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**“Which box am I?:  
Towards a Culturally Grounded, Contextually Meaningful Method of Racial and  
Ethnic Categorization in Puerto Rico”**

A technical report submitted to the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission  
(EEOC) in support of its efforts to collect demographic data on race and ethnicity in  
Puerto Rico

by

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This report represents a first step in attempting to ascertain a culturally valid and efficient method of racial and ethnic categorization for Puerto Rico, which may be used to document and track discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity in employment. Research conducted for this study was developed in close collaboration with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), in support of their efforts to ascertain the extent of race and ethnic discrimination in the workplace in Puerto Rico. Results outlined herein summarize the views of 33 experts on the subject on race and racial discrimination in Puerto Rico who were interviewed for these purposes. Findings are preliminary and draw on the analysis of 33 individual questionnaires and 3 focus groups coordinated by Dr. Godreau at the Institute of Interdisciplinary Research of the University of Puerto Rico at Cayey in March 2009.

## **Introduction**

The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (from here on the EEOC) is an agency of the U.S. federal government charged with monitoring and enforcing civil rights laws as it refers to discriminatory practices in the labor force. Since its inception with the signing of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the EEOC is charged with the mission of assuring that a person’s human and civil rights not be infringed upon on the basis of race, color, gender, disability, national origin, age, or religion; and with providing relief where discrimination has occurred in the workplace. In order to enforce antidiscrimination laws, identify, and investigate alleged violations of these laws, government agencies such as the EEOC need valid categories for describing an employer’s work force (i.e., its age, gender, ethnicity and racial composition). Such data are essential for contextualizing complaints that employees may file against their employers and for assessing a company’s labor profile within the company’s labor market (such as in comparison to similar companies). To accomplish this, EEOC collects data from employers in all sectors of the economy using a variety of mechanisms and report, such as the EEO-1 report, which contains demographic information collected from private sector employers.

In 2001, the EEOC opened an area office in San Juan, Puerto Rico, to serve Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands as a result of the steady increase in employment discrimination charges in these two U.S. territories. However, demographic information used to produce government reports, such as form EEO-1, is not currently required from employers in Puerto Rico. On November 7, 2007 the EEOC sponsored a Public Dialogue on employment-based racism and colorism in San Juan, Puerto Rico, to bring to light the need to better understand the extent of race and color discrimination in the Island. The prevailing view and outcome of this dialogue was that, by collecting demographic data on employment in Puerto Rico, the EEOC will be able to strengthen its enforcement efforts against race and color discrimination in the Island (EEOC 2008). However, the collection of demographic data from employers— especially those pertaining to race – is no small challenge for Puerto Rico. In the next section, we discuss some of these difficulties in order to better contextualize this study’s aim and methodology.

## **The problem: The challenge of measurement**

Race is a social (and political) fact rather than a biological one. It is also a modern Western idea (Hannaford 1996) that societies in the Western Hemisphere have used to organize, and legitimate social hierarchies, creating categories ascribed with social meaning(s), according to which social membership (i.e., inclusion and exclusion) is attributed. According to Omi and Winant, race is a socio-historical concept that is defined and contested individually and collectively as an aspect of social formation (i.e., racial formation). They define racial formation as “the process by which social, economic and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meaning;” (61). Social categories of race are informed by power relations and created by means of boundaries that demarcate social membership and the form and manner of such membership (Wimmer 2008). These social categories of race are largely based on phenotypic difference, or more precisely, on the social interpretation of phenotypic difference. Differences in skin color and other physical attributes are often thought to explain perceived differences in intellectual, physical and artistic temperaments and to justify distinct treatment of racially defined individuals and groups (Omi and Winant 1986: 63). The boundaries that demarcate such groups their creation and deployment are part of the process of racial formation in the classification and representation of individuals in a society and in relating individuals on the bases of such classification and representation (cf. Loveman 1999).

Because of the profoundly contextual and social nature of “race”, racial identity is not a concept that can be measured as a fixed or immutable reality. Categories such as “White” “Black” or “Asian”– can be ambiguous, ill–defined, and also particularly inadequate to describe ethnic groups such as Puerto Ricans who represent themselves as racially mix and diverse. On the other hand, “race” and practices of racialization bear concrete consequences in people’s everyday lives, particularly in the Americas. Thus, although race does not exist as a biological fact that can be objectively measured, racism (the effect of differential social treatment or outcomes as a result of racial differences) does. Hence, in societies where ideas of race are important, categories of race and racial terminology may be studied as part of local discourses on exclusion, inclusion, privilege or disadvantage.

Another interrelated concept and phenomena of interests for this study is that of ethnicity. Ethnicity can be defined as relationships between groups which consider themselves, and are regarded by others, as culturally distinctive. These groups may be ranked hierarchically within a society or nation. Their distinctiveness can be based on some mixture of language, religion, race and/or ancestry (Hylland 1993, Ragin and Hein 1993). Although the study of ethnicity tends to concern itself with sub-national units or minorities of some kind or another, majorities and dominant peoples are no less “ethnic” than minorities” (Hylland 1993: 4). Ethnicity is not the primary focus of this study. However, discriminatory treatment based on ethnic origin, known as xenophobia, has been documented in Puerto Rico. Migrants from the Dominican Republic, for example, are often subject to xenophobic discourses across the island, that represent them as stupid, mock their foreign accent, and black racial features (Duany et al.1995, López-Carrasquillo 1999, Martínez-San Miguel 1998). Discourses that portray Puerto Ricans, especially Puerto Rican men as lazy and lacking a work ethic vis a vis North Americans have also been documented in the literature (Galanes 2007). Such stereotypes could be expressed racially or ethnically in the workplace. However, discrimination based on race and discrimination based on ethnicity should not be confounded. Ideas of race may or may not form part of ethnic ideologies

and their presence or absence does not seem to be a decisive factor in interethnic relations (Hylland 1993). A person might be unfairly treated because of their national origin, foreign accent or possible illegal status, regardless of their color or phenotypic features.

In order to describe, the breadth and depth of differential treatment in Puerto Rico based on race or ethnicity, and in order to develop policies and initiatives that are conducive to arresting, reversing, and equalizing disparities caused by racism and xenophobia, government agencies such as the EEOC need tools that enable them to assess how racial and ethnic notions of classification are constructed in the Island and what are their effects. The problem of collecting reliable information on race and ethnicity for the purposes of equal employment opportunity in Puerto Rico is nevertheless hampered by various factors.

First of all, the EEOC does not have instruments or forms that would allow residents of Puerto Rico to adequately describe themselves racially or ethnically. The actual forms used by the EEOC for obtaining employment information from the private sector—the *EEO-1* form—only allow for the collection and reporting of data on whether or not an individual is **either** Hispanic/Latino **or** White, Black or African American, Asian, Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander or two or more races -- with no additional subgroups within the Hispanic/Latino category (see EEO-1 form in appendix A). Since 98.8% of the population in Puerto Rico identifies as Hispanic (US Census Bureau 2000), the breadth and depth of the effect of differential social treatment or outcomes as a result of racial or ethnic differences in Puerto Rico would be almost impossible to ascertain with such categories. With the actual form, the great majority of Island residents will likely identify as Hispanic, leaving the question of racial identification unanswered. Since the category of Hispanic, lumps Puerto Ricans with other Spanish-speaking groups such as Dominicans and Cubans, discrimination based on ethnic origin among Hispanics (i.e., xenophobia), would also be impossible to ascertain.

A second obstacle for collecting reliable statistics for the purpose of equal employment opportunity is the fact that -- even if the EEOC decided to change the form to exclude the overly broad category of “Hispanic” -- the question of which other, more specific, racial and ethnic categories should be used for Puerto Rico is not one that can be easily answered. Racial categories – the focus of this study -- are particularly problematic. For once, Puerto Rico’s cultural understanding of race is characterized by a plethora of racial categories with various uses, overlapping identities and fluid boundaries (Godreau 2008). This system has also been well documented in other parts of Latin American and the Caribbean (Alexander 1977; Harris 1970; Hoetink 1985; Khan 1993; Sanjek 1971; Skidmore 1974; Sheriff 2001). Furthermore, no official models of racial or ethnic categorization have been created for Puerto Rico. The Commonwealth government of Puerto Rico does not systematically collect or produce race-based statistics and, as a result, has not developed a culturally relevant taxonomy or method of racial classification for such purposes.

This absence of local demographics on race should not be interpreted as a sign of absence of racial inequality. Puerto Rico, like the rest of the Caribbean, was impacted by slavery and colonialism. As a result, race has had and continues to have an impact in Puerto Rican society, with clear negative consequences for people of African descent, and specifically black Puerto Ricans (Rodríguez Cruz 1965). An overt bias in favor of whiteness (*blanqueamiento*) as opposed to blackness has been documented in both personal and institutional practices. Racism — differential social treatment or outcomes as a result of racial differences—has been documented

not only in employment (Hernández 2002, Rivera-Ortiz 2001, Withey 1977), but also in the household and the extended family, among peers (Franco Ortiz 2003); in schools (Godreau et al, 2008); in the media in general, and television programming in particular (Rivero 2005); in law enforcement (Santiago-Valles 1996); in the context of geographical or physical spaces (Godreau 1999, Mills-Bocachica 2003); in linguistic practices (Godreau 2008) and in the formation of a national identity (Roy-Fequiere 2004; Godreau 1999; Carrión 1996; González 1985; Zenón Cruz 1974; Pedreira 1934 [1992] Géliga-Vargas 2009). Furthermore, race has been shown to have an impact on health outcomes, with black or darker-skinned Puerto Ricans exhibiting differential (worse) morbidity rates from others (Lendale and Oropesa 2004; Gravelee, Dressler & Bernard 2005).

Despite this evidence, dominant discourses in Puerto Rico often deny or belittle the importance of racism (Betances 1972, 1973). In effect, the Commonwealth government of Puerto Rico represents *Puerto Ricans* as a harmonious blend of Spanish, Taino Indian, and African heritages (Duany 2002, Dávila 1997). In this context, charges of racism are often dismissed with the contention that there can be no discrimination among a population that is so racially mixed and diverse - a discourse that has also been documented elsewhere in Latin America and the rest of the Hispanic Caribbean (Dulizky 2005). The un-systematic collection or the non-collection of race statistics is an outcome of this ideology. In fact, fifteen key Commonwealth government agencies surveyed in Puerto Rico, including the Department of Health, the Demographic Registry and the Mental Health and Substance Abuse Services Administration, did not produce race-based statistics or reports for Puerto Rico. Most (i.e., twelve) local government agencies on the island did not even include a question or item on race in their forms. In effect, between 1950 and 2000, Puerto Ricans were not asked their race in the population census.

A third complicating factor for the formulation of locally meaningful and consistent mechanisms for collecting information on race in Puerto Rico relates to the political relation between the Island and the United States. Puerto Rico is an unincorporated U.S. territory, a possession of the United States since 1898, whose political relations are currently governed by an Act approved by the U.S. Congress in 1950, which granted Puerto Rico self-government. As a result, federal forms used in the island rely on the same racial and ethnic categories approved by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) for the U.S. For example, categories used in Puerto Rico for the population census of 2000 were the same categories used in the US Mainland 2000 census (i.e., White, Black or African American, Asian, Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander, Native American and Alaska Native, and Other). These categories were exceedingly criticized for being inappropriate and not valid for the Puerto Rican context, where one finds a continuum of racial categories with a varying multitude of options, overlapping identities and very fluid boundaries (Duany 2002, Vargas-Ramos 2005, Godreau 2008). This cultural understandings of race is a variant of the Latin American/ Caribbean, cultural system on race (Hoetink 1967). This variant has historically been contrasted with Anglo-European North American cultural understandings of race that have traditionally been portrayed as being dichotomous (i.e., black and white) and rigid, oftentimes proscribing exogamy. Ignoring the cultural norms and values that inform such differences in cultural understandings of race and in racial categorization can have critical and serious effects. In fact, a study conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau revealed that only 53% of households in Puerto Rico returned their Census 2000 questionnaire, and that the race question was an important factor for enumeration non-response. The study found “strong negative reactions to the question of race” and recommended using a

“different or modified version of the race question for Puerto Rico rather than using the stateside version” (Berkowitz & Brudvig 2001: 34).

Critics also called attention to the unreliability of the results of this census in Puerto Rico as only 8 % of those who responded declared themselves as “Black”, while an overwhelming majority of 80.5% identified as “White” only. Scholars have pointed out that the tendency to choose “white” among Island residents was stimulated by people’s awareness of the privilege conferred to whiteness (Loveman and Muniz 2007, Rogler 1948, Gordon 1949). Whether this tendency, known in Spanish as *blanqueamiento*, is the most important factor explaining the overestimation of the white population in Puerto Rico, or whether it is the lack of locally-relevant racial categories has not been determined. However, a study by Vargas-Ramos (2005) evidenced that using locale-specific and contextually meaningful racial labels for the purpose of collecting population statistics has a notable impact on how Puerto Ricans identify racially. Vargas-Ramos obtained results in his sample that were strikingly different from those of the 2000 census when he introduced the local racial category *trigueño* in a survey he conducted in one of the island’s county-like jurisdictions. When Vargas-Ramos included the locally meaningful term *trigueño* to survey the population of Aguadilla, the proportion of respondents who identified as white was less than half of the proportion reported by the Census Bureau for this municipality (34.7% vs. 83.6%). Hence, the modal racial category among survey respondents was not white, but *trigueño*, with 41.1% of respondents identifying this way. These results led Vargas-Ramos to conclude that the racial categories used in Puerto Rico for census purposes were not reliable or even valid. Moreover, he advocated for the use of locale-specific, contextually meaningful racial labels for population statistic collection purposes.

*Taking this research into consideration, we begin by asking: what categories are culturally meaningful, appropriate and most accurate for describing race in Puerto Rico? Questions regarding ethnic categorization were, albeit peripheral, also considered in the study.*

### **The cultural model of racial categorization in Puerto Rico — State of Knowledge**

The first step to address this question is to determine what the cultural domain of race is and whether a consensus exists among people in Puerto Rico regarding the racial labels and the methods used to classify people by race. A cultural domain refers to a conceptualization of objects, items, ideas, etc. that people of a given cultural milieu consider that somehow go together (cf. Bernard 2001). Previous research indicates that although there are no institutional precedents to inform the identification of a culturally meaningful method for classifying people racially, a) there exists a “cultural domain” on race in Puerto Rico and b) racial labels used are not completely arbitrary. They in fact exhibit coherence. Puerto Rican people, and Caribbean people in general, recognize ideal or idealized racial types and categories such as white, black, and, depending on the specific country or region, indigenous Amerindian. In the case of Puerto Rico, “Black (*Negro*)”, “Indian (*Indio*)” and “White (*Blanco*)” are categories of race that have been used bureaucratically and socially throughout its history. Other categories that may have had some relevance in the past (e.g., *pardo*) are no longer part of the racial lexicon. Categories that denote race mixture are the most numerous, variable and perhaps unstable over time. But at present, research has shown other consistencies in terms of racial categorization. Vargas-Ramos’s (2005) study highlighted the salience of *trigueño*. Hernández-Hiraldo (2006) has found that *trigueño*, *negro*, *blanquita* and *jabao* were the most common primary classifications among informants in the northern municipality of Loíza. Furthermore, Gravlee (2005) found that

*blanco, trigueño, negro, jabaó, indio* were five largely and consistently used racial labels among residents in the southeastern municipality of Guayama. He also found that residents consistently identified these five racial types with physical attributes (i.e., skin color and hair form) that establish differences between the types. Thus, even with the larger racial nomenclature that has characterized Latin American and Caribbean racial maps, there appear to be a general understanding of what racial categories are relevant for Puerto Rico.

