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Cuban-Americans and Mental Health: Cultural Framework and Theoretical Bases of a Preventive/Educational Model

Blanca-Rosa de la Torre Plazas
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CUBAN-AMERICANS AND MENTAL HEALTH: CULTURAL FRAMEWORK

AND THEORETICAL BASES OF A PREVENTIVE/EDUCATIONAL MODEL

by

Blanca-Rosa de la Torre Plazas

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

May

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to modernization in contemporary society as well as to the impact of

the American culture.   Cubans, in spite of their mental health needs

and desire for guidance, do not reach out for help that could facili-

tate the adjustment process.   This appears to be related to their

cultural characteristics and their negative perceptions of the Anglo-

oriented mental health services.   In order to foster bicultural adjust-

ment and harmonious and enriching family relationships, Cuban-Americans

need guidance which can be provided through innovative, effective,

preventive and educational approaches.   They also need to be motivated

to utilize those services through creative and supportive means.

With this in mind, this author: 1. conducted a comprehensive

review of the literature to investigate who is the Cuban-American, and

what are his cultural background, his mental health attitudes and his

problems; 2. compiled and organized the data obtained; 3. developed,

through a qualitative, modified meta-analysis, and synthesis of the

data, a cultural framework which is presented in tabular fashion.   This

framework may serve as a basis for service models as well as a guide

for teaching a course on Cuban-Americans; 4. developed theoretical

bases for the service models grounded on Rogerian and Adlerian

psychotherapeutic aspects and on models, ideas, and approaches tailored to serve Cuban-Americans; 5. developed a preventive service model based on (3) and (4) above. This model has two components: an educational program and an outreach strategy. The first one, namely, Program of Educational Prevention and Enrichment on Wheels (PEPE on Wheels) includes four features: a) it is "on wheels": it goes where the people are; b) it is educational: it provides educational and enriching experiences through Lecture-Demonstration-Discussion-Participation Sessions; c) it is for groups: of individuals or of families which will provide support for each other; d) it is fun: it emphasizes lightheartedness, good humor and an entertaining atmosphere. The second component, the Creative Outreach Strategy through Neighborhood Intermediaries (COSNI) involves a creative approach in recruitment and motivation for attendance to PEPE on Wheels and other preventive programs through the training of Cuban or Hispanic individuals who provide general services to the Cuban community in their own neighborhoods and who are potentially able to provide an effective network for distribution of information and support.

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few years. To him all my love, recognition and gratitude.

-Last but above all, I thank and I praise God "from whom all
blessings flow...."

VITA

The author, Blanca-Rosa de la Torre Plazas, was born on June
24, 1946 in Camagüey, Cuba. She is the oldest daughter of Orlando
de la Torre and Virginia Cabanius de la Torre.

She left Cuba in 1963, lived in Mexico for one year, and moved
to the United States in 1964. She has lived in Chicago for 18 years.
In this city she was married to Carlos Alberto Plazas in 1970 and gave
birth to their three children: Carlos Alberto Jr. 10, David Eduardo
6, and Blanca Rosa 2. She is presently an American citizen.

She received her elementary education from the Salesians Sisters
in Cuba, and her secondary education partially in Cuba's public system,
in Texas and in Chicago where she graduated from Nicholas Senn High
School in June, 1966 as a member of the National Honor Society.

In February, 1971, she was conferred the degree of Bachelor of
Music Education with high honors from DePaul University in Chicago and
in December, 1972, she received her Master's of Science in Education
Degree, with specialization in Educational Therapy and Learning Dis-
abilities from National College of Education in Evanston, Illinois.
Her thesis: "Cultural Characteristics of the Spanish-Speaking: Educa-
tional Implications."

She holds Illinois State Certificates for the teaching of (a)
Music, (b) Learning Disabilities and also in School Psychology. Her
internship in school psychology was done through the Bureau of Child
Study in the Chicago Public Schools.

Professionally, she has been engaged in teaching at the elementary and college levels; in adult education, in counseling and psychological work. She has also been involved in administrative and supervisory capacities as the past director of the Bilingual Institute of Evaluation and Treatment (BINET) in the city of Chicago and as present coordinator of the Senior Evaluation Service at Casa Central's Center Home for the Hispanic Elderly.

Throughout her years in Chicago the author has been involved in multiple religious, artistic and service activities and with groups for the enhancement of the Hispanic community in the city. She has also been a participant in professional and personal growth activities such as conferences, and workshops, and renewal movements such as Marriage Encounter, and Cursillo.

She presently is a member of the Chicago Association of School Psychologists (CASP); the National Association of School Psychologists (NASP) and the National Hispanic Psychological Association (NHPA).

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INTRODUCTION

Statistical as well as qualitative analyses conducted by profes-
sionals from various fields seem to point to the unquestionable fact
that the American family is changing (Bronfenbrenner, 1980; Hohenshil,
Hummel and Maddy-Bernstein, 1980; McAdoo, 1980; Guidubaldi, 1980;
Noble, 1981; Zigler and Seitz, 1980; Hoffman, 1980; Henry, 1980).
Various styles of family life are being substituted for what was once
considered the traditional family. This trend is evident in the
government's change of title from the White House Conference on the
Family to the White House Conference on Families.

Guidubaldi (1980) points to the future of the family with some
degree of pessimism as he offers statistics that indicate the declin-
ing popularity of marriage and of parenting; the decrease of social
supports; the failures in the socialization of children; the increase
of juvenile delinquency; the maternal involvement in the work force;
the reduced time that adults spend with children; and the prominent
place of television in family life. The latter in particularly has
taken the place of family interaction, cutting off communication and
interaction among family members (Bronfenbrenner, 1980).

Hohensil, Hummel, and Maddy-Bernstein (1980) do not see such a
dreary situation as they report that most people still marry, most
people still have children and most children are still being raised
in families. On this positive note, Kagen (1980) also points to an
interesting phenomenon. He indicates that the same forces that

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originally caused the changes in the families -- industrialization
and urbanization -- bringing individuals face to face with isolation
and loneliness, may now be operating to exert a strong influence in
strengthening the family. Human beings, unable to endure depersonaliza-
tion, will return into the family relationships for a sense of self-
worth and self-fulfillment.

In a recent survey conducted by the Gallup Poll, individuals
involved in raising families expressed their opinions regarding the
state of this institution. The results indicated that people are con-
cerned with the deterioration of family life and that most of these
interviewed considered family life as a top priority. They reported
that the family was still the most important element of their lives
(Noble, 1981).

In spite of the positive outlook, it is undeniable that parents,
and especially women, will be under a significant amount of stress
when they try to adjust to new roles without the support of the
extended family and of the institutions in the society in which they
live. This stress is detrimental to their mental health and places a
strain on the marriage relationship and on the relationship with the
children (McAdoo, 1980; Lamb and Bronson, 1980). Because of these
reasons, couples and individuals with children are in great need of
guidance on how to deal with each other and with their children within
their family setting. They need knowledge, skills and support in per-
forming their child-rearing tasks in a more effective and fulfilling
manner (Dreikurs, 1958; Dreikurs and others, 1964, 1968, 1970; Corsini
and Painter, 1975; Henry, 1981). Women are in a very vulnerable

position, especially when they are alone or receive no support or
cooperation from their husbands. The pressures are paramount as they
try to fulfill the triple role of breeder, feeder and producer (McAdoo,
1980). Men have also been affected as many are not prepared and some
are unwilling to change their traditional roles in order to achieve a
balance with the new roles of their wives. All these factors, when
considered, make the need for parent training and family guidance
greater than in the past (Henry, 1981), so that parents can adjust to
the new roles and can learn child rearing procedures to fit these new
circumstances (Guidubaldi, 1980). This training becomes more critical
when the fact is recognized that "... children's development cannot be
optimal in the presence of serious unresolved family problems" (Zigler
and Seitz, 1980:365).

Researchers and professionals for the human services fields are
focusing on the issues pertaining to the family (Bronfenbrenner, 1980).
They want to learn more about it, to understand the changes, the new
patterns and trends in order to be more effective in their service to
families and especially to their children.

In the past, children were mostly studied and treated in isola-
tion. The recent thrust of the social service professions recognizes
the need for ecological approaches that will deal with the child
within his environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1980; Cook, 1980; Szapocznik,
1978, 1980; Canabal-Antokoletz, 1976; Grotberg, 1976). According to
the ecological approach developed by Bronfenbrenner (1980), the family
is identified as part of the upper layer visible in the immediate
setting of the child. Therefore, consideration must be given to the

impact of the family when studying or treating the child.

In order to effectively serve children and their families, professionals and mental health service providers need to be aware and to have an understanding of the various family styles with which they will be confronted. They must know their background, values and attitudes. Their knowledge and understanding of the circumstances of each specific family, together with their acceptance of the individuals in it, may facilitate the family's receptiveness to the guidance provided by the professional.

Statement of the Problem

The Cuban family living in the United States has not been untouched by the changes affecting the American family at large. In spite of their traditional cultural values, many families are experiencing stress due to the changing roles of women and to the new patterns of family life. Furthermore, the problems of the Cuban family are compounded by the difficulties faced in the process of acculturation. In Cuba, the roles of men and women were more traditionally defined; the authority of the father was reinforced by society and by law; the children had to remain under parental authority until they reached adulthood (Mulhare, 1969; Plazas, 1972). Most families were able to function with this authoritarian approach without great crisis because of the societal support received. Now the harmony of this hierarchical approach is threatened as the authoritarian methods of the family are being challenged by the youth who are perceiving democratic values in the surrounding environment of the host society and are no longer willing to conform to the "old ways". Fathers, whose

position in the family was secure, have felt challenged in their tra-
ditional role as breadwinners, as their wives' roles have changed
and their authority is no longer blindly accepted. Parents, not
knowing alternative ways to deal with the situation, resist the
changes by becoming more adamant in their traditions and developing
negative feelings towards the host culture. As children tend to over-
acculturate, in many cases, their parents under-acculturate by becoming
more entrenched in their cultural traditions (Szapocznik, 1980). This
polarization makes the gap between parents and children deeper, causing
friction, strained family relationships, maladjustment in the children,
and eventually, in extreme cases, leading to family disintegration.

It is because the normal problems of family life are being aug-
mented by changes in the structure and functioning of the families as
well as by acculturation-related difficulties, that the Cuban family
is in extreme need of guidance. They must be offered alternative ways
of dealing with family problems and making their relationships more
enriching and meaningful.

Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) studied the process of accultura-
tion and have developed a model which describes various levels in the
process. The level of acculturation reached by the individuals in the
families depends on a number of factors one of which is the nature of
the cultural context in which the family functions. Individuals living
in a monocultural environment will tend to move progressively from
the native culture to integration into the host culture, while
individuals who function in bicultural environments will tend to
acculturate at various levels while retaining many aspects of the

native culture. In studies relating the process of acculturation to mental health, Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) found that individuals and families which function within bicultural environments must become bicultural in order to be optimally adjusted.

Although many Cuban families as a whole have become partially or totally integrated into the American culture, a great number of them continue to be polarized as youth and parents acculturate at extremely different rates. It is important here to bring out the fact that in spite of the difficulties and the desire and need for guidance, Cuban families do not approach mental health service facilities for help until the problems reach critical proportions. This situation seems related to cultural attitudes towards mental health institutions, and has not been greatly improved in spite of the efforts of researchers and mental health providers to develop some models geared to serve some segments of the Cuban population -- the elderly with depression symptoms and families with youth involved in drugs or antisocial behaviors. Strategies have also been developed with the purpose of attracting clients before their situations become critical (Szapocznik and others, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980), but they have met with little success. It seems that Cuban families with the normal problems of family living who are trying to adjust to the changes faced within the family itself and to changes imposed by their functioning in two different cultural environments, are in need of a different approach to serve their needs.

In summary, it can be said that:

1. The Cuban family is faced with changes in its structure and

functioning due to the modernization in contemporary society as well as to the impact of the new culture.

2. In spite of their needs, Cubans are not reaching out for help that could facilitate the adjustment process.

3. It is important that they receive guidance so that they may adjust to a bicultural environment, in a way that will foster harmonious relationships within the family and a compatible incorporation of the positive values that both cultures possess. In this way the family members from children through the elderly will be encouraged to fully develop and utilize the potentiality of all its members and will be able to enjoy enriched relationships that make life worthwhile.

Purposes

In view of the above, the purposes of this study are as follows:

1. To conduct a comprehensive review of the literature in order to collect available data on Cuban Americans regarding culture, acculturation and mental health; and to show through the presentation of the collected information the state of the arts in terms of research and studies on Cubans in the United States.

2. To develop through analysis and organization of the data obtained, the structure of a cultural framework from which models to serve Cubans are and can be derived; as well as theoretical bases grounded on Rogerian and Adlerian ideas and on suggestions from studies related to Cuban-Americans.

3. To develop a preventive/educational approach and an outreach strategy to serve the mental health needs of Cuban individuals and families who reside in the United States.

Procedures

Procedures will be described in terms of the three above pur-
poses and will be presented relative to these. They are: Library
Research, Development of the Cultural Framework and Theoretical Bases,
and Development of the Preventive/Educational Approach and the Out-
reach Strategy.

I. Library Research.

The review of the literature will cover the following aspects:

A. Background, characteristics, attitudes, and values of
Cubans.

B. Demographic characteristics of Cubans in the United States.

C. Cubans and mental health.

1. Acculturation problems and patterns of adjustment in
response to the new society.

2. Mental health problems faced by the family and its
members.

3. Attitudes of Cubans towards mental health services
and facilities.

D. Approaches for the alleviation of mental health problems
developed by researchers and utilized by mental health
practitioners in serving the Cuban population in the
United States.

The Library Research will be presented in Chapters I, III, and
IV. Chapter II will include supplementary information on other Cubans:
those in Cuba, and the most recent arrivals.

II.   Development of the Cultural Framework and Theoretical Bases.

The development of the cultural framework and the theoretical bases will be pursued as two separate sets of tasks.

1.   In the process of developing and establishing relationships, the data will be extracted, summarized, analyzed, synthesized, compared, contrasted and trend- and path analyzed. For the sake of clarity all the information will be presented in tabular form. These tables will provide a framework, which can stand on its own. For easier utilization a Guide to the tables will be provided at the end of the chapter including this analysis. With the purpose of clarity of presentation, specific references will be omitted from the tabular presentation, except in a few cases. Chapters which serve as the main source of information will be indicated. The names of the authors contributing to the ideas will be found in the text of the specified chapters. Full information can be found in the Bibliography.

2.   Ideas and approaches from Carl Rogers and Alfred Adler which could be applicable in terms of the cultural framework and the goals to be attained will also be presented and discussed. These ideas and approaches together with those suggested and developed by various authors in regard to the Cuban population will be considered as the theoretical bases for the strategy and approach to be developed in this dissertation.

III.   Development of the Preventive/Educational Approach and the
        Outreach Strategy.

Based on the Cultural and Theoretical frameworks provided, a preventive/educational model will be developed and described. This

model to serve the mental health needs of Cubans and of many other Hispanics as well, will stress a didactic methodology, and will be directed to a specific segment of the Cuban population.

Based on the same framework, an outreach strategy will be developed and presented. This strategy will be geared to Cubans as well as to other members of the Hispanic population. The goal is to reach out to the Hispanic population in accordance with their characteristics, needs, and attitudes towards traditional mental health services.

Population of Interest

Cubans were selected for the present study for the following reasons:

1. Even though Cubans represent the third largest group of Hispanics in the United States, studies on this population are few. There is certainly a need for research related to this group.

2. Cubans, because of the political circumstances in their country of origin, have little or no choice of return. Although in recent years some have taken the opportunity to visit their relatives in Cuba, the visits have not changed their desire for continued permanent residency in the United States. Some have become American citizens. Many whose children were born in Cuba have raised them in this country, while others have had children both born and raised on American soil. Most Cubans are here to stay. Because of this, it is important for them to be able to adjust to the new society and at the same time to be able to preserve the "historical past" embedded in their language and culture.

3. Cuban parents have tended to be overprotective of their children (Mulhare, 1969). In the face of a strange culture, this tendency may become accentuated in a struggle to defend the children from what are believed to be the evils of the American society. The children and youth complain about the parental obstacles to their new found independence which they are not prepared to handle. Parents and children experience mutual alienation, misunderstandings and strained relationships. Both are in great need of guidance.

4. The author of this study has a special interest in this group because of her own Cuban ethnic heritage.

Definition of Terms

The terms utilized in the title of this study and in the explanation of its purpose will be defined below in relation to their meaning in the context of this study.

Model: Refers to a set of guidelines and suggestions for a program to be implemented with Cuban families residing in the United States. The program will be considered a model, because to the knowledge of this author, no program of this type seems to be in existence. It is hoped that this model may serve as guide and inspiration to others who work with Cubans or with other Hispanic populations.

Educational: Refers to the characteristics of the model which will emphasize its teaching approach rather than a clinical one. It refers to its aspects of providing guidance, knowledge and skills in a direct manner. It also points to the ideal of the desired setting being one that characterizes a learning atmosphere rather than a clinical one.

Preventive: Refers to the characteristics of the model which will emphasize reaching families before their problems become critical; providing them with the necessary skills to deal with the every day problems of child-rearing, family relationships, and the acculturation process; training them in identifying the situations in which they need help; and motivating them to look for professional assistance when necessary.

Mental Health Problems: Refers to problems of family living as well as to problems of acculturation that are affecting the smooth functioning of the members of the family. In many cases both are intermingled.

Problems of family living: refers to problems that hinder the growth and development of its young members and which are an obstacle to the satisfaction and enjoyment that can be derived from harmonious family life. They impose pressures upon all or some of its members causing dysfunctional relationships that threaten the mental health of the individuals in the family.

Problems of Acculturation: refers to problems that seem to be caused or accentuated by real or perceived conflicting cultural values. These conflicts are due to the pressures felt and to the responses given to the two cultures within which the individuals and the families must function.

Strengths

The strengths of this study are based on the thrust that professionals and researchers are presently giving to the need of studying the family and the changes that it is undergoing; to the need for

guidance that the contemporary families are experiencing in the face of changes in structure, roles, and values; and to the need for developing preventive approaches to serve the mental health needs of the families and their members (Bronfenbrenner, 1980; Hohenshil, Hummel and Maddy-Bernstein, 1980; McAdoo, 1980; Guidubaldi, 1981; Noble, 1981; Zigler and Seitz, 1980; Henry, 1980; Kagan, 1980). In regard to the need for developing preventive approaches McAdoo (1980) reports that the delegates to the three White House Conferences on Families held in the summer of 1980, strongly recommended prevention in mental health. They "... felt that the stresses of contemporary living were causing family members to seek relief through addictive behaviors" (McAdoo, p. 15).

In addition to the general thrust for the study of the American families, researchers and professionals who participated in the Bilingual/Bicultural Early Childhood Development Research Workshop in February of 1976 (Proceedings, 1976) gave recommendations for research priorities and foci in relation to the Hispanic child. Some of their recommendations that give support to the present study are as follows:

1. There is a need to center studies around the Hispanic child and his total environment which includes family and community as well.

2. Hispanic families and societal institutions must change in order to enhance the development of the child.

3. The Hispanic family needs guidance because it has the greatest effect on the child.

4. It is important to study the socialization patterns of the

Hispanic families and the changes they are undergoing. These patterns
are essential to the "process of developing adaptive behavior patterns
in the culture" (Schaefer, 1976, p. 25).

5. It is also necessary to study the nature of the father-mother,
father-child and mother-child relationships so that the process of
socialization can be understood.

6. It is essential to focus on family support systems as they
are of utmost importance for the healthy survival of the family.

7. Socio-ecological approaches which stress the individual's
interaction with his social and cultural environment must be pursued.

8. Hispanic groups must be studied separately because of dif-
ferences in their respective backgrounds.

During the decade of the 1980's it is expected that Hispanics
will become the largest minority in the United States (Time, 16
October, 1978; Lucas, 1978, Nicastro, 1980). Cubans are in the third
largest group within the Hispanic minority. Their numbers, as well
as the impact of their presence in this country, needs and merits
the attention of researchers. Reasons that support the direction of
the present study, in view of the needs of the Cuban population, were
given in the section on population of interest.

Regarding the educational aspect of the model to be developed by
this author, it seems appropriate to point to the support that this
approach receives from the literature. In a recent article on the
current dimensions of parent training, Henry (1981) points out that
because parents have now less time available to parent their children,
they need to parent more effectively in order to have the same impact.

This seems to lead to the conclusion that "... there may well be a greater need for parent training today than in the past" (p. 5).

Limitations

It could be argued that this study lacks the field-experimental component that will validate its premises in the development of the model. The choice of a library-research approach was considered necessary because it is essential to begin with a survey of the literature which will compile available information on Cubans in the United States, especially literature related to their mental health. Subsequently, and based on this information, the author will proceed to propose and develop a model to serve the needs of this population. The importance of this type of study has been emphasized by individuals in the field of applied developmental psychology; Elkind (in Wentlieb, 1979), among others, has pointed out that when psychology has tried to model after physics by becoming an experimental discipline "... it tried to mechanize, and in so doing, it skipped its natural history stage of inquiry, observation and careful documentation. Experimentation ought to be a goal of science, not its starting point" (p. 10). The survey of available literature, and the development of the cultural and the theoretical framework and the model are the essence of this dissertation. To test the effectiveness of the model in the field is beyond the scope of this study and will be suggested as future research.

Even though one of the strong points of this study is its concentration on only one specific group of Hispanics, namely, the Cubans, some individuals may suggest that this narrow focus will render the

model less useful in areas or cities like Chicago, where the number and variety of other Hispanic groups will make it difficult to concentrate forces to serve the Cubans only, disregarding other Hispanic nationalities. Although Hispanic groups in the United States differ in many ways, they are still Hispanics, and many cultural characteristics can be pinpointed as common denominators (Plazas, 1972). The probability that many aspects of the model might be applicable to other Hispanic groups is great since Hispanic families in general are dealing with many of the same family problems and similar acculturation difficulties. In the final Summary and Conclusions the implications of this model for other Hispanics will be discussed.

Another aspect of this study that may raise some questions, is the lack of emphasis on the segment of the Cuban population that arrived within the last year (1980-1981) and which amounted to 124,789 (Cuban/Haitian Task Force Report, April 30, 1981). Even though this group will be mentioned in Chapter II, it has otherwise been excluded from this study, purposely. The reasons are as follows: There has not been enough time yet to permit the study and the accumulation of data on this group. Even though many came to join their families, many others were sent by the Cuban government. The motivation and expectations of the latter group cannot be compared to that of the Cubans who emigrated during the first years of the Castro regime. Furthermore, a majority of the newcomers were male and single. The focus of this study is on the family. Due to these differences and many others, the problems and difficulties that these Cubans are

facing might be of a different nature and should be addressed separately.

Lastly, questions may be raised regarding the choices made of the two traditional personality and psychotherapeutic approaches to be analyzed and utilized for the development of the model, and their relevance for the Cuban population. Some explanations follow: The Rogerian and Adlerian theories are widely recognized and accepted in the professional world. Both are founded on concepts that are applicable to all human beings regardless of culture. They emphasize respect for and trust in the individual; they believe in his/her capacity to choose goodness, to move towards self-actualization and to be a creative and productive member of his/her society. Both theories possess many universal principles. In addition, and pertinent to the purpose of this study, is that both theories have been applied in one way or another to educational endeavors. Adlerians, in particular, have developed applications directly related to parental education for child rearing and family life (Henry, 1981; Dreikurs, 1958; Dreikurs and others, 1964, 1968, 1970, 1974; Corsini, 1975; Mosak in Corsini, 1979; Dinkmeyer, 1976). The Rogerian, person-centered approach "... is theoretically applicable to any relationship where the persons want to understand each other and want to be understood..." (Meador and Rogers in Corsini, 1979, p. 11). Among many other applications, it has been used successfully to reduce tensions in groups where polarized situations are present (Meador and Rogers in Corsini, 1979). Both theories seem to have aspects to contribute to the welfare of the Cuban family.

The fact that the model will be based to some extent on aspects

of these two theoretical approaches might encourage and facilitate the work of the therapists who already have a knowledge of these theories. They will be given guidelines for its application to the Cuban family, and of those aspects which may not necessarily match with the characteristics of the Cuban culture.

Even though some researchers are in favor of the development of models appropriate to the characteristics of the population to be served (Hunt, 1960; Lorion, 1974; Magaro, 1969 in Szapocznik, 1978 and Szapocznik and others, 1978, 1979), others tend to support the idea of teaching clients to profit from traditional therapies (Gould, 1967; Heitler, 1976; Orne and Wender, 1968; Terestman, Miller and Weber, 1974, in Szapocznik, 1978). It is the intention of the present study to combine both approaches in an innovative way. Two traditional approaches will be analyzed for their applications to the population being studied. The characteristics of the population will be seriously taken into consideration, but the goal of healthy adaptation to the new society will also become clear as the model takes shape.

Organization

This study will be composed of three main parts. Part A will include the review of the related literature in the following areas: General Background and Characteristics of Cubans; Cubans in the United States (1959 - Present: history, demographic profile, problems of adjustment of the family in relation to the cultural context); and Cubans and Mental Health. Part B will focus on the development of the cultural and theoretical frameworks. It will present and discuss the bases, namely, the cultural milieu presented in the review of the

literature and the theoretical framework based on the Rogerian and
Adlerian ideas and those suggested and developed by researchers working
with Cubans. The applicability of the aspects of the two selected
traditional approaches will also be examined. The model to be
extracted from those theories will be then presented in Part C.
Each part will include a portion on methodology and
procedures.

Summary

Families are definitely changing in American, as they are bom-
barded by economic as well as varied societal pressures which impinge
upon individuals. Many parents are under a great amount of stress
trying to adjust to new and multiple roles and trying to respond to
each other and/or to their children under the demands of those pres-
sures. In their efforts and struggles many parents lack the appropriate
familial and societal supports that would make the transition smooth
and without or with minimal detrimental effects. Inevitably and
unfortunately, the tensions of the adults tend to backfire on the
children, obstructing their healthy development. Somehow, ways must
be found to implement ideas and programs that will aid and support the
struggling families.

The Cuban families are no exception. Current societal trends
and pressures have also affected them. Moreover, for the majority of
these families the changes have seemed more abrupt because their new
country of residence differs from their country of birth, in language
as well as in societal emphasis on values. The country of birth, at
the time of their residence in it, had a society which was supportive

of the traditional family, of its roles and functions. The host society, on the other hand, is itself in the midst of accelerated change, and it fosters and tolerates a variety of life styles and values that become confusing and are disconcerting to the newcomers. The host society at large attempts to function on democratic bases that have not necessarily been incorporated totally into the functioning of the American family. Yet, it presents a challenge for foreign families who are accustomed to function in hierarchical and authoritarian ways, receiving the support of their respective societies.

Cuban families, similar to other families in America, confront problems in the relationship among their members. They are in great need of guidance and support as they struggle for survival and adjustment in a different society. Family problems are accentuated as a result of the various levels of acculturation acquired by its individual members. While many children and youth tend to overacculturate, many parents in response, underacculturate (Szapocznik, 1980). Therefore, the gap between the generations becomes wider and deeper.

It is hypothesized that because of culturally-related attitudes, the Cuban families do not seek help from mental health professionals and institutions, until crisis of some kind ensues. Mental health providers have had difficulties in attracting the Cuban population for services in less critical situations.

It is because of the needs of the Cuban families and their apparent reluctance or apprehensiveness to seek help, that this author is proposing to develop a preventive-educational approach, that might be more appealing to the Cuban population and at the same time may

deal with their problems in a more effective manner. Families which are not necessarily in crisis but are in need of guidance will greatly benefit from the acquisition of knowledge and skills that will improve their family relations, diminish their tensions and help to facilitate their adaptation and functioning in a bicultural environment.

The purposes of this study are: through library-research procedure, to present the state of the arts in terms of research and studies on Cubans in the United States; to develop a cultural framework from which models to serve Cubans may be derived; to develop a theoretical framework as the bases of the model, and to develop a model based on all of the above to serve to the mental health needs of Cubans in a preventive educational manner.

PART A

Part A

LIBRARY RESEARCH: REVIEW, COMPILATION, AND ORGANIZATION OF THE LITERATURE

Methodology

The steps which were followed in the initial portion of this study represents its first contribution, namely, the review of the literature on Cuban-Americans and their mental health, and the compilation and organization of this material to present the state of the art in terms of the chosen subject.

1. A thorough search, examination and analysis of the literature on Cuban-Americans (or Cubans in the United States) was conducted. The materials included not only studies dealing with mental health but with other aspects of Cuban life and character. What was available ranged from newspaper articles, to scientific journal reports, master's theses, doctoral dissertations, unpublished reports, books and drafts of conferences and oral presentations.

2. Additional current information was also gathered through informal interviews and conversations held by this writer with professionals and paraprofessionals working with Cuban individuals in Chicago and in Miami, as well as with Cuban families who are experiencing life in exile and whose point of view was of importance to enhance as well as to support the information obtained from the library research.

3. Since the findings did not yield enough homogeneity in the topics studied, this writer decided that a meta-analysis

such as the one suggested by Glass (1979), could not be con-
ducted at least from a statistical angle. However, it was
decided that a modified meta-analysis could be conducted in
a qualitative sense, interpreting meta-analysis in a wider
perspective. Therefore, in order to prepare the data for
such an analysis, this writer decided to organize all the
information obtained in a sequential, historical fashion.
This would permit clarity in the subsequent analysis of the
data.

4. Since the mental health problems of Cubans are in many cases
closely tied to their difficulties in the acculturation pro-
cess, it was considered necessary to also include in the
review, studies related to the acculturation of Cubans.

5. Because acculturation involves a movement from one culture
to another, it was also considered of importance to explore
the cultural characteristics of Cubans by going even further
back into the origins of their roots. Thus, findings were
organized according to a historical time line, culminating
with facets of change endured by Cubans, aspects of the
acculturation process, and mental health problems and
dimensions. It is important for both the general reader
and mental health service personnel to have as complete a
picture as possible to aid in their understanding of Cubans.
Based on this knowledge, the latter should be able to provide
the most appropriate and effective services.

6. In Chapters I-IV the reviewed, compiled and organized raw

data is presented. The explanation of the organizational plan followed for each chapter will appear below under Procedures.

Procedures

Chapter I

Chapter I begins with an exposition of the general background of the Cuban culture and its main ingredients, and it concludes with a description of the Cuban character. Chapter I was organized to show, first, the historical, ethnic, and cultural influences that shaped the Cuban character: the Pre-Columbian, the Spanish, the African, and the American heritages. These were identified as having influenced the Cuban character. Of the four, the Spanish and African were found to be the most influential and the ones that led to important blends in the culture.

After the cultural roots were traced and the various degrees of influences were established, this author organized the pertinent literature to present a composite picture of the Cuban before the advent of the communist government of Castro in Cuba. The reason for this choice stemmed from the fact that the Cuban Revolution of 1959 marked a sharp turning point in the history of Cuba and it was responsible for the Cuban exodus to the U.S.A. Cubans who came to the U.S.A. in the early years (approximately the first 9 to 12 years of the revolution) stopped being "Cubans in Cuba" at the point of exit. The cultural roots and patterns of behavior in terms of their country of origin froze at that point, to undergo various degrees of

forward or backward change when in contact with the American culture.
Cuban-Americans, who are the subject of this study were Cubans in Cuba
until their date of departure, and their cultural roots as Cubans can
be best identified as Pre-Castro, since after Castro, the Cuban social
system underwent great changes which Cuban-Americans resisted while
still in Cuba and which for many became the main reason for their
departure.

It was important, then, to establish who is the Cuban-American
in terms of cultural roots and cultural status at the time of entrance
in U.S.A. In order to understand the changes undergone and to clarify
the reasons for their mental health problems Chapter I, then, tells
the reader through a review of the literature who the Pre-Castro Cuban
is and where he/she came from in terms of cultural influences.

Chapter II

After the Chapter above had been presented, this author determined
to show the readers the facets of change undergone by Pre-Castro Cubans.
Looking in retrospective, three groups were identified: the Cubans who
stayed in Cuba after the Revolution and are still there; the Cubans
who stayed there for approximately 20 years and are now in the U.S.A.,
and the group which left Cuba during the first decade of the Revolution
and has been in the United States since then. The members of the
latter group are identified in this study as Cuban-Americans.

Even though this study was to concentrate on this latter group,
it was considered important to present, even though in a somewhat
general fashion, a picture of the other two groups in order to have
an overall view of Cubans. There are more Cubans in Cuba than in the

U.S.A. They are still Cubans and some mention of them should be made. The group of Cubans in Cuba who left their country in the 1980's could not be ignored either since they represent a numerous group which made the head lines in this country for a while.

The present dissertation did not pretend to study these two groups in depth. This is a subject for separate research studies to be addressed elsewhere. But to ignore their existence was not considered appropriate for the purpose of obtaining a picture of all Cubans and of the changes they have undergone. Thus, in spite of the limited literature available in this area a brief presentation appears in Chapter II which refers to the changes in the cultural environment of Cubans in Cuba and to a description of characteristics of the "New Cuban Exiles" or those arriving in the period of 1979-1981.

Chapter III

In Chapter III the group referred to as Cuban-Americans is described. This group (those exiles of the earlier years of the Revolution) are the Pre-Castro Cubans who came to the United States and who are the main target of this study. They represent the other facet of change: A group which undergoes change when in contact with a foreign environment. In this chapter, after a brief history of the exodus and some statistical and demographic information on the group, the characteristics which have been studied by a number of authors are presented. The characteristics do not necessarily encompass all of those described in Chapter I, but are those which could be extracted from the literature reviewed. This chapter (III) attempts to describe the Cuban-Americans in terms of their characteristics in the U.S.A. as

well as to present their movement in the process of acculturation. From this chapter the reader may obtain a picture of the Cuban-American in the U.S.A.; the influence the American cultural system has had on them, and viceversa. (For example their impact on the city of Miami.)

Chapter IV

Continuing with the subject of Cuban-Americans, for Chapter IV, this writer searched the literature which pertains to mental health issues and organized all studies found in the following manner: First, a presentation of facts and issues regarding Cuban-Americans and mental health was done followed by a description of problems that the Cuban family faces in exile. Secondly, since the topics of the studies were varied and encompassed a wide range of areas, they were organized according to the target populations. Thus, all studies which referred to the Cuban family in general, to women/mothers, to men/ fathers, to children, adolescents, college students, and the elderly were presented under those specific headings.

In addition to the above, it was considered important to present the views, reactions and attitudes of Cuban-Americans towards mental health when in Cuba and then in the U.S.A. Their utilization of mental health services in the U.S.A. is to a great degree influenced by their cultural views and attitudes towards the subject and this has to be considered in approaching Cubans in relation to mental health services. Chapter IV ends with a review of studies which present mental health models and approaches suggested and/or actually in use with Cuban-Americans in the U.S.A.

Part A, the review, compilation and organization of the literature was an integral and essential first stage of this study. It establishes the state of the art in terms of Cuban-Americans and their mental health. With this purpose in mind it digs into their cultural adjustment, their characteristics in U.S.A. and even further back into their pre-Castro characteristics and their cultural roots. No clear understanding was considered possible without this organizational effort.

According to Glass "... a good review is the intellectual equivalent of original research" (1979:4). The organization, the integration and extraction of knowledge from a wide body of literature is considered not only worthwhile but an essential type of research in itself for it contributes to the understanding of large numbers of data.

CHAPTER I

THE CUBANS: GENERAL BACKGROUND AND CHARACTERISTICS

The purposes of this chapter are: first, to present some of the
important historical and ethnic aspects which have influenced or
shaped the formation of the Cuban character, and, secondly, to
describe the socio-cultural and personal characteristics of the Pre-
Castro Cuban with emphasis being placed on the individuals who left
their country during the early years of the revolution. Heretofore,
these will be referred to as Cuban-Americans.

The aspects and characteristics described in this second part
will refer to the underlying ethos possessed by individuals reared
within or under the influence of the Pre-Castro socio-cultural context.

Historical Origin: Ethnic Composition and Cultural Influences

A number of authors (Mulhare, 1969; Masó, 1976; Thomas, 1971;
Plazas, 1972; Alum and Manteiga, 1977) have pointed to the convergence
of various cultural streams in the formation of the Cuban identity.
They were the pre-Columbian, the Spanish, the African, and the American.
Of these the most important seem to have been the Spanish and the
African heritages, both of which became predominant in the culture.
The pre-Columbian and American heritages also contributed although to
a lesser extent.

The Pre-Columbian Heritage

When Christopher Columbus discovered Cuba in 1492, the island

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was inhabited by natives whom Columbus called Indians. These natives were the Tainos, the Ciboneys and the Guanacabeys, groups of peaceful individuals who were mostly dedicated to the cultivation of the land and fishing. Their civilization was simple. Even though it was believed that the Tainos were the most advanced, the Ciboneys were the most numerous and representative of the Cuban population at the time of the conquest.

These native Cuban inhabitants were easily overpowered by the Spaniards, who forced them into hard work. Not being physically fit for slavery, and having fallen victims of various illnesses brought by the conquistadors to the New Continent, the Cuban "indians" began to disappear, becoming extinguished or almost totally extinguished in less than two hundred years (Bolet, 1975). Masó (1976) in his extensive History of Cuba adds other reasons as being responsible for the decline of the Ciboney population in the island. He states that in addition to the natives' lack of immunity for the European viruses and the hard work per se, these Cuban inhabitants, by being forced to change their way of life, were overcome by indifference and by a loss of motivation and lack of zest for living. Many preferred to kill their families and/or to commit suicide before being subjugated to the Spanish masters. Masó also reports that there was a mixing of the two races, through which the distinctive racial characteristics of the natives gradually disappeared, thus becoming absorbed by the dominant group.

Even though in the pre-Castro era the extinction of the primitive inhabitants of Cuba was stated as a fact, with the advent of the

revolutionary government this historical situation became a contro-
versial issue. Castro's agents restated with conviction that they
had first-hand information regarding the existence of some descendants
of the native inhabitants of Cuba who lived in the easternmost part
of the country. Saura (1981), who has closely worked with Cubans
who arrived in the United States during the past two years testifies
to the fact that some of these newcomers have claimed to be descendants
of the Cuban "indians". It is not very important for the purpose of
this study whether these claims are valid or not. What is worthy of
recognition is the fact that some features characteristic of the
native population appear presently in the Cuban culture. Masó reports
that the most tangible aspects are related to language, eating habits
and the family unit. Many words from the Lucahio language of the
Ciboneys were integrated into the Spanish language and are still
being used. Cubans have retained in their present-day vocabulary
names of towns, places, flowers and plants, animals and hardware
which are "indian" in origin. The eating habits of Cubans today still
reflect the native influence in the types of vegetables consumed. The
yucca, for instance, a root eaten like potatoes, from which cassava
(a kind of granular bread) is made, is very common and is considered
a typical dish in the Cuban diet. Other characteristics of the
Ciboneys were their family unity and their love and conjugal fidelity.
These attitudes are believed to have influenced their decision to
sacrificing their families instead of submitting their wives and
children to the whims of the Spaniards. It is difficult to determine
if these family values had any specific and noticeable influence in

the shaping of the Cuban character, since family-related attitudes similar in some ways, but completely different in others, were imposed mostly by the dominant Hispanic culture.

The Spanish Heritage

The "Spanish way of life" from the late 15th to the early years of the 19th century was transmitted to all the lands of the new continent conquered by the mother country, Spain. This fact has given cultural unity to Hispanic America. Foster states that the traits of the present Spanish culture were manifested in "... the character, personality, personal habits, and beliefs of the first conquistadors and the later settlers who came to America" (1960:2). The specific components of the socio-cultural Spanish legacy brought to Cuba as well as to the rest of the Hispanic countries will be subsequently presented and described.

Language

The language brought to the New World by the Spanish conquerors was the one spoken in Spain in the 15th century. As the language came in contact with the different environments of each individual colony or groups already existing there, it grew and developed in slightly different directions taking the flavor characteristic of each region and its inhabitants. The Spanish spoken by the Cubans is highly idiomatic and full of elliptical expressions. The accent is distinctively that of the Caribbean and reminiscent of the Spanish from Andalucia, Spain (MacGaffey, Wyatt and Clifford in Plazas, 1972). In formal occasions and in writing, however, the Spanish used by educated individuals is expressed in the appropriate academic style.

Religion

Also from Spain was the Roman Catholic religion brought to
Hispanic America. As an integral part of it came the cult of the
Virgin Mary, which was to occupy a central place in the religious
practices; the celebration of many saints' day which were observed in
similar fashion; and the traditional attendance at the Sunday Mass
(Foster, 1960). Conquistadors and missionaries had great interest in
and applied themselves with great zest to territorial and religious
conquests. Christianization within the framework of the Catholic
faith was among their uppermost goals. However, the Catholicism they
taught to America was somewhat purged of those practices in Spain
which were considered "fringe". In other words, missionaries took
the opportunity to leave out pagan influences that had contaminated
Spain's religion in the past in order to give to the primitive inhabi-
tants a purified Catholicism. Paradoxically, this "purity" was later
to be "contaminated" again by other non-Christian influences of a dif-
ferent sort. It seems that to facilitate conversions the new "fringe"
practices were never openly opposed.

The Catholic religion in Hispanic America has a community
character. Most public or group manifestations are performed to follow
traditions rather than to respond to internal convictions. Even though
the individual may rarely attend church and may never be involved as
an active member, calling himself/herself a "Catholic" appears to
give him/her a sense of identity in belonging to a "Catholic people".

Religious practices are greatly influenced by the Hispanic
characteristic of personalism. Establishing a "personal" relationship

with the saints, the Virgin and with various manifestations of the Lord is extremely common in the religion of the Hispanic. It has been said, that the religion of the Hispanic in general and of the Cuban in particular, is a religion of intercession, not of salvation (Mulhare, 1969). There is a kind of closed friendship between the person and his/her saints. They are the objects of a number of personal devotions and are expected in return to intercede before God and grant the requested favors (Plazas, 1972).

Traditional Values

Political, social and personal aspects. "Culture can be defined as a way of life, a design for living, that consists of the attitudes, beliefs, practices, patterns of behavior, and institutions that a group has developed in response to particular conditions in order to survive" (Johnson, 1970:30). By values, it is understood, "that corpus of internalized conceptions of the desirable patterns shared by the members of a culture" (Albert, 1976; Kluckhorn and Strodbeck, 1961; and Smith and Roberts, (n.d.a.), in Alum and Manteiga, 1977:11).

Having defined culture and values, the traditional values of the Spanish culture which have been transmitted to Hispanic Americans including Cubans will be presented and described. Since the same values seem to transpire through the various aspects of the life of a people, they will be discussed in an integrated fashion while their specific influence in the various areas will be pointed out.

The dignity of the person. This refers, not to the dignity of social position or of office, but to the inner integrity or worth every person is supposed to have originally, just for being a member of

humanity and which he is supposed to guard with jealousy (Gillin, 1965 in Mulhare, 1969) and preserve at all costs (Foster, 1960). It is closely associated with the sense of respect and also related to the emphasis on the uniqueness of every human being. This uniqueness is referred to as personalism and it emphasizes the differences rather than the equality among human beings (Mulhare, 1969).

Respeto. This word means respect in two dimensions: for one-self and for others. Self-respect is understood as the individual's freedom to find his own identity; his/her right to a true self and to self-actualization. Respect for others refers to the quality of being open to the guidance and direction from those who are respected and loved. Earning the respect of others is greatly emphasized. This is why so much importance is given to how others view the individual (Ayala-Vazquez, 1979). To keep that respect one must also save face. If one allows others to see his/her weaknesses, the cost might entail a loss of respect (de la Torre, 1980).

Personalism. This is one of the most basic values of the Hispanic culture. Many of the patterns of behavior displayed by Hispanics are derived from this concept. Every person, no matter what his/her socio-economic position, has a sense of personal dignity and expects proper respect to be shown him/her by others. This high emphasis upon personalism in relationships makes individuals trust and rely more on persons than on organizations or systems. The Hispanic looks for warmth, respect and personal contact in every relationship. In most occasions he/she pleads for his/her case or situation as being unique. He/she deserves to receive deferential

treatment, and to be granted special privileges or exemptions (Plazas, 1972). In government as well as in business, personalism is present in the tendency to look for effective personal working relationships with the right people.

Individualism. Foster refers to this Hispanic value in the following manner: "In spite of, or perhaps because of, a long authoritarian tradition in Church and State, laws and regulations often are considered things to be avoided, and satisfaction is taken in an individualism and a freedom of spirit and action which sometimes approaches anarchy" (1960:4). Individualism also becomes manifest through traditions of national and personal pride, which are often misperceived by outsiders as haughtiness (Alum and Manteiga, 1977; Foster, 1960).

Idealism and the sense of the primary of the spiritual. Hispanics favor idealism over materialism; humanism over scientism. They place emphasis on the "Catholic Ethic", on the spiritual, on the transcendental values, and the ultimate destiny of man (Mulhare, 1969). Gillin defines idealism as a definite component of the Hispanic ethos, referring to it as "... the yearning for the idea, the concept, the word, the creative interpretation" (1965, in Mulhare 1969:47). Hispanics tend to give priority to ultimate spiritual goals and they are willing to sacrifice material satisfactions for these (Fantini and Weinstein, 1968; Fitzpatrick, 1971 in Plazas, 1972).

Fatalism. This term refers to an elemental fear of the sacred, related to the Divine Providence. It is expressed in everyday life in phrases such as "si Dios quiere" (if God wills or God willing), "que será, será" (what will be will be), and in a general acceptance

of many events as inevitable. The sense of personal guilt for failure
is reduced by blaming destiny when things go wrong. "I just had bad
luck, that's all" (Plazas, 1972).

Ayala-Vazquez attributes to Hispanic females, a type of personality
that possesses as one of its main components, an ascriptive quality.
This meaning that they "... trace their problems to outside factors
but are not always able to recognize or accept a more determinant
role in the management of their lives" (1979:16).

Sense of Hierarchy. It is believed that traditionally, many
Hispanics have had a hierarchical conception of the world and that
many of them have not considered the possibility of moving out of the
class or position where they were born. However, education and leader-
ship has brought and is bringing a new sense of awareness to many who
are no longer conforming and who are striving for better ways of
life (Plazas, 1972). This sense of hierarchy is present in the social
class stratification which is based, not in the distribution of
income, "but rather on the manipulation of symbols and activities"
(Mulhare, 1969:53). Mulhare also states that power and prestige need
not be correlated with wealth and that in many cases, distinctions
need to be made between the power-prestige and the work-wealth sectors.

Foster (1960) emphasizes that most of Hispanic America is still
characterized by fairly inflexible social classes, even though the
pattern is presently weakening. He adds that these hierarchical
social patterns were derived from the justification the Catholic
Church had for this type of tight class system during the Middle Ages
and from the establishment of rulers who were technologically or war-

like superior to the conquered group (Foster, 1960).

Sentiment. This is the closest, although not exactly the best, translation for the Spanish word "sentimiento". When Hispanics refer to it by saying that someone has good or bad sentiments, they are pointing to an inner condition of the individual which, when positive, implies compassion, love, consideration, tenderness and kindness toward other human beings, especially those of one's own family (Mulhare, 1969). It is a special empathy which is to be appropriately demonstrated in social situations. When someone fails in this area, he/she is not socially accepted. To have bad sentiments against your own kin is one of the most serious faults a person can have. It makes him/her not worthy of belonging to the human race.

Leadership and power. Leadership is very important for Hispanics who tend to follow a leader rather than to adjust to a system. This is true in politics as well as in religion and other societal contexts. In many Hispanic countries democratic forms of government exist, at least in constitutions and in the written legal system, but in actual functioning the understanding of democracy is very different from that of the Anglo-Saxons. The political caudillo is some one who has exhibited strength of character and his/her power is respected and desired, even though authority in general may be flouted. It is expected that the leader will assume the responsibility of providing wise leadership. At the same time he/she should serve his followers. The caudillo has great power. This power along with his respect and leadership becomes highly personified. Through the possession of power an individual can earn respect. This might be why it is greatly

desired (Foster, 1960; Ayala-Vazquez, 1979).

Nepotism and favoritism. These are tendencies to favor relatives and close friends by granting them benefits or giving them positions or jobs regardless of their qualifications or efficiency. In many places this behavior is socially expected of the member of the family who gets to a higher position or public office (Plazas, 1972).

Responsibility. In the same way that the leader is expected to be responsible, responsibility is also expected from every individual in terms of self and others. One must assume responsibility even when it is not demanded. Ayala-Vazquez points out what this responsibility entails. She specifies that the individual must learn about and know "... who has respect (respeto), who the leaders are, and who holds the power in the group ..." so that he/she can become aware of what his/her position is and what to do to maintain it (Ayala-Vazquez, 1979:117).

Loyalty. According to Ayala-Vazquez, Hispanics give loyalty to family first, and then to friends and those who have earned respect. Because of this order of priorities as well as because of the values of the sentiment and respect, Hispanics give pre-eminence to the family, toward which there is an owed loyalty and a deep sense of family obligation and responsibility (Plazas, 1972).

Work ethics. Foster (1960) points out that Hispanics in general consider work as a necessary evil, something that must be done in order to live. Work is valued by the results it brings in terms of the monetary reward, because this in turn makes it possible to enjoy life (Alum and Manteiga, 1977). To be someday free from monetary worries and work has made public lotteries very popular in Hispanic

countries (Foster, 1960). Life must be lived. One must not become a slave of work. Because of this work philosophy, intellectual output is more valued than manual output.

Values and Attitudes Related to Male-Female Relationships

Foster (1960) and Plazas (1972) point to the strong influence of the Spanish inheritance of values regarding the superior authority of men in society and the secondary or subordinate role that most women have played since the conquerors arrived in the 15th century. The double standard of morality is a pattern of social behavior that has tended to give men great freedom in their social interactions while it has overly protected the women. This overprotection is the consequence of the Cult of Virginity. Courting patterns and marriage rules reveal Spanish influence as well (Foster, 1960).

In her anthropological study on Sexual Ideology in Pre-Castro Cuba, Mulhare (1969) discusses the expectations of the Cuban society regarding the sexual behavior of the male (el macho) and the female (la hembra), and in relation to each other. These characteristics, although presented specifically in terms of the Cuban population are attributed to the Spanish heritage. Mulhare deals with culture as a system of expectations; the information to follow has been extracted from Mulhare's work.

Mulhare classifies the socio-sexual behaviors into three categories: The Ethnophysiological, the Ethnopsychological and the Ethno-ethical. She describes them and refers to them as existing for the male and female at the opposite extremes of a range of sexually determined human behaviors. For both sexes, such behaviors are

considered normal and healthy ways of responding to the cultural context. In the first type (Ethnophysiology) the following behaviors are included: For men, easy arousal, lust for virgins, poor control, easy prey of sexual vices, unfaithfulness, early development of erotic desires, and onset of need for sexual intercourse at puberty. For women, the characteristics are: slow arousal, craving for motherhood, ambivalence in control, less given to sexual vices, faithfulness, early manifestations of maternal imperative, onset of need for expressing maternal instinct at puberty and possibility of degeneration if her tender, nurturing nature becomes tainted by lust.

In terms of the ethnopsychology, the description for the male includes his cunning and devious behavior in seducing the virgins, disrespect toward easy women, respect toward and love reserved for respectable women, and an ambivalence toward his betrothed, whom he respects for her honor and decency, but towards whom he experiences the desire to seduce. Because of this conflict, the male actually welcomes the protection that the chaperone gives to his bride-to-be. For women, the expected behaviors in this second category are: exceeding naivette, submission to the man she loves, self-sacrificing efforts for the sake of her man and her children, prominence of her love for her children, and understanding and forgiveness of her man's philandering.

In the third category or ethnoethics, the man is expected to respect his family and his true friends in terms of sexual behavior, "he must be the epitome of decency and respect: (p. 145); he must respect his wife and take no "vices" to her and never humiliate her

with his stories of amorous adventures; he should attempt to control
his instincts towards his betrothed; he should respect virgins; and
protect the female in his family from the lust of other men; if he
can afford it, he can keep one or most mistresses; he must stand for
male solidarity, and to protect and understand each other; he must be
gallant in making a women aware of her femaleness and of his own male-
ness; and he must be the initiator in all his honorable or dishonorable
attempts. The ethnoethic expectations demand of the male certain
control of his response while still making allowances for the sexual
imperative which dominates the macho. The sexual imperative is "an
overpowering sexual drive which no measure of friendship or even close
kinship relations with a female can totally eradicate" (p. 141).
The honorable gentleman, however, puts restrictions on his
instincts by virtue of his breeding and respectability (Mulhare,
1969:147).

The ethnoethics for women are: emphasis on virginity as a price-
less treasure, she must guard it zealously because it is the ultimate
expression of her womanhood. She should also behave with modesty
and respect before, as well as after marriage to demonstrate her
decency and to discourage seduction. Before marriage she should avoid
any physical stimulation of her betrothed by keeping the physical
distance. Her primary role when married, is to nurture her man and
her children and she must submit rather than participate as equals in
the sexual relationship. Her image of virginal innocence and madonna
must be preserved. In addition, she must accept her man's need for an
amorous life outside the home. Women who do not follow this expected

moral code are the ones who make it possible for men to practice
machismo which means for the most part, putting into practice their
sexual prowess, influence and power over women. Another quality
associated with machismo and which indicates masculinity is the "...
type of personal daring and magnetism which impresses and influences
others" (Fitzgerald, 1971).

The male and female expectations described above represent the
models of socialization in the Hispanic culture as received from
Spain. There are many variations and modifications due to specific
family styles, and to the influence of education, modernization of
societies especially in large cities and to the changing role of
women. But Mulhare believes that in spite of all changes these pat-
terns remain the core of socialization models for at least the first
generation of Cuban families in the U.S.A.

Values Related to Family Relationships

Relationships in the family are influenced by all the values
presented above. Most Hispanics give a central place to the family.
The man must defend it, the woman must nurture it. The children are
subjected to the authority of the parents and owe respect to them.
They must keep their place in terms of respect and obedience. The
extended family is also respected and close ties with it are retained
(this may include grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins). There is
a sense of loyalty and responsibility toward one's parents. To fail
in this area is to be considered as having "malos sentimientos" (bad
sentiments). There has to be a sense of obligation toward the
extended family that must be put before the individual's own desires

and ambitions.

Values Related to Other Relationships Outside the Family

Even though the trend is changing, for many Hispanics the
"compadres" (their children's godparents) occupy a very important
place in the family relationships. This is what is known as the
compadrazgo system. Compadres are more than friends. They are
counted on in times of happiness as well as in times of need and
sorrow. They may give the family economic as well as moral support
in times of difficulty.

In other relationships outside the family, the role of another
"padrino" (godfather) appears important. This is not a real godfather,
but someone of higher social position who might serve as an inter-
mediary between the individual and the larger societal institutions
of law, government, employment and other services. Although his role
has decreased, there is still a strong tendency to seek personal rela-
tionships in one's business affairs (Fitzpatrick, 1971). "Most
external forms of human relationships are more highly stylized than in
more hurried societies, and courtesy for its own sake is elaborately
developed" (Foster, 1960).

In addition to the compadres and padrinos, there are also
family friends who are, usually, other families. Men have their
groups of male friends and women may have some female friends, but
close friendships between men and women are neither accepted nor
considered appropriate. This is because of the male sexual imperative.
As mentioned before, it is tolerated and considered normal for the
culture that men have mistresses, as long as they can afford them.

The Christian ethic, which influenced idealistic values was not able to penetrate the culture in terms of changing the man's sexual imperative.

Additional Hispanic Influences

Other Spanish influences are apparent in the taboos and beliefs associated with the pregnancy and the post natal periods. Many children's games, death rites and beliefs are also of Spanish origin. The layout of the first cities built in the new world followed the patterns of Spanish cities and many tools for work were brought over from Spain. The influence of the mother country is strong and dominant in Hispanic countries in the New World.

The African Heritage

The African heritage was mostly noticed in religious and musical elements. Primitive elements of African cults were mixed with catholic rites and beliefs. Spiritualism (belief in spirits), "santeria" (cult of gods), voodoo and the "curandero" who is said to cure with herbs, potions and folk medicine are examples of these influences. Many words from the African dialects were used to name the Catholic saints.

The instruments and rhythms of the Black Continent also found their way onto the Cuban soil and became fused with many Spanish musical traditions. This gave birth to a native Afro-Cuban style of music, dancing and celebration.

Many black Africans were imported as slaves during the 16th century. Even though the slaves brought to Cuba came from many parts of Africa, Thomas (1971) reports that the strongest cultural influence came from the Congolese and the Yoruba.

The slaves gradually became members of the Cubans population through the purchasing of their freedom or later by personal emancipating actions of many creoles (descendants of Spaniards who were born in Cuba). However, by 1860, only 35% of them and their descendants enjoyed freedom in Cuba (Thomas, 1971). Many of those slaves who were free, and many who escaped joined the whites in the war of independence against Spain.

The scarcity of Spanish women made possible many mixed unions creating the mulatto race, which grew during the time of the colony and became a basic element in the actual Cuban population.

Racial mixtures of white men with Black women were common although the opposite was not. At the beginning of the 20th century racial feeling was not strong in Cuba. Whites, Blacks and Mulattos have fought together for independence and also "... the best families had mulatto cousins." The better the family, the more probable this was. However with the inauguration of the Republic new immigration came from Spain. These new families were more intolerant of racial differences than those living in the country for generations (Thomas, 1971).

The American Heritage

Since the American intervention in the War for Cuban Independence in 1895, and the subsequent relationship of both countries in trade and tourism, some American influences penetrated the Cuban environment but not significantly enough to cause any change in the basic Hispanic heritage. Some words and expressions in common usage were borrowed from the English language, although they were sometimes modified in

the process. Many were used because of the lack of Spanish equiva-
lents, but many were popular among a minority of the higher classes
who associated themselves with the usually well-to-do Americans
through social or business contacts. The members of these higher
classes tried to imitate American behavior. But for the majority of
the population the American influence was seen more as a desire for
American products and American standards of living. Cubans saw the
United States as a symbol of power and wealth, but not as "a symbol
of spiritual greatness, human decency, intellectual achievement or
creative genius" (Mulhare, 1969:135).

English was taught in most private, elementary and secondary
schools, but it was mostly with a grammatical rather than a conversa-
tional emphasis. Some people in the higher classes travelled for
vacations to the U.S.A. and many adopted American traditions such as
giving gifts to children in the name of Santa Claus in addition to
the ones given on January 6 in the name of the Magi.

The geographical closeness and the relationship between Cuba and
the U.S.A. facilitated an almost immediate availability of American
invented commodities to the Cuban public. American owned or American
styled department stores, dime stores, and self-service grocery
stores were growing in numbers before the Castro regime, and added a
new dimension to the system of traditional Spanish retail stores,
food stores and street vendors.

In general, Cuba's Spanish heritage in its way of life resisted
strongly extraneous influences such as that of the American culture.
It is said that Cubans who came to the U.S.A. did so, not looking for

the American dream but in search of the Cuban dream in American wealth (Mulhare, 1969).

Other Influences

During the last half of the 19th century when the price of African slaves became very high, labor was contracted from China. Some Chinese individuals who came to Cuba stayed, and after their work contracts expired, they went into various types of business including restaurants and clothes cleaning. At first they were not allowed to mix with the Cuban population, either white or black, and were somewhat isolated, but eventually some did mix, adding a new component to the already heterogeneous Cuban population. Other immigrants from Europe and Asia also came to Cuba in smaller numbers. In the capital it was common to observe the Polish and Turkish merchants in their stores in the streets of old Havana.

The Blending of the Various Influences:

The Cuban Character

From the blending of all the elements described above, the character of the native Cuban emerged, a fruit of a heterogeneous mixture with the strongest influences from the Spanish and African heritages. It seems important to observe here, that from a historical point of view, Cuba's position in the Gulf of Mexico, as a constant point of traffic for and of people and merchandise during the colonial years, gave it an antecedent of provisionality and temporality that were to be part of the character of the nation and its inhabitants. Nothing was permanent with the exception of the church buildings and the forts. Thus, Cubans got used to the lack of

permanency; they lived one day at the time, allowing the rest to go by (Masó, 1976).

The sense of Cuban identity was beginning to form in the midst of the 19th century when the Creoles, a group of Cuban-born Spanish descendants began to define as Cuban all that was not Spanish (Otero, 1972). Many Creoles were writers and formed part of the "intelligentsia". Many were "capitalist activists who worked with progress, espoused modern rationalism and were in sympathy with the achievements of the French Revolution. They were pragmatists who were stifled by and rejected absolutism" (Otero, 1972:11).

Cubans' struggles against Spain, and the wars, the political unrest, and the changes after the Republic, gave the nation and its people a character full of instability and inconsistencies. The Cuban character is therefore full of contrasts. These contrasts and variations will be presented in terms of various socio-cultural aspects in the following section as the Cubans of the pre-Castro era are described.

Socio-Cultural and Personal Characteristics

of Cubans in the Pre-Castro Era

In this section the pre-Castro Cuban will be described in terms of the attitudes and behaviors which he displays in specific areas, such as language, religion, race and social class structure, education, politics, work and money, and human relationships, especially those concerning the family.

