2. Spanish ____* *3. N.A.___*

40. Do you use **more** English or Spanish to speak **to your father**?

1. English ____ *2. Spanish ____* *3. N.A.___*

41. Do you use **more** English or Spanish to speak to **your siblings**?

1. English ____ *2. Spanish ____* *3. N.A.___*

42. What language do you use **more** to speak to **your friends now**?

1. English ____ *2. Spanish ____*

43. Your friends are mainly of:

1. Puerto Rican origin __ *2. Mexican origin ___* *3. Other? _____*

44. What language do you use **more** to speak to **your husband or wife**?

1. English ____ *2. Spanish ____* *3.Both ____* *4. N.A.___*

45. Do you use **more** English or Spanish **at work** now? (in Michigan)?

1. English ____ *2. Spanish ____* *3. Both ____* *4. N.A.___*

46. (If have children) Which language do your children speak best right now?

1. English ___ *2. Spanish___* *3. Both ___* *4. N.A.___*

47. Do you speak Spanish with your children?

1. A Lot_____ *2. Some_____* *3. Very Little_____* *4. No ____* *5. N.A.___*

48. Why do you speak Spanish with your children?

1. _____ *2. N.A. ___*

49. Why don't you speak Spanish with your children?

1. _____ *2. N.A.* ___

50. (If have children) Do you encourage your children to speak in Spanish?

1. Always ____ *2. Very Frequently* ____ *3. Occasionally* ____ *4. Rarely* ____

5. Very Rarely ____ *6. Never* ____ *7. N.A.* ____

How do you encourage them to speak in Spanish?

_____

51. Are your children (those who are under 18) taking some **Spanish** classes (at school or at summer camp)?

*1. Yes*____ → *Where?* _____ *2. No*_____ *3. N.A.*____

52. Do you have Spanish TV channels? *1. Yes* ____ *2. No* _____

53. What is the language of the TV programs you watch?

1. Always Spanish _____ *2. More Spanish than English* _____ *3. About equal* _____

4. More English than Spanish _____ *5. Always English* _____ *6. N.A.* _____

54. Do you read books in Spanish? *1. Yes* ____ *2. No* _____

55. Do you write in Spanish frequently (emails, letters, essays, etc.)?

1. Always ____ *2. Very Frequently* ____ *3. Occasionally* ____ *4. Rarely* ____

5. Very Rarely ____ *6. Never* ____ *7. N.A.* ____

AFFECTIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD ENGLISH AND SPANISH

56. It is very important and useful to know Spanish in the United States.

0. Fully Agree ___ *1. Somewhat Agree* ___ *2. Either Way/Don't Know* ___

3. Somewhat Disagree ___ *4. Fully Disagree* ___

57. Do you support bilingual education (Spanish-English) in the United States?

1. Yes _____ *Why?* _____

2. No _____ *Why?* _____

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58. Puerto Rican people who are bilingual (Spanish-English) might have more job opportunities than those who aren't.

0. Fully Agree ___ 1. Somewhat Agree ___ 2. Either Way/Don't Know ___

3. Somewhat Disagree ___ 4. Fully Disagree ___

59. (If have children) I would like my children to maintain/speak Spanish.

1. Agree_____ Why?

_____

2. Disagree _____ Why?

_____

3. N.A. _____

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

60. Do you consider yourself **Hispanic**?

1. Yes ___ Why? _____

2. No ____ Why? _____

61. To be considered **Hispanic in the United States** you must speak Spanish.

1. Yes ___ Why? _____

2. No ____ Why? _____

62. Is speaking Spanish part of the Puerto Rican culture and identity?

1. Yes ___ Why? _____

2. No ____ Why? _____

63. Is speaking English part of the Puerto Rican culture and identity?

1. Yes ___ Why? _____

2. No ____ Why? _____

64. How would you **describe** Puerto Rican Spanish?

_____

_____

65. Do you think that Puerto Ricans in the United States are losing their Puerto Ricanness?

1. Yes ___ *2. No ___*

66. What elements/traditions of Puerto Rican culture do you think you have maintained within your family in the United States?

_____

_____

67. Do you think your children are more **Americanized** than your generation?

1. Yes ___ *2. No ___* *3. N.A. ___*

68. Do you have **Puerto Rican relatives** living in…?

a. New York	*1. Yes ___*	*2.No ___*
b. New Jersey	*1. Yes ___*	*2. No ___*
c. Chicago	*1. Yes ___*	*2. No ___*
d. Florida	*1. Yes ___ → Where? _____*	*2. No ___*
e. Other	*1. Yes ___ → Where? _____*	*2. No ___*

69. There is a large Puerto Rican community in New York, New Jersey, Chicago, and the state of Florida. Have you thought about moving to any of these places?

1. Yes_____ Where? _____ Why? _____

2. No_____ Why? _____

70. Do you have family in Puerto Rico? *1. Yes _____* *2. No _____*

71. Do you keep in touch with your family in Puerto Rico? *1. Yes _____* *2. No _____* *3. N.A. _____*

72. How frequently do you visit Puerto Rico?

1. Often ___ *2. Once in a while ___* *3. Rarely ___* *4. Never ___*

73. How important is it for you to be able to speak Spanish with your family in Puerto Rico?

1. Very Important ___ *2. Important ___* *3. Neutral ___*

4. Not Very Important ___ *5. Not Important at All ___*

74. How important is it to maintain contact with the island and to be aware of what happens there?

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1. Very Important ___ *2. Important ___* *3. Neutral ___*

4. Not Very Important ___ *5. Not Important at All ___*

75. Not teaching Spanish to your children is to deny a part of their Puerto Rican culture and identity.

0. Fully Agree ___ *1. Somewhat Agree ___* *2. Either Way/Don't Know ___*

3. Somewhat Disagree ___ *4. Fully Disagree ___*

76. In your opinion, what language(s) will your child(ren) need to know to have a good future?

_____

_____

77. What are your thoughts and feelings about living in an area of Detroit with a large Hispanic presence?

_____

_____