Nevertheless, whether the racial types that emerged in these studies and the physical attributes they are identified with are validly applicable to the entire island of Puerto Rico remains to be established. More importantly, it remains to be determined whether these particular racial types are valid or appropriate categories for all contexts – and specifically for the purpose of safeguarding equal opportunity in employment. In other words, social norms may permit the use of racial terms such as *jabaó* or *blanquito* in everyday informal interactions in Puerto Rico, but these terms may not be considered appropriate for formal encounters or as choices to be included in a government form such as the EEO-1.

Hence, the question of which terms people may consider appropriate for the purposes of government data collection and specifically EEOC efforts, remains to be answered. A second, related question to consider is who collects the data regarding the racial identity of employees: Does it matter whether it is the employer or the employee? Vargas-Ramos (2005) found that the racial identification of his informants varied a great deal depending on whether they self-identified or whether they were identified by the researcher. Godreau (2008) also found that people can whiten or darken their descriptions of self and other, depending on the social situation and that racial identity can shift depending on who is doing the racial identification.

Taking these considerations into account, this research asked a group of knowledgeable individuals on the subject of race and racism 1) what *racial categories* are culturally appropriate, meaningful and, therefore, effective for this EEOC initiative and also 2) what *method or data collection strategy* would be culturally meaningful, appropriate, and most effective for the specific purpose of documenting and tracking discrimination based on race and ethnicity in employment in Puerto Rico?

## **Methods, research context, and analytical approach**

To address this two-pronged question, we solicited the opinion of a group of highly knowledgeable individuals on the subject of race and racism in Puerto Rico. We used two methods to obtain their opinions: a survey and a focus group discussion. The survey contained a total of 28 items that were divided in three parts. Part 1 and 2 of the questionnaire were completed before the focus group discussion. The third part was completed after the discussion. To implement this strategy, researchers took advantage of a series of meetings coordinated by the EEOC in Puerto Rico in March 2009. Cognizant of the fact that no locally relevant mechanisms have been developed for such purposes, the EEOC organized three meetings to request the input of experts on the subject. With the help of the lead author and other colleagues, 33 experts on issues of race and racial discrimination in Puerto Rico were invited. Participants were recruited in collaboration with two anti-racist organizations in Puerto Rico: *Ilé: organizadoras/es para la conciencia-en-acción* and the *Concilio puertorriqueño contra el racismo*. Each organization was asked to produce a separate list of candidates. Selection criteria were based on individual's academic, professional or political trajectory with issues of race,

racism, and xenophobia in the Island. Participants who appeared in both lists were given preferences. Other criteria such as gender, age, affiliation, and availability were also taken into account to ensure the heterogeneity of the group.

While this group of experts does not constitute a representative sample of the Puerto Rican population (in fact, their critical views about race and racism probably makes them an unrepresentative group of Puerto Rican society), the EEOC meetings provided an initial exploratory opportunity to establish whether there is agreement among experts on the issue of racial and ethnicity categorization in Puerto Rico. The 33 participants represented a variety of professional fields and organizations. Participants were university professors and researchers, anti-racist advocates, community leaders, artists, university students, and professionals (lawyers, human-resource professionals, writers, painters, etc.) familiarized with the issue of racial and ethnic discrimination in the Island. Academics as well as non-academics attended the meeting. All participants shared the view that racism was an important social problem in Puerto Rico. 60% of participants defined themselves as anti-racist activists and 80% described themselves as researchers of race. Their income levels ranged from less than \$20,000 a year to more than \$70,000 (10 earned less than \$30,000 while 8 earned more than \$70,000). Ages ranged from 20 to 70, but most participants were between the ages of 30 and 60. In terms of racial identity, most participants described themselves as follows: *negros* (black) (8), *blancos* (white) (9) or *trigueños* (brown or mixed) (9).

Discussion groups organized for this research ranged from 9 to 13 persons each and were held at different times in University settings (one meeting was held at UPR-Rio Piedras and two at UPR-Cayey). At the beginning of each meeting, personnel from EEOC explained the purpose of collecting demographic data from employers through mechanisms such as the EEO-1 form. They also explained how race/ ethnic data are used by EEOC in mainland US to enforce anti-discrimination laws. After this introduction, the Principal Investigator (PI) explained the aim of the research to participants, its ultimate goal of contributing to the creation local strategies that can inform similar efforts in Puerto Rico, and the research protocol.

After obtaining signed consent forms from all participants, the first two parts of the questionnaire were distributed (see questionnaires I and II in appendix B). Part I surveyed respondent's opinion about racial and ethnic classification in Puerto Rico in general. Part II surveyed respondents' impressions of the EEOC form in particular. In it, respondents were asked to opine about the adequacy, pertinence, and feasibility of crafting an administrative form that collected information on racial and ethnic identification for the purposes of equal employment opportunity and to provide a list of relevant racial and ethnic terms to be supplied in the form.

In the second phase of the research (after collecting part I and II of the questionnaire) participants were asked to engage in a structured discussion session. The PI opened the session by sharing key findings of previous research on race and racial identity. For example, participants were told that the introduction of the locally meaningful, intermediary category of *trigueño* in Vargas Ramos study made a big difference in data collection, especially in terms of reducing the number of people who identify as white in Aguadilla (Vargas-Ramos 2005). The finding that *blanco*, *negro*, *trigueño*, *indio* and *jabao* were the 5 terms most often used in Guayama, Puerto Rico (Gravlee 2005), was also shared with the audience. After obtaining this brief summary of previous research on the subject, participants shared their views about racial and ethnic identification in Puerto Rico and the adequacy of different racial terms for this

initiative. Furthermore, they were asked to discuss who should provide the information on racial identification (the employee or the employer) and when should the question be asked (at the time of job application or after the person was hired). Discussion sessions lasted approximately an hour and a half and were meant to enrich and enhance each person's opinion on the subject. More importantly, discussion sessions were meant to provide an opportunity for exploring consensus among participants.

After the focus group discussion, a third questionnaire was distributed among participants (see questionnaire III in Appendix C). In this last questionnaire, questions regarding which racial and ethnic terms participants considered the most effective and adequate for the purposes of equal employment opportunity monitoring were asked once again. The purpose was to establish if, after the discussion, there existed a strong consensus among academics and advocates on the categories to be used and how they should be used in the context of this EEOC initiative for Puerto Rico. In this questionnaire, respondents were also asked to comment on the adequacy, pertinence, and feasibility of collecting information on racial identification for the purposes of equal employment opportunity monitoring and to determine how racial identification would be established (whether by self-identification; outward identification or identification by another observer).

In the following sections, we report preliminary findings from surveys and discussion groups. As far as survey results, not all questionnaire responses were examined. We specifically analyze those responses offered by participants in questionnaire 2 and 3 that focused on the terms and methods considered the most effective and adequate for implementing an EEO-1 form in Puerto Rico. Future reports will include findings from all questions and questionnaires. Survey results included in this report were analyzed by indicating the terms that were selected by most participants in the questionnaires as well as the saliency of those terms. Saliency is a measure of how frequent an item is mentioned in a list along with the order in which it was mentioned in such list of items (Smith 1993). These two dimensions of the response (i.e., frequency and order) establish the saliency of the terms. Terms mentioned first and most often in the list are assumed to be of foremost relevance in people's minds and therefore the most salient in the cultural domain. Besides frequency and saliency, we also documented the total and the average number of terms provided by participants in the survey. As far as the focus groups, the analysis of qualitative data obtained through the discussion meetings was transcribed by a research assistant and analyzed by researchers to complement the information obtained by the questionnaires<sup>1</sup>. Key themes were identified, summarized, and quotes from informants were added to complement the analysis.

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## Findings

Focus group discussion and questionnaire results indicate that there was overwhelming agreement among participants on the following five points:

**I. Categories included in the actual EEO-1 are not effective or adequate to document racial and ethnic employment discrimination in Puerto Rico. Alternative categories need to be developed.**

**II. White and Black are relevant and appropriate racial categories for Puerto Rico. However, a form developed for Puerto Rico would also have to include intermediate racial categories such as *trigueño*.**

**III. Terms such as Hispanic or Latino are too broad and ineffective for the intended purposes of the EEOC in Puerto Rico. Ethnic categories included in the form should include national origin groups with a Caribbean reference.**

**IV. The method for identifying a person's race should be self-identification.**

**V. Information on race and ethnic identity should be obtained after the person has been employed.**

In the following sections, we elaborate on each of these five findings. Our analysis concentrates on the issue of race and racial categorization, which is the focus of our study. (Item #II):

### I. EEO-1: An Assessment

Respondents were asked whether the actual EEO-1 form was adequate for documenting race and ethnic employment discrimination in Puerto Rico (See Table 1). All respondents shared the opinion that the categories included in the actual EEO-1 are not effective or adequate. Participants provided different explanations, but the majority wrote that current categories are not relevant for Puerto Rico. As one respondent expressed "*Este formulario no documenta ni tiene en consideración nuestra mezcla racial, ni el colorismo y el mestizaje existente en P.R.*" ("This form doesn't document nor has in consideration our racial mixture, or colorism, nor the mestizaje of Puerto Rico"). The term Hispanic was considered particularly problematic because it glossed over important differences that exist among those who live in the Island, both in terms of race and in terms of ethnicity. As one respondent said: "*El término "Hispanic/Latino" no recoge la realidad racial/racista en PR; por lo tanto la discriminación institucionalizada queda invisible, sin documentar, sin evidenciar objetivamente*" ("The term Hispanic/Latino doesn't capture the racial/racist reality of Puerto Rico; as a result, institutional discrimination remains invisible, without documentation or objectively evidenced"). Another respondent explained that "*Los puertorriqueños en términos generales no respondemos a estas categorías porque no nos identificamos 1) desde el punto de vista étnico 2) desde el punto de vista "racial. En ambos casos debe de estar claro la identidad "étnica" o socio-cultural como puertorriqueño; y luego debe incluir la gama de identidades relacionadas al color de piel para que en este momento se entienda de manera no amenazante.*" ("Puerto Ricans in general terms, don't respond to these categories because we don't identify: 1) from an ethnic point of view 2) from "the racial" point

of view. In both cases the ethnic or socio-cultural identity as Puerto Ricans must be made clear; and then, the range of identities relating to skin color should be included so that at this moment it is understood in a non-threatening way”). One respondent provided a concrete recommendation for the EEO-1 form that included ethnic and racial categories. He stated: “*Propongo Latinoamericano o Latino como categoría general. Como segunda categorización o subcategoría sugiero: puertorriqueño (a) [negro(a)/blanco(a)], dominicano (a) [negro(a)/blanco(a)], cubano (a) [negro(a)/blanco(a)], árabe [negro(a)/blanco(a)], chino (a) [negro(a)/blanco(a)]*”. (I suggest Latin-American or Latino as a general category. As a second category or sub-category I suggest: Puerto Rican {black/white}, Dominican {black/white}, Cuban {black/white}, Arab {black/white}, Chinese {black/white}) This specific recommendation, while not representative of the entire group, speaks to the general consensus among participants that better categories need to be developed for Puerto Rico and that both ethnic and racial forms of identification should be included in the EEO-1 form.

Respondents were also asked to judge the feasibility of crafting an administrative form that collected information on racial and ethnic identification for the purposes of equal employment opportunity monitoring. Of 33 respondents, 30 thought that, even with limitations and possible inconveniences, it was necessary to formulate a specific form for Puerto Rico. One of them answered that the limitations were minimum and that a specific form for Puerto Rico was necessary. Two of them did not answer the questions but indicated on further elaboration that they too feel that a specific form is needed for Puerto Rico even though it was not clear whether they thought that the creation of the form would be plagued by shortcomings. No respondent thought that the EEOC should not be engaged in the effort to develop a form specific for Puerto Rico, regardless of whether such task was easy or difficult to undertake. Therefore, the overwhelming majority of respondents supported the EEOC efforts to craft a new instrument for Puerto Rico and understood these efforts to be meaningful and necessary.

## II. Race and Racial Categorization

### A. Survey results: Informants elicitation of race prior to focus group discussion

Prior to the focus group discussion, respondents furnished a total of 42 items to the question “What racial categories would you include in form EEOC-1 for Puerto Rico?” (See Table 2). Most of the racial terms suggested were based on physical/phenotypical characteristics such as skin color, hair texture and facial features; for instance, *negro*, *blanco*, *trigueño*, *jabao*, *grifo*, etc. Other responses made reference to racial descent based on geographical origin such as Europe or Africa (e.g., *afro-descendiente*; *euro-descendiente*; *afro-caribeño*; *afro-boricua*). Yet other terms referred to ethnonational origin (e.g., *boricua*, *puertorriqueño*, *americano*, *anglosajón*, *hispano*). Several terms offered referred generically or abstractly to racial mixture (e.g., *multiracial*, “*más de una raza*”). And others were qualified racial terms (e.g., “*mulato claro*”; “*blanco trigueño*”; “*trigueño claro*”; “*mulato oscuro*”). On average, each participant offered 3.67 racial terms when asked what categories should be included in the EEO-1 form, indicating they believe that more than three categories should be available in a form for people to identify.

The two terms that were most frequently mentioned were: “*negro*” and “*blanco*”, with a frequency that exceeded 60%. These terms were also the most salient terms (with Smith’s

salience score over 0.5). The third most frequently mentioned term and the third most salient term was “*trigueño*”, with almost a 40% response rate and a Smith’s salience score of 0.4. “*Afro-puertorriqueño*” and “*afro-descendiente*” followed in frequency and salience, with each being offered by 15% of respondents. Other terms were mentioned less than 10% of the time and their salience scores were substantially below 0.1.

The salience of *negro* and *blanco* in this pre-focus group survey suggests their status as referent categories in the cultural domain of race in Puerto Rico. The structure of a cultural domain has a core and a periphery (Borgatti 1998). *Negro* and *blanco* are certainly components of this domain core. *Trigueño* would also form part of this domain core, even at a lower salience. However, other terms mentioned such as *mestizo*, *grifo* or *moreno*, while clearly part of the domain, would be peripheral.