Language

In terms of language, the Cuban Spanish is interestingly described by Mulhare (1969) as possessing a unique intensity. She points out that "because of the high tone of voice, the gesticulating, and the amount of body action, two Cubans engaged in ordinary conversation may appear involved in a heated argument" (p. 38). This intensity in speech could be traced back to the Spanish tendency to react impulsively and passionately. In addition, Mulhare indicates that since the modes of speech are varied in Hispanic America, other influences might be responsible for the Cuban speaking style. Additional characteristic aspects of the Cuban speech are: (a) speed, becoming short of breath while speaking, barely catching it again and assuming the word (tomando la palabra) at full speed once more; (b) facility and fluency; and (c) exaggeration.

The Cuban Spanish has borrowed terms from the pre-Columbian, the African and the English languages, but as a whole it is the Spanish language with a characteristic mode which strongly underlines the mood of the Cuban culture. It has been said that Cubans speak much, loud and at late hours of the night. They get carried away with the intensity of the thought and speech and seem to be able to carry on forever. For Cubans, language is important not only for communication purposes, but for the expression of beauty. Cubans like reading and reciting poetry as well as improvising and writing their own. This tendency is displayed in all groups, from the educated to the illiterate "guajiro" (peasant) who improvises his "decimas" (verses) and sets them to music.

Religion

The religion of the Cuban is highly personalized as it is for most Hispanics in general.

Although most Cubans are nominally Roman Catholic, their participation in church activities in Cuba is varied, attendance being higher at special celebrations. In pre-Castro years the educated and economically better accommodated families attended church more regularly, most of the time with the participation of the whole family. In other sets of the population, women were the ones who mostly attended the services (Plazas, 1972). Large sectors of the population did not attend church but had a personalized religion which included their own personal devotions, and some aspects of santeria, spiritualism and other fringe beliefs from pagan African rituals. For example, the devotion towards Mary, the Mother of God was personified in the Virgin of Charity, who legend says, appeared to the three Negro slaves in the province of Oriente, where a sanctuary was erected in her honor and to which many pilgrimages were made. Processions carried out on the streets were also traditional. They drew participation of many as well as the attention of those who were simply spectators.

Many other personal devotions represent a mixture of "Catholic" practices and attitudes and of the influences of the African heritage. An example of this is the blend of African gods and Catholic saints into specific deities. In addition to spiritualism and santeria, the belief in the "curandero" (witch doctor) who "cures" with the power of herbs, potions, folk medicine and rituals, is very strong.

Mulhare points out some of the attitudes and inconsistencies of the Cuban population in terms of religion; an instance of which could be found in the families whose economic condition permitted them to send their children to private, Catholic schools. They did so mainly for the sake of the quality of their children's education, even though they were not practicing Catholics themselves.

The Cuban male, in particular, accepted the Roman Catholic church as an institution for the purpose of "... (A) Educating his children for the attainment of high scholasticism, refined manners, and respectable behavior; and (B) providing his women with a means to allay the anxieties and fears associated with their delicate nature and with a moral code that epitomizes the very goodness of their character" (Mulhare, 1969:279). In other ways the church as no purpose for men. Its code is a female's code.

For the most part men had always left religion and church to women and children. They considered it not necessary for themselves. Their double-standard in matters of sexual behavior and their machist attitude were not in accord with Catholic teachings. However, men felt that for women the church was important, because it would help them preserve their purity and virgin-madonna status.

The Cuban society then, had four major ideological religious systems which developed from the adaptive survival of the teachings of the Catholic church which were modified in order to serve many different needs. The four major ideological systems are:

1. The Dogma and Ritual of the Catholic Church: for respectable women and their children.

2. The Catholic Deification of the Female: for males of all
    respectable sets.

3. The Catholic Ethic or Catholic Ideology of Achievement: for
    everyone.

4. The Catholic Belief in Specialized Saints Blended with
    African Religion and Witchcraft: for the lower socio-economic
    sets and for women of all sets seeking to manipulate the
    supernatural.

A minority of Cubans were members of Protestant churches. They
tended to be more active participants and more committed to their
respective denominations.

Just before and at the beginning of the Castro regime there was
a desire for renewal in the Catholic church. A National Eucharistic
Congress was held in Havana with great success, but eventually, the
new government started to demonstrate its leftist and atheistic
inclinations and began to close the Catholic schools, to send the
religious and priests out of the country, to open the war against
religion by prohibiting public expressions of worship, and by robbing
the prestige of the church and its leaders through defamatory techni-
ques and attacks.

In spite of the adversities, many Catholics remained faithful
to their religion and became stronger in their beliefs. However,
others with the enthusiasm on the proclaimed redeeming qualities of
the revolution, were shaken and they became the worst enemies of the
organized church and its followers. Much of the Cuban population,
however, not possessing firm roots and commitment with the church as

such, were not affected in terms of their personalized beliefs and practices.

Many of the Cubans who decided to leave for exile during the first years of the Castro regime seemed to have held a place for religion in their lives or considered it important in the lives of their children. They didn't want governmental interference into their religious practices.

In conclusion, religious beliefs and practices as understood and carried on by Cubans were for the most part full of dissonances, inconsistencies and the result of the mixture of the various traditions from the African and Catholic cults. However, for the most part, the Cuban people were not a religious people, the society being highly secularized.

Social Class Structure and Race

According to Mulhare the pre-Castro Cuban class structure "... displays a resilient flexibility which allows people to make a variety of social adjustments to changes in their economic situation without requiring excessive revision of their own social positions. It permits the gradual undermining of the caste system and therefore provides for social mobility" (1969:77).

Cubans do not group themselves according to the low-middle-upper divisions of classes like in Europe or the United States. The sectors of society are not classified according to the distribution of income, but rather on the bases of the manipulation of symbols and activities which are derived from tradition. Thus, rather than fixed classes, Cubans classify themselves according to eight sets of

characteristics, which overlap, namely: ancestry, social skills, physical type, occupation, education, power, wealth and property ownership. Of all these characteristics, social skills appear to carry the most weight. In the various classifications, it is a fact that power, prestige and wealth need not be correlated. Sometimes the need arises to make a distinction between the "power-prestige" and the "work-wealth" sectors.

Of all the various classifications the most important division made is between the respectable or decent people and those not only socially but morally low, who are considered outside of the realm of decency and respect. The respectable person is considered as such if a number of respectable labels can be given to him/her. The more labels an individual can own, the more respectable he/she becomes. Labels refer to the eight sets of characteristics described above, which range from ancestry and property ownership to simply decent and moral behavior. The people not included in the respectable categories were street walkers, procurers, beggars, vulgar people, the hardcore poor of shanty towns, unclean people and the people from cheap, tenement houses (gente de solar) most of whom, Cubans believe, lead an immoral and vulgar existence.

In terms of race, Cubans' dealings with Blacks has been inconsistent. They have allowed the integration of the partially black into the society, while at the same time maintaining a level of prejudice which is apparent in common everyday expressions towards Blacks which are of a derogatory nature. Blacks have for centuries been infiltrating the mainstream of the very same society that calls itself

white, through black-white mating. However, even though Blacks have been able to obtain university degrees, and enter in creative fields, the sports arena, and the entertainment world, Cuba is very far from being a prejudice-free society (Mulhare, 1969). Many Blacks desired "to advance" the race by marrying whites. Eventually, many individuals, who were products of a mixed union, were accepted by whites and incorporated into the group if their features were mostly white. Blacks and Whites from the respectable groups of society treated each other with respect and consideration, but it was expected that each race would try to keep its place by not mixing with the other in terms of marriage or social functions. For example, it was not seen with good eyes that at a party a Black young man would ask a white girl to dance, or that she would accept. This would have been "out of place".

Other aspects of social stratification included criteria like being from the capital or from the interior of the country; being from various provinces of Spain; or being from various nationalities. In conclusion, it appears that the social stratification system in Cuba although complex is flexible in allowing mobility through the acquisition of various degrees of respectability. Its framework is adaptive for apparent historical reasons, which are related to economic as well as political factors. The racial system is, as many others in Cuba, inconsistent and full of contrasts, and to some extent, linked to the levels of social respectability. In general, the social evaluation patterns were inherited from Spain but were adapted to the ethnic composition of the island (Mulhare, 1969).

Education

In terms of education, Cuba was also full of contrasts and inconsistencies. Cuban education was ambiguous. "In some sections of society Cuba was as bad as Asia, in some, as good as New York" (Thomas, 1971:1135). In 1958, figures on illiteracy approximated 20%. While seemingly a high figure, Cuba was among the most literate countries in Latin America.

Even though in the Constitution of 1940 education was proclaimed compulsory for children between six and fourteen, this program was never fulfilled. The primary school attendance record was below that of most countries in Latin America. However, secondary education records, although low in real terms, placed Cuba among the leaders. In general, the system of education was poorly managed and became deeply corrupted. Many teachers were appointed simply in order to receive cash, many were holding salaries whether teaching or not. Under certain governments, school inspectors were incompetent and corrupt, and promotion of teachers depended on political patronage or seniority. The conditions of the public school system led to the increase in private education. The private schools, secular or religious, offered a better quality education. Even many of the poor were willing to sacrifice in order to send their children to these schools.

The increase in private education also brought on increase in social tension "reflecting the dilemma of 'private wealth and public squalor'" (Thomas, 1971:1134). In the higher education sector, Cuba had three state universities and one private, with the majority of

undergraduates preoccupied with the arts and social subjects, even though there was a surplus in this area and the needs of the nation were more technological and in the science fields. But the nature of the Cuban character may have been responsible for the students' choice.

Few books were published in Cuba and mostly at the author's expense. However, there were more than 70 newspapers and various magazines. The illiterate as well as those literate individuals who were remote from the city or from educational settings, kept well informed through the radio. This resulted in an interest in and knowledge of world affairs as well as ability to follow the sport events and to entertain themselves. Many rural Cubans and those in the lower sectors of the population may have not been formally educated, but were informed and alert to their surroundings, many individuals being able to pass on knowledge to others in the oral tradition.

When Fidel Castro took over the reins of government, the less educated sectors of the population supported him and were more faithful to him throughout the years. Many of the better-educated, professionals and businessmen, although they originally supported the new government, eventually withdrew and left the country.

In terms of education, Cuba is full of contrasts and inconsistencies capable of producing highly educated individuals and dedicated teachers as well as corrupting the educational system; able to produce brilliant minds in many fields and yet with a high absenteeism rate in its elementary school-aged children; a country of contrasts, indeed.

Political and Economic Factors

Cuba's political history, full of internal wars and turmoil, had little to offer its citizens in terms of long-range security. The political and economic instability forced the Cuban to shape his character through patterns of adaptation, resulting, therefore, in a character full of inconsistencies and discrepancies. The political insecurities made the ground fertile for the growth and establishment of the Hispanic trait of passionate intensity which is characteristic of the Cuban mood. Cuba's style in economic matters as well as in its political development is therefore as intense as the character of its citizens. Mulhare describes this intensity in politics and economics as "a mood of passion, impulse and impatience, with an absence of impartial, analytic detachment; lack of ability to plan systematically for the future; and emphasis on producing results now, regardless of how ephemeral or ill-fated they may turn out to be" (Mulhare, 1969:91).

In terms of politics great value is placed on eloquence, heroism and martyrdom. These are qualities desired in a leader as well as his ability to overcome the odds through sheer intellectual sharpness and shrewdness (Alum and Manteiga, 1977). Patriotism is also highly valued.

In terms of economics, it can be said that the Cuban in business is optimistic and self-confident; he thinks big and trusts his ability to succeed. He is egotistic and knows little self-criticism, as well as being unable to take well criticism from others. Lack of success is blamed on bad luck, and the struggle for power is definitely colored with the values of machismo and the dignity of the person. Mulhare

points out that the emphasis on the value of the dignity of the person does not produce humble, meek or servile Cubans. She reports that, "... behind each Cuban there is a leader. Everyone wants to be his own patrón. That is why we have so many revolutions. Everyone is too proud to ever admit he is wrong and too sure of the worth of his own ideas to give in" (Mulhare, 1969:44).

In terms of money, making it and spending it is also governed by the intensity of the Cuban character. Many Cubans dissolved their fortunes as quickly as they made them, living every minute to the fullest. Even though material success is highly valued by Cubans, they place more worth on personal qualities than on material success. The latter is pursued more for the personal freedom it brings them for the physical comfort it provides. Furthermore, the pre-Castro Cuban is opposed to the thrift and frugality of the Protestant ethics code. He is generous and considers being a "tight wad" a major sin. When men gathered in a restaurant, cafe or bar, they all tried to be the first in offering to pay the bill or in reciprocating invitations made by friends.

Cubans believe in "working to enjoy life", rather than "living in order to work". This is their ideology of achievement which contrasts sharply with the Protestant Puritan values of the sanctity of work or salvation through work. The resistance to involvement in strenuous physical activity or doblar el lomo (back bending) is seen in the light of Cuba's long history of slavery which permitted white people to delegate all physically exerting activities to the Blacks in bondage.

Thus, possessing a character which is proud, idealistic, and ready to give rather than to take orders; and having no realistic professional goals in sight, Cubans became the political militants of adamant factionalism and power struggle for a number of decades. Cuba's economic and political dynamics are inextrically woven into its historical fabric by the tone and style of life which have emerged as characteristically Cuban; a style full of intensity, passion, color and opposing trends.

Sense of Humor

The sense of humor, identified by Cubans as "el choteo" and "el relajo" is an essential ingredient of the Cuban ethos. In his book on Cuban wit and humor, Mañach (1969) defines various aspects of "el choteo" (mockery) and "el relajo" (not taking life seriously). He emphasizes that both appear to be the result of the Cuban's independence: a tendency to rebel against order, discipline, authority and hierarchy, and of his lightheartedness: a tendency to be only superficial and not prone to profound analysis or to give appropriate weight to things in life. Because of these aspects, Cubans tend to cancel all social distances and wipe out hierarchical levels. In the process, they are inclined to ridicule anything which could be considered "... too elegant, too intellectual, too polite or too spiritual" (Mañach, 1969:74).

For Cubans, to be "pesado" - not a good sport, unlikable, disagreeable, and unreceptive to jokes and anecdotes, is as major a sin as being a "tight-wad". Cubans place great value on the quality of the individual that makes him be "simpático" (agreeable, of good

character), willing to make as well as to receive jokes, stories and humorous criticisms. According to Alum and Manteiga (1977), the Cuban's sense of humor serves as a way to channel hostility, as well as a mechanism for egalitarianism. Being an acceptable social way to express hostile feelings and attitudes, this Cuban wit serves an important function toward the preservation of mental health of the individual in the face of national or personal crisis or in facing life problems. It also provides an avenue for easy socialization even among strangers. Cubans' use of the informal pronoun for the second person (tu) instead of the formal word (usted) may seem per- plexing to individuals from other countries, and also at times it might seem disrespectful, but for Cubans this is only a way to equalize relationships and avoid excessive protocols of courtesy that may seem insincere and unnecessary.

Cubans do exercise courtesy in their relationship with others, but with moderation. Their politeness is not excessive to the point of jeopardizing the simplicity of the humor relationship. Social protocols may be sacrificed for the sake of openness, naturalness and sincerity. To many Hispanics from other countries where social, formal protocols are emphasized, this lack of formality of the Cubans is perplexing and at times distasteful.

Cubans do not need alcohol to get into a jokeful mood at a party. Individuals participate in telling jokes and stories with the purpose of eliciting the most laughter. A person whose reputation is one of having a large repertoire of anecdotes in store or who has the ability to improvise on the spur of the moment, is greatly desired at social

gatherings (Mulhare, 1969). The Cuban sense of humor penetrates all social levels and all areas of life. Politicians were targets of innumerable jokes and criticism. In the pre-Castro era, "Liborio", a figure representing the country, in the same way that Uncle Sam represents the U.S.A., was very wittingly used by caricaturists and comic strip writers to represent the ups and downs of Cuban politics. Contrastingly, in the family, respect, authority and hierarchical relationships tend to persist.

The Cuban's sense of humor has been the ingredient in their culture that has served as a stabilizing factor in the formation of a character that had to face continual change and insecurities.

Human Relationships

Some of the qualities that characterize human relationships among Cubans have been described in detail in the section under Spanish Heritage; therefore at this time they will be briefly mentioned and a few others will be added.

Cuban relationships are highly colored by personalism and all that goes along with that concept. The worth of each individual is very important and is, therefore, stressed in contrast to material success. For instance, Cubans may sacrifice their own profession or economic advancement for the sake of the family. Therefore, Cuban individualism is oriented toward the group, which many times may include large numbers of people.

Cubans are grateful and they have a great need to show this gratefulness. They are generous and proud of their national origin. They feel rejection toward individuals who are ungrateful and

inconsiderate toward others, especially toward the members of the family and friends. To lack "sentimiento," to lack concern and good feelings for the dear ones and to be ungrateful are considered national offenses.

Cubans tend to express their emotions readily; the men, their anger; the women, their sorrows, complaints and hurts. Adults are emotional, being intense in all their relationships. At home, there may be frequent outbursts between the parents and the children. Mulhare (1969) believes that this factor helps to reduce the amount of tension that can exist between parents and children.

The quality of machismo also colors relationships especially those between male and female and those within the family. The male-female dichotomy is stressed since the moment each child is born and continues to be reinforced by society for the rest of his/her life. Thus, even though an individual may want to choose his own way of living, he is greatly pressured to conform to the socialization models presented by the mother, the father and other adults in the household as well as by the society at large.

The Cuban household is flexible in composition. It contains as many members as the circumstances may ask for. Ideally, all nuclear families would like an independent household, but in practice, the need of extended family members, the expression of family solidarity and the emotional response toward other human beings make it difficult to reach the desired independent situation. The cultural ideal of family life derives from the Spanish heritage, but in practice, there are departures from this ideal which may be related to the position

the individuals occupy within the social hierarchy. In the Pre-Castro Cuba some women worked outside the home and since each of them contributed to the family budget, each could ask for an equal share from the husband at home.

In the opinion of many contemporary child psychologists, the child-rearing practices of Cuban parents might not conform with child psychology principles. These parents may seem to act in a "monstrously wicked way with their youngsters" (Mulhare, 1969:227), since they liberally exercise their authority through fear, threats and punishments. In spite of this, Cuban youngsters do not grow up hating and resenting their parents, but with a sense of reverence and social responsibility toward those who cared for them and nurtured them in their childhood and youth. This observation made Mulhare (1969) realize the importance of taking into consideration in the study of human behavior, the cultural as well as the psychological factors in the interpretation of the effects of socialization. Mulhare believes that American adults tend to resent their parents more, because of the cultural differences in dealing with emotions and feelings since there are less opportunities for and less acceptance of airing tensions and anxieties between parents and children at home. In general she also suggests that "though individual psychological reactions may be different within different socialization contexts, ultimately cultural expectations pressure adults into accepted patterns of behavior that tend to minimize individual reaction to particular socialization processes" (Mulhare, 1969:228).

The Cuban mother is expected to provide, above all, nurture, to

her husband as well as the children. The intense nurturing behavior
is in many ways over-protecting and seems to pamper the husband as
well as to encourage the children in the manipulation of their mother.
Fathers, on the other hand, have the attributes of strength and
machismo which are important to provide the models of sexual ideology
for both the male and the female. From birth, children are exposed to
the dichotomy of behaviors expected from males and females and are to
follow in the footsteps of their same sex models accomplishing the
task through the process of imitation and sex-role identification.
The rules of behavior for the girls and the boys are different and
clearly defined from the early years. Boys become demanding of the
females in the household and also enjoy more freedom outdoors since,
as future "machos" they are supposed to gain experience in the world.
On the other hand, girls are constantly supervised, to protect their
virginity from the sexual imperative of the males. Because of this
attitude Cuban females are extremely suspicious of any males. The
latter's gestures of behaviors may immediately be interpreted as
sexually aggressive.

The expectations that parents have from children in terms of
behavior are many. Parents are demanding of respect for the authority
at home. Children are expected to think and act as adults in many
ways. There are rules they must obey; they are expected to be
intelligent conversationalists and understanding human beings. Even
though the child's intelligence is considered strong, his body is
considered weak and in need of protection from many dangers. So
physical activities and involvement in sports were not highly

encouraged, at least in the groups with better economic positions. Youngsters from the lower social hierarchy did play and participate in sports on the streets. The boys from a higher position in the hierarchy whose parents belonged to social clubs did get actively involved in swimming, tennis and boating, but this behavior diminished as they grew older and became adults. It seems that the disdain for physical labor is communicated to the children and becomes a disdain for physical activity. The same occurs with the adult attitude of overprotection from physical harm which may discourage the participation in sports. Most girls in this group who went to the clubs did it more for socializing purposes than for getting involved in sports.

For misbehaviors and to keep the child "in line" Cuban parents used the leather belt instead of the American spanking paddle. Threats of belt spankings or just shaking the belt in front of the misbehaving child was usually enough, according to some parents, to keep the behavior under control. Mulhare also reports that mothers go easily into fits of violent anger directed at their children's misbehaviors and that this is demonstrated by vituperation, hitting about the face and body and shaking and shoving the child about the room.

In conclusion it can be said that the Cuban child "is the property of the parents, mostly of the mother. His toys are not his to break; his clothes are not his to choose; his friends are not his to keep; his life is not his to command. On the other hand, he does not stand alone. His problems are not his alone. Parents will try to smooth the road for him not only in the material sense, but in the

emotional sense as well..." (Mulhare, 1969:237) as he will be babied and cuddled and nursed in his hurts by his mother and female relatives.

The women of the last 30 years before Castro seem to report being more resentful than their mothers and grandmothers for their assigned role which makes them sexual objects, and imprisons them into certain patterns of behavior. The men were more resistant to give up their role and therefore resisted change. Thus, most Cubans who left for the U.S.A. in the first years of Castro were, according to Mulhare, characterized by the patterns of behavior described in this section.

Individual Differences

Cubans have been described in terms of their historical antecedents. The characteristics of those who lived in Cuba during the pre-Castro era and then migrated to the U.S.A. in the early years of the revolution have also been presented. A Cuban type with certain attitudes and behavior patterns seems to have emerged from the description. At this point, then, it is of utmost importance to emphasize the fact that all Cubans are not alike, so that the reader will not become trapped by a sterotyped thinking pattern. As in any other nation of the world, individual Cubans come in all shapes and sizes. In spite of the common threads that make Cubans distinct from other Hispanics and which make the specific fabric of Cuban identity, it is essential to recognize that as individuals, they may vary in beliefs, attitudes, specific behavior and personality depending on each person's particular background and life experiences.

As Cubans in the U.S.A. are described in the next chapter section,

the following factors related to individual differences should also be kept in mind: the location of the group or the individual; reasons or motivations for being in the United States; economic conditions and status; generational group in this country; educational background; language modifications and preference; race (Cubans may be white, black, mestizo, mulatto, of Chinese or Jewish descent); religion, political ideology and participation; family customs and traditions; age; family background; urban or rural procedence; motivation and attitude toward education; type of employment; residential mobility; and characteristics related to the individual's general ability and personality variables.

As the needs of the Cubans in the area of mental health are presented and addressed in the coming chapters, it is important for the mental health practitioner or educator to remember that when dealing with persons of a specific nationality, they are to be considered first, individual human beings with specific needs and wants, and secondly, individuals from a specific nationality group whose response may have been shaped in various degrees by the cultural milieu in the midst of which they have lived.

<center>Summary</center>

This chapter attempts to present some of the most important historical and ethnic factors which have influenced the formation of the character of those Cubans reared under the influence of the pre-Castro socio-cultural context and who left their country during the early years of the revolution. These factors include the pre-Columbian,

Spanish, African, and American heritages.

Historical Origin: Ethnic Composition and Cultural Influences

The pre-Columbian heritage involves the natives who Columbus found when he discovered Cuba in 1492. These natives included the Tainos, Ciboneys, and Guanacabeys. Their contributions to the Cuban character are mostly related to:

1. Language; many words from the Lucahio language were integrated into the Spanish language and are still being used.

2. Eating Habits; still reflected today in the types of vegetables consumed: yucca, potatoes, cassava.

3. Family Unity; love and conjugal fidelity. The latter characteristic survived in terms of women. But the Spanish influence through the double standard later made infidelity in men, the rule rather than the exception.

The conquistadors and later settlers brought to Cuba specific components of the Spanish heritage for the Cuban character, such as the Spanish language; the Roman Catholic faith; and the Spanish traditional values and attitudes in regard to:

1. The dignity of the person, respect for oneself and for others;

2. Personalism, warmth, respect and personal contact in every relationship;

3. Individualism, tendency to avoid laws and regulations;

4. Idealism and the sense of the primary of the spiritual, humanism over scientism, spiritual over material satisfaction;

5. Fatalism, acceptance of many events as inevitable;

6. <u>Sense of hierarchy</u>, tendency to remain in the class or position where they were born;

7. <u>Sentiment</u>, tenderness towards others;

8. <u>Leadership and power</u>, tendency to follow a powerful leader rather than to adjust to a system;

9. <u>Nepotism and favoritism</u>, tendency to favor relatives and close friends;

10. <u>Responsibility</u>, expected from every individual in terms of self and others;

11. <u>Loyalty</u>, to family first, then to friends and those who have earned respect;

12. <u>Work ethics</u>, work conceived as a necessary evil;

13. <u>Male-female relationship</u>, which emphasize superiority of men in society, double standard of morality, overprotection of women, cult of virginity, and the male sexual imperative classified into three categories:

    a. ethnophysiology, easy arousal, lust for virgins, poor control and unfaithfulness for men; poor arousal, craving for motherhood, ambivalence in control, and faithfulness for women.

    b. ethnopsychology, male tendency to seduce virgins, dis-respect easy women and love respectable women; female's forgiveness of her man's philandering, submission to the man she loves, and sacrifice for the sake of her man and children.

    e. ethnoethics, imposes certain restrictions on men in terms

of sexual behavior, but makes allowances for his sexual
imperative. The ethnoethics for women are the emphasis
on virginity as a priceless treasure, modesty, discourage-
ment of seduction, and acceptance of her man's need for
an amorous life outside the home.

14. Family relationship, close ties with and respect for parents,
grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins.

15. "Compadres", children's godparents who occupy a very important
place in the family relationship.

16. "Padrino" (godfather), someone of higher social position who
might serve as intermediary between the individual and
possibilities available.

17. Family friends, are usually other families, but men associate
with the male friends and women with the female ones, as
two separate groups.

Mulhare believes that in spite of the changes due to the influence
of education and modernization, the values indicated above remain the
core of socialization models for at least the first generation of
Cuban families in the U.S.A.

The African heritage was initiated by the Black Africans
imported to Cuba as slaves. Mixed unions, mostly of white men and
black women, created the mulatto race, which grew during the time of
the colony and became a basic element in the actual Cuban population.
The contributions of the African culture are mostly noticed in:

1. religion, spiritualism, "santeria", and "curandero".

2. music, a native Afro-Cuban style of music, dancing and

celebration.

The American influences on the Cuban character began with the American intervention in the War for Cuban Independence in 1895, and continued through the subsequent relationship of the two countries in trade and tourism. This influence has been mostly in:

1. The language, English was taught in most private elementary and secondary schools and some words and expressions were borrowed from the English language for common usage.

2. Behavior, desire for American products and American standards of living. The geographical closeness of the two countries facilitated the availability of the American commodities.

The character of the native Cuban is the result of a heterogeneous mixture with the strongest influences from Spanish and African heritages, plus the sense of temporality given by the geographical position of the island, and the struggles against Spain. Cuban identity has its beginning in the midst of the 19th century, when the creoles, a group of Cuban-born Spanish descendants began to define as Cuban all that was not Spanish, created an intellectual and capitalist movement, admired the achievements of the French Revolution, and fought against Spanish absolutism.

Socio-Cultural and Personal Characteristics
of Cubans in the Pre-Castro Era

1. Language, characterized by intensity in speech, speed, fluency, and exaggeration. The language is used as a means for communicating as well as for expressing beauty.

2. <u>Religion</u> which included four major ideological religious
   systems derived from the Roman Catholic faith and African
   heritage.

   a. The Dogma and Ritual of the Catholic Church for upper
      respectable women and their children.

   b. The Catholic deification of the female: for males of all
      respectable sets.

   c. The Catholic ethic or Catholic ideology of achievement:
      for everyone.

   d. The Catholic belief in specialized saints blended with
      African religion and witchcraft: for lower sets and for
      women of all sets seeking to manipulate the supernatural.

In general, the religious beliefs and practices of the Cuban
people are full of contrasts and inconsistencies, their religion being
very personalized. Various groups followed and practiced in accordance
with the norms of the organized church, but the society at large was
secular. Religious systems and organizations were severely attacked
by Castro' regimen.

3. <u>Social stratification:</u>

   a. prevalent division was made between respectable persons
      and those outside of the realm of decency and respect.
      The degree of respectability depended upon the posses-
      sions of the number of social levels such as ancestry,
      social skills, physical type, occupation, education,
      power, wealth and property.

   b. Cuba considered itself a white society. Blacks were

allowed to become a part of the mainstream of the Cuban society. Nevertheless, there were restrictions regarding marriages and social functions.

4. Education: Cuba was one of the most literate countries in Latin America. However, the public system of education was weak and served as an instrument of political maneuvers. The private system of education was stronger and offered a better quality of education. There was a great interest among both literate and illiterate to keep informed about what was going on in the country and in the world through radio and newspapers. When Fidel Castro took over the reins of government, many of the better educated, professionals and businessmen left the country.

5. Political and economic factors:

   a. The political and economic system is characterized by inconsistency, intensity, subjectivity, passion, and lack of ability to plan systematically for the future.

   b. Heroism, patriotism and the dignity of the person are highly valued. Everybody perceives himself as the right leader and wants others to perceive him as such a leader.

   c. Even though material success is highly valued by Cubans, they place more worth on personal qualities than on material success. Cubans ideology contrasts sharply with the Protestant Puritan values of the sanctity of work or salvation through work. For Cubans work is a necessary evil.

6. Sense of humor: The Cubans' sense of humor penetrates all social levels and all areas of life and has served an important function toward the prevention of mental health of the individual in the face of national or personal crises. Liborio, the figure representing the country was used by caricaturists to express what was going on in politics. Cubans do not need alcohol to get into a jokeful mood at a party.

7. Human relationships are highly colored by:

    a. Personalism, the worth of each individual is stressed in contrast to material success.

    b. Gratefulness, the Cuban has a great need to show his gratefulness, and rejects the ungrateful person or the one without concern for the dear ones.

    c. Machismo. The male-female dichotomy is stressed since birth and society reinforces it. The parents have the task of providing models of sexual ideology for both the male and the female. The values of behavior for the girls and the boys are different. Boys are demanding, enjoy more freedom outdoors; as future "machos" they are supposed to gain experience of the world. Girls are constantly supervised to protect their virginity.

    d. Household. Ideally, all nuclear families would like an independent household, but in practice, the needs of the extended family make it almost impossible to achieve the desired goal.

e. <u>Child-rearing practices</u> do not seem to conform to the American principles of child psychology. However, most of the children grow with a sense of reverence and social responsibility toward those who cared for them and nurtured them in his childhood and youth. Mulhare calls the attention on the importance of considering the cultural variables in the study of human behavior.

f. <u>Women's over-protection</u> was expected to provide nurture to children as well as to the husband. The mother will have the last word regarding interests of children.

g. <u>Parents' expectations</u>: Children were expected to be respectful, to think and act as adults in many ways, to obey rules. Even though the child gave indication of a strong intelligence, his body was considered weak and in need of protection. Involvement in sports was not highly encouraged. One of the most common means of discipline used by parents to keep children "in line" was the leather belt instead of the American spanking paddle.

According to Mulhare, the majority of Cubans who lived in Cuba during the pre-Castro era and then migrated to the U.S.A. in the early years of the revolution are characterized by the patterns of behavior described in this section. Nevertheless, it is of utmost importance to emphasize that not all the Cubans are alike. There are individual differences in regard to beliefs, attitudes, specific behavior and personality according to each person's particular background and life experiences.

CHAPTER II

THE CUBANS: FACETS OF CHANGE

CUBANS IN CUBA AND THE NEW EXILES

In this chapter the writer will attempt to describe Cubans in
terms of the cultural changes that have taken place since Fidel Castro
took hold of the Cuban government in 1959, and the way in which these
changes have affected or influenced their way of life. Two groups
will be considered in this chapter: the Cuban population at large
which presently resides in Cuba, and those Cubans who, after 20 years
of life under communism, left their country and have resided in the
United States for the past two years. These are the new exiles.

A third group, the Cuban exiles of the first decade, comprise
the majority of Cubans living in this country. They will be referred
to as Cuban-Americans and will be considered in more detail in Chapter
III.

The purpose of dedicating a chapter to the description of the
first two groups, though is to recognize the impact that changing
social forces seem to have had on the historical Cuban character as
discussed in the previous chapter.

Current Cultural Changes in Cuba

Social Perspective

When Castro took over the government of Cuba in 1959, Cubans in
general presented the characteristics described in Chapter I. In the

22 years since then, Castro has ruled the Cuban people with a social, political and economic system that had as its purpose to change the country through changing the Cubans' attitudes, beliefs, behaviors and cultural traditions (Miyares in Wiedrich, 1982). In other words, to make a "New Man". It is difficult to know how successful the system has been in this endeavor in relation to the majority of the population which is estimated in 10 millions at the present time. A generation has already been born and reared under the new society, isolated in many ways from direct outside influences which might have reinforced the original cultural core of the pre-Castro Cuban. However, this generation was raised by and lives with parents who may still preserve many of those values. Many individuals also remain in touch with the happenings and lifestyle in the United States through relatives who live in this country, some who visited Cuba, and through radio programs, promotions reaching Cuba from Miami stations. The visible possessions of the foreign tourists who travel to Cuba represent those goods which are not available in Cuba and which many Cubans wish to possess. Mulhare (1976) believes that it is difficult for Castro to have erradicated all of the traditional values and characteristics because to do that he must have had to eliminate all Cubans above the age of two. From her interviews with Cubans who arrived in the late 1960's, Mulhare was able to conclude that much of the Cuban ideology, sexually and otherwise, remained as it was in the pre-Castro era.

It is possible that a second decade of communism might have brought about some basic cultural changes. However, Winn (1980) believes that in spite of those two decades of revolution the Cuban

mentality that values material comforts above political goals and
individual well-being above collective welfare, do not seem altered,
at least in the new wave of exiles. But then, this might be the
reason why this group left Cuba. From his first hand information
obtained during his visit to Cuba, Dreyfuss (1980) was also able to
observe young people who want to leave Cuba. The contrast between
their austere, rationed life and the kind of life portrayed by the
Miami stations does not allow the desire for material possessions
and the hope for a better standard of life to be extinguished.

In other areas, however, visitors to Cuba as well as observers
of the new wave of exiles have become aware that certain changes are
clear at least in the emphasis placed by the government on the values
which are important to the revolution. Many of the new exiles present
characteristics and sets of expectations different from those of the
Cubans of the pre-Castro era (Saura, 1981). In judging the changes,
it is difficult to determine how representative this group of exiles
is of the total population who presently lives in Cuba. However,
Winn (1980) brings out the fact that the members of the group differ
greatly among themselves. Some were never supporters of the revolution
and always wanted to leave the country; others, once supported the
revolution believing that a few years of sacrifice would bring economic
prosperity, but this belief turned into a mirage and more years of
sacrifice ahead. Others were disillusioned or tired, and wanted more
of the comforts and pleasures of life. Still another group, "the
children of the revolution", have taken many of its benefits for
granted, and have focused mostly on the unkept promises, especially

in relation to a better lifestyle.

Speculating, then, it can be said that some Cubans residing in their native country may be sincere followers of a government which may have provided them with benefits that they never had before. They may also be convinced of the new philosophy and may be happily involved in the new society at various levels through active participation. Another group, however, in spite of total or partial disagreement with the regime, might have had to adapt, through the adoption of behaviors that would help them to survive in the system with the least physical and mental risks. Survival becomes difficult for individuals in a society which demands uniformity and in which there is no room for different styles and for dissent.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which this adaptation is merely superficial - the individual remaining faithful to the traditional values in an internal way - or if the pressures and the persistence of the social conditions throughout the years would have eventually provoked the internalization of the new value system. The stress brought about by such dissonance between beliefs and behavior may be strong enough to push the individual towards a resolution of the conflict through the change of his beliefs or of his behavior.

Since at long distance it is difficult to know what is in the hearts and minds of most Cubans because the political system permits very little dissent (Dreyfuss, 1980; Winn, 1980), the rest of this section will simply present a description of some of the trends and changes that seem to be occurring in Cuba today and which might in various degrees have affected the Cuban ethos of the pre-Castro era.

Information for this chapter has been gathred from the writings of authors who have visited Cuba during the last five years and from those who have collected and analyzed data from Castro's own sources through library research procedures, observations and interviews. The areas of focus are those which are prominent in these writings. These areas seem to present a sharp contrast between the pre-Castro and post-Castro dimensions. They are: race, religion, education, work ethics, cultural values related to the changing role of women, occupational opportunities, and male-female relationships including marriage and divorce, sexual values, and family relationships. Political and economic variables will be briefly mentioned and an allusion to the Cuban humor will be made.

Race

In a report on impressions of the Republic of Cuba by a group of college and university delegates (Schwartz, 1978) the following ideas regarding race attitudes in Cuba were expressed. In the 1800's the Cuban population roughly consisted of 40% black Africans and 60% Spanish whites. Today however, Cuba claims that only 25% of the population is Black. Yet looking around, Dreyfuss (1980) observed varied hues of brown and tan in its citizens, which were probably not included in that statistic. In his visit to Cuba he was surprised to see that Cubans have a narrower definition of color than do most Americans in the United States. Now, 20 years after the revolution, the Cuban government proudly proclaims that Cuba has solved the racial problem.

The Revolution believes to have achieved the goal of eliminating

prejudice through the promotion and facilitation of racial inter-
marriages, and through the propagation of a new view of the Cuban as
a distinct individual formed by the merging of two races rather than
identifying himself with one or the other. Before the revolution,
Cuba had earned a reputation for having the most rigid racial caste
system in the Caribbean, but the Revolution pledged to eliminate
racism and distributed information and materials about countries
where the combining of colors had been successful and had produced a
beautiful people. The Cuban government has intentionally tried to
recondition families and communities. Furthermore, it is said that
by the year two thousand, it will be difficult to tell if a Cuban is
from Spanish or African descent.

The encouragement of intermarriages was a government strategy
to decrease racial tensions and to make the revolution more successful.
At present, Cuba's involvement in African politics is explained to the
Cuban population as a necessary duty since they are "fighting for their
homeland" (Schwartz, 1978:26).

From what he saw in Cuba Dreyfuss (1980) was not convinced that the
racial problem has been eliminated. He observed many whites in promi-
nent positions or enjoying more than Blacks of the benefits of the
revolution, like dining in a luxurious restaurant. Some black lawyers
whom he met were vehement defenders of the racial progress in Cuba
and declared that in Cuba there is no concern about color and numbers
because there is equality of possibilities. Racial dynamics are
different in Cuba than in the United States. Sam, an Afro-American
hijacker who lives in Cuba, dreams of coming back home, but is hesitant

to do so because of the jail sentence that may be awaiting him here.
He is uncomfortable with the Cubans' racial dynamics. He feels per-
plexed to see that Cubans don't understand why he is offended when he
is called "negrito". This expression is in the everyday language of
all Cubans and it is not supposed to be offensive. For a number of
Black attorneys, Cubans are Cubans, not blacks and whites. In spite
of the shortcomings, most writers agree that there are beter racial
opportunities in Cuba today than ever before.

Religion

Ward (1978) presents us with the following description of religion
in Cuba: a venerable institution which is struggling for survival.
One, which the older, practicing Catholics who remain in the population
(5 to 6% before Castro; 1% now) continue to patronize, while its con-
gregations dwindle and as its buildings crumble.

Even though, in theory, the government allows freedom of religion,
in actual practice it only tolerates it, since it withholds its benefits
and rewards from those who are participating members of any organized
religious group. A church-goer is not a good revolutionary and not
being a good revolutionary, is considered a capital sin. Parents, who
would like their children to receive a religious education and develop
a religious attitude towards life, are torn between their faith and
desires, and the pressures from the society in which they live. They
have to decide between their beliefs and their children's future in
terms of receiving the full benefits and opportunities that may be
available to them. Church attendance may seriously affect the
children's school success and social life. The pressures of the

situation have brought out conflicts between the young and the old generations. Could a young person bring a priest to a dying elder who requests it without affecting the chances and opportunities he has in society? This is the dilemma. Priests also have the predicament of trying to keep "... religion alive in a communist society..." while at the same time having to request "... funds from the government to repair their churches... which are physically deteriorating..." (Ward, 1978:53).

The priests also worry about the conflict in the children's minds: studying religion on the one hand, and facing the outside world on the other. Ward believes that in spite of all the problems, religion does play a minor and pressure-venting role in a society which discourages dissent and prohibits protest. This is the only "honorable way of saying you are against socialism" (Ward, 1978:53).

While in 1959 there were 800 Catholic priests and 3000 nuns in Cuba, by 1976, there were only 200 priests and 300 nuns. The Seminary of the Holy Scripture in Havana graduates about eight priests a year. Other religious denominations are present in Cuba but in smaller numbers.

Father Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, a Roman Catholic priest interviewed by Ward, hopes that no matter how small the numbers, religion will not be totally eliminated. He still performs 20 to 30 weddings a year. Even though this religious ceremony is not prohibited by the government, the civil ceremony is the one that really counts for legal purposes and young people continue to face in their decision for the religious ceremony the pressures of the secular, socialist society. Information regarding present religious practices associated with

spiritualism, santeria and other cults and rites which were common in some segments of the Cuban population in the pre-Castro era, indicates an increase in the popularity of these cults (Szapocznik, 1981).

Education

The first task of the Revolution in terms of education was to eliminate illiteracy. The government launched a massive program through the organization of co-ed youth brigades to reach individuals in the remotest places in the island. The literacy campaign met with great success. It was reported that by the beginning of 1961 only about 5% of the Cuban population remained illiterate. Those who learned to read and write were then given opportunities to continue their education to the highest level they desired it.

The former educational system was reformed; private education was erradicated and the new system proposed and was set to achieve its ultimate goals of education: "1. to prepare worthy members of the social system, knowledgeable and dedicated to its underlying principles, and 2. to prepare and assign occupational roles to serve the needs of the society" (Schwartz, 1978:9). "Four aspects of the educational system in Cuba stand out: universality, meritocratic approach; programmed drive for success and centrally controlled structure" (Schwartz, 1978:5).

Many schools and educational centers have been built in an effort to meet the educational goals. Students are given scholarships to study away from home and parents have the responsibility to help their children at home with their education especially during the elementary school years.

All education is free and it is compulsory through age 16. The programs are highly structured and politically oriented. It also involves work as well as study, the philosophy of the regime being "every student a worker, every worker a student" (Schwartz, 1978:7).

The educated individuals of Castro's regime must be free from all negative characteristics associated with individualism. They must also be free from all antiscientific prejudice and capable of playing an active part in the country's total economic, social and cultural development. This emphasis on the preparation of the well-rounded individual seems to leave no room for the development of "thinkers" (Schwartz, 1978). Secondary school students spend half of their day either in the fields or working in other jobs to help pay for their education with service to the nation (Ward, 1978; Schwartz, 1978). The same is true for university students who must work in the fields to be allowed to graduate.

Many observers (Schwartz, 1978; Ward, 1978; Paulston, 1976; Olesen, 1971) consider Cuba's achievement in education as outstanding. However, Paulston (1976) also points out that in spite of the progress and innovative programs, two main problems remain in the Cuban educational system. They are: 1. over half of the children in primary schools are grade repeaters, and 2. the majority of students, even though education is available to them, continue to drop out at an early age to work or to loaf. These facts seem to be observed in many of the recent Cuban arrivals whose counselors have reported them to be almost illiterate or evidencing little educational background (Saura, 1981).

Educating the population in terms of health has been one of the government priorities. Prevention has been their goal. Through the polyclinics, the schools and the community and neighborhood centers, the psychologists confronts this educational task directly by guiding especially those in positions to influence the young, namely parents, parents-to-be, and teachers. The purposes of the program are mainly to help individuals in "... modifying ideas, values, attitudes and behaviors that endanger health in both healthy and sick persons; and helping people cope with their emotional, physical, and behavioral problems" (Garcia, 1980:1092).

Work Ethics

Socialism - a system, in which at least theoretically, every individual must work not for this own glorification and personal welfare, but for the welfare of the whole society - contrasts sharply in its work ethic with that existing in Cuba before the advent of Castro's revolution. At secondary and college levels education involves work-study programs.

Avoidance of hard and manual work is no longer allowed or is punished with lack of access to educational and occupational opportunities. The Cuban must be involved in work both as a student and as an adult. He/she is obliged to put aside the view of work as a necessary evil, and is publicly rewarded in both material and symbolic ways for his involvement in the work for society. One of the possible purposes of the system is to teach everyone the value of manual labor. No one is excused if he wants to enjoy any benefit from the society. Those who loaf and are unwilling to work are considered enemies of

the revolution. In spite of all pressures, many Cubans still refuse to go to the fields to work and decide to face the consequences. It would be difficult to assert Castro's real intentions under the regime's policies regarding work. One, many or all of these aspects might be involved: 1. to meet the real need of the country for hands for manual work; 2. to equalize the social levels of the population; 3. to re-educate the Cuban people in a new code of work ethics where work is looked up to rather than frowned upon; 4. to bend the Cuban's pride; 5. to punish and humiliate those who dissent. Calzón (in Maier and McColm, 1981) declares that Castro believes that forced labor will cure anything. Even the prisoners are reportedly heavily involved in construction work. During the first years of the Revolution when idealism was high, hard work was rewarded in symbolic, non-material ways. But later, in order to increase productivity it became necessary to offer the citizens more tangible rewards. At first, because the expectation that a few years of sacrifice would bring great dividends and better life, the motivation of the Cuban people was high, but the reality of a continued austere existence in spite of hard work brought great disillusionment to many who then needed to be forced to work. In 1979, in year-end speeches, Fidel Castro "... complained about the decline in worker productivity and about state farm workers who were quitting work on their own plots of land" (Dreyfuss, 1980:44). "Raul Castro also criticized publicly the Cuban workers 'who have interpreted freedom from exploitation as free-dom from work'"(Winn, 1980:684). Many of the new exiles seem to have come to the United States to escape an austere life and hard labor.

In Cuba, work is also used as a form of therapy (ergo therapy) in rehabilitation programs. Patients are involved in work and get paid for it. As they recuperate, they work more hours and at higher level jobs. For this they receive salary increases (Camayd-Freixas and Uriarte, 1980).

Cultural Values

The social system in Cuba has tried to change many of the Spanish values that Cubans held in the pre-Castro era, considering them incompatible with the philosophy of the new regime. How successful the system has been in changing internalized values that were existing for centuries, in just the span of 23 years, it is difficult to determine. But the reality is that at least one-half of the present Cuban population was born under the Castro regime (Ward, 1978). It is therefore, not surprising that some changes, even though superficial, may have occurred in the younger generations. Those who have studied some aspects of the present Cuban scene agree that at least some changes in outward behaviors can be seen. Observations of and conversations with many of the new Cuban exiles seem to attest to these changes (Saura, 1981).

Secularization in Social Behavior. One of the first things to be noticed is the effect that the secularization of society seems to have had on the religious atmosphere (which is mostly absent) and to the "if God wills attitude" of many pre-Castro Cubans. The word "God" itself is rarely included in a conversation. Even the once common farewell expression "adiós" (to God) has almost totally vanished from the vocabulary (Ward, 1978).

Personalism and Individualism. The values related to personalism and individualism seem to be under the pressure of a system that emphasizes equity and the welfare of the collectivity as well as a meritorious approach in educational, occupation and political promotions rather than one based on personal influences and favoritism. However, many who criticize the Cuban government (including Cuban-Americans) indicate that favoritism in Cuba continues to exist, although based on a different set of rules. Cubans who disagree with the political system, for instance, have little or no opportunities for getting ahead and are deprived of the privileges given to those who are zealous advocates and supporters of the socialist regime.

Male-Female Relationships. Values related to male-female relationships seem to have been affected in various ways. During the early years of the revolution many young women in their teens and early twenties left the protected environment of their homes and families to become involved in the literacy campaign and to work in the fields. This program gave many young ladies a freedom which they never had before, and which many were unprepared to handle. Thus, unfortunately for many young girls, while they had been liberated suddenly in many ways from the restrictions of the traditional female role, most men continued to practice their characteristic sexual imperative behavior with regretable consequences for the females involved.

As the years passed, however, it seems that many men and women came to have new roles in the society. Even though only 30% of the Cuban women have left the home for work (Schwartz, 1978) - and many

more are being encouraged to do so, as more day care centers are made available - many have moved up the educational ladder and are being offered wider occupational opportunities. These opportunities are given to women as well as to men on the basis of ability, hard work, cooperation with the political system and helping to fulfill the needs of the society at large.

In order to facilitate the way for women who want to become actively involved in contributing to the society, under the new Family Code, men have in these cases to be responsible for half of both housework cuties and child's care (Dreyfuss, 1980; Olessen, 1971; Garcia, 1980). Since the historical male image is in disagreement with the new socialist definition of the man, many males are under psychological stress due to the conflict of values.

Vera (1982) believes that in spite of some real changes brought about by the new Family Code, many traces of the "old" male-female double standard of behavior continues to exist in both social and family relationships. In spite of "women liberation," men continue to freely compliment women in the streets, while women try to keep looking attractive and are very sensitive about their appearance. Notwithstanding, in spite of the grounds that women may have gained in terms of professional and occupational opportunities, some of them feel that leaving the home for a five-and-a-half day work week may not necessarily be liberating. They are also underpaid in many jobs, and have little access to high administrative and bureaucratic positions. Aguirre (1974) believes that Cuban women are under the pressure of male leadership. He also declares that the government has not

tackled the situation by a re-educational process. Through this, both sexes could change the stereotype of women in relation to their own behavior and that of males. It seems that Castro still sees women with their main function in the home as procreators of new generations. Certain jobs are believed to be unsuitable for their weaker nature.

Olessen (1971) analyzed a number of articles, themes and ideas on women appearing in the weekly English edition of the Cuban Communist Party newpaper Granma. She points to the context within which the woman's role has changed in contemporary Cuba. This context involves three basic themes: 1. the alterations in the occupational and sex-role structures, 2. the residual cultural themes, and 3. the transcendent moral aspects of recent change.

Regarding the first theme, it has already been mentioned that many educational as well as occupational opportunities have been opened to women in Cuba. In addition to this, other measures that have affected women are as follows. During the early years of the Revolution, prostitution was abolished, and girls who were previously involved in this trade were offered rehabilitation and other job opportunities. Through these better opportunities and through the elimination of the higher social classes, women were also actively discouraged from working as maids. The laws of marriage and divorce were liberalized, making both easier. The system had an active campaign to legalize common-law and consensual unions which were prevalent especially in rural areas. Due to these changes, divorces also increased in number, most of them caused by infidelity rather than by political disagreements

between spouses.

One aspect of Cuban life which has not been abolished is the "posadas", the popular Cuban inns where couples can rent a quiet, private room for love-making. These "posadas" also serve a practical purpose for married couples who, because of scarcity of housing, need to live with the extended family and enjoy little privacy (Ward, 1978).

Family planning, although not an official policy, is encouraged through easy access to contraceptive devices, the main purpose being not to limit family size for economic reasons, but rather to diminish the high female mortality rate due to illegal abortions, and to enhance women's participation in society. According to Olessen (1971) the birth rate appeared stable up to 1966, but Aguirre (1978) reports that since then, it has been dropping steadily. Pregnant women and parents-to-be receive education on parenthood through the polyclinics.

The second theme, related to residual culture, involves the strength of family ties, which observers believe continues to be emotionally strong. "The nuclear family consistency of parents and their children remains a significant social unit, both for individual Cubans and their government" (Olessen, 1971:553). Olessen also reports that Cuban youth seems to hold high in their lives the "ideals of the revolution" followed by the "ideals of love and the family." These ideals could contribute to family unity when all members profess the same political creed. But when family members differ in opinions, the situation has been reported to lead to conflicts as well as to the loosening or dissolution of family ties. In general, as in other places in the world, the younger generations seem more liberal in

their views on sexual behavior. Sex-role socialization however, apparently proceeds along traditional lines and at least up to the last ten years "... it is clear that feminine attractiveness and all that it implies for female identity, as well as the nurturance of machismo has by no means been lost in the revolutionary movements" (Olessen, 1971:555).

The transcendent morality presented as a third theme in the cultural concept, stresses mainly the ideal of "conciencia" (social consciousness) or responsibility towards the revolution and the society. It denigrates "egoismo" (selfishness) and self-centeredness. These moral concepts carry implications for the behavior of both family responsibilities, the government has provided a linkage system through at least two organizations and a symbolic structure: 1. the Women's Federation which tends to the educational, and social betterment of women as well as to their organization for national programs; 2. the "circulos infantiles" (child care centers) which assist working women in both urban and rural areas. These centers provide care for pre-schoolers from 45 days old to six years of age; and 3. the structure of public rewards which, as a symbolic system, publicly acknowledges women's accomplishments and hard work. Rewards are material as well as symbolic. Many rewards such as a better house to live in, a vacation, or a TV, are directed towards the support of the whole family structure. Although public policy recognizes and supports women as they enroll in the work force, Olessen (1971) believes that at the interpersonal level many tensions are still probably due to the residual cultural themes of male dominance and the traditional woman's

role.

Political and Economic Variables

Since 1959 the political and economic systems of Cuba changed radically. The pre-Castro social class organization and economic strata changed to that of a socialist country, which was trying to erase the past and build up a new system. Many of those who disagreed with the new situation left the country during the early years. In the years that followed others have gradually left. Because of the present conditions in the country, it is difficult to assess the percentage of the present Cuban population who agrees and freely participates in the government enterprise and how many do it for lack of other alternatives or because of the political repression. The reality is, that for the Cuban population, there is only one way to go in politics and only one source of employment and income.

Winn (1980) believes that even though it is estimated that one million of the Cuban population may be alienated from their revolution, this figure only represents 10% of the Cuban people. The other 90% might still have a revolutionary commitment and identification as symbolized by the one million Cubans who marched past the 10,000 refugees in the Peruvian Embassy and as seen in the popular backlash against those who wish to go into exile. It cannot be determined if these moves are sincere on the part of the people, or if they are a maneuver of the government against people who cannot allow themselves the luxury of dissent when they are going to have to remain in the island. Vera (1982) explains that although many Cubans are unhappy with the system they need to protect themselves in order to survive

in it. According to him, most Cubans have learned to live on pretense, and are able to masterfully accomodate and adapt to the demands of the socialist regime without betraying their true values and beliefs.

The failure of the Cuban economy seems to have brought disillusionment to many, some of whom decided to leave the revolution behind and come to the United States looking for a better life. Winn observes that "the presence of so many young Cubans among the new exiles has revealed a lack of socialist consciousness and political commitment among members of the first generation raised by the revolution, (and) whose consciousness and commitment had been taken for granted and counted upon to build the new society" (Winn, 1980:685).

Winn also brings out the fact that the new wave of exiles has given back to Cuba its necessary enemy: the United States. He reports that Castro, himself, has commented on Cuba's need for an enemy in order to be more united, energetic, and stimulated. The revived hostility towards this country was a gain for Cuban revolutionary fervor, since it helped to strenghten the citizens' endurance for the hardships and sacrifices they must continue to experience.

The economic situation is perplexing to the Cubans who on the one hand receive free education, health care and almost virtually free rent, leaving them with money to spend but little to spend it on. Cubans see the lack of congruency between what they get for meals, transportation, goods and recreation, and what the tourists get as they visit the best restaurants and travel in the best air-conditioned buses available (Dreyfuss, 1980). The contrast is difficult to accept and it can easily make people unhappy with the management of the

available goods. The rationing system has more or less equalized all citizens in spite of the differences that may exist in purchasing power because of the different skills and professions.

In spite of the steps taken to institutionalize the system in Cuba, the charismatic authority of Castro appears to continue to reign even though he has had to delegate many of his powers. A narrow stratum of leaders continue to be responsible for the decision-making, and Cuban politics seem to continue to have a personalistic character (LeoGrande, 1981). Many reports state that those on the top live with luxury and with special prerogatives and many have taken advantage of their positions to help their friends.

Dominguez summarizes the Cuban's attitude and participation in politics by saying that "Cubans are socially mobilized enough to be politically mobilized by a competent government, but they are not socially mobilized enough to have the psychological resources to participate politically on their own" (LeoGrande, 1981:195). According to a Cuban judge, one political accomplishment of the government in society has been the elimination of organized crime: gangsterism, drug traffic, prostitution and smuggling. However, crimes of passion and crimes against property have not decreased (Dreyfuss, 1980). In addition, stealing is a natural thing in Cuba. Scarcity has led most people to steal for self and for family and friends, and to trade the stolen goods among each other (Maier and McColm, 1981). In general terms, however, the atmosphere is one of repression. A former political prisoner who now lives in New York reports that life outside of prison was not much different than inside. In his office, he said,

"there were signs everywhere: pictures of big ears - the enemy is listening; or big eyes - the enemy is watching. Little by little everyone becomes totally paranoid. You think one thing and say another, and eventually it all gets mixed up inside and you don't know what you really think" (Maier and McColm, 1981:152).

Humor

Sufficient information was not available to describe in detail the present existence and role played by the characteristic Cuban sense of humor in contemporary Cuba. For some Cubans in the United States, who have visited their relatives in the past few years, the Cuban humor is still a factor that sustains Cubans in their daily life struggles. Even though any form of humor which criticizes the establishment, if detected, would be severely sanctioned by the Cuban officials, reports from the newly arrived exiles indicate the existence of a rich repertoire of jokes about Cuba's present political and economic situation as well as those revealing cultural trends present in pre-Castro Cuba and which have continued to exist. Jokes against the political regime are told in private and in very confidential circles of friends, who share the same views (Muñoz, 1982; Vera, 1982). Publicly, however, a humor of a "revolutionary kind" might exist, but since humor usually carries a criticism of some sort, topics may in this case be related to mockery of those who are against the revolution, or who behave in counter-revolutionary ways, as well as against the greatest enemies: capitalism and the United States.

The New Cuban Exiles: 1979-1981

History and Socio-Demographic Characteristics

During the years from 1979-1980 a large group of Cubans arrived
in the United States. These individuals and families had lived for a
span of 20 years under the conditions presented in the previous sec-
tion. Thus, in a way, this group is a segment, although a small one
of that society. The first arrivals were political prisoners. On
April 14, 1980 a White House statement (Department of State Bulletin,
June 1980) indicated that by this date 3,900 political prisoners had
been released from Cuban prisons and with their families had traveled
to the United States. The program established between the two nations
would have eventually brought a total of 10,000 Cubans to this country,
but unexpected developments in Cuban politics did not permit the plan
to be totally fulfilled.

During the same month of April, 10,800 Cubans entered the
Peruvian Embassy in Havana looking for political asylum. The United
States agreed to admit up to 3,500 through legal and orderly procedures,
but the Cuban government in a change of policy declarely publicly that
anyone who wanted to leave Cuba could do so through Mariel Harbor in
boats. This declaration prompted a response from the Cuban community
in Miami in less than 24 hours. Approximately 1500 boats of different
types and sizes left Florida for Cuba to pick up relatives and to bring
them to American soil. But the situation was complicated by the fact
that Castro forced the boats to carry many individuals who were not the
ones requested. He openly declared that he was emptying his jails
and sending scum to the United States. So a good number of Cubans

were forced to leave their country or to choose jail instead.

In spite of the U.S. government's precautions and laws to avoid the illegal entrance of Cubans, 125,000 entered the United States between April 21 and September 26, 1980 (State Bulletin: October 1981).

Those who left of their own free will seemed to have been motivated to do so for a variety of reasons, desire for political freedom; a desire to join relatives and friends; a desire for a higher standard of living; and a desire for an easier life sharing in the "American wealth". Winn believes that although some Cubans "... cite political or religious reasons for their migration, most stress personal economic goals as their motivation for the boat trip from Mariel" (Winn, 1980: 682). Their complaints about the island have centered on monotonous diet, inadequate housing, limited supplies of clothing and consumer durables, unsatisfying work and social conformity. Observers of this group seem to agree that many Cubans came with an unrealistic set of expectations regarding the achievement of their dream of wealth through an easy life. The adaptation to life in the United States might be more difficult for many in this group than it was for the Cubans who came in the early exodus. The reasons for this may be associated with the stigma associated with their arrival on the Mariel boat lift; the unskilled nature of the majority of the members of the group; their misconception and unrealistic expectations of life in this country; the present economic situation which presents job and housing problems; and the attitudes of individuals in the United States who look at the new Cubans with resentment and consider them a threat for their survival, especially in the job market (Newsweek: 12

May 1980; Szapocznik, 1981).

Marina (1980) predicts the acculturation rate of these Cuban entrants in terms of six variables which affect the process. The variables are: time in the U.S.A.; gender; age; work skills and motivation; educational level; and family support and strength. The gender and age of the group are perceived as positive factors contributing to acculturation since the new-arrivals are mostly male and young. The other variables, except for time, which is too early to be assessed, are considered negative factors which will slow down the rate of acculturation. This is mostly because the said group of Cubans lacks work skills, is low in achievement motivation, and in educational level, speaks no English and has no immediate family support. In addition, race may be another negative factor since a large percentage of the entrants were black. Historically, Blacks have assimilated very slowly into the American society.

