CARLOS ALBERTO TOLEDO

Fabricando Recuerdos/Making Memories: A Qualitative
Exploration of First-Generation Cuban Women
Immigrants' Perceptions of their Experiences in the
United States
(Under the direction of THOMAS M. COLEMAN)

The purpose of this study was to use qualitative methodology in order to describe and understand first-generation Cuban women immigrants' perceptions of their experiences in the United States. Furthermore, the role of settlement location, how they transmit their culture to subsequent generations, and the role of gender in Cuban women's interpretations of their experiences were also explored. Since so little research exists that examines these issues, a qualitative paradigm seemed best fit to explore the phenomenon.

Nine women were interviewed for this study. Five of the women were interviewed in Miami, Florida, while the other four lived in Atlanta, Georgia. All the participants in this study were part of the mass migration of Cubans to the United States following the 1959 Revolution in Cuba. Several themes emerged from the data. These themes were related to issues of: emotional and intellectual interpretations of life experiences; significance of timing of life events; socio-historical contexts of migration; settlement location; circumstantial, cultural and social

barriers; formal and informal resources; meaning of work; ethnicity; the role of family; gendered experiences; and exile identity.

Overall, the findings of this study indicated that despite 40 years since migration, Cuban women's perceptions of their experiences have been primarily shaped by their emotional adaptation. From these women's perspective, adaptation and acculturation are not solely about the ability to learn the language, find employment, or even monetary success, but also about the scars and the losses, which despite individual and/or family gains, are still felt forty years after migration.

INDEX WORDS: Cuban, Cuban Studies, Cuban women, CubanAmerican, Family ethnicity, Ethnic identity,
Immigration, Latino/a Studies, Hispanic
Studies, Hispanic families

FABRICANDO RECUERDOS/MAKING MEMORIES:

A QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION OF FIRST-GENERATION CUBAN WOMEN IMMIGRANTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCES IN THE UNITED STATES

by

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Julio Alberto Toledo

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Floranjel Giorgia Fontirroche, who 20 years ago had the courage to change our family's life forever.

> And to my grandparents, Catalina Escobar, Esther Sanchez, Rafael Fontirroche,

> > &

Angel Luis Toledo,

who have always represented what was lost and gained, and whose strength and spirit I felt throughout this project.

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Their knowledge and wisdom. Their humor and humanity. And most importantly, for opening up their hearts. The writer Julia Alvarez once said,

I believe stories have this power—they enter us, they transport us, they change things inside us, so invisibly, so minutely, that sometimes we're not even aware that we come out…a different person from the person we were when we began.

I believe I was changed not only by these women's individual stories, but also as a collective process. I know that their stories provided me the strength and courage to complete this project.

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PROLOGUE

I cannot tell you exactly how it happened but my daughter
Angelita says that it was when we were living in the duplex
on 10th Avenue and 9th street. Right by Calle 8, but back
then that was all a desert. Miami was a dessert. We lived
in one house and Roberto's sister lived in the house next
to us. We had been in Miami for maybe a year and a half.
So it must have been 1962 and Angelita was seven years old.

She says that she remembers getting home from school and always hearing me singing. And that some days she would notice I had been crying, and she didn't know why.

There was a radio program back then in the afternoons, and they would play all this music I grew up listening to. All these beautiful old songs from Cuba. I knew those songs by heart.

Anyway, my sister-in-law would pick Angelita up at school on her way back from her job. And they would always get home and that radio show was on. So she said she could hear me singing before she even made it to the door of the house. But that day she was surprised because when she got home she saw me not only singing but also dancing. She

said I took her by the hand and started dancing with her.

And that I then led her to the kitchen.

"I'm going to tell you a secret, mija," I told her. "But don't share it with anyone. This is a secret for you and me. And when you have a daughter you tell her too."

"What is it Mami?" my daughter asked.

"The secret is Coca Cola," I responded. "You have to add Coca Cola to el arroz con pollo right before you put the lid on la olla. That's my secret recipe. I learned that here."

Baffled by the whole thing my daughter then asked me, "But what are you doing? What are you doing, Mami?"

"Fabricando recuerdos, mija," I responded. "Fabricando recuerdos." That's what I said.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Immigration has always played an important role in the history of the United States. From the early European settlers, to the mass waves of immigrants at the turn of the Twentieth century, and on to current patterns, immigration has been a critical part of the American story. Whether for economic and/or political reasons, people from all over the world have come to settle in America in search of opportunities absent in their homeland.