#### *B. Survey results: Informants elicitation of race: after focus group discussion*

Answers provided by participants after the focus group discussion changed considerably from those provided prior to the focus group discussion. The results of the post-discussion list are shown in Table 3. The cultural domain of race remained virtually the same after the focus group discussion with 41 items. However, the average number of categories provided by respondents to include in an EEOC form increased by more than one, from 3.7 to 4.8. Respondents therefore saw the need to increase the number of categories available for racial identification after the discussion. Furthermore, the standing of the most frequently mentioned terms became more solid. *Negro*, *blanco* and *trigueño* were mentioned not only more frequently, but their salience became more pronounced after the group discussion, signifying the core nature of these terms in the domain of race in Puerto Rico. *Negro* was mentioned 91% of the time, with a salience score of .72. *Blanco* was mentioned 88% of the time, with a salient score of .77. *Trigueño*, a category that had only been chosen by 39 % of participants before the discussion, was mentioned by 73% of respondents, after the discussion, with a Smith salience score of .41. In addition, *indio* and *jabao* became more salient. While these terms had only been mentioned by 9% and 6% of respondents before the focus group, 42% of respondents choose *indio* and 27% choose *jabao* after the discussion, with salience scores at .16 and .13, respectively. Other terms mentioned were *mulatto* (by 21% respondents and *asiático* by 12% of respondents).

In contrast, terms that denote racial descent associated with a geographical region or location, as well as those ethno-national in character (i.e., *afro-puertorriqueño* and *afro-descendiente*) were less salient after the discussion group. Before the discussion, a total of 10 participants chose *afro-puertorriqueño* or *afro-descendiente*. After the discussion only 4 participants suggested these categories be included in the EEO-1 form. Two of them suggested that *afro-descendiente* be used as a general category under which other more specific categories could be listed.

In summary, survey results after focus group discussion show that the five most salient terms suggested by experts after the discussion were: *negro*, *blanco*, *trigueño*, *indio* and *jabao* (in that order). These findings are consonant with those of previous research, most notably Gravlee (1995) who identified these same five terms in Guayama. Survey results also indicate that the three core terms in the racial domain in Puerto Rico are: *negro*, *blanco* and *trigueño*. *Negro* and *blanco* are referent categories. *Trigueño* is notable for its consistent salience among respondents, even if a lower level than referent categories. Results also suggest there was more

agreement among participants after the discussion, especially in regards to the use of *negro*, *blanco*, *trigueño*, *indio* categories, which were mentioned by more than 40% of participants.

### C. Race categories: A Discussion

Results obtained before the group discussion contrast considerably with answers provided by respondents after the group discussion, particularly in regards to intermediate categories. When comparing the answers provided before the discussion to those provided afterwards, we can conclude preliminarily that participants had no firmly fixed or ingrained opinion about what intermediate racial categories would be more adequate to document racial discrimination in employment in Puerto Rico that would not change after a group dynamic. As participants heard each other, considered the results of recent research on the matter, and discussed the pros and cons of using different terms collectively, some of their previous views changed and others became more focused. For instance, terms that denote racial descent associated with a geographical region or location as well as those ethno-national in character became less salient after the discussion, while those that denote particular racial admixtures, such as *trigueño* or *indio* became more salient in the domain.

The composition of the respondent groups may account for the change. Approximately a quarter of respondents are members of anti-racism organizations or activists, who have a normative preference for some terms such as *negro* or *afro-descendiente*, which they understand as more consonant with the history of racialization in Puerto Rico and more valuable for an anti-racist struggle. However, on engaging in the group discussion, most of them came to agree that terms such as *trigueño*, *indio* or *jabao* are indeed meaningful for the larger population of Puerto Rico and therefore more likely to resonate with everyday practices of categorization than politically or ideologically normative terms. It appears that when respondents understand or realize that the context for racial identification is to monitor and combat discrimination based on race in the workplace, the range of relevant and meaningful racial categories increases, becomes more salient, and changes in composition. In the next section, we outline some of the major issues, and concerns that were brought up during the discussion groups and that influenced this change in survey results.

### D. Focus group findings on race and racial categorization

Since the majority of participants were researchers of race or anti-racist activists, discussion in the focus group was lively, rich, and fervent. Participation from the 3 younger members of the focus group (undergraduate students) was less frequent. There were a few dominant voices among adults members of the group. However, no one monopolized the discussion. Below, we discuss views expressed during the discussion sessions about race under two thematic areas: 1) General remarks about the process of racial categorization in Puerto Rico and 2) the pros and cons of including specific racial terms such as *trigueño*, *indio*, *jabao*, *mulato*, etc.

#### 1. General remarks about the dynamic and process of race and racial categorization

- **Whitening and the racial hierarchy.** Focus group participants shared the view that the use of racial terminology in Puerto Rico is informed by a racial hierarchy that privileges whiteness. Participants recognized a marked tendency among Puerto Ricans of whitening

themselves, because of the stigma associated to blackness. “*Aquí en Puerto Rico se piensa que negro es un insulto*” (“Here in Puerto Rico one thinks that Black is an insult”). Another participant said “*La gente se va a sentir --en un país donde no hay casi trabajo-- tentada a ponerse blanco porque se entiende que les garantizaría más acceso al trabajo*” (“People are going to feel --in a country where there is almost no work-- tempted to identify themselves as White because it is thought that it would guarantee access to a job”).

• **The problem of euphemisms.** Participants were critical of the fact that people often use euphemistic terms such as *trigueño* or *indio*, (instead of “black”) to distance themselves from their African Heritage. “*El que dice ser negro, ya tiene una afirmación, ya tiene unas cosas claras. Pero el que está indeciso, el que entiende que es un insulto o un menoscabo, ese se va entonces con trigueño.*” (“One that claims to be Black, has an affirmation, or has things clear. But the one that is undecided, the one that understands that it is an insult or a reduction, that one chooses *trigueño*”). Some participants expressed concerned over the inclusion of terms such as *trigueño* or *indio* in a form such as the EEO because it could validate their use as euphemisms or provide – in the word of one participant -- an “escape valve” for black people who do not identify as “black”. Some participants worried that the inclusion of these terms might compromise an anti-racist agenda that seeks to validate the use of terms that are more inclusive and that positively affirm blackness or an African descent, such as *negro*, *afro-puertorriqueño* or *afro-descendiente*.

• **The importance of intermediate categories.** There was, nevertheless, overwhelming consensus among participants that besides black and white it is necessary to provide intermediate racial categories for various reasons. First of all, because the general understanding is that Puerto Rican people are a mixture. In the words of one participant, most people in Puerto Rico think that “*yo no seré blanco pero tampoco soy negro*” (“I may not be White but I am not Black either”). A second reason to include intermediate categories is because, in the absence of categories that indicate mixture, people in Puerto Rico tend to pick “white”. Results from the population census of 2000 where 80% of the population self-identified as white were often mentioned as evidenced this phenomena. To avoid this, participants deemed it necessary to include intermediate categories such as *trigueño*. As one participant said in regards to the inclusion of *trigueño* in the EEO1 questionnaire “*Yo no sé si a la hora de contestar, la gente va a contestar bien, pero sé que van a contestar mejor que si no estuviera. Ciertamente no va a haber un formulario que complazca a todo el mundo, pero en la medida en que uno provea un cuestionario que tenga más opciones pues quizás refleje más una realidad, que la del ochentaipico por ciento blanco*” (“I don’t know if when answering, people are going to answer better than if the option was not included. Certainly there is not going to be a form that pleases everyone, but to the extent that one can provide a form with more options maybe it will reflect a reality other than the one of 80% White”). Besides *trigueño*, other intermediate categories mentioned by participants in the post-discussion survey were *indio* and *jabao* and *mulato*, in that order of salience.

• **Hue and color.** There was consensus among participants regarding the need to include categories that reflect the criteria that people use to make everyday forms of racial categorization and discrimination, particularly in the workplace. Participants mentioned

skin tone and hue variation as key determinants of racial categorization. For example, in respect to the difference between black and *trigueño* one participant said: “*Para nosotros en nuestro quehacer cotidiano, no es lo mismo una persona negra, que una persona trigueña. Entonces en el escenario de trabajo, que es lo que estamos mirando aquí ahora, evidentemente una persona que va a discriminar, digamos, vamos a decir en un banco --que es un lugar que se ha mencionado mucho como un centro de discrimin-- va a hacer una distinción entre una persona que es negra, en el sentido de que tiene un color negro oscuro, y una persona que es trigueño o es mulata y entonces es un poquito más clara. Entonces esa distinción tanto estética como de otro tipo está presente*” (“For us in our daily routine, a black person is not the same as a person who is *trigueño*. In a work scenario, which is what we are studying here, evidently a person who is going to discriminate say in a bank -- which is a place that has been mentioned as a center of discrimination -- is going to make a distinction between a person that is black, in the sense that it has a dark black color, and a person who is *trigueño* or *mulato* and is just a little bit lighter. Then that distinction, be it aesthetic or of another type is going to be present”).

• **Additional classification criteria.** Other phenotypic signs such as hair texture, hair color, and phenotypic features were also mentioned as playing a key role in people being discriminated or not in Puerto Rican society and in the workplace. As one participant said “*Más limitadas las posibilidades, mientras más crespo el pelo, eso lo sabemos.*” (“The possibilities are most limited while the hair is most curlier, that we know”). Another person said “*Aquí hay tres cosas que nosotros vinculamos con raza: uno es el color de la piel, uno es la textura del pelo y otro es el color del pelo también. Porque tú me dices blanco, rubio y pelo lacio y tú vas a ser blanco. Pero tú me dices pelo negro y lacio y tú vas a ser trigueño claro*” (“Here are three things that we link with race here, one is skin color, one is hair texture, and also the other one is hair color. Because if you say white, blonde and straight hair you are going to be white. But if you say black straight hair you are going to be a light *trigueño*”). Participants also mentioned class, gender, place of residence, and body weight as also playing an important role in racial categorization. As far as the issue of class, one man said. “In Puerto Rico, the categorization varies upon the social class of the person. If the person has high income he will use the categories differently, at least from my experience. He explained that he was more likely to be classified as black by a person who was “very white and has a lot of money” than by a person who is “middle class or lower class.” Furthermore, participants stated racial categories used in Puerto Rico can vary depending on the region, the age-group or on the context of use.

• **Education and orientation.** Participants suspected the EEO-1 could not take these additional factors (class, age, place of origin, gender, context of usage, etc.) into account in the EEO-1 form and mentioned this as a limitation. Cognizant of this shortcoming, participants recommended that racial terms included in a form such as the EEO-1 be defined. A number of participants also emphasized the need for this EEOC initiative be preceded by orientation or an education campaign that can help Puerto Ricans understand the purpose of the initiative and help prevent the tendency towards whitening in terms of the results obtained. “*Se nos han quitado los modelos con los que nos podemos identificar y sentirnos plenamente gustosos y gustosas de que somos negros porque...siempre los modelos son negativos. Entonces para mí el proyecto educativo es*

*fundamental en todos los sentidos.*” (“They have taken away from us those models with which we can identify and feel fully satisfied with being black, because the models are always negative ones. Then for me the educational project is fundamental in every way”).

• **A compromise**. In the process of recommending different racial and ethnic categories, participants had to negotiate between what seemed to be ideal in terms of an anti-racist agenda vs. what was practical for the purpose of this particular initiative, which is to track discrimination in the workplace. For example, because of their ideological preferences, many participants favored terms that positively affirmed (rather than deny or whiten) Puerto Rican people’s African heritage. “*A mí lo que me gustaría ver es un término que no comprometa un futuro proyecto antirracista en Puerto Rico. O sea, que nosotros podamos transar con un término que quizás traiga un poquito más de precisión y confiabilidad de la data y que a la misma vez no comprometa un futuro proyecto antirracista para nuestra patria. Yo estoy aquí porque ese es mi trabajo y pienso que quizás color, identificar a la gente por color no sea lo más adecuado porque de todas maneras el término raza no es color, es una cuestión política.*” (“What I would like to see is a term that does not jeopardize a future antiracist project in Puerto Rico. That is, to be able to compromise for a term that perhaps brings a little bit more of precision and trustworthiness to the data but that at the same time does not compromise a future anti-racist project for our country. I’m here because that’s my job and I think that maybe color, identifying people by their color would not be the most adequate option because, anyways, the term race does not mean color, it’s a political matter”). During the discussion session, participants were reminded by EEOC staff and by the PI that -- in order to effectively monitor and track discrimination -- racial and ethnic terms included in the EEOC-1 form would have to be 1) well known by the majority of the population; 2) mutually exclusive and 3) appropriate for a formal context such as the workplace (i.e they should not be too colloquial or informal). Participants often weighed and negotiate their political and ideological preferences for particular racial terms against these factors. “*Lo que entiendo es que este no es un documento que puede ser perfecto, sino que tiene un uso legal*” (“What I understand is that this is not a perfect document, but that has a legal use”) said one participant. “*El objetivo es determinar o poder analizar si hay discriminación en el área laboral con respecto a las categorías raciales que se usan en Puerto Rico... o sea, no es un estudio histórico, antropológico eso no es lo que queremos hacer, no queremos educar a la gente, nada de eso... nosotros queremos identificar si en el área laboral hay discriminación y qué categorías se utilizan para discriminar*” (“The objective is to determine or analyze if employment discrimination exists with respect to the racial categories that are used in Puerto Rico...this is not a historic-anthropological study, that is not what we want to do, we don’t want to educate people, nothing like that...what we want is to identify if there is employment discrimination and what categories are used to discriminate”).

## 2. The pros and cons of different racial terms for the EEO-1 form.

Survey results indicate that there was overwhelming agreement among participants that – besides black and white—intermediate categories are needed and that there should be at least 4 or 5 total categories included in the EEO-1 form. Intermediate categories mentioned by participants were *trigueño*, *indio* and *jabao* and *mulato*, in that order of salience. However, only *trigueño*, was strongly supported by all participants (with more than 73% of respondents

recommending it). Additional intermediate categories such as *indio*, *jabao* and *mulatto*, were chosen by 42%, 27%, and 21% percent of participants, respectively, and were critically pondered over. Below, we provide a brief summary of the pros and cons of each of the main racial terms discussed during the focus group sessions.