The Cuban-Haitian Task Force from the Department of Health and Human Services in Washington, D.C. collected and disseminated some information regarding the Cuban entrants. The U.S. Department of State Bulletin also reported some statistics and the history and process of the exodus as well as the measures taken by the government to cope with the situation.

Almost 90% of the Cubans arriving by boat, entered the United States between April 21 and June 8 of 1980. The number of entrants dropped suddenly after mid June and continued to decrease until the end of the year. Only seven individuals arrived in December. More than half of the total group resettled directly with their relatives

soon after their arrival in Florida, most of them remaining in this
state, mainly in the Miami and Hialeah County areas. Another group,
almost as equal in size (54,078) was resettled through various volun-
tary organizations throughout the nation. Cubans in need of resettle-
ment to other states were temporarily sent to camps. They were:
Eglin Air Force Base in Florida; Fort Chaffee in Arkansas; Fort
Indiantown Gap in Pennsylvania; and Fort McCoy in Wisconsin (U.S.
Department of State Bulletin: July 1980). The states which received
the largest numbers of Cubans were: Florida with 71.7%, New Jersey
with 6.4%, New York with 5.1%, California with 4.4%, Texas with 1.5%,
and Illinois with 1.4%. Other states also received groups of Cubans
of less than one percent of the total number.

Sociodemographic data available from the Task Force Reports
dating between August 31, 1980 and April 30, 1981 indicate that
approximately 70% of the Cuban entrants were male and 30% were female.
At the beginning of the exodus the proportion of males was high
(74%) but as more family members arrived after mid May the percentages
of women arose. The population of individuals under the age of 18
was 18%. This figure also increased somewhat after the first month.
Of this 18% there was approximately an even distribution of 6% in each
of the following age groups: birth to four; five to twelve; and thirteen
to seventeen. The three groups were approximately even in terms of
male-female distribution. Many of the male refugees are believed to
be disaffected veterans of the wars in Africa, where many Cuban
soldiers fought, or youth avoiding service abroad (Maier and McColm,
1981). The percentages of adults in the various categories is as

follows: 17.8% in the 18-24 age group; 31.3% in the 25-35 age group; 27.9% in the 36-64 age group; 3.7% above 65 and a 1.5% of unknown age.

Regarding previous occupation, information was obtained from two samples selected, one from the group processed in South Florida and another from a group at two resettlement camps. The analysis indicated that the largest share of the reported occupations could be classified as manual labor or low level trades. Mid to high level tradesmen and craftsmen made up a smaller percentage of the group. Professionals such as doctors and teachers represented only a very small segment of the population of entrants (e.g.: teachers were less than 1% in both samples). The South Florida sample had a high percentage of housewives and students, 26% and 21.4% respectively. In addition, 45% of this group were married as opposed to only 30% in the camp sample. These statistics reflect the larger percentage of families which were processed through South Florida.

As the individuals and families in the four camps were gradually resettled a small number remaining was post-consolidated at Fort Chaffee. By November 30, 1980, only 6,547 Cubans (less than half-a-percent) remained at camp waiting to be resettled. Of this group, 93% were male and single and over the age of 18. Only 2% were females over 18 and 3% were family members. The racial composition of this group was 75% black or mulatto. The educational background of this post-consolidated group was as follows: only 6% reported having had some college level education. About 8% had completed some high school work. Almost 64% had nine years or less of schooling. In terms of occupation, the integrants of this group had been involved in Cuba

in low-level trade or manual labor. Eight percent reported being construction workers, 5% mechanics and 4% drivers (Task-Force Report: 11 December 1980). Throughout 1981 efforts were continued to help resettle the remaining population at Fort Chaffee. It is believed that at present all Cubans have been resettled (Saura, 1982). However no official data was available to confirm this.

Specific Cultural Characteristics

Some of the specific cultural characteristics or tendencies of these Cuban entrants are described by Szapocznik (1981) as follows: These Cubans tend to be very present oriented; they have very small personal spaces; they are highly resourceful; they have a tremendous eagerness to relate interpersonally and a great desire for emotional attachments; they seek collateral or peer-oriented relationships instead of the traditionally Cuban tendency towards lineal relations; some, especially the younger ones, may rebel against authority; and many are believers and followers of "Santería" and "Espiritismo", belief systems which seem to have become more popular than ever in Cuba.

Special Populations

Three types of special groups will be mentioned here: unaccompanied minors; the prison population; and the gays.

Unaccompanied Minors. Approximately 2,000 Cuban unaccompanied minors entered the United States during the boat lift. Fifty percent of these were released directly to relatives during the first phase of the process. Another 25% were, after processing, identified as not fitting in the category. The remaining 25% was processed through

the resettling centers. Of the total group, 92% were male and 8% female their age range extending from eight through 26 years. About 81% were between the ages of 16 and 17; 11% were 18 or older and 6% were under 16. The age was not known for 2% of the group.

Unaccompanied minors who were sent to the camps had a very stressful experience and faced many mental health hazards. The environment fostered fear about personal safety and physical well-being (Klein, 1980). Dr. Szapocznik and staff members of the Spanish Family Guidance Clinic in Miami undertook the task of helping expedite the resettlement process and of providing cultural-sensitive mental health psycho-social services to members of this group (Spencer, Szapocznik and others, 1981). A few adults who came on the boat lift and who had mental health service training in Cuba, also participated in the task, being able to contribute great insight into the nature of the problems and conditions of the minors. Thirty-seven percent of the 650 minors served by Szapocznik and his staff had been in jail in Cuba: some for political reasons, others for criminal acts including stealing food.

The Prison Population. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) personnel detained 1,815 Cubans, mainly because of previous known or admitted criminal activity in Cuba. After a number of hearings and appeals, 1,071 individuals from this group received final orders of exclusion and were ready to be removed to Cuba. The lack of cooperation of the Cuban government has made it impossible to work out a plan for this group as well as for the number of other Cubans who voluntarily want to be repatriated (U.S. Department of State

Bulletin: September 1980).

From the prison group a sample of 795 persons was selected for a descriptive study. Information from this indicates that only 1.6% of the group was composed of women, while 98.4% were men. The age distribution is as follows: 38% are between the ages of 18 and 24 and 29% between the 25-29 age group. Of the total group, 95% arrived during the initial large influx in the April 20-June 8 period. The rest arrived during the remaining days of June. The U.S. Department of State reported that a number of mental patients from Cuban asylums were also sent to this country, but more specific information on this group was unavailable.

The Gays. Rumors ran high among the Cuban-American community that many Cuban homosexuals had come to the United States during the boat lift, but there was an absence of data on the subject. Michael Massing in his article "The Invisible Cubans" (September-October, 1980) brings out the press neglect in reporting the presence of gays among the new Cuban immigrants. He indicates that reporters paid no attention to this fact until the Washington Post made the first report. This was prompted, in turn, by a leak received from the White House, indicating that "... 10,000 to 20,000 of the 40,000 refugees still in the camps were gays" (Massing, 1980:50). Massing speculates on the reporters' lack of interest in the subject as well as on the arrival of these individuals: Were they sent by Castro as "scum" or did they come voluntarily to escape from a political regime which considers them "undesirables"? The question on this subject is open until more information and research is done.

Even though more detailed socio-cultural information is not yet available, it is important to notice that the statistics presented indicate that only a small percentage of the Cuban entrants were "problem individuals". The informal rumors and the publication of undesirable incidents caused great apprehension in the American public as well as in the Cuban-American community which had worked so hard to earn a prestigious place in this country. The Americans did not want their country invaded with non-desirable people. The Cuban-Americans did not want their name and fame tarnished. Somehow panic struck and the entrants faced negative attitudes and rejection before they had a chance to prove themselves otherwise. The years may eventually redeem this group which was judged on the basis of the "scum" that Castro did sent out to "... commit an unfriendly act against another country" (U.S. Department of State Bulletin: October, 1981: p. 78).

The future regarding Cuban immigration to the United States is uncertain. It is estimated that "between 1 and 2 million Cubans would like to leave the island... (of these) ... approximately 200,000 Cubans have been approved by Cuban authorities for emigration" (U.S. Department of State Bulletin: October, 1981: p. 78). However, the United States government, after the Mariel experience, seems firm in its establishment and enforcement of its immigration laws to avoid a repeat of a sudden massive influx. It has made it clear that although this country remains faithful to its tradition of welcoming individual refugees from persecution and tyranny, it is not willing to further negotiate with Cuba until that government cooperates in working out safe, orderly and legal procedures for such emigration.

Summary

The Cuban character has endured changes after Castro's revolution. These changes have affected those Cubans who have remained in the island; those who came to this country during the past two years; and those who became exiled during the first decade of the revolution. The latter comprises the majority of the Cubans living in the U.S.A. It will be described in greater depth in the next chapter.

Cubans in Cuba

Researchers believe that Castro's regime has impinged certain cultural changes on the Cubans who have stayed in the island. Nevertheless, the regimen has been unable to eradicate all of their traditional values and characteristics. The changes seem to be related to the following areas:

Race: The Castro regime claims a 15% reduction in the black population through promotion and facilitation of racial intermarriages. It also claims that by the year two thousand it will be difficult to tell if a Cuban is from Spanish or African descent. Nevertheless, investigators report that at present many whites have better positions and living standards than blacks. In spite of these shortcomings, most investigators agree that there are better racial opportunities in Cuba today than ever before.

Religion: Even though, in theory, the Castro regimen allows freedom of religion, in practice a churchgoer is not considered a good revolutionary. Church attendance may seriously affect the children's school success and their future.

Education: The regimen has striven to eliminate illiteracy.

By the beginning of 1961 only about 5% of the Cuban population remained illiterate. Private education was erradicated. Public education was programmed to serve the regimen's goals. In spite of its progress, the new Cuban educational system faces two problems: over half of the children in primary schools are grade repeaters, and the majority of the students drop out of school at an early age. Primary prevention in terms of physical and mental health has been one of the priorities of adult education through the polyclinics.

Work Ethics: Avoidance of hard and manual work is no longer allowed. Those who loaf or are unwilling to work are considered enemies of the revolution. In spite of pressures, however, motivation to work has declined considerably. Many Cubans refuse to go to the fields to work and decide to face the consequences.

Cultural Values: The Castro regime has tried to change the Cuban traditional cultural values which are incompatible with the philosophy of the revolution. Its success cannot be measured as yet. External changes are observed in religious values; motivation toward collective welfare; male-female relationships; women's occupational opportunities; youth ideals; family life; and responsibility toward the revolution's ideals.

Political and Economical Variables: The Castro regimen has attempted to erase the past and to build up a new political and economic system. There is only one way to go in politics and one source of employment and income. The failure of the new system brought disillusionment to a number of Cubans, especially to young people who decided to leave the island for the United States. There are

incongruities in the new system: top administrators and tourists live in luxury, while the rest of the people have to endure restrictions. In order to survive under this regimen, which has created an atmosphere of repression, and in which scarcity is the law of the land, many people have had to resort to stealing.

Humor: It seems that Cuban humor is still a factor that sustains Cubans in their daily life struggles. The form of humor which criticizes the regimen takes place in private and in a very confidential circle of friends. It is speculated that publicly, humor carries criticism against those who reject the revolution, or against the greatest enemies of the regimen: capitalism and the United States.

The New Cuban Exiles

After living under Castro's regime for about 20 years, a large group of Cubans either fled or were forced to leave Cuba. Approximately 125,000 Cubans entered the United States between April 21 and September 26, 1980. Among the reasons for leaving Cuba have been cited: desire for political freedom, for reuniting with relatives and friends and for bettering living conditions. This group of Cubans had more difficulties in adapting themselves to the new environment than those of the early exodus. Apparently, this has been due to lack of skills and unrealistic expectations. More than half of the total group were directly resettled with their relatives soon after their arrival; the rest of the exiles were resettled through various voluntary organizations throughout the nation.

The new group of exiles is a young one. About 67% of them are under 36 years of age; 27.9% are in a bracket between 36 and 64 years,

and 3.7% above 65 years. Most of the integrants of this new group have very limited education and skills. The new exiles included special individuals who were classified into three groups:

Unaccompanied Minors. Approximately 2,000 Cuban nonaccompanied minors entered the United States. About 50% of these minors were directly released to relatives, the other 50% were resettled.

The Prison Population. Because of previous criminal activity in Cuba, 1,815 exiles were detained by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. After court hearings, 1,071 of these individuals received orders of exclusion. However, they are still remaining in this country.

The Gays. More information is needed to identify this group. There seems to have been a tendency to neglect reporting the presence of gays among the new Cuban immigrants.

Present findings indicate that only a small percentage of Cuban entrants were "problem individuals". This finding contradicts public rumors and may help relieve the apprehension of the American public and the early Cuban refugees.

This new group of exiles present researchers in the United States with a myriad of opportunities for studies that may shed some light into the actual or superficial changes that the Cuban character may have endured in 20 years of the Cuban Revolution.

CHAPTER III

CUBANS: FACETS OF CHANGE

CUBANS IN THE UNITED STATES: THE EXILES OF THE

EARLIER YEARS OF THE REVOLUTION

This chapter will deal with the Cuban population which arrived
in this country during the first ten to twelve years of the revolution
and which has resided in the United States for at least a decade. Most
in the group have probably had more than 15 years of residence here
since they left Cuba in the early years of the revolution. This
group represents, for the most part, the Cuban of the pre-Castro era
described in Chapter I of this work. Because of ideology and because
of an early exile, these Cubans were not influenced much by the post-
revolutionary changes that occurred in Cuba. Their pre-Castro Cuban
culture seems to have historically stopped its course at the point of
exit from the native country. Its elements have been entrenched and
preserved in exile to the point that the culture draws mostly from the
Cuban past rather than from its present historical development. Many
exiled Cubans who have had the opportunity to visit Cuba in recent
years attested to the physical as well as to the social changes of a
nation that is no more what they formerly experienced. However, most
of the Cuban exiles continue to remember Cuba as it was and try to
uphold their lives in the type of cultural atmosphere which preserves
the values of the "good old times". A good number have also become
integrated into the American life, if not entirely, at least in certain

aspects of their lives. These aspects will be presented subsequently.

Brief History of the Exodus

The Cuban exodus began in 1959 and continued thereafter for many years, at various rates and intervals. However, two periods of "waves" or large numbers of arrivals are identified between the years of 1959-1962 and 1966-1972 (Szapocznik and Kurtines, 1980). During those years, many Cubans came directly to the United States through air or sea. But when Cuba and the United States ended formal relations, trips had to be arranged through third countries such as Mexico or Spain.

The Cuban exodus has been described as a self-imposed political exile (O'Leary, 1967; Plazas, 1972; Bolet, 1975; Fagan and Brody, 1968), since the majority of Cubans were not forced out by persecution but made the decision to exile themselves because of disagreement with the new political, economic and social system. There was suspicion at first, and later, the confirmation that the new government would endanger free expression, free-enterprise and the preservation of the traditional family values long established by their historical heritage (Marina, 1975).

O'Leary (1967) confirms through his study the reasons that motivated Cubans to flee to the United States. The sample of 209 Cuban refugees in Miami whom he interviewed, all reported to have left their country for political reasons, the perceived source of their dissatisfaction being the revolutionary government. Along with this general ideological reason, other aspects related to their personal lives were also considered in their decision: mostly, concerns for themselves and their families, and not necessarily for their social groups or

society at large. Of the interviewed, 35% took into consideration
the arrest or prospective arrest of themselves or someone in their
families. For some Cubans, the decisive factor was of an ideological
nature: limitations on civil liberties or the threat of communism.
For others, more "pragmatic" reasons were given: loss of employment,
loss of property, or government-sponsored searching of homes.

O'Leary also found that those Cubans who had sympathized with the
revolutionary government at the beginning and participated either
passively or actively, took longer to make the decision to leave for
exile than those refugees who had opposed Castro all along. Some
Cubans who were politically involved with the previous government left
during the 1958-1959 period. But in 1961 when Castro himself declared
the leftist direction of the Revolution, the number of exiles increased
considerably. Many were now sure that Cuba was not going to move in a
more democratic direction as many had previously expected. However, in
spite of the obvious changes occurring in Cuba, those who decided to
leave their native country did not dream at that time, that the years
in exile would prolong themselves indefinitely ahead. This was the
main reason why most Cuban refugees settled in Miami. It was the
closest place to Cuba which also enjoyed a similar climate, and, after
all, Miami was only a temporary settlement place. It was said that the
revolutionary government could not last very long. Batista's dictator-
ship had lasted seven years, and that was an eternity. Cubans could
never tolerate any person in government for too long. Thus, keeping
your baggage ready for the return trip was the kind of general attitude
that prevailed in the first years of the exile.

When Cubans realized that Castro's government gave no indications of being overthrown, in spite of the efforts of the exile community, of some groups inside Cuba and of the partial support of the United States, they began to unpack their bags and to move in a direction that would help them make provisions and accommodations for a more prolonged stay. They started to become involved in the new environment for survival as well as for competence purposes. Most Cubans who came to the United States during the first decade of the revolution had great advantages over other ethnic groups of exiles. They were from upper and middle classes, better educated and more highly skilled. They were also political, not economic, exiles. This fact made their reception by the host country a generous one, since as political migrants flying to freedom, they performed an important symbolic function for the States during the Cold War. The race of the majority of the Cubans and their education, skills, their middle-class ethics and style of life, which were similar to those of the established sectors of America, were positive factors for their acceptance and integration (Portes, 1969). The generous, sympathetic acceptance promoted a relationship that permitted the structural assimilation of Cubans through facilitation and support (Pedraza-Bailey, 1980). Cubans were welcomed by the United States government and were generally well-liked by the American public. Cubans' contributions to the host country have been meaningful, responsive and in accord with the warmth and openness of the reception and opportunities received. They have been able in many ways to master many of the struggles caused by expatriation. Anguish and uprootedness have led to challenge and

accomplishment. The fact that the influx of Cubans happened in large numbers seemed to have served as an extra positive factor for their personal growth and expanded horizons. They were able to form vigorous communities that allow a positive ethnic consciousness and the creation of strong social ties (Rumbaut and Rumbaut, 1976).

In a survey and study of the assimilation and adjustment of Cubans in the United States, Wenk found that Cuban exiles of the first decade had "... assimilated and adjusted rather quickly (generally between one and three years); that the majority ... also (felt) that their expectations of this country have been fulfilled in one manner or another, and that as a consequence they are effective and useful members of their new found communities" (Wenk, 1968:49).

Statistical Data and Demographic Information

According to the Advance Report of the 1980 Census figures by the Bureau of Census (U.S. Department of Commerce, April, 1981) there are more than $14\frac{1}{2}$ million persons of Spanish origin in the United States. It is estimated that about 800,000 of these are of Cuban origin. This figure does not include the 125,000 new Cuban entrants of the 1980's which, if added, will bring the number of Cubans in this country close to a million - one tenth of the present population of the island of Cuba.

Cubans seem to have resettled in all 50 states of the Union (Wenk, 1968; Bolet, 1975). Of the whole group 97.6% reside in metropolitan areas, while only 2.4% reside in non-metropolitan areas. Approximately half of the Cuban population is male and half female.

There is less than 1% difference in favor of the females.

The median age of the Cuban group is 36.3 years. This figure is significantly higher than the age of the general U.S. population and even higher if compared with the median ages of other Hispanic groups in this country: Mexican, 21.1; Puerto Rican, 19.9; Central and South America, 25.5. About 611,000 Cubans are over the age of 16.

Most Cubans reside in the city of Miami, in the state of Florida, but they can also be found in significant numbers in other cities such as Tampa, Orlando, New Orleans, Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, D.C., and in New Jersey and New York.

In Chicago, according to the 1970 Census of the Population there were about 15,000 Cubans representing 6% of the population (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1970). Detailed figures from the 1980 Census were not available, but a study by Salces (1981) reveals that the Cuban population seems to have declined in Chicago. The indicator being the 3% drop in the number of Cuban students attending the Chicago public schools from 1970-1977. This drop may indicate, however, not only movement out of the city, but a possible transfer of students to private or parochial schools. At present it is estimated that only 2% of the Chicago population is Cuban or of Cuban descent (Salces, 1981). However, Lucas (1978) reports that there are from 28,000 - 29,750 Cubans in the city, a figure somewhat higher.

Some 430,000 Cubans have settled in southern Florida's Dade County. They represent more than half of the population of the city of Miami. There, their impact has been mostly felt for the economic transformation that has happened to that city (Time, 16 October 1978;

The Christian Science Monitor, 30 April 1980; Bolet, 1975; Buchanan, 1978; Newsweek, 12 May 1980; Reyes, 1975; Department of State Bulletin, President's Statement, 2 May 1980; Nicastro, 1980) and which has been established and often reported.

A number of studies have been conducted to survey the characteristics of the Cuban population in exile. Some have tried sampling across the States (Wenk, 1968; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980) while others have concentrated on Cuban groups residing in specific areas or cities. Some of these studies were conducted in West New York, New Jersey (Rogg, 1974); Los Angeles, California (Gil, 1976); New Orleans, Louisiana (Carballo, 1970; Williamson, 1976); Washington, D.C. (Boone, 1981); New Jersey and Miami (Garcia and Lega, 1979); Chicago, Illinois (Pedraza-Bailey, 1980); Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Portes, 1969); and mostly in Miami, Florida by researchers such as: Santisteban (1975, 1978); Szapocznik (1977, 1979); Szapocznik and others (1977, 1978, 1979, 1980); Sandoval (1975); O'Leary (1967); Marina (1975, 1981); and many others. In the following section the characteristics of Cubans in the United States will be presented by aspects following the same format used to describe the pre-Castro Cuban in Chapter I.

Characteristics of Cubans in the United States

Language

After Cubans realized that their return to Cuba was not imminent they began to plan and to work towards more long-range goals. Learning English became a must for communication and for survival. Many

professionals had to study and pass examinations to have their Cuban degrees validated in this country. In order to get ahead in the host society it was important to comprehend and speak its language. Children began to attend schools and to learn English even quicker than their parents. Some parents, after learning English in an attempt to help their children to adjust more easily decided to speak English at home with them. Many of these children forgot or never learned Spanish well. Other parents refused to have the native language forgotten and insisted in home usage. These children became bilingual.

Because of the density of the exile community and its almost immediate mobilization in terms of businesses to serve its own people, for many adults, learning English did not represent a necessary means for survival or for socialization. This situation was helpful to the adjustment of the first generation of Cubans although it retarded the rate of participation in the majority's culture (Rogg, 1974). The fact that youngsters learn the language and assimilate at a faster rate has caused some isolation and conflict between the generations. The young prefer to communicate in English, while their elders, especially the grandparents, are slow to learn it if at all. It is believed that in areas where the Cuban community is highly segregated the length of time in the host culture may not have affected their knowledge of English. In general, however, through educational and occupational contacts, most Cubans in cities where they are less in number seem to have learned more English than those who have been surrounded by a numerous Hispanic community. In Miami, for example,

the strength of the Spanish language has been such as to convert the city into a bilingual one. Its commercial streets are filled with Cuban-owned businesses where Spanish is spoken and where many Anglos have complained, at times, of not finding salesmen who could assist them in English. Some Anglos and other minority groups have expressed resentment towards the bilingual atmosphere which leaves them out and diminishes their job opportunities because they are monolingual.

Cuban students, especially in Miami, Dade County, have had the opportunity for bilingual educational experiences in the schools. Parents, whose children participated in bilingual programs, felt more positively towards this kind of education (Brainard, 1977). However, Cruz (1977) found that the views of Cubans on bilingual education, as well as those of other Hispanic groups were related to their income and educational levels and to their language loyalty. Higher income parents and higher educated parents held more negative views than parents of lower income and of lower educational levels. Parents with a strong Spanish language loyalty were more favorable towards bilingual/bicultural education than those with weak language loyalty. All in all, Cubans appeared to have the highest language loyalty in comparison with other Hispanic groups (Brainard, 1977).

In terms of the Cuban parents' attitudes and expectations towards other aspects of the education offered to their children in this country, irrespective of language, Hynes (1974) found that they were no different than those of non-Cuban parents. The areas were related to intellectual, personal/social, behavior/discipline and productive dimensions of secondary education as well as to the

receiving, responding and valuing levels of the affective domain.

Religion

The experience of the exile with its accompanying uprootedness brought many Cubans in exile together, especially for the expression of their religion. Although nominally Catholic, the Cuban society was very secular in many ways and for the most part the Church was left for the women and children. In the United States, however, men have become more attached to their families in terms of their activities, and the church has become a place of worship for a people for whom religious expression is now also a form of anti-communism and solidarity against Castro. The church has become, for many, the center of social activities in the Cuban community, a place to gather and meet friends at least on a weekly basis. The spiritual need felt in exile as individuals are struggling with their problems has also increased the Cubans' participation in the services and activities of the church. Thus, in general, it could be said that many Cubans have become more religiously-oriented in exile.

On the other hand, Afro-Cuban practices of Santeria seem to continue. Sources seem to indicate that apparently more Cubans, not only from the lower classes, but those better off, cling to these beliefs and practice them. Reese and Coppola (1981) reported that as many as 10,000 Cuban-Americans in Miami are believers in Santeria. Because of their concentration in Miami, the rite seems stronger in this city than it was in Cuba. There are stores in the Cuban neighborhoods in which animals for sacrificial rites are sold along with candles and images purchased by the Roman Catholics. Herbs and other

ingredients to make potions are also sold in a number of stores called "botanicas" (Godsell, 1980). In cities like Chicago, where the concentration of Cubans is less than in Miami, the same types of stores exist and services related to the African cults are also available and utilized with frequency not only by Cubans but by many other Hispanic believers. In mixed Latin American neighborhoods, for example, "santeria" is brought together with the herbal religions of Mexico (Obejas, 1982). Thus, many Cubans practice both catholicism and santeria without apparent conflict. Santeria with its stress on the material well-being, money, romance and good luck seems to help them deal with the realities they face after losing their homeland. Besides group chanting and drumbeating, Santeria also involves, at times, animal sacrifices. The latter has brought concern to Florida authorities who have frequently found animal carcasses floating in rivers (Reese and Coppola, 1981). The Catholic clergy seem tolerant toward a situation difficult to change. Many Hispanic priests are serving the Cuban communities. Cubans who have learned English and have become more integrated into the American society may attend services in English with their families. The young, with some exceptions, are not participating as much. This seems to reflect the trend of the society at large in which many teenagers find that churches do not offer them what they need.

Practicing some kind of religion seems to be a stronger need for adult Cubans in exile than it was before they left their country. Religious beliefs, practices and affiliations seem to be of great importance for the individual and can affect positively or negatively

the status of their mental health (Lefley and Bestman, 1977; Ruiz,
1977; Rubinstein, 1976; Szapocznik, 1980).

Race and Social Class Structure

The majority of Cubans who left their country during the 1960's
and early 1970's were white (Godsell, 1980). This made the population
in exile not representative, in terms of race, of the actual Cuban
population in Cuba. According to Rogg (1974) black Cubans were
assimilating more slowly than white Cubans, but they were accepted
within the Cuban community in West New York. However, white Cubans
interviewed seemed confused in their attitudes toward blacks. "While
they were aware of the race problem, and recognized that it has been
caused by white prejudice, many of the respondents expressed attitudes
of wanting to keep Negroes in their place, and not wanting to live
near them" (Rogg, 1974:135).

White Cubans were used to a different type of relationship with
blacks and mulattos in Cuba. In the United States the hostility and
segregation caused by the different history and way of treating the
problem have made Cubans confused and ambivalent towards the situation.
Even in conversation with black Hispanics, there is sometimes a concern
of hurting their sensitivity just by mentioning the word black. In
view of the conflict in the United States, white Cubans may not be
sure of the position taken and presently held by black Cubans in the
whole issue. According to Buchanan (ed. 1978) black Cubans feel more
Cuban than black and tend to associate more with Cubans than with
black Americans. In terms of discrimination, some of them reported that
they had felt on occasion discriminated by the society at large as

Cubans rather than as blacks, and that Anglos tended to identify them more with the Cuban community. Some black Cubans in cities like Chicago where there is less concentration of the Cuban community, feel that many times they have had to deal with many more problems than white Cubans because they are both Hispanics and blacks. Fox, in his study on Cuban workers in exile (1971), interviewed 50 Cubans of the working class who left Cuba for the United States in spite of the fact that the revolution was apparently _for_ them. Out of this group, 27% were black or mulatto. Fox observed that the main reason why this group also emigrated was that neither whites nor blacks in Cuba were ready to accept the changes in role relations brought about by the revolution and that there has been a persistence of the pre-revolutionary consciousness regarding race. Contraditions in the attitudes of whites and blacks and mulattos towards the issue were brought out in the study. Both groups indicated that before Castro there was no racial discrimination in Cuba and that the revolution did accomplish a separation of the groups that was not existing before. These declarations seemed contradictory to Fox, who also learned from his interviews that before the revolution, blacks stayed in their place", were kept separate from whites, and were excluded from certain social activities as well as recreational centers. Although, at present more blacks are holding positions of responsibility or enjoying relative affluence than before in Cuba, whites felt that the situation was so changed in Cuba that now the whites were discriminated against by the blacks. In relation to deeper feelings about the issue, Fox found that white Cubans agree to economic opportunities for all races,

but felt that socially, there should be separation. They were mostly concerned with mixture in family life (intermarriages), having them in their homes, and their use of recreational facilities. Blacks, on the other hand, expressed embarrassment at the discussion of race, and felt that traditional social roles were lost. Fox believes that Cuban blacks and mulattos had accepted the stereotypes of inferiority of the race and were not ready emotionally for the changes that occurred in Cuba. He also felt that since black was considered shameful they preferred to have people ignore or forget their race rather than to hear it extolled. Because of these attitudes, blacks considered their exclusion from certain places as natural and this is why they did not consider that they were discriminated against.

This pre-revolutionary racial consciousness seems to persist among Cubans in America. The cultural aspects seem stronger than the racial aspects in spite of the influences of the social movements of black Americans with whom black Cubans do not wish to be identified. Boone (1981) in her study of Cubans in Washington, D.C. also found that Cubans, both white and black, and especially those of the first generation, are uncomfortable with the distinction of the two systems of racial classification in Washington, D.C. On the one hand, the Cubans hold the status continuum based on skin color; on the other hand, the American system yields the dual classification. Most white and black Cubans are residentially separated in the nation's capital and interact little in social or occupational contexts. It is believed that, "... although Cuban immigrants in Washington have been able to re-work many social status markers in adjusting to American

society, they have been unable to transpose their Hispanic classification of social types based on skin color" (Boone, 1981:108).

In terms of class, the first distinction that Cubans have established is that between Anglos and Latins. In spite of various degrees of assimilation, Cubans, especially those of the first generation, preserve the cultural values that make them Latin and are proud of their essential Cuban identity. In the 1970's, second generation immigrants seem to continue to preserve the Latin-Anglo distinction too. Other factors of social class in pre-revolutionary Cuba were family name, wealth, occupation and education. The four factors do not necessarily go together for many Cuban-Americans. Many originally wealthy families had to leave their financial resources behind and had to start from scratch, while others with lower economic possibilities in Cuba, acquired wealth in the United States. For the first group, the latter are known as the "new rich" and are looked at with disapproval. The factor of high education was present in many who came in the early years of the revolution. However, in terms of occupation, because of the initial lack of knowledge of the English language, and because re-training in their own professions or in another was necessary, many Cubans had to occupy positions of a lower status and prestige than the ones they had in Cuba. This situation led to a re-working of the Cuban value system to make it coincide with a puritanical work ethic that places emphasis on achievement rather than on ascription. Most Cuban refugees experienced downward mobility in the United States, but those of low socio-economic status in Cuba did have considerable upward mobility.

Various studies (Boone, 1981; Rogg, 1974) have indicated that elite Cubans tended to establish residence based on social class rather than on ethnicity factors. In Miami, equal members of elite Cubans lived in nonethnic prestigious areas and in Cuban non-prestigious areas; but in New York and Washington social class was more important. Elite Cubans in San Juan, Puerto Rico resided in Cuban prestigious areas.

Although it seems as if most Cubans enjoy a relatively comfortable socio-economic status, studies in Miami indicate that many poor elderly and Cubans of low socio-economic status reside in the northeast and northwest areas of Miami (Sandoval and Tozo, 1975). In general, though, the standard of living was reported as being at least adequate, quantitatively and qualitatively (Wenk, 1968). However, as more Cubans of lower socio-economic status and lower educational levels arrived and settled in Miami, in the 1970's the classification of classes became more equally distributed.

Educational and Occupational Status

Most Cubans who came to the United States during the first years of the revolution were highly educated. Wenk (1968) reports that approximately 60% of the Cuban sample he studied had been of professional, business, skilled or semi-skilled background while in Cuba. Out of the total group, 80% had attended or completed more than elementary school education. He found, however, that the resettlement in the United States had caused many Cubans to be employed in lower occupational categories, so that only 40% of the total group remained employed in the same categories. Nevertheless, the numbers in the

unskilled and semi-skilled category seem to change greatly, because
Cuban professionals and skilled workers initially take those jobs
because of the language and accreditation barriers, but eventually
study, learn English and start moving up in the occupational ladder.

Some professionals who had difficulties in integrating themselves
into the same occupations were lawyers, many of whom took teaching
jobs or went into other businesses. In relation to accountants,
Moncarz (1975) found that during the years of 1959 to 1969 although a
good number of Cuban accountants were somehow involved in the account-
ing field and doing accounting work, many were not. His interviewees
reported that lack of knowledge of the English language and profes-
sional restrictions requiring several years of university studies were
the most commonly encountered barriers. Furthermore, Cuban accountants
employed as such were earning significantly (.05 level) less than U.S.
accountants. Wenk found that Cubans have a strong tendency toward
their previous occupations or derivatives thereof, as well as a
great desire for occupational improvement and achievement. The Cubans'
self-assurance, ambition and desire to upgrade themselves have made
many of them successful in the United States and able to become pro-
ductive assets to the communities where they live and to the nation
as a whole.

The United States Bureau of the Census Report (March, 1979) indi-
cates that 10.8% of Cubans in the work force are professional,
technical and related workers; 6.1% are managers and administrators;
6.7% are sales workers; 16.3% are involved in clerical and related work;
15% are craft and related workers; 28.5% are operatives, including

transport; 4.4% are laborers, excluding farm; .05% work in farms as farmers, managers, laborers and supervisors; and 11.2% are service workers. Cubans have higher percentages of their population involved in professional and administrative positions than other groups of Hispanics taken by individual nationalities. The greatest concentration of workers is at the operative level.

In terms of income, the Bureau of the Census also reports that in 1978, the Cuban median income per family was $15,326. This amount is lower than the nation's median income of $17,640, but higher than that of all other individual Hispanic groups. Seventy point five percent of the Cuban families earn more than $10,000.

Many Cubans in the professions, administrative and skilled levels, form part of the community at large and of the nation as they have integrated occupationally. Many others in areas of higher concentration of Cubans, have developed businesses which may be totally or partially integrated, or primarily serving the Cuban or Hispanic community.

Miami, because of its large Cuban population, can be used as an example of the impact of Cubans on the nation's economy. Miami was changed from a city having an economy based on tourism to a city with year-round business activities on the national as well as the international levels. International trade accounts for $4 billion in the state of Florida income and has created 167,000 jobs. Cuban enterprise has changed that area into a dynamic commercial center as well as giving it a Hispanic flavor and converting it into a bilingual city. Cubans are involved in owning and managing business of all kinds, from

banks, factories and construction firms to drugstores and boutiques; from schools and clinics to supermarkets and mechanic shops; from restaurants and cafeterias to radio stations, television stations, and newspapers and magazines. Cubans were received with open arms in this country and have given back many positive contributions in return (Reyes, 1975; Department of State Bulletin: June 1980; Time 16 October 1978; Gil, 1976; Buchanan, 1978; Godsell, 1980; Nicastro, 1980; Bolet, 1975; Newsweek 12 May 1980).

The rejection they faced seemed to have come mostly from other minority group members who felt the Cubans took over their jobs and who believe that those jobs created by the Cuban community were not opened to other minorities, but reserved for them. Many Anglo, old time residents of Miami and vicinity seem to resent the tolerance and acceptance of the bilingual, bicultural components of their once monolingual-monocultural environment. They perceive themselves as strangers in their own land with the disadvantage of speaking only English in a place where, for social as well as for many job situations, two languages are now required. In areas of less Cuban density this phenomenon has not been so pressing on the Anglo citizens.

As it has already been mentioned to some extent, the Cuban community has become organized in Miami to the point of making its impact felt on the city. At the same time, it is important to notice the difference among various areas. The Cuban population residing in the southwest area of the city seems organized and with a sense of community. However, Sandoval and Tozo (1975) have studied the emergent Cuban communities in the northwest and northeast of Miami. In both cases

the situation is quite different. At the time of their research the Edison-Little Rivier area of northeast Miami was inhabited by a good number of Cubans who represented 29% of the population in the area. These Cubans were the very poor and/or the elderly who live in the housing projects and low-rent apartments and houses, their level of education being low and their command of the English language very limited. The other area, Allapattah River North, is 68 percent Cuban. Its residents have a weak feeling of commitment towards and low identification with the area. These Cubans, as those in the northeast area, also have little formal education and speak and understand little or no English. Their economic situation has not been bright. Not all Cubans then, have tasted the wine of economic success in the United States. At the present time, it is believed that the Cuban community in this country "... replicates the entire socio-economic structure of Cuba" (Clark in Szapocznik and Kurtines, 1979).

A word should be said about the first generation of Cubans who came very young to this country and about those who have been born and reared in the United States: the second generation. In regard to their education and their social success and adjustment the picture seems in many cases, not as successful as that of the first generation. The youngsters who did some of the growing up in Cuba and came in the early years appeared, in the majority, highly motivated to pursue their education and many did so. However, at present, the high school dropout rate seems to be rapidly growing among Cubans, especially in Miami. This rate has surpassed the figure for blacks who live in the same area (Godsell, 1980). Many Cuban youngsters have become involved

in drugs and in antisocial behaviors (Szapocznik and others, 1979,
1980) as an apparent result of their difficulties in adjustment and
the weakening of the family bonds. This will be more deeply discussed
in the next chapter.

Political Involvement

Two aspects of the political involvement of Cuban-Americans will
be considered. One refers to their participation in associations and
activities whose main objectives are related to the political situation
of their native country. The second aspect deals with the group's
involvement in the politics of the host, or their adopted country,
the United States of America.

Political Involvement in Relation to Cuba. Being political immi-
grants with high hopes for a quick return to Cuba, Cuban-Americans
in the first years of exile, formed and organized many associations
and groups. The purpose of these organizations was to offer an outlet
for the expression of the Cuban patriotic spirit in exile, through the
celebration of Cuban national holidays, as well as, to collect funds
that could be used in various ways to promote and support efforts for
the liberation of Cuba.

As the years passed with no imminent return to the island,
various developments occurred. In some, the patriotic spirit appeared
to wane, at least temporarily, due to the precedence taken by economic
survival and preparation for a more permanent residence in the United
States. Others might have become somewhat disinterested and disillu-
sioned as many organizations collecting money and promising the
freedom of Cuba were not able to obtain or produce the expected results.

Another factor seems to have been related to the acculturation of many families whose growing children acculturated quickly to the host country; the result being, apparently, less interest and involvement in political associations. The thrust of many groups became more cultural than political, their objectives being to provide a Cuban environment for social life and the preservation of certain cultural values and traditions. These groups help the adult and older generations to adjust and to feel better in a familiar environment. At the same time they also intend to transmit their values and cultural traditions to the new generations growing up in this country.

Most Cubans are very sensitive to any political issues regarding their native country. Any comment or report which may make Castro's government appear in a favorable light is immediately considered as untruthful or communist. Individuals trying to observe or analyze the Cuban situation in an objective manner are shunned as enemies of democracy and considered Castro's allies. Ward (1978) expressed his perplexity at the poor reception given by Cuban-Americans to his articles, in which he tried to describe the Cuban situation as he saw it with its positive as well as its negative aspects. He declared: "After my first reporting on Cuba appeared in National Geographic Magazine, I was surprised and disappointed at the response from the Cuban exile community and the inability of many of them to accept any positive information about the country" (Ward, 1978:vi). These non-objective attitudes on the part of the exiles seem related to the fact that Cuban-Americans draw a sharp distinction between Cuba and the Cuban government. They love their country but despise the Castro regime.

According to Carver and Humphries (1981) the Castro regime represents, for the exiles in the United States, a negative reference group, with which they compare themselves in order to emphasize the differences. The comparison tends to increase the opposition since they want to avoid identification with it at all costs. In experiments conducted with Cuban students in Miami, it was confirmed that the Castro government was indeed used by Cuban exiles as a negative reference group. The subjects expressed their opinions related to the liberalization of relations between Cuba and the United States in such a manner that their positions would be different from those attributed to the Cuban government when these were made salient. It was also suggested that the use of this group as a negative reference was more related to the desire to portray oneself publicly in a way that will be accepted by the community in which one is a part, than coming from a need to define one's own personal attitudes. In the case of the Cuban exiles, it seems, that declaring themselves in strong opposition to the Cuban government and expressing solidarity with the mainstream of the exile community serve the purpose of ensuring social acceptance and the other rewards of social interaction (Carver and Humphries, 1981). Arguelles (1970) in her study on Cubans also reported having to overcome the resistance of these exiles to become subjects of studies which, in their opinion, were political in nature. For most Cuban-Americans, to accept that Castro's government has done something positive would represent a betrayal to the principles of freedom and to surrender to the possibility of Cuba remaining under Communist dominion forever. Reverend Vizcaino (in Godsell, 1980) reports that Cubans glorify the

United States to the point of denying the hardship, the difficulties, and the problems they have had to face in the new culture, especially in terms of the elderly and the youth. Accepting or declaring that after all the American Dream was not exactly what they had originally believed would be giving ammunition to Castro for his ideological attacks on the refugees and the United States.

An interesting analysis of the Cuban exiles' denial of any negative aspects of the United States was made by Kirk (1980) who studied views on the interpretation of the great Cuban political figure of the 1800's: Jose Marti, the intellectual leader. His thoughts on politics, and especially on the United States, have lent themselves to appropriation by even opposing political movements. Castro's government has developed an image of Marti quite opposed to that existing in the pre-Castro era: a Marti who is anti-North America. On the other hand, Cuban exiles also holding Marti high as their most prominent leader, emphasize those aspects which, in the pre-Castro era, presented Marti as pro-North America. In Cuba, Marti is considered the inspiration, the intellectual author of the liberation movement. In the United States, among Cuban-Americans, Marti has been the central figure utilized to discredit Castro and mobilize opposition to the present Cuban regime. Thus, these two opposing interpretations, one revolutionary and one traditional, of Marti's richness of ideas have led Kirk to conclude that "either Marti's ideas were basically 'disorganized and contradictory', and therefore all sides could rightfully lay claim to his work, or else that Marti's work - in reality quite coherent - has been distorted or taken out

of context in order to 'prove' the validity of a particular viewpoint" (Kirk, 1980:141). Because of political sensitivity and subjectivity it seems an almost impossible hope to expect that Cubans on one political side or the other could study Marti's complete work in an objective manner.

The economic stabilization of the Cuban community at large in their new country of residence, and the new developments regarding the U.S. government's apparent intentions of re-approachment with Cuba seemed to have given a new thrust in recent years to the Cuban exiles' interest in Cuban matters. By the same token, the visits to relatives in Cuba and the arrivals of the new Cuban exiles seem to have brought evidence to confirm Castro's failure in bringing paradise to the Cuban citizens, and a re-affirmation in the exiles that Cuba needs to be freed from the communistic rule.

Groups have developed in various directions. There are those which continue to collect money for military training of exiles to fight Castro, and those who are trying to recruit individuals for that military training (Diario de las Americas: 25 March 1982). There are those which are attempting to develop political leadership. In spite of the number of important Cuban figures who have been considered prominent among the Cuban exiles, no specific individual or group seems to have been able to gain status as leader and to unite the Cuban-Americans in an organized effort for the Cuban cause.

The policy of the United States regarding opening a dialogue with Cuba brought further divisions among the exiles who varied from one extreme to another in their opinions regarding the issue (Cabezas,

1980). There were those who favored the new approach, hoping that Cubans in Cuba will benefit materially from it as well as allowing outside influences to directly penetrate the island. On the other hand, there were groups of extremists which became openly and blatantly opposed to the new prospective policy. These groups utilize threats as well as violence towards individuals or organizations, especially those of the press which favored, or were involved in the reapproachment efforts. They are considered terrorists and are feared by those who are not extremists. In New York, the members of the group have threatened the Spanish news media, which has been more open in expressing views with which the terrorists are in disagreement. This has limited the role and growth of the Hispanic media other than the one that only reports negatively on Castro (Brown, 1980). But though according to the FBI, the active members of the terrorist groups are not many, they have definitively made an impact to keep the press one-sided. Another recently formed group that seems to be growing and gaining support among the Cuban exiles as well as from other international fronts is the Cuban Dissident Intellectuals for the Freedom of Cuba. This group held their third congress in 1982 in Washington, D.C. Its approach, goals and membership appear different than those of all the other Cuban organizations to date. Composed mostly of intellectuals: artists, writers, professionals and businessmen, it aims to fight an ideological war against communism; to alert the free world to what it considers the real danger of Soviet terrorism and the insidious activities of Moscow's surrogates such as Cuba. The objective of the organization is not limited to what

Cuban exiles can do for Cuba, but it is international in nature. Miyares, a prominent Cuba-American businessman in Chicago, who is involved in the organization, declared that "Cuba has spent millions of dollars in an attempt to create favorable public opinion in the United States and the rest of the world ... The congress was an effort to counter that Castro influence with the truth." He added that Cuban intellectuals can also accomplish two other objectives: "... to provide leadership to fellow exiles to keep alive their cultural heritage," and to band together the kind of brain power that might generate sufficient dissent within Cuba to bring down Castro (Miyares in Wiedrich, 1982: Section 1, p. 27).

Political Involvement in Relation to the United States. Some developments have also occurred in terms of the political involvement of Cuban exiles in their adopted country. During the early years of exile, the thought of an immediate return kept Cubans aloof from American politics. They were not interested and did not consider it necessary to become involved. As the years passed and the circumstances made the nature of the exile more permanent, some Cubans started to change their refugee status and became permanent residents in the United States. However, the change was done mostly with a practical purpose in mind than out of resignation to becoming forever a committed citizen of this country. For the Cuban community at large, to become a U.S. Citizen was an act of betrayal (Time, 16 October 1978). In his socio-political analysis of the Cuban exile, Gallagher (1974) reported that at the time of his research few refugees had become American citizens. However, a report on Cubans only four years after indicate

that the trend is definitely changing. "Cubans are now taking out U.S. citizenship at the rate of 1,000 a month" (Time, 16 October 1978:52). Cubans have become aware of the voting power to get things done and are definitely becoming more involved in the American political scene. In spite of their large numbers in Florida, however, in 1978 there were no Cuban representatives in the Florida legislature or in the U.S. Congress. This seemed to be due to the fact that only 47% of Cubans had become citizens and that many still saw themselves as anti-communist absentees from their island home (Time, 16 October 1978). Regarding their general attitude toward participation, it has been hypothesized that, "... Cubans who perceive their stay in the United States as forced and who yet have a desire to return to the native culture 'will participate in less effective social-psychological interplay' with the host group that the Cubans who perceive their stay in the United States as voluntary and permanent" (Marina, 1975:18). These thoughts can be applied similarly to the political arena.

Sense of Humor

Studies exploring the Cuban characteristic sense of humor, - especially "el choteo" and "el relajo" - its preservation, transformation, or disappearance among Cuban-Americans, were not available. Only Rubinstein (1976), in his report of cases of Cuban patients seen by him in private practice, points to the disappearance of this trait as a result of acculturation.

The Process and the Results of Acculturation in Cuban Americans

In the previous sections of this chapter some of the changes in attitudes and behavior of Cuban exiles in the United States have been

presented. Various aspects of their life in this country have been described. It is at this point, however, that more emphasis will be placed on those cultural factors that have been retained, modified or changed and which are more directly linked to the core of the Cuban identity.

The fact that most Cuban exiles have resided in the United States for more than a decade, has prompted researchers to pay close attention to the process and the aspects of acculturation which play an essential role in terms of the adjustment and integration of the Cuban-American community. The findings of studies relating to cultural characteristics, values and acculturation will be mentioned below. Although many authors have studied acculturation in relation to mental health and personal adjustment, the remainder of this chapter will focus on the characteristics and values per se. The aspects of mental health will be specifically focused upon and discussed in Chapter IV.

Basic Concepts and Alternatives in the Acculturation Process

This study will not deal in detail with the process of accultura-tion since this has been widely explored by other authors in relation to various groups of immigrants in the United States, as well as specifically in terms of Cubans and other Hispanics. In a recent book edited by Padilla (1980) various authors present theories, models and new research findings on acculturation in general and on the process among Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans. Nevertheless, some basic concepts on acculturation presented by Berry (in Padilla, 1980) will be stated. According to Berry the acculturation process consists of three phases. These are: contact of two cultures which

is a necessary condition for the process to occur; conflict between
the values of the two cultures - this being a very probable occurrence
since most persons resist giving up their cultural values; and thirdly,
adaptation, which represents a variety of ways to resolve or reduce
the conflict.

Even though for many, acculturation is synonymous with assimila-
tion, Berry (in Padilla, 1980) insists that this belief has come mostly
from the culture-bound nature of research. In response to this, he
brings out a number of alternatives or options through which non-
dominant groups may decide to adapt (when free to make the decision)
or are made to adapt (when forced by the dominant group).

Integration and assimilation are two open options in accultura-
tion in instances when the minority group desires a positive relation-
ship with the dominant society. Integration may be achieved in an
environment of multiculturalism or in one of pluralism. In both cases,
the identity and integrity of the minority group can be retained, at
the same time that movement occurs toward the goal of becoming an
integral part of the larger societal framework. In multiculturalism,
the dominant society values the various minority cultures that form
it, while in a pluralistic society, the various cultures co-exist but
are not necessarily valued. The process of assimilation also has two
variations: one is the melting pot style in which the native cultural
values are not retained because of the individual's own choice. The
other is the pressure cooker style, in which values are not retained;
not by personal choice, but through imposition coming from the dominant
society. Berry also describes some negative types of acculturation

which work against the establishment and maintenance of positive
relationships with the dominant group. These types are: <u>withdrawal</u>
<u>and segregation</u>. Both of these tend to retain the native cultural
identity, the first one, by self-choice, the second one, by force.
Lastly, two more alternatives to acculturation styles remain: <u>margina-</u>
<u>lity</u>, in which the native group isolates itself from the host society,
wanting no relationship with it, while at the same time it relinquishes
its own cultural values. The other is <u>ethnocide</u> in which the dominant
group forces the non-dominant group into marginality.

<u>The Unidimensional and the Two-Dimensional Models of Acculturation</u>
<u>of Cuban-Americans</u>

Szapocznik and Kurtines (1979, 1980) developed a model to account
for the occurrence of intergenerational/acculturation differences and
their disruptive effects among Cuban immigrant families. This model
is unidimensional and it brings out the differences in acculturation
in terms of age, sex and length of contact with the host culture. The
results of the study for the development of this model indicated that
younger members of the family acculturate more rapidly than older
family members. Because male youth acculturate the fastest and female
parents the slowest, this model predicts that the most severe conflicts
will occur between Cuban mothers and their young males. Szapocznik
and Kurtines also developed a two-dimensional model in order to
account for degree of biculturalism. The unidimensional model did
not provide information in terms of characteristics acquired from the
host culture and those from the native culture that were relinquished.
For the first Cuban immigrants who arrived in Miami, the acculturation

process, especially for the young, seemed to have occurred in the unidimensional direction as the first model described it. This was apparently due, for the most part, to an initial lack of a large Hispanic community for support. A few years later, when the second wave of Cuban immigrants arrived, they already found a large Cuban community in this country, especially in the Miami area. They had the opportunity to relate to two cultural environments. For them the bicultural model seems the most appropriate in explaining the process of acculturation. The researchers found that one dimension, time of contact with the host culture, influences greatly the individual's accommodation to it, while the second dimension, his retention or relinquishing of the characteristics of the native culture depends on the "degree and availability of community support for the culture of origin" (Szapocznik and Kurtines, in Padilla, 1980:144). The rate of change in both instances is related to the age and sex of the individual.

Szapocznik and his collaborators also bring out the problems of adjustment caused in the families by the differences in acculturation between parents and their youngsters. They have especially worked in linking the aspects of acculturation to adjustment. Their findings and ideas will be presented more widely in the following chapter on Cubans and mental health.

Other Studies and Findings Related to the Behavioral and Value
Acculturation of Cuban Americans

A number of research studies have been conducted that establish a difference between behavioral and value acculturation. Those related

to Cubans will be presented below. Behavioral acculturation refers to overt changes, which can be observed, such as language, customs, habits and life style. Value acculturation refers to the non-so-easily observable changes which involve gradual adoption by the individual of the host culture's basic value orientations (Szapocznik and others, 1978).

The presentation of the related findings will be done in chronological order, in terms of the dates of publication of such studies. Throughout the account presented below, it will be advisable to keep in mind that, for the purpose of research in these acculturation studies, emphasis has been placed on certain groups and their characteristics. The individual or personal factor has not been included. Padilla (1980) believes that psychologists have neglected this very important factor which takes into account each individual's experiences, his/her functioning, and those "... psychological processes involved in the individual who is in a state of transition between two cultural orientations or in the individual who has completely acculturated" (Padilla, 1980:47).

Another point to be kept in mind is that most of the studies subsequently presented do not follow Berry's definitions of acculturation since his study appeared later. Thus, the terms assimilation, acculturation, integration and others may not be presented in a clear cut fashion and in some instances may even be used interchangeably. The terminology used here will be that chosen by each particular author whose study is mentioned.

Gibboney (1967) conducted a study with Cuban fathers living in

Washington, D.C., Maryland, and Ohio, to explore changes in their tra-
ditional roles and the variables associated with these changes. He
found that the shift in the parental role in these fathers was mostly
related to sociological changes occurring within the family. The
occurrence or the lack of occurrence of change in terms of the presence
or absence of extended family members in the household was the most
important variable associated with role change. Other changes such
as those in mothers' work status and in socio-economic status of the
family were of less influence in provoking the change in the fathers'
role.

In a survey of 200 Cuban families across the United States,
Wenk (1968) found that Cuban women were also changing in their tradi-
tional roles. He reported that the gross family income of the Cuban
family included very frequently the earnings of wife, sons and daugh-
ters, which were supplementing the earnings of the head of the house-
hold. He also stated that the Cuban American housewife, once resettle-
ment had taken place in the United States, acquired a dual role -
housewife and wage earner. Furthermore, it was also found that newlywed
Cuban women placed more emphasis on the dual role, even to the point of
reversing the order to importance: wage earner came first, and house-
wife second. This change is interpreted as coming from a desire on
the part of the wives to increase the family's standard of living and
its economic stability. Another characteristic which was found to be
high in the Cuban family, was cohesiveness. This involves an acceptance
of the elderly, the sick or otherwise infirm. This cohesiveness also
led to less use of public assistance, since families helped each other.

Even though this cohesiveness may influence Cubans to live near relatives, they manage to remain distant enough so as not to become "ghettoized". This fact seems to allow the formation of new associations and new productive ties within the community at large. At the time that Wenk conducted his study, he concluded that Cubans had assimilated and adjusted rather quickly.

In a study by Carter and Feder (1968) in which they examine some positive effects of psychological consultation in Head Start programs, two aspects regarding Cubans in the United States are mentioned. The first one is the painful transition that many Cuban men had to face in changing professions or jobs, especially when the new position is considered traditionally "a feminine one" which implies for them loss of cultural status. The second aspect refers to difficulties which may arise in multi-ethnic personnel work-relationships. The authors point out that the Cuban's feeling of superiority to other Hispanic ethnic groups may cause work conflicts.

In 1969, Portes conducted research with Cuban families in the Milwaukee, Wisconsin area, to examine their degree of integration into the new society. He found that the degree of integration was strongly influenced by the relative level of the socio-economic rewards that the families were receiving at the time of the study. "The greater the socioeconomic rewards derived from present American life in comparison with past Cuban ones, the greater the integration" (Portes, 1969:511). The same author reported that the most potent forces working against the Cubans' integration into the United States were the "commitments to the old values and to a 'return' goal, together with a strong

identification with Cuba and their past lives ..." (Portes, 1969:508).

He found, however, that the families in this study were more advanced in their integration than those Miami families, with whom other studies were conducted. Portes concluded that the strength of the socioeconomic rewards on the level of integration of the Cubans "... is a specific consequence of the individualistic-utilitarian ethic characteristic of these immigrant families" (1969:517). This ethic is also a characteristic of the host country. Hence, the positive attraction to the United States and the facilitated integration are derived. Thus, for families which have had highly favorable experiences in this country, the old values and identities have weakened, leading to increasingly integrative "cultural mixtures". This was contrary to the situation existing in the Miami area, where the existence of a dense Cuban population has led to "frequent complaints of Cuban clannishness (only 5% of Cubans intermarry)" (Time, 16 October 1978:52).

Carballo (1970) studied a group of Cuban refugees in New Orleans. In his study he described the variables that seem to influence the process of post-migration adjustment and involvement in the host society, and which also help to differentiate between assimilation and acculturation. The variables studied which seem to influence the process were: the ability to transfer the central occupational role from one society to another; the knowledgeability about the society into which the individual is moving; the satisfaction with the host society and what it is perceived as offering; the traditional or modern-oriented nature of the individual; the socioeconomic class; and the educational level of the individual.

Richmond (1973) also studied some variables of the exile experience which may have affected the adaptation of the Cuban family and its inner structure. She found that the Cuban exile family is generally less male dominated and has less segregated roles than Latin American families in general. In addition, the Cuban children have been given more independence than their Latin American counterparts. These two changes, which represent a more equalitarian ideology and which was found present in the Miami families studied, seem to have been most highly associated with length of residence in the United States as well as with degree of association with Americans.

Association with his/her American peers was also the most important factor related to the children's degree of gained independence. Additional studies have compared Cuban and Anglo children along some culturally related behaviors. Some of the characteristics attributed to the Cuban children have been: field-dependency, shorter retrotension and protension (time projection into the past and the future) and less future direction. These variables seemed, however, mostly associated with father-absence rather than being considered a pure result of cultural differences (Wohlford and Herrera, 1970; Wohlford and Liberman, 1970). Cuban children were also found to be more frequently tardy, more accustomed to lunch at home, and to exhibit more frequently, non-verbal behaviors in classroom situations than their Anglo counterparts. Cuban children used more hand and arm gestures with or without words in conversation; they showed more warmth toward the teacher through more closeness; they were more comfortable with eye-level contact with the teacher and reached out more to touch

her. They were generally less inhibited, setting up less non-verbal defenses for maintaining their own territorial space. Cuban students were also freer in expressing themselves in pantomine (Gomula, 1973).

When Rogg (1974) conducted her study of Cubans in the West New York area she found this community to be apparently more rigid and determined in preserving its own customs than was the larger community of Miami. Even though the existence of this strong community seemed to slow down the acculturation process, it was instrumental in allowing this process to occur at a manageable pace, thus, reducing the adjustment problems of its members, at least those of the first generation. Rogg also found that emphasis on values differed from one socioeconomic class to another and they were, therefore, not the same across all Cubans. Subjects of higher socioeconomic status, for instance, had higher hopes for their children's education and future, while lower-class Cubans were more concerned about the immediate present and believed that "... the secret of happiness is not to expect too much from life" (Rogg, 1974:136). As in other studies mentioned above, results of this study seem to reinforce the findings that as the socioeconomic rewards received by the individual in this country increase in comparison with those obtained in Cuba, the level of acculturation seems also to increase. In terms of family relationships, Rogg was able to observe that some changes were already occurring. For example, one interesting observation was that roles were reversed in terms of parents and children. Since many parents did not speak English, children had to become interpreters and deal with store clerks, government officials and apartment owners or managers. This

situation has placed the parents in a dependency role through which they felt that they were losing prestige and respect. Many men, being traditionally the sole providers, have experienced in addition, loss of power due to the new role the women are playing as participants in the world of work. Women also experience many pressures as they try to perform multiple functions in the home and outside of it. However, at the time of the Rogg study considerable strain in family relationship was not yet found.

Klovenkorn, Madera and Nardone (1974) bring out in their article the nature of the characteristics of the Cuban school child and his relationship with the family. They describe the Cuban mothers as being over-protective. For many Cuban children dependency on their mothers results in a traumatic kindergarten adjustment period. Absenteeism is also high among these children particularly on rainy days because mothers are very concerned about their children catching a cold, since this may develop into more serious illnesses. Cuban parents in general are also very interested in their children's academic achievement and usually cooperate with their teachers. When told of their children's misbehaviors in school, parents would "harshly chastise" them. Deprivation of privileges for long periods of time seems to be a favored method. The authors describe Cuban children as generally outgoing, warm, expressive, talented, versatile, and resourceful. They are also eager to learn, respect authority, and accept graciously, corrections and suggestions. They value highly family ties and their family units, but because they are the center of interest at home, they also tend to be attention-getting in their

behavior in the classroom. This seems to create problems of management for the teachers, who also need to guide them into independent activities. Counselors believe that Cuban children are sensitive to changes, anxious to please, and to cope with many environmental and psychological demands. They get along well with their peers and have few problems in adjusting. In conclusion, Klovekorn, Madera and Nardone (1974) believe that Cuban exiles have not easily assimilated into the mainstream of the American society, but that as all first generations, they have stayed with their own group to preserve their identity.