Currently, Hispanics are the largest foreign-born population in the United States, and estimates indicate that they will soon become the largest minority group in America (United States Census Bureau, 2001). However, we have a very limited research literature that chronicles the experiences of Hispanics in the United States: especially, the literature pertaining to Latino women (Salgado de Snyder, 1999). Although it is evident that there has been growing interest in research regarding Hispanics over the last few years, more research is needed to understand the current status of this population and, furthermore, to adequately serve their needs (Salgado de Snyder, 1999).

We all have a general idea about immigration and what acculturation is like. The popular term "culture shock" often comes to mind when we think of the initial reaction of being a stranger in a foreign land. In addition, the issues of immigration and acculturation have been central to the social science disciplines. For example, some of the early sociological work chronicled the experience and struggles of immigrant individuals and families in the United States (Perez, 1992). However, there is still a great deal that warrants further research. As the Hispanic population continues to grow, we cannot assume that models chronicling the experience of other immigrant groups can simply be used to explain this population's unique struggles and needs. Furthermore, we cannot assume that by looking at the Hispanic population as a whole we can come to explain the great variation that exists between the many different ethnic groups that make up that label.

For these reasons, this study looks at one ethnic group, Cubans, in hopes of better understanding the particular issues that have been prominent in this community. The goal of this study is to examine the experiences of Cuban women in the United States.

Specifically, Cuban women who made up the first wave of immigrants from Cuba to the U.S. following the Communist

revolution led by Fidel Castro in 1959. Furthermore, this study examines these women's life course perceptions regarding issues of immigration and adaptation, ethnic identity, and how they transmit their culture to subsequent generations. It is my hope that this research gives voice to the personal and collective struggles and achievements of the Cuban community, in particular those of Cuban women. It is also my hope that this research will encourage researchers, practitioners, and policy-makers to continue to study and render services, as well as provide effective policies to the immigrant population in the U.S.

Since so little research exists that examines this issue, this project's qualitative approach allows for the depth and richness in detail that other methods lack (Morse & Field, 1995). Also, qualitative methodology not only enhances our understanding of the problem, but also points to issues missing from existing perspectives.

Statement of Purpose and Goals of Study

The overarching purpose of this study is to use qualitative methodology in order to describe and better understand Cuban women's perceptions regarding issues of adaptation and acculturation, including the meaning, effects, and dynamics of the decision to migrate and settle in the United States. In addition, it is also a goal of

this study to examine the role of settlement location in Cuban women's interpretations of their experiences. Since this goal of understanding, explaining and developing a theory by inductive means is central to this project, the qualitative paradigm seems best fit to examine the phenomenon (Morse & Field, 1995). Moreover, the qualitative paradigm is an appropriate means by which to examine multicultural settings and issues (Suzuki, Prendes-Lintel, Wertlieb, & Stallings, 1999). Qualitative research has a long history which includes being one of the leading contributors of knowledge in the family research literature (Gilgun, 1999).

In addition, the ecological and life course frameworks, along with symbolic interaction theory, are at the heart of this study. From looking at issues through a contextual lens to focusing on the meaning these women have constructed for their life experiences, these three conceptual frameworks help to shape and ground this research project.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In the following section, I review the literature on Cuban-Americans. I begin by looking at a brief history of migration, and then explore the stages of development of the Cuban exile community and the factors that have influenced their experience in the United States. I next look at the Cuban community, the "success story," and the cultural characteristics that have been maintained in America. Next, I focus on research pertaining to Cuban families and acculturation, and explore the issues of gender prevalent throughout the literature. In the last section, I look at issues of Cuban identity in America. At the end, I review gaps in the literature and explore the potential contributions that this project has for future research.

It should be noted that generally, a grounded theory approach emphasizes not consulting the literature prior to conducting fieldwork (Glaser, 1978). However, for this project, a review of the literature was used to guide the research while keeping the researcher open and informed (Morse & Field, 1995).

Brief History of Migration

Although throughout the history of the two countries, there has always been migration of Cubans to America, it was not until the 1959 Communist Revolution that Cubans began leaving the island en masse. Prior to 1959, only an estimated 50,000 Cubans lived in the United States (Queralt, 1984). Over the last four decades, that number has now reached over one million, and currently, Cubans represent the third largest Hispanic population in the United States (Suarez, 1998).