- **Blanco** Translation: White. This term was recommended by 88% of participants. Participants recognized this as the most privileged and valued identity in the island. In the context of employment, participants mentioned that employers privilege a white aesthetic “*Yo me di cuenta que cuando decían apariencia agradable era ser blanca. Y yo decía, pero si yo soy bonita, yo me veo bien, yo tengo una apariencia agradable, pero no entraba... Entonces nunca tuve el empleo de azafata en los años 60, ni la entrevista porque para ellos yo no tenía una apariencia agradable*” (“I realized that when they talked about an ‘agreeable appearance’, that meant to be white. And I told myself but I’m pretty, I look good, I have an agreeable appearance, but I did not get in... Therefore I never got the stewardess job in the 60’s, nor the interview, because for them I did not have an agreeable appearance”). Participants made reference to census results where more than 80% of the Puerto Rican population identified as white. They commented that while Puerto Ricans use many terms to name people of visible African heritage, there are not that many terms to qualify those who are considered white.
- **Negro** Translation: Black. This term was recommended by 91% of participants. Participants recognized that this identity was not valued positively in Puerto Rico “*nos han quitado los modelos con los que nos podemos identificar y desarrollar una imagen positiva de lo que es ser negro o negra*” (“They have taken away the models with which we can identify and develop a positive image of what is to black”) said one participant. “*No es fácil en este país ser negro y pues es más fácil ser blanco y si es más fácil ser blanco pues yo me ubico donde es más fácil*” (“It’s not easy to be Black in this country and, well, is easier being white, and if it’s easier being white, then I will position myself where it is much easier”). Participants mentioned that only people who had already gained awareness of their identity as *negros* and who had learned to affirm this identity, in spite of the dominant discourse, will identify as black in the EEO-1 form.
- **Afro- Puertorriqueño and Afro-descendiente** Translation: Afro-Puertorrican or Afro-descendent. Because of their ideological preferences, many participants favored terms that positively affirmed (rather than deny or whiten) Puerto Rican people’s African Heritage such as *negro*, *negra*, *Afro-Puertorriqueño*, *Afro-descendiente* or *Caribeño*. Different from terms that indicate color of phenotype such as *negro*, *blanco*, or *trigueño*, these terms emphasize descent or a common origin in the Caribbean or Africa. A considerable number of participants (10) in one of the focus group sessions initially recommended the use of one or both of these terms in the EEO-1 form. The great majority of these participants were part of the group Afro-Puerto Rican voices, a community-based group that is collecting narratives of black people in the western part of the Island (Géliga-Vargas et al. 2009). They considered terms such as *Afro-Puertorriqueño* and *Afro-descendiente* viable identities for those who wish to affirm and celebrate their African heritage, in their fight against racism, regardless of the color of their skin or of their phenotype. As one participant voiced “*Nosotros estamos para trabajar y pa’ peliar y pa’ ganar y pa’ avanzar y tenemos que ser inclusivos no exclusivos*” (“We are here to work, to fight, to win and to advance and we have to be

inclusive not exclusive”). In this context, the terms *Afro-descendiente* was considered a uniting and politically positive identity that could include people who identify or are identified as *negro*, *trigueño*, *indio* or *jabao*. The term was also valued as one that fosters solidarity between Puerto Ricans and other populations of the African Diaspora. As another participant said “*Yo hubiese pensado Afro-boricua, afro-puertorriqueño, pero también pienso en mis hermanos dominicanos y haitianos..., bueno pues Afro-descendiente*” (“I would have thought of Afro-Boricua, Afro-Puerto Rican, but also I think of my Dominican and Haitian brothers...., well then, Afro-descendent”). However, a number of caveats were mentioned during the discussion session regarding the lack of practicality of these terms. First of all, many participants recognized these terms were not widely used among the general population. Some had concrete examples of failed attempts of convening people using these terms. Secondly, they could be too broadly applied to people with evidently black features or to people with a tan or light complexion, thereby making it impossible to detect whether a particular employer was discriminating against evidently black Puerto Ricans and giving preferential treatment to employers of lighter complexion or less evident black features. Thus one participant worried that “*Un bonche enorme de gente cae ahí adentro y entonces las compañías van a lucir como que son bien multiculturales y esa era mi preocupación. A la hora de la verdad las muchachas con los tonos más subidos (de piel) y los pelos más crespos vamos a seguir sin entrar a GAP de Plaza*” (“A huge bunch of people go in there, and then the companies are going to look as being very multicultural and that’s my concern. But what you see is that girls with darker skin hues and curlier hair are still not going to be able to work in GAP of Plaza”). As an alternative, some participants suggested the term *afro-descendiente* be used as a major, “umbrella” category or supra-category in the form, under which people could pick different sub-categories, of more common use, such as *negro*, *trigueño*, *jabao* and *indio*. Five participants in one focus groups mentioned they favored this alternative. However, some participant still worried about the possibility of agglomerating the data in the final analysis thereby erasing important distinctions of phenotype and color gradations that have an impact in terms of employment discrimination. A similar debate occurred when the term *Antillano* (Antillian) and the term *Caribeño* (Caribbean) was suggested in one of the focus groups as a umbrella category “*Si se utilizan términos que son muy amplios...estamos incluyendo a demasiada gente y es casi imposible entonces tú medir si realmente se está dando un discrimen*” (“If terms that are extremely broad are used...then we are including to many people and it’s almost impossible to measure if discrimination is actually taking place”). Furthermore, two participants mentioned that even if the term *afro-descendiente* was used as a major category with different sub-categories, people could still equated this major category with “Black” if it was positioned next to “White” in the form. They worried this could create a dichotomous framing of identity choices (i.e between white and *afro-descendiente*). Based on the previous census experience, when Puerto Rican people are confronted with such dichotomous choices, the tendency is to pick white. At the end, the alternative of including *afro-descendiente* as a major category with sub-categories was supported by only two people in the post-discussion questionnaire.

- **Trigueño** – Translation: Literally, it means “wheat colored”. However the term is often deployed as a euphemism for black. The term can also be used to describe anyone who is believed to be “brown” that is, darker than white or lighter than black, in terms of skin color. Seventy-three percent of participants recommended the use of *trigueño* for the

EEO-1 form after the discussion. During the focus group, they noted the common and wide use of the term as a point in favor of its inclusion. Participants understood it as a term that implied mixture and that was not generally considered offensive. They also considered the fact that – based on the study by Vargas Ramos –people chose “*trigueño*” over “white” as an identity to describe themselves in Aguadilla and this was an important fact. Nevertheless, participants were critical of this term for various reasons. First of all, because of its use as a euphemism by people who consider black to be offensive. Participant’s mentioned the possibility of black people attempting to whiten themselves by identifying as *trigueño*. Besides its euphemistic use, some participants also expressed reservations about the effective use of this term for the purpose of documenting discrimination, since the term could be used very broadly. “*Si solamente se mantiene trigueño* said one participant, “*me temo que dentro de trigueño pueden caer muchas cosas.*” (“If only *trigueño* is maintained, I am afraid that many things can fall under *trigueño*”). Despite reservations, there was consensus among the group that in this initial stage of the process, a term like *trigueño* could help EEOC obtain better results than those obtained in the census 2000. “*Aunque yo no estoy de acuerdo con la categoría, pues la gente sí se puede identificar con ella*” (“Even though I don’t agree with the category, people can identify with it”), said one participant. “*A mí no me gusta la palabra trigueño, nunca me ha gustado...pero yo tengo que darle una avenida a las personas para que las personas se auto-clasifiquen y no caigan en la clasificación errónea.*” (“I don’t like the word “*trigueño*”, I’ve never liked it...but I have to give people an avenue so that people can self-classify themselves and not fall in the wrong classification”).

- **Indio** – Translation: Literally it means “Indian”. However, the term is often used to describe someone who has tan or dark skin and straight hair (of black or brown color). One participant defined it as “*un trigueño de piel oscura y pelo lacio es lo que en principio se llama un indio y eso no tiene nada que ver con los taínos que desaparecieron*” (“a person that is *trigueño* with dark skin and straight hair is what in principle is called an Indian and that does not have anything to do with the taínos that disappeared”) Forty-two percent of participants recommended the use of this term for the EEO-1 form, after the discussion. Before the discussion only 9% of participants recommended it. Arguments expressed by participants against the use of this term, had to do with the fact that the term was often used as a euphemism by people who wish to emphasized an indigenous heritage, instead of an African heritage. Nevertheless, participants also recognized that a person with dark skin and straight hair is less subject to racial discrimination than a person who is more evidently black (i.e dark skin with very curly hair). As one participant said “*tener el pelo lacio en Puerto Rico es clave en cancelar cierta discriminación cuando el color es subido*” (“Having straight hair in Puerto Rico is key in terms of canceling certain discrimination when the color is darker”) And another said “*Yo pienso en los lugares de trabajo, en el counter de cosméticos de JC Penney, una nena India entra, una nena prieta no*” (“I think about the workplaces, in the counter of cosmetics of JC Penney an *india* girl gets in, but a black girl doesn’t). After these remarks, many participants concluded the term should be included in this initial stage “*Me parece que como medida transitoria, que lo de indio no lo podríamos obviar porque está demasiado arraigado en la psiquis de nuestra gente*” (“I think that as a transitory step, we cannot ignore *indio* because it is too ingrained in the psyche of our people”).

- **Jabao**- Translation: High-Yellow (African-American slang). This term is used to describe someone who has light skin or light eyes (green or blue), but who has phenotypic features associated with black people such as very curly hair, wide nose shape or lip shape. The term will rarely be used to describe someone with tan or dark skin. However, it will always be used to describe someone of evident African-descent. Twenty-five percent of participants recommended the use of this category. There was disagreement among participants as to whether or not this was a term of common use in Puerto Rico. As one participant said, “*No creo que sea una palabra de uso común. Pero blanco, negro, trigueño indio, sí.*” (“I don’t think that’s a word of common use. But white, black, *trigueño*, *indio*, yes”). Some participants also felt the term was too colloquial, informal and even offensive. “*No lo creo apto para estar en un formulario. Otros términos como mestizo, mulato...los creo más apropiados para estar en un formulario que jabao... Me parece muy pueblerino, callejero...*” (“I don’t think that the term is apt to be in a form. Other terms like *mestizo*, *mulato*... I find more appropriate to be included in a form. It seems to be too provincial, like slang”). One participant mentioned it was a term used by an older generation. Others felt this was an important contemporary identity that could capture discrimination based on other phenotypic features (beyond skin color) and an alternative that should be included with an explanatory note. Out of the 5 most salient terms (i.e., *blanco*, *negro*, *trigueño*, *indio*, and *jabao*), this was the only term that some participants considered offensive.
- **Mulato**– Translation: Mulatto. 21% of participants recommended the use of this category. The term was mentioned in two of the focus groups. Similar to the term *jabao*, there was disagreement among participants as to whether or not mulatto was a term of common use in Puerto Rico. “*Si tú me pones mulato ahí, me crearías una confusión enorme porque aquí eso se utiliza muy poco*” said one participant (“If you put mulatto there, you would create an enormous confusion for me because here that is not used much”). However, different from *jabao*, no participant said the term was offensive or overly colloquial. Some participants mentioned *mulatto* was more formal, more academic while the term *trigueño* was more popular and widely used. Some participants said the term mulatto was widely used in popular music (*salsa* and *merengue*) and as a cultural term (more than just racial) “*Tú puedes ser mulata, pero no trigueña, porque mulata es una categoría cultural, y trigueño es nada más la piel. El color de la piel trigueño*” (“You can be mulatta but not *trigueña* because mulatta is a cultural category, and *trigueño* is just about skin. The color of the skin-*trigueño*”). Others believed the term was widely used as a euphemism. “*Mi experiencia trabajando el tema de la raza, la gente que he entrevistado siempre me ha hablado del uso de mulato como un eufemismo para el negro, - ‘a los mulatos nos gustan las rubias’ – me han dicho ese tipo de cosas.*” (“In my experience working with the subject of race, the people I have interviewed have always talked about the term mulatto as a euphemism for black, -‘mulattos like blonde girls’, - they tell me those types of things”). Overall, there was no clear consensus as to whether the term was widely used or not, although none of the participants considered it offensive.

- **Asiático** – Translation: Asian. 12% of participants recommended the use of this term as a racial term. Most participants (27%) recommended it be included as an ethnic term. Participants mentioned that there is a population of people of Asian descent, who are ethnically Caribbean (not from China), even though they can be identified racially as Asian “*Yo me crié con chinos-cubanos*, (“I was raised with Cubans-Chinese,”) said one participant “*o sea los restaurantes chinos, la venta de mantecados , esta relacionada con los cubanos-chinos. Si pongo asiático estoy partiendo de que vinieron directamente de allá y no vinieron de allá sino que vinieron por Cuba*” (“I mean Chinese restaurants, ice cream sales, all that is connected to the Cuban-Chinese. If I were to include Asian it would mean that they came directly from there and that’s not the case because instead they came from Cuba”). In general, participants expressed concerned about discrimination against people of Asian descent in Puerto Rico and the need to include this as a category in the EEO-1 form.
- **Mestizo** – Translation: Mestizo (a mix of White and Indian, sometimes also Black heritages). This term was barely mentioned during the focus group discussion. It was only recommended by 6% of participants. Only 2 participants recommended this term and 3 participants used it to describe themselves racially in the survey. The term *jabao*, on the other hand, was recommended by 9 participants, but only one person used it to identify herself.

### III. Ethnic Categories and Xenophobia

Most of the survey questions and the focus group discussion dealt with the issue of race, racial classification and racism. Nevertheless, one survey question analyzed for this report was “What ethnic categories will you include in an EEO-1 form designed for Puerto Rico?” This question was asked before and after the focus group discussion.

#### A. Survey results: Informants elicitation of ethnicity prior focus group discussion

Prior to the focus group discussion, the thirty-three respondents provided a total of 46 ethnic categories (See Table 4). The average number of categories provided by each respondents was 4.7. The ethnic categories provided were mostly based on nationality (e.g., *dominicano*, *estadounidense*, *chino*) or geographical region (e.g., *suramericano*, *caribeño*, *uropeo*, *africano*). Other ethnic terms provided by respondents corresponded with cultural groups that supersede or transcend national or regional origin (e.g., *judío*, *árabe*, *latinoamericano*).

*Dominicano* (i.e. Dominican) was the most frequently mentioned term (64%) and most salient term for Puerto Ricans, with a salience score of .6. Other Caribbean national origin terms followed *dominicano* in frequency and salience. *Haitiano* (i.e., Haitian) was mentioned by 45% of respondents and had a salience of .31; *cubano* (i.e., Cuban) was mentioned 39% of the time and had a salience of .22; while *puertorriqueño* (Puerto Rican) was mentioned by 36% of respondents and had a salience of .33. *Estadounidense* (i.e., from the United States) was mentioned by 18% of respondents and had a salience of .1 and *norteamericano* (i.e., North American) was mentioned by 15% and had a salience of .08. *Asiático* (i.e., Asian) was mentioned by 24% of respondents but its salience score was .07. These terms would conform the core terms in the ethnic domain in Puerto Rico. All other terms were mentioned by 15% of

respondents or less and had a salience score under .1 and therefore would be considered peripheral in the domain.

### *B. Survey results: Informants elicitation of ethnicity after focus group discussion*

Results did not vary much when comparing suggestions about ethnic terms offered before the discussion with those furnished after. After the group discussion, respondents offered 52 ethnic terms when they were asked to provide ethnic categories in an EEO-1 form for Puerto Rico. While the domain increased slightly, the average number of categories offered by respondents decreased slightly to 4.4 (See Table 5). *Dominicano*, *haitiano*, *puertorriqueño* and *cubano* remain the most frequently mentioned and most salient ethnic categories mentioned. Their frequency was 67%, 39%, 33% and 27%, respectively; and their respective salience scores were .58, .25, .33 and .17. Asiático was also mentioned by 27% of respondents and had a salience of .14. *Suramericano* (i.e. South American), *árabe* (i.e., Arab) and *estadounidense* were mentioned by more than 15% of respondents, but their salience was less than .1. Other terms were mentioned by less than 15% of respondents and their salience was less than .1, and seem peripheral to the domain.