In a study with Cuban youngsters, ages 10, 13 and 17, Concha, Garcia and Perez (1975) found that, compared with an Anglo American group, the former were more competitive than the latter, who were found to be more cooperative. However, as age increased, both groups became more cooperative. The authors concluded that the competitiveness or aggressiveness of the Cubans might be attributed to the effect of social reinforcement in the Cuban community for efforts to acculturate.

In terms of modality of interpersonal relationships, Marina (1975) discusses three of its dimensions which are different in the Cuban and American cultures. These dimensions are: inclusion, control and affection. First of all, inclusion refers to the fact that Cubans include all ages in most of their activities and social events in more extensive and intensive manners, while in America, age groups tend to be separated. Secondly is control. Cuban parents traditionally exercise more control over their children than American parents who allow more independent behavior and self-determination in their

youngsters. Thirdly is <u>affection</u>. Cubans are accustomed to display more affection between youngsters and parents, while among American families this practice is not prevalent. These differences in the quantity and quality of accustomed interpersonal relationship within the family produce ambivalent feelings in many Cuban teenagers.

Hogges and Hogges (1976) identified five basic differences between the Cubans and the Americans in terms of patterns of behavior. These patterns have made the cultural contrast sharper. They are differences in language (Spanish vs. English); dating practices (includes chaperoning vs. excludes chaperoning); ethical issues (more restricted vs. more liberated); wardrobe (more conventional vs. more informal); and family (extended vs. nuclear). Cubans have had to face the adaptation from one set of situations to the other. In this study, the authors interviewed eighth grade Cuban students in a private school. They found that in spite of these differences, the eighth grade Cuban youngsters interviewed (all of whom had been born in the United States or had resided here for ten years or more) did not show, at this stage, culturally-related dysfunctional behavior or parent-child disruptive interactions. On the contrary, they liked the predominantly Spanish oriented atmosphere of their school and felt comfortable speaking both English and Spanish. They also showed agreement or acceptance of their parents' Latin American values, and apparently felt free to incorporate American cultural elements into their lives. The function of the bilingual-bicultural school may have been a definite element in making the accommodation of the two cultural elements agreeable and in promoting adjustment.

In 1976, Gil conducted a study with Cuban immigrants living in Los Angeles, California. He found that the group in general had achieved a high measure of personal adjustment, but a moderately (if not weak) level of acculturation. The pluralistic society where they lived and the lack of need to become part of the melting pot in order to receive the economic rewards of the host society, has led many to incorporate behavioral changes while preserving the ethnic structure and their identity. The results of this study appear to confirm the results of those which had previously found that the level of acculturation in Cubans seems highly related to their perception of the social and economic rewards derived from living in the U.S.A. The Cuban of Los Angeles also appears to have the individualistic-utilitarian ethics characteristic of other Cubans described above. Gil emphasizes that even though there is a general pattern of preservation of the essence of the native culture, Cubans vary individually in their acculturation patterns. Each one takes from the host culture what he/she believes will yield him/her highly functional rewards. Of the total sample, the majority of subjects were classified as modally adjusted, marginally acculturated, traditional families. Other types represented in less numbers were: 1. The non-adjusted, non-acculturated marginal families; 2. The modally adjusted, modally acculturated, instrumentally changed families; and 3. The well-adjusted substantially acculturated families. Some of the characteristics or behaviors of the Cuban-Angeleno community, as described by Gil, are: the continued preservation of familism, personal values, patriotism, and an undying hope of return to Cuba; the social establishment of itself through

Cuban clubs and associations without becoming isolated from the main-
stream of Anglo life; the economic and occupational success, having
surpassed Anglo and other Spanish-surname groups in median income;
the continuation of traditionally close kinship between parents and
children and especially between daughters and mothers; the transforma-
tion of traditional roles through the incorporation of women into the
labor market and the derived need for men to share in the domestic
and child-rearing responsibilities; the acceptance of changes in the
traditional male-female code of behavior, at least in terms of loosen-
ing up in the chaperonage custom and allowing younger girls to date
under certain restrictions; the willingness or resignation of parents
to relinquish their children to their peer group at an earlier age;
the continuation of the double standard of sexual chastity; the
formation of street corner and social, professional cliques; the
avoidance of Cuban political topics, because many Cuban-Angelenos were
from opposing political factions in Cuba, and lastly, the participation
in Cuban parties and activities.

Unlike the findings of most recent studies by Szapocznik, one
by Morgan (1977) yielded different results. The factors mostly affect-
ing the acculturation of a group of Cubans (16 to 80 years of age) in
Miami was years of residence in the United States and age (both factors
affecting females only). The younger the female and the longer her
stay in this country, the higher her level of acculturation. For
male refugees, other acculturative forces may be at play.

In a study of Cubans in New Orleans, Williamson (1976-1977)
reported findings similar to those of Portes (1969) and Gil (1976) in

terms of the factors affecting the adaptation of Cubans to socio-cultural change. He concluded that, level of income was the best predictor of level of adaptation in his sample. This factor (socio-economic rewards) which also includes, to a lesser extent, occupation and occupational transferability was important in determining the socio-cultural integration, the mental health status and the present life satisfaction of the Cubans under study.

Based on data obtained from Cuban immigrants at the point of arrival in 1973, Portes and others (1978) report on the nature and determinants of their occupational, income, and educational aspirations. It was hypothesized that these would be determined either by rationality (past level of attainment and knowledge of the English language) or by the achievement motivation and personality characteristics of individuals. In the first case, the aspirations would be more modest than in the second. Past occupation and past education were most important to Cubans in terms of setting their aspirations. However, knowledge of the English language was of lesser importance except for educational aspirations. This is explained in terms of their functioning within the Cuban community already established in Miami. Thus, in general, the aspirations of the Cuban sample were based on a "... rational assessment of objective opportunities in this country as determined by the individual's past experiences and his skills to cope with situations in a new country" (Portes and others, 1978:257).

Alvarez and Pader (1978) studied locus of control (internal vs. external) among Anglo-Americans and Cuban-Americans and found no significant differences due to ethnicity. They did find however, an

age difference in terms of less external orientation for the older
Cuban group (27-54 years of age). The authors speculated that these
results may indicate the subjects' already enhanced perception of
internal locus of control as they had enacted personal choices in
deciding to come to this country.

In studies conducted by Santisteban (1978) and Szapocznik,
Scopetta and Kurtines (1978) with Cubans in Miami, the rate of
acculturation was found to be related to the amount of time the
person was exposed to the host culture; to the age of the individual
(in an inverse relation); to the psychosocial stage of the individual
(in the case of relational value acculturation); and to sex (males
acculturating more quickly than females). Szapocznik, Scopetta and
Kurtines (1978) furthermore, made the distinction between the results
regarding behavioral and value acculturations. They stated that
although the findings seem clear in terms of the direction of beha-
vioral acculturation along the variables mentioned above, the results
were not as clear with the value acculturation dimensions, finding no
significant differences between the sexes or among the various ages.
Santisteban (1978) pointed out that in addition to the differences
found in the rate of behavioral acculturation between parents and
children, a gap between behavioral and structural or value accultura-
tions was also observed as existing within many individuals. Likewise,
Cuban immigrants were studied in comparison with Anglo-Americans in
terms of the preference for certain value-orientations (Szapocznik,
Scopetta and King, 1978). The results indicated that Cubans tended to
prefer lineality in human relationships based on hierarchical or

vertical structures; had a present-time orientation; lacked the bearings to attempt to exercise control over natural forces and environmental conditions; tended to value doing, as an activity orientation; and not to highly endorse idealized humanistic values. Cubans, as other Latin families, were found to have a strong family influence, which represented "... an extended but closed system whose members are highly interdependent for the satisfaction of emotional needs and for providing solutions to problems of intrafamilial living" (Szapocznik, Scopetta and King, 1978:114). Cubans were also found to be highly sensitive to environmental social pressures. They have great need for approval and are field-dependent in general. Another study by Szapocznik, Kurtines and Hanna (1979) replicated the study of 1978 with a Cuban adult outpatient population. The results confirmed the findings of the previous study with non-clinical adolescents in which differences were found between the Cuban and Anglo populations in terms of the relational, temporal and person-nature orientations. The humanistic value orientation was the only dimension in which differences were not found in this study as in the previous one. However, a new finding related to human nature orientation for which no differences were found in the first study, was present in the latter one. Adult outpatient Cubans held the concept that people are basically good, while Anglo-Americans held that people are basically evil and selfish.

In a study by Alvarez and Pader (1979) a group of Cuban children from Cuban private schools and another group from public schools were compared between themselves and with an Anglo group in terms of competitive versus cooperative behavior. This study was similar to

one previously mentioned by Concha, Garcia and Perez (1975) with
the exception that this one was controlling for socio-economic
status and sex differences. These children were from lower middle
class and below levels, and from six to eight years of age. The
results of this study were different from those of the previous
one. Anglo American children were found to be more competitive
than both groups of Cuban children under conditions of individual
reward, when sex and socio-economic class were controlled.

Many of the studies mentioned above adapted or developed
various types of scales, questionnaires, interviews, and other
instruments to identify levels of acculturation. Among others,
Garcia and Lega (1979) developed a Cuban Ethnic Identity questionnaire
to assess the degree of Cubanness in a sample of Cuban respondents.
They found no significant differences among the groups with respect
to sex, occupation, income, education, or geographic location.
But there were able to find significant differences with respect
to age at time of arrival, years of residence in the United States,
and Cuban density of the neighborhood of residence. These authors
were concerned with the unidimensionality of most of the previously
existing models to measure acculturation. For them these
models only measure the degree to which Cubans had assimilated
the American values but did not emphasize what they may have
retained, especially in the case of those bicultural individuals
"... who may have successfully integrated Anglo-American behaviors
to their 'Cubanness'" (Garcia and Lega, 1979:248). Thus, as Szapocznik

and Kurtines later emphasized, the acculturation process is considered two-dimensional: what is integrated from the host society and what it is retained from the native culture. The analysis of the responses to the questionnaire revealed that individuals who rated themselves as highly Cuban were "... those who regularly consume ethnic foods, who watch television programs having to do with Cuba or with Cubans in whatever language they may be offered, who have mostly Cubans in their circle of friends, who know idiomatic expressions and cultural symbols, and who speak Spanish with their children" (Garcia and Lega, 1979:259). These behavioral dimensions seem to demonstrate the existence of a Cuban ethnic identity.

Lord (1980) conducted a study to examine the role of maternal employment and maternal education on Cuban-American and Anglo-American female adolescents' perception of their sex role. She found among other things, that Cuban-American daughters were more likely to aspire to a combination of employment, marriage and children than Anglo-American daughters, who preferred to discontinue employment when the first child was born. The Cuban-American adolescent daughters of upper and middle socioeconomic levels were less traditionally feminine and more oriented towards outside employment than expected from their cultural values. On the other hand, they were consistent with the Cuban traditional value system in considering essential for a woman's role the aspects of marriage and motherhood.

Gonzalez-Reigoza and Del Castillo (in Santisteban, 1980) place Cuban-Americans into three groups in terms of their cultural adaptation in the United States. First, he describes the group with the _frozen_

culture. This is composed of individuals who arrived in the United
States as adults and who have underacculturated, or retained the
elements and values of the Cuban culture, to the point in some cases,
of isolating themselves from further development, or from influences
from the American society; they do not desire to become integrated.
The second group is the no-culture group, which is composed of Cuban-
Americans who arrived between the ages of 10 and 20. When they
departed from Cuba, these individuals had not completely internalized
Cuban values. At the same time, they did not totally absorb the
American values, since they did not live in America during their
earlier years. Many in this group appear to suffer from problems of
identification. Cuban individuals who consider themselves bicultural
and who may identify themselves with neither of the two cultures are
in this group. However, a difference may be established
between those who function comfortably and effectively in both groups
and those who feel uncomfortable and separate themselves from both
cultures. The third group, is composed of overacculturated individuals.
They entered the U.S.A. at age nine or younger and have internalized
totally or to a great extent, the values of the host culture. They
have the most problems in relating with individuals of the frozen-
culture group.

In her study of Cubans in Washington, D.C. Boone (1981) stated
that first generation Cubans never disavow their essential Cuban
identity. They made clear distinctions between Latin and Anglo compo-
nents of culture, especially regarding values related to male/female
interaction, children, the importance of the family, marriage and close

friendship. Cubans strongly felt that Anglos were "... emotionally 'cold', too aggressive, too independent and free from family constraints, insecure and even foolish" (Boone, 1980 in Boone, 1981:105). She also found that the second generation of Cubans in Washington, D.C. seemed to maintain the Latin/Anglo distinction too, "... in spite of residential dispersion, the low density of the group, the marked success in the American job market, the increasing use of English, the adoption of American customs allowing more freedom for women and children, and their firmer identities as American nationals" (Boone, 1981:105-106).

Summary

This chapter attempts to describe the Cubans who fled from Cuba to the United States in the early years of Castro's Revolution. Some of these Cubans are still upholding a style of life in the manner of the pre-Castro Cuban culture; others have integrated certain aspects of the American style of life into their lives.

The Cuban exodus was a self-imposed political exile. These Cubans decided to leave the island for ideological and pragmatic reasons. However, they expected that this exile would be temporary only. Most of them settled in Miami, waiting for the return trip to take place very soon. When they realized that Castro's regime was not as weak as they thought, they began to be involved in the host society. Since most of them were educated and skillful political exiles, they were welcomed by the American public and government, and made a quick and useful adjustment to the demands of the new environment.

It is estimated that one tenth of the present population of the Island of Cuba is living in this country. The majority of them have settled in southern Florida's Dade County. Their impact has been felt in the economic transformation of Miami.

Many studies have been conducted to identify the characteristics of Cubans in this country. Very soon, Cubans became aware of the absolute need for learning English in order to get ahead in the host society. Children learned the new language faster than their parents. This caused some conflict between the generations. Some parents have favored bilingual education; some have not.

Religious beliefs and activities among the exiles appear stronger in this country than they were in Cuba. Males seem more interested in church in America than they were in their native country. Most of the Cubans are Roman Catholic. However, a number of them are involved in practices of Santeria, which is not accepted, but tolerated by the Roman Church. Teenagers do not find that the Church offers them what they need; but the Cuban adults are still highly affected by their religious beliefs. Gathering around religious activities is also a way to satisfy social needs for Cuban solidarity.

The majority of the Cubans who fled to this country during the 1960's and early 1970's were white. The rest of them were black and mulattos. White Cubans appeared to assimilate to the new environment faster than the black Cubans, who did identify themselves as Cubans and were accepted within the Cuban community. Black Cubans did not want to live in Black American neighborhoods. White Cubans appear confused in dealings with the hostility and segregation between whites

and blacks in the United States, a situation which did not seem to exist in Cuba before Castro's regime. Both white and black Cubans are uncomfortable with the dual racial classification in America. Cubans hold a status continuum based on skin color. Classifications of social status endured a change. Some wealthy families in Cuba experienced poverty level in this country; while unwealthy families in Cuba, became the "new rich" in America. White Cubans tend to establish residence based on social class rather than on ethnicity factors. In general, the social condition of Cubans appear better than that of the other Hispanic groups in America.

The educational level of the Cubans who came to this country in the early years of Castro's revolution appears to be higher than that of the other Hispanic groups. Cubans have higher percentages of their population involved in professional and administrative positions than do other groups of Hispanics. The median income of Cubans is higher than that of other individual Hispanic groups. Cubans created a new economy in Miami and 167,000 new jobs in Florida. The second generation of Cubans formed by those who have been born and reared in the United States does not appear to be as successful as the first generation. Many Cuban youngsters have become involved in drugs and antisocial behavior. Their dropout rates from school have surpassed the figures for blacks who live in the same area.

The political involvement of Cuban-Americans has moved in two main directions; the one, related to the political situation of their native country; the other, to politics of the host country. In the first years of exile, Cubans formed and supported associations for the

liberation of Cuba. The expected results were not obtained. The thrust of many groups became more cultural than political. Their objectives are to preserve cultural values and traditions. Most Cubans however, remain very sensitive to any political issue regarding their native country. Favorable comments on Castro's government are considered untruthful, leftist and communist. Marti, "the intellectual and pro North American leader", has become the symbol of freedom for Cubans in the United States. There has not yet appeared a Cuban leader to unify the political aspirations of the Cuban exiles. A new group has been formed, namely, the Cuban Dissidents Intellectuals for the Freedom of Cuba. This group is gaining support among the Cuban exiles as well as from other international fronts. Its main purpose is to provide leadership to fellow exiles to keep alive their cultural heritage and to band together the kind of brain power that might generate sufficient dissent within Cuba to bring Castro down. Some other groups are extremists in their approach, having resorted to violence.

During the early years of exile, Cubans refused to change their status as refugees and become American citizens. Later they became aware of the importance of political involvement and the voting power to get things done in America. There was a drastic change of attitude. A large number of Cubans became American citizens and began to participate in the political arena of this country. This was true, particularly of those who perceived "their stay in the United States as voluntary and permanent."

A number of studies has been performed in regard to those

cultural factors that have been retained, modified or changed and which are more directly linked to the core of the Cuban identity. Researchers indicate that the acculturation process involves several phases and includes various alternatives or options.

Researchers have identified two different models in the accultura- tion process of the Cubans: The unidimensional model according to which younger male members of the family acculturate more rapidly than other family members. This model predicts that the most severe con- flicts will occur between Cuban mothers and their young males. The other model is the two-dimensional model which explains the process of acculturation of the Cubans who arrived a few years later than the first Cuban immigrants and which is bicultural in nature.

The behavioral and value acculturation process of the Cubans in the United States has been object of considerable investigation and research. In general, findings indicate a correlation between socio- cultural integration and socio-economic rewards. The level of income appears as the best predictor of adaptation in the host society.

Changes are observed in the traditional roles of parents and women. The language barriers of parents have affected their prestige and respect in front of their children who have become interpreters of their parents. Women have acquired a dual role: housewife and wage earner.

The cohesiveness of the Cuban family is observed in the mutual help of relatives and acceptance of the elderly as important members of the family setting. The families which have been exposed to favorable experiences in this country appear to abandon the old values

and identity; to be less male dominated; and to move into increasingly integrative "cultural mixtures."

Many Cuban men have been exposed to very painful experiences in this country. They have had to change professions or occupations and to accept "female-oriented jobs" which affect negatively their egos according to their cultural status. Feelings of superiority, however, seem to emerge from exposure to multi-ethnic personal relationships at work. Changes in the traditional role of women seem to have affected men, women and the family as a whole, in both positive and negative ways.

Comparative studies between Cuban and Anglo children indicate that the former are warmer, more expressive and affective than the latter. Cuban youngsters, ages 10, 13 and 17 appeared more competitive than American groups. As age increased, however, both groups became more cooperative.

A Cuban Ethnic Identity Questionnaire was developed to assess the degree of Cubanness in a sample of Cuban respondents. No significant difference was found among the groups with respect to sex, occupation, education or geographic location. Significant differences were found with respect to age at the time of arrival, years of residence in the United States, and Cuban density of the neighborhood of residence. According to research, the acculturation process of Cubans is occurring at different rates and degrees depending upon the density and support of the Cuban community where they reside, their contact with Americans, the socio-economical reward received from the host society, length of residence in this country, age, and sex.

CHAPTER IV

CUBANS AND MENTAL HEALTH

In the previous chapter, the characteristics of Cuban Americans were presented. At the same time some of the cultural changes that have been taking place in the pre-Castro Cuban life style were discussed. In this chapter, the mental health problems which have resulted from the various factors involved in the processes of acculturation and adaptation will be presented. At the beginning, some general ideas will be offered. These will be followed by a presentation of the problems related to family living and those related to acculturation. Results from studies of various segments of the population will be included, starting with the family as a whole, and continuing with the various age groups from childhood through old age. The reactions and attitudes of Cubans toward Mental Health Services and facilities will follow subsequently, as well as the presentations of models of treatments which have been developed to meet the specific needs of the Cuban population. The chapter will end with some exploration of tentative approaches in reaching out to those Cubans in need.

Thoughts on Some Facts and Issues on the Adjustment and

Mental Health of Cuban American Families

When Cuban Americans left their native country after Castro's take-over, one of the things they were running away from, was the

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interference of the government in the affairs of the family. They feared that the philosophy and policies of the new regimen would remove the children from under parental influence and they would be taught ideas and practices that would be contrary to the respected traditions and values of family life which were deeply rooted in the culture.

It has been pointed out before, that Cubans admired the perceived life of comfort and wealth of the United States citizens, but not necessarily this country's apparent way of life as portrayed in the American movies. American women, children and youth were considered to be too independent, to the point that their freedom of action was mostly thought of as licentiousness. Many Cuban men, in particular, thought of American men as being weak for not exercising more authority on the family and for allowing too much freedom to its members. On the other hand, young women thought of American men as ideal husbands, who shared household and childrearing duties in a 50/50 manner.

The need of the Cuban families to remain for an indefinite time in the United States made it difficult to protect the family from the influences of the host country, since Cuban immigrants had to utilize the American institutions at least for the education of their children. In the schools they would be exposed to the cultural values and traditions of the American society. As it has already been mentioned, Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) in their study on the acculturation of the Cuban family, noticed the differential rate at which the process of acculturation between parents and children occurs. The fact that child acculturate faster than their parents is the source of

many family conflicts. While the first tend frequently to over-acculturate becoming almost mono-lingual and mono-cultural in English/American ways, the parents resist the change through underacculturating, therefore, remaining mono-lingual/mono-cultural in Spanish/Cuban ways. These opposite extremes represent and involve behaviors that perpetuate the cycle of resistance, which in turn increases the conflict within the family circle and with the outside environment as well. Since by necessity or choice, many individuals live and need to function in a bilingual bicultural environment or need to fluctuate between the two cultures, both groups become maladjusted and unable to function optimally for their own benefit and that of the society as a whole.

In general, Cuban Americans avoid complaining about the problems they have had to face in this country, some out of gratitude to the host country; others, to avoid giving Castro reasons to state that the exiles have not found paradise in the United States, after all. In spite of this, many observers, and professionals who serve the needs of the Cuban families report that indeed Cubans are having family problems: many traditional family ties have been disrupted; the rate of divorce has increased; many young people are in trouble, dropping out of school, into drugs or displaying acting out behaviors; many of the elderly suffer from depression, live in isolation and experience lack of control over their lives. With the mechanism of denial working at its highest, it is difficult to speculate about whom the Cubans blame for the negative aspects in their lives and for the difficulties in family life.

In pre-Castro Cuba, the society supported parents in the transmission and up-holding of family rules and traditions which were set and passed on through the generations. In the United States, however, there is so much variation in the philosophies and styles of family functioning and child-rearing practices, that to many immigrants, the situation is most confusing. It is almost an atmosphere of "each one does his/her own thing", while at the same time each one is trying to accept the differences in others and co-exist with different social and moral values without the recognition of possible conflicts. This complex situation should not block from view the fact that many American parents are not necessarily happy with the difficulties they face in raising their own children. American families are also disintegrating and the number of children from separated and divorced parents appears larger today than ever before. Juvenile delinquency is high all across the country, as well as across socio-economic levels. Roles in the family have changed and with them new styles of life have developed with their concurrent conflicts, pressures and tensions. Observing this situation leads to the realization that what seems to be affecting all families in these negative ways is not necessarily the "American cultural values," but the evils or negative side of modernization in society, especially in the large cities. The same phenomenon is being experienced in other nations of the world, in spite of the different cultural backgrounds. Thus, the "enemy" of the Cuban families in the United States may not be the "other culture" per se, but the elements of modernization that have also confronted them too abruptly to be absorbed at a manageable pace. The difference

in language, the strangeness of the environment and the Cubans' need
to struggle for survival made the task even more difficult. It should
be mentioned, that pre-Castro Cuba was also moving, although at a
slower pace, toward modernization and change. The influence of
industrialized societies, especially the United States, was high.
Parents would have had to accept many changes as their youth,
especially their daughters, got more involved in educational and job
endeavors, and shared more equalitarian relationships with their male
classmates and work associates. The changes would have probably been
accepted more easily had they occurred within the familiar environment.
Today, in Cuba, the same changes in roles and in traditions are also
taking place although within and because of a different philosophy and
social value structure. Therefore, in conclusion, it could be said
that the problems brought about by modernization are not confined to
one culture or to one group. They are confronted by all societies,
highly developed or in the process of achieving high levels of deve-
lopment. American parents, as well as Cuban, are not necessarily
happy with the negative aspects resulting from the process which can
be seen in: parental isolation from their children; lack of communi-
cation and absence of respected relationships among family members;
overworked parents; decrease in child supervision; estrangement of the
generations; isolation of the elderly; and lack of orientation in the
youth. All these are common pains to many parents of many cultures. If
Cuban parents could be made to realize that they are not alone in their
struggles against the corruptions of modernization, their resistance
to acculturate might be broken down and the gap between their children

and themselves might be narrowed. Difficulties then would be of a less traumatic nature. Certainly, it is not an easy or manageable task trying to deal with the inevitable changes brought about by modernization while at the same time trying to cope with the exigencies of the American institutions and its members, who frequently appear insensitive.

Furthermore, present in full sight, and with strong power over the individual are those demands from the Cuban community itself-- especially for those who live in heavily Cuban areas--a community whose reticence to change and whose pressures to preserve the tradi- tional cannot be lightly dismissed. This is the frozen-culture as Gonzalez-Reigoza and del Castillo call this group (1975, in Santisteban, 1980). Pressures from all sides may seem to drown the Cuban individual who struggles wanting to be himself, but who at the same time tends to be very dependent on the opinion of others and on the norms of the group. With this situation, it is no wonder that the mental health problems of the Cuban individuals and families are increasing and becoming more visible. The pressures are too much to bear, in as much as the aid offered to the Cuban community in the process of adjustment has not necessarily been the most helpful, the most accepted, or the most effectively tailored to the cultural needs of the group. Traditional American mental health delivery systems have not been effective in reaching the families before crisis or keeping them involved for other than short periods while tending to their mental health needs. Cultural barriers regarding mental health services and institutions, in addition to the specific characteristics

of the Cuban clients, has made it necessary to design new models of therapy and mental health services. Professionals are still facing many difficulties in attracting and keeping their Cuban clients.

General Problems Faced by the Cuban Family and
Individuals as Their Lives Change in Exile

Cuban families, as well as many other families in the world, face the problems which are typical to all individuals engaged in the process of life: Each individual with needs of his/her own is trying to live with others whose needs may be different. All are trying to get along with themselves, their relatives and their societies. In summary, each individual is trying to love, be loved, and to work, becoming competent and useful.

The Cuban family in Cuba, had familiar surroundings, a known environment with rules, traditions and values that were common to the society at large. Male and female roles were well-defined; the nature of men-women relationships and parent-children interactions seemed clear; extended family members had a role to play. In most cases, these were actively supportive of the nuclear family and a substantial help in the rearing of children. There seemed to be little room for anyone to experience isolation or for many others, to feel under excessive pressures from multiple or conflicting assumption of roles. Even though, there were people from all social classes and educational backgrounds, life was not lived in a rush. There seemed to be plenty of time for a laugh or for an informal chat with friends or relatives. Many families were already financially established; others, of lesser

resources, may have worked harder and/or for less money, but there was always time to relax and to live without those excessive worries about the next day. Things may have seemed easier than they were because of the care-free Cuban character, always ready to make "un relajo" (a joke) out of the most serious situations (see Chapter I).

Most Cuban families in the United States had to start back at the beginning on the hierarchy of needs as presented by Maslow: struggling for survival in order to gradually establish an economic base. They had to accomplish this task in a strange land and in a different language. Furthermore, the new country placed emphasis on different values and had the positive as well as the negative characteristics of a modernized society. Cubans, who had enjoyed a moderate or high standard of living while in Cuba, found that in order to achieve the same in the United States in a short period of time they would have to work harder, more intensely, while involving more members of the family in these efforts. Even those from lower socio-economic status were motivated to get ahead in order to acquire the conditions which would make their lives easier or more enjoyable. In spite of the fact that many Cubans have been successful in their endeavors, a price had to be paid, especially in terms of the desired family life style and of a cherished unity. In the process of making themselves a life in the new country, the sense of security and identity of the family and its individual members may have been temporarily or permanently shaken. According to Fitzpatrick (1971) some of the changes that Hispanic families go through, many times without their own conscious awareness are:

1. The changing role of husband and wife: both may work outside the home; the wife becomes more independent and the husband must take some responsibilities in helping at home.

2. The impact of the American culture which changes the patterns of social, community and political actions.

3. The shift in the role of the child from submission to independence: the separation between him and the family and the consequent emphasis of peer-centered rather than family-centered relationships. This is mainly due to the existence of a teen-age culture in this country in contrast with the parents' desires for the child to assume adult roles as soon as possible.

4. The tension between parents and daughters especially created by the differences between the dating system in this country and the chaperonage system peculiar to the Spanish culture.

5. The classic tension between the generations especially because of the differences between the parents' culture and the culture taught to the children in the American schools.

6. The weakening of family bonds due to the fact that the environment in the United States cities seems to work against family virtues and values.

7. The slow and steady substitution of impersonal norms: the emphasis on the norms of the system rather than norms of personal relationships.

Many Cuban families have faced conflicts, tensions, pressures, frustrations, separations, divorces, generation gaps, feelings of

rejection and isolation of some of its members, disintegration, lack
of respect and consideration in human relationships. All this is
happening as the struggle for survival goes on in a land where economic
security and the easy life for the majority is only a dream at the
present time. Cuban Americans may not yet have realized or may not
be willing to accept that "the Cuban dream, the expectation to live in
American wealth" has not necessarily come true. In order to have some
of the wealth, or to enjoy comfort, the work patterns must be exhausting
and continuous and, again, the price for the piece of the wealth has,
most of the time, to be paid in terms of strained family relationships.
The Cuban ideal of "working to enjoy life" has turned, for many, into
the necessary reality of "living in order to work."

It could be expected that, under the diverse external pressures
from the host and the exile Cuban communities, in addition to the
external pressures of self and family, the Cuban character must have
suffered some change. It would be interesting to know how care-free
and joyous the Cubans continue to be and to what extent the weight of
life in exile has really made them become more serious, more somber,
and more worried about tomorrow.

Research Findings on Specific Acculturation Related
Mental Health Problems of Cuban Americans

In this section the results obtained from studies conducted on
various samples of Cuban Americans in the United States will be
presented. All findings deal with the mental health problems of
families and/or individuals. They are, for the most part, related

to the problems faced in the process of acculturation. First, findings on the family as a whole will be introduced. Then, the remaining studies will be classified for presentation by groups. Studies relating to women/mothers will be first, followed by studies on men/fathers; children; adolescents, college students; and the elderly.

Studies Relating to the Family

Valdes and Baxter (1976) studied the social readjustment of a group of Cuban families in Texas. The results led the authors to conclude that for the Cuban family in exile, the most difficult life changes in terms of readjustment were the separation from the homeland and family, and the cultural differences faced in terms of family patterns. Thus, the Cuban family reports stress as a result of loss of parental authority over children, and separation from family members. In addition, conflict was expressed in terms of the attitudes and behavior towards the extended family, especially older parents and relatives. Cultural differences dealing with the elderly and in adjusting to the nuclear family pattern were evident.

One interesting pattern of family relationship found in the Puerto Rican family, but also applicable to the Cuban family, is the degree of enmeshment in family transactions. All families fluctuate along a continuum between disengagement and enmeshment. The latter extreme, which is pathological in families facing difficulties and conflict, refers to "... over-involvement, dependence, and discouragement of self-differentiation, where the behavior of one family member immediately affects others in the family" (Canino and Canino, 1980:536). Although some cultural aspects tending to enmeshment are

normal for Hispanic families, a high degree of stress can change these typical cultural patterns into dysfunctional ones. When this happens, all boundaries separating subsysterms become unclear; and the balance between differentiation of family members and family interdependence becomes totally lost.

Szapocznik and others (1981) in their Bilingual Effectiveness Training (BET) model bring out the differences between the American and the Cuban families in their ways to deal and resolve family conflicts. The American family tends to confront the problems and negotiate while the Cuban family tends to handle the conflict through denial and avoidance.

Rogg (1974) in her study of Cubans in West New York found that the existence of the strong Cuban community helped diminish the possibility of personality and social disorganization in those individuals who were unassimilable or had a low capacity for adaptation. She found that the support of relatives and friends was also an asset for adjustment. Cubans in higher socio-economic classes, because of rising to a level where there were less Cubans and more Americans to be dealt with, were pressured strongly to assimilate faster than those whose contacts were mostly Cuban. This upwardly mobile group was also found to experience the greatest adjustment problems within the family.

The independence that Cuban children, - who were previously sheltered and constantly protected - have gained has caused great concern and conflict for parents. Children spend many hours on their own. In addition, some of the older ones have jobs which have

propitiated them with some economic independence. Cuban parents are

distressed at the thought of their children being corrupted by the

freedom of American youth which sounds to them more like licentious-

ness. Many want their children to preserve the Spanish language, and

the Cuban style of life, but most of all the "respeto" (respect) for

their parents and elders. Although chaperoning seems to have

decreased in Miami, at the time of her study, Rogg still found a strong

tendency to provide the company of an adult to unmarried girls who go

out with young men. The degree of conflict experienced in these

situations, depends greatly on the degree of assimilation of the family.

Gil (in Rogg, 1974) reported that the conflict increases in the Cuban

families as youth have started to question their parents' behavior

and to challenge their traditions. For many youngsters trying to

avoid the conflict may mean suppressing their real thoughts and feel-

ings and being caught between the pressures from their parents and

that of their peers; while for others it may mean open rebellion. In

many traditional Cuban homes questioning or challenging parental

authority and commands is almost a criminal offense, and the cause

of parental anger as well as distress. As the parents acculturate

further, more allowances may be made to the youngsters in this area.

But when the gap seems to widen towards the extremes between the

youth and the parents, when the former overacculturates while the

latter underacculturates, the results cannot be less than traumatic.

Szapocznik and others widely studied the adaptation of Cubans in the

Miami area (see Bibliography). In the acculturation model they deve-

loped, it is proposed that "... the essential aspect of the acculturation

process that leads to family disruption is the development of inter-
generational/acculturational differences... (suggesting therefore,
that) "... the etiology of family disruption among immigrant groups
is related to the nature of the acculturation process...," (1978:129)
which takes place more rapidly for the younger than for the older
members of the family. Remaining or becoming mono-cultural while
living in a bicultural context tends to bring problems of adjustment
which are manifested many times through the adolescents' acting out
behavior, and/or drug abuse; or in the abuse of sedatives and tran-
quilizers on the part of the mothers. Szapocznik and associates also
found that where the intergenerational gap was wider the adolescents
exhibited higher levels of acting out pathologies and poor school
adjustment. Those mothers who have become bicultural reported less
conflicts and appeared more adjusted. On the other hand, mothers who
under-acculturated presented a constellation of neurotic characteris-
tics (Szapocznik and Kurtines, in Padilla, 1980).

Sandoval and Tozo (1975) in their study of Cuban families in the
Northwest and Northeast areas of Miami found in these minimally or
non-acculturated Cubans of little formal education and low economic
levels, a great deal of family conflict, due to the combination of
generational plus cultural gaps between parents and their children.
They were also experiencing rejection on the part of resentful
English-speaking residents in the area while at the same time lacking
the benefits that can be obtained from an organized Cuban community.
A sense of isolation, helplessness, and alienation were the characteris-
tics found in these particular Cuban communities. These factors made

the individuals more susceptible to breakdowns which may lead to
mental illness or serious emotional disturbances. These problems
seem due to the fact that these persons, in coping with the problems
of everyday life, lack the support of an organized community which
in its functions represents salvation for first generation immigrants.

Rubinstein (1976), a psychiatrist, with years of practice among
Cubans in Cuba, as well as in the United States, offers some insights
into the nature of the mental health difficulties of this group and
considers them to be influenced by social and cultural factors. He
emphasizes two factors in the Cuban culture which are strongly tied
to the individuals functioning. The first is humor, the Cuban
"relajo" or "choteo." This means a jokeful mood, or an attitude of
taking matters lightheartedly making fun of them, nothing being con-
sidered so serious or tragic as to overwhelm a person with worry and
concern (Mañach, 1955). This humor has been the Cuban's defense in
the difficult moments of life. Rubinstein states that this aspect
seems to have been disappearing from the Cuban culture in the last
two decades, and that especially in the United States, Cubans rarely
employ this defense to relieve the pressures of daily living, because
it is perhaps less effective in the new environment. Deprived of this
asset, Cubans are exposed, in the face of conflict and anxiety, to
more primitive and regressive mechanisms both of a cultural or of an
individual nature.

The second factor, referred to by Rubinstein, is related to
religious beliefs and practices of a folkloric nature. Cubans, as
many other inhabitants of the Caribbean and of Hispanic America, are

characterized by religious syncretism, the fusion of discrepant practices and beliefs which they integrate without apparent difficulty. In dealing with Cuban patients, Rubinstein has not only found the generational and cultural differences that cause conflict between parents and children. He also discovered differential manifestations of maladjustment in terms of psychopathology. "The young may use marijuana to relieve anxiety and depression while their parents may convert their anxieties into hypochondriacal symptoms, projection mechanisms, and religious-mystical experiences" (Rubinstein, 1976:71).

In the two case studies he discussed in his article, Rubinstein brings out the importance of the role played by religious beliefs and practices in the manifestation of the clinical symptoms, as well as the need for the practitioners to examine these factors within the proper cultural context. Individuals with a history of rigorous religious education in childhood or who are involved in belief and practices related to "santeria", spiritualism and other cults of this nature, when under intense pressure, tend to present symptoms related to religious experiences. For Rubinstein, many of these experiences which are common to the culture are at times mistakenly confused with schizophrenia. He also found a preponderance of hypochondriacal, hallucinatory experiences related to the digestive system. Apparently, neurotically depressed Cuban patients visiting their general practitioners, frequently complain of gastrointestinal syndromes. Rubinstein has concluded that there is a predominance of magic and religious-mystic phenomena in the manifestation of

emotional disorders among Cubans.

It is of interest to notice that the themes of acculturation and adaptation are not only being dealt with by scientifically-oriented investigators, but that they are the topics for many novels by fiction writers who present their characters struggling for an identity, in the midst of uprootedness from the native values, and the pressures from the host society to make them conform to its system. Lewis (1977) analyzed the novels from three minority writers: a Mexican, a Puerto Rican and a Cuban. He found the themes of ethnicity, alienation and identity present in these novels. The Cuban writer brings out through the characters, the necessary compromises in values that must be learned and achieved by the Cuban in exile in order to succeed in the capitalistic system. This learning and achievement may also produce a struggle for a genuine identity which the establishment may consciously or unconsciously tend to crush. The writer places his characters in a conflict which apparently has no other solution, but to flee to a third country whose values resemble those of the country of birth. Fiction and non-fiction alike seem to indicate the serious nature of the inner struggle of the Cuban Americans.

Studies Relating to Women/Mothers

Many studies and reports on Cuban exiles have referred in one way or another to the changes occurring in the role of Cuban women in the midst of their families, as many of them have moved from their traditional roles in the home to the job market. Some authors have compared Cuban women with the pioneer women in America who had to join ranks with their husbands in their struggles to survive and adjust in

the new land. Many middle and upper class women in Cuba could afford maids to perform the household duties and take care of the children. Others relied on extended family members for support and help. In the United States, however, the Cuban wife "... must care for her home and children without servants or help, hold down a job, and maintain her husband's morale" (Rogg, 1974). All of these combined responsibilities are causative of personal stress which can be added to the stress on the marriage, because of the husband's possible lack of adaptation to the new roles. In addition, there are the stresses created by problems with the children, and those related to the differences in acculturation rate. Even though, many Cuban women have gained independence and power through their involvement in earning a salary and have obtained, in some cases, personal and professional satisfaction, they have also had to pay a price with overburdening responsibilities, and sacrifices of the "maternal imperative" traditional of the Cuban culture. McAdoo (1980) brings out in her paper that women trying to maintain multiple roles, function under great degree of stress. She adds that this stress can eventually cause harm to the woman as well as to her family since "... stress is directly related to mental and physical illness" (McAdoo, 1980:9). She insists that as the trend of the 80's seems to be swinging the pendulum toward conservativism and a return to more traditional ideas and values, women trying to fulfill the various roles inside and outside the home are going to be facing a "... conflict between the feminism values and feminism awareness, and the reassertion of traditional values and traditional concepts of the families" (McAdoo, 1979:9). In dealing with this

conflict many Cuban mothers, as well as other women in America, may
need to reevaluate their own positions. The economy may force many
to return home to traditional roles. Then adjustments will have to
be made so that the entity of the individuals may suffer the least
turmoil.

Some articles referring to specific factors affecting Cuban
women in exile have been published. Richmond (1976) conducted a study
to investigate the interaction between an equalitarian norm and the
wife's contribution of resources, and her ability to affect the
decision-making and the division of labor in the family. She indicates
that even though Cuban women had gained some degree of legal equality
in Cuba by the late 1950's, and changes were being brought about by
industrialization and urbanization, still the pattern in the family
was paternalistic, with male dominance and authority remaining strong.
At the same time, the double standards of behavior in work, play and
sex persisted in spite of the gradual acceptance of the ideal of
equality status. Assuming that the Cuban families had this as a back-
ground, Richmond wanted to find out if and how much the exposure to
more equalitarian norms in marital relationships in the United States,
and the differences in economic resources and status had affected the
Cuban women's interaction in the family. These changes were considered
in terms of decision making, obtaining the husband's cooperation with
household chores and with childrearing. She concluded that the "...
belief system which supports equalitarian interaction and the balance
of resources of the couple are the important factors stimulating
equalitarian family behavior for the Cuban exiles" (Richmond, 1976:

264). It was found that when the couple is highly exposed to equalitarian norms, the wife works, and the husband's resources are moderate, the family interaction is equalitarian in a greater degree. In addition, if the couple had an equalitarian ideology to begin with, they achieved an equalitarian interaction even though the wife was not involved in work outside the home. An additional finding related to wealthier families where wives did not need to work was that in spite of extensive exposure to the American equalitarian example, there was less decision making on the part of the wives and less division of labor in the household. Men tended to contribute by hiring outside help and their households appeared more male dominated than those of families with more moderate incomes. The study of these dynamics in the Cuban family seem to be of great importance when dealing with the mental health problems of its individuals.

Linn and others (1978) studied the fertility-related attitudes of Cuban and other minority mothers with large and small families. Large families referred to those with five or more children, and small families referred to those with one or two. The large family mothers were generally more negative toward birth control, sex, and family. Yet, differences among the various minority groups were more pronounced than those between large and small size families. It was found that Cuban mothers (assumed of Catholic background) presented a picture of contrasts and inconsistencies. While they expressed the desire to have larger families and were positive toward family, pregnancy and parenting, their overall fertility was lower than that of the white Protestant group; their attitudes toward abortion were more negative than

those of the other subcultures, and yet, they had the highest percentage of women who had practiced abortion especially among those with smaller families. This inconsistency between belief and practice was considered more noticeable in terms of the Catholic background of the sample. The researchers speculated that the change faced when moving to the United States may account for the discrepancies, because it is more difficult in the United States to maintain a life style similar to that in Cuba, while having a large family. However, it seems appropriate to emphasize here Mulhare's (1969) ideas in describing the Cuban character, full of inconsistencies even while still in Cuba. There was in the Cuban ethos an integration of apparently opposing views and behaviors. Cubans, in general, were not deeply religious and practicing members of the norms of the Church. Religion was self applied in very personalistic ways. Even in Cuba, many women wanted to limit the size of their families. One of the most common ways to do this, at the time, was through abortions which were sought without apparent conflict. When the Cuban family moved to the United States the inconsistencies of its personalistic character which were "normal" in Cuba, faced pressures for a more consistent belief-behavior match. It is the belief of this writer that in an effort to reach a new balance in redefining values, and to find congruency within the self, individuals may become burdened by insecurities, guilt feelings and anxieties over their own behavior in all areas, and not only in that related to the issue of fertility.

In response to the abuse of sedatives and tranquilizers by Cuban women in Miami, which reached epidemic proportions in the 1970's,

Szapocznik (1977), and Szapocznik and Truss (1978) studied the inter-
generational sources of role conflict in Cuban mothers, and the rela-
tionship between this conflict and their abuse of drugs. These
authors found that the practice of sedative abuse was most common
among middle aged, white, Cuban women with adolescent children, who
were experiencing intergenerational differences, in addition to dif-
ferential degrees of acculturation within the nuclear family. In
line with Latin American traditions, the Cuban mother is expected
to carry the weight of the preservation of the family. Therefore,
when families become disrupted under the pressures of differential
acculturation the woman is bound to experience role conflict as well
as role stress. In the first step in the study the researchers set
out to find what patterns of behavior related to child-rearing Cuban
mothers perceived as being expected of them by relevant others; how
legitimate they thought those expectations were; and what were the
sanctions they perceived as attached to non-compliance with the
expectations. Intra-role conflicts arise when the person occupying
a single role is exposed to incompatible expectations. In the Cuban
family the traditional structure requires high allegiance and devotion
from its members; values and ties are deep and pervasive. The Cuban
mothers indicated five areas of concern which they considered signifi-
cant in terms of affecting their family life. The areas were: 1. The
kinds of friends the children have; 2. The children's lack of respect
for authority; 3. The dangers to which the children are exposed, such
as drugs, violence and rape; 4. The father's lack of involvement in
the children's upbringing; and 5. The welfare and care of their

children's grandparents.

The researchers proceeded with their investigation based on the first four issues which turned out to be the most significant. On these bases, a scale was developed to determine what expectations mothers felt significant others held for them in terms of each of those four areas. The significant others were their children, their husbands, their parents and most other people they knew. Role conflict was considered to exist when the expectations of two or more significant others differed in regard to a specific issue. The mothers were also asked how legitimate they felt those expectations were and how would the significant others react if they (the mothers) failed to fulfill their expectations (others'). The results indicated that mothers homogeneously perceived that adult, significant others expected them to behave according to traditional cultural norms; they also felt that these individuals had a legitimate right to their expectations; and that they would apply negative sanctions for lack of fulfillment of the expectations. Incompatible expectations were most prevalent between the children and the adults, including the mothers themselves. Most conflicts seemed to develop when the children demanded that the mother respond in countercultural ways. Furthermore, because the Cuban family is so tightly knit, the expectations of children, husbands and parents were more important to the mothers than those held by others outside the family. In terms of the sanctions, two patterns emerged: one where mothers perceived negative consequences for failing to behave according to expected cultural norms, and another in which mothers perceived negative sanctions for

not fulfilling expectations in both directions the cultural as well as the counter-cultural.

Even though the sample was not representative of the Cuban population as a whole, but composed of families experiencing difficulties, the authors emphasized the aspects discussed, as being sources of role stress in mothers. "... The disruptive effect on the family of these incompatible demands are also a source of stress for the mother who sees herself as having failed both, in communicating cultural norms to her children and in maintaining and preserving the security of the family. Both of these tasks are seen in the Cuban culture as role-specific to the mother" (Szapocznik and Truss, 1978: 62). When the Cuban mother faces the variety of role definitions in the United States and the demands from her children to adopt different roles, she may become confused, or she may decide to set aside the traditional Cuban role definition, which was so well defined for her and was functional in Cuba, to review all available alternatives and decide for herself what role(s) to adopt. The researchers believe that mothers who are not flexible, and who guide their lives and those of their family members by absolutes, will have the most difficult time in self-adjustment and in guiding their adolescents, facilitating a smooth transition into independence as they mature. The lack of paternal involvement in child-rearing seems to also increase the intergenerational conflicts, since a coordinated effort in achieving the necessary discipline is missing. Even though the problems of the Americanization of the youngsters are faced by many families, it seems that mothers with certain types of personality have higher risk of

being negatively affected in dealing with the conflicts. For Szapocznik and Truss the perfectionistic mothers who believe that their families should function ideally and who are convinced that their own ideals for their family are realistic, are those who experience "... the most stress, (are) confronted with the most role conflicts, and (are) perhaps abusing the most medicinal drugs..." (1978:64). Their inability to adjust to changing situations in the face of migration/acculturation in addition to the rapid changes of adolescence, makes them feel frustrated in the face of an "unmanageable" task.

Szapocznik (1977) also investigated how Cuban mothers have tended to resolve those role conflicts mentioned previously. He utilized a model based on the theory of role conflicts developed by Gross and others (1977) which identifies three styles of dealing with conflict: The moral, the expedient, and the moral expedient. The moral person will consider more the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the expectation rather than the sanctions and is predisposed to accept legitimate expectations and to reject the illegitimate ones. The expedient person gives priority to the sanctions others will impose if they fail to fulfill expectations and will tend to conform with demands made by those who hold the stronger sanctions. The moral-expedient person gives equal weight to both of the above and decides in terms of the net balance. In terms of Cuban mothers, Szapocznik found that expedient mothers (E) had the highest number of conflicts, while moral mothers (M) had the lowest. When there are severe intergenerational conflicts E mothers tended to distance themselves from

their husbands while allying themselves with the rebelling adolescents; thus producing a dysfunctional family structure. M mothers, on the other hand, maintain their husbands involvement and ally with them in facing the conflicts. They also function as a bridge between the parental demands on the children, and the children's expectations and desires for more independence and individuation. Although these mothers manage in this way to deal more effectively with conflict resolution, by responding in a more functional fashion, from a family perspective, they experience the most serious stress as manifested by extremely high levels of sedative and tranquilizer abuse (Szapocznik and Truss, 1978). An additional finding related to women, that has already been mentioned in another context, is that Cuban mothers experiencing serious family conflicts appeared to have the most pro- blems with their adolescent boys. According to Szapocznik's model of acculturation, this is due to the fact that male adolescents accultu- rate the fastest, while female adults tend to acculturate the slowest (Szapocznik and Kurtines in Padilla, 1980).

Studies Relating to Men/Fathers

Specific studies conducted with male adult subjects in the area of mental health were not found. Most writings referring to fathers are of a descriptive nature in terms of characteristics and changes faced in the process of acculturation. These have already been men- tioned in the previous chapter. Fathers have suffered the stress related to re-establishing their families in a strange country while having to learn a new language. In general they have tended to be successful, at least in the world of work. But many have also

perceived themselves as losing esteem and respect as they have con-
fronted their wives' changing roles and their children's fast
acculturation, both of which challenge their traditional role and
position in the family. Even though studies on the Cuban family have
sometimes included the father's opinions, to the knowledge of this
writer, no specific study has utilized them as subjects for a mental
health-related investigation. Some researchers refer to lack of
availability of the men, because of work hours, in addition to an
apparent unwillingness to participate in research studies. It is
important to remember that for most Cuban men to speak to outsiders
about themselves and their families, especially if it refers to weak
points or problems, is not a well-accepted practice. They consider it
their obligation to be reserved in this area for the moral protection
of the family as well as for their own. Expressing problems and feel-
ings is a sign of weakness, and it is contrary to the male image that
must be portrayed. Acting against the cultural norms in this issue
would mean losing face in front of others.

Studies Relating to Children

Some studies related to children have also been mentioned in the
previous chapter. Most have referred to the study of specific charac-
teristics and traits of Cuban children as compared to their American
counterparts, and have not dealt directly with mental health problems.
However, Klovekorn and others (1974) did write an article in which
they specifically address the needs of Cuban children and give
suggestions for effective counseling with them. They describe how the
children's separation from their "overprotective mothers" can be of a

traumatic nature when they enter kindergarten and also refer to the
tendency to display attention-getting behaviors in school, since the
children are accustomed to be the center of attention at home. The
authors also indicate the children's need for incorporating more
independent behaviors in their repertoire to overcome their tendency
towards dependence. In addition Cuban children, initially face pro-
blems of communication in terms of the language. The outcome of their
adjustment in these areas will depend on the way in which the school
handles the particular situations. Furthermore, most Cuban children
have enough inner resources and positive attitudes and disposition to
cope and adjust without major conflicts. However, personal problems
would seem to take prominence in the family as the "... children become
more exposed to the American way of life (and) they are torn between
loyalty to their mores and their guilt feelings from accepting the new
cultural trends" (Klovekorn, 1974:260).

Studies Relating to Adolescents

Family conflicts, due to the stress of cultural differences, and
the need for both parents to hold jobs in order to establish an
economic base, have left many previously overprotected and pampered
youngsters, who were not ready for independence, in unsupervised
situations. The product of these circumstances has been translated
into feelings of isolation and confusion for the youngsters who are
torn between two cultures and two sets of values, while lacking the
appropriate support and the understanding from family members as
well as from other societal institutions. The story of many Cuban
youngsters is not a happy one, as they seem to have developed personal

insecurities and fears and/or to have given up on all eco-systems by
rebelling against the family, dropping out of school, engaging in
acting-out behaviors and/or adhering to drug use and abuse.

A few researchers have studied some of the general characteris-
tics and attitudes of Cuban youth while others have dealt with those
who are experiencing serious difficulties. Dowd (1966) compared the
attitudes, goals and values of Negro American, White American, and
Cuban refugee high school students in Miami. He found that in terms
of neighborhood characteristics Cuban students tended to value more
significantly their associations with the people who resided nearby
rather than to emphasize the physical characteristics of the neighbor-
hood. They also considered the material aspects of the school and
the school spirit as less important than the other groups did. Cubans
also stressed politeness and respect for others. While they are
similar to the white American sample in terms of feelings of family
love, they do not stress having many children or religion, as the
researcher had expected. In addition, Cuban refugees tended to per-
ceive their past, present and future school in more positive ways;
they felt more confident of reaching the ideal future in a shorter
period of time, they showed the most positive self-concept; they
perceived their families in the most positive light; and believe that
they more nearly fulfill the requisites for an ideal person. The self-
confidence and positive self-image possessed by these and other Cuban
youngsters may have served as real assets in the process of adjustment
and as a protective shield or defense against the problems brought
about by acculturation.

Britain and Abad (1974) studied field-independence in Cuban and American adolescents, and their perceptions of their families. The results of the study indicated that U.S. males were most field-independent, followed by U.S. females and then, by Cuban males and females. From this, it was concluded that the Cuban socialization process does not facilitate field-independence. At the same time, Cuban youngsters perceived their parents as more authoritarian when compared with U.S. parents, with Cuban girls reporting the most severe control. Females also were more field-dependent in both cultures as compared with the male adolescents.

In another study on the perceptions of social supports with a sample of Spanish-speaking youth which included 33% of Cuban junior and high school students, Mannino and Shore (1976) found that for youngsters of both sexes, the family, and especially the mothers, were of great significance. For them, primary social supports (parents, friends and other relatives) were of the most importance when experiencing personal problems. Secondary support sources (community agents, school counselors, clergy, etc.) were perceived segmentally as being useful in those areas in which they have special training and expertise. An additional finding revealed under-utilization of services and lack of information on community resources by these Hispanic youngsters especially, the females.

Marina (1975), aware of the culture conflict of the second generation of Cubans, discusses in her work their problems of isolation, loneliness, confusion and how those conflicts can lead to high anxiety, psychosomatic symptoms, and antisocial behaviors. She

investigated methods of interventions to alleviate the conflict. These will be presented in a subsequent section on models.

In 1976, Naditch and Morrissey studied the dating behavior of a group of Cuban adolescents, and their perceptions of the opinions of significant others regarding their behaviors. The purpose was to determine the existence of role stress, and its relationship to personality and psychopathology. They hypothesized that the changes in dating behavior from the chaperone system with rigid supervision in Cuba to the U.S. system, where sexual roles are defined in individualistic, relatively permissive ways, would be causative of stress in the adolescents under study. The results indicated that "... uncertainty concerning evaluations of others toward performance in the dating role provided the strongest associations with subjectively reported anxiety, depression, and maladjustment" (Naditch and Morrissey, 1976: 117). More maladjustment was found in introverted females who were socially discontent.

Santisteban (1978) studied a group of outpatient Cuban adolescents and their families to explore the relationship between family interaction (traditional vs. less traditional) and the subjects' personality and mental health functioning. Two mediating variables were acculturation gap between parents and adolescents and the acculturation gap within each individual. Results indicated that "... the families who showed less assimilation into the host society were characterized by a more structured and hierarchically controlled family system" (Santisteban, 1978:viii). As the families become more assimilated into the Anglo-American culture, a shift in structure and organization

takes place. "The process of acculturation and the accompanying changes in family transaction patterns can have a deleterious effect on the individual (especially males) since they exacerbate incongruities within the family system which are also reflected in the psychosocial functioning of its members, in this case the adolescent" (Santisteban, 1978:61). Females, on the other hand, seem to be less affected by the process of acculturation. The shifts in the structure and organization of the family shake the traditional definition of sex roles, and increase marital conflicts in the home. "The less acculturated families tend to show less opposition and disagreements among its members and tend to diffuse emerging conflicts (Santisteban, 1978:65).

Szapocznik and others (1977a) studied a sample of Cuban adolescent inhalant abusers and compared them to inhalant abusers across the nation. Similar characteristics were found. In both groups there was a tendency to abuse multiple substances. Inhalant abuse was considered only as one facet in the drug involvement. Other similarities refer to their profiles as acting out adolescents which show poor impulse control and very low subjective distress. It was most common for them to come from low socioeconomic, disrupted families and from poor neighborhoods. The authors also compared the group of inhalers with a group of non-inhalers. While both groups were also similar in the characteristics mentioned above, differences were also found. Inhalers differed from non-inhalers in terms of the level of drug involvement; the presence of memory impairment and visual hallucinations; and the percentage of subjects who were reported as suffering

from emotional problems.

In studies conducted by Szapocznik and associates (in Padilla, 1980) findings were emphasized which suggest that "acculturation, family and behavioral disorders, and drug abuse are closely interrelated in the Cuban American samples investigated" (Szapocznik and others, 1980:10). Individuals who remain or become mono-cultural while living in bicultural environments tend to become maladjusted. However, it is not clear whether lack of biculturalism is a contributing factor to maladjustment or a symptom of it. This is because certain personality types may have a tendency towards the extremes. They may have been pathological before or they may have become maladjusted when confronted with the pressures and demands of a bicultural environment. What seems to make these patterns of over or under acculturation maladjustive, is that both render the individual inappropriately mono-cultural in a bicultural context. Such patterns, then, become detrimental to the mental health of the group.

Other studies related to drug abuse in Hispanic youngsters, including Cubans, have revealed that "... the foremost predictor of marijuana use was acculturation" (Szapocznik and Kurtines, 1979:17). The families with drug abusing youth had larger intergenerational behavior acculturation gaps, with the youngsters being significantly more acculturated than the other members in the family. The youngsters' lack of bicultural involvement, because of their rejection of the culture of origin, seemed to be the suspected cause for pathology instead of the process of acculturation per se. Furthermore, it was found that youngsters who underacculturate, by deciding not to

integrate themselves into the host culture, and by failing to learn adaptive Americanized behaviors were considered maladjusted as well, since they must also function in a bicultural context. However, the behavior patterns of the youngsters who overacculturate and those who underacculturate are different. The first tend to be acting out and disruptive, both at home and in school. The second are rarely identified, because they remain close to their families, get along well with their parents, and are not very disruptive in school. The tendency for them is to become withdrawn, isolated and apathetic. These behaviors may deteriorate into patterns of depression and neurosis. According to Prieto (in Szapocznik and others. in press), they may even become suicidal under extreme circumstances.

Studies Relating to College Students

A few studies have concentrated on the college population of Cuban-Americans and have investigated some factors related to acculturation. Santisteban (1975) in his Master's Thesis dealt with locus of control in a sample of junior college students, comparing the characteristics of Cuban and American subjects. He wanted to study the relationship between external vs. internal control orientation (locus of control) and a number of other variables which included: perceived parental practices; traditional religion; traditional female roles; socioeconomic status; and acculturation. Even though the results indicated a lack of any consistently strong single predictor of control expectancy either within or between cultures, there were some other interesting findings. For instance: locus of control was a significant discriminator between Cuban males with different degrees

of acculturation with the more assimilated revealing less external orientation and the least acculturated being the most externally oriented. These findings seem to indicate the conflict or culture shock that the least acculturated individuals are going through as "... their previous expectations and cultural patterns of values and behaviors are no longer functional" (Santisteban, 1975:2). Unacculturated females did not show the same pattern of external expectancy of control as their male counterparts. It seems that the females' role, values and expectations are less affected by the process of acculturation. Differences between the American and Cuban samples, were significant in terms of perceived parenting practices. This applied mostly to the mother-son relationship. Cubans described their mothers as being more protective but also more nurturant than their American counterparts. In addition, Cuban females appeared to hold more traditional perceptions of a woman's role in society as well as stronger religious beliefs than the American females. Santisteban insists on the implications of these findings for mental health delivery of services. He brings out the importance of considering all the different variables in each particular case, and especially the male's culture shock in his effort to meet the differing expectations from the family and the host culture.

Gordillo (1976) studied achievement motivation among Cuban and American college students of both sexes. She found that, females in both groups reported greater persistance, and application toward task completion, self-imposed standards, and more realistic aspirations than males. The Cuban subjects, in particular, showed a greater desire

to excel over others. However, this characteristic was more pronounced in Cuban males.