Scholars have noted that Cuban migration to the United States has occurred in different waves. These waves have been distinct not only in terms of motivation for leaving, but also the actual demographic make-up of those immigrating (Boswell & Curtis, 1984; Gonazalez-Pando, 1998; Granello, 1996; Perez, 1994; Suarez, 1998, 1999; Szapocznik & Hernandez, 1988). Throughout the literature, Cuban migration has been characterized as an inverse correlation between date of departure and social class (Suarez, 1998, 1999). In addition, the first waves were characterized by exiles who were "pushed" from their homeland, while later waves, characteristic of other immigrant groups, were "pulled" by America and all it represents (Pedraza, 1996). Although the early exiles came to America as political

refugees, starting in the 1980's, it was evident that Cubans coming to America were in search of freedom and opportunity not existing in their homeland.

Amaro and Portes (1972) further characterized the waves of migration by distinguishing between "those who wait" from "those who escape" and "those who search." In an attempt to bring the analysis to date, Pedraza (1996) included later waves of migrations and added distinction between "those who hope" and "those who despair." In all, with the exception of the Mariel wave, which included some involuntary migrants expelled by the Cuban government, Cuban migration to America has been characterized as primarily politically and economically motivated (Suarez, 1998).

To date, there have been four distinct waves of Cubans to the United States. Although many Cubans (including the author) have entered the U.S. during other periods of migration, the four waves have been distinguished by scholars as key to the Cuban immigration story. The first and second waves have been especially instrumental in creating and sustaining what has been characterized as the Cuban "success story." Since members of the first wave made up the participants for this project I will spend a considerable time summarizing the literature pertaining to

this group. It should also be noted that although I will focus on the historical waves of migrations, thousands of Cubans have come to America via a third country such as Spain, Panama, Venezuela, and many other nations that permitted Cubans to settle in their country temporarily before being allowed to legally enter the United States (Garcia, 1996).

First Wave: Cuba's Elite

The first to leave Cuba were the elite. Having the most to loose in the Communist revolution, the upper and middle classes were quick to leave the island (Amaro & Portes, 1972; Pedraza, 1996). Among this group were big merchants, sugar mill manufacturers, cattlemen, doctors, lawyers, bankers and many other professionals who were immediately displaced in Castro's regime (Suarez, 1998, 1999). As Lisandro Perez (1994) writes, emigration from socialist Cuba has been viewed as a class phenomenon, one that has been described as "a successive peeling-off starting at the top, of the layers of pre-Revolutionary class structure" (p.98).

However, immigration was not necessarily the goal of those leaving Cuba during this wave that lasted until the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962 (Suarez, 1999). This first wave considered themselves exiles, temporarily in the

U.S., and awaiting the eventual overthrow of Castro's government and their return to their homeland (Garcia, 1996). As Garcia (1996) points out, "crucial to their identity was the belief that they were political exiles, not immigrants; they were in the U.S. not to make new lives for themselves...but to wait until they could resume their previous lives back home" (p. 15). However, forty years later, many of those in this first wave have died in America still cherishing the dream of a return to Cuba (Suarez, 1998).

Because of this wave's education, the strong state of the U.S. economy and because of their racial makeup, this group of exiles were dubbed the "Golden Exiles" (Suarez, 1999). The United States received this wave mostly with open arms; setting up federal aid to assist the exiles and setting policies that eased immigration. As scholars have noted, these exiles also embodied the anticommunist sentiment so prevalent at that time in America, and they were used as symbols of the dangers of communism (Pedraza-Bailey, 1980). To aid this population, the Cuban Refugee Program (CRP) was established providing monthly monetary aid, health services, job training, educational opportunities and surplus food distribution (Garcia, 1996; Pedraza-Bailey, 1980; Suarez, 1999).

Trying to lessen the economic burden that this mass migration could have in South Florida, as part of the CRP, the U.S. government also encouraged Cubans to resettle in other places around the country. Attempts at resettlement were especially difficult since the exiles knew that they would eventually return to Cuba. However, many did leave Miami, including a large number who settled in Union City, New Jersey, and in other communities around the U.S. (Garcia, 1996).

Included in this first wave of exiles were a number of children who were sent unaccompanied by their parents under Operation Peter Pan (Conde, 1999; Garcia, 1996; Suarez, 1999). Operation Peter Pan was a plan developed by the Roman Catholic Church in Miami and the U.S. government allowing children between the ages of 6 and 16 to enter the U.S. without visas. The goal was that family reunification would eventually occur. In the end 14,000 children came to the U.S. under this operation, however, many of them were left stranded as families were not able to reunite with their children as originally planned. Many of these children were sent to foster homes or orphanages while others were sent to homes for delinquents and resettled around the country. Now adults, these children's perception of the Operation vary from resentment to

gratitude (Garcia, 1996). However, Operation Peter Pan is an important part of the Cuban immigration story, as it highlights many families' desperate measures to assure a "better life" for their children.