The core terms of the ethnicity domain in Puerto Rico, before and after the group discussion, referred to national origin groups with a Caribbean reference. Not coincidentally, these are the national origin groups that conform the bulk of the population in Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans make up 95% of the population of Puerto Rico, whether born in the island (91%) or in the United States (4%); while approximately, 3% of the population of Puerto Rico in 2000 was of non-Puerto Rican foreign birth (Vargas-Ramos 2008). Most of these were Dominican (56,000) and Cuban (20,000) (US Census Bureau 2000). (Less than 2% were people born in Puerto Rico who did not identify as Puerto Rican or US citizens not born in Puerto Rico.) The data would then suggest that respondents found more salient ethnic categories that reflected the current composition of the population of Puerto Rico.

### *C. Focus group findings on ethnicity and ethnic classification.*

The bulk of the focus group discussions revolved around the race, racial classification and discrimination. Nevertheless, the subject of ethnicity and ethnic categorization, surfaced in the context of this discussion on racial categories. The discussion on ethnic classification centered on the general inappropriateness of using the terms Hispanic or Latino in the context of Puerto Rico.

- **The inadequacy of “Hispanic” for documenting racism.** Respondents felt that a form that made a distinction between Latinos and Non-Latinos and then asked non-Latinos to identify themselves racially prevented Latinos from identifying themselves racially and therefore avoided the possibility of tracking differential treatment based on race within this sub-population.
- **The inadequacy of “Hispanic” for documenting xenophobia.** Related to this initial point, respondents also felt that using Hispanic/Latino to identify workers or job applicants in Puerto Rico was meaningless as virtually all of the population of Puerto Rico is of Hispanic origin or descent. Thus, xenophobia against, for instance, Dominicans in Puerto Rico, a population that has been the target of derision,

disparaging attention and unequal treatment in several aspect of social life, would be impossible to track as a result of using a pan-ethnic term such as Latino.

- **The inadequacy of “Hispanic” for Puerto Rico.** Respondents noted that a term like “Hispanic” is meaningful in the United States, where Puerto Ricans may accept it given the ethnic and racial dynamics in that country. But respondents felt it was inappropriate for Puerto Rico and ineffective for the intended purposes of the EEOC. As one participant said *“Nosotros nos identificamos como Hispanic o Latino cuando pisamos Estados Unidos. Y cuando regresamos a Puerto Rico y pisamos Puerto Rico esas categorías son no-existentes, entonces no hace sentido eso”* (“We identify ourselves as Hispanic or Latino when we set foot in the United States. And when we come back to Puerto Rico and set foot on Puerto Rico, those categories are non-existent, then it doesn’t make sense”).
- **Race and ethnicity.** Respondents did note how race and ethnicity intersected in Puerto Rico, and the necessity of maintaining the conceptual and practical distinction between the two. For instance, with regards to people of Chinese descent living in Puerto Rico, some respondents noted how there is a difference between those who may have migrated directly from China to Puerto Rico and are therefore culturally and racially different from the majority of the population on the island, and those who may be of Chinese origin (and have an East Asian phenotype) but may have been born or raised in the Caribbean. People mentioned, for example, the case of Chinese migrants who came from Cuba to Puerto Rico. The implication being that those of Cuban Chinese origin may be bi-cultural (Chinese-Caribbean) and racially East Asian. Commenting on the issue of xenophobia, another participant said *“Si la persona es dominicana, tiene un acento fuerte o algo que lo distingue como dominicano y se siente que es discriminado por ser dominicano pues es importante que el formulario...pueda recoger eso. O si se siente que es discriminado por ser haitiano, o por ser cubano. El discrimen que pueda recibir un cubano no es el mismo que el que pueda recibir un haitiano.”* (“If the person is Dominican, has a strong accent or something that distinguish him as Dominican and he/she feels discriminated for being a Dominican, then it is important that the form...collect that information. Or if he/she feels discriminated for being Haitian, or for being Cuban. Discrimination against Cubans is not the same as discrimination against Haitians”). These comments point to the need of documenting ethnic and racial identity (and discrimination) as separate, albeit, interrelated phenomena.
- **Discrimination against Dominicans.** When discussing discrimination against Dominicans in Puerto Rico, one participant said that the main cause for this discrimination was not ethnic but racial (i.e because of their skin color). However, other participants disagreed. *“Mi trabajo con mujeres dominicanas discrepa de que no se discrimina por origen étnico y lo corroboramos en el Centro con el colectivo de mujeres y lo hemos corroborado con los hombres dominicanos que son víctimas de agresión y golpizas por parte de la policía por ser dominicanos.. Hay un estigma de lo que es ser Dominicano en este país y sí existe discrimen por etnia hacia los dominicanos”* (“My work with Dominican women differs from the idea that discrimination does not occur because of ethnic origin, and we corroborated it at the Centro with the collective of women, and we have been corroborating it with

Dominican men that are victims of aggression and blows from the police just because they are Dominicans. There is a stigma of what it means to be a Dominican in this country and ethnic discrimination towards Dominicans does exist”). Although this issue was not discussed in detail, the literature points out that having or being associated with a foreign status makes Caribbean migrants more vulnerable to xenophobic and racist remarks (Duany et al 1991). Scholars have also pointed out that, while racism and xenophobia are interrelated phenomena, discrimination on ethnicity will not necessarily always involve discrimination based on race or color (Hylland 1993).

- **The ethnicity of racial terms.** The ethnic specificity of certain racial terms was also highlighted by respondents. Some commented on the importance of the racial term *indio* which is widely used among the Dominican origin population. “*Los Dominicanos en particular se clasifican como indios, no importa el color de la piel ni el tipo de pelo que tengan ni nada de eso, ellos son indios*” (“Dominicans in particular classify themselves as *indios*, no matter their skin color, nor the type of hair that they have, they are *Indios*”). Another respondent commented on the common use of *mulato* among the Cuban population, “*en Cuba, mulatto hace la función de trigueño aquí.*” (“In Cuba, mulatto does the work of *trigueño* here”).

#### **IV. The eye of the beholder**

A dimension explored in the study was who does the racial identification or classifying. Should racial identification be based on self-identification or on how the employer identified the employee or prospective employee? The specific choices provided on the questionnaire were 1) the employer; 2) the employee; 3) employee and employer should seek a consensus, 4) both parties should identify the employee, but the employee’s opinion should be privileged, and yet another stated that 5) both should classify but the employer’s preference should prevail.

Almost two-thirds (64%) of respondents indicated they preferred the employee self-identify. One third indicated that both employee and employer should identify the employee, but privileging the employee’s choice. Fifteen percent indicated that the employer should identify the employee, but with the employee’s consent and agreement; if the employee disagree, then the employee’s preference would prevail. Two respondents thought that while both employee and employer should do the identifying, the employer’s preference would prevail. Only one respondent thought that the employer should do the identification exclusively.

In the focus group, a person who argued in favor of employer identification stated “*porque yo me puedo identificar en un documento y decir que soy blanco rubio de los ojos azules, pero el patrono no me tiene que creer eso. El me va a ver y va a hacer su conclusión... porque si el que te identifica es el patrono, él es el que te discrimina o no te discrimina. Para fines de esa responsabilidad, yo creo que es bien importante que este la mano del patrono por medio bien clara*” (“because I can identify myself in a document and say that I’m white, blonde, with blue eyes, but the employer does not have to believe that. He is going to see me and he’s going to make his own conclusions... because, if the one that identifies you is the employer, he is the one that will discriminate against you or not. In terms of that responsibility, I believe that it’s really important that the hand of the employer be implicated in a very clear way”). However,

most respondents were skeptical about the accuracy of an employer's judgment on this matter. They recognized racial identification was highly contextual and subject to people's worldviews and stereotypes "...*porque sencillamente un oficial de recursos humanos, como dijiste hace un rato, va a mirar a sus empleados, 'no, aquí hay dos negritos' y va a tomar ella una decisión de acuerdo a sus estereotipos, a sus conceptos.*" (...because, basically, a Human Resources Official, like you said before, is going to look at her employees and say 'no, we have two little blacks here', and she's going to make a decision based on her stereotypes, and her concepts"). Some participants also worried that an employer might refrain from identifying someone as black because they might think the term "negro" is offensive. "*No es lo mismo marcar en un cuestionario que tener una persona delante y confrontarla con estos términos*" ("Is not the same to mark in a form that having someone in front of you and confront the person with those terms") And another commented: "*me parece que puede ser un problema, como pasó con el censo que entonces nunca ponga que la gente es negra*" ("I think it could be a problem, just like it happened with the census that then they are not going to identify people as black"). Other participants also worried about the possibility of the employer manipulating the data in his or her favor "*El patrono ya tiene su deseo de protegerse... eso es demasiado poder en las manos de una persona que es prejuiciosa.*" ("The employer already has this sense of protecting himself...that is too much power in the hands of a prejudiced person"). Overall, respondents believed racial identification in the workplace should be done by the employee.

## **V. When to ask for the information**

Another question asked what is the best moment to identify the employee racially and ethnically. Of 33 participants, 20 of them (60%) think that it should be after the person has been employed; 5 (15%) thought it should be at the time the person applied for the job; 4 chose both options when the person applies for the job and when the person has been hired; 3 think that identification should take place upon employment termination; 2 respondents indicated all three instances. One participant didn't answer the questions and another one added one option explaining that the racial and ethnic identification should not be asked. In the focus groups, some participants mentioned that having information about applicant's racial background could help determine whether a company was discriminating in its recruitment. However, many participants expressed concern regarding the use and confidentiality of the information and worried that the information could be used to discriminate against possible applicants (even if this was illegal). "*Yo pongo negro y dejo mi solicitud ahí y sabe dios que hacen, la tiran.*" ("I put black and I leave my application there, and God knows what they'll do with it, they'll throw it away"). Participants also worried about the accuracy of an applicant's response to the question of race, given the fact that people know white is a privileged identity "*La gente se va a sentir --en un país donde no hay casi trabajo-- tentada a ponerse blanco porque se entiende que les garantizaría más acceso al trabajo.*" (People are going to feel --in a country where there is almost no work-- tempted to identify themselves as white because it is thought that it would guarantee access to a job). Overall, participants believed that racial identity should be asked after the person was already employed.

## **Conclusion**

Findings included in this report summarize the views of 33 experts on the subject on race and racial discrimination in Puerto Rico. Results are therefore not representative of Puerto Rican society. Hence, they should be viewed as tentative and suggestive rather than conclusive. Nevertheless, findings show that there is agreement among respondents that race and ethnicity are social categories that impact life chances for people in Puerto Rico, specifically those people of African descent. Furthermore, because respondents are aware of the extent of racial and ethnic discrimination in Puerto Rico, they support efforts which will combat the effects of such discrimination, including those of the US EEOC in Puerto Rico.

Participants confirmed that current forms and mechanisms available for producing EEOC reports are deficient for Puerto Rico. There was also agreement that, given the effects of racial discrimination, people in Puerto Rico are likely to avoid identifying with terms that clearly highlight their African ancestry and, in the absence of terms that denote intermediate categories, are more likely to identify as white rather than as black. Therefore, dichotomous categorizations of race (e.g., black vs. white or white vs. Afro-descendant), in a society where both black and white are core reference terms, are likely to yield spurious results. Hence, participants support the inclusion of more than three and possibly more than four categories in order to capture the variety of racial identification practices in Puerto Rico. What these additional terms or labels should be, remains to be established more widely, although *trigueño* appears as leading option among other intermediary terms (if not without disagreement). Respondents also recognize that with immigration, the cultural domain of race in Puerto Rico is not limited to the historical descendents of Europeans, Africans and Amerindians, but also includes people with origin in Asia.

Furthermore, respondents agreed that terms such as Hispanic or Latino are too broad and ineffective for the intended purposes of the EEOC in Puerto Rico. They also recognized the need to include other ethnic categories that are more pertinent to the Puerto Rican context. Most of the categories of ethnic identification suggested had national origin with a Caribbean reference (i.e., Dominican, Haitian, Cuban, Puerto Rican). Pan ethnic categories such as Latino or Hispanic do not capture the social nuances of a population that includes all of these ethnic groups. Moreover, emphasizing pan-ethnicity among residents of Puerto Rico glosses over discrimination on the basis of ethnicity (i.e against Dominicans or Haitians) and on the bases of race (i.e against black Puerto Ricans). Finally, there was agreement among participants that information on racial identification should be obtained through self-identification and after the person has been employed.

## **Future directions**

Findings presented in this report are preliminary and need further examination and validation with a broader segment of the Puerto Rican population. In a future study, we will explore what categories of race exist in Puerto Rico and what the boundaries of those categories are, as they are understood by Puerto Ricans on the island who are not necessarily experts of the subject of race or racial discrimination, but who, as component members of a society where a shared understanding of race may exist, are able to provide information about this cultural domain.

As race, its categories and the position those categories occupy in the social structure are socially constructed and contested (Bonilla Silva 1996, Omi and Winant 1986), they are changeable and variable. So are their boundaries. However, because because racial categories are socially constructed they may be socially apprehended as well. If the culture of a particular society is understood as the learned knowledge of that society, then eliciting information from members of that society on a given subject will allow an observer to accurately learn about such subject. Moreover, the accuracy of a correct cultural response, as for instance in regards to race and its categories, is likely to increase as the *agreement* between members of the society on the subject under question increases (Romney et al 1986: 314). Consequently, if members of a society agree in greater proportions about different aspects of race, such as its categories and their boundaries, an observer can then establish that there is a consensus among the members of a society on these subjects, and that such cultural consensus approaches the correct answer (i.e., shared knowledge) about racial categories and their boundaries in that cultural milieu (Romney et al 1987).

In a future study, we will explore what categories of race exist in Puerto Rico and what the boundaries of those categories are by using cultural domain analysis and cultural consensus analysis (Romney et al 1986, Romney et al 1987). We plan to accomplish this by first eliciting from a much larger group of informants (n= 200) the basic elements of the domain of race in Puerto Rico. We plan to ask informants to list all the terms or categories used in Puerto Rico to describe people racially (i.e., a free-list) (Bernard 2001). The approach is not normative, in trying to elicit categories that should be used to describe people racially, but rather empirical. It is not about listing preferences, but about documenting what people actually perceived these terms or categories to be (Borgatti 1998). The free list components we hope to obtain from this future research will represent the contents of the cultural domain, which are then analyzed in terms of the frequency and order in which they were mentioned. In subsequent analyses and reports, we will establish the boundaries of the domain with an analysis of sorted racial categories (Bernard 2001, Borgatti 1998) as well as the level of cultural consensus on the categories of race in Puerto Rico. With this information at hand we will then be able to conclude more firmly the racial (and ethnic) categories that are culturally valid and appropriate for Puerto Rico.