In the same year of 1976 Richardson conducted a study with Cuban college students in order to investigate self-concept and its relationship to a number of variables which included ethnic group membership, social class, age, sex, length of time in the United States, grade point average and locus of control. The results of the study indicated that the Cuban sample had a higher mean in self-concept than the American norm group. Cubans also scored higher on a measure of defensiveness or reluctance to disclose derogatory information about themselves. The only significant relationship between self-concept and the other variables studied was related to locus of control. Furthermore, it was found that the Cuban's feelings of control over their own lives were more significant in predicting self-esteem, than their feelings about the degree of control they had over social institutions. This study brings out important aspects for the delivery of mental health services to Cubans: the need to consider the individual's feelings about self, and his/her perceived degree of control over his/her life. With many Cubans these can be positive sources of strength to draw from in times of conflict. The consideration of the tendency not to disclose the negative aspects of the self, is of primary importance in the counseling process, since it may lead to defensive behaviors which may obstruct or hinder the establishment of a genuine relationship with the counselor.

Greco and McDavis (1978) present and discuss the needs, and cultural attitudes of Cuban American college students and give

suggestions for programs to help in their vocational development.
Among the needs of the Cuban college population are identity and peer
support. Coming, in the majority, from families where the Cuban
culture is reinforced and maintained, the Cuban students, when not
finding that peer support in the "foreign" environment, face estrange-
ment and confusion. Due to a variety of factors related to cultural
attitudes towards counselors and the counseling process, Cuban
American students "... feel quite helpless in voicing their needs to
counselors, student personnel workers, and university administrators"
(Greco and McDavis, 1978:255). Those attitudes include lack of trust
for the services and personnel as well as an intense cultural stigma
attached to counseling. These and other attitudes will be discussed
in more detail in a forthcoming section of this chapter. Greco and
McDavis also bring out the importance of some cultural attitudes
which appear to affect the vocational and career development of Cuban
American students. The first one is the attitude toward work. As it
has already been discussed in previous chapters, "... the absence of a
Protestant heritage reduces the importance of work in life and makes it
less important in defining a self-concept" (Greco and McDavis, 1978:
256). The function of work is primarily seen as providing economic
stability but, Cuban Americans rely more on their family ties and
friends as a primary source of satisfaction. Another attitude involves
the maintenance of close ties between parents and children even when
they leave home temporarily to attend college. The parents are most
of the time actively involved in the children's career development.
In addition, professional trends in a family often influence the

children's vocational choices. Many Cuban students feel torn apart
between the pressure to follow their families' expectations in career
choice, and their need to pursue more personally satisfying fields of
study. Cultural views also seem to restrict the range of career
involvement. There is a lack of awareness of other career options and
an emphasis on fields which bring prestige and economic renumeration.
Cuban parents as well as their children are frequently confused. The
reason for this is that in contrast with the American educational
system, Cuban universities focused on the field of specialization
with a rigid curricular from the first year of study. They also
lacked post-graduate programs in the American fashion. The resulting
confusion may bring misunderstandings, which along with the other
cultural factors mentioned above can make it difficult for the Cuban
American students to set up their careers goals in terms of their own
vocational needs and desires. The authors offer suggestions to per-
sonnel involved in dealing with Cuban college students so that they
may become more effective in doing their job in servicing this minority
group. Areas of suggestions involve student outreach, orientation
programs, career days and vocational development courses.

Ayala-Vazquez (1979) also gives suggestions in how to improve
guidance and counseling programs to serve Hispanic female students.
Although she does not refer specifically to a particular group of
Hispanics her observations are of interest and may be applicable as
well to many Cuban females. Because many Hispanic females find it
necessary to navigate between two cultures, it is important that they
develop social and psychological skills and that they be able to rely

on a strong support system. Ayala-Vazquez insists that the counselor must be aware and knowledgeable of the characteristics of the Hispanic female. Many of them (the females) tend to trace their problems to outside factors and are unable to exercise a more determinant role in the management of their lives. They may be in conflict in adapting to the cultural patterns of American society including work ethics and knowledge. They may also be burdened by the deterioration of the traditional concept of machismo. The author suggests that the three most vital areas of concern for Hispanic females are: career, education, and position in society. She adds that in order to survive in both cultures, the individual female has to adopt, reject or reorganize values from both cultures. These must be done in cultural context to protect both the culture and the individual. In addition to cognitive and educational aspects, other vital aspects of the person's life should be taken into account by the counselor so that integration can occur at both the intellectual and the emotional levels.

Studies Relating to the Cuban Elderly

The Cuban population in the United States is older than that of other Hispanic groups or the American population in general. Approximately 17% of the Cuban exiles are over age 55; while 7.8% are over 65. The group is overrepresented in the elderly population (Szapocznik and others, 1980b). Many elders have adapted well in spite of the disappearance of the extended family, by adjusting to the peer group support system. However, for many, the process has been difficult as they have had to face the usual predicaments of old age in addition to the hazards which affect Cuban elderly. The two major mental

health problems affecting the elderly are senile dementia and depression. The latter is considered the most widespread mental health hazard perturbing this population. In addition to all problems faced by elders, those who are Cubans also have to deal with the difficulties of living in a strange country. Some of these difficulties as identified by Szapocznik and others (1980) are: 1. lack of knowledge of the language, the culture and the social service delivery in America; 2. social isolation and loneliness caused by the breakdown of the extended family and by their lack of acculturation which limits their mobility within the host society; 3. loss of country and status especially the valued role as an authority figure in the family. In the United States, many are considered by their family as burdens rather than as sources of support; 4. the effects of transplantation, depression, withdrawal, passive behaviors, and other complications of old age which would not have happened to these elderly immigrants had they stayed in their country of origin; and 5. differential rates of acculturation in Cuban families (Szapocznik and others, 1980b:3). All these sources of stress result in anxiety, depression, withdrawal, meaninglessness, anomie, and a loss of sense of purpose in life.

In response to the need for a type of counseling appropriate to Cuban elders, Szapocznik and others (1980a, b), and Hervis (1980), developed a model, called Life Enhancement Counseling to treat depression and feelings of meaninglessness in this population. They conducted studies with Cuban elders in Miami to assess the effectiveness of the model. More will be said about it in a subsequent section.

In a study conducted by Linn and others (1979) three groups of

elders, White, Black, and Cuban, living in Miami were included. The purpose of the research was to study their psychosocial adjustment in terms of sex and ethnicity. The findings revealed that Cubans had the most negative adjustment. They were lower than the other two groups in social participation and social functioning. It is believed that their cultural displacement and the change of environment late in life, including the lack of knowledge of English, are responsible for that lack of adjustment. In terms of sex, results indicated that males and females in each culture had similar adjustment. However, females were found to be more socially active than males. The degree of physical disability was found to be the variable most negatively correlated with adjustment.

Finley and Delgado (1979) researched the relationship between the formal education and the intellectual functioning of Cuban elderly. The major finding of this study was that the amount of formal education attained during childhood and adolescence in Cuba remained strongly associated with intellectual performance among Cuban elders who later emigrated to Miami.

Hernandez (1980) conducted research on how Cuban families coped with chronic impairment in their elderly. Half of the families studied took care of their elderly at home, while the other half utilized institutional care. Interviews of the decision makers in these families revealed that when the first crisis of disability or impairment occurred, most families decided to continue the care at home. But, after the second crisis, other alternatives were explored. Families where the women needed to seek employment outside the home,

and families with more youthful dependents seem to have been in the majority of those deciding for institutionalization. They were also reported as families having higher incomes, a higher proportion of married decision-makers, and longer years of residence in the United States. Those who kept their elders at home utilized the services provided by the Cuban Refugee Programs which included Home-maker, Home-health aid services, and/or incentive payments to maintain an older person at home.

Another study by Szapocznik and others (1979b), attempted to develop ways to attract Hispanic elders to utilize mental health services before they reached crisis. They utilized a service delivery modality and a mass media modality of outreach. The results were not very encouraging. "In substantive terms, the total number of Hispanic elders who entered treatment as a result of the ... project ... was well below the perceived level of need in the community" (Szapocznik and others, 1979b:33). The cultural attitudes of Hispanics toward mental health and the problems of transportation may have been responsible for the results. The mass media modality appeared in general to have been somewhat more effective than the service modality but it failed to engage in treating those reportedly in need of mental health services. A positive aspect of the approach however, was the ability to attract 133 telephone calls during the first month of the campaign. Of these only 38 individuals were considered to have mental health needs. The most common complaints of the elderly were loneliness and depression. The latter also included anxiety, nervous-ness, somatic concerns, loss of memory, family problems, insomnia and

losses in general.

Reactions and Attitudes of Cuban Americans Toward Mental
Illness and Mental Health Services, Providers, and Research

In order to understand more clearly the reactions and attitudes

of Cuban Americans toward mental health institutions in this country,

it is important to bring out, although briefly, what the general

situation was like in pre-Castro Cuba, in terms of mental health

services; what the Cuban's attitudes and reactions were; and how the

population dealt with problems of a psychological nature.

General Situation and Attitudes of Cubans Regarding Mental Health
Services in Pre-Castro Years

Pre-Castro Cuba had no great sophistication in terms of mental

services. For the chronically ill there were three basic options:

Mazorra, the streets or their homes. For those who were aggressive

and therefore, dangerous to the public, or those who were very

deteriorated and lacked family or a home, there was one mental

institution known as Mazorra where they lived in substandard conditions

until they died, in many instances, from illness provoked by lack of

hygiene and of appropriate care (Camayd-Freixas and Uriarte, 1980).

Other chronically ill who were not dangerous, lived in their home towns

or cities as public charges, depending for their existence on public

charity or on their relatives. Most were viewed with tolerance and

treated in a protective manner (Rubinstein, 1976). Cubans may have

joked about some of these characters, as well as observing their

behavior with certain amusement. On the other hand, the characters

grew as traditions, as stories which made them known and told and re-told. These individuals wandered freely through the streets. Some children feared them; others mocked them to obtain a classical, expected reaction from them. Lastly, many other mentally ill lived in their homes, and their families took care of them. Depending on the degree of their disturbance or on the family feelings about their condition, they remained inside their home away from public view or they went out and walked the streets. The Cuban family was protective, concerned and involved in terms of its chronically ill members. The patient was rarely estranged and isolated (Rubinstein, 1976).

In Cuba, psychiatrists were mostly in charge of treatment. Medication and electro shock were among the most common types of therapies. The field of psychology was not yet well known or highly developed. Clinical psychologists, trained abroad or in small private universities usually worked as assistants to psychiatrists in performing psychological testing. None were employed by public hospitals. Other psychologists, most often served the private sector in order to stimulate public consumptions and to increase industrial productivity, while a few others in single or group practice, applied psychology in personal, educational, and vocational guidance, and psychotherapy (Garcia, 1980). Because psychologists were few and because their services did not reach the general population, their discipline was not well known. Therefore, they were not given much thought or consideration in terms of treatment of psychological problems. When "nervous" or when suffering from non-psychotic anxiety and/or depression, most people went to their family doctor in private

practice or in clinics. Besides prescribing medication, the role of
the general practitioner was mostly that of the professional friend,
an authority in his field who could be trusted, and who would listen
and give recommendations. If the problems were of a severe nature,
this doctor might recommend a visit to the psychiatrist. However,
many times, individuals did not even go the family doctors. There
were not severe restrictions regarding the dispensing of medication
through the pharmacists. Thus, many persons would go to the nearest
neighborhood pharmacy and ask the drugstore expert to give them "some-
thing" for their nervousness or for whatever ailment they explained,
was bothering them. In a way, the pharmacist was the closest and
most available doctor, right on the corner, and after all, he did not
charge for the consultation, but only for the remedies (Saura, 1981;
Hernandez, 1981; de la Torre, 1980). Traditional folk remedies, pills
and tablets were also recommended and passed on from one person to
another. Before seeing the pharmacist or the medical doctor many
Cubans utilized a free and natural gift in their environment, which
was the unconditional support, in the listening ear and advice of
relatives, friends and neighbors. There was usually someone, usually
a woman, who because of her age, character, or experiences was con-
sidered wise and tactful and able to play an important role as a
listener and "counselor". This person was highly respected and admired
for her own way of life and her willingness to serve others. An
example witnessed by this writer, was that of her own grandmother,
a modest, hardworking woman of great faith, whom friends and neighbors
visited in order to confide their sorrows and worries, to look for

guidance and to pray together. They believed that because she was a woman of great faith her prayers were answered from on high. In addition her advice for marital and/or family problems was always given with wisdom, concern and generosity.

Even though priests may have been seen by the most religious, Catholic citizens as authority figures to be consulted about problems, in general, their expertise was seen as confined to religious matters. A good number in the population, whose religious beliefs as well as behaviors (especially the men's) were full of contradictions (See Chapter I), did not see the priest as a central figure in terms of personal problems. Religion was not out of the picture, however, since many people, mostly from the lower and middle classes and also some in professional ranks, believed in "espiritismo" (spiritualism) and/or "santeria". For them these beliefs served the function of healing systems which could bring them luck, happiness, love and health through mysticism and holistic medicine and through faith and offerings. The practitioners of "espiritismo" and "curanderas" (usually women) see their clients' problems from their (the client's) point of view. They see their visions, interpret their omens and absolve them of guilt in their problems (Obejas, 1982). "Spiritualism, serves the afflicted without the stigma of attending a psychiatric clinic" (Lefley and Bestman, 1977:7). Santeria, provides group support, is problem-solving and action oriented, and acts as an "ego-integrative process in which denial, projection and dissociation --i.e., the transfer of guilt in the individual to an outside locus, and the projection of unacceptable impulses and feelings through trance

possession by an oricha (a saint or deity)--are metamorphized into a sense of mastery" (Lefley and Bestman, 1977:8).

Personalism is always expected to be present in all transactions with others, even more so when those transaction relate to the individual's well being. There are no exceptions to the rule. Cubans expect and desire personal relationships with saints and deities, as well as with relatives, friends, neighbors, the private professionals or the clinic personnel.

Reactions and Attitudes of Cuban-Americans Toward the United States System of Mental Health Services

Cuban Americans tend to see the American institutions as bureaucratic and depersonalized entities. The mental health delivery system, including services and professionals, is not an exception. Much of what can be said of the Cubans' attitudes towards these institutions could be summarized in the following terms: distance and distrust.

Cubans in the higher educational and social level may have acculturated enough and feel trusting enough to rely on health care given by American professionals and hospitals. However, before going to the English-speaking specialists many still rely heavily on Hispanic medical doctors, who practice in this country and whom they have known personally or by reputation since they lived in Cuba or through friends, on arrival in the United States.

It might be the money-centered health system in the United States that leads Cubans as well as other Hispanics to a high degree

of distrust. "Are they (doctors and hospitals) really caring for me? or are they just after my money or that of the insurance company?" The emphasis on the "do you have insurance" question before one is admitted even for an emergency in many hospitals has given Hispanics that dehumanizing vision of the U.S. health care system. Thus, in general, Cubans of most classes tend to look for and be under the care of Hispanic doctors who are perceived as trustworthy, as good listeners, and as professionals who treat their clients as persons, without rushing and without giving the impression of being business-oriented doctors.

In terms of mental health, many Cubans continue to channel their concerns and symptoms through their general practitioners who may, according to need, make referrals to psychiatrists, psychologists, mental health centers, or social service agencies. Personnel in the centers and agencies seem to complain of underutilization of services and difficulty in attracting as well as retaining clients in treatment (Szapocznik, 1979; Padilla, 1980; Saura, 1981; Plazas, 1981). This is true, even when the agencies have workers of Hispanic origin. Going through bureaucratic procedures, having more than one "counselor", and having to adjust to long term therapy plans are factors which do not necessarily motivate the Cuban client. He/she looks for a per-sonalized relationship and a quick solution to his/her problems. In addition, the cultural stigma attached to counseling or to any kind of mental health services is strong enough to keep Cubans away from utilizing services either as preventive measures or in times other than those of severe crisis. Counseling or psychological services for

growth and development are alien to most Cuban Americans (Greco and McDavis, 1978) who cringe or become outraged when the word psychologist or psychiatrist is mentioned, and who frequently respond with the sentence, "I'm not crazy."

Looking for informality and personalism, Cubans prefer counselors or professional helpers who relate to them in familiar ways, and who become part of their network. Cuban college students preferred to relate to counselors who listened and talked to them outside the office and who participated socially with them beyond the therapy hours. Cuban clients also like to present gifts to their therapists, to invite them for dinner in their homes, and at times, even to ask them to become their children's godparents. It is desired that the therapist who has been important in their lives, become a more permanent part of the family network (Saura, 1981).

The experience of the present author in teaching Hispanic adults, including Cubans, supports the findings related to these individuals' need for informality when dealing with personal problems. Teaching any course which is related to psychology opens many opportunities for the students to speak about their personal problems. They may start talking about the "friend's," or "neighbor's" situation in class and end up with the instructor before or after class, confessing that the problems are their own and asking for advice. Much impromptu, "in the hall" counseling was done with a few students, stepping into the instructor's office if their problems were serious or pressing enough that they decided to accept the invitation to a more formal setting. In view of the great need for services, this writer proposed that the

institution where she worked set up a program to provide students with formal counseling and psychological services. These services were free to the students, and were available at convenient hours. The only thing a student had to do was to contact the instructor's assistant personally or by phone and ask for an appointment time. Even though many students were served in this manner, the number was not in agreement with the perceived need previous to the program. Students continued to wait to talk in the hallways, and after class, even if "only for five minutes", standing up, and while others were waiting in line. When some of them mentioned the nature of their difficulties to this writer, she tried to encourage them to set up appointments so that more time and attention in an "appropriate setting" could be provided. The reaction of many was "yes, I will" or "I have to talk to you one of these days," but they never made the appointments. When a Cuban or another Hispanic is experiencing a problem, the appropriate time and place for providing help to them is perceived as being "here and now." The pressure cannot wait until tomorrow or next week.

The names and reputation of the individuals providing the services or directing the various centers or institutions are more important than the institutions themselves. It is the reputation of knowledge and expertise that attract the Cuban or Hispanic client to a particular professional or service provider. A satisfied client will recommend his/her therapist to the whole world. A professional with a good reputation is able to attract and retain clients in formal treatment with a higher degree of success (Plazas, 1980). However,

the numbers served are still small in comparison to the needs.

A recent report on the Chicago Sun Times (Obejas, 1982) revealed that Cubans as well as other Hispanics in this city and in others in the United States, perceive and utilize certain cults and beliefs as their support in living and in facing the difficulties of life. Even though the "santeria" and "espiritualismo" cults are stronger among older and poorer people, young Hispanics seem also highly attracted and participate in them with more frequency than expected for this group. Through involvement in these cults, the individual appears to experience support and relief in a more personal way, and avoids the language and cultural barriers found in hospitals or other American or American-like institutions. Teas and herbs alleviate tension and stomach problems, and the listening by the "curanderas" appears to have a real therapeutic benefit. For many "... it works like confession" (Obejas, 1981:13).

Even though some observers and experts believe that there are also frauds and abusive practices by individuals in the ranks of these cults, many people continue to prefer this system of support rather than the depersonalized and massive institution, or the professional whom they cannot trust and who may charge a fortune. Cuban Americans in the middle and higher socio-economic levels seem to prefer the services of a psychiatrist, whom they see as a doctor in medicine with a special training. Psychologists are becoming somewhat more known to the Cuban population through the services they render to the children in schools or family centers.

In general, more women than men appear attracted to the services

of mental health centers, as well as more from low and lower middle classes. Their difficulties seem largely related to marital, family and acculturation problems (Saura, 1981). Many complain of being "nervous" and in need of medication. The real or perceived need for the medication seems to be a powerful attraction for the seek and continuation of treatment on a regular basis.

Scopetta and others (1977) presented some information which indicates those individuals who have a tendency to drop out of therapy. They found that those who discontinue therapy are: 1. people with a high degree of defensiveness, in terms of high self-esteem related to stereotyped self-concept and who do not admit to feelings of dissatisfaction, problems or social isolation; 2. males involved in legal conflicts, who are "made" to attend therapy sessions and who are distrustful, and suspicious in attitude; 3. females, who refuse to admit the need for change in their life situation as per-ceived by their therapists, and who may come, during crisis, with suicidal symptoms.

Reactions and Attitudes Toward Research

Research on Cuban Americans has relied heavily on student and clinical populations for subjects. However, many non-clinical families have also been interviewed and their information reported in various studies. All appeared to have cooperated with the researchers. Nevertheless, men seemed the most unavailable and dubious about revealing personal matters in terms of their role in the family. It seems that when interviewers are Cuban Americans too, there is more openness and willingness to participate in research. Interviewers or

therapists of other nationalities do not inspire as much trust as those who share their own cultural background.

The Cuban's tendency to look well in front of others, to please, and to avoid negative comments about the host country may affect research in terms of their willingness to express and share negative aspects and feelings about self, family and the United States.

Characteristics of Cuban Americans as Clients

Szapocznik and others (1978, 1978a) who have worked with Cuban Americans and have tried to develop models of treatment that will fit the cultural background of their clients, have studied the characteristics of Cuban clients. Their findings indicate that, compared with their American counterpart, Cubans' value orientations are different. Cuban immigrants prefer the lineal relationship style, and a present time orientation. They do not endorse idealized humanistic values or attempts to modify the effects of environmental conditions. In terms of these, "... the service provider or psychosocial treatment services for the Cuban immigrant must be ready to take charge of the therapist-client relationship, to validate hierarchical structures in the client's life context, and to intervene on behalf of the client within the client's life context to restore ecological order" (Szapocznik and others, 1978a).

The Cuban clients see their therapist as an authority figure who should take responsibility for and leadership in the treatment process. In the case of parents, they want their authority in the family to be reaffirmed. They are sensitive to social pressure and in high need for approval. They are field dependent and tend to perceive

themselves as unable to control or modify their environmental circum-
stances. They are present-oriented, expecting the therapist to pro-
vide immediate problem-oriented solutions. Only crises appear to
mobilize them therapeutically. Youngsters are not highly mobilized
by the pressures of their peer groups or by a search for personal
and spiritual growth. They are motivated by concrete and obtainable
objectives and endorse a doing, activity orientation.

In a replication study with an adult outpatient population, the
characteristics found in the youth group were also confirmed in terms
of the Cuban relational value orientation, person-nature relationship
and temporal orientation. However, the findings in terms of humanistic
values did not differ from the American sample. On the other hand,
while the first study found no differences in human-nature orientation,
the Cuban adult group revealed a belief in man as basically good
while the American group felt that man was basically evil and selfish.

The Cuban client wants a personalized relationship, is mobilized
by crisis and wants a quick solution to his problems in the context of
his beliefs and cultural traditions. He/she fears the stigma of being
involved in any mental health related institution or service, he/she is
distrustful of those not conscious, knowledgeable and respectful of
his/her cultural traditions.

Models of Treatment, and Specific Approaches Suggested or

Presently in Use in Providing Mental Health Services

to Cuban Americans

Some researchers have explored in their studies and/or in their

clinical practice the characteristics of various Hispanic populations,

and specifically Cuban Americans, with the purpose of providing more

effective service to the clients of that origin. Some words of warn-

ing, suggestions and models will be presented in the following para-

graphs.

Pitfalls and General Considerations in The Therapeutic Treatment of

Cuban Americans

When the relationship between parents and children is strained,

the therapist should serve as a bridge. If he/she allies with the

youngsters to defend them from what seems to be unappropriate parental

restraints, the therapist will only alienate himself/herself from the

parents, will diminish his/her chances for positive interaction and,

in aggravating the already diffuse boundaries between the parents and

the child will provoke an even more enmeshed pattern of relationships.

Parental authority cannot be dismissed or placed under attack (Canino

and Canino, 1980; Szapocznik, 1978). Therapeutic approaches which

tend to undermine the male authority may in many cases end in failure.

In relating to the fathers and mothers, the age and sex of the

therapist may often be crucial. The initial assessment of the situa-

tion and the dynamics of the family relationship may help in deciding

what kind of therapist might be most effective with a particular case.

An example from the present writer's experience relates to cases

in which inequality in the marriage relationship is the wife's complaint. Having a male therapist would probably be more appropriate, since a female therapist could be seen by the husband as allying herself with his wife, even though in reality both therapists may deal with the problems in the same manner. If the therapist fails to carefully translate the conflicts following existing sex role prescribed communication lines, he/she will fail to provide for the development of more functional family patterns. This is why the knowledge of the culture of the client and the ability to communicate in his/her own language are essential. If the therapist is not aware of the coping mechanisms used in the specific culture, and of the role played by "respeto", "dignidad", and "relajo"
(respect, dignity, joking attitude toward life which may hide feelings of hostility and anger and which may involve teasing) and "personalismo", he/she will fail to establish a relationship with the client which will be conducive to therapeutic benefit. A therapist should not be too informal at the beginning with Hispanic clients. A period of initial formality is expected until the therapist gains rapport and the individual or family admits him/her as a person they can trust. Humor can be a useful device if applied with tact. For this, the therapist must be highly sensitive to the mood of the specific moment of delivery. A therapist's inability to relate in personal ways, by remaining cold and distant from the client will only end in failure. Cubans as well as other Hispanics need to know that the therapist is a feeling human being, who really cares and who in many instances may be willing to share his own person and experiences.

A therapist who is not bilingual enough to be able to communicate effectively with Spanish-speaking parents, as well as with their English-speaking children, will have a hard time in establishing rapport and in being convincing, especially if he/she needs to use translators.

Long term and insight styles of therapies are not considered adequate in view of the Cuban's present time orientation, on-crisis mobility, and need for immediate resolution of conflicts. It appears that any style of therapy which omits the client's frame of reference, his cultural background, attitudes and values, is bound to be ineffective. The client will resist it and will become even more insensitive to any needed changes that might benefit the family and which could help to bridge the gap in the relationship between the underacculturated parents and their overacculturated children.

Even though the cultural framework of the clients and the degree of their actual mono-cultural or bicultural involvement and functioning in their environments are of utmost importance in the therapeutic process, it is also essential to consider each person as an individual with his/her specific needs as a human being who may be going through a specific stage in life. In the case of children, for example, counselors who work with the culturally different child may look at him/her only as if he/she were a problem. "Yet, this child needs the same things as most other children: autonomy, self-dignity, personal integrity, acceptance, and recognition as a person of value" (Counseling The Culturally...", 1974:242).

Professionals and paraprofessionals of Hispanic background who

have been educated in the United States and who may also have accul-
turated to a great extent may find it difficult and frustrating, to
come out in the field to apply to Hispanics the psychology they have
learned in American universities; a psychology which is based on and
geared in many ways toward meeting the needs, situations and values
of the American population. For most, the true learning really
starts at this point, where in many cases, through trial and error,
and in others, through the guidance of more experienced colleagues,
an inner awareness develops which brings the individual to realize the
need for adaptation of methods and styles.

Models of Counseling and Therapy Geared to the Needs of Cuban Americans

Some mental health professionals and practitioners have empha-
sized the importance of giving due consideration and including in the
treatment, the client's set of beliefs which, in many cases, include
the utilization of traditional healing systems. These involve the
cults practiced by many Cuban Americans and other Hispanics (Ruiz,
1977; Rubinstein, 1976; Leafley and Bestman, 1977). Others have
developed specific counseling and/or treatment approaches based on
the characteristics and needs of the Cuban population served
(Szapocznik and Kurtines, 1979; Szapocznik and others, 1978b, 1980a,
b, n.d.a.; Marina, 1975; Greco and Davis, 1978; Szapocznik, Kurtines
and Fernandez, in press; Spencer, Szapocznik and Hervis, 1981;
Szapocznik and Skotko, 1981; Santisteban, Szapocznik and Rio, 1981;
Szapocznik and others, BET Manual; Hervis, 1980; Klovekorn and others,
1974; Canino and Canino, 1980).

Rubinstein (1976) emphasizes the importance of understanding the

cultural and social phenomena behind the clients symptoms. The

therapist must comprehend the patient's language in order to reach

him/her in his/her language of magic and mythical beliefs. Rubinstein

works with many patients whose problems are revealed through signs of

a religious nature. He accepts these signs and uses the same language

of the client. He also provides medication and works with the family

so that its members become supportive of the client. He helps them

to comprehend the illness while at the same time diverting it of

magical and mystical interpretations.

Lefley and Bestman (1977) report on the meaning and importance

of the traditional healing systems and on the treatment modalities

they have developed to deal with the multiple problems of Caribbean

clients. In addition to the use of traditional forms of psychiatric

treatment, chemotherapy, traditional psychotherapy and the like, they

have explored and tried out other types of interventions which

include: 1. a network of mini-clinics, which function as neighborhood

centers, offering classes and recreational facilities in an atmosphere

of a "drop-in quasi day-treatment" (Lefley and Bestman, 1977:15); 2.

group therapy within a social-recreational context; 3. involvement of

the extended family in family therapy. This helps in "... exploring

the family structure to determine which adults play a significant role

in child-rearing and family dynamics" (Ibid:16); 4. merging of tradi-

tional and scientific techniques in psychotherapy; 5. knowledge of

the various forms of "hexing", their symptomatology and correlative

therapies and knowledge of the cultural norms of behavior; 6. consulta-

tion and informal referral to folk-healers when indicated. These

authors concur with other Caribbean colleagues in concluding that traditional psychoanalytically-oriented psychotherapy is largely inappropriate for Caribbean populations. Some points are suggested for effective psychotherapy with Cuban as well as other Caribbean clients. These are: psychotherapy must be problem oriented and focus on attainable goals; the therapist must establish rapport through warmth, friendliness, and a willingness to talk about him/herself; the therapist must function as an authority figure, since he is looked up to as an expert, and as one expected to counsel and give advice. The insistence of the giving of advice may be difficult to deflect. Eventually because of this, a directive posture may prove the most effective. Finally, the therapy must be short-term. For Lefley and Bestman, one of the purposes of therapy is to insure that it will strengthen rather than weaken the client in his/her cultural milieu.

Ruiz (1977) discusses the importance for Hispanics, of the social supports provided by the individuals involved in and by the system of folk-healing itself. He suggests ways in which community healers and personnel in mental health clinics can work jointly to serve the clients. Likewise, he proposes a reciprocal interchange in training which will make both professionals and healers more effective in their work, and will provide at the same time, an opportunity to share their own expertise for better service to the Hispanic client. Eventually folk healers could also become certified as mental health assistants and become incorporated into the mental health delivery system.

Marina (1975) conducted a study in which two types of intervention

programs were used in order to reduce the conflict of acculturation between parents and adolescents. One program had the purpose of speeding up the acculturation process in the parents through an educational program, while the other provided Cuban youngsters with a semi-structured counseling group where they could share and explore ambivalent feelings regarding cultural values. Results indicated that the youth group approach was better than the adult education approach in increasing perception of the cultural differences existing in terms of inclusion, control and affection and in diminishing anxiety related to family problems. However, neither of the approaches was more effective than the other in developing coping mechanisms.

In terms of school children, Klovekorn and others (1974) offer suggestions to increase the efficacy of the counseling programs for Cuban children in elementary schools. They see counselors as working with teachers to make them aware of the children's needs and differences, and as providers of opportunities to ease tensions between students speaking different languages. Some techniques proposed are the use of role playing, small group sessions, sibling sessions, and the development of guidance learning centers with activities for the discovery and use of positive and negative feeling words. At the college level, it is suggested that counseling services be made more visible to the Cuban students through the understanding of the culture and its dynamics, through the establishment of informal relationships; and through the willingness of the counselors to become socially involved with the students, making themselves more accessible in this way and making their services more informal, less threatening and more

convenient (Greco and McDavis, 1978).

Therapists with experience in dealing with Hispanic clients agree that an effective therapy for Hispanics must be short term, culturally sensitive and appropriate, and include the family and the setting where it functions (Canino and Canino, 1980; Szapocznik and others, 1978, 1979, 1980; Lefley and Bestman, 1977). The emphasis is on an ecostructural family therapy approach. This "... assumes that a person is influenced by his(/her) context, that is, his(/her) sociocultural, familiar, political, and economic environment" (Canino and Canino, 1980). It assumes that the individual is both, passively affected by his environment, while actively influencing the same. This approach is oriented to the present, is short in duration, attempts to clarify dysfunctional family patterns and mobilizes the family to cope more effectively with stressful life situations. Based on his description of the Cuban client, Szapocznik and others propose that Ecological Structural Family Therapy is the treatment of choice for Cuban families dealing with the problems of accultura-tion. The authors integrated in the model, Auerswald's Ecological Systems and Minuchin's Structural Family Therapy approaches. The major aim of the model is "... to facilitate more functional patterns of interactions within a family and within its environmental context; (in other words) to help members of a family become competent individuals in the family as well as in their extrafamilial roles" (Szapocznik and others, 1978:112). The sequence of therapeutic inter-ventions in this model involves:

    1. "Joining operations": the therapist accepts the family

organization and blends with it to gain trust, while tending to the pain and alienation of its members.

2. After being established in a position of authority, the therapist makes a strong alliance with the parents to reinforce parental authority and thus, restore the familial lineal system of functioning.

3. Community agencies may be enlisted to assist in setting limits for the behavior of the acting out adolescent.

4. The family is given tasks to promote reapproachment between its alienated members.

5. The therapist intervenes in providing new peer relationships for the youngster, which will help discourage antisocial behavior.

6. Parents are dealt with in therapy without the presence of the problem youngster to clarify family boundaries, to work on marital problems and to encourage the parents to become a source of support for each other.

Szapocznik and others conducted studies to assess the effectiveness of the Ecological approach as compared with another Intramural approach in terms of effectiveness of treatment. Although clinical experience had led these authors to hypothesize that the Ecological treatment approach would be most effective in dealing with a population of drug abusing Cubans in Miami, results of the study did not support the hypothesis. There was an insignificant difference between the effectiveness of the Ecological and the Instramural approaches. The authors report on a number of variables that may have confounded the results of the study. In conclusion, the

interpretation of results seems to suggest that "... the provisions of culturally sensitive services to Latino drug abusers may have been a more significant variable leading to program success than the comprehensiveness of the services provided" (Szapocznik and others, n.d.a.; Scopetta and others, 1977).

Another model of therapy developed by Szapocznik and others (1980a) is the Life Enhancement Counseling to treat depressions among Cuban elders. This approach represents an innovative integration of treatment strategies. It capitalizes on the elders' natural proclivity to reminisce and recognizes the significance of their current ecological conditions. The model draws on the elders' past strengths and competencies and proposes to help them re-enact these in the present in order to ameliorate those conditions which contribute to the mental health distress of this population. The model is also tailored to the characteristics and needs of the Cuban elders. The model involves two processes: 1. Life Review; and 2. Ecological Assessment and Intervention. The Life Review involves: a) enhancing the meaningfulness of positive memories; b) facilitating the acceptance of unresolved incidents; and c) the rediscovery of past strengths, capabilities or interests. The process of Ecological Assessment and Intervention involves: the identification of sources of stress as well as the resources available to each elder. It also includes testing the viability of the identified resources; developing an ecological treatment plan; and restructuring the transactions between the elder and his/her environment.

Other ideas and suggestions related to the bicultural adjustment

of Cuban American youth in the United States have also been explored

and developed by Szapocznik, Kurtines and Fernandez (in press, n.d.a.).

Based on the premises that individuals functioning in a bicultural

environment must be bicultural in order to be optimally adjusted,

these authors suggest that students must be moved towards biculturalism.

Two possible strategies to be used are: 1. to hold group sessions for

clarification of ethnics values: In these sessions, students can learn

about the differences in cultures and explore their feelings about the

various aspects of each; 2. to teach communication and negotiation

skills in two different cultural contexts, each with its separate set

of rules. Thus, the students will be able to implement different

survival skills for an effective bicultural adjustment.

In line with the two-dimensional model of acculturation which

includes the biculturalism dimension and with the strategies just

mentioned above, Szapocznik and his research associates have more

recently developed various models of therapy to deal with the Cuban

family and its members. Some of those models of treatment known to

this author at the present time are: Brief Strategic Family Therapy

(BSFT) which was developed based on the ideas of Dr. Salvador Minuchin

and Jay Haley. The purpose of this therapy is basically to reduce

drug abuse of Hispanic adolescents and young adults and to improve

their functioning as well as their interactions with their families

(Spencer, Szapocznik and Hervis, 1981). The authors experimented

utilizing the BSFT approach with the whole family as a group, and

also with the adolescent alone by focusing on changing the family

patterns through him/her. Results did not indicate that one style

was more effective than the other, but they showed an overall effectiveness of the BSFT in both contexts.

Szapocznik, Scopetta and King (n.d.a. in document) describe five factors which seem to make BSFT effective because of its brevity. These factors are: 1) the joining procedure to enter the family without eliciting systemic resistance; 2) the focused strategic approach to family reorganization; 3) the performance-base restructuring procedure; 4) the use of homework tasks as a therapeutic technique; and 5) the explicit temporal limitations of a treatment contract.

A second approach to deal with the acculturation problems of the Cuban family is contained in the model referred to as Bilingual Effectiveness Training (BET) (Santisteban, Szapocznik and Rio, 1981; Szapocznik and others, n.d.a.). This is a didactic (cognitive and experiential) approach for Cuban families with at least one adolescent; its purpose is to effectively reduce the generational/cultural gaps in the family by providing the necessary skills to function in a bicultural environment. This treatment includes 12 lessons which bring out various aspects of biculturalism, and family functioning within the American and the Cuban cultural values and provides through lecture, demonstrations, rehearsals and homework assignments the opportunities for family members to bridge the gap, understanding each other and knowing how to handle conflict as well as how to go for help from mental health providers when needed.

A third model based on the same concept but directed to families with a pre-adolescent with behavior problems and called Family Effectiveness Training (FET) has also been designed by Szapocznik and others to

be used as a drug preventive educational program. This approach also emphasizes the improvement of the family interaction and the bridging of the cultural/generational gaps along with the increase in knowledge and information about drug use and abuse. Szapocznik insists that the leadership role belongs to the parents, and to the authority figures in the child's or youth's life. Therefore, those authority figures must be taught how to effectively exercise their leadership rather than having outsiders (counselors, therapists and others) intervene only with the youngster. This may only serve to undermine the existing natural authority structure in the youth's life by disconnecting him/her from the strongest potential source of effective guidance which may actually help him to control his rebellious behavior. In an address presented at the Prevention Research Technical Review meeting of the National Institute on Drug Abuse, Szapocznik (with Skotko, 1981) recommended the use of family oriented prevention strategies as the "single most effective category of interventions" (p. 4). He also advocates for a systems perspective which will also include school based interventions for drug abuse prevention and adolescent drug abuse treamtent. Szapocznik's philosophy in all these models appears based on his belief that "... to educate parents to provide leadership and guidance and to establish clear, firm, but negotiable rules will lead to better family harmony, and will provide parents with the support they need to manage adolescent behavior, promote adolescent growth, and even impart drug information" (p. 6).

Bernal and Flores-Ortiz (1982) offer recommendations in how to engage and evaluate Latino families in the process of therapy.

General suggestions in relation with all Hispanics indicate that the therapist, in order to engage the clients in treatment, must be aware of: their poverty status, with its resulting problems of poor health, undereducation, high birth rate and unemployment; the cultural and personal reasons for reluctance to seek "professional" services; the need for an understanding, respectful and sensitive approach to their situation and problems; the importance to make the clients feel at ease and begin to trust the agency and the staff; the family's expectations of the therapist as an active authority figure and advice givers; and the culturally prescribed roles and family hierarchy as he/she addresses the family members. After the problem is identified, the therapist questions the family to obtain the information needed to understand the family system and the context as well as the migration/ acculturation history. Throughout this process, the therapist inter- venes with various techniques that will help in the engagement of the family, as well as inquires as to their problem-solving orienta- tion. In closing the initial session the therapist should comment on her observations and offers positive feedback by acknowledging the contributions of the family members. Since advice will be expected these authors inform the family that more details will be needed and that recommendations will be offered at the end of the evaluation sessions.

In terms of Cuban families, Bernal and Flores-Ortiz (1982) insist on the importance of being aware than many Cuban families have a certain image of Cuba fixed at the time they left. These images can develop into myths which become defensive armor and have an organizing

function showing when they are faced with family disruptions. Respect and appreciation for the delicate problems and political nature affecting Cuban-Americans is of great significance in engaging them in the therapeutic process. In addition these authors bring out the importance of including in the assessment of the family: 1) distinguishing migration and/or cultural conflicts from family development stage-specific conflicts; and 2) examination of the degree of connectedness or re-connectedness to the Latino culture (p. 362).

Programs Developed by Mental Health Service Agencies

Mental Health Agencies have tried various approaches in serving the Hispanic members of the community. The Edgewater Uptown Community Mental Health Center in Chicago, developed a system of service delivery for the ethnic communities of the catchment area which included ethnic units, staffed by native workers whose nationality and language matched those of the individuals served. Because of the scarcity of ethnic professionals, the concept of paraprofessional workers was developed. These individuals provide service under the supervision of the professional staff, social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists (Plazas, 1980). One of the units is Latin American Services which serves clients of Hispanic origin. Even though the Unit attracted and served a good number of clients, the dropout rate was high. Clients remaining in treatment for long periods were chronic patients, and those in need of medication. The bureaucratic American style of the institution and its service to many chronic patients, deterred families and individuals with other but psychotic problems from being attracted for services. Being seen at the Center

or being associated with it in any way was a stigma for many Hispanics (Saura, 1981). In view of this problem, the unit serving children was located in another building, to function more like a family center and to avoid involvement with the chronic patients. In spite of this, Hispanics with better economic possibilities prefer to see individual professionals than to receive services from a center. Saura indicated that when the cultural aspects are neglected in dealing with the Cuban client, he/she will not come for services anymore. Cubans seem to continue to have some resistance to the utilization of mental health facilities, they are most responsive to short-term crisis-intervention treatment, and they seem to continue to confide their problems in their most trusted person: the medical doctor (Saura, 1981).

From their study of youth perceptions of social supports, Mannino and Shore (1976) gathered a number of recommendations from the youngsters themselves in terms of mental health programs to serve them. "... It seems essential that mental health programs for youth be integrated into an overall community program where various activities (cultural, sporting, social, educational, etc.) are presented. Fragmentation of services in all probability contributes to under-utilization of health and social services, a problem well documented in the literature" (Mannino and Shore, 1976:474).

Lefley (1975) indicates that community mental health centers based on the medical model fail to deal with the patient's social environment and are not able to offer culturally appropriate treatment nor handle the potential case load. The Miami model described by the

author was an attempt "to build upon and integrate various approaches
.... While simultaneously structuring its services to meet the needs,
expectations, and cultural uniqueness of the respective constituencies"
(Lefley, 1975:28/317). The model was aimed at building community
support systems for both prevention and aftercare; to intervening,
to developing culturally appropriate treatment and to ensuring con-
tinuity of personal contact and care for the patients who were in the
hospital system. The work is done by teams specialized in the culture
of the groups they would serve. Their functions were to serve as a
bridge, teachers and trainers between the community and the mental
health establishment. They act as catalysts mobilizing neighborhood
resources, and also organize and direct action-oriented research always
geared to specific program goals. In addition they act as resource
specialists and help the community to take action, and to develop
support systems. Persons requiring assessment or counseling are
referred to the clinical backup team. Utilizing this structure many
persons are served in their home and school milieu who otherwise would
never have sought help in the hospital.

Sandoval and Tozo (1975) describe the work of the Cuban Unit of
a Community Mental Health Service program in the North West and North
East areas of Miami where Cuban residents were disorganized and in
need of a number of health and mental health services. The unit is
headed by a director or culture broker, knowledgeable in both Cuban
and American cultures and who is responsible for designing the
strategies and the action-oriented research as well as coordinating
the activities and services rendered by the unit. The Unit is

integrated by seven paraprofessionals, indigenous to the area and well versed in the language, the culture and the social conditions of the Cubans in the areas served. The Unit performed a study of the areas and its residents to assess their needs, to develop a service plan and implement it in order to respond to those needs. For health and social needs, a social assistance agency was created. This agency offers the direct services as well as referral to other agencies. For the residents' mental health service needs, a mini-clinic was developed with Cuban staff. It is organized as a drop in center and it offers the emotionally upset and mentally ill: recreation, trained listening, psychotherapy, opportunities for social interaction, as well as the services of early detection, intervention, treatment and aftercare in the community itself. The Unit tries "... to promote programs and services that are consonant with the customs and social realities of the ethnic groups served" (Sandoval and Tozo, 1975:62/331). The authors believe that the integration of all components in the way the Unit has achieved it, makes mental health services economically feasible in a very needy community.

Most innovative approaches with Cubans and Hispanic populations in general seem to be geared toward systems which are ecological in nature and which are tailored to the needs of the individuals served.

Questions Related to Outreach Strategies to Serve the Cuban Community

In their study on outreach in the delivery of mental health services to Hispanic elders Szapocznik and others (1976b) speculate on the possible reasons for failure in reaching Cuban elders to utilize mental health services. Interesting questions were raised which indicate that

possibilities to be explored in outreach might be: the offering of other forms of services outside the mental health tradition; the use of a crisis intervention approach; the engagement of the prospective clients in treatment over the phone; home visitations; and the offering of less threatening alternatives other than mental health treatment, to facilitate rapport. In other words, going to the setting of the prospective client and utilizing a non-medical, non-mental illness related model.

Summary

This chapter attempts to study various factors of the acculturation and adaptation process and their effect on the mental health of the Cuban family as a whole and of the different segments of the family population from childhood to old age.

Parental efforts to protect children from the influence of the cultural values and traditions of the American society which appear dissonant with the Cuban traditions have been ineffective. Moreover, children acculturate faster than their parents. This appears to create many family conflicts: a considerable number of families have been disrupted; the rate of divorce is increasing; a large number of young people drop out from school, become drug abusers and acting out individuals; numerous elderly suffer from depression and live in isolation. Many of these disorders do not seem to be an exclusive result of the acculturation process. They may also be due to the changes brought about by the modernization of society, especially in the large cities.

While in Cuba, each member of the family seemed to have a well-defined role to play in the family setting. Everybody appeared cooperative and free from pressures. Moving to this country, Cubans expected to fulfill their dreams: to save their cultural values from Castro and to share in the American wealth. For many families, this dream has become a nightmare. The Cuban "modus vivendi" had to endure a change which has brought forth tensions, frustrations, separation gaps, disintegration and exhaustion. The Cuban ideal of "working to enjoy life" has turned for many into the necessary reality of "living in order to work." Findings on mental health problems as related to the process of acculturation include the Cuban family as a whole and specific groups of Cuban Americans such as women/mothers, men/fathers, children, adolescents, college students, and the elderly.

The Cuban family in exile has had to endure drastic changes imposed by the separation from the homeland and family and the style of family life of the host society which challenges the traditional patterns of Cuban family life. The independence which Cuban children have gained in this country causes great concern and conflict for parents. The conflict becomes traumatic when parents underacculturate and children overacculturate. A cultural gap is formed between parents and children. "The young may use marijuana to relieve anxiety and depression while their parents may convert their anxieties into hypochondriacal symptoms, projection mechanisms and religious-mystical experiences."

Cuban mothers in exile have gained independence and power through their involvement in earning a salary and obtaining a profession.

However, they have experienced great difficulty in reconciling outside work and home duties. They appear to function under a great degree of stress. The household is still male dominated. It has been found that mothers who have difficulty in relating to their adolescent children tend to abuse sedatives and tranquilizers. Mothers consider themselves responsible for communicating cultural norms to their children and for preserving the unity of the family. The fulfillment of these tasks demands a great degree of flexibility. Mothers who are not flexible have the most difficult time in self-adjustment. Expedient mothers have the highest number of conflicts, while moral mothers have the lowest. The former tend to produce a dysfunctional family structure, the latter tend to deal more effectively with conflict resolution but function personally under more stress and tension.

There does not seem to be any specific study which has utilized Cuban fathers as subjects for a mental health related investigation. Fathers have suffered the stress related to reestablishing their families in a strange country and in a new language. Many have perceived themselves as losing esteem as they have confronted their wives' changing roles and their children's fast acculturation.

Cuban children appear to experience adjustment difficulties when they are separated from their overprotective mothers to enter kindergarten. As they grow they may be exposed to a conflict between their loyalty to family values and to the American way of life. Many Cuban youngsters have rebelled against the family, by dropping out of school, by engaging in acting-out behaviors, and/or by adhering to drug use

and abuse. This seems to be related to the lack of parental supervision and premature exposure to independence. Findings indicate that acculturation, family and behavioral disorders, and drug abuse are closely interrelated. Overacculturation or underacculturation patterns seem to render the youngsters inappropriately mono-cultural in a bicultural context with the results being detrimental to their mental health. The behavioral patterns of the youngsters who over-acculturate are different from those who underacculturate. The former tend to be acting out at home and school; the latter tend to be withdrawn, isolated, and depressed.

Cuban college students are affected by the process of acculturation: the more assimilated reveal less external orientation, the least acculturated appear more externally oriented, and tend to conflict in their effort to meet differing expectations from the family and the host culture. Among the needs of the Cuban college population are identity and peer support. It has been found that cultural attitudes against counseling do not allow Cuban American students to disclose their feelings and needs to counselors, student personnel workers, and university administrators. Professional trends in the family influence the children's vocational choices. Many Cuban students experience conflict between the pressure to follow their families' expectations and their own desires for a personally satisfying field of study.

The two major mental health problems affecting the Cuban elderly are senile dementia and depression. The latter seems to be the most widespread mental health hazard which perturbs this population. Many

factors appear to be related to the elderly loss of a sense of purpose
in life: lack of knowledge of the language, lack of acculturation,
breakdown of the extended family, loss of country and status,
especially the valued role as an authority figure in the family.
Szapocznik developed a therapeutic model called Life Enhancement
Counseling to treat their depression and feelings of meaninglessness.
There have been difficulties in attracting the elderly to utilize
mental health services before they reach crisis or to be engaged in
treatment.

In the pre-Castro years, individuals affected by mental dis-
orders had several options: to be referred to Mazorra, a public
psychiatric hospital, if they were dangerous to themselves or to
others; when such a danger was not present to wander freely in the
streets under community charity and protection, or to live in their
homes under family protection. Medications and electro-shocks were
among the most common types of therapies. Psychological treatment
was not well developed. The family doctor and more frequently the
neighborhood pharmacist treated mild emotional difficulties. In the
community, there were relatives, friends and neighbors who were highly
respected for their wisdom, religiosity and willingness to serve
others. They were usually consulted by persons experiencing emotional
difficulties before or in conjunction with seeing the family doctor
and/or the pharmacist. Another important community resource system
for alleviating emotional disorders was constituted by "espiritismo,"
"santeros," and "curanderos". Apparently some of these individuals had
the ability to relieve their clients from unacceptable impulses and

feelings through mystic maneuvers which included the mechanisms of denial and projection, while others used listening, group support and folk medicine.

Cuban Americans perceive the mental health institutions and professionals in the United States as depersonalized entities and individuals. Their attitudes toward them are those of distance and distrust. Many of them prefer to see a Hispanic doctor before going to the English-speaking specialist who gives them the impression of a business-oriented doctor. Researchers indicate that mental health centers and agencies have great difficulty in attracting as well as retaining Cuban clients in need of mental health treatment, even when the centers have workers of Hispanic origin. These clients do not seem to tolerate bureaucratic procedures, labeling, and treatment plans. They look for an informal, personalized relationship, and a quick solution to their problems. The appropriate time and place for providing help to them is perceived as being "here and now." They also want their counselors and therapists to be socially involved with them after the therapy hours and to become a more permanent part of the family network. Cuban clients are motivated to look for mental health services by the credibility and reputation of the professionals who provide the services or direct the institution, rather than by the institution itself. Findings, however, indicate that many low-middle class Cuban Americans tend to under-utilize the mental health services provided by institutions, and to utilize the support system offered by the "santeria" and "espiritismo" systems which seem to have grown in exile. This is observed to happen in both old and

young Cuban Americans.   In general, more females than males seek
mental health services.   Most of their difficulties are related to
marital, family, children, and acculturation problems.

Attempts have been made to develop models of mental health
treatment which respond to the needs of Cuban clients, whose value
orientation appears different from that of the Americans.   The
therapist is an authority figure for the Cuban client.   At the same
time, parents expect the therapist to reaffirm their authority in
the family.   Cuban clients are present-oriented.   They want the
therapist to provide immediate problem-oriented solutions within
the context of their beliefs and cultural traditions.

Therapeutic approaches which attempt to be successful cannot
undermine values which appear essential to the Cuban culture, such as
hierarchical structure and extended orientation of the family, male
authority, respect, joyful attitude toward life, dignity, personalism,
informality, present time orientation, tendency for immediate solu-
tion of conflicts, religious and mythical beliefs.

Some practitioners have tried to combine traditional forms of
psychiatric treatment with new interventions which take into considera-
tion the role of cultural values in the healing process.   They believe
that traditional psychoanalytically oriented treatment is inappropriate
for Caribbean populations.   Treatment should be short-term, culturally
sensitive and problem-oriented based on a personal relationship
between therapist and client, and should provide participation for
community healers.   There is an emphasis on the eco-structural approach
which assumes that the individual is both, passively affected by his

environment while actively influencing the same. The approach aims at facilitating more functional interactions within the family and within its environmental context. Bernal and Flores-Ortiz also gave helpful recommendations to be effective in engaging and maintaining Hispanics involved in the therapy process, by being sensitive to and respectful of the cultural values, by distinguishing the acculturation from the family developmental problems and by establishing the degree of connection of the family with the culture of origin. All these will ensure more therapist's effectiveness.

Authors have also proposed a bicultural adjustment model for Cuban American youth. This model is based on the premise that individuals functioning in a bicultural environment must be bicultural in order to be optimally adjusted. These and other models developed by Szapocznik and his research associates are tailored to the characteristics of Cubans and geared to the family with the purpose of treating dysfunctional families with problem adolescents and bridging the generational and cultural gaps as well as to prepare the individuals for bicultural functioning. These models are: the Brief Strategic Family Therapy (BSFT); the Bilingual Effectiveness Training (BET); and the Family Effectiveness Training (FET) - the last one geared to families with a behavior problem pre-adolescent. In addition, another model has been recently developed to treat depression among Cuban elders. It is called the Life Enhancement Counseling. This model draws on the elders' past strengths and proposes to reactivate them in the present to ameliorate those conditions which contribute to the mental health disturbances of this population.

It is observed that Cubans have some resistance to the utilization of services offered by community mental health centers in spite of the services available in Spanish. This may be due to the inability of the centers to offer culturally appropriate treatment. A mental health service model has been developed in Miami to serve the Cuban population. The model is socially rather than medically oriented. Its services are consonant with the individual needs and social realities of the population served. There is a strong trend for the development of non-medical or mental illness oriented approaches to meet properly the mental health needs of the Cuban American population.

PART B

Part B

ANALYSIS OF DATA AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULTURAL FRAMEWORK

AND THE THEORETICAL BASES

Methodology

Part B includes an analysis and synthesis of the findings of
Part A with the purpose of extracting the relevant information
accumulated in those studies and of presenting it in a clear and
concise tabular fashion. The writer's task in Part B has involved
conscientious and detailed analysis of the organized data to present
it in a fashion which may bring to the reader clear understanding and
new insights on the subject. Based on the information presented in
Chapters I, III, and IV a set of tables was composed which attempted
to show a logical integration of the data and an orderly sequence of
relationships drawn among the various aspects presented. As previously
explained in the methodology section in Part A, this analysis is not
statistical in nature, due to the fact that the diversity and specifi-
city among the numerous studies did not permit the accumulation of
large enough numbers on particular topics. Therefore, this is a
qualitative analysis which to some extent may be considered a modified
meta-analysis since it attempts to integrate all findings in a way
that makes sense out of the information available (Glass, 1979).

In addition to the cultural analysis, a second type of analysis
was carried out on two different facets. Two traditional psycho-
therapeutic systems were analyzed for their applicability in serving
the mental health needs of Cuban-Americans. Also, models, ideas,

and approaches which have been tailored to the Cuban characteristics were analyzed and synthesized.

In Chapter V, the cultural analysis is presented. This analysis evolves into the cultural framework. Chapter VI, in which the two therapies and other models are analyzed, provides the theoretical framework or basis on which an original model will be developed.

Thus, Part B constitutes the second contribution of this study, which includes two separate aspects:

1. A presentation which incorporates description, integration, drawing of relationships, analysis and synthesis of information previously obtained. The raw data in itself are not new, but the analysis of relationships, and concise and organized presentation are. For those desiring to obtain knowledge regarding Cuban-Americans, their culture and their mental health, this source will represent an integrated body of knowledge (Chapter V).

2. A presentation which incorporates: (a) the aspects of Rogerian and Adlerian therapies analyzed for their applicability to the Cuban-Americans. To the knowledge of this author no researchers have attempted this analysis in terms of the Cuban culture. An in-depth analysis was not required; rather those aspects of the two traditional therapies which may or may not apply when utilized with a specific cultural group - in this case, Cuban-Americans - have been identified and extrapolated; and (b) the analysis and synthesis of models, ideas and approaches culturally-tailored to the needs of

Cuban-Americans (Chapter VI).

Because the analyses performed on Chapters V and VI differ, particulars regarding the exact methods of analysis used for each, will appear at the beginning of the respective chapters under Procedures.

For easy reference and utilization of the materials developed and presented in this part of the study, a Guide for Reference to the Tables of both Chapters V and VI has been composed and will appear at the end of Part B, (after Chapter VI). The Guide includes information on each table's main chapter source; on its general topic; and on the number and title of each table indicating the precise content. In many tables the sources may overlap since, in drawing relationships, information from various chapters may have been used. However, in each case, the chapter listed is considered the principal source.

CHAPTER V

THE CULTURAL FRAMEWORK: CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS OF THE DATA

In this chapter all the data collected, compiled and organized through the comprehensive review of the literature will be analyzed, organized, classified, and presented in tabular fashion, in an order similar to that in which information appeared in the previous chapters. In the process, the data will be abstracted, summarized, compared, contrasted, trend- and path-analyzed with the object of clearly presenting to the reader as well as to human service providers the origin and foundation of the Cuban culture; the characteristics of Cubans in the Pre-Castro era and in the United States: the changes undergone due to the process of acculturation in this country; the mental health attitudes, perceptions, problems and needs of Cuban-Americans; and the availability and utilization of support systems. Existing models of treatment tailored to their characteristics and needs; and the practical suggestions for more effective services and for modifying the present mental health system of delivery offered in the studies reviewed will be presented in Chapter VI as part of the theoretical framework.

The major contribution of this chapter consists of drawing out and establishing relationships among those important aspects in the literature, while giving shape to the cultural framework on which the original model proposed in this dissertation, and any other models,

may stand. Thus, the tabular presentation in its entirety (Tables 1-22) will collectively constitute the theoretical, cultural structure of the model or program whose practical applications will be stated in a subsequent chapter. The content of this chapter may also stand by itself in serving as a guide in a course of study which could be entitled: Cuban-Americans, Cultural Background and Mental Health.

The analysis in this chapter has been based on data obtained from Chapters I, III and IV. Chapter II, which deals with a different facet of change in the life of Cubans: Cubans in Cuba and Cubans who arrived more recently in the United States, has not been utilized because the purpose for its inclusion in this study was only to provide supplemental information about the other pieces of the Cuban puzzle, which need to be explored separately in future research.

Procedures

The following steps were followed in the process of analyzing and preparing for presentation of the data which will appear in this chapter.

I. Chapters I, III and IV were carefully studied with the purpose of determining essential information for extraction and analysis. Aspects considered important for tracing the cultural roots of the Cuban character, and characteristics explicit or implicit in the literature were included for presentation and later comparison.

II. The data obtained from Part I was subsequently analyzed and organized in tabular form in order to show important, relevant relationships which form a structural framework within which to

examine, understand and utilize the available information about Cuban-Americans and their mental health.

The information was first extracted and organized for each chapter and was later combined in various ways. The rationale for the analysis and organization of the tables appears below.

A. Analysis of Data from Chapter I: Tables 1-8

Eight tables were designed to present the analysis of the data extracted from Chapter I. The main purpose of this set of tables was to present the origin and foundation of the Cuban culture and the characteristics of Cubans in the Pre-Castro era. The various objectives in performing this task were:

1. To trace the cultural influences in the formation of the Cuban character in terms of origin, period, type and strength of the influence (Table 1).

2. To show how the strongest cultural influences blended in terms of race, religion, and music to produce outcomes different from the sources of origin (Table 2).

3. To describe the Pre-Castro Cuban through the appropriate classification of characteristics. This was done by:

a. Creating labels under which the information on characteristics could be properly categorized. The ten labels which came out as significant in Chapter I, because of the frequency or the importance of their appearance, were:

-Language

-Religion

-Traditional Values in Interpersonal Relationships

-Male-Female Relationship Code

-Sense of Humor

-Race

-Social Class Structure

-Education

-Economic Tendencies and Work Ethics

-Political Aspects and Involvement

b. Categorizing these labels under two major headings, namely, Primary Cultural Factors and Secondary Cultural Factors. After much revision, the labels were changed to Cultural Factors and Cultural Systems. This was done to establish a clearer differentiation between those factors that seemed most personal and essential, and those systems that although also important had more tendency to change in the new environment and affected the population in more heterogeneous ways.

c. Classifying the characteristics and attitudes extracted from the literature according to the designated factors and systems (Tables 3 and 4).

4. To determine and describe the significant functions which each of the cultural factors and systems played in fostering and preserving mental health where their role is taken for granted. When the Cuban leaves the familiar cultural environment the roles of the factors and systems undergo changes of which they may be unaware (Tables 5 and 6).