Second Wave: The Freedom Flights

The Cuban Missile Crisis brought an end to flights out of Cuba in October 1962, thus putting a halt to the first wave of migration (Garcia, 1996). However, three years later, Castro surprised the exile community in the U.S. by announcing that all Cubans with relatives in the U.S. could leave the island and would be permitted to do so. Castro designated the port of Camarioca as the gathering place and point of departure (Garcia, 1996; Suarez, 1998, 1999). In the United States, in a ceremony at the base of the Statue of Liberty, President Lyndon Johnson signed into law an immigration bill allowing many Cuban immigrants to freely enter the country. President Johnson stated: "I declare this afternoon to the people of Cuba that those who seek refuge here in America will find it...Our tradition of asylum for the oppressed is going to be upheld" (In Garcia, 1996, p. 38).

The U. S. government extended its "open-door" policy and established the Freedom Flights that in the span of 8 years brought an estimated 3,000 to 4,000 refugees a month

to America. In the end, over 300,000 Cubans left the island through this method of migration (Suarez, 1998). The flights were mutually organized by both governments, and the Cuban Refugee Program quickly settled new exiles throughout the United States (Pedraza, 1996). It was during this wave that the largest number of Cubans entered the U.S. (Pedraza, 1996). Priority was given to parents, children and spouses of Cubans already in the U.S., along with those imprisoned in Cuba for political reasons (Garcia, 1996).

Unlike the first wave, this group was largely made up of students, women, and children who were being reunited with relatives in the U.S. Furthermore, professionals, military age males, and technical or skilled workers were not allowed to leave Cuba during this time (Suarez, 1999). Thus, this wave would be largely made up of working class small merchants, and skilled or semi-skilled workers (Suarez, 1999). In the U.S., the Cuban exile community began to resemble a more heterogeneous group, including the middle and working class. Furthermore, included in this wave was a substantial number of Cuba's Jewish and Chinese populations (Garcia, 1996). Before the Revolution many of Cuba's Chinese and Jews were small business owners whose lives were highly effected by the government's reforms.

In addition, this new wave of migration also presented the exile community with an interesting dilemma. The first wave of Cubans never lived under Castro's rule, however, this new wave of exiles, especially the younger ones, had been exposed to Cuba's Communist reforms. The political clash between the exiles was heightened at this time (Pedraza, 1996). In the U.S., not only were there the evident differences between generations and social class, but also now an added political dimension. The political differences became especially apparent when the Cuban government decided that it would allow the exiles to visit relatives in Cuba (Pedraza, 1996). In the U.S., the Cuban community was split between those who supported and those who refused to visit Cuba. Notwithstanding, since that time, thousands of exiles have returned to Cuba "seeking the family they loved and the vestiges of the life they once led" (Pedraza, 1996, p. 269).

Third Wave: The Marielitos

The Mariel boatlifts of 1980 were among the most highly publicized and chaotic mass migrations of Cubans to the U.S. Between April and September 1980, more than 125,000 left Cuba by embarking on boats operated mainly by Miami's exiles off the Port of Mariel in Havana. However, although many left to join family members in America, a

significant portion were actually expelled by Castro's government (Garcia, 1996; Suarez, 1999). Over represented in this wave were a number of gay men and lesbians, people with criminal records, and other institutionalized persons who had all been forced into exile by Cuba (Gil, 1983; Suarez, 1998). Unlike the "golden exiles" of earlier waves, the marielitos, as they later came to be known, were social undesirables.

The marielitos were not only undesirable to the American public who were weary about yet another mass migration of Cubans to the U.S., but also by the Cuban exiles who themselves did not exactly know what to make of this new wave of migration (Pedraza, 1996; Suarez, 1999). In the U.S., after twenty years of celebrating the Cuban "success story" the media began to focus on the criminals, blacks and homosexuals that were a prevalent element of this group of exiles (Pedraza, 1996). More so, among the exile community there was also a level of resentment towards marielitos for being "children of the revolution," since most of them had lived under the Communist regime all their lives.

The profile of this group is worth noting. These new exiles were far younger and represented more of a blue-collar class than earlier waves: many of them were

mechanics, masons, carpenters, and bus and taxi drivers (Pedraza, 1996). Furthermore, over 40 percent of marielitos were nonwhite (Pedraza, 1992). This was indeed unique since not until this wave had blacks left Cuba in mass numbers (Garcia, 1996). In addition, because this group was over represented by single men, this added to the ambivalence of the exile community who had always stressed the importance of familial ties in exile.