# **TABLES**

**Table 1: Comments on the question of the effectiveness or adequacy of the categories in the EEO-1 form in Puerto Rico. (\*)**

<b>Spanish</b>	<b>English</b>
1. a) Hispano/Latino no es una raza. B) Las categorías raciales dominantes en EEUU no son pertinentes en Puerto Rico.	1. a) Hispanic/Latino is not a race. b) The dominant racial categories in the United States are not relevant in Puerto Rico.
2. Son categorías ajenas al imaginario cultural puertorriqueño.	2. They are categories alien to the Puerto Rican cultural imaginary
3. Estas categorías no corresponden a nuestra realidad cultural y política. Son términos que corresponden a la realidad cultural estadounidense, a base de un sistema dicotomizado racialmente y resultan impositivos.	3. These categories don't correspond with our cultural and political reality. They are terms that correspond to a cultural reality from the United States, that are based on a system based on a racial dichotomy and they result as imposed
4. Se deben crear categorías más afines a Puerto Rico como: negro, trigueño, blanco, jabao o indio.	4. Categories common to Puerto Rico should be created like: black, trigueño, white, jabao or indian.
5. La población puertorriqueña no se identifica con estas categorías, las mismas no tienen resonancia cultural ni historia. Los estadounidenses o puertorriqueños que han vivido en los EEUU están familiarizados y pueden comprender su uso.	5. Puerto Rican population doesn't identify with these categories; they don't have cultural resonance or history. People from the United States or Puerto Ricans that have lived in the United States are familiar with them and they can comprehend their use.
6. Este formulario no documenta ni tiene en consideración nuestra mezcla racial, ni el colorismo y el mestizaje existente en Puerto Rico.	6. This form doesn't document nor has in consideration our racial mixture, neither colorism nor the mestizaje of Puerto Rico.
7. Ninguna categoría por sí sola describe nuestro colorismo.	7. No category by itself describes our colorism.
8. En Puerto Rico se utiliza el término puertorriqueño/ña para clasificación racial/nacional; aunque coloquialmente se utilicen términos eufemísticos o racializados, no se interpretan como son en sí mismos. Consistentemente se niega que existe racismo.	8. In Puerto Rico the term Puerto Rican is used for national/racial classification; although colloquially euphemistic or racialized terms are used, they are not interpreted as they are in themselves. Consistently the existence of racism is denied.
9. Los puertorriqueños en términos generales no respondemos a estas categorías porque no nos identificamos: 1) desde el punto de vista étnico 2) desde el punto de vista "racial". En ambos casos debe de estar claro la identidad "étnica" o socio-cultural como puertorriqueño; y luego debe incluir la gama de identidades relacionadas al color de piel para que en este momento se entienda de manera no amenazante.	9. Puerto Ricans in general terms, we don't respond to these categories because we don't identify: 1) from an ethnic point of view 2) from "the racial" point of view. In both cases the "ethnic" or socio-cultural identity as Puerto Ricans must be made clear; and then it must include the range of identities relating to skin color so that at this moment it is understood in a nonthreatening way.
	10. I would add Puerto Rican (born/US born), Afro-descendiente, instead Hispano/Latino—I would use P.R Born in P.R. or U.S.
11. El término "Hispanic/Latino" no recoge la realidad racial/racista en PR; por lo tanto la discriminación institucionalizada queda invisible, sin documentar, sin evidenciar objetivamente.	11. The term Hispanic/Latino doesn't collect the racial/racist reality of Puerto Rico; as a result institutional discrimination becomes invisible, without documentation and without being able to give an objective evidence.
12. No son representativas de la realidad racial y étnica en Puerto Rico.	12. They are not representative of the racial and ethnic reality of Puerto Rico.
13. A mi entender en primer lugar existe un "issue" ya que los puertorriqueños no se autoidentifican ni como latinos ni como hispanos por razón políticas-históricas, es por esto que se debe buscar de que manera se puede trabajar con la realidad de Puerto Rico ya que somos una colonia.	13. In my opinion first of all, an issue exist because Puerto Ricans don't identify themselves as Latinos or Hispanics for political-historical reasons, for this reason we have to look for a way to work with Puerto Rico's reality since we are a colony.
14. Dadas estas categorías en P.R. se vería que todos, o la inmensa mayoría, quedarían identificados como hispano/latino.	14. Given these categories in Puerto Rico it would seem or the immense majority would stay identified as Hispanic/Latino.
15. Toda nuestra población es hispano o latino excluye la raza.	15. All of our population is Hispanic or Latino, this excludes race.

<b>Table 1 (Continuation)</b>	
<b>Spanish</b>	<b>English</b>
16. No definen la realidad del componente racial del puertorriqueño. Confunden.	16. They don't define the reality of the racial component of Puerto Ricans. They tend to confuse.
17. La cultura y trasfondo histórico de PR es mucho más amplio y variado que esto.	17. The historical and cultural background of Puerto Rico is wider and has more variety than this.
18. No totalmente. Propongo Latinoamericano o Latino como categoría general. Como segunda categorización o subcategoría sugiero: puertorriqueño (a) [negro(a)/blanco(a)], dominicano (a) [negro(a)/blanco(a)], cubano (a) [negro(a)/blanco(a)], árabe [negro(a)/blanco(a)], chino (a) [negro(a)/blanco(a)].	18. Not totally. I suggest Latin-American or Latino as a general category. As a second category or sub-category I suggest: Puerto Rican {black/white}, Dominican {black/white}, Cuban {black/white}, Arab {black/white}, Chinese {black/white}
19. En Puerto Rico se han creado otros términos como: mulato (a), grifo, jabao.	19. In Puerto Rico other terms have been developed: mulato, grifo, jabao
20. Algunas no aplican. El término Afro-Americano <u>no</u> debería estar, solo que dijera Negros. Tampoco Hispano/Latino, ni nada de Alaska, Hawaii, etc. Sí debe estar más de una raza.	20. Some of them don't apply. The term African-American should not be included, it should only say Black. Neither Hispanic/Latino nothing from Alaska, Hawaii, etc. More than One Race should be included.
21. Son categorías impuestas por EU y no responden a nuestra realidad de Puerto Rico.	21. They are categories imposed by the United States and does not respond to our reality in Puerto Rico.
22. No explica ni agrupa correctamente las categorías raciales.	22. They don't explain or gather correctly racial categories.
23. Solamente Blanco y Negro serían adecuadas. Más de una raza sería problemático pues alguna gente ve ser puertorriqueño como una raza.	23. Only White and Black would be appropriate. More than One Race would be problematic because some people see being Puerto Rican as a race.
24. No incluye las variadas formas en que los puertorriqueños se identifican.	24. Doesn't include the various ways that Puerto Ricans identify themselves

\* Answers documented in this table were provided for the following survey question (see questionnaire #2): ¿Entiende usted que estas categorías son efectivas o adecuadas\* para documentar el discrimen racial y étnico en el empleo en Puerto Rico? Sí \_\_No\_\_ Explique. (Do you believe that these are effective or adequate categories to document racial and ethnic employment discrimination in Puerto Rico? Yes \_\_No\_\_ Explain.)

**Table 2 Racial categorization prior focus group**

What racial categories will you include in an EEO-1 form designed for Puerto Rico?

	ITEM	FREQUENCY	RESP PCT	AVG RANK	Smith's S
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
1	NEGRO	21	64	1.667	0.518
2	BLANCO	20	61	1.6	0.52
3	TRIGUENO	13	39	2.769	0.201
4	AFROPUERTORRIQUENO	5	15	2	0.115
5	AFRODESCENDIENTE	5	15	1.6	0.121
6	OTRO	3	9	5.333	0.017
7	ASIATICO	3	9	4.667	0.025
8	INDIO	3	9	3.667	0.038
9	NO RESPUESTA	3	9	1	0.091
10	PUERTORRIQUENO	2	6	2.5	0.03
11	MULTIRACIAL	2	6	3.5	0.022
12	MULATO CLARO	2	6	3.5	0.039
13	MESTIZO	2	6	3.5	0.028
14	CABELLO	2	6	3	0.02
15	INDIGENA	2	6	5.5	0.019
16	JABAO	2	6	4	0.027
17	MULATO	2	6	5	0.026
18	FACCIONES	2	6	2	0.04
19	MORENO	2	6	4.5	0.018
20	PIEL	2	6	1	0.061
21	MULATO OSCURO	2	6	4.5	0.03
22	AFRODESCENDIENTE O QUIZAS MESTIZO	1	3	3	0.01
23	ANGLOSAJON	1	3	2	0.026
24	TRIGUENO OSCURO	1	3	6	0.009
25	BLANCO O EURODESCENDIENTE	1	3	1	0.03
26	EURODESCENDIENTE	1	3	4	0.015
27	NEGRO/MARRON	1	3	3	0.015
28	AMARILLO O ASIATICO	1	3	3	0.01
29	MESTIZO/MULATO	1	3	4	0.008
30	AMERICANO	1	3	1	0.03
31	HISPANO	1	3	2	0.023
32	AFROBORICUA	1	3	3	0.01
33	NEGRO AFRODESCENDIENTE	1	3	1	0.03
34	TRIGUENO/MORENO	1	3	3	0.01
35	TRIGUENO CLARO	1	3	5	0.013
36	AFRODESCENDIENTE CON SUBCATEGORIAS	1	3	1	0.03
37	AFROCARIBENO	1	3	5	0.006
38	MAS DE UNA RAZA	1	3	5	0.01
39	GRIFO	1	3	3	0.02
40	INDIECITO	1	3	5	0.01
41	BLANCO TRIGUENO	1	3	6	0.005
42	ALBINO	1	3	7	0.004
	Total/Average:	121	3.667		

**Table 3 Racial categorization after focus group**

Taking into account the discussion, what racial categories will you include in an EEO-1 form designed for Puerto Rico?

	ITEM	FREQUENCY	RESP PCT	AVG RANK	Smith's S
1	NEGRO	30	91	1.867	0.721
2	BLANCO	29	88	1.759	0.77
3	TRIGUENO	24	73	3.292	0.408
4	INDIO	14	42	4.357	0.156
5	JABAO	9	27	4.778	0.129
6	MULATO	7	21	4.429	0.102
7	ASIATICO	4	12	5.75	0.026
8	OTRO	2	6	6.5	0.011
9	INTERMEDIO CON SUBCATEGORIAS	2	6	3	0.042
10	MESTIZO	2	6	4	0.023
11	MOYETO	2	6	4.5	0.018
12	ALBINO	2	6	6	0.016
13	AFRODESCENDIENTES CON SUBCATEGORIAS	2	6	1	0.061
14	NO RESPUESTA	1	3	1	0.03
15	BLANQUITO	1	3	7	0.008
16	PELO RIZO-----LACIO	1	3	4	0.012
17	COLOR DE PIEL OSCURO-----CLARO	1	3	5	0.006
18	BLANCO TODAS SUS SUBCATEGORIAS	1	3	1	0.03
19	NEGRO TODAS SUS SUBCATEGORIAS	1	3	2	0.015
20	NEWYORICAN	1	3	4	0.019
21	INDIGENA	1	3	7	0.008
22	TRIGUENO OSCURO	1	3	3	0.018
23	AFROPUERTORRIQUENO	1	3	6	0.013
24	AFROCARIBENO	1	3	7	0.01
25	ASIATICOS	1	3	9	0.003
26	TRIGUENO CLARO	1	3	2	0.024
27	COLORAO	1	3	7	0.008
28	RUBIO	1	3	8	0.004
29	PUERTORRIQUENO	1	3	3	0.023
30	AFRODESCENDIENTE	1	3	5	0.006
31	INDIO/AINDIADO?	1	3	5	0.01
32	NEGRITO	1	3	6	0.011
33	PIEL	1	3	1	0.03
34	PELO	1	3	2	0.015
35	OTROS	1	3	5	0.006
36	MESTIZO CON SUBCATEGORIAS	1	3	3	0.02
37	MAS DE UNA RAZA	1	3	7	0.004
38	GRIFO	1	3	5	0.017
39	MULTIRACIAL(MEZCLA) CON SUBCATEGORIAS	1	3	3	0.02
40	MULTIRACIAL	1	3	3	0.01
41	INTERMEDIO/MEZCLADO	1	3	3	0.015
	Total/Average:	157	4.758		

**Table 4 Ethnic categorization prior focus group**

What ethnic categories will you include in an EEO-1 form designed for Puerto Rico?

	ITEM	FREQUENCY	RESP PCT	AVG RANK	Smith's S
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
1	DOMINICANO	21	64	1.381	0.596
2	HAITIANO	15	45	3	0.307
3	CUBANO	13	39	3.462	0.219
4	PUERTORRIQUENO	12	36	1.583	0.327
5	ASIATICO	8	24	5.75	0.073
6	ESTADOUNIDENSE	6	18	3.667	0.102
7	CHINO	6	18	4	0.083
8	NORTEAMERICANO	5	15	4.2	0.082
9	ARABE	5	15	5.4	0.043
10	NO RESPUESTA	5	15	1	0.152
11	SURAMERICANO	5	15	4.8	0.085
12	EUROPEO	4	12	5.25	0.054
13	CENTROAMERICANO	4	12	5.5	0.059
14	AFRICANO	3	9	7	0.021
15	CARIBENO	3	9	3.333	0.061
16	BORICUA	2	6	4.5	0.025
17	CARIBE FRANCES	2	6	5	0.028
18	ESPANOL	2	6	4	0.037
19	OTRO	2	6	7	0.009
20	CARIBENOS EN GENERAL	2	6	3.5	0.023
21	LATINOAMERICANO	2	6	2.5	0.048
22	CARIBE INGLES	2	6	5	0.026
23	JAMAQUINO	2	6	5	0.024
24	ORIGEN COLOMBIANO	1	3	3	0.018
25	ORIGEN HAITIANO	1	3	2	0.024
26	MEXICANO	1	3	3	0.015
27	ORIGEN MEXICANO	1	3	4	0.012
28	NO PUERTORRIQUENO CON SUBCATEGORIAS	1	3	2	0.026
29	JAPONES	1	3	5	0.006
30	ORIGEN DOMINICANO	1	3	1	0.03
31	FILIPINAS	1	3	10	0.003
32	INDIGENA	1	3	4	0.015
33	POR NACIONALIDAD	1	3	5	0.01
34	CENTROAMERICANO	1	3	4	0.017
35	ORIGEN ARABE	1	3	5	0.006
36	EUROPEOS	1	3	5	0.006
37	JAMAQUINOS	1	3	4	0.008
38	ACENTO	1	3	2	0.023
39	CENTRO/SUR AMERICANO	1	3	5	0.013
40	AMERICANO	1	3	5	0.013
41	AMERICANO ANGLO SAJON	1	3	2	0.027
42	AFROAMERICANO	1	3	3	0.024
43	ANTILLANO	1	3	5	0.017
44	LATINOAMERICANO DE DONDE	1	3	4	0.017
45	ISLENO DE DONDE	1	3	5	0.013
46	MEDITERRANEO DE DONDE	1	3	6	0.009
	Total/Average:	154	4.667		