5. To point out tendencies in the Cuban character which, although at times of contradictory appearance, are strongly evident in the literature (Table 7).

6. To reveal in a somewhat jokeful mood the incongruities of the Cuban character as related to various cultural factors and systems. Some of the expressions come from Traditional Cuban anecdotes and jokes; while others are based on current sources (Table 8).

B. Analysis of Data from Chapter III: Tables 9-16

Six tables--the first one consisting of five sub-tables--were designed with information extracted mainly from Chapter III. The purpose of this set of tables was to present a clear picture of Cuban-Americans and of the acculturation process they undergo.

In this portion the information from Chapter III was selected and analyzed. For uniformity of presentation in describing the Cuban-American and for facilitating later comparisons, many cultural descriptors and table formats previously utilized to describe the Pre-Castro Cuban were chosen. The objectives pursued in the presentation of this second set of tables were:

1. To describe the Cuban-American through the appropriate classification and presentation of characteristics in terms of the cultural factors. This was done by:

   a. Selecting the same descriptors utilized in the classification of Pre-Castro Cubans, namely the cultural factors and systems.

b. Adding the variable of "age at entrance to the U.S.A."
for the classification of characteristics. This was
done because this variable was suggested as important
in influencing the resulting degree of acculturation of
Cubans.

c. Subdividing the information in terms of the cultural
factors; this resulted in five subtables. The nature
of the information explicit or implicit in the literature
permitted the parallel presentation of these tables
(9a-9e).

d. Classifying the characteristics of Cuban-Americans
according to the new variable, "age at arrival"--which
included three different age ranges, namely, over 20;
10-20; and below 10; and according to the cultural
factors.

2. To describe the Cuban-American through the appropriate
assignment of characteristics to the descriptors under
cultural systems. The utilization of the variable, "age
at arrival" was not possible for this category due to
insufficient data. Thus, the classification of characteris-
tics according to systems was done in the same manner as
for the Pre-Castro Cuban in Table 4 (Table 10).

3. To select and present additional important information on
characteristics which bring out differences between Anglos
and Cubans. Because of the nature of the research in which
they appeared, they did not fit the headings already selected

for the previous tables. These data show the results of studies which matched samples of Cubans with samples from the American population (Table 11).

4. To organize and present all variables from the literature which appear to be related to the process of acculturation in Cuban-Americans; and to show the type of relationship between each variable and the process (Table 12).

5. To present two models of the acculturation of Cubans which were prominent in the literature. Two figures representing the models are shown. One was borrowed from the writings of the original authors (Szapocznik and Associates, 1979). The other was designed by this writer, who made various attempts at representing the total model in a graphic manner. The complexity of the aspects involved in the second model did not allow such tasks to be successfully completed. But, a partial representation was made (Table 13).

6. To show the movement from more to less traditionally Cuban attitudes, values and behaviors which occur as a result of acculturation. For this table the information was obtained and extrapolated from all three chapters analyzed, namely, I, III and IV; and sentences were chosen or created to show the contrast between the pre-acculturated and the acculturated samples of behaviors. These sentences were organized according to the descriptors of cultural factors and systems (Table 14).

7. To compare and contrast the data previously presented, two

tables were designed to show side by side the characteristics
of Pre-Castro Cubans and of Cuban-Americans. The informa-
tion was directly taken from Tables 3 and 9a-9e (from these
only the "general" characteristics were taken) to show the
likenesses and differences in terms of the cultural factors;
and from Tables 4 and 10 to contrast characteristics in
terms of the cultural systems (Tables 15 and 16).

C. Analysis of Data from Chapter IV: Tables 17-22

The six tables designed with data obtained and extrapolated
mainly from Chapter IV have as their purpose to show the
reader, in a comprehensive yet concise form, the mental health
problems, needs, attitudes and perceptions of Cuban-Americans;
the availability and utilization of support systems for the
alleviation of psychological stress; and to bring out the
reasons for underutilization of Anglo-style mental health
services. The various objectives pursued in the design and
presentation of these tables were:

1. To clearly present the mental health problems experienced
   by Cuban-Americans in the U.S.A. This was done by:

   a. Selecting problems explicit or implicit in the literature.

   b. Organizing problems in terms of various groups, namely:
      family, women/mothers; men/fathers; children, adolescents,
      college students and the elderly.

   c. Selecting new descriptors for areas of problems. Some
      areas selected coincided with the previous descriptors
      of cultural factors and systems. Others are new. The

reason for the choice of this new classification here was that the type of information available in terms of problems did not always fit under or was at times insufficient for some of the original descriptors.

d. Classifying the problems for each group in terms of the area descriptors. The areas of problems were utilized to order the information in a logical way, but they are not all inclusive. Many of the problems could well fit under various areas. Thus, overlap in some cases was unavoidable (Tables 17a-17g).

2. To show readers and mental health service personnel those characteristic and behavioral trends of Cuban-Americans which are important to the therapeutic process, and which were pointed out by research and extracted from the literature by this writer. These characteristics and behaviors were classified in terms of the cultural factors from which they derived (Table 18).

3. To point out the intergenerational differences in terms of tendencies towards specific symptomatology or reaction to it. Information was found which brought out differences especially between youth and their mothers (Table 19).

4. To bring to the attention of professionals working in higher education the parental perceptions and behaviors which affect the independent choice of career by Cuban college students and which naturally provoke internal or external conflict for the student (Table 20).

5. To show the difference between mental health resources available and utilized by Cubans in Cuba and in the United States. This was done by:

   a. Selecting descriptors for all resources for the alleviation of psychological stress which were explicit or implicit in the literature.

   b. Presenting two aspects regarding resources: one related to availability and the other to utilization.

   c. Designing a table which would show the contrast between the two aspects selected in terms of the country of origin and the new country of residence.

   d. Subdividing further the information related to availability and utilization of resources in the U.S.A. in terms of ethnicity of the neighborhood. Thus, the difference could be perceived between the situation of Cuban-Americans living in Anglo neighborhoods and those living in heavily Hispanic or Cuban ones.

   e. Offering explanations through footnotes which would help clarify the decisions made by this writer in terms of the classification of the information under Yes, No, or ? (Table 21).

6. To bring out and emphasize the perceptions held by Cuban-Americans towards the Anglo Mental Health System and human service personnel; perceptions which lead to underutilization of services which are greatly needed by this population. The perceptions are described through words or short phrases

taken directly or extrapolated from the literature (Table 22).

Tabular Presentation and Description

The Cultural Background

The Cuban character was formed under the influence of various cultures. Table 1 shows the origin of the cultural influences, the period of direct influence, the type or specific aspects derived from that culture, and the strength of each culture's influence. The Spanish and the African cultures had the strongest impact on the Cuban character; the Pre-Colombian influence was weak; and the American influence was stronger in some small sectors of the population while weak in the general population.

The strength of the Spanish cultural influence was responsible for the Cubans' language, their Roman Catholic religion, their cultural values and traditions, the male-female code of attitudes and behaviors, and the general building construction style (not including the later modern construction in the big cities and especially in Havana).

The strength of the African heritage permeated the Cuban character in terms of the religious cults, the vocabulary attached to it and its musical rhythms.

When the Spanish and African influences came into contact with each other, the blending of certain aspects of each was inevitable. The outcomes of the blends in terms of race, religion and music are shown in Table 2. They are the mulatto race, the Catholic-African religious synchretism and the Afro-Cuban style of music.

TABLE 1

CULTURAL INFLUENCES WHICH AFFECTED THE FORMATION OF THE CUBAN
CHARACTER: ORIGIN, PERIOD, TYPE AND STRENGTH

INFLUENCE			
Origin	Period of Direct Influence	Type	Strength
Pre-Columbian: Native Inhabitants Tainos Ciboneys Guanacabeys	Pre-Columbian times second century of Spanish conquest	Some words from the Lucahio language for naming towns, rivers, places, utensils and food items Primitive constructions in the countryside Eating habits and names of fruits and vegetables	Very weak
Spanish: Spanish Conquistadors and later Spanish immigration (good number from Andalucia)	Since discovery of island, 1492 Cuban independence from Spain, 1898	Language (Spanish) Religion (Roman Catholic) Cultural values and traditions: transcending to persona, family, social, economic and all areas of political life Male-female code of attitudes and behaviors Building construction style	Very Strong

TABLE 1 (continued)

INFLUENCE			
Origin	Period of Direct Influence	Type	Strength

African:
  Black slaves and
  their descendants
    Congolese
    Yoruba
	Slavery brought to Cuba, 16th century Abolition of slavery, 19th century	Language: African dialetcs; vocabulary related to cults and deities
		
		Religion (African cults)
		
		Music: instruments, rhythms
			Fairly Strong

American:
  -Trade
  -Tourism
  -Social/business
    contacts
  -Political inter-
    vention and
    influences
  -Economic influences
	American Intervention, 1898 Pre-Castro era, 1950s	Language: English vocabulary plus Anglicisms
		.related to new commodities
		.sports
		.short, everyday expressions
		
		Desire for American products and standard of living
		
		American traditional symbols in holidays, e.g., Christmas (Santa Claus, gift-giving)
		
		American-owned or American-style businesses
		
		American democratic and capitalistic ideas related to government and economics
			Very weak in general population

TABLE 2

OUTCOME OF SPANISH-AFRICAN BLENDS IN TERMS OF
RACE, RELIGION AND MUSIC

Aspect	Origin	Characteristic	Outcome	Comments
Race	Spanish	White	Mulatto race	Large numbers of the population are mulatto. The color of the skin and type of hair varied greatly--some could be identified as white.
	African	Black		
Religion	Spanish	Roman Catholic beliefs and practices	Religious synchretism Santeria Spiritualism	Practiced in isolation or along with "pure" Catholic traditions with no apparent conflict.
	African	Tribal rituals, deities and cults	Voodoo Curanderos Folk Medicine	
Music	Spanish	Traditional Spanish music and instruments	Afro-Cuban Music	The product permeates Cuban festivals, traditions, carnivals, social dances and folklore.
	African	Instruments, rhythms		

The Pre-Castro Cuban

All the cultural influences described above were modified by a number of geographical and historical factors as well as by national, economic and political developments and turmoil, all of which fostered instability. The changes and lack of stability prompted the development of some characteristic tendencies and behaviors that are inconsistent in nature, but which Cubans have masterfully integrated into their daily life without apparent conflict. In Tables 3 through 8 the writer presents the characteristics and attitudes of Pre-Castro Cubans; the function played by various cultural aspects in their lives; and some of the tendencies and dissonances in their character.

In Table 3 the data on characteristics and attitudes, in terms of five cultural factors is presented. In this analysis some overlapping has been unavoidable, since many values transpire through many cultural aspects of an individual's life. The classification favored here has as its purpose to emphasize the cultural tendencies which appear most salient in the Cuban character. There are: The Spanish language, highly idiomatic and full of intensity; the separate or blended practice of the Roman Catholic religion and/or the African cults; the set of Hispanic traditions and values preserved and/or modified by historical factors and which are the essence of interpersonal relationships; the double-standard in the male-female code of attitudes and behaviors; and the characteristic sense of humor, a product of the Spanish heritage, the mixture of the population, and the constant instability and lack of permanency. All these ingredients were essential in the personal as well as the national life of the Cuban.

TABLE 3

PRE-CASTRO CUBANS: CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES RELATED
TO FIVE CULTURAL FACTORS: LANGUAGE, RELIGION, TRADITIONAL VALUES
IN INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS, MALE-FEMALE RELATIONSHIP
CODE, AND SENSE OF HUMOR

Cultural Factors	Pre-Castro Characteristics and Attitudes
Language	Spanish (plus a few words from the English language, pre-Columbian and African dialects): Highly idiomatic; Caribbean accent; intense; dynamic--fast, fluid, high tone of voice; accompanied by gesticulation, facial expressions, body movements; exaggeration tendency.
Religion	Roman Catholic, African cults: Santeria, spiritualism, witchcraft; syncretism of both; practices varied according to social class and family tradition; although nominally Catholic, generally secularized society; little commitment to practice of organized religion; Church left for women and children; personalized religion; religion of intercession, not of salvation; traditional practices rather than internal convictions; dependence on God's will; personal devotions; in general, beliefs and practices full of inconsistencies and dissonances; smaller Protestant groups.
Traditional Values in International Relationships	Spanish +influences of historical factors and development: intense mood in personality and relationships; personalism, individualism importance of family life and loyalty; gratefulness; emotionalism; respect for the elderly; generosity; patroitism and pride in national origin, characteristic sense of humor (relajo); sense of hierarchy--lineal relationships; tendency to follow individuals rather than systems; fatalism; work conceived as necessary evil; nepotism; favoritism; humanism over scientism; parental authority and control; open expressions of affection; intergenerational participation; spiritual over material satisfaction.
Male-Female Relationship Code	Spanish: double standard of morality; chaperoning system; man's authority emphasized; woman's submission emphasized.

TABLE 3 (continued)

Cultural Factors	Pre-Castro Characteristics and Attitudes
Male-Female Relationship (continued)	Male: machismo; sexual imperative; free to have pre- and extramarital relationships with no social sanctions; superior authority of men in society; seducing behavior. Female: virgin or madonna image; nurturing and over-protective of husband and children; subordinate role in society; strongly disapproved of by society if she deviates from behavior code; faithful; maternal imperative; submission; self-sacrifice; love of her children; understanding and forgiving of her man's philandering.
Sense of Humor	Hispanic in origin but fruit of mixture of population and from having constantly to deal with instability and lack of permanency. The Cuban relajo, choteo--not taking things or life too seriously; making a joke out of every situation and out of most serious circumstances. Taking life lightly--lack of formality--jokeful mood--great emphasis placed on being "simpatico" (agreeable, of good character, jokeful and accepting of humor)--characteristic present in all social levels and in all types of relationships and transactions.

Other characteristics and attitudes are being presented in
terms of systems. In other words, how Cubans structured or developed
a series of behaviors in terms of the racial, social, educational,
economic and political systems. The descriptions of these systems
are not all inclusive; they simply bring out the Cuban character with
its traditions and values as portrayed in the particular area. As
the various systems are described, the thread of the incongruency men-
tioned above can be detected in the characteristics and attitudes pre-
sented. Things to be observed, for instance: the Cuban's perception
of race within a personalized adaptive framework, the Cuban's social
class structure with its manipulation of symbols and activities; the
Cuban's educational system, full of contrasts and inconsistencies, the
Cuban's economic tendencies, work ethics and political aspects and
involvement all greatly colored with his intensive mood, his easy-
goingness and his personalistic qualities (See Table 4).

The five cultural factors described in Table 3 are again mentioned
in Table 5, this time, in terms of the functions each factor played in
the life of the Cuban in his/her native country; in other words, the
purpose it served the individual in his personal and social life.
Many of these functions are related to the Cuban's survival in good
mental health. Many of them were taken for granted, being a natural
part of the environment in Cuba. They only become more noticeable as
the Cuban moved into an environment which does not necessarily support
or encourage the same behaviors, and where therefore, the factors
may or may not continue to serve the same functions anymore. The
purpose served by the existence and characteristic expression of those

TABLE 4

CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES RELATED TO THE STRUCTURE
OF FIVE CULTURAL SYSTEMS: RACIAL, SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL,
ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL

Cultural Systems	Characteristics and Attitudes
Racial	Population mostly composed of descendants of Spanish and Creoles, Blacks and Mulattoes. Race seen within adaptive framework which is full of incongruencies and inconsistencies. System allowed integration of partially-blacks into white society, yet some prejudice and separation maintained. Both races accepted cultural racial norms. Each related to one another at various levels but each race "kept its place" or was supposed to keep its place. Many blacks wanted as much as possible to identify with whites or be like them; desired to "improve the race". Great number of mixed unions, mostly white male/black female, yet society considered itself white.
Social: Class Structure	The structure mostly taken from Spanish model, but modi-fied and adapted to the basic composition of the island and in accordance with its historic as well as economic development. No fixed classes based on income. Classification in terms of manipulation of symbols and activities derived from tradition. Two main groups: Respectable People and Non-Respectable People. The first were defined in terms ancestry, social skills, physical type, occupation, education, power, wealth and property ownership. The second included the indecent, immoral, streetwalkers, procurers, beggars, vulgar people, hard-core poor of shanty town, people from cheap tenement houses. The fact that many factors were considered to measure respectability allowed for social adjustment and mobi-lity. The more sets of characteristics possessed by the individual the higher the place in social class or status. Sometimes distinctions were made between "power-prestige" and "work-wealth" sectors. Family ties and friends are source of primary satisfaction.
Educational	European system of education plus Cuban adaptations. System full of contrasts and inconsistencies in 1958; 20% illiteracy, yet one of the most literate countries in Latin America.

TABLE 4 (continued)

Cultural Systems	Characteristics and Attitudes
Educational (continued)	Private school generally offered better education than public schools. The latter depended on government moods and changes. Higher classes had more opportunities for better education. Education seen by many as one of the means to upward mobility and as means to an easier life. High levels of dropouts and absenteeism at elementary levels; few students went to elementary schools. Surplus of graduates in the liberal arts and social fields; less in technical and science fields because of unrealistic professional goals in sight. Capable of producing and educating brilliant individuals as well as corrupting the educational system. Few were educated at university level, but the general population kept well informed of current events through the media.
Economic Tendencies and Work Ethics	Political turmoil, wars and instability formed the mood of Cuban dealings in the economic arena. Intensive mood, impulsiveness and impatience; absence of impartial, analytic detachment; economic instability and insecurity; yet the Cuban in business felt secure in himself and optimistic; in this area as in many others he tends to be egotistic, knowing little self-criticism and unable to take criticism by others as well. Struggles for power colored by machismo and dignity of the person. Everyone wants to be his own "patron" (boss) since behind each Cuban there is a leader. Work ethics: goal of "working in order to enjoy life, not living in order to work." Cubans took life as it came, day by day. Resistance to strenuous physical activities; more inclined to be thinkers and talkers than to bend their backs. Uncomfortable with thrift and frugality of the Protestant ethics since being a tightwad is a major sin. Work provides economic stability, no primary satisfaction in life.
Political Aspects and Involvement	After independence, Cuba became a Republic which attempted at least in theory, to function democratically, yet constantly plagued by political struggles, dictatorships and restlessness. Government style, a mixture of Spanish traditions, ideas of revolutionary patriots, American democratic influences, but above all colored by the island's unique

TABLE 4 (continued)

Cultural Systems	Characteristics and Attitudes
Political (continued)	characteristics of instability, insecurity, provisionality and by values such as personalism and nepotism and the mood of passionate intensity. Cuban has low tolerance for sameness; everyone thinks he can and wants to be a leader, since he has been socialized to give, not take, orders. Cubans are too proud to admit to being wrong and too sure of the worth of their ideas to give in. High value placed on heroism, martyrdom and patriotism. Very idealistic--difficulty in setting realistic political goals, thus the discrepancy.

cultural aspects namely, language, religion, traditional values in interpersonal and male-female relationships, and sense of humor are presented in Table 5.

The functions served by the cultural systems described in Table 4 are presented in Table 6 with the purpose of pointing out the racial, social, educational, economic and political frames in which Pre-Castro Cuban lived and how these five factors provided the Cubans with opportunities and support for the expression of their own person-hood, opportunities and support which they may or may not initially or ever find in moving to a country which emphasizes and supports different values and traditions (See Table 6).

From the general cultural factors and systems, the observational analysis moves to the Cuban character. From the descriptions presented by various authors whose research was reviewed in the previous chapters a few adjectives and phrases have been selected to be shown in Table 7. They represent some integral tendencies in the behavior and general mood of the Pre-Castro Cuban. These tendencies were present in most areas of his personal and national life, and were developed and shaped by a history of instability, provisionality, adaptation, and synchretism of opposing trends. The reader should be aware that this is not an all-inclusive list, and that because of individual differences, some Cubans may only have a few and not all of these characteristics. The intention in this table has been to attempt a composite picture of all separate descriptions in order to have a general flavor of the "Cubanness" the authors talk about in their various works.

In an attempt to bring out some of the inconsistencies of the

TABLE 5

PRE-CASTRO CUBANS: SELECTED FUNCTIONS PLAYED BY FIVE CULTURAL
FACTORS IN THEIR LIFE IN CUBA

Factor	Functions
Language (Spanish)	For everyone: Means to communicate intensity of the Cuban character. Basic for survival of Cuban ethos. Basic for communication and establishment of relationships and for activity in society.
Religion Roman Catholic	For those who believed and practiced or utilized the services of any of them: Sense of general identity. Sense of belonging. Definition of women's role. Education of children. Preservation of women and children. No purpose for men. Expression of personalism in relationship with God and Saints. Ethic ideology of achievement. Avenue to handle stresses and to endure sufferings. Preservation of traditions.
African Cults	Provides freedom from self-blame, guilt and personal responsibilities by placing the weight of all these outside oneself (other individual or spirits). Provides avenue for channeling desires for material well-being: money, romance, good luck. Expression of personalism in relationship with deities. Avenue to channel tensions and releases stress through group experiences or through advice provided by the santeros, curanderos, espiritistas.

TABLE 5 (continued)

Factor	Functions
African Cults (continued)	Manipulation of and negotiation with supernatural (also seen in the Catholic practices). Alleviation of some physical ailments through herbs and potions.
Traditional Values in Interpersonal Relationships	Provides certain norms for respectable behavior. Integrates the social functioning and roles of the individual in the society where he/she lives. It provides a coherent frame of reference for all members of the particular group. Organizes general attitudes and behaviours in prescribed ways, giving the people a sense of stability, unity, roots and generational continuity. Personalism ensures individuality, worth as human being, deferential treatment and recognition. Pride, high self-esteem and positive self concept leads to confidence and self-assurance. Family loyalty, respect for the elderly, nepotism, parental authority all reinforce the pre-eminence of the family and its members and the responsibility toward kin as well as the preference for lineal relationships. Looking for "padrinos": using influences to obtain favors or to ensure mobility in various areas of life.
Male-Female Relationships Code	Provides standards of acceptable and unacceptable behavior and defines roles for males and females in society. Provides norms for the relationship between the sexes. Provides protection for females in society and freedom of action for the males. Ensures prevalence of male superiority and authority.

TABLE 5 (continued)

Factor	Functions
Humor	Stabilizing factor in the formation of the Cuban character. Means to channel feeling and attitudes of hostility. Mechanism for egalitarianism. Contribution to the preservation of mental health in the face of personal or national crisis. Avenue of easy socialization among strangers. Ingredient in being "simpatico".

TABLE 6

PRE-CASTRO CUBANS: SELECTED FUNCTIONS PLAYED BY FIVE
CULTURAL SYSTEMS IN THEIR LIFE IN CUBA

System	Functions
Race	Provided: -Traditional definitions of black and white relations permitting a smooth although unequal system of race relations. -Each race with knowledge of expected behavior code. -For integration of lighted skinned blacks into white circles; this also depending on respectability level.
Social Class Structure	Provided: -Mobility and norms for social behavior and relationships among the various levels of respectability.
Education	Provided: -Respectability and mobility in hierarchy of social structure. -Better standard of living. -The opportunity to "work to enjoy life."
Economic and Occupational Status	Provided: -Self-sufficiency. -Leadership opportunities. -Social mobility. -Higher standard of living. -Time to enjoy life/care free attitude towards life. -Freedom from necessity to work.

TABLE 6 (continued)

System	Functions
Political Aspects	Provided: -Opportunity for expression of leadership tendencies. -Opportunity to channel need to be a leader and in command. -Outlet for patriotic feelings and personalistic tendencies. -Opportunity for expression of lack of conformity. -Means to be politically knowledgeable and involved through participation or dissent. -Outlet for intensity in defending point of view.

TABLE 7

INTEGRAL TENDENCIES IN THE BEHAVIOR AND
MOOD OF THE PRE-CASTRO CUBA

Intense	Inconsistent	Leader	Unable to take criticism
Passionate	Restless	Boastful	
Emotional	Jokeful	Exaggerating	Incapable of objective self criticism
Unstable	Changeable	Unruly	
Incongruent	Familiar	Idealistic	Intolerant of sameness
Contrasting	Authoritarian (male)	Personalistic	Self-confident
Colorful		Dynamic	Simpatico
	Self-sacrificing (female)		
Proud		Easy-going	Patriotic
Lighthearted	Nurturing (female)	Fluent speaker	Generous
Warm		Resourceful	Poet
	Unrealistic		
Expressive			Individualistic-utilitarian ethics

Cuban character, the writer has composed Table 8 with some examples of dissonant beliefs, attitudes and behaviors which appear contradictory in nature but which Pre-Castro Cubans integrated into their lives with no apparent friction. The expressions presented in this table are based on some truths and on some jokes by Cubans about Cubans; they also have a basis in the descriptions presented in the review of the literature. The expressions reflect some of the essential characteristics of the Cuban mood and ethos. What this table tries to show is that usually for the Cuban, there is always, in spite of a general rule, belief, or preference, an exception which is applied in very personalistic terms. The inconsistencies may exist between the differential application of the rules to self and to others, or in the individual's own internalization of the same values. In Table 8 the rule, belief or preference appears in the first column followed by the "But" or contrasting aspect or exception to the rule. The sex to which the statement mostly applies and the cultural factor or system involved are also presented. As represented in individuals of the general population the statements may not apply to all Cubans, or all characteristics may not be part of one single Cuban. In a way they represent contrasts which have successfully been synchretized. By no means are they meant to be a negative criticism of the Cuban character and should not be taken as such. They are only curious inconsistencies seen in a jokeful mood by the writer who also happens to be Cuban by birth and may preserve some of the characteristics as well. Her observations of many Cubans in the United States confirm that many traces of this Pre-Castro behaviors continue to exist to various

TABLE 8

EXAMPLES OF DISSONANCE IN THE CHARACTER OF THE PRE-CASTRO CUBAN: THE RULE AND THE
EXCEPTION, SEX TO WHICH EACH MOSTLY APPLIES, AND CULTURAL FACTOR OF SYSTEM INVOLVED

| DISSONANCE | | SEX | FACTOR OR SYSTEM |
RULE, BELIEF, BEHAVIOR OR PREFERENCE	EXCEPTION		
I am Catholic .... but ...	church is for women and children	M	Religion
I am Catholic.................... but ...	I practice Santeria or espiritismo	M,F	
I don't go to church............ but ...	I call the priest when I'm dying	M	
This is a Catholic nation........ but ...	it is a secular society	M,F	
I don't believe in witches....... but ...	I bet you can find some walking around	M,F	
I send my children to Catholic schools........................ but ...	I am distrustful of priests	M	
We desire large families........ but ...	We control our fertility in spite of the Catholic norms.	M,F	
We have a negative attitude towards abortion................. but ...	We practice it with no apparent conflict to limit our family size	F	
I like to joke and tease others.. but ...	let no one make a fool out of me	M	Interpersonal Relationships
I like to criticize my neighbor.. but ...	I can't take criticism at all.	M,F	

TABLE 8 (continued)

D I S S O N A N C E		SEX	FACTOR OR SYSTEM
RULE, BELIEF, BEHAVIOR OR PREFERENCE	EXCEPTION		
Everyone deserves punishment for breaking the law................. but ...	not I, my case is different	M,F	
I know that the deadline for job applications is over........ but ...	my case is special. I have to speak to the president.	M,F	
I would like to seduce my friend's sister........................... but ...	let no one set an eye on mine	M	Male-Female Relationships
I may fool around with any women I want before and after marriage. but ...	a woman better be modest and a virgin, and after marriage a faithful madonna.	M	
My son must know everything about life........................... but ...	my daughter should be naive	M	
I trust my daughter will not do anything wrong with her fiance... but ...	I will not be able to relax until she is finally married to him	F	
My poor neighbor died. How sad!. but ...	let's think of some jokes for the time of the wake.	M,F	Humor
I worked so hard in preparing my house for the storm. I even brought some beer to share at home........................... but ...	now I'm highly disappointed and upset; it's been said that it won't pass this way.	M	

TABLE 8 (continued)

DISSONANCE		SEX	FACTOR OR SYSTEM
RULE, BELIEF, BEHAVIOR OR PREFERENCE	EXCEPTION		
I am not prejudiced............. but ...	I don't want my daughter to dance with a black man	M,F	Race
I treat the black people I know very well...................... but ...	I don't want to mix with them at parties or in public places	M,F	
I have nothing against blacks.... but ...	if something went wrong I'm sure it's a black's fault	M,F	
I am black and I know we are all equals.................... but ...	I don't want my son to become interested in white girls. He must keep his place.	M,F	
I may have lost my fortune and have little to eat............. but ...	because my last name is "____" I still am of high social class and try to keep my prestige	M,F	Social Class
I don't have a job and I have no specific trade or technical career but ..	it doesn't matter--I'm a liberal arts graduate and educated.	M	Education
The nation may be full of illiterates and dropouts........ but ...	the educational system can produce brilliant minds at the university level.	M,F	

TABLE 8 (continued)

| DISSONANCE | | SEX | FACTOR OR SYSTEM |
RULE, BELIEF, BEHAVIOR OR PREFERENCE	EXCEPTION		
National economic instability and insecurity prevails.............. but ...	businessmen are self-assured and optimistic	M	Economic
I work to enjoy life............. but ...	not for the sake of work.	M	
I struggle to obtain power....... but ...	let no one try to take it away from me	M	Political
I give orders.................... but ...	I take no orders.	M	
We should have a democratic election........................ but ...	if the candidate I don't like wins, then, throw him down.	M	
Everyone has the right to say what he/she thinks.............. but ...	if he says anything positive about Cuba under Castro's regime he/she is wrong, a communist, and should be silenced.	M,F	

degrees in the different individuals observed.

Cuban-Americans: Characteristics and Attitudes

Up to this point the Pre-Castro Cuban has been described and his/her characteristics have been analyzed. Therefore, a presentation and an analysis of those Pre-Castro Cubans who left their native country during the first decade of the revolution will be made in terms of the changes they have undergone in their behaviors and attitudes as they have acculturated to their new life in the United States.

Utilizing, modifying and adding to the classification of Cubans by age at arrival into three groups: frozen-culture (21 and over), no-culture (10-20) and over-acculturated (less than 10), by Gonzalez-Reigoza and del Castillo (1979) in Santisteban (1980), the present author composed Tables 9a to 9e to show some of the characteristics displayed by Cuban-Americans.

The same five cultural factors analyzed in Table 3 for the Pre-Castro Cuban are also presented here to facilitate a comparison of the two groups. The factors are language, religion, traditional values in interpersonal and male-female relationships and sense of humor. These tables present the general aspects and trends, in terms of the whole Cuban-American population as they retain or change their basic cultural traditions and habits as affected by a number of variables other than age. They also include more specific aspects related to the age at arrival of each group. In some instances, when the information available has made it possible, the presentation has been expanded to include sub-divisions into various alternative paths. For instance, in Tables 9a, 9c, and 9d where the factors language, and traditional

values in interpersonal and male-female relationship are described,
more than one possibility in the per/age group adaptation have been
explored.

   In terms of group #1, which arrived into the U.S.A. as adults,
there are the possibilities of remaining in the native culture, frozen
at the time of departure from Cuba and clinging to the traditional,
as well as that of moving out into more acculturated patterns of
behavior through various degrees of adaptation. The choice depends on
other variables besides age at arrival. (Variables affecting accultura-
tion will be presented later on.) For the group who arrived between
the ages of 10 and 20, there are among others, the possibilities of
being part of the non-culture group, possessing various degrees of
bilingual or bicultural skills while feeling enriched in possessing
two languages and having two sets of skills at disposal to make one-
self more functional and successful in any or both cultural settings.
The third group, those who arrived younger into this country or those
born in the U.S.A. of Cuban parents (the latter groups, added by this
author) may, as well, have the option or be "forced" by other circum-
stances or variables to become bilingual and bicultural in various
degrees, even though many may prefer the English language and the
American set of behaviors; or to totally integrate themselves into the
American society, healthily if functioning mostly in a monolingual-
monocultural (English/American) context, or unhealthily (overacculturated)
if needing to function in a bicultural setting. Marginality or lack
of cultural involvement, which has been mentioned by Szapocznik and
Kurtines (1980) as an important factor in adjustment has not been

included in these tables, although it must be considered as a possible behavior for some individuals in any of the groups described.

The presentation of the specific characteristics of Cuban-Americans in terms of religion and humor have not been categorized (Table 9e) or subcategorized (Tables 9b and 9e) because of the lack of more detailed information in the literature.

In Table 9d, the specific Male-Female Relationship characteristics for group #2 have been presented as one set of possibilities which may apply in various degrees to individuals of the no-culture or the bicultural group. No differentiation has been made between the specific characteristics of both groups.

Continuing the pattern of analysis followed for Pre-Castro Cubans Table 10 was developed. This table parallels Table 4 by providing information on the same systems in terms of Cuban-Americans. Some of the descriptions regarding the racial, social, educational, economic and political composition, attitudes, involvement and participation are presented. In this table, the preservation or the adaptation of the original set of characteristics and attitudes can be observed.

A number of studies conducted explored various other characteristics of selected groups of Cuban-Americans, and in some cases compared them to matching American samples. In Table 11 those individual characteristics and the research findings on the comparisons have been combined in terms of groups about which such data were available. The groups include children, adolescents, college students and the elderly. The statements indicate the findings in terms of each

TABLE 9a

CUBAN-AMERICANS: LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS OF THREE GROUPS DIFFERING IN AGE AT ARRIVAL

Group Age at Arrival	Language Characteristics		
	General	Specific	
#1: Arrived in USA as Adults* (21 and over)	Many variations and degrees of mono- or bilinguistic proficiency, depending on variables such as sex, age, length of stay in the USA, density of Cuban community where residing, degree of contact with American culture. May move to group 2 or 3 behaviors.	Frozen-Culture*	Various Degrees of Adaptation
		Spanish; little or no English; lack of motivation or need to learn it and use it.	Proficiency in Spanish + English at various levels of proficiency depending on need and motivation. Ex.: Professionals revalidating their degrees.
#2: Arrived in USA 10-20 of Age*		No-Culture*	Bilingual
		English & Spanish in various degrees of proficiency in both, from inadequate to adequate in either or both.	Fluency in both English & Spanish; might prefer one language over the other, or use both in different contexts. Ex.: home vs. school/work.
#3: Born in USA or Arrived Before 10 Years of Age*		Bilingual	Integrated vs. Over-Acculturated*
		English & Spanish in various degrees of proficiency in both; might prefer communication in English.	English; little or no Spanish; lack of motivation or need to use it. Integrated: Considered culturally adjusted since solely on primarily

V

Group	Language Characteristics	
Age at Arrival	General	Specific
#3 (continued)		functioning in monolingual-monocultural (English) context. Over-Acculturated: considered culturally maladjusted since functioning in bilingual-bicultural (Spanish-English) context.

*These descriptions and terms utilized by Gonzalez-Reigosa and Del Castillo 1975 were taken from Santisteban, 1980.

CUBAN-AMERICANS: RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS OF THREE GROUPS DIFFERING IN AGE AT ARRIVAL

Group Age at Arrival	Religious Characteristics	
	General	Specific
#1: Arrived in USA as Adults (21 and over)	Many variations depending on religious background and degree of participation in Cuba, as well as a perceived need for religious component in life in exile and the satisfaction of other needs obtained from religious association and practices. Religious services in Spanish sometimes mixed with Cuban cultural events and traditions.	*Religious participation helps preserve identity as Cuban/anti-Castro. Appear more religiously oriented. Apparent increase in church attendance and/or participation in African-derived cults and practices. Many continue to practice with no apparent conflict. Some appear more involved and committed to organized religion.
#2: Arrived in USA 10-20 Years of Age.	The higher the degree of acculturation and English language proficiency of the individual (regardless of age) the greater his/her incorporation into English-speaking services and Anglo-style worship.	May fluctuate between attendance at English and Spanish services, may prefer one over the other, or attend none. May feel out of place in both or enjoy participation in either.
#3: Born in USA or Arrived Before 10 Years of Age.		Children may attend Spanish services with parents but as they grow older may prefer to attend English services or not to attend at all. Most Teenagers are not very involved unless parents who are, still have control over them or if they feel their needs are met through the church's groups and activities or through the various cults and practices.

*This set of characteristics seems to apply mostly to Frozen-Culture groups.

TABLE 9c

CUBAN-AMERICANS: TRADITIONAL VALUES IN INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN
THREE GROUPS DIFFERING IN AGE AT ARRIVAL

Group Age at Arrival	Traditional Values in Interpersonal Relationships		
	General	Specific	
#1: Arrived in USA as Adults (21 and over)	Degree of acculturation depending on many variables as for language. Many individuals' acculturation patterns may fall into Szapocznik's Model I or Model II, movement from Spanish culture toward bi-culturation: acquisition of American values in addition to the preservation of Spanish values. Economic success and rewards in the host country also appear to influence acculturation.*	Frozen-Culture	Various Degrees of Adaptation
		Traditional values usually retained and reinforced by a dense Cuban community; become more resistant in terms of change; become under-acculturated; freeze traditional culture; no further development to accompany changing times.	Variations as explained in General column.
#2: Arrived in USA 10-20 Years of Age.		No-Culture	Bicultural
		No internalization of either Cuban or American values - Adapt and Adopt; may learn to function in both cultures without full identification with either; some in conflict and under stress from pressures from both sides and need	May have internalized one cultural set more than the other but knows set of rules and skills to deal and negotiate within both contexts - Adapts and Adopts. May successfully adjust, functioning in both though internally may prefer one over the other. May actually fuse

Group Age at Arrival	Traditional Values in Interpersonal Relationships		
	General	Specific	
#2 (continued)		for internal as well as external identification.	characteristics from both and result in a third type of culture which is neither one nor the other.
#3: Born in USA or Arrived Before 10 Years of Age.		Bi-Cultural	Integrated vs. Over-Acculturated
		Under Frozen Culture or bicultural parents may adapt or adopt in the same fashion as explained in Group #2 above. May successfully integrate both sets of values or learn to function in both cultures or may be in conflict in various areas such as: -Parental control vs. independence. -Intergenerational vs. segregated peer group participation. -Place and respect given to adults and elderly vs.	Internalization of American values; behave according to these. Over-Acculturated: May become so under pressures from parents who usually belong to frozen-culture group. Perception of Cuban culture may be distorted, fuzzy, confused, or negative. This group is disfunctional because it lives in a bicultural context usually in open conflict with parents and older adults. Integrated: Simply drop or never acquire Cuban values. Retain only American values

Group Age at Arrival	Traditional Values in Interpersonal Relationships	
	General	Specific
#3 (continued)		egalitarian/indivi-dualistic trend. Degree of overt expression of affection.	because parents may not mind, as they themselves integrate into the host culture and as their contacts with Cuban become less or non-existent. This group is culturally adjusted because it functions in monocultural (English) context.

*For list of variables influencing acculturation see Table 9.

TABLE 9d

CUBAN-AMERICANS: CHARACTERISTICS OF MALE-FEMALE RELATIONSHIPS OF THREE
GROUPS DIFFERING IN AGE AT ARRIVAL

Group Age at Arrival	Characteristics of Male-Female Relationships		
	General	Specific	
		Frozen-Culture	Various Degrees of Adaptation
#1: Arrived in USA as Adults (21 and over)	Changes are observed in roles of women, men, parents, children, grandparents, in adjusting to modernized society and new cultural values. Changes in life style, conflict in facing opposing trends in terms of traditional values and customs are also present, as well as generational conflicts due to different rates of acculturation. There is a tendency toward more women working or in professions. Less number of extended family members are in household and more egalitarian men-women and parent-child relationships appear to be emerging.	Keep traditional mores and code of behavior for men and women as well as for family relationships. Retain pre-Castro values and cling to them reinforced by dense Cuban community.	Adaptation and changes of the traditional male-female code depend on degree of acculturation which is affected by a number of variables. The degree of contact and association with other traditional Cubans may strongly reinforce the original code, especially in terms of the males who may prefer to preserve their double-standard privileges. Many females, however, discontent with their assigned role and previous status, may decide, in view of other available alternatives in the U.S.A. to stop conforming, and change with more ease. The discrepancy in the male-female rate of change may result in conflicts in the marriage as well as in the family.

Group Age at Arrival	Characteristics of Male-Female Relationships		
	General	Specific	
		No-Culture ⟷ Bicultural	
#2: Arrived in USA 10-20 years of Age		Adapts and Adopts--sometimes in conflict under two sets of pressures to conform or act according to each set. May find ways to deal and negotiate with members of both cultures while internally detached totally or partially from both--or may suffer in confusion and conflict. Usually more understanding of differences and conflicts. The male-female behaviors of individuals in this group may adhere more closely to Cuban or Anglo values depending on parental pressures and expectations; on the cultural and moral values of the peer group with whom they associate; and on the ethnic background of the individuals whom they date, get engaged to and actually marry or live with. Depending on the degree of parental acculturation and flexibility, a slight deviation from the traditional code may be considered from appropriate to catastrophic in nature. Conflict between parents and youth may be frequent especially between parents and girls when both ignore the set of rules and frame of reference the other is coming from. The youngster's perceived transgressions and the parents' perceived impositions may be taken as personal attacks against the young person's individuality and independence and against the parents' authority and experience.	

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Group Age at Arrival	Characteristics of Male-Female Relationships		
	General	Specific	
#3: Born in USA or Arrived Before 10 Years of Age.		Bicultural	Integrated vs. Over- Acculturated
		May adapt and adopt in the fashion of Group #2. Yet, may feel a preference for USA ways depending again on all variables mentioned before.	Both groups free them- selves from traditional Cuban mores--adopt more standard Anglo values and behaviors. Integrated: detached from Traditional group, more so if parents are also integrated. Over-Acculturated: May rebel against pressures of frozen-culture or less acculturated parents who resist change and become rigid in their ways. May show extreme behaviors signs of maladjustment.

TABLE 9e

CUBAN-AMERICANS: CHARACTERISTIC   SENSE OF HUMOR OF THREE GROUPS DIFFERING AT AGE OF ARRIVAL

Group Age at Arrival	Characteristic Sense of Humor	
	General	Specific
#1: Arrived in USA as Adults (21 and Over)	Even though much information on this subject was not available, it is assumed that the greater the acculturation to American values and traditions the greater the tendency for "pure Cuban humor" to disappear. Because of the different style of life and values, in the U.S.A. and because of the Cuban's need to struggle for survival, life in general tends to become more sober and serious in this country. There is less time for "relajo" and the jokeful attitude towards life may tend to disappear. However, in densely populated areas,the Cuban humoristic tendencies may continue to persist if proper and continuos reinforcement is available.	The younger the age at arrival the lesser the exposure and personal possession of the characteristic Cuban sense of humor. Individuals in Group #1 will tend to possess it in a higher degree than individuals in Groups #2 or #3; the latter having the least amount. Bilingual/ Bicultural individual may have pre-served or acquired it, and may use it in the appropriate context.
#2: Arrived in USA 10-20 Years of Age		
#3: Born in USA or Arrived Before 10 Years of Age	↓	↓

TABLE 10

CUBAN-AMERICANS: CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES RELATED TO FIVE
CULTURAL SYSTEMS: RACIAL, SOCIAL, EDUCATION, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL

Cultural Systems	Characteristics and Attitudes
Racial	Most Cuban-Americans are white. White Cuban-Americans assimilated faster than black Cuban-Americans. Many Cuban blacks faced discrimination as members of two minorities, yet they prefer to identify themselves with Cubans rather than with black Americans. Both white and black Cuban-Americans seem uncomfortable with the American definition and classification of race, since the Cuban's classification is based mostly on social class rather than on race of ethnicity. For Cuban-Americans of both races, black Cubans and black Americans are totally different and they treat them differently. Most white Cubans still agree to economic and educational opportunities for all races, but are not in favor of inter-marriage and joint social participation.
Social: Class Structure	Cubans have, in some areas, reworked many social status markers but have been unable to transpose their Hispanic classification of social types based on skin colors. Most Cubans, no matter what their social position and respectability in Cuba, had to start from scratch to scale the economic and social ladder in the USA. They were determined to achieve or surpass previous status, worked hard at this and were able to achieve it, because of their educational background, skills and motivation, and positive disposition toward them from the American society at large. Social condition more favorable than that of other Hispanics in the USA. Some drew distinctions between the "old rich" (rich in Cuba) and the "new rich" (not rich in Cuba). Most important separation of classes in first generation is that of Anglos and Latins (Hispanics), since they are proud of Latin heritage and Cuban identity. Some second generation Cuban-Americans also seem to preserve the Anglo-Latin distinction. Social system also has been modified in terms of including emphasis on puritanical work ethic with emphasis on achievement rather than on ascription. Some Cubans experience temporary or permanent downward mobility because of the nature of their original profession and English-language limitations.

TABLE 10 (continued)

Cultural Systems	Characteristics and Attitudes
Social (continued)	Many Cubans from lower classes in Cuba moved up rapidly in USA to a higher standard of living than they had in Cuba.
Educational	Cubans who arrived in USA during the 1960s had higher levels of education than the total population in Cuba and than other groups of Hispanics in the USA. A high percentage is involved in professional and administrative positions. The second generation of Cubans appears not as highly motivated or as successful as the first generation. Cubans arriving in the 1970s had, as a group, lower levels of education than the 1960s arrivals. Proud of being considered the highest educated Hispanic group in the USA.
Economic/ Occupational Status and Work Ethics	Experienced economic success on a larger scale and in a shorter time than any other immigrant group. Their aspirations to opportunities in USA seem realistic and objectively based on past experiences and skills. Median income is higher than other Hispanics in USA. Those arriving in the 1970s faced more occupational problems. Achieved occupational integration in US society in addition to large, private ownership in businesses serving the proper Hispanic community. Proud of being considered the most succcessful, resourceful, productive, creative and the hardest-working Hispanic group in the USA. Thankful to USA for open arms and opportunities for improvement. Changed the style of life and work ethics. More work-oriented, more business-minded, less generous, more a follower of Protestant work ethic. Second generation not as successful. Success in economic and occupational area due in large part to educational background, skills and motivation. Fast upward mobility from unskilled and skilled groups occurred as Cubans learned English.
Political Characteristics and Involvement	At first because of thought of exile being of temporary nature, only involvement in politics and activities related to the freedom of Cuba. Refusal to betray Cuban citizenship and become US citizen.

TABLE 10 (continued)

Cultural Systems	Characteristics and Attitudes
Political (continued)	As years passed and exile appeared of a more permanent nature, tendency to US citizenship and participation in US politics increased. Still only a few in influential political positions. Citizenship seems to be seen as serving more practical purposes than political ones. However, lately more actual involvement and discovering voting power. Give importance to transmission of culture and patriotic spirit; therefore, a number of socio-cultural-political associations. These served to healthy adjustment of older first generation. Through the years many groups formed, to deal with the issues of the freedom of Cuba, from militant extremists to intellectual and philosophical.

TABLE 11

CUBAN-AMERICANS: ADDITIONAL INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS, AND RESEARCH
FINDINGS OF SELECTED GROUPS AS COMPARED TO MATCHED AMERICAN SAMPLES

Group	Individual Characteristics and Research Findings
Children	Cuban children in elementary school appeared, by observation, to possess more of the following assets: positive self-concept, creativity, resourcefulness; positive attitude and disposition. They use more non-verbal language, are more verbally expressive, and get closer to their teachers. At a young age, children seem more cooperative than competitive but as they grow older they appear to become more competitive.
Adolescents	Cubans showed more field dependency, in higher degree in the females than in the males. They also showed more self-confidence and a more positive self-image. They perceived their parents as more authoritarian, and their mothers as a more significant figure in their families. Cuban adolescent females from middle and upper levels were more likely to aspire a combination of employment, marriage and children than the Anglo-American comparison group.
College Students	The more assimilated, the less the external orientation; the least acculturated, the most externally oriented. Cuban males described their mothers as more protective but also more nurturant; they exhibit a greater desire to excel over others (more pronounced in males). Cuban females held more traditional perceptions of the woman's role in society as well as stronger religious beliefs. Females also showed greater persistance and application toward task completion, self improved standards and more realistic aspirations than males. Both males and females showed higher self-concept than the American samples.
Elderly	Cuban population is older than American population and than other Hispanic Groups in U.S.A. (mean age). Cuban females are more socially active than males; but in general Cuban elderly are less socially adjusted than the White and the Black American samples. The higher the education attained during childhood and adolescence the greater the intellectual performance of

TABLE 11 (continued)

Group	Individual Characteristics and Research Findings
Edlerly (continued)	the Cuban elderly. The elderly Cuban person looks forward to becoming a grandparent and living up to his/her role; not just to becoming a senior citizen.

respective group, and bring out some differential tendencies between
Cubans and other Anglo groups.

Cuban-Americans: Process and Results of Acculturation

In Tables 12 through 14 data have been collected, analyzed and
organized in various ways to show some aspects of the process of
acculturation. In Table 12, a number of variables believed to
influence acculturation have been selected for presentation. The
type of relationship, between such variables and acculturation is
described as positive or negative in accordance with the results of
the studies reviewed. The sources from which this information was
extracted appear at the bottom of the first portion of the Table.

In Table 13 two models of acculturation developed by Szapocznik
and others (1978 and in Padilla, 1980) are presented. Figure A shows
Szapocznik's own representation of the unidimensional model, which is
seen as a linear process of accomodating to the host culture. This
process is primarily influenced by the variable time (time of exposure
by the person to the host culture). In Figure A, the development of
intergenerational/acculturational differences as a function of time,
age and sex can also be observed. This difference is what seems to
be related to the difficulties in relationship between Cuban parents
and their youth, and appears more pronounced between mothers who
acculturate at the slowest rate and their adolescent sons who
acculturate at the fastest rate. In Figure B an attempt has been
made at representing the relationship between the degree of Cubanness
and the degree of availability and support of the Cuban community.
The retention and/or relinquishing of characteristics of the culture

TABLE 12

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SELECTED VARIABLES
AND ACCULTURATION OF CUBAN-AMERICANS[a]

KEY TO RELATIONSHIPS:

+ = positive ↑↑ the higher the variable, the higher the acculturation
↓↓ the lower the variable, the lower the acculturation

- = negative ↑↓ the higher the variable, the lower the acculturation
↓↑ the lower the variable, the higher the acculturation

Variable	Relationship to Acculturation	
	Positive	Negative
The individual's:		
...ability to transfer central occupational role from one society to another	+ ↑↑ ↓↓	
...knowledgeability about the society into which he/she is moving	+ ↑↑ ↓↓	
...satisfaction with the host society and what it is perceived as offering	+ ↑↑ ↓↓	
...traditional-oriented nature (vs. modern-oriented nature)		- ↑↓ ↓↑
...socio-economic class	+ ↑↑ ↓↓	

[a]SOURCES: Carballo, 1970; Gonzalez-Reygoza and Del Castillo, 1975 in Santisteban, 1980; Portest, 1969; Santisteban, 1978; Szapocznik, 1977, 1978; Szapocznik and others, 1977, 1978; Richmond, 1973; Garcia and Lega, 1979; Rogg, 1974, Santisteban, 1975.

TABLE 12 (continued)

Variable	Relationship to Acculturation	
	Positive	Negative
...educational level	+ ↑ ↑ ↓ ↓	
...age at arrival in USA		- ↑ ↓ ↓ ↑
...degree of internalization of Cuban cultural values on arrival in USA		- ↑ ↓ ↓ ↑
...degrees of possession of an individualistic-utilitarian ethics similar to USA's	+ ↑ ↑ ↓ ↓	
...perception of socio-economic rewards obtained from host society	+ ↑ ↑ ↓ ↓	
...degree of preservation of ethnic purity (vs. involvement in cultural mixtures)		- ↑ ↓ ↓ ↑
...degree of participation in Cuban (vs. American) related activities		- ↑ ↓ ↓ ↑
...degree of display of Cuban (vs. American) type behaviors		- ↑ ↓ ↓ ↑
...degree of holding Cuban traditional beliefs and value structure (vs. American)		- ↑ ↓ ↓ ↑
...age		- ↑ ↓ ↓ ↑
...sex	(Male ↑ Female ↓)[b]	

[b]A study by Morgan (1977) indicates that young females acculturate faster than males. However, more recent studies by Szapocznik and others (1978), and Santisteban (1978) strongly indicate the opposite trend.

TABLE 12 (continued)

Variable	Relationship to Acculturation	
	Positive	Negative
...length and intensity of contact with Americans	+ ↑↑ ↓↓	
...place of residence in terms of density of Cuban (or Hispanic) population		- ↑↓ ↓↑
...external locus of control (vs. internal)[c]		- ↑↓ ↓↑
...accommodation and residence within a supportive and culturally reinforcing Cuban community		- ↑↓ ↓↑
...degree of belief in egalitarianism in relationships (especially as related to male-female)	+ ↑↑ ↓↓	
...degree of American peers' influence (vs. parental influence)	+ ↑↑ ↓↓	

[c] In male college students.

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of origin (Cuban, in this case) is the second dimension of the two-dimensional model, one which combined with the process in Figure A (dimension one) gives a degree of biculturalism which the individual may possess as a consequence of living in a bicultural environment (American/Cuban).

As Cubans integrate themselves into the American society, and as they relinquish or retain a number of the characteristics of their native culture, changes in attitudes, values and behaviors can be observed. In Table 14 some of these changes are described as the attitudes, values and behaviors move from traditional to less traditional. Overlap may exist. Thus, for the sake of clarity, the statements have been classified in terms of the cultural factors and systems previously utilized in other tables.

Two additional tables which will include information already shown in Tables 3, 4, 9a-9e and 10 have been organized in different ways. The purpose is to bring to the attention of the reader other possibilities in comparing and contrasting the available data. This may hopefully foster the development of insight into the many possibilities for looking at and utilizing the framework for the development of future models.

In Table 15 the general characteristics and attitudes of Cubans in terms of the five cultural factors previously discussed in Tables 3 and 9a through 9e, are here presented side by side for easy comparison of the Cuban in Pre-Castro Cuba and in the U.S.A.

In Table 16 the same type of comparison is presented, this time with information from Tables 4 and 10 to show the contrasting

TABLE 13

SZAPOCZNIK'S UNI-DIMENSIONAL AND TWO-DIMENSIONAL MODELS OF ACCULTURATION*

ACCULTURATION	
MODEL I	MODEL II

Fig. A. Unidimensional Model of Acculturation

Acculturation: A linear process mostly influenced by the time of exposure to the host culture.

Applies mostly to: individuals who came to reside in largely monolingual-monocultural (English/Amreican) environments.

DIMENSION I   DIMENSION II

MODEL I +

Availability and support of Cuban community.

Fig. B. Linear Relationship Between Degree of Cubanness and Availability and Support of Cuban Community.

Acculturation: Linear process influenced by time of exposure to the host culture + complex process of relinquishing or retaining the characteristics of the culture of origin influenced by availability and support of the Cuban community.

Applies mostly to: individuals residing on Bilin-gual-Bilcultural (English/American-Spanish/Cuban) communities

*Szapocznik and Kurtines, 1978 in Padilla, 1980.

TABLE 14

CHANGES IN ATTITUDES, VALUES AND BEHAVIORS ACCOMPANYING ACCULTURATION AS
RELATED TO SPECIFIC CULTURAL FACTORS AND SYSTEMS

Factor or System	CHANGES	
	FROM TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES ————————>	TO LESS TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES
Language	· Parents speak only or mostly Spanish with their children. · Know Cuban idiomatic expressions and cultural symbols. · Children speak Spanish with ease. · Reads, listens or watches Media in Spanish.	· Parents speak only or mostly English with their children. · Never learned or does not remember Cuban expressions and symbols. · Children speak Spanish with difficulty and prefer to communicate in English. · Reads, listens, watches Media in English.
Religion	· Men are less willing to attend church and to consider religion seriously. · More restricted in ethical issues.	· Men are willing to attend church and to consider religion seriously. · More liberated in ethical issues.
Interpersonal Relationships	· Family first, then the individual. · Extended members of family in household. · Less interest in sports involvement for children. · Close kinship with family. · Family cohesiveness. · Living with relatives. · Great parental control over children and youth.	· Less willingness to sacrifice self, own improvement or career for family's sake (observed in higher divorce rate, higher mobility, more nuclear families, more women in jobs, less supervision of children.) · Household more nuclear in nature. More interests in sports involvement for kids and youngsters. · More separation from family. · Family disintegration. · Living near relatives. · Less parental control, especially over youth, and willingness or resignation of some to relinquish children to their peer group at an earlier age.

TABLE 14 (continued)

Factor or System	CHANGES	
	FROM TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES ──────────→ TO LESS TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES	
Interpersonal Relationships (continued)	• More open in mutual expressions of affection among family members in public. • Parents independent in parental roles. • Parents felt respected. • Family enmeshment/members highly interdependent for satisfaction of emotional needs and for providing solutions to problems of intra-family living. • Children behaved like children. • Younger children more cooperative. • Generosity-against tightwads; courtesy and paying for others. • More socially-oriented, visits to and from friends; gregarious. • High need for approval. • More field dependent.	• Less open expressions of affection in public. • Parents became dependent on children for everyday functions because of difficulties with English language. • Many parents feel they have lost some or all of their children's respect because of changes in roles and life style. • More independence from enmeshment. • Many children had to adopt adult responsibilities because of parents' difficulties with the English language. • Younger children more competitive. • May become more frugal and tightwad-less social commitments; each pays his own bill-fewer social obligations. • Shift away from social visit style of life, leaves little room for socializing; prefers time alone or with family to do own things. • Less need for others' approval. • Less field dependent.

TABLE 14 (continued)

Factor or System	CHANGES	
	FROM TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⟶	TO LESS TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES
Interpersonal Relationships (continued)	• Street corner, social, professional cliques.	‹ Cliques are still formed at various levels, depending on interests and activities of individuals; participation in Cuban parties and activities, social or cultural. Depending on density of Cuban community.
	• Personalistic in relationship in business and social endeavors.	• More bureaucratic and system oriented.
	› Highly sensitive to environmental social pressures.	• More independent of the opinions of others.
	• Cuban familism and personalism is present.	‹ Preserved in many, but undergoing changes and adaptation in many others.
	• Prefers lineality in human relationships (Based on hierarchical or vertical structure).	• More horizontal relationships.
	• Present-time orientation.	• Future-time orientation.
	‹ Lack bearings to attempt to exercise control over natural forces and environmental conditions.	• Exercises (or tries to) more control over outside conditions.
	• Value doing/activity orientation.	› Value more thinking, analysis/theoretical orientation.
	‹ More conventional in wardrobe.	∻ More informal in wardrobe.
Male-Female Relationship	• Double standard of sexual chastity.	• Continuation of double standard of sexual chastity.
	• Men not or little involved in household duties.	• More men cooperate with household duties especially in nuclear families.
	• Woman's main role is housewife.	‹ Wife has dual role: housewife/wage earner.

TABLE 14 (continued)

Factor or Systems	CHANGES	
	FROM TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES ⟶	TO LESS TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES
Male-Female Relationship (continued)	• Women give more importance to role as housewives and mothers. • Men have power over women. • Women are dependent on men. • Mothers are overprotective of husband and children. • Mothers over-concerned with children's health. • Strict rules of chaperonage. • Less worried about boys' outings and activities. • Men are secure of status.	• Many young women consider wage earning more important to increase family's standard of living and economic stability. • Many men feel they have lost power over women because of their new wage-earner role. Women have acquired various degrees of independence. • Mothers seem to continue to be overprotective of their children. Even though many may want them to become independent, more concerned about all aspects of danger in USA and the fact that there is less supervision. These mothers feel more concern and guilt and are under more stress. • Mothers still over-concerned with children's health. Although more confident on modern medicine. • Chaperonage loosening up to dating with restrictions, double-dating, group activities; allow dates with well-known individuals. • More concern about boys' activities: because of sexual dangers, drugs, gangs, problems, diseases, etc. • Men feel they lose status: when having to change to less rewarding or preferable jobs; of to jobs perceived as feminine; when children show lack of respect for their authority; when children have to take parental communicating and negotiating responsibilities by translating for them; and when women start working outside the home.

TABLE 14 (continued)

Factor or System	CHANGES FROM TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES ————————→ TO LESS TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES	
Male-Female Relationship (continued)	• Many men reluctant about wives working.	• Many more accepting (mostly because of economic need) of wives involved in work force.
Sense of Humor	• Lighthearted, jokeful.	• Takes life more seriously.
Racial	• Comfortable with Cuban system of racial relations.	• Uncomfortable and confused with American system of definition and classification.
Social	• Intergenerational participation in family and social activities. • Cubans marry Cubans. • Mostly Cubans in circle of friends. • Cubans live with Cubans in Cuban environment. • Consumption of ethnic food especially Cuban. • Local societies and clubs for social class and professional identification. • Cubans live and work entirely or almost entirely among Cubans who share basic cultural values; they feel among equals.	• More generational and age segregation in activities. • Cubans intermarry; little in dense Cuban areas, more in less dense Cuban areas. • Americans or others in place of or in addition to Cubans in circle of friends. • Cubans integrate with others in USA; less in cities like Miami, more in less Cuban-populated cities and areas. • More variety in foods, including American and others. • Interest in social establishment through clubs and associations which reinforce identity as Cubans as well as in Anglo groups. • Cubans have to work not only among Cubans but among Americans and other ethnic groups and minorities with different values and views. Cubans tend to feel superior to other groups and are resented by many of them; therefore, may face conflicts on the job.