<b>Table 5 Ethnic categorization after focus group</b>					
Taking into account the discussion, what ethnic categories will you include in an EEO-1 form designed for Puerto Rico?					
	ITEM	FREQUENCY	RESP PCT	AVG RANK	Smith's S
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
1	DOMINICANO	22	67	1.773	0.578
2	HAITIANO	13	39	3.231	0.254
3	PUERTORRIQUENO	11	33	1.091	0.328
4	CUBANO	9	27	3	0.174
5	ASIATICO	9	27	3.778	0.139
6	SURAMERICANO	6	18	5.667	0.066
7	ARABE	5	15	4	0.07
8	ESTADOUNIDENSE	5	15	3.8	0.07
9	NO RESPUESTA	4	12	1	0.121
10	LATINOAMERICANO	4	12	4.5	0.058
11	CENTROAMERICANO	4	12	6.25	0.032
12	NORTEAMERICANO	4	12	3.5	0.076
13	OTRO	3	9	4.667	0.02
14	EUROPEO	2	6	4.5	0.032
15	CARIBENO	2	6	5.5	0.015
16	AFRICANO	2	6	5	0.033
17	AFROAMERICANO	2	6	4	0.035
18	JAMAQUINO	2	6	4.5	0.03
19	CHINO	2	6	2	0.052
20	AFRODESCENDIENTE	1	3	2	0.023
21	HAITIANO O CARIBE FRANCES	1	3	2	0.026
22	INDIGENA	1	3	3	0.015
23	INDIO (DOMINICANO)	1	3	1	0.03
24	LATINO	1	3	5	0.006
25	NO PUERTORRIQUENO	1	3	2	0.015
26	(JAPONES CHINO) O ASIATICO	1	3	4	0.015
27	COLOMBIANO	1	3	5	0.01
28	ESPANOL	1	3	4	0.017
29	EURODESCENDIENTE	1	3	1	0.03
30	POR NACIONALIDAD	1	3	4	0.008
31	CUBANOS	1	3	7	0.008
32	ISLENOS NEGROS	1	3	3	0.01
33	NORTEAMERICANO BLANCO	1	3	3	0.015
34	EUROPEO BLANCO	1	3	4	0.008
35	CARIBENO FRANCES	1	3	3	0.018
36	NEGRO + NACION	1	3	1	0.03
37	BLANCO + NACION	1	3	2	0.015
38	MEXICANO	1	3	5	0.01
39	JUDIO	1	3	6	0.005
40	PUERTORRIQUENO O BORICUA	1	3	1	0.03
41	ESTADOUNIDENSE (GRINGO)	1	3	6	0.005
42	OTRA	1	3	7	0.004
43	CARIBENO INGLES	1	3	4	0.012
44	CHINOS	1	3	5	0.006
45	NACIONALIDAD	1	3	1	0.03
46	CENTRO-SURAMERICANO	1	3	3	0.02
47	CARIBENO BLANCO	1	3	4	0.017
48	AMERICANO NEGRO	1	3	6	0.009
49	AMERICANO BLANCO	1	3	7	0.004
50	EUROAMERICANO	1	3	4	0.02
51	ANTILLANO	1	3	8	0.007
52	ISLENO	1	3	4	0.017
	Total/Average:	144	4.364		

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# APPENDIX

# Appendix A: EEO-1 form

**Section D-EMPLOYMENT DATA**  
 Employment at this establishment - Report all permanent full- and part-time employees including apprentices and on-the-job trainees unless specifically excluded as set forth in the instructions. Enter the appropriate figures on all lines and in all columns. Blank spaces will be considered as zeros.

Job Categories	Number of Employees (Report employees in only one category)														Total Col A - N	
	Hispanic or Latino		Race/Ethnicity										Not-Hispanic or Latino			
	Male	Female	Male					Female					White	Two or more races		
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	
Executive/Senior Level Officials and Managers 1.1																
First/Mid-Level Officials and Managers 1.2																
Professionals 2																
Technicians 3																
Sales Workers 4																
Administrative Support Workers 5																
Craft Workers 6																
Operatives 7																
Laborers and Helpers 8																
Service Workers 9																
TOTAL 10																
PREVIOUS YEAR TOTAL 11																

1. Date(s) of payroll period used: \_\_\_\_\_ (Omit on the Consolidated Report.)

**Section E - ESTABLISHMENT INFORMATION** (Omit on the Consolidated Report.)

- What is the major activity of this establishment? (Be specific, i.e., manufacturing steel castings, retail grocer, wholesale plumbing supplies, title insurance, etc. Include the specific type of product or type of service provided, as well as the principal business or industrial activity.)

**Section F - REMARKS**

Use this item to give any identification data appearing on the last EEO-1 report which differs from that given above, explain major changes in composition of reporting units and other pertinent information.

**Section G - CERTIFICATION**

- Check  1 All reports are accurate and were prepared in accordance with the instructions. (Check on Consolidated Report only.)
- Check  2 This report is accurate and was prepared in accordance with the instructions.

Name of Certifying Official	Title	Signature	Date
Name of person to contact regarding this report	Title	Address (Number and Street)	
City and State	Zip Code	Telephone No. (including Area Code and Extension)	Email Address

All reports and information obtained from individual reports will be kept confidential as required by Section 709(c) of Title VII. WILLFULLY FALSE STATEMENTS ON THIS REPORT ARE PUNISHABLE BY LAW, U.S. CODE, TITLE 18, SECTION 1001



# cuestionario \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix B: First part of questionnaire

**¿Y cuál de éstas soy yo? : hacia una forma culturalmente arraigada y contextualizada de categorización racial y étnica en Puerto Rico.**

### CUESTIONARIO: PARTE I

#### 1) Información demográfica

a) ¿Es usted puertorriqueño/a? Sí \_\_\_ No\_\_\_

b) Si la contestación es **no**, indique su nacionalidad \_\_\_\_\_

c) ¿Ha vivido en los Estados Unidos por más de 6 meses en algún momento de su vida de adulto? Sí\_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

d) Edad \_\_\_\_\_

e) Ocupación \_\_\_\_\_

f) Ingreso

\_\_\_\_\_ Menos de 19,999

\_\_\_\_\_ 20,000 – 29,999

\_\_\_\_\_ 30,000 – 39,999

\_\_\_\_\_ 40,000 – 49,999

\_\_\_\_\_ 50,000 – 59,999

\_\_\_\_\_ 60,000 – 69,999

\_\_\_\_\_ Más de 70,000

g) Por favor, indique cuáles son las categorías que mejor lo/la describen (marque todas las que apliquen):

\_\_\_\_\_ Activista anti-racista

\_\_\_\_\_ Investigador del tema racial

\_\_\_\_\_ Profesional interesado en el tema racial

\_\_\_\_\_ Líder comunitario

\_\_\_\_\_ Estudiante

\_\_\_\_\_ Otro(a) \_\_\_\_\_

h) ¿Qué término racial entiende usted que lo/la describe mejor en Puerto Rico?

\_\_\_\_\_

2. Indique **todos los términos o categorías raciales** que se utilizan para describir a las personas en Puerto Rico, según su conocimiento. Haga una lista de todas las categorías que se le ocurran.

Lista de Términos
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.
11.
12.
13.
14.
15.
16.
17.
18.
19.
20.
21.

3. Indique aquellos términos que usted entiende son usados como **eufemismos\*** y aquellos que pueden ser **ofensivos o despectivos** en Puerto Rico.

<b>Eufemismos *</b>	<b>Términos ofensivos o despectivos</b>
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
4.	4.
5.	5.
6.	6.
7.	7.
8.	8.
9.	9.
10.	10.
11.	11.
12.	12.
13.	13.
14.	14.
15.	15.
16.	16.
17.	17.
18.	18.
19.	19.
20.	20.

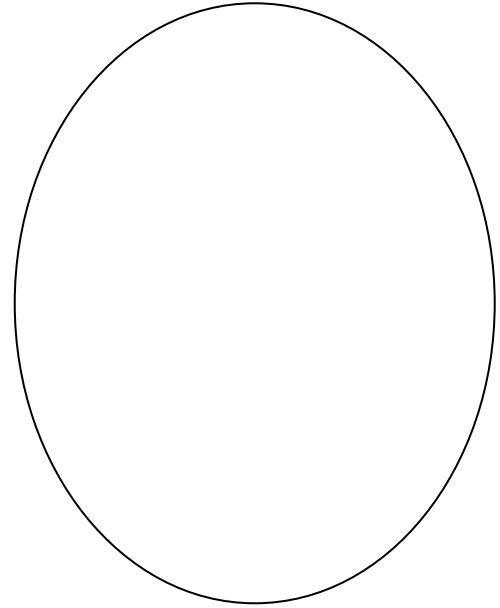
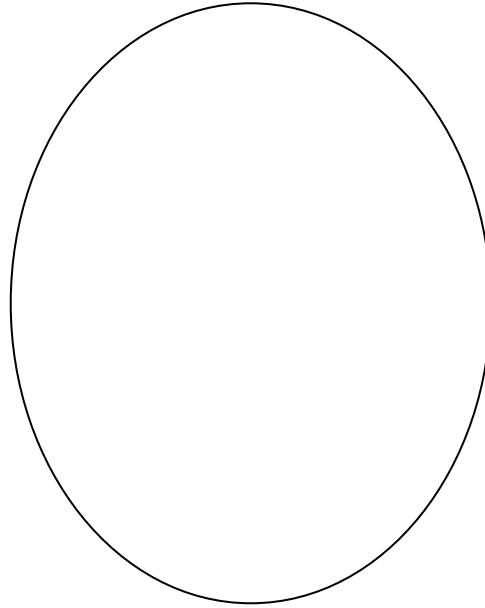
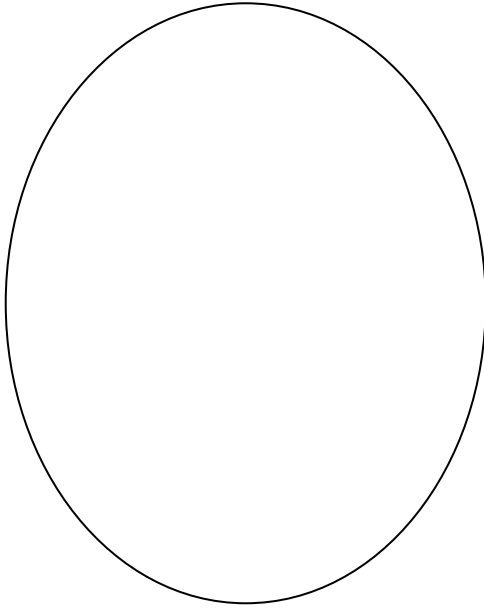
**\*Eufemismo: Palabra o expresión con que se sustituye a otra más grosera, impertinente, violenta o que se considera tabú.** Referencia: [www.wordreference.com](http://www.wordreference.com)

4. Tomando en cuenta los términos de las listas anteriores (preguntas 2 y 3), agrupe los términos que usted entienda puedan ser parecidos o equivalentes usando los círculos provistos. Escriba los términos parecidos dentro de un mismo círculo. Luego, nombre los círculos utilizando una sola categoría racial para identificarlos.

1) Categoría racial \_\_\_\_\_

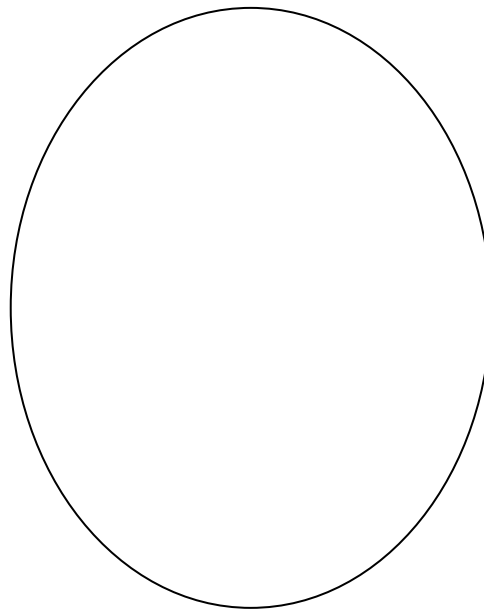
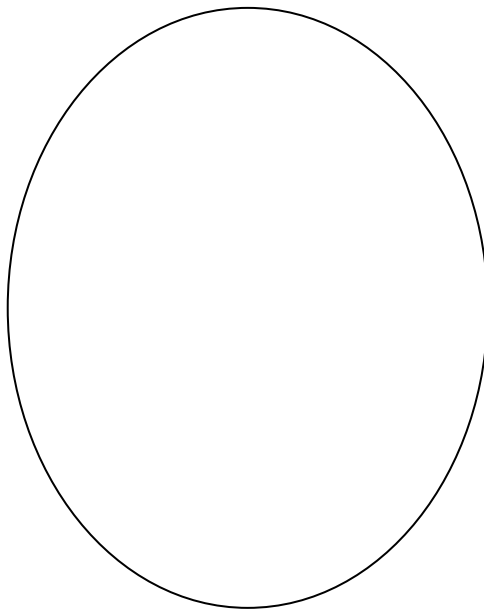
2) Categoría racial \_\_\_\_\_

3) Categoría racial \_\_\_\_\_



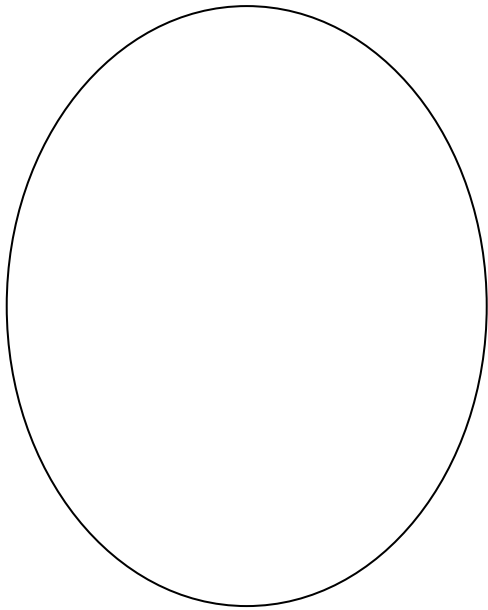
4) Categoría racial \_\_\_\_\_

5) Categoría racial: \_\_\_\_\_

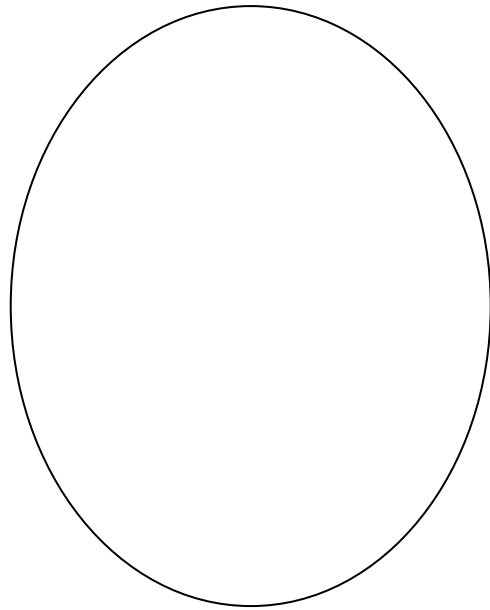


\* Si necesita espacio para más círculos puede usar la siguiente página.