TABLE 14 (continued)

Factor or System	CHANGES	
	FROM TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES ————————>	TO LESS TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES
Educational	• Parents interested in their children's educational progress.	• Parents continue to be interested in their children's academic progress, even more here because of need to compete in the American society.
	• Parents interested in the teaching of the Spanish language and culture in the schools.	• Parents may become less interested in the teaching of the Spanish language and bi-cultural education in the schools.
Economic	• Work ethics: work to enjoy life.	• Live to work in order to acquire commodities and pay for them.
	• Calm and self-assured in spite of national economic or political insecurity.	• Constant preoccupation with security.
	• Men feel secure, have a profession or trade.	• Insecurity in painful transition related to job readjustment or change of profession. Wife and older children may supplement family income.
	• Father usually sole or main wage-earner.	
	• Cuban wants USA wealth but not its values.	• Cuban integrates according to perception of socio-economic rewards: the higher the reward, the greater the integration.
Political	• T.V. watching of Cuban programs or programs related to Cuba/no matter in what language.	• Not as interested in watching the programs.
	• Cuban's original desire to return to Cuba is strong.	• Preserved in many; gradually changing or disappearing in those who acculturate.
	• Patriotism for Cuba very alive.	• Patriotism for Cuba less intense or non-existent, feels more American.
	• Less willing to become a US citizen and to participate in US political process. Only concern: Freedom of Cuba.	• More willing to become a citizen and to participate in political process as well as participation in Cuban groups.

TABLE 15

A COMPARISON OF THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES OF CUBANS IN PRE-CASTRO
CUBA AND IN THE UNITED STATES IN TERMS OF FIVE CULTURAL FACTORS

| Cultural Factors | GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES | |
	IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA	IN THE U.S.A.
Language	Spanish (plus a few words from the English language, pre-Columbian and African dialects): Highly idiomatic; Caribbean accent, intense; dynamic--fast, fluid, high tone of voice; accompanied by gesticulation, facial expressions, body movements; exaggeration tendency.	Many variations and degrees of mono- or bilinguistic proficiency, depending on variables such as sex, age, length of stay in the USA, density of Cuban community where residing, degree of contact with Americn culture.
Religion	Roman Catholic, African cults: Santeria, spiritualism, witchcraft; syncretism of both; practices varied according to social class and family tradition; although nominally Catholic, generally secularized society; little commitment to practice of organized religion; church left for women and children; personalized religion; religion of intercession, not of salvation; traditional practices rather than internal convictions; dependence on God's will; personal devotions; in general, beliefs and practices full of inconsistencies and dissonances; smaller Protestant groups.	Many variations depending on religious background and degree of participation in Cuba, as well as a perceived need for religious component in life in exile and the satisfaction of other needs obtained from religious association and practices. Religious services in Spanish sometimes mixed with Cuban cultural events and traditions.

TABLE 15 (continued)

| Cultural Factors | GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES | |
	IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA	IN THE U.S.A.
Religion (continued)		The higher the degree of acculturation and English language proficiency of the individual (regardless of age) the greater his/her incorporation into English-speaking services and Anglo-style worship.
Traditional Values in Interpersonal Relationships	Spanish + influences of historical factors and development: intense mood in personality and relationships; personalism, individualism, importance of family life and loyalty; gratefulness; emotionalism; respect for the elderly; generosity; patriotism and pride in national origin; characteristic sense of humor (relajo); sense of hierarchy--lineal relationships; tendency to follow individuals rather than systems; fatalism; work conceived as necessary evil; nepotism; favoritism; humanism over scientism; parental authority and control; open expressions of affection; intergenerational participation; spiritual over material satisfaction	Degree of acculturation depending on many variables as for language. Many individuals' acculturation patterns may fall in Szapocznik's Model I or into Model II, movement from Spanish culture toward bi-culturation: acquisition of American values in addition to the preservation of Spanish values. Economic success and rewards in the host country also appear to influence acculturation.

TABLE 15 (continued)

Cultural Factors	GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES	
	IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA	IN THE U.S.A.
Male-Female Relationship Code	Spanish: double standard of morality; chaperoning system; man's authority emphasized; woman's submission emphasized. Male: Machismo; sexual imperative; free to have pre- and extramarital relationships with no social sanctions; superior authority of men in society; seducing behavior. Female: Virgin or madonna image; nurturing and over protective of husband and children; subordinate role in society; strongly disapproved of by society if she deviates from behavior code; faithful; maternal impera- tive; submission; self-sacrifice; love of her children; understanding and forgiving of her man's philandering.	Changes are observed in roles of women, men, parents, children, grand- parents, in adjusting to modernized society and new cultural values. Changes in life style, conflict in facing oppos- ing trends in terms of traditional values and customs are also present, as well as generational conflicts due to differ- ent rates of accultura- tion. There is a tendency toward more women working or in professions. Less number of extended family members are in household and more egalitarian men- women and parent-child relationships appear to be emerging.

TABLE 15 (continued)

| Cultural Factors | GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES | |
	IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA	IN THE U.S.A.
Sense of Humor	Hispanic in origin but fruit of mixture of population and from having constantly to deal with instability and lack of permanency. The Cuban relajo, choteo--not taking things or life too seriously; making a joke out of every situation and out of most serious circumstances. Taking life lightly--lack of formality--jokeful mood--great emphasis placed on being "simpatico" (agreeable, of good character, jokeful and accepting of humor)--characteristic present in all social levels and in all types of relationships and transactions.	Even though much information on this subject was not available, it is assumed that the greater the acculturation to American values and traditions the greater the tendency for "pure Cuban humor" to disappear. Because of the different style of life and values, in the U.S.A. and because of the Cuban's need to struggle for survival, life in general tends to become more sober and serious in this country. There is less time for "relajo" and the jokeful attitude towards life may tend to disappear. However, in densely Cuban populated areas, the Cuban humoristic tendencies may continue to persist if power and continuous reinforcement is available.

TABLE 16

A COMPARISON OF THE CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES OF CUBANS IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA
AND IN THE UNITED STATES IN TERMS OF FIVE CULTURAL SYSTEMS

Cultural Systems	CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES	
	IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA	IN U.S.A.
Racial	Population mostly composed of descendants of Spanish and Creoles, Blacks and Mulattoes. Race seen within adaptive framework which is full of incongruencies and inconsistencies. System allowed integration of partially-blacks into white society, yet some prejudice and separation maintained. Both races accepted cultural racial norms. Each related to one another at various levels to keep its place. Many blacks wanted as much as possible to identify with whites or be like them; desired to "improve the race". Great number of mixed unions, mostly white male/black female, yet society considered itself white.	Most Cuban-Americans are white. White Cuban-Americans assimilated faster than black Cuban-Americans. Many Cuban blacks faced discrimination as members of two minorities, yet they prefer to identify themselves with Cubans rather than with black Americans. Both white and black Cuban-Americans seem uncomfortable with the American definition and classification of race, since the Cuban's classification is based mostly on social class rather than on race or ethnicity. For Cuban-Americans of both races, black Cubans and black Americans are totally different and they treat them differently. Most white Cubans still agree to economic and educational opportunities for all races, but are not in favor of inter-marriage and joint social participation.
Social: Class Structure	The structure mostly taken from Spanish model, but modified and adapted to the basic composition of the island and in accordance with its historic as well as economic development.	Cubans have, in some areas, reworked many social status markers but have been unable to transpose their Hispanic classification of social types based on skin colors.

TABLE 16 (continued)

Cultural Systems	CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES	
	IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA	IN U.S.A.
Social Class (continued)	No fixed classes based on income. Classification in terms of manipulation of symbols and activities derived from tradition. Two main groups: Respectable People and Non-Respectable People. The first were defined in terms of ancestry, social skills, physical type, occupation, education, power, wealth and property ownership. The second included the indecent, immoral, streetwalkers, procurers, beggars, vulgar people, hard-core poor of shanty town, people from cheap tenement houses. The fact that many factors were considered to measure respectability allowed for social adjustment and mobility. The more sets of characteristics possessed by the individual the higher the place in social class or status. Sometimes distinctions were made between "power-prestige" and "work-wealth" sectors. Family ties and friends are source of primary satisfaction.	Cubans have, in some areas, reworked many social status markers but have been unable to transpose their Hispanic classification of social types based on skin colors. Most Cubans, no matter what their social position and respectability in Cuba, had to start from scratch to scale the economic and social ladder in the USA. They were determined to achieve or surpass previous status, worked hard at this and were able to achieve it, because of their educational background, skills and motivation, and positive disposition toward them from the American society at large. Social condition more favorable than that of other Hispanics in the USA. Some drew distinctions between the "old rich" (rich in Cuba) and the "new rich" (not rich in Cuba). Most important separation of classes in first generation is that of Anglos and Latins (Hispanics), since they are proud of Latin heritage and Cuban identity. Some second generation Cuban-Americans also seem to preserve the Anglo-Latin distinction.

TABLE 16 (continued)

Cultural Systems	CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES	
	IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA	IN U.S.A.
Social Class (continued)		Social system also has been modified in terms of including emphasis on puritanical work ethic with emphasis on achievement rather than on ascription. Some Cubans experience temporary or permanent downward mobility because of the nature of their original profession and English-language limitations. Many Cubans from lower classes in Cuba moved up rapidly in USA to a higher standard of living than they had in Cuba.
Educational	European system of education plus Cuban adaptations. System full of contrasts and inconsistencies in 1958: 20% illiteracy, yet one of the most literate countries in Latin America. Private school generally offered better education than public schools. The latter depended on government moods and changes. Higher classes had more opportunities for better education. Education seen by many as as one of the means to upward mobility and as means to an easier life. High levels of dropouts and absenteeism at elementary levels; few students went to secondary schools.	Cubans who arrived in USA during the 1960s had higher levels of education than the total population in Cuba and than other groups of Hispanics in the USA. A high percentage is involved in professional and administrative positions. The second generation of Cubans appears not as highly motivated or as successful as the first generation. Cubans arriving in the 1970s had, as a group, lower levels of education than the 1960s arrival. Proud of being considered the highest educated Hispanic group in the USA.

TABLE 16 (continued)

| Cultural | CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES | |
Systems	IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA	IN U.S.A.
Educational (continued)	Surplus of graduates in the liberal arts and social fields; less in technical and science fields because of unrealistic professional goals in sight. Capable of producing and educating brilliant individuals as well as corrupting the educational system. Few were educated at university level, but the general population kept well informed of current events through the media.	
Economic Tendencies and Work Ethics	Political turmoil, wars and instability formed the mood of Cuban dealings in the economic arena. Intensive mood, impulsiveness and impatience; absence of impartial, analytic detachment; economic instability and insecurity; yet the Cuban in business felt secure in himself and optimistic; in this area as in many others he tends to be egotistic, knowing little self-criticism and unable to take criticism by others as well. Struggles for power colored by machismo and dignity of the person. Everyone wants to be his own "patron" (boss) since behind each Cuban there is a leader. Work ethics: goal of "working	Experienced economic success on a larger scale and in a shorter time than any other immigrant group. Their aspirations to opportunities in USA seem realistic and objectively based on past experiences and skills. Median income is higher than other Hispanics in USA. Those arriving in the 1970s faced more occupational problems. Achieved occupational integration in USA society in addition to large, private ownership in businesses serving the proper Hispanic community. Proud of being considered the most successful, resourceful, productive, creative and the hardest-working

TABLE 16 (continued)

Cultural Systems	CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES	
	IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA	IN U.S.A.
Economic (continued)	in order to enjoy life, not living in order to work." Cubans took life as it came, day by day. Resistance to strenuous physical activities; more inclined to be thinkers and talkers than to bend their backs. Uncomfortable with thrift and frugality of the Protestant ethics since being a tightwad is a major sin. Work provides economic stability, not primary satisfaction in life.	Hispanic group in the USA. Thankful to USA for open arms and opportunities for improvement. Changed the style of life and work ethics. More work-oriented, more business-minded, less generous, more a follower of Protestant work ethic. Second generation not as successful. Success in economic and occupational area due in large part to educational background, skills and motivation. Fast upward mobility from unskilled and skilled groups occurred as Cubans learned English.
Political Aspects and Involvement	After independence, Cuba became a Republic which attempted at least in theory, to function democratically, yet constantly plagued by political struggles, dictatorships and restlessness. Government style, a mixture of Spanish traditions, ideas of revolutionary patriots, American democratic influences, but above all colored by the island's unique characteristics of instability, insecurity, provisionality and by values such as personalism and nepotism and the mood of passionate intensity. Cuban has low tolerance for sameness;	At first because of thought of exile being of temporary nature, only involvement in politics and activities related to the freedom of Cuba. Refusal to betray Cuban citizenship and become US citizen. As years passed and exile appeared of a more permanent nature, tendency to US citizenship and participation in US politics increased. Still only a few in influential political positions. Citizenship seems to be seen as serving more practical purposes than political

TABLE 16 (continued)

Cultural Systems	CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES	
	IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA	IN U.S.A.
Political (continued)	everyone thinks he can and wants to be a leader, since he has been socialized to give, not take, orders. Cubans are too proud to admit to being wrong and too sure of the worth of their ideas to give in. High value placed on heroism, martyrdom and patriotism. Very idealistic--difficulty in setting realistic political goals, thus the discrepancy.	ones. However, lately more actual involvement and discovering voting power. Give importance to transmission of culture and patriotic spirit; there-fore, a number of socio-cultural-political associations. These served to healthy adjustment of older first generation. Through the years many groups formed, to deal with the issues of the freedom of Cuba, from militant extremists to intellectual and philosophical.

characteristics in terms of the five cultural systems.

Cuban-Americans: Mental Health

In the next set of tables the specific problems which Cuban-Americans have faced and are facing as they adapt in this country will be shown. The tendency to intrapersonal and/or interpersonal maladjustment in those who under or over-acculturate while having to function in bicultural environments will also be observed.

In Tables 17a through 17g the problems have been tentatively connected to the factors and systems previously discussed, although overlapping in the classification is again considered unavoidable. This author has tried to follow the same organizational procedure utilized in Chapter IV from which the information for these tables was extracted. Following the group order established in that portion of the study, the problems affecting the family will be presented first followed by those of women/mothers; men/fathers; children; adolescents; college students; and the elderly. The descriptions of the problems have been classified and may be seen in terms of general areas such as Language, Culture and Communication; Interpersonal Relationships; Role Definition; and those related to social, economic and political aspects. The review of the literature did not yield information to include all the areas for all the groups. Therefore, each of the Tables 17a - 17g will be composed only of those areas for which data was available. In Table 17g, on the elderly, an extra area has been added, since problems were found which were more strictly considered of a physical or a psychological nature and directly related to the process of aging.

PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY CUBAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES: GENERAL AREA* AND SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION

| Group | PROBLEMS | |
	General Area	Specific Description
Family	Language, culture and communication	Learning a new language; differential rates of language learning; differential degrees of acculturation; communication, limitations.
	Interpersonal Relationships	Communication difficulties among family members; differential degrees of acculturation; generational gap; adjustment to nuclear family pattern; lack of extended family support; breaking down of family unity, rules and traditions; set back of family developmental stage; facing changing rules of husband and wife; dealing with children's challenges and traditions, parental authority, perceived disrespect (earned vs. ascribed respect); and new found independence; tendency to diffuse emerging conflicts through denial and avoidance and by responding to conflict with high degrees of dysfunctional enmeshment; facing added responsibilities. Caring for the elderly in addition to raising children.
	Social	Facing unreceptive or rejecting neighbors; difficulty in accepting many aspects of modernized society; more seriousness.
	Economic/work	Overwork; two parents involved in work force; less time for relaxation and family activities; struggle for economic survival.
	Political Involvement	Uprootedness; identity and security shaken; over defensiveness over Cuba's political situation; adapting to new patterns of social/community/political action.

TABLE 17b

PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY CUBAN-AMERICAN WOMEN/MOTHERS: GENERAL AREA* AND SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION

Group	General Area	Specific Description
Women/ Mothers	Language, culture and communication	May underacculturate while children may overacculturate; learn English at slower pace than children.
	Interpersonal Relationships	Possible lack of support from husband while need to provide it for him; facing pressures from children and adults to conform to or change cultural norms; and preserve the stability of the family; lack of support from extended family; separation from family members who remain in Cuba; perception of loss of parental authority; dealing with pressures through dysfunctional patterns of behaviors for which alteration is sought through abuse of tranquilizers and sedatives (specially in Cuban, white, middle-age mothers with adolescent children); experiencing overworry and over-concern for their children's kinds of friends, for their lack of respect for authority, for their exposure to the dangers in the cities; for the lack of paternal participation in child rearing and for the welfare and care of grandparents. She is in conflict in having to sacrifice maternal imperative in terms of supervision and overprotection; uses avoidance and denial to deal with con-flict; those who are more rigid have more difficulty in accepting change; those who are classified as expedient have more conflicts; those who are classified as moral have less conflicts but function under more stress.
	Role Definition	Adjustment to changes in traditional roles; facing role conflicts and stress; overburden responsibilities from holding multiple roles; dealing with incompatible expectations from significant others; possible marital problems due to new roles and lack of husband's adjustment to change.
	Economic/work	Learning new skills for job performance in American society; pres-sures of job vs. maternal and home responsibilities; sacrifices of the maternal imperative.

TABLE 17c

PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY CUBAN-AMERICAN MEN/FATHERS: GENERAL AREA* AND SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION

Group	General Area	PROBLEMS
		Specific Description
Men/ Fathers	Language, culture and communication	Differential rate of language learning and degree of accultura- tion; English language limitations; may tend to underacculturate; pressures to change traditional values and behaviors against desire to keep ethnic identity; resisting modernization trends in certain areas.
	Interpersonal Relationships	Slowness or refusal to accept wife's changing roles and children's newly acquired behaviors; may react overdefensively and refuse to see problems for fear of losing face in front of others; over- defensiveness in terms of Cuba's political situation may interface with social relationships outside Cuban group. Resistance to change authoritarian patterns of behavior.
	Role	Facing with pain change of status in the family; perception of loss of authority, respect, self-esteem; responding in self- defeating ways to challenges in traditional role and position in the family; facing uprootedness from familiar and comfortable environment; trying to preserve a personal and ethnic identity in spite of changes.
	Economic/work	Under pressure to support family in a different cultural milieu and in a different language; facing perceived loss of esteem for temporary or permanent decrease in previous job status; facing the conflict of the responsibility for the survival of the family versus the desire and need for self-improvement sacrificing extended family ties and unity for economic improvement.

PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY CUBAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN: GENERAL AREA* AND SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION

Group	General Area	Specific Description
		PROBLEMS
Children	Language, culture and communication	Initially may face language problems but eventually may over-acculturate; decrease efficiency in language expression in Spanish which may make parent-children communication difficult; may withdraw and reject Spanish contacts; may prefer communication in English; parents may underacculturate making gap wider.
	Interpersonal Relationships	May be pampered, overprotected, yet are left many hours without parental supervision; are not socialized for independence and yet are faced with it or ask for it sooner than they can handle it; lack understanding of parental cultural frame of reference in demanding respect for authority and in imposing traditional cultural rules and norms; many face family disruption, or parental conflict and struggles; used to being the center of attention at home may demand to be the center of attention in school; eventual search for identity and dealing with conflict and guilt feelings between loyalty to family mores and new cultural trends held and reinforced by peers. In many cases, the positive self-concept, the creativity, the resourcefulness and the positive attitude and disposition of many elementary school Cuban children are a great asset in facing the problems of adaptation.

TABLE 17e

PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY CUBAN-AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS: GENERAL AREA* AND SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION

Group	General Area	PROBLEMS — Specific Description
Adole-scents	Language, culture and communication	May under or over-acculturate; may reject Hispanic heritage; may become marginated from one or both cultural environments; may drop Spanish as a means of communication or may never learn English and be in protected ethnic environment; gap in communication with parents in those who overacculturate; rebelliousness against parental authority may spread to other societal institutions.
	Interpersonal Relationships	Acculturational/generational gap between parents and themselves; facing parental lack of understanding support and guidance; searching for a personal as well as a cultural identity; many face disorientation, isolation and disengagement from native culture; those who overacculturate tend to display acting out behaviors, high anxiety, psychosomatic symptoms and drug abuse; those who underacculturate may exhibit withdrawal, isolation and apathy, leading to depression, neurosis and suicide; many face confusion and conflict between two sets of cultural norms and expectations; many desire and demand independence without being ready to handle its responsibilities; many face parental, marital conflicts or family disintegration; many spend many hours without supervision; they may be full of the fears and insecurities which may affect many adolescents but which are aggravated by the acculturation problems; many are not religious oriented and tend to utilize primary supports (family, friends and neighbors) and to underutilize community and institutional resources for assistance in conflict situations. Girls tend to report more severe parental control and show more maladjustment when displaying characteristics such as introversion and social discontent.

TABLE 17f

PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY CUBAN-AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDNETS: GENERAL AREA* AND SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION

Group	General Area	Specific Description
College Students (in college setting)	Language	May or may not have language limitations in English.
	Interpersonal Relationship Related to Culture	As they acculturate, previous expectations, cultural patterns of values and behaviors are no longer functional; males face culture shock in their efforts to meet differing expectations from family and host culture; many may face estrangement and confusion when lacking peer support; many feel helpless in voicing their needs to counselors and other university personnel, because of negative attitudes including distrust and cultural stigma attached to counseling; many have difficulty in setting career goals in terms of their own vocational needs and desires because of family and cultural pressures; many show high defensiveness to disclose derogatory information about self; most show preference to relate to counselors who are willing to become part of their network by social participation with them beyond therapy hours and by willingness to listen and talk outside the office.

The PROBLEMS heading spans the General Area and Specific Description columns.

TABLE 17g

PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY CUBAN-AMERICAN ELDERLY: GENERAL AREA* AND SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION

| Group | PROBLEMS | |
	General Area	Specific Description
Elderly	Language Communication and Culture	Limitation in knowledge of English language; loss of country; cultural displacement late in life: uprootedness; isolation due to inability to communicate and to lack of knowledge and understanding of the culture and social service delivery in America; cultural/generational gap.
	Interpersonal Relationships	Facing social isolation because of language, culture and transportation barriers; dealing with family isolation because of disintegration or physical separation; facing intergenerational problems due to different degrees of acculturation in family members. Cuban elders showed the most negative adjustment compared with Black and White American elders; they were low in social participation and social functioning.
	Role Definition	Loss of status as authority figure and loss of grandparent role as supportive, contributing member of the family.
	Physical and Psychological Manifestations	Normal symptoms of old age aggravated by all personal, family, social problems and the effects of the transplantation. A group is mainly affected by dementia senile, while others show symptoms of depression, withdrawal, passive behaviors, anxiety, meaninglessness, anomie, loss of sense of purpose in life, in addition to psychosomatic symptoms.

*The areas have been utilized to give some order to the information but they are not all inclusive. Many of the problem descriptions may overlap from one area to another and could be included in more than one.

It is important to clarify that all the problems described are not necessarily present in one single individual. In the same manner, not all Cubans face them in the same way. The problems presented here are the result of the observations and studies on various groups within the Cuban-American population. In many cases, the samples were taken from clinical populations. While much of the information can be generalizable, room must obviously be left for individual differences and for those non-clinical groups who may be adjusting "normally" without serious conflicts.

There are specific cultural characteristics of Cuban-Americans that are essential to and must be taken into consideration in any therapeutic process if the goal is effectiveness in approach and treatment. Many of these characteristics have been selected from the literature for presentation and appear in Table 18. Most have been classified according to the five cultural factors. However, a few were placed under "additional" characteristics affecting the process of therapy.

In families facing serious conflicts, researchers have found a tendency toward different symptomatology and reactions on the part of the youth and of the adults. In Table 19 the differential tendencies have been listed for both groups.

An interesting finding regarding Cuban college students and their choice of careers under parental pressures can be added to the possible generational/acculturation problems which many of them have to face. The perceptions and behaviors of Cuban parents which may make an independent career choice by their children difficult are listed in

TABLE 18

SELECTED CULTURALLY-DERIVED CHARACTERISTICS OF CUBAN-AMERICANS
WHICH DESERVE IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION IN THE THERAPEUTIC PROCESS

Cultural Factor	Characteristics
Language and General Culture	In Adults from the Frozen-Culture Group: Spanish Language, Hispanic Cultural Background and Cuban Ethos: Character inconsistencies. In Overacculturated Youth: English Language-American Values. In Many Others: Various degrees of Bilingualism and Biculturalism.
Religion	Interpretation of behaviors and life circumstances in terms of religious background, attitudes and practices. Tendency to experience magic-religious mythic phenomena in emotional disturbance.
Interpersonal Relationships	Preference for Personalized Relationships. Field-Dependent--Lack of Control Over Circumstances of life. Sensitive to Social Pressure; High Need for Approval. Distrustful and Fearful of Stigma in Seeking Mental Health Services. Socio-Economic-Educational Status Variable: --More from low and lower middle class seek mental health centers or clinics. --More from middle and upper class see private practitioner; psychiatrists and psychologists. --Lineal/Hierarchical Relationship Style.
Male/Female Relationships	More Women than Man Seek Services Double Standard of Behavior.
Sense of Humor	Use of "Relajo", Jokes and Sarcasm.

TABLE 18 (continued)

Cultural Factor	Characteristics
Other Cultural Values Directly Related to the Psychotherapeutic Process	Present-Time Orientation.
	Mobilization by Crisis.
	Motivation-Motivated by Concrete Goals, Obtainable Objectives, Activity Orientation.
	Attacking Symptoms Rather than Causes: --Tendency to look for medication when "nervous"
	Handling of Problems through Mechanisms of Defense Such as Denial, Avoidance, Humor, "Relajo"

TABLE 19

DIFFERENTIAL TENDENCIES TOWARD SPECIFIC SYMPTOMS AND REACTIONS
IN YOUTH AND THEIR PARENTS WHEN FACED WITH CONFLICT

Group	Reaction or Symptom
Youth	isolation
	withdrawal (in some underacculturated)
	acting out
	drug abuse (in some overacculturated)
Adults Especially Mothers	hypochondriacal symptoms
	projection mechanisms
	religious mystical experiences
	sedative/tranquilizer abuse
	gastro-intestinal syndromes (in neurotically depressed Cubans)
	depression
	denial
	avoidance

Table 20.

Through a close examination of the resources available to and utilized by Cubans in Cuba and in the United States, Table 21 has been composed with the purpose of comparing the availability and utilization of resources for support and for the alleviation of stress, and conflict in both countries. Various types of resources on which Cubans could count in Cuba and can count on in the U.S.A. are listed. Then, a <u>Yes</u>, <u>No</u> or <u>?</u> indicates the apparent availability and utilization of each individual resource. In the data regarding the United States a distinction is made between the situation in the Cuban or Hispanic Community and that in a pure Anglo one, since the availability of resources will vary greatly from one to the other. This table also shows how living in a Cuban or Hispanic community within the United States can be very supportive for Cubans as it helps them adjust gradually and gives them the necessary resources for psychological survival in similar fashion as they existed in their native country. In these communities they can find at least some of the familiar outlets for their emotional difficulties. However, the utilization of those resources in the Cuban community is open to the choice of the individuals who may or may not make use of them because of personal preferences or because of the acculturational stage at which they are.

Since Cubans were accustomed to depend on a number of non-professional, less formal and more personalized sources of support, their perceptions and lack of understanding of the Anglo style system of mental health delivery is not conducive to utilization in case of need. Some of the perceptions held by Cuban-Americans in this regard

TABLE 20

PARENTAL PERCEPTIONS AND BEHAVIORS WHICH MAKE INDEPENDENT CHOOSING
OF A CAREER DIFFICULT FOR CUBAN-AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

High parental involvement in career choice and development.

High pressures and expectations placed on the student to satisfy
parental inclinations in career choice and/or to follow professional
trends set by the family.

Parental lack of awareness of existing variety of career options.

Parental emphasis on fields which bring prestige and economic
remuneration.

Parental experience with Pre-Castro Cuba's University system which in
contrast with the American system focused on the field of specializa-
tion with a rigid curriculum from the first year of study.

Parental lack of information and understanding of the American Educa-
tional System.

TABLE 21

AVAILABILITY* AND UTILIZATION OF RESOURCES FOR SUPPORT AND ALLEVIATION OF
STRESS AND CONFLICT IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA AND THE U.S.A.

| TYPE OF RESOURCE | IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA | | IN U.S.A. | | | |
| | | | IN CUBAN OR HISPANIC COMMUNITY | | IN ANGLO COMMUNITY | |
	AVAILABLE	UTILIZED	Possibly Available	Utilized	Possibly Available	Utilized
Nuclear family members	Yes	Yes	Yes(?)[3]	Yes	Yes	Yes
Extended family members	Yes	Yes	?	?	?	?
Circle of friends, cliques	Yes	Yes	Yes	?	Cuban or Hispanic No / Anglo ?	No / ?
Neighbors	Yes	Yes	Yes	?	Cuban or Hispanic No / Anglo Yes	No / ?
Family doctor(known for years)	Yes	Yes	?	?	No	No
Neighborhood pharmacist (who prescribes freely and advises)	Yes	Yes	No[4]	?	No	No
Religious beliefs (personal)	?[1]	?	?	?	Cuban or Hispanic No / Anglo Yes	No / ?

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TABLE 21 (continued)

TYPE OF RESOURCE	AVAILABILITY AND UTILIZATION					
	IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA		IN U.S.A.			
			IN CUBAN OR HISPANIC COMMUNITY		IN ANGLO COMMUNITY	
	AVAILABLE	UTILIZED	Possibly Available	Utilized	Possibly Available	Utilized
Religious organizations Churches, priests, ministers, religious sisters.	Yes	?	Yes	?	Cuban or Hispanic No _____ Anglo Yes	No _____ ?
"Curanderos", "espiritistas", "santeros"	Yes	?	Yes	?	No	No
Folk medications and remedies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Psychologists-Psychotherapists	No	No	Yes	?	Cuban or Hispanic No _____ Anglo Yes	No _____ ?
Psychiatrists	Yes	?	Yes	?	Cuban or Hispanic No _____ Anglo Yes	No _____ ?
Chemotherapy and electro-shock treatments	Yes	?	Yes[5]	?	Yes	?
Mental Health Centers or Clinics	No	No	Yes[5]	?[6]	Cuban or Hispanic No _____ Anglo Yes	No _____ ?

TABLE 21 (continued)

TYPE OF RESOURCE	AVAILABILITY AND UTILIZATION					
	IN PRE-CASTRO CUBA		IN U.S.A.			
			IN CUBAN OR HISPANIC COMMUNITY		IN ANGLO COMMUNITY	
	AVAILABLE	UTILIZED	Possibly Available	Utilized	Possibly Available	Utilized
General Hospitals	Yes	$?^2$	Yes^5	?	Yes	?
Institutions for the mentally ill	Yes	?	Yes^5	?	Yes	?
"Relajo", "Choteo" (humor and teasing) as cultural aspect and defense mechanism	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (smaller degree)	No	No

Notes:

1. All "?"'s mean utilization depends on particular preferences or life style of each individual and on his/her needs. Also that availability in some areas may depend on personal experience or individual cases, or on the availability of services in the community for the Cubans or Hispanics.

2. Mostly utilized for problems of physiological nature.

3. The more ?'s in availability indicate the possibility of less resources to depend upon. (ex.: Possibility of one parent home, no extended family, etc.)

4. May give advice but may not prescribe many medications that in Cuba needed no prescription for dispensation.

5. These services might not be available within the community of residence, but may be available to the individual in another area or town.

6. Underutilized.

*Availability to Cuban or Hispanic individuals.

are listed in Table 22. Cuban-Americans see the system, in general as not in tune with their culture and their needs.

TABLE 22

CUBAN-AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF THE ANGLO MENTAL
HEALTH SYSTEM OF SERVICES AND PERSONNEL

Too Cold	Rushed	Only for the "crazy ones"
Too Formal	Non-understanding	
Too Sophisticated	Non-understandable	Utilization brings shame/stigma
Depersonalized	Business-oriented	Rejecting or non-accepting of cultural differences
Distrustful	Unconcerned	
Expensive	Filled with inexperienced, young therapists	Doesn't take into consideration belief system
Distant		
Bureaucratic	Detached	Abstract, not concrete
Dehumanizing	Ineffective	Not present-oriented
Unavailable	Not very knowledgeable (doesn't give "advice")	Massive institution

CHAPTER VI

THE THEORETICAL BASES: ANALYSIS OF SELECTED ASPECTS OF THE

TRADITIONAL ROGERIAN AND ADLERIAN PSYCHOTHERAPEUTIC APPROACHES,

AND OF

MODELS, IDEAS, AND APPROACHES CULTURALLY-TAILORED

TO SERVE CUBAN-AMERICANS

The information presented in this chapter represents the theoretical framework which, together with the cultural framework presented in the previous chapter, will serve as the basis for the original model to be developed by the writer in Part C of this study.

Two goals to be pursued here are:

I. To identify and analyze those aspects of first, Rogerian and second, Adlerian systems of psychotherapy which may be applicable in serving the mental health needs of Cuban-Americans.

II. To analyze and synthesize previously developed models and approaches culturally tailored to serve Hispanics especially those of Cuban descent.

Procedures

In order to accomplish the goals mentioned above the following steps were taken:

For Goal I:

A. Selected materials related to Rogerian and Adlerian psychotherapies were read.

B. From the readings those elements and aspects which could be applicable to the Cuban culture were isolated.

C. Two tables (23: Rogerian; 25: Adlerian) were designed to present this information which was important for later use in the analysis and determination of applicability of the approaches. The data for these two tables were extracted primarily from Raymond J. Corsini's Current Psychotherapies, 1979, second edition.

D. Based on the analysis of the information on Rogerian and Adlerian Therapies (Tables 23 and 25), and data on characteristics of Cuban-Americans which are important to the therapeutic process (Table 18 in Chapter V), Tables 24 and 26 were designed. The purpose of these tables was to indicate and explain the perceived compatibility between the selected Cuban characteristics and the chosen psychotherapy aspects. The steps followed were:

1. All descriptors of aspects of the therapies appeared in Tables 23 and 25 were extracted.

2. Those characteristics (from Table 18) which would have a relationship to the therapeutic processes were identified. Those not found applicable were eliminated.

3. Aspects and characteristics which would be appropriate for comparison and contrast were paired. The pairing was done in terms of unifying, underlining themes found in the two sets of information.

4. Compatibility (indicated with a YES, lack of it with NO)

was determined by the observed congruency or incongruency derived from the analysis of the pairs. (When a pair seemed to have both congruent and incongruent aspects, partial compatibility was assumed and represented with the use of both YES and NO in the same column.)

5. The rationale or justification for determining the existence or absence of compatibility was included in the tables and appears next to the YES's and the NO's.

E. An additional table (27) was designed to show some postulated relationships between selected variables and the effectiveness of Rogerian and Adlerian therapies. For this table the following steps were followed:

1. Pertinent variables related to the acculturation process were extracted from the review of the literature in Part A and from the cultural framework in Chapter V.

2. The influence of these variables on the effectiveness of treatment was determined on the bases of the cultural framework.

3. Two opposite trends for each variable were chosen for presentation to show with clarity the contrast between the positive and negative influences of variables in treatment.

For Goal II:

A. Models, ideas and approaches tailored to the cultural characteristics of Cubans and based on theory, research, clinical or field experience were selected from the

literature for analysis and synthesis.

B. The models, ideas and approaches were studied and analyzed
for essential aspects; and were subsequently organized into
three categories, namely: models of treatment; ideas sug-
gested to and required of mental health personnel serving
Cubans; and approaches related to non-traditional mental
health services and outreach strategies.

C. Three tables (28, 29 and 30) were designed to present the
synthesis of the previously analyzed and organized data. The
steps followed for the preparation of these three tables are
as follows:

For Table 28:

1. Five culturally-tailored models of treatment geared to
   Cuban-Americans were identified. All were developed by
   Szapocznik and his Associates during the last few years.

2. Five descriptors common to these models were selected:
   title or identifying name; theoretical bases; target
   population; specific purpose; and major aspects or features.

3. The specific information required in terms of the descriptors
   was extracted and organized for tabular presentation.

4. The main reference source for each of the models was
   included in the table in the form of footnotes.

For Table 29:

1. A thorough study of Part A, especially Chapters III and IV
   was conducted in search of ideas regarding approaches,
   other than models, to serve Cuban-Americans.

2. Ideas and suggestions were reviewed; and those explicit and specifically related to the nature of the service-provider (therapist)-client relationship were identified. Because of their applicability to Cuban-Americans some ideas derived from research on Hispanics in general, were included.

3. Many ideas and suggestions not explicit in the literature were inferred, phrased and stated by this writer, based on the data available.

4. The characteristics of Cubans related to the therapeutic process (in Table 18) were utilized as an organizational framework for all the suggested ideas.

5. The classification of those characteristics in terms of cultural factors was also retained for organizational purposes, as well as to keep in clear view the connection between the factors and the ideas and suggestions.

6. All ideas and suggestions explicit, implicit or originated by this writer were synthesized according to the framework of cultural factors and characteristics.

7. A determination was made to present the ideas in terms of requirements expected from human-service personnel if they are to pursue and obtain positive results in dealing with Cuban-Americans.

For Table 30:

1. A search was conducted to identify additional ideas regarding non-traditional approaches in mental health

service-delivery and in outreach strategies.

2. Selected approaches meeting that criteria were extracted from the literature, Chapter IV in particular.

3. Table 30 was designed to include the identified non-traditional service and outreach approaches.

4. Since the suggested approaches were extracted from many different sources in the literature, the references will not appear on the table for the sake of clarity of presentation. Pertinent references can be found in the text of Chapter IV.

5. This table was designed to serve as a set of guidelines for interested human-service providers.

Tabular Presentation of the Data Related to Goal I: Analysis of Selected Aspects of Traditional Rogerian and Adlerian Approaches

The basic theoretical aspects of A) Rogerian and B) Adlerian approaches will be presented in this section. Then, an attempt will be made to develop relationships between these aspects and the characteristics of Cubans described in the cultural framework. The relationships will be presented in tabular fashion.

A. Rogers' Person-Centered Therapy

Person-Centered Therapy or the Rogerian approach was originated by Carl Rogers in the 1940's. It holds as its central hypothesis that... "the growthful potential of any individual will tend to be released in a relationship in which the helping person is experiencing and communicating realness, caring, and a deeply sensitive, non-judgemental

understanding" (Meador and Rogers in Corsini, 1979:131). Therefore, its goal is growth towards self-actualization.

The three essential elements which Rogerian therapists must have and should communicate are:

1. Genuineness/realness: The Therapist must be himself/herself and be perceived as a genuine and real human being, not one wearing a mask, or playing a role.

2. Empathic Understanding: The Therapist must have and must be able to communicate to the person his real understanding of him/her and of his/her situation. Then he/she will be able to immerse himself/herself in the feeling world of his/her client, and

3. Positive Regard: The Therapist must be non-judgemental and must give the client his/her unconditional regard, a non-possessive caring or acceptance of his/her individuality. The therapist does not give advice or direction but trusts the client will discover for himself/herself the resources and directions his/her growth will take.

Person-Centered therapy is geared to and mostly effective with individuals: who want to understand each other; who are willing to reveal themselves to some degree; and who want to enhance their own growth. It is expected that as a result of Person-Centered therapy the client will move from rigidity to flow; from stasis to changingness; from an undifferentiated, unfeeling, impersonal type of psychological functioning to richly differentiated reactions, where personal feelings can be experienced, recognized and deeply owned and accepted.

The main goal of Client-Centered Therapy, the basic characteristics of the therapist, the optimal disposition of the client; the movement resulting from therapeutic intervention, and selected aspects and emphases of this therapy are summarized in Table 23.

Based on these aspects of Person-Centered Therapy and on the cultural characteristics of Cuban-Americans, especially those related to the therapeutic process (See Chapter V, Table 18), an analysis was done to show the compatibility or match existing between the aspects and the characteristics. In Table 24 the existence or absence of compatibility and the rationale for the determination of such can be observed.

From the analysis, it seems that aspects such as empathy, warmth, support and respect are compatible with the characteristics of Cubans, while the opposite seems true of aspects related to long-term therapy, self-growth and self-actualization goals, the non-directive approach and the placement of responsibility on the client. The aspects of genuineness, unconditional positive regard, and self-disclosure may have a positive as well as a negative impact on the client.

Since Person-Centered therapy is a therapy for individual growth, the involvement of one member of the family without the involvement of the rest of the family may prove healthy for the individual if he/she separates from the family, but it may destroy the family unity and may create problems in the relationships when one member (husband or wife, youth or parent) grows and the others remain static.

The Cubans' preferences for lineal relationships and their present time orientation will not necessarily facilitate the therapeutic

TABLE 23

ROGER'S PERSON-CENTERED THERAPY: GOAL, THERAPIST'S
CHARACTERISTICS, CLIENT'S DISPOSITION, MOVEMENT RESULTING
FROM THERAPY, AND DESCRIPTORS OF SELECTED ASPECTS*

Goal
The healthy psychological growth of the individual towards self-actualization through the therapeutic relationship between therapist and client.

Therapist's Characteristics	Client's Disposition
-Genuineness	-Desire to improve mutual understanding with others
-Empathic Understanding	-Willingness to reveal oneself to some degree
-Positive Regard	-Desire to enhance own growth

Movement Towards Self-Actualization	
From ⟶	To
Rigidity	Flow
Statis	Changingness
Undifferentiation	Differentiation
Unfeelingness	Feelingness
Impersonality	Personalization

Descriptors of Selected Aspects and Emphases	
-Genuineness	-Self-disclosure
-Empathy	-Expression of Feelings
-Warmth	-Long-Term Therapy
-Respect	-Self-growth
-Support	-Self-actualization
-Unconditional Positive Regard (Acceptance)	-Non-directiveness
	-Responsibility Placed on Client

*Meador and Rogers in Corsini, 1979

TABLE 24

ANALYSIS OF COMPATIBILITY BETWEEN VARIOUS ASPECTS OF ROGERIAN PSYCHOTHERAPY
AND SELECTED CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CUBAN-AMERICANS

Aspects of Rogerian Therapy	Cultural Characteristics	Compatibility	
		Presence	Rationale
Genuineness	Need to see therapist as superior/ preference for lineal-hierarchical relationships	Yes	May welcome openness and frankness of therapist and in the long run accept his/her humanness but
		No	Initially, needs to see therapost as "Super-human", "know it all", with solutions to problems. Weakness in therapost may bring lack of respect for his/her capacity to help client.
Empathy Warmth Respect	Need for personalized relationships	Yes	Will welcome these aspects which lead to personalized relationship and to special consideration and understanding of each person as unique.
Support	Need for acceptance/approval	Yes	Support is essential to those who are surrounded by very critical environments and have no supportive relationships in or outside the immediate family.

TABLE 24 (continued)

Aspects of Rogerian Therapy	Cultural Characteristics	Compatibility	
		Presence	Rationale
Unconditional Positive Regard (Acceptance)	Need to conform to gain group approval	Yes	May welcome it as a relief from judgemental pressures from family, friends, and peers.
	Preeminence given to family vs. individual. Tendency to field-dependency.	No	However, unless whole family is involved in therapy, the freedom found may lead to conflict in dealing with the pressures outside the therapy room. Eventually client may sucumb to original enmeshment and drop out of therapy or may need to move away from family relationships to pursue own growth.
Self-disclosure Emphasis on expression of feelings	Male-female double standard of behavior.	Yes	Women more willing to disclose selves and express feelings.
		No	Men more willing to disclose selves and to express feelings.
Long-term Therapy	Present-time orientation	No	Mobilized by crisis; emphasis in solving present problems.
Self-growth Self-actualization	Motivated by concrete goals, obtainable objectives, activity orientation	No	Because of uprootedness and need to struggle for survival in host country, might be at lower level in hierarchy of needs; therefore, not necessarily interested in self-actualization.

TABLE 24 (continued)

Aspects of Rogerian Therapy	Cultural Characteristics	Compatibility	
		Presence	Rationale
Non-directiveness Responsibility placed on client	Prefers hierarchical relationships; field dependency	No	Wants therapist to give direction and guidance; and wants him/her to take responsibility for treatment. For many because of the lack of knowledge of U.S.A. social service system and because of language and cultural barriers, there is a need and an expectation that therapist will make at least initial connections with ecological systems.

process in Rogerian terms. They want direction and solutions for everyday problems, and are less interested in therapy as self-growth. Rogerian's empathy, warmth, support and respect are, however, as in all human relationships positive ingredients in the establishment and continuation of a good therapeutic bond. However, Cubans would want to go beyond this in asking the therapist for guidance. If he/she does not give direct advice, he/she might be considered not knowledgeable and the client will probably not return.

Cultural values regarding the expression of feelings is another aspect that must be considered. For Cuban women this may be easier as a goal to work for in therapy; but for Cuban men, who have been used to withholding theirs as appropriate to their manly role, the task will be more difficult since opening up can make them appear vulnerable and weak.

Rogerian therapy for self-growth and self-actualization may apply to some segments of the Cuban population which, influenced by the American middle class values and the educational system, may be more amenable to this type of treatment and may desire personal growth. In addition, it could be applicable to those who, after having crisis intervention or directive therapy, may find themselves ready to move forward in their personal growth. However, in general, after the crisis is over, it is very unlikely that individuals will return to therapy "just to talk for the sake of growth." Most do not have the time or the money to spend in therapy when no imminent crisis is present. Therapy then, is not a priority and may even be considered an unnecessary waste of time and money.

The genuineness of the therapist may not be very impressive to the Cuban patient who although wanting sincerity and frankness might not be ready to see his/her therapist as a human being but as someone who has all the answers, has authority, and is "Super-Human". In the long run, Cuban clients may learn to accept and welcome the model of humanness presented by the therapist, but especially at the beginning, the image of the therapist is important, since they expect the therapist to take over the relationship and give direction to it.

As it was previously mentioned, all Cubans are not at the same stage in terms of acculturation as well as in personal growth. Those who are younger, more acculturated, have lived longer in the U.S., and been in closer contact with American values and culture, might profit more from Rogerian psychotherapy than those who are in the frozen group, who are basically mono-cultural (Spanish) and who reside in heavily populated Cuban areas, where Cuban cultural values are strongly and persistently reinforced.

Thus, although some elements of Rogerian therapy are essential to the establishment of the initial relationship, it seems from the analysis of the cultural characteristics of Cubans that as a system of therapy it may not be the most effective especially in terms of Cubans who are part of the frozen culture.

B. Adler's Individual Psychology and Psychotherapy

Individual Psychology was originated by Alfred Adler in the early 1900's. He broke away from Freud and gave his theory a different direction. He believed in the purposiveness of behavior and that individuals move in life according to a plan. Every individual wants

to be useful and have a place in family and society. Many times, not knowing how to be useful, he/she becomes discouraged and resorts to useless behaviors which make him/her maladjusted.

The main goal of Adlerian Therapy is the achievement of self-realization in the three tasks of life: sex, work, and living in society. Specific objectives under this goal are:

1. To foster social interest.

2. To decrease inferiority feelings and to overcome discouragement.

3. To guide the individual to understand and/or to change his life style through the study of the whole person in a social context and his/her movement through life.

4. To change values (faulty motivation that underly even acceptable behavior).

5. To encourage the individual to recognize his/her equality among fellow humans.

6. To help the individual become a contributing human being.

7. To provide the person with a philosophy of life.

The Adlerian approach is a re-educational approach geared to change behavior through counseling and to change the life style (way the person moves through life) through psychotherapy.

The Adlerian psychotherapist is warm and non-judgemental, but he/she does not hesitate to give advice. He/she presents him or herself as a human model who has the courage to be imperfect, and who believes all human beings set their own goals and have the capacity to change, and take responsibility for their own behaviors. He/she

also believes that behavior occurs in a social context and men, therefore, cannot be studied in isolation. Adlerians' greatest value is the social interest, which is equivalent to "love one's neighbor as oneself", to be socially involved with others, task-oriented and unconcerned with one's own superiority. For Adlerians, life has no intrinsic meaning. Human beings give meaning to their own lives and this given-meaning will determine their behavior (Mosak, in Corsini, 1979).

In the process of therapy the Adlerian therapist establishes the relationship, and analyzes the life style and its interplay with the accomplishments of the life tasks. He/she also analyzes dreams, re-orients, helps the patient to gain insight, and interprets his life movement. He/she also gives advice and provides plenty of encouragement as the patient begins to take the reins of his/her own life.

The general goal of Adlerian psychotherapy, the steps involved in the process, the nature of the therapist-patient relationship, and selected aspects and emphases of the therapy are summarized and presented in Table 25.

An analysis for compatibility or match between aspects of Adlerian Therapy and selected characteristics of Cuban-Americans was performed and is presented in Table 26 along with the rationale for the determination of the presence or absence of compatibility. This table is similar in format to that used in Table 24 for the Rogerian Therapy.

From the analysis it seems that the aspects of Adlerian psychotherapy which seem compatible with the Cuban culture are: the

TABLE 25

ADLERIAN PSYCHOTHERAPY: GOAL, PROCESS, NATURE OF THERAPIST-
PATIENT RELATIONSHIP AND DESCRIPTORS OF SELECTED ASPECTS*

Goal
The achievement of self-realization through involvement with fellow human beings in the three tasks of life: sex, work, and social involvement.

Process	Therapist-Patient Relationship

1. Establish Relationship
2. Analysis (from patient's behavior and language)
  (a) Assessment or Life Style Investigation
    i - Family Constellation
    ii - Early Recollections
    iii- Basic mistakes
    iv - Patient's assets as seen by self.
  (b) Examination of Interplay between Life Style and Life Tasks.
3. Analysis of Dreams
4. Re-orientation
5. Insight
6. Interpretation
7. Other Verbal Techniques (Therapist Gives Advice)
8. Action Techniques (role playing, etc.)
	1. Friendly relationship among equals although therapist may be more knowledgeable.
	2. Cooperative relationship: alignment of goals for therapy to proceed.
	3. Patient has active role in therapy process and is informed of his/her responsibility for his/her own actions.
	4. Therapist is an optimistic person, serves as model. He is sharing, caring, authentic, free to have feelings and opinions (Spontaneous).
	5. Patient has power for self-determination, has freedom to change or move at will.
	6. Therapist concerns himself with his patient's problems of living and problems of existence.
	7. Therapist is task-oriented rather than self-oriented. He has no concern for his own prestige.
	8. Therapist is a non-judgemental helping friend. His goals are to win the patient and to encourage him.

Descriptors of Selected Aspects and Emphases		
-Directive	-Differentiation between counseling and psychotherapy	-Use of multiple psychotherapies
-Preventive		-Use of Humor
-Educational	-Self-determination of client	-Use of Action Techniques
-Democratic		

TABLE 25 (continued)

Descriptors (continued)

-Confronting	-Listening, Caring, Under- standing	-Use of encouragement vs. praise
-Time-limited		
	-Cooperation vs. Competition	-Use of discourage- ment of individual
-Religious in tone	-Natural and logical con- sequences vs. reward and punishment	vs. mental illness model

*Mosak in Corsini, 1979

TABLE 26

ANALYSIS OF COMPATIBILITY BETWEEN VARIOUS ASPECTS OF ADLERIAN PSYCHOLOGY AND
PSYCHOTHERAPY AND SELECTED CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CUBAN-AMERICANS

Aspects of Adlerian Psychology & Psychotherapy	Cultural Characteristics	Compatibility	
		Presence	Rationale
Directive-offers advice	Looks for advice and guidance	Yes	Although many times the advice they want is that which goes along with their philosophy and values.
Preventive: deals mostly with normal individuals with normal problems.	Present-orientation	Yes	Cubans are crisis-oriented.
Community outreach		No	However, with appropriate and effective outreach they may respond, since in need of guidance but afraid of stigma. Prevention must be in non-clinical settings.
Educational emphasis: teaching approach/parent study groups, etc.	Draws away from clinical centers: stigma	Yes	Because this is free from clinical emphasis and environment, Cubans may be more willing to participate as learners rather than as "sick persons looking for a cure".

TABLE 26 (continued)

Aspects of Adlerian Psychology & Psychotherapy	Cultural Characteristics	Compatibility	
		Presence	Rationale
Democratic: all individuals are equal. All deserve respect as human beings, equality of sexes/equality although not sameness of parents and children.	Preference for hierarchical relationships.	No	Difference in interpretation of meaning of respect. May have a hard time seeing children as equals, worthy of respect and capable of making own decisions. In some cases, lack of equality between men and women may also be an obstacle.
Confronting	Sensitivity to criticism.	No	May react negatively when confronted with incongruities of own behavior - May use defense mechanisms to save face. Cuban tends to use denial. Men may wear "heavy mask" and may consider confrontation lack of respect for his person. It must be done very tactfully.
Importance of establishing time limit in therapy	Tendency to movement with crisis and present time orientation.	Yes	Tendency to drop out of therapy and to be mobilized by crisis. Short term therapy where a limit to number of sessions is established may be more effective in

TABLE 26 (continued)

Aspects of Adlerian Psychology & Psychotherapy	Cultural Characteristics	Compatibility	
		Presence	Rationale
Religious tone present in Adlerian psychology, social interest, being for others	Many Cubans hold religious beliefs.	Yes	May be helpful in understanding the religious needs of many Cubans, although interpretation or use of religion in life may totally vary from Catholics (traditional vs. more personalized in their religion) and those cults of other denominations and cults.
		No	But in general - is perceived by many in very personalized ways, it's very individualistic: "What can I get or what will be given to me?" rather than "What can I give or do for others?"
Counseling/Psychotherapy differentiation: Establishes difference between counseling (changing behavior) and psychotherapy (changing life style).	Prefers concrete goals and approaches.	Yes	Cubans may be more interested in counseling than in psychotherapy; in problem-solving and short-term goals than in working for a long-term goal of self-actualization.

TABLE 26 (continued)

Aspects of Adlerian Psychology & Psychotherapy	Cultural Characteristics	Compatibility	
		Presence	Rationale
Emphasis on patient's self-determination and responsibility for his own actions	Field-dependency and Tendency to Blame.	No	Belief in lack of power to control own destiny - under control of nature. Blame others; God, bad luck, spirits, etc., for misfortunes and mistakes.
Listening, caring, understanding	Personalism	Yes	Need for personalized relationship and acceptance.
Cooperation rather than competition	Tendency to value cooperation over competition in some areas	Yes	In general the Cuban family tends in some areas to value cooperation versus competition.
		No	However, it tends to unknowingly foster competition by using comparisons for example, among children, with the purpose of making them be "better", and through the model of power-holding given by many men in the family. The double standard of behavior expected from boys and girls also leads to competition, when girls may resent the privileges and preferences given to the

TABLE 26 (continued)

Aspects of Adlerian Psychology & Psychotherapy	Cultural Characteristics	Compatibility	
		Presence	Rationale
Cooperation (continued)			boys. Likewise in adults when women may submit to the authority of the man with resentment.
Learning through natural and logical consequences (vs. reward and punishment).	Authoritarianism and overprotection tendencies. Need for the approval of others.	No	Tendency to over-protection, to save, especially children from suffering. Taking over responsibility for them as "expected role of parents' especially mothers. Tendency to resist letting the children learn from experience. This will reflect on parents as neglect of their responsibilities, then guilt will take over and others (family, society--Cubans) will reprimand or disapprove of such behavior. To Cubans approval of others is very important.
Multiple psychotherapists	Personalism	No	Need for personalized relationship. Two or more therapists involves less personalism, more detachment.

TABLE 26 (continued)

Aspects of Adlerian Psychology & Psychotherapy	Cultural Characteristics	Compatibility	
		Presence	Rationale
Multiple (continued)		Yes	However, it may be very helpful in providing continuity when one therapist is not available. This may be welcomed as a relief-avoidance of total loss.
Sense of Humor	Sense of Humor	Yes	Since Humor is used as means of leveling relationships, as mechanism of defense, it can also be used by the therapist with tact, to present and make desired point.
Use of action techniques such as role playing.	Activity orientation	Yes	Preference for activity orientation, because of intensity of character and dramatic abilities. Cubans may be inclined to like using techniques such as role-playing.
		No	However, they may be self-conscious in playing roles in which they are not in power, in control, and in which they have to drop their masks and become vulnerable.

TABLE 26 (continued)

Aspects of Adlerian Psychology & Psychotherapy	Cultural Characteristics	Compatibility	
		Presence	Rationale
Use of encouragement instead of praise and other techniques (minimize mistakes, "kid for the day", etc.) especially with children.	Authoritarianism and tendency to be very judgemental.	No	Cubans are very judgmental of others, especially the children; they want them to be perfect, polite, obedient, and well-behaved at all times. At an early age they may pamper them very much but as they grow older, the negative approach to discipline tends to take over, hoping to perfect the child by remining him/her how far he/she is from that goal.
		Yes	Some techniques and suggestions might be accepted depending on the way they are introduced.
Considers person with misbehavior or maladjustment as discouraged.	Tendency from past experience in culture to see maladjustment in terms of medical model.	No	The person is sick, needs medication. Initially, may not trust only the use of counseling and psychotherapy.
		Yes	With education on prevention this may change.

directiveness of the therapy, its advice-giving inclination, its

educational emphasis, its use of humor, its emphasis on listening to,

in caring for and in understanding the patient, its policy of time-

limited therapy, and its counseling aspect for behavior change rather

than its psychotherapeutic aspect for life style change.

Aspects which may not optionally match with the culture are:

the democratic inclination which establishes the equality of all

individuals regardless of sex or age (man-wife, parent-child relation-

ships); the confronting style; the emphasis on the individual's power

for self-determination and on his responsibility for this actions;

and the emphasis on learning through natural and logical consequences.

The use of a preventive approach, the consideration of the maladjusted

individual as discouraged rather than sick, the emphasis on cooperation

rather than competition, the religious tone of Adlerian therapy, the

use of multiple psychotherapists and the use of action techniques may

all be compatible or not depending on each situation, and on the

approach of the therapist.

Because of the Cuban's preference for linear/hierarchical rela-

tionships, the democratic/equality approach of Adlerian therapy may

not be very appealing or convincing. A child's questioning of parental

decisions may be considered as an offensive lack of respect. Cuban

parents, especially fathers, even though faced with the problems of

raising children in a democratic environment which does not necessarily

reinforce or support authoritarianism, are reluctant to give up their

position in the hierarchy of power. They understand respect in an

ascriptive-way rather than in an earned-way.

Confronting may be too harsh to many who are very sensitive and may take being faced with the truth as criticism. Taking responsibility for own actions is not usual since the Cuban frequently uses denial and projection to hide personal failure. He/she, especially the male, needs to save face and to protect himself/herself, from showing weakness.

Many aspects of Adlerian Therapy may be utilized with Cubans if the goal is to make them functional in their new society and if the ideas and techniques are introduced tactfully in a preventive, educational and non-confronting manner. Some of these aspects will be included in the model to be developed and presented in Part C.

Completing this section, Table 27 emphasizes those variables which, if possessed by Cubans, may influence the effectiveness of treatment with traditional therapies such as those examined here.

The data in this table point towards the effectiveness of Rogerian and Adlerian approaches when the characteristics of the Cuban individuals resemble those of the middle class, Anglo population. The relationship between the variables and the effectiveness of therapies, as shown in this table have been postulated according to information obtained from the review of the literature and the cultural framework. The proposition of these postulated relationships is only tentative and requires future experimental testing. However, their presentation in this chapter was considered important in bringing out the fact that the variables selected may influence the degree of traditional treatment effectiveness on Cuban-Americans.

It appears that Cuban-Americans who have achieved higher

TABLE 27

POSTULATED EFFECTIVENESS OF ROGERIAN AND ADLERIAN THERAPIES
WITH CUBAN-AMERICANS IN TERMS OF SELECTED VARIABLES

Effectiveness of Treatment	
Probably Positive	Probably Negative
....degree of independence	....degree of dependency
....degree of integration into American Society	....degree of retention of Cubanness
....detachment from family influence	....enmeshment in family relationships
....contact with American environment	....contact with Cuban environment
....higher level of education	....lower level of education
....higher socio-economic level	....lower socio-economic level
....degree of belief in egalitarian relationship	....degree of belief in lineal/ hierarchical relationship
....cultural match between therapist and client	....cultural difference between therapist and client

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educational and socio-economic levels; who have a greater degree of acculturation; and who are more independent and less physically and psychologically enmeshed with the family and the Cuban community may have a greater probability of benefiting from traditional therapies.

The characteristics of the therapist are also important in terms of culture. A Hispanic therapist knowledgable of the cultural differences and trained in Rogerian or Adlerian psychotherapy will probably be more effective than an Anglo who does not have the same cultural awareness. The language of the therapist is of course assumed to match that of the client. The therapist who is culturally aware may understand the client's background and modify certain approaches. Then, however, the therapy could naturally cease to be purely Rogerian or Adlerian.

Tabular Presentation of the Data Related to Goal II:

Analysis and Synthesis of Culturally-Tailored Models,

Ideas, and Approaches to Serve Cuban-Americans

Researchers and practitioners, including this writer, who have studied and worked with Cuban-Americans have developed models, have experimented with ideas and have given suggestions for servicing Cuban-Americans which are more consonant with the characteristics of this population. The knowledge obtained through the process of analysis and synthesis of the data in Part A and Chapter V of this study will be presented in tabular fashion in Tables 28, 29 and 30 preceeded by the relevant, corresponding explanation (See procedures for step-by-step description).

As previously mentioned in the review of the literature, in line

with the concept of matching treatments to the characteristics of the populations served, Szapocznik and associates developed a number of models geared to serve various groups of Cubans. In Table 28 five models developed by them are presented and compared in terms of their most important features: theoretical bases, target populations, specific purposes, and major aspects. Of the models compared, three are directed to the family with a problem adolescent; one was developed to serve the needs of the elderly and the last one was developed for the family with a misbehaving pre-adolescent. All models were originally developed with clinical populations. However, the last two, Bilingual Effectiveness Training (BET) and Family Effectiveness Training (FET) seem to have evolved with the purpose of early intervention to avoid more serious family conflicts and to prevent pre-adolescents with behavior problems from falling, as they grow older, into more serious acting-out behaviors and eventually into drug abuse. From this table it can be also observed that in the development of their models Szapocznik and associates have given great importance to the utilization of ecological approaches as well as to family oriented systems. They found this type of approach very appropriate in meeting the needs of Cubans. In terms of the Elderly, the Ecological Approach has been combined with the elderly person's tendency to reminisce. On the other hand, the approach utilized in the implementation of the BET and the FET is a didactic one. This shows the trend toward the development of educational approaches, a trend which this author advocates and will utilize in the preventive model program and its application to be presented in Part C. The BET and FET Models have as their overall purpose the aim of making all family members more bicultural

TABLE 28

ANALYSIS OF THERAPY MODELS DEVELOPED BY SZAPOCZNIK AND ASSOCIATES FOR THE CUBAN POPULATION IN U.S.A.

Title	Bases of Model	Target Population	Specific Purpose	Major Aspects or Features
Ecological Structural Family Therapy[1]	Auerswald's Ecological Systems and Minuchin's Structural Family Therapy	Cuban families with an acting-out adolescent (usually drug abusing)	To facilitate more functional patterns of interaction in the family and within the environmental context.	1. Utilization of "Joining" operations. 2. Formation of alliance with parents. 3. Enlistment of community agencies. 4. Assignment of tasks to family for re-approachment. 5. Development of new peer relationships for youngster. 6. Provision of therapy to parents (marital) and in terms of the family.
Life Enhancement Counseling[2] (LEC)	Auerswald's Ecological Systems Butler and Lewis's Reminiscence Tendency	Cuban elderly	To enhance the meaningfulness of life in the depressed elderly.	1. Life Review Builds on elder's strengths and natural proclivities. 2. Ecological Assessment and Intervention. Utilizes environmental resources.

TABLE 28 (continued)

Title	Bases of Model	Target Population	Specific Purpose	Major Aspects or Features
Brief Strategic Family Therapy[3] (BSFT)	Minuchin's holistic structuralism Haley's Strategic Therapy	Cuban families with a problem adolescent.	To reduce drug abuse of Hispanic adolescents and young adults, and to improve their functioning and interaction with their families.	1. Joining procedure 2. Focused-strategic approach to family reorganization. 3. Performance-based restructuring procedure. 4. Homework tasks. 5. Time limit (average 12 sessions).
Bicultural Effectiveness Training[4] (BET)	Minuchin's Structural Systems Previous research by Szapocznik and others	Cuban-American families with 13-18 year old adolescents who manifest conduct disorders and adjustment reactions.	To ameliorate the acculturation-related stresses confronted by two-generational Cuban American families in U.S.A. To reduce intergenerational conflicts. To diminish conduct disorders in the adolescent. To achieve these goals through structural changes of the family and enhancement of biculturalism.*	Early intervention 12 lessons Didactic style Three phases: 1. setting the stage by creating a shared worldview. 2. re-structuring by loosening up existing rigid generational cultural alliances (through "detouring" and establishing new crossed alliances). 3. Creating a transcultural worldview.

TABLE 28

Title	Bases of Model	Target Population	Specific Purpose	Major Aspects or Features
Family Effectiveness Training (FET)[5]	Minuchin's Structural Systems Previous research by Szapocznik and others	Cuban-American families with a pre-adolescent who has a behavior problem	To be used as a drug preventive educational program. To improve family interaction. To bridge generational/cultural gap. To increase knowledge and information about drug use and abuse.	NO DETAILS AVAILABLE BUT APPARENTLY MODELED ON IDEAS AND TECHNIQUES OF BET (ABOVE).

*General frame of model aimed at reconciliating any conflicting set of values or roles.
1. Szapocznik and others, 1978; Scopetta and others, under editorial review, n.d.a.
2. Szapocznik and others, 1980(a), 1981, 1982.
3. Spencer, Szapocznik and Hervis, 1981.
4. Szapocznik and others,n.d.a.; Santisteban, Szapocznik and Rio, 1981.
5. Szapocznik and others, 1982

and therefore, more understanding of Cuban and American cultural values and behavioral differences; therefore rendering them more functional in a bicultural environment. This will foster adjustment and will promote and preserve the mental health of the Cuban-American population.

In Table 29 the matching of treatment to the characteristics of the population served, as preferably advocated by a number of researchers, can be observed. The main purpose of this tabular presentation is to analyze and organize the contributions of all authors in a manner that is clear to the reader and of practical use to human service providers. The connection between the selected characteristics and the cultural values or factors presented in previous tables is also shown. The specific suggestions are presented in terms of the practitioners' need for awareness and understanding of the Cuban ethos, as well as their need to utilize specific approaches and techniques to improve the effectiveness of their services.

Researchers have also offered ideas to be included in presently available mental health services or to be used as alternatives in changing or modifying the traditionally, medically-based, Anglo delivery system. These ideas are related specifically to the Cuban group and in general to the Hispanic population. Most of them involve direct service or outreach concepts some of which are being tried and tested in the field, while others are yet to be implemented (See Table 30).

TABLE 29

EXPECTED REQUIREMENTS OF HUMAN SERVICE PERSONNEL FOR THE PROVISION OF EFFECTIVE SERVICES
TO CUBAN-AMERICANS, BASED ON SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS DERIVED FROM CULTURAL FACTORS

Factor	Characteristics	Requirements for Effective Services
Language and General Culture	In Adults: Spanish language, Hispanic cultural background and cuban ethos. Character inconsistencies. In Youth: English language, American values.	Individuals serving Cuban-Americans need: -to be bilingual, bicultural (Spanish/English) and well acquainted with Cuban characteristics and values. Ideally, they should have same nationality, or should have become acquainted with the client population being served through training or experience. -to be able to identify level of acculturation in in individuals and to understand the problems related to each group. (Mono-culturalism: American or Cuban; Biculturalism: Values held and cultural involvement). -to help individuals to adopt, reject or reorganize values from both cultures in cultural context to protect both the culture and the individual, so that they may navigate successfully between both cultures.
Religion	Interpretation of behaviors and life circumstances in terms of religious background, attitudes and practices. Tendency to experience magic-religious mythic phenomena in emotional disturbance.	Individuals serving Cuban-Americans need: -to understand and accept, at least initially, the individual's religious frame of reference. -to utilize the same frame as a positive alliance in helping the client. -to recognize difference between religious manifestations which are "normal" within the culture and actual pathological symptoms. -to understand defense mechanisms based on belief system and utilized to avoid self-blame.

TABLE 29 (continued)

Factor	Characteristics	Requirements for Effective Services
Religion (continued)		-to involve priests, ministers or healers if important in the individual's total ecological system as well as source of support, strength and community involvement.
Interpersonal Relationships	Preference for personalized relationships.	Individuals serving Cuban-Americans need: -to establish a warm relationship. -to demonstrate understanding and interest for the individual and his/her cultural background. -to provide, initially, a formal but later a more familiar atmosphere and style of relationship. -to recognize and respect, if possible, the preference for involvement with only one therapist or service provider rather than many. -to be willing to share aspects of their life with the clients. -to recognize the Cuban's preference for professionals with certain reputation and prestige, over the depersonalized system at large. -to understand and respect cultural and religious beliefs and traditions.
	Field-dependent--lack of control over circumstances of life.	-to take responsibility for making at least the initial connections with other ecological systems or potential resources.
	Sensitive to social pressure; high need for approval	-to inquire about and if possible include in therapy or as sources of support other family members and significant others.

TABLE 29 (continued)

Factor	Characteristics	Requirements for Effective Services
Interpersonal Relationships (continued)		-to take into consideration persons or institutions or sets of beliefs who or which are significant for the individual and on which he/she depends or from which he/she seeks approval. -to take into consideration the density of Cuban population which serves to reinforce traditional behaviors, and sanctions deviations from cultural norms. -to provide reinforcement for new behaviors and improvements through approving, encouraging phrases. -to recognize need for identity and peer support.
	Distrustful and fearful of stigma in seeking mental health services.	-to gain trust. -to provide reassurance for seeking help. -to provide comfortable, familiar, and not mental illness-indicative surroundings. -to seek and provide services to the individual in his own community. -to consider utilization of resources such as healers.
	Socio-economic and educational status variables: -More from low and lower middle class seek mental health centers or clinics. -More from middle and upper class see private practitioner, psychiatrists and psychologists.	-to understand behavior associated with socio-economic level and socio-economic circumstances. -to understand person's level (knowledge) of sophistication regarding therapy and mental health services. -to know level of acculturation of individual in order to appropriately deal with him/her. -to aid, especially the Cuban college student or career person, to integrate the intellectual and emotional levels by considering all vital aspects of his/her life.

TABLE 29 (continued)

Factor	Characteristics	Requirements for Effective Services
Male/Female Relationships	More women than men seek services	Individuals serving Cuban-Americans need: -to understand men's reasons for avoidance. -to reach out to men. -to educate men regarding prevention. -to approach and involve men through the "significant role" they can play in helping and cooperating "for the sake" of the wife and children.
	Double standard of behavior	-to understand and deal with men's reluctance to disclose feelings and intimate experiences and their tendency to need to look favorable in the eyes of others. -to respect and at least initially accept hierarchical relationships and sex roles. -to educate and prepare in terms of sex role changes and adaptations. -to help women cope with multiple role functions. -to involve fathers in changing roles in ways that will not lead to feelings of loss of self-respect and esteem. -to understand traditional norms of sexual behavior and parental reasons for upholding certain rules in terms of their youngsters' behaviors. -to be able to communicate well to the youngster reasons for parental expectations regarding the above.
Sense of Humor	Use of "relajo", "choteo" and sarcasm.	Individuals serving Cuban-Americans need: -to know meaning of many traditional sayings and Cuban symbols and subjects of humor.

TABLE 29 (continued)

Factor	Characteristics	Requirements for Effective Services
Sense of Humor (continued)		-to differentiate the genuine use of humor from its utilization as a pure defense mechanism to avoid confrontations and facing of problems. -to take advantage of this tendency when appropriate to establish rapport and to benefit the therapeutic process. -to be aware of each individual's personal humor style and to differentiate between those who will accept it from a service provider and those who will not. Be aware of need to preserve the respectful relationship even in a humorous situation.
Other Cultural Values Directly Related to the Psychotherapeutic Process	Lineal/hierarchical relationship style	Individuals serving Cuban-Americans need: -to use directive approach--therapist in position of authority, knowledgeable, "gives advice", like a "doctor"--takes responsibility and leadership for treatment--client dependency. -to respect family line of authority and accept hierarchical relationship and sex roles in order to "join" the family (enter the system). -to consider the age and sex of service worker, counselor or therapist as an important variable in some cases.
	Present-time orientation	-to deal with present problems at least initially. -to deal with "immediate" crisis and provide "immediate" solutions. -to deal first with short-term goals. -to deal with everyday problems. -to deal with problems in the "here and now" as to place, situation and time of approachment.
	Mobilized by crisis	-to deal with present problems and crisis.

TABLE 29 (continued)

Factor	Characteristics	Requirements for Effective Services
Other... (Continued)		-to "engage" client in treatment and/or to follow-up (tendency to drop out after impending crisis subsides). -to provoke crisis in order to promote change.
	Motivation: Motivated by concrete goals, obtainable objectives, activity orientation	-to utilize "doing" rather than just "talking" therapies. -to utilize short-term rather than long-term therapies. -to utilize concrete problem-solving rather than insight approach. -to provide tasks which will bring fast positive results; quick attainment of goals.
	Attacking symptoms rather than causes: -Tendency to look for medication when "nervous"	-to understand cultural tendency to look to pills, tranquilizers, sedatives rather than to talk about the problem. It seems easier to take a pill and become calmer than to change people, relationships and circumstances. Many may not even think the possibility exists for change. -to detect and intervene in cases of tranquilizer/sedative abuse.
	Handling of problems through mechanisms of defense such as denial, avoidance, humor, "relajo"	-to recognize cultural differences in dealing with problems. -to understand humor and teasing and utilize them when appropriate. -to teach about differences between Cubans and Americans in dealing with conflict. -to understand and accept that people with high degree of defensiveness--those with stereotyped self-concept, males who are made to participate in therapy, and females who refuse to admit the need to change,--will easily drop out of therapy.

TABLE 30

APPROACHES SUGGESTED BY VARIOUS RESEARCHERS FOR INCLUSION IN
MENTAL HEALTH AND OUTREACH SERVICES TO CUBAN-AMERICANS

Suggested Approaches	
Mental Health Services	Outreach
To combine or integrate activities of a cultural, sport, social and educational nature with the Mental Health Services for the Young.	To offer other forms of services outside the traditional mental health institutions.
To join efforts with folk healers and utilize them as "cotherapists".	To use crisis intervention approaches.
To create Drop-In centers with a general recreational atmosphere.	To engage prospective clients in treatment over the phone.
To avoid medical model programs in mental health centers.	To make home visitations.
To promote some social involvement of therapists with clients especially at the college level.	To offer alternatives less threatening than mental health treatment.
To consider becoming part in client's network of relationships.	To develop and foster trust in and utilization of services by their quality, visibility and easy availability.
To explore possibility of group approaches with youngsters; these may be more effective than one-to-one styles. To design and utilize educational approaches. To combine research and service in order to validate new models and approaches.	To utilize outreach approach, orientation programs, career days and vocational development courses to approach, guide and service the student population.

REFERENCE GUIDE FOR THE TABLES IN PART B

Main Chapter Source	General Topic	Table Number	Table Title
I	General Cultural Influences	1	Cultural Influences Which Affected the Formation of the Cuban Character: Origin, Period, Type and Strength
		2	Outcome of Spanish-African Blends in Terms of Race, Religion and Music
	Pre-Castro Cubans	3	Pre-Castro Cubans: Characteristics and Attitudes Related to Five Cultural Factors: Language, Religion, Traditional Values in Interpersonal Relationships, Male/Female Relationship Code, and Sense of Humor
		4	Pre-Castro Cubans: Characteristics and Attitudes Related to the Structure of Five Cultural Systems: Racial, Social, Educational, Economic, and Political
		5	Pre-Castro Cubans: Selected Functions Played by Five Cultural Factors in Their Life in Cuba: Language, Religion, Traditional Values in Interpersonal Relationships, Male-Female Relationship Code, and Sense of Humor
		6	Pre-Castro Cubans: Selected Functions Played by Five Cultural Systems in Their Life in Cuba: Racial, Social, Educational, Economic, and Political
		7	Integral Tendencies in the Behavior and Mood of the Pre-Castro Cuban

Main Chapter Source	General Topic	Table Number	Table Title
I (continued)		8	Examples of Dissonance in the Character of the Pre-Castro Cuban: The Rule and the Exception; The Sex to Which it Mostly Applies; and the Cultural Factor or System Involved
III	Cuban-Americans	9a	Cuban-Americans: Language Characteristics of Three Groups Differing in Age at Arrival
		9b	Cuban-Americans: Religious Characteristics of Three Groups Differing in Age at Arrival
		9c	Cuban-Americans: Traditional Values in Interpersonal Relationship in Three Groups Differing in Age at Arrival
		9d	Cuban-Americans: Characteristics of Male/Female Relationships of Three Groups Differing in Age at Arrival
		9e	Cuban-Americans: Characteristic Sense of Humor of Three Groups Differing in Age at Arrival
		10	Cuban-Americans: Characteristics and Attitudes Related to Five Cultural Systems: Racial, Social, Educational, Economic and Political
		11	Cuban-Americans: Additional Individual Characteristics and Research Findings of Selected Groups as Compared to Matched American Samples
	Acculturation	12	Positive and Negative Relationships Between Selected Variables and Acculturation of Cuban-Americans

Main Chapter Source	General Topic	Table Number	Table Title
III (continued)		13	Comparison of Szapocznik's Uni-Dimensional and Two-Dimensional Models of Acculturation
		14	Changes in Attitudes, Values and Behaviors Accompanying Acculturation as Related to Cultural Factors and Systems
I and III	Composite Tables of Comparisons and Contrasts	15	A Comparative Table of the General Characteristics and Attitudes of Cubans in Pre-Castro Cuba and in the United States in Terms of Five Cultural Factors
		16	A Comparison of the Characteristics and Attitudes of Cubans in Pre-Castro Cuba and in the United States in Terms of Five Cultural Systems
IV	Cuban-Americans and Mental Health	17a	Problems Experienced by Cuban-American Families: General Area and Specific Description
		17b	Problems Experienced by Cuban-American Women/Mothers: General Area and Specific Description
		17c	Problems Experienced by Cuban-American Men/Fathers: General Area and Specific Description
		17d	Problems Experienced by Cuban-American Children: General Area and Specific Description
		17e	Problems Experienced by Cuban-American Adolescents: General Area and Specific Description
		17f	Problems Experienced by Cuban-American College Students: General Area and Specific Description

Main Chapter Source	General Topic	Table Number	Table Title
IV (continued)		17g	Problems Experienced by Cuban-American Elderly: General Area and Specific Description
		18	Selected Culturally-Derived Characteristics of Cuban-Americans Which Deserve Important Consideration in the Therapeutic Process
		19	Differential Tendencies Toward Specific Symptoms and Reactions in Youth and Their Parents when Faced with Conflict
		20	Parental Perceptions and Behaviors Which Make Independent Choosing of a Career Difficult for Cuban-American College Students
		21	Availability and Utilization of Resources for Support and Alleviation of Stress and Conflict in Pre-Castro Cuba and the U.S.A.
		22	Cuban-American Perceptions of the Anglo Mental Health System of Services and Personnel
New Material + V	Rogerian Therapy and Cuban-Americans	23	Rogers' Person-Centered Therapy: Goals, Therapist's Characteristics, Client Disposition, and Movement as the Result of Therapy and Descriptors of Selected Aspects
		24	Analysis of Compatibility Between Various Aspects of Rogerian Psychotherapy and Selected Cultural Characteristics of Cuban-Americans
	Adlerian Therapy and Cuban-Americans	25	Adlerian Psychotherapy: Goal, Process, Nature of Therapist-Patient Relationship and Descriptors of Selected Aspects

Main Chapter Source	General Topic	Table Number	Table Title
New... (continued)		26	Analysis of Compatibility Between Various Aspects of Adlerian Psychotherapy and Selected Cultural Characteristics of Cuban-Americans
	Rogerian, and Adlerian Therapies and Cuban-Americans	27	Postulated Effectiveness of Rogerian and Adlerian Therapies With Cuban-Americans in Terms of Selected Variables
IV and V	Models, Ideas and Approaches (Tailored to the Characteristics of Cuban-Americans)	28	Analysis of Therapy Models Developed by Szapocznik and Associates for the Cuban Population in U.S.A.
		29	Expected Requirements of Human Service Personnel For the Provision of Effective Services to Cuban-Americans, Based on Selected Characteristics Derived from Cultural Factors
		30	Approaches Suggested by Various Researchers for Inclusion in Mental Health and Outreach Services to Cuban-Americans

PART C

Part C

DEVELOPMENT OF A PREVENTIVE SERVICE MODEL

Methodology

The preventive service model developed on the bases of the cultural framework and the theoretical bases (Chapters V and VI respectively) will be presented in this portion of the study. The model has two components: The first one is an educational program, entitled, Program of Educational Prevention and Enrichment on Wheels (PEPE on Wheels) and the second one is an outreach strategy, namely Creative Outreach Strategy Through Neighborhood Intermediaries (COSNI). The former is a program of education for prevention and coping with psychological stress through learning and enrichment experiences. The latter is designed to maximize the utilization of preventive services such as "PEPE on Wheels".

These two programs presented together are complementary parts of the model which incorporates recruitment of potential Cuban-Americans to be trained for involvement in prevention programs.

In the development of this model the data analyzed and presented in Chapters V and VI have been thoroughly studied with the purpose of extracting those aspects or factors which are significant for this purpose and which will constitute the rationale for the creation of the educational program and the outreach strategy.

Since Part C consists of only one chapter, procedures will be presented in this section instead of in Chapter VII. However, the specifics related to the two components of the model, namely: Title,

Purpose, Description, Target Population, Rationale, Implementation, Personnel, Funding and Evaluation will appear in that chapter.

Procedures

When the present study was begun, the preliminary review of the literature indicated the need for the development of a model to help Cuban-American families and individuals acquire awareness and understanding of the characteristics and values of the Anglo culture as well as of their own, and to learn skills to be functional in both. Putting this learning into practice they would become adjusted and more effective while dealing in bicultural situations and environments (Anglo-Cuban). This approach would also help diminish the incidence of intergenerational family conflicts.

During the time elapsed between the submission of the proposal and of the introductory chapter, and the completion of this study, researchers advocating the already mentioned ideas developed models to meet the specified goals of biculturalism.

In view of this and on the bases of the results of the analyses conducted in the two previous chapters, this author selected different aspects and developed the present model. The originally proposed preventive, educational and mental health aspects have been retained in this model, but aspects other than biculturalism have been emphasized. The selected new aspects which will appear in detail in Chapter VII have not, to the knowledge of this writer, been developed yet into models or program by other researchers.

The steps followed in the development of the model will appear

below under Procedures I and Procedures II. This subdivision of pro-
cedures has been done for clarity in explaining the steps followed
for each component of the model: (I) the educational and (II) the
outreach.

I. The Program of Educational Prevention and Enrichment on Wheels
    (PEPE on Wheels)

    In the development of "PEPE on Wheels" the following steps were
followed:

A. Chapters V and VI were thoroughly studied to identify those
    tables which strongly indicated the need for a preventive,
    educational program.

B. The culturally tailored models, ideas and approaches (Tables
    28, 29, and 30) were examined, as well as the compatibilities
    found between the traditional Rogerian and Adlerian Approaches
    and selected characteristics of Cuban-Americans (Tables 24 and
    26). This was done with the purpose of utilizing ideas which
    could become integrated into the new model, and to discover
    those which researchers had not yet suggested or implemented.

C. Tables 3, 5, 6 and 18 which present the characteristics of
    Cuban-Americans were carefully examined in order to select
    those aspects of the culture which point to the need for the
    development of the preventive approach and those which have
    been neglected or lightly mentioned in the literature.

D. These specific characteristics of Cubans were selected which
    eventually served as the bases for the evolvement of the educa-
    tional program:

-Crisis-orientation

-Present time orientation

-Activity orientation

-Distrust of Mental Health clinical organizations and fearful-
ness of stigma associated with them.

-Tendency for lineal/hierarchical relationship

-Sensitivity to social pressure

-High need for approval

-Sense of humor which is being lost in exile

-Tendency to be lighthearted and joyful

-Tendency to participate in and to enjoy popular artistic
endeavors such as songs, sketches, anecdotes and poetry

-Tendency to be motivated by concrete goals

E. With these characteristics in mind, the four features of the
program were developed accordingly. (To appear in Chapter VII).

F. From the above and with her own ideas, the writer selected the
title and developed "PEPE on Wheels".

G. Tables 17 a-g were determined to be the appropriate ones for
utilization in presentation of topics, since they refer to the
various groups, and the problems faced by Cuban-Americans in
the United States. A list of prospective topics for presenta-
tion was composed based on information from these tables.

H. A sample presentation for the elderly was also developed and
appears at the end of the chapter.

II. <u>The Creative Outreach Strategy through Neighborhood Intermediaries</u>
   <u>(COSNI)</u>

In the development of "COSNI" the following steps were followed:

A. From the thorough study of the cultural framework the importance
   and need of designing an outreach strategy to attract Cuban-
   Americans to attend preventive programs such as "PEPE on
   Wheels" was established.

B. Modes of outreach utilized with Cuban-Americans and presented
   in the review of the literature were examined (Chapter IV).

C. A decision was made to go beyond the presented outreach programs
   to develop a creative strategy which would utilize the neglected
   link in outreach for prevention, namely, individuals in the
   neighborhoods and communities who have frequent contact with
   Cuban-Americans through their business services and who are
   not associated with mental health services and institutions.

D. The cultural and theoretical frameworks were thoroughly studied
   and ideas to back up the strategy were selected from Tables
   18, 21, 29, and 30. These ideas are mentioned in the section
   on Implementation of COSNI.

E. The writer's own ideas, obtained from experience and observa-
   tion, and from what she has learned through her work in Parts
   A and B have been combined to create and develop the present
   strategy.

CHAPTER VII

THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM AND THE OUTREACH STRATEGY

I.   The Educational Program

Title:

Program of Educational Prevention and Enrichment on Wheels

(PEPE on Wheels). In Spanish: Programa Educacional de Prevencion y

Enriquecimiento en Ruedas (PEPE en Ruedas).

Purpose:

To provide educational and enrichment experiences to Cuban-

Americans in their own environments, as a preventive measure to foster

and preserve their mental health. For many Cuban-Americans this program

will represent an opportunity to discover new ways to look at old

situations in educational non-threatening ways within a directive yet

not forceful environment and with the supportive atmosphere provided

by group interaction and participation. In this situation Cuban-

Americans may prepare for changes needed for effective adaptation to

their new life and cultural experiences and may move towards bicul-

turalism, not pressured by social coercion or forced by crisis, but

of their own accord, in their own time and at their own pace.

Target Population:

The program is directed primarily to the Cuban population in the

United States, especially those from the frozen-culture group and

bilinguals with various levels of acculturation who remain in close

contact with the Cuban community.

Since the topics of the program will be varied, the target population may change for the different presentations from heterogeneous and family groups, to specific groupings by age, sex, interests, roles, levels of acculturation, etc. In this study a sample presentation of "PEPE on Wheels" for the elderly will appear at the end of the chapter.

Description:

"PEPE on Wheels" is a program for prevention which involves four concepts or basic ingredients:

1. Going Where the People Are - A team of workers headed by a professional coordinator will present the educational program in the neighborhoods where Cubans reside and in places where they frequently attend or where they feel comfortable (e.g., churches, schools, neighborhood clubs, cultural centers, social clubs, etc.).

2. Providing Educating and Enriching Experiences - Utilization of approaches not associated with stigma of mental illness and medical models, but a truly didactic approach.

3. Utilizing a Group Approach - Providing the educational programs for groups of "students" rather than for one individual or one isolated family at the time.

4. Emphasizing an atmosphere of lightheartedness, good humor and entertainment - Utilization of a "Lecture-Demonstration-Discussion-Participation" style enhanced by aspects of the Cuban culture which have been neglected as tools for mental health prevention. They are humor, songs, poetry and short and light comic and dramatic presentations.

The acronym "PEPE on Wheels" derived from the title "Program

of Educational Prevention and Enrichment on Wheels" (on the move)
represents an attempt to make the program an attractive one; the
acronym is humorous, since Pepe is a nickname for Jose (Joe) in
Spanish, and is unrelated to any mental illness or clinical termino-
logy. The educational program will use a humorous and entertaining
approach to educate while providing moments of lightheartedness that
will compensate for the seriousness of life in exile.

Rationale:

The cultural framework presented in Chapter V supports the deve-
lopment of the present educational, preventive program with its four
characteristic features: on wheels, educational and enriching, for
groups, and of an entertaining nature. The framework offers the
cultural basis and support for this program by directing its approach
to a number of selected characteristics of Cuban-Americans which are
described below.

For feature 1: "on wheels"

Cuban-Americans:

-lack motivation to attend programs unless they are in crisis.

-attend places like churches, social and cultural clubs that
 provide them with a comfortable cultural environment.

-are reluctant to travel too far away from their own neighbor-
 hoods. The elderly, especially, face transportation problems.

Thus, because they lack the motivation to mobilize themselves
in pre-crisis times, the program's first characteristic is developed
to bring prevention to the Cuban-Americans' neighborhoods, to the
centers, and churches where they feel comfortable. It is to this

point that "on wheels" is directed.

For feature 2: "educating and enriching"

Cuban-Americans:

-are distrustful and shy away from mental health Anglo-oriented

services and providers which are not sensitive to their cul-

tural characteristics.

-prefer not to involve themselves in mental health related pro-

grams for fear of stigma.

-desire guidance from knowledgeable professionals for their

everyday problems.

Therefore, the places chosen for the presentations have to be

non-clinically related and the programs must be presented in attrac-

tive, entertaining ways by knowledgeable people, avoiding terminology

and approaches which may be associated with the stigma of mental

illness. Thus, feature 2, the use of an educational and enriching

approach is directed towards those specific characteristics.

For feature 3: "group vs. individual experience"

Cuban-Americans:

-have a great need for approval and acceptance.

-are very sensitive to peer criticism.

-find it difficult to go against the pressure of the Cuban com-

munity in terms of norms of behaviors and traditional beliefs,

no matter how inappropriate and dysfunctional they may be in

the new cultural environment.

Therefore, this third feature is directed at fostering a group

atmosphere which will encourage and support learning and practice of

new behaviors, and which will aid in the development of supportive relationships.

For feature 4: "entertaining in nature"

    Cuban-Americans:

-have a great need to express the intensity of their character through their language (Communication) and through cultural artistic expressions (poetry, songs, anecdotes and dance).

-are by nature light-hearted and inclined to enjoy folk and serious poetry, popular songs, humorous sketches, jokes and anecdotes and light theater.

-have always enjoyed participating in lively entertainment and dancing. Through these they express the liveliness and intensity of their character, enjoy themselves and forget their troubles.

-are losing their characteristic sense of humor in exile, an aspect of their culture which has served them as protection in times of national as well as personal stress and crises.

-are under greater stress in exile where they are trying to adjust. In many instances they have become extremely serious in their approach to life, losing their characteristic carefree and joyful disposition. The almost natural defensive approach of making "un relajo" out of everything has been disappearing under the pressures of survival and leaving them vulnerable and with no alternate protection.

    Therefore, the fourth feature of this program is directed towards the Cuban's cultural disposition toward and enjoyment of light artistic

entertainment. Thus, this characteristic is utilized to motivate them to attend; to present the educational ideas in an enjoyable and an attractive manner; and to encourage them to participate actively in the program.

Ideas derived from the <u>theoretical framework</u>: Compatible Rogerian and Adlerian aspects and culturally tailored approaches and models, which have been included in the development of this program appear below.

PEPE on Wheels is a program which:

-is tailored to the characteristics of Cuban-Americans.

-is to be presented by a bilingual-bicultural staff.

-utilizes a wide-range of topics for presentation derived from the Cuban-Americans' needs and problems (Tables 29 and 17a-g).

-takes into serious consideration the nature and consequences of the acculturation process and the importance of training Cuban-Americans to become bicultural (Table 28, BET).

-utilizes an activity oriented approach in which people involve themselves in learning through acting, singing, reciting, and discussing in addition to receiving instruction.

-promotes the development of supportive groups of individuals or families.

-provides and gives opportunities for personalized relationships in an accepting atmosphere (Rogerian positive regard) while at the same time providing guidance through teaching (directive Adlerian approach) and encourages the movement from dependence on "director or teacher" to supportive peer relationships.

-utilizes community outreach (Adlerian style) offering programs
in their own neighborhood and encouraging cooperative approaches
and establishment of small support groups.

-utilizes a one shot presentation approach or two or three
sequence sessions at the most, to avoid dropping out tendencies.

-utilizes concrete goals and objectives for each particular ses-
sion so that some results or gains from learning can be imme-
diately seen by the attending Cuban-Americans at the end of the
sessions. This will provide positive reinforcement and encourage-
ment to continue participating in subsequent sessions (Adler's
emphasis on encouragement).

-allows sporadically for inclusion of topics which may have a
religious tone since they are of importance to Cuban-Americans.

-emphasizes, in programs for middle aged and elderly Cubans,
aspects which may bring back cherished memories about their
past life in Cuba, aspects which may bring happy experiences
or painful unresolved conflicts which may be seen in a new
light (Table 28).

-emphasizes presentations for groups of families including
various (two or three) generations, and provision of guidance
and opportunities for the family to have fun together.

-encourages the involvement of directors or presentors with the
group in having fun together.

Implementation of "PEPE on Wheels"

STEP 1. - Choice of topics: Topics for the presentations will be chosen
from ideas on Table 29 where problems to be addressed by

service providers are presented. Ideas presented in BET

lessons (see Table 28) can also be used.

Understanding of the functions played by the factors related

to the problems, can be gained by looking into Table 5.

Table 17a-g, problems faced by Cuban-Americans, is an addi-

tional source of topics. (See sample list at end of chapter.)

STEP 2. - Search for materials. A search will be conducted to find

popular songs, verses, anecdotes, jokes, short stories,

sayings etc. which may be utilized in the presentations.

The materials should be studied for appropriateness and

matched with the topics to be presented.

STEP 3. - Preparation of a session or a set of sessions (based on chosen

topics) and appropriate matched materials. Preparation

includes writing of objectives and appropriate questions,

and the selection and planning of exercises and activities.

Program must be planned for two to two- and one-half hour

long sessions. Each session must include:

1. an ice-breaking exercise

2. introductory remarks "nuts and bolts" and presentation of

objectives and format for the session.

3. Short oral presentations or lecture on topics.

4. Demonstration to show clearly or to enhance the topics

presented and to provoke discussion material (Presentation

of the song, sketch, poem, etc.)

5. Follow up moment. Hand out questions to guide discussion

of topics presented.

      6. Group discussion (Questions and answers)

      7. Small group activity

      8. Closure. Closing remarks and evaluation of achievement of objective(s).

      9. Social time (refreshments or coffee)

    10. Referral. Personnel will be available at the social time to provide referral information if requested. Referral Source List should be prepared ahead of time.

STEP 4. - Search for places in neighborhoods for presentation and select date and time.

STEP 5. - Decide on advertisement procedure - Ideally start presentation to already existing groups or where the probabilities are high for getting a group with minimum effort (through church, senior center, or senior resident staff).

For outreach on a large scale and for people not involved in established groups, the COSNI outreach approach is suggested (see explanation of COSNI in next section of this chapter). Advertisement might read "Spend a Joyful evening with PEPE" or "Entertain yourself while learning with PEPE".

STEP 6. - Presentation of program.

STEP 7. - Schedule various presentations ahead of time so that when the first program is presented, the following topics and location may be announced.

Personnel

All individuals involved must be bilingual (English-Spanish) or at least fluent in Spanish. The importance of bilingualism depends on

the characteristics of the target group. There will be a need for a professional coordinator who is bilingual, bicultural and who has a background in psychology and education. In addition an assistant and a secretary on a part-time basis will be required. A group of volunteers (who later may be remunerated for their work) who have theatrical and/or singing inclinations and who possess lively personality will also be needed for specific topic demonstrations.

Materials

Depending on the nature of the presentation various materials may be needed, such as cassette recorder, record player, movie projector, over head projector, blackboard, and other audio visual materials, as well as office materials such as paper and other miscellaneous and a typewriter.

Funding

A proposal of this project in combination with the outreach project to follow may be submitted to various public and private funding sources. Since the theme is prevention for a minority group, and this theme is presently strongly emphasized by many agencies, no problems are forseen in finding funding sources. In addition to expenses for personnel and materials, transportation cost and expenses for physical facility must be included.

Ideally the program should be sponsored by an educational or social service institution which will provide supportive services as well as office space.

Evaluation

Each presentation may be independently evaluated through

participants' satisfaction, increase in attendance, degree of achieve-
ment of goals and objectives for each session or for the program in
general.

II. The Outreach Strategy

Title:

Creative Outreach Strategy through Neighborhood Intermediaries
(COSNI).

Purpose:

To reach out to Cuban-Americans in order to recruit them and
keep them in attendance at preventive educational programs such as
"PEPE on Wheels".

Description:

The Outreach strategy will be carried out through neighborhood
intermediaries (NI's) - individuals who provide them with general
services in their own neighborhoods and communities. COSNI involves
the recruitment and the training of NI's to serve as recruiters them-
selves for educational programs.

Target Population:

In general, Cuban-American individuals and family groups who are
part of the frozen culture or who, although bilingual, remain in close
contact with the frozen culture group.

In particular, selected groups of Cuban-Americans by age, sex
role, level of acculturation, etc. as indicated by the nature of the
topic to be offered on each occasion.

Description of Neighborhood Intermediaries (NI's):

Cuban or Hispanic individuals in the neighborhoods who are fre-
quently in touch with Cuban-Americans through their general services
in the business area or traditional folk services they perform. They
are: owners and employees of grocery stores, beauty shops, barber
shops, cafeterias, restaurants, botanicas (herbal stores), novelty
stores, pharmacies, bars, social clubs, hispanic theatres, and other
types of stores, in addition to healers, "santeros", "espiritistas",
etc.

Rationale:

The cultural framework presented in Chapter V points to the
development of the present outreach strategy by indicating that Cuban-
Americans:

-underutilize available Mental Health services.

-are highly motivated to improve themselves.

-look for services in times of crisis.

-look for personalized relationships.

-associate mental health clinics and centers and personnel with
  stigma, and shy away from them.

-tend to look for approval and support in their social relation-
  ships depending greatly on what others say.

-tend to utilize traditional and informal support services.

-are desirous of receiving guidance in dealing with everyday
  problems.

-utilize and are in frequent contact with various businesses in
  their community.

Thus, since they shy away from Mental Health services but desire to receive guidance, there is a good chance that they would attend educational programs if they are influenced, reinforced and supported in their efforts by their own neighbors, friends and general service providers.

Therefore, Cuban-Americans need to be attracted towards preventive programs which will provide them with guidance and enriching learning experiences. This has to be done through a creative approach which utilizes individuals with whom they feel comfortable and with whom they have frequent contacts. The positions of these individuals or intermediaries will allow them to disseminate information about the programs, to encourage participation and to provide a network of supportive neighborhood entities which will be beneficial to the purpose of the programs which work to foster mental health in the community.

Based on the ideas extracted from Chapters V and VI this writer has developed COSNI, an outreach strategy which goes beyond the conventional outreach modes.

A study on outreach modes conducted by Szapocznik and associates (1978) to reach out to Cuban-American elders before their situations became critical was discussed in Chapter IV. The researchers listed the effectiveness of a) outreach education through providers of services (general practitioners, medical clinics, psychiatrists, social workers and priests) and b) outreach education through the mass media (TV, radio, press). Although the second mode was better than the first in attracting individuals to make an initial contact, the end

result was not very promising. A small percentage of those making the initial contact were candidates for the services for the Mental Health Center but many did not go further to engage in treatment and of those who did many dropped out quickly.

It is the belief of this writer that the less than optimal success of these two modes of outreach might have been a consequence of neglecting the many other key people in Cuban neighborhoods whom this writer plans to utilize in the implementation of COSNI, and of the fact that the program for which Cuban clients were being sought, although staffed with some Hispanic personnel, to serve the recruited elders, was being delivered within an Anglo directed and oriented mental health center.

The abolition of the two modes presented above is not what is advocated here. Both modes can be helpful if properly utilized, especially when programs, like "PEPE on Wheels" are offered in neighborhood locations not related to hospitals or mental health organizations. Depending on the target group to whom the topics will be presented additional professionals may be contacted. For instance when topics are related to children, pediatricians may be excellent contacts as sources of referral. This writer suggests however, that contacts with physical and mental health service providers must be made in person. Even though this approach may be more costly and time consuming, the personal contact will pay off in the long run, more so than letters and/or phone calls. Since COSNI will be directed to individual neighborhoods, a smaller radius will be covered and teams will not have much difficulty in making the visits.

Implementation of COSNI

A pilot project utilizing a team of workers (2 or 3) will concentrate on a specific neighborhood. They may establish a home base in connection with the educational program.

STEP 1. - Select a neighborhood area.

STEP 2. - Conduct a demographic survey of the neighborhood in terms ot its Cuban-American population.

STEP 3. - Survey the neighborhood in search for "Intermediaries"

Group 1. Neighborhood intermediaries (NI's); business related and folk services related.

Group 2. Professional intermediaries other than mental health related who service Cuban-Americans.

-general practitioners and specialists

-priests and ministers

-school teachers and principals

-community social agencies

-day care and pre-school personnel

-leaders of neighborhood associations and clubs

Group 3. Mental health-related personnel, service centers or clinics with Cuban clients

-psychiatrists

-psychologists

-social workers

-mental health workers.

Group 4. Anglo agencies which have access to Cuban-Americans.

Group 5. Mass Media.

Even though in a comprehensive outreach strategy all
five groups above will be contacted, COSNI will concen-
trate in reaching out to groups 1 and 2. Moreover, since
group 2 is a conventional group, only the strategy related
to the creative new approach for group 1 will be presented
here.

STEP 4. - Make a list of the neighborhood intermediaries (NI's) to be
contacted.

STEP 5. - Make a plan for initial contact with NI's.

Plan A.- Check for the existence of business groups, e.g. Chamber
of Commerce or other business organizations through
which NI's may be contacted in groups, so that an
initial presentation could be made at one of their
regular meetings. In the presentation, emphasis must
be placed on the significance of their position in
their neighborhoods, and the significant role they may
play in the improvement of the Community in a new way
other than the usual business enterprises.

Plan B.- (To be utilized if A is not possible, or to reach out
to those not contacted through Plan A). Invite NI's
to lunch or dinner where a presentation will be made
regarding "PEPE on Wheels" and the important role they
will play in the success of this program which will
benefit the whole community. Letters of invitation
sent must be highly personalized and attractive and
must emphasize the role played by NI's in servicing

Cuban-Americans in providing a network of services, cultural identity, and in many cases, indirect psychological benefit which clients may derive from those general services (e.g. Cuban beauticians not only physically "beautify their clients", but serve their psychological well being by making the client feel better about herself and also serving as a recipient of confidences and providing an environment where women can talk to each other about many concerns. A beautician with the appropriate training may turn gossiping sessions into real therapeutic opportunities, not only through effective listening but through accurate dissemination of information). Letters should be followed by phone calls to confirm acceptance of the invitation and to establish the personal contact.

Plan C.- (Alternate to A and B or for those not reached through A or B). Make appointments through personal phone calls to visit the NI's in their place of work or where most convenient for them to explain the program and their role.

STEP 6. - Follow through with outreach strategy with interested NI's.

a. Form small groups.

b. Begin training sessions starting with topics such as: how to listen, how to give accurate information, how to refer; and place emphasis on the importance of prevention and educational programs. (Sessions may be conducted in places convenient to the group members.)

      c. Visit the NI's businesses on a frequent basis to provide

         additional information and instructions as well as to

         provide support and encouragement for their efforts.

      d. Provide them with materials referring to "PEPE's activi-

         ties: dates, places, and topics to be presented (this

         could be done personally or through the mail or posted

         in their place of business).

STEP 7. - Special sessions may continue to be held for NI's to keep

         them interested in contributing to the project, and to pre-

         pare them to more effectively deal with their clients.

STEP 8. - Once a year a celebration to duly recognize all participant

         NI's should be held.

Personnel:

      One professional coordinator

      Two workers especially trained for COSNI (could be psychology
or social work students).

      One secretary

      NI volunteers

      A part time consultant for writing and submitting proposals

Funding:

      When applications for funds are made, the cost of this program
may be included in the "PEPE" project as its outreach component. Since
this program is for prevention, an area strongly emphasized at the
present time, no problems to find public or private funding sources are
foreseen. The business sector may also be contacted to contribute
directly or to get involved in fund raising efforts. The fact that

the program involves the business NI's; that it will benefit the community in the long run, and it will tend to produce more satisfied customers may be sufficient incentive to obtain the support of the business groups.

Evaluation:

Plans for evaluating the effectiveness of COSNI will be designed. Indicators of success may be identified (e.g., attendance to "PEPE's"; increase in demand for programs; participation of NI's; NI's and clients' satisfaction, etc.).

A study similar to that conducted by Szapocznik and Associates on Outreach modes may be designed and implemented to compare COSNI with other conventional outreach modes (e.g., those modes represented by groups or entities as those previously described under Groups 2, 3, 4, 5.

SAMPLE LIST OF PROSPECTIVE TOPICS
(Based on information presented in Tables 17a-g)

Many conferences or programs for PEPE on Wheels may be based on or derived from the ideas presented below. (Topics presented are only samples. Possibilities are unlimited).

Topics on the Family:

-Communication techniques

-Acculturation process and its effects

-Inter-Cultural differences in values and behaviors

-Inter-generational differences in values and behaviors

-Male and female roles in Cuba and in the U.S.A.

-Male and female roles in a traditional vs. in a modernistic society

-Observing children and analyzing situations

-The family and their elderly

-Problems in childrearing. Differential cultural practices

-Overwork and its effects on the family

-Raising the children. Alternatives to punishment

-Child supervision and guidance. Alternatives

-Free or low cost relaxation and fun for the entire family

-Problem solving in the family

-Learning from, rather than living in the past; living in, rather than denying the realities of the present; and planning for, rather than just hoping for a better future

-Tolerance and flexibility in family relationships

-The role of religion in the family

Topics Related to Women/Mothers:

     -Dealing with new, and changing and multiple roles.

     -Difficulties in childrearing.

     -Facing intergenerational differences in acculturation

     -Topics related to roles, and children as presented above under
      "For the Family".

     -Womanhood and Motherhood in Cuba and in the U.S.A. Demands
      and expectations from family, friends and society.

     -The working woman: Dilemmas and pressures.

     -Assertiveness training

Topics Related to Men/Fathers:

     -Changing roles

     -The need for survival and the sacrifice of the family

     -Culturally related elements in raising children: Authority vs.
      authoritarianism; earned vs. ascribed respect; democracy vs.
      license.

Topics Related to Children:

     -Activities for fun and personal growth

     -Education for Responsible independence

     -Dealing with parental and school pressures

     -Cultural differences: The benefits of bilingualism and biculturalism

     -Creativity and mind-bending. Activities and games for the deve-
      lopment of creativity and problem-solving abilities.

     -Dealing with parents in conflict or separated.

Topics Related to Adolescents:

     -Cultural differences: Understanding their parents' background

Topics Related to Adolescents (continued):

 and reasons for certain values and behaviors.

-Importance of biculturalism and bilingualism in their lives

-Dealing and coping with parents' pressures

-Responsibility goes together with independence

-The desire for independence; the need for responsibility

-The freedom to choose: Decision making and problem-solving

-Differential cultural patterns in male-female relationships

-Guidance for choice of life-partner: dating and marriage

-Choice of career: New fields; new possibilities; new perspectives

-In search for an identity as an individual and as a member of a
 culture(s) or society(ies)

-Peer pressures vs. family pressures

-Youth fun activities which promote self-growth, joyful living,
 and improve communication

Topics Related to College Students:

-The educational system in the U.S.A.

-Male-female role differences

-Establishing groups which can provide support and promote healthy
 growth

-Facing and dealing with parental pressures in choice of career

-Risk taking, decision making, and problem solving

-Bicultural training: Understanding cultural differences in the
 social systems

-Utilization of what the new society has to offer, and prepara-
 tion to give a contribution

Topics Related to College Students (continued):

    -Assertiveness in asking for guidance from college personnel.

    -Guidance in dealing with multiple responsibilities (family,

     school, work).

    -Guidance in study skills, in realistic goal setting and in

     effective implementation plans.

Topics Related to the Elderly:

    -Comparison and contrast of Hispanic and American Elderly

    -Role change because of age and cultural differences

    -Isolation, loneliness and neglect

    -Loss of country/uprootedness

    -Loss of friends and dear ones

    -Marital issues in old age

    -Mobility problems of the family and the elderly

    -Changes and conflicts undergone by family members in new

     modernistic society due to struggle for survival and accultura-

     tion variables

    -Purpose in life/integration of experiences

    -Retirement problems

    -Fears and insecurities related to old age

    -Information of available resources

    -Dealing with old conflicts: Marital or family

    -Activities in which personal involvement is fostered

    -Relating to the acculturated grandchildren

    These topics may also be utilized as themes for individual con-

ferences and for the development of didactic materials in Spanish such

as pamphlets and booklets for dissemination among Cuban-Americans and other Hispanics as part of the preventive program.

PEPE on Wheels

Sample Demonstration Session

Span of Time: Approximately 2 hours

<u>Target Group</u>:   Cuban-American elderly

<u>Topic</u>:   Relationship with sons and daughters-in-law

<u>Purpose</u>:   To improve and enrich the relationship between the elderly
and their children-in-law

<u>Objectives</u>:

-To gain awareness and understanding of the differential incon-
sistent and biased perceptions possessed by many in regard to
their children-in-law as compared with their own children.

-To explore present or past relationships with our parents-in-
law.

-To discover some positive aspects of their sons or daughters-in-
law (at least of one of them).

-To plan a specific strategy to improve relationship with at
least one daughter or son-in-law.

<u>Ice-Breaking Activity</u>:

(There are many activities which may be used as ice-breakers.
The one presented here is only an example of the many possibilities.)

Siting in a circular or semi-circular fashion the director or
instructor introduces himself/herself aloud to the person next to
him or her. He/she gives short identifying information such as name,
town of procedence, number of own children and of children-in-law, if
any. Then, the instructor proceeds to give a compliment to the person
being addressed while giving him/her a token (e.g. a flower). Then,

the participants or students are instructed to continue around the
circle in the same fashion until the token returns to the instructor.

Introductory Lecture (outline):

1. Initiate with a joke or humorous comment.

2. Thank students for attendance and participating in the ice-
    breaking activity.

3. Describe and explain the schedule and format of the session
    and give specific instructions or announcements.

4. Present topic of the session: Relationship between parent
    and children-in-law, their purpose and importance and social
    perceptions (e.g. emphasize popular treatment of mothers-in-
    law).

5. Ask participants how many are parents-in-law and how many
    have had them.

6. Ask them to think for a minute or two about these relation-
    ships and to become aware of thoughts and feelings which
    come to them, as they engage in this process.

Demonstration: (Activity 3 is the core demonstration; 1 and 2 are
               optional and complementary)

1. Utilize live or play recorded presentation of song "En el
    Tronco de un Arbol" (On the Tree Trunk) popular Hispanic
    song with the parody word version related to mothers-in-law.

2. Present short poem "when your mother-in-law dies..." which also
    relates negatively to mothers-in-law.

3. Present the short theatrical sketch: "La Victima y el Demonio
    contra la Dichosa y el Bobo" (The Victim and the Demon vs
    the Lucky and the Dumb). This is a sketch based on a joke

which relates to the parents' differential perceptions of their children and children-in-law.

Synopsis:

The mother speaks to a friend about the fortunate situation of her daughter in her marriage since she enjoys privileges, freedom and an easy life, thanks to her husband who is an idiot. On the other hand the mother complains about her poor son who is the victim of a devilish woman who can only think of demanding privileges, freedom and who only desires to lead an easy life.

The ideas for the sketch may be creatively expanded by planning or actual improvisation by the "actors" who should try to get the message across to the audience in a vivid and humorous fashion.

Questions:

(Sample of possible questions to be asked of the whole group or to be used for the small group activities).

1. What made me laugh in the presentation (song or verse)?

2. Why do I see that as funny?

3. What message was intended by the sketch?

4. In what ways do I see myself in this presentation? Do I identify myself with the main character or do I see myself as having played any of the children or children-in-law roles in the past?

5. What contradictions are obvious in the mother's perceptions? Are they similar to real life or are they exaggerated?

6. What perceptions do I have of my children-in-law?

7. What perceptions did or do my parents-in-law have of me?

Follow answers to questions with pertinent comments or clarifications.

Small Group Activity

1. Break whole class into small group. (four or five individuals per group)

2. Give them oral or written instructions to be followed in terms of the activity.

3. Activity: Role-play parent-in-law and children-in-law and switch, improvising a conversation on a specific topic of interest because of the participants own experience (e.g. friction or disagreement in terms of money matters, or childrearing) - Then, role-play both parts again this time utilizing positive approach in defending the opposite person's point of view to lead to resolution or a new perception of the situation. The observers (take turns in this role) offer comments regarding the process and after a defined time present comments to the whole group on what they did.

Discussion:

-Answer question from group members

-Interpret or clarify comments

-Give suggestions for positive approaches in relationship with in-laws.

Assignment (in class):

Ask each individual to write down a specific approach, technique or thing he/she would do or try with a specific son or daughter-in-law to improve relationships.

Evaluation:

Pass evaluation form with questions such as:

-what did I gain tonight?

-what concept or idea impressed me most?

-what I liked from the session?

-what are my suggestions for improvement?

-what topic I would like to be presented next time?

Social hour:

Direct individuals to the coffee table for refreshments and be available for questions and comments.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

American families are under a number of pressures which threaten their stability and harmony. The demands placed upon them by the exigencies of the modernistic society in which they live and by the negative aspects of industrialization and urbanization are seriously impairing individuals from giving their best to a unified, loving and cohesive family life. Families are in great need of guidance for individual personal growth, for harmonious living, and for effective childrearing in the midst of environments little conducive to optimal growth.

Cuban families in the United States are also facing the same problems. Yet they are overwhelmed by the compounding pressures related to adjustment to a different set of cultural values and behaviors. Their acculturation difficulties are, in turn, increased by differing rates in the speed of the process among the generations.

Cubans, because of many of their cultural characteristics and because of their perceptions of the Anglo mental health delivery system, do not, in spite of their needs and their desire for guidance, reach out for help that could facilitate the adjustment process. In order to foster bicultural adjustment and harmonious and enriching family relationships Cuban-Americans need that guidance, and it is imperative that it be provided through innovative, effective, preventive and educational approaches which will give them the tools and the

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opportunities to experience growth, to enrich their lives and to prevent or anticipate crisis. Moreover, this group must be motivated to utilize the preventive services.

These considerations, in conjunction with a preliminary review of the literature and her professional and personal experience, provided direction for this project: the development of a preventive/educational model to serve Cuban-Americans in facing the changes from a traditional to a modernized and constantly changing society, especially in the large cities where they have mostly concentrated. The present study was designed to pursue three main objectives.

1. to conduct a comprehensive review of the literature in order to assess the state of the art regarding Cubans in the U.S.A., their cultural background, acculturation and mental health related aspects; and to compile and organize the obtained information into four chapters (Part A: Chapters I-IV).

2. to develop a cultural framework and theoretical bases from which service models could be derived (Part B: Chapters V and VI).

3. to develop a preventive service model which would include an educational program component and an outreach strategy (Part C: Chapter VII).

The three parts of this study were begun with methodological and procedural explanations. These were followed by the presentation of relevant information in this order:

Part A: Chapter I; the cultural influences that shaped the Cuban character through history and the cultural characteristics of Pre-Castro Cuban-Americans. Chapter II and III: facets of the changes

undergone by Pre-Castro Cubans. Chapter II; data on Cubans who

remained in Cuba for two decades after the revolution, most of whom

are still there and a good number of whom left for the U.S.A. during

1980-1981. Chapter III; information regarding Pre-Castro Cubans who

left their country approximately during the first decade of the revolu-

tion and who became the Cuban-Americans, who are the target population

of this study. (Changing attitudes and characteristics as they move

in the process of acculturation became evident in this Chapter.)

Chapter IV; the literature pertaining to mental health facts and

issues regarding Cubans and the specific problems they face in exile

including studies related to the mental health problems of various

subgroups of the Cuban population in the U.S.A.; the Cuban's views

of, reactions to, attitudes toward, and utilization of Anglo mental

health services; mental health models and approaches tailored to the

needs of Cubans. Summaries of the specific contents of Chapters I

through IV can be found at the end of each respective chapter.

Part B; The information reviewed, compiled and organized in

Part A, was thoroughly analyzed, synthesized and presented in clear

and concise tabular fashion. The methodology utilized for this task

was based on Glass's (1979) meta-analytical technique, but was modified

to fit the qualitative nature of this research, with the aim of making

sense out of the large number of informational sources.

Part B presented two separate analyses: Chapter V included all

cultural influences, factors, systems, and characteristics, the

acculturation process and the mental health perceptions and problems

of Cuban-Americans. (Out of the analysis of these aspects, a cultural

framework described in Tables 1-22 was developed.) Chapter VI dealt

with two psychotherapeutic approaches. (The traditional Rogerian and

Adlerian therapies were analyzed and aspects which were compatible

with cultural characteristics of Cubans were identified.) Other

approaches considered were those which have been culturally-tailored

to the needs of Cuban-Americans. (Out of this second analysis, the

theoretical bases for the service model were shaped. See Tables 23-30.)

The cultural framework displayed in the first set of tables

represents an integrated body of knowledge on Cuban-Americans and mental

health in which relationships were drawn through description, comparison

and contrast. In it, the path along which Cuban culture developed from

its inception through to its present form in terms of Cuban-Americans,

was traced.

The theoretical bases represent those cultural characteristics,

problems and needs which must be considered in delivering mental health

services to Cuban-Americans; those aspects of Rogerian and Adlerian

psychotherapeutic approaches which, when matched with the characteris-

tics of Cubans, showed compatibility; and those suggestions derived

from culturally-tailored models, ideas and approaches all of which

were synthesized in meaningful ways. For information on the specific

sources utilized for the cultural framework and the theoretical bases

refer to Guide to the Tables at the end of Part B.

Part C represents the accomplishment of the third objective of

this study: The development of the preventive service model on the

basis of the cultural framework and theoretical bases presented in

Part B. This model has two components: an educational program and an

outreach strategy. The first one, namely, Program of Educational

Prevention and Enrichment on Wheels (PEPE on Wheels) includes four

features: a) it is "on wheels": it goes where the people are; b) it

is educational: it provides educational and enriching experiences

through Lecture-Demonstration-Discussion-Participation Sessions; c)

it is for groups: of individuals or of families who will provide

support for each other; d) it is fun: it emphasizes lightheartedness,

good humor, and an entertaining atmosphere. The second component,

the Creative Outreach Strategy through Neighborhood Intermediaries

(COSNI), involves a creative approach in recruitment and motivation

for attendance to PEPE on Wheels through the training of Cuban or

Hispanic individuals who provide general services to the Cuban com-

munity in their own neighborhoods and who are potentially able to

provide an effective network for distribution on information, and

support.

In Chapter VII, a detailed presentation for each of the components

of the model was made in terms of the following aspects: title, pur-

pose, target population, description of features, rationale, implemen-

tation, personnel, materials, funding, and evaluation.

Conclusions

In conclusion, in this study the three proposed objectives were

achieved in a systematic fashion, each part having its base and support

on the previous one. This study finalized with various important

contributions to the field: a) a comprehensive review, compilation,

and organization of materials on Cuban-Americans and Mental Health;

b) an integrated cultural framework, resulting from in depth analysis

of data, from which service models can be derived and which represents

in itself a body of organized knowledge on the topics of this study;

c) a theoretical framework in which aspects of Rogerian and Adlerian

approaches were analyzed for their compatibility with the characteris-

tics of Cuban-American population and in which culturally-tailored

models, ideas and approaches are synthesized and presented in a con-

cise manner; d) a preventive service model developed on the foundations

provided by the cultural framework and theoretical bases and which

involves an educational program as well as an outreach strategy.

Additional contributions resulting from individual aspects and

components derived from the main work of this study are: a) a guide

for Anglo or Hispanic service providers who work with Cuban-Americans

(Table 29); b) a guide and materials for teaching a course or courses

on themes related to Cuban-Americans, their cultural roots, accultura-

tion and mental health (Tables 1-30); c) a list of prospective topics

derived from the needs of various sub-groups of Cuban-Americans which

may be utilized as themes for separate conferences and presentations

and from which didactic materials, such as outlines, pamphlets and

booklets can be developed.

Implications

For Other Groups

The methodology and procedures followed in this dissertation may

be applied to the study of other Hispanic and non-Hispanic ethnic

groups who are also immigrants in this country and go through similar

acculturation processes and problems. Many non-Cuban Hispanics in the U.S.A. have similar cultural roots and also underutilize the available mental health services in this country. For them the preventive service model here developed specifically for Cubans could be applied with minor modifications and additions tailored to their different cultural experiences and situations.

For Future Research

All the information presented in this study can serve as inspiration for innumerable future research ideas which may be taken from the Literature Review, the cultural framework, and the theoretical bases as well as from the model itself. Some tentative ideas for future studies and projects follow:

-studies of the newly arrived Cubans.

-comparative studies between the new arrivals and Cuban-Americans; Cuban-Americans in different cities in relation to acculturation variables.

-explanation of changes endured by specific cultural aspects (ex. nature of family relationship and sense of humor).

-testing of the hypothesized applicability of Rogerian and Adlerian therapies with Cuban-Americans.

-analyses of other therapeutic modalities in terms of the characteristics of Cuban-Americans.

-studies with and related to Cuban males and other specific subgroups.

-validation of the two aspects of the preventive/educational model presented in this study.

-comparison of the educational program (PEPE on Wheels) with

other programs.

-comparison of the outreach strategy (COSNI) with other outreach

modes.

This writer's first steps towards the continuation of what she
has presented in this study will be: 1) to develop materials for the
implementation of the educational program; 2) to search for funds for
the implementation of both programs; 3) to start pilot sessions of PEPE
on Wheels on an experimental basis.

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation
and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any
necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is
now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content
and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

May 16, 1983
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