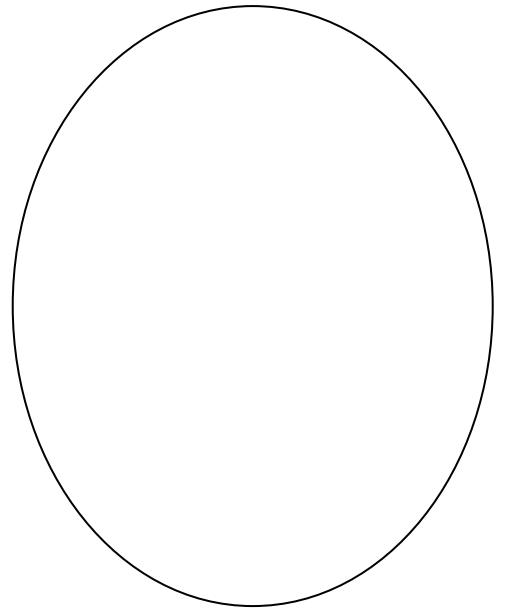
6) Categoría racial \_\_\_\_\_



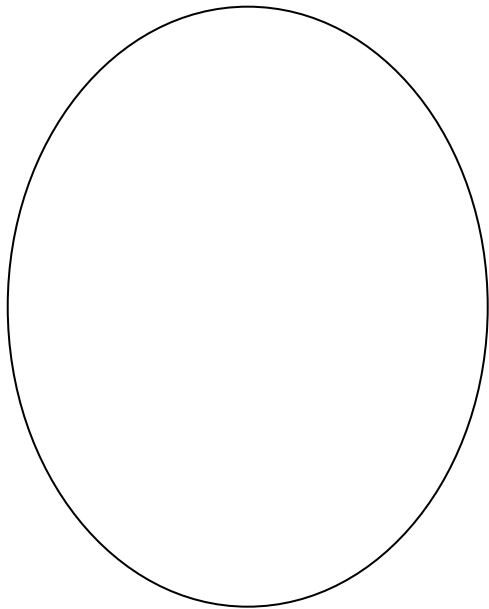
7) Categoría racial \_\_\_\_\_



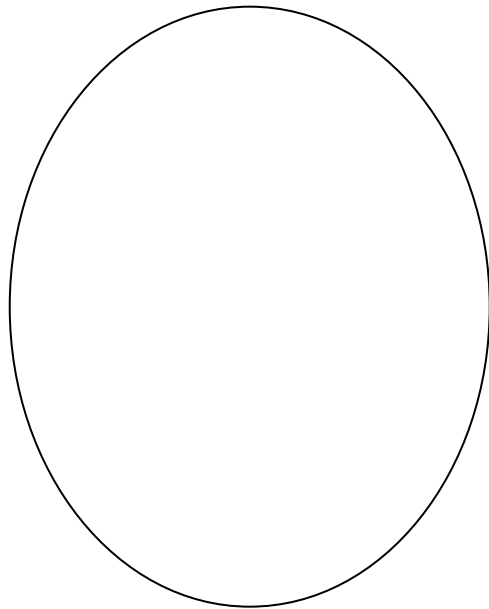
8) Categoría racial \_\_\_\_\_



9) Categoría racial \_\_\_\_\_



10) Categoría racial \_\_\_\_\_



5a. En Puerto Rico hay evidencia de discriminación social basada en las características físicas de las personas, ya sea por el color de la piel, la textura del cabello y las facciones. ¿Qué grupo(s) de personas entiende usted que **son víctimas de discrimen por razones de raza**? Anote todos los grupos de personas que usted entiende pueden ser discriminadas racialmente.

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_
6. \_\_\_\_\_
7. \_\_\_\_\_
8. \_\_\_\_\_
9. \_\_\_\_\_
10. \_\_\_\_\_

5b. ¿Hay algún grupo o grupos racial(es) en Puerto Rico que **NO sufre(n) discriminen racial**?  
¿Cuál o cuáles son?

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_
6. \_\_\_\_\_
7. \_\_\_\_\_
8. \_\_\_\_\_
9. \_\_\_\_\_
10. \_\_\_\_\_

\* La cantidad de etiquetas puede ser mayor o menor que el número de espacios provistos.

6a. En Puerto Rico hay evidencia de que existe el discrimen social basado en el origen étnico (nacional) de las personas. Este discrimen se conoce como xenofobia. ¿Qué grupo(s) de personas entiende usted que son **víctimas de la xenofobia** en Puerto Rico? Anote todos los grupos de personas que usted entiende pueden ser discriminadas en Puerto Rico por razones étnicas.

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_
6. \_\_\_\_\_
7. \_\_\_\_\_
8. \_\_\_\_\_
9. \_\_\_\_\_
10. \_\_\_\_\_

6b. ¿Qué grupos entiende usted que **NO** son víctimas de **xenofobia** en Puerto Rico?

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_
6. \_\_\_\_\_
7. \_\_\_\_\_
8. \_\_\_\_\_
9. \_\_\_\_\_
10. \_\_\_\_\_

\* La cantidad de etiquetas puede ser mayor o menor que el número de espacios provistos



# cuestionario \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix B: Second part of questionnaire

**¿Y cuál de éstas soy yo? : hacia una forma culturalmente arraigada y contextualizada de categorización racial y étnica en Puerto Rico.**

### CUESTIONARIO: PARTE II

Esta parte del cuestionario contiene 6 preguntas. Agradecemos lea la siguiente premisa antes de contestar las preguntas:

Para ser efectivo, el formulario del EEO-1 debe contener términos raciales y étnicos que cumplan con las siguientes características:

- a) Términos conocidos por la mayor parte de la población en Puerto Rico
- b) Términos mutuamente excluyentes (las categorías no deben solaparse)
- c) Términos adecuados para un contexto laboral

Ahora, por favor, vea el formulario EEO-1 ubicado en la última página (pág. 5) de este documento. Estudie la sección D – *Employment data* y observe las categorías que se utilizan en el formulario:

**Hispano/Latino**

**Blanco**

**Negro o Afro-Americano**

**Nativo de Hawai o del Pacífico, Asiático, Indio Americano o Nativo de Alaska**

**Más de una raza**

1. ¿Entiende usted que estas categorías son efectivas o adecuadas\* para documentar el discrimen racial y étnico en el empleo en Puerto Rico? Sí \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

Explique:

2. Si su contestación fue NO, ¿entiende usted que un formulario con categorías más efectivas o adecuadas para Puerto Rico permitiría documentar mejor el problema de discrimen en el empleo en la Isla?

Sí \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

Explique:

Si su contestación a la pregunta 2 fue **NO**, por favor, **entregue el cuestionario**.

Si su contestación a la pregunta 2 fue **SI**, por favor **pase a la próxima página**

*Adecuado* = Categorías apropiadas para la sociedad puertorriqueña

*Efectivo* = Categorías que producen el efecto deseado.

SÓLO PARA LOS QUE CONTESTARON SI A LA PREGUNTA ANTERIOR

3. Teniendo en mente que uno de los objetivos del formulario EEO-1 es documentar el **discrimen racial** en el empleo ¿Cuán efectivos o adecuados entiende usted que serían los siguientes términos para un formulario adaptado a Puerto Rico?

<i>Término</i>	<i>Efectivo o adecuado</i>			<i>Término</i>	<i>Efectivo o adecuado</i>		
	<i>Muy</i>	<i>Regular</i>	<i>Poco</i>		<i>Muy</i>	<i>Regular</i>	<i>Poco</i>
Blanco				Negrito			
Negro				Trigueño			
Trigueño				Indio			
Trigueño claro				Negro de pelo lacio			
Trigueño oscuro				Indígena			
Mulato				Ligado			
Mulato claro				Moreno			
Mulato oscuro				Mestizo			
Jabao				Puertorriqueño			
Prieto				Boricua			
Afro-Puertorriqueño				Mezclado			
Afro-descendiente				Latino			
Euro-descendiente				Hispano			
Euro-Puertorriqueño				Negro perfilado			
Colorao				Canela			
Anglosajón				Moyeto			
Blanquito				Oscuro de Piel			
Rubio de ojos azules				Grifo			
Albino				Papujo			
Jincho				De Color			
Europeo				Rasta			
Caucásico				Achinado			
Cano				Chino			
Claro de Piel				Asiático			

¿Algún otro u otros términos?

- \_\_\_\_\_ Mucho, Regular, Poco
- \_\_\_\_\_ Mucho, Regular, Poco
- \_\_\_\_\_ Mucho, Regular, Poco
- \_\_\_\_\_ Mucho, Regular, Poco
- \_\_\_\_\_ Mucho, Regular, Poco

4. Teniendo en mente que uno de los objetivos del formulario EEO-1 es documentar el discriminación étnica (**xenofobia**) en el empleo ¿Cuán efectivos o adecuados entiende usted que serían los siguientes términos para un formulario adaptado a Puerto Rico?

<b>Término</b>	<b>Mucho</b>	<b>Regular</b>	<b>Poco</b>	<b>Término</b>	<b>Mucho</b>	<b>Regular</b>	<b>Poco</b>
Dominicano				Del Caribe Francés			
Haitiano				Del Caribe Español			
Cubano				Del Caribe Francés			
Jamaiquino				Caribeño			
Hispano				Isleño			
Latino				Norte-Americano			
Latino-Americano				Estadounidense			
Sur-Americano				Americano			
Centro-Americano				Gringo			
Boricua				Español			
Puertorriqueño				Europeo			
Taino				Del Pacífico			
Indígena				Asiático			
Árabe				Chino			
Africano				Japonés			

¿Algún otro u otros términos?

- \_\_\_\_\_ Mucho, Regular, Poco
- \_\_\_\_\_ Mucho, Regular, Poco
- \_\_\_\_\_ Mucho, Regular, Poco
- \_\_\_\_\_ Mucho, Regular, Poco
- \_\_\_\_\_ Mucho, Regular, Poco



## Sección D – Employment data del formulario EEO-1

**Section D-EMPLOYMENT DATA**  
(Report employees in only one category)

Number of Employees  
(Report employees in only one category)

Race/Ethnicity

Total  
Col  
A - N

Job Categories	Hispanic or Latino		Not-Hispanic or Latino										Total Col A - N				
			Male					Female									
	Male	Female	White	Black or African American	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	Asian	American Indian or Alaska Native	Two or more races	White	Black or African American	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	Asian		American Indian or Alaska Native	Two or more races		
Executive/Senior Level Officials and Managers 1.1																	
First/Mid-Level Officials and Managers 1.2																	
Professionals 2																	
Technicians 3																	
Sales Workers 4																	
Administrative Support Workers 5																	
Craft Workers 6																	
Operatives 7																	
Laborers and Helpers 8																	
Service Workers 9																	
TOTAL 10																	
PREVIOUS YEAR TOTAL 11																	

1. Date(s) of payroll period used: \_\_\_\_\_ (Omit on the Consolidated Report.)

**Section E - ESTABLISHMENT INFORMATION** (Omit on the Consolidated Report.)

- What is the major activity of this establishment? (Be specific, i.e., manufacturing steel castings, retail grocer, wholesale plumbing supplies, title insurance, etc. Include the specific type of product or type of service provided, as well as the principal business or industrial activity.)

**Section F - REMARKS**

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**Section G - CERTIFICATION**

- Check  1 All reports are accurate and were prepared in accordance with the instructions. (Check on Consolidated Report only.)
- 2 This report is accurate and was prepared in accordance with the instructions.

Name of Certifying Official	Title	Signature	Date
Name of person to contact regarding this report		Address (Number and Street)	
City and State	Zip Code	Telephone No. (including Area Code and Extension)	Email Address

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# cuestionario\_\_\_\_\_

### Appendix C: Third part of questionnaire

**¿Y cuál de éstas soy yo? : hacia una forma culturalmente arraigada y contextualizada de categorización racial y étnica en Puerto Rico.**

#### CUESTIONARIO: PARTE III - - MEDIDA DE CONSENSO (PARA CONTESTAR LUEGO DE LA DISCUSIÓN)

1. Tomando en cuenta lo discutido, indique con cuál de estas aseveraciones usted está de acuerdo. **Marque sólo una.**

- a. \_\_\_ Reconociendo las limitaciones de este tipo de formulario y los posibles inconvenientes de su implementación, entiendo que en este momento el EEOC **no debe** desarrollar o implementar ningún formulario para Puerto Rico.
- b. \_\_\_ Entiendo que las limitaciones de este tipo de formulario son mínimas pero que el EEOC **no debe** desarrollar ni implementar ningún formulario para Puerto Rico
- c. \_\_\_ A pesar de todas las limitaciones y posibles inconvenientes, entiendo que **es necesario** elaborar un formulario específico para Puerto Rico.
- d. \_\_\_ En entiendo que **es necesario** elaborar un formulario específico para Puerto Rico y que las limitaciones son mínimas.

Explique:

Si su contestación fue la opción **a ó b**, por favor, entregue el cuestionario.  
Si su contestación fue la opción **c ó d**, por favor conteste las preguntas 2 - 6.



## PREGUNTAS SOBRE MÉTODOS DE RECOPIRAR LA INFORMACIÓN

3. Tomando en cuenta lo discutido, ¿Quién cree usted que debe ser la persona más indicada para hacer la **identificación racial** en Puerto Rico? Marque con una **x** las aseveraciones con las que usted esté de acuerdo.

1. \_\_\_ El empleado debe identificarse racialmente en el formulario EEO-1.
2. \_\_\_ El oficial de recursos humanos de la compañía o empresa debe identificar racialmente al empleado y completar esta pregunta del formulario.
3. \_\_\_ El oficial de recursos humanos debe clasificar al empleado racialmente e indicarle su apreciación para ver si está de acuerdo. Si el empleado no está de acuerdo, el oficial debe utilizar la categoría que sugiera el empleado.
4. \_\_\_ Ambos métodos (clasificación por el empleado y clasificación por el patrono) se deben utilizar, pero se debe privilegiar la clasificación del empleado.
5. \_\_\_ Ambos métodos (clasificación por el empleado y clasificación por el patrono) se deben utilizar, pero se debe privilegiar la clasificación del patrono.
6. \_\_\_ ¿Alguna otra alternativa? Explique: \_\_\_\_\_

4. ¿En **qué momento** entiende usted que se le debe solicitar al empleado su **identificación racial y étnica**? Marque con una **x** las aseveraciones con las que usted esté de acuerdo.

1. \_\_\_\_\_ cuando la persona va a solicitar empleo.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ después que la persona ha sido empleada.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ cuando la persona cesa de trabajar en la empresa.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ en las instancias 1 y 2.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ en las instancias 1, 2 y 3

---

5. Por favor, provea cualquier sugerencia adicional que usted entienda pueda ayudar a producir un formulario efectivo y adecuado para documentar el discrimen racial y étnico en el empleo en Puerto Rico.

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