The marielitos represent a unique group of Cubans whose reception to America was unlike that of other Cuban exiles. Marielitos were a minority- within-a-minority and often enduring a sense of stigma in relation to their own ethnic group (Portes & Clark, 1986). However, with one last wave of migration the attention shifted from the marielitos to the balseros of the 1990's.

The Fourth Wave: The Balseros

Following the chaotic Mariel exodus, the U.S. government tightened its "open door" policy towards Cubans, by signing into law that only 20,000 visas would be issued yearly to Cubans seeking asylum. However, as the collapse of the Soviet Union became more evident, the economic consequences were especially difficult for Cuba who had relied on Soviet assistance throughout its Communist history (Pedraza, 1996). As the economic situation in Cuba

worsened, a new wave of migration developed. This last wave of immigrants, which to a small extent still persists to date, represented the most desperate attempts of escape. Since the mid-1980's Cubans attempting to leave the island have done so on makeshift rafts, or balsas, risking the possibility of death due to starvation, dehydration and/or drowning (Pedraza, 1996).

The plight of the balseros came to a peak in 1994 when thousands attempted to leave Cuba in light of Castro's announcement that anyone attempting to escape would not be detained by the Cuban government (Pedraza, 1996). Fearing another Mariel, President Bill Clinton ordered the U.S. Coast Guard to block their entry into the U.S. and direct them to the Guantanamo Bay Naval Station in Cuba. months that followed over 30,000 Cubans were taken to Guantanamo and for nine months lived in tents until the decision to allow them entry to the U.S. was made (Pedraza, 1996). As a result, in 1995, the 35 year-old "open door" policy of immediately allowing Cubans refuge came to an end, as well as what some have argued was preferential treatment of Cuban immigrants (Nackerud, Springer, Larrison, & Issac, 1999). Moreover, tightened U.S. and Cuba relations followed (Nackerud, et al., 1999). However, even to date, balseros continue to try to escape, even

though the U.S. Coast Guard has been ordered the return of Cubans intercepted at sea.

It is easy to see how distinctly different the four waves of migrations of Cubans to the U.S. have been. From the demographic makeup of the exiles to the reception by the host country, the Cuban exile experience in the U.S. has been largely shaped by time of migration. The literature on Cuban exiles in the United States has largely concentrated on the differences between these waves and how that has shaped acculturation into American society. However, once in America, the Cuban exile experience has been a dynamic process that to date continues to undergo important changes.

Stages of Development of the Cuban Exile Experience

Miguel Gonzalez-Pando's (1998) book, The Cuban

Americans, is one of the most recent works on Cubans living
in the U.S. A central element of the book is the author's
examination of the development of the exile community
according to stages. Gonzalez-Pando argues that the
development of the Cuban exile experience can be viewed as
subsequent stages that are not only chronological, but also
have been shaped by the internal dynamics within the exile
community and influenced by events happening in the U.S and
in Cuba. The stages include: survival (1959-1962);

transition (1962-1965); adjustment (1965-1973); economic miracle (1973-1980); diversification (1980-1990); and post-Soviet era (1990 to the present).

The survival stage (1959-1962) began with Fidel

Castro's takeover of Cuba, and was characterized by the

exile community's attempts to temporarily survive in a

foreign country. According to Gonzalez-Pando (1998) "the

initial wave was driven by one all-consuming objective: to

return to Cuba" (p. 34). In the wake of the Bay of Pigs

Invasion and the Cuban missile crisis, the transition stage

(1962-1965) began as early exiles realized that they would

not be returning to their homeland as planned earlier.

Furthermore, the transition stage also included the CRP's

resettlement efforts. At the same time, the first Cuban

businesses opened up in South Florida, and the emergence of

Little Havana marked the development of a Cuban community

in Miami.

The third stage, that of adjustment (1965-1973), was shaped by the second wave of immigrants as the "freedom flights" brought thousands of Cubans to the U.S. over an eight-year period. Although largely settling in South Florida, smaller Cuban communities were also evident in New York, New Jersey and California. The next stage, the economic miracle stage, spanned from 1973-1980 and was a

critical period for Cuban exiles. Miami as a Cuban enclave experienced an economic boom, and for the first time the exiles began adopting American citizenship and becoming involved in politics. Furthermore, the younger exiles began to embrace a Cuban-American identity as they came of age in America but saw their roots in Cuba.

As the Mariel boatlifts began, this set the stage for yet another critical transitional period. During the diversification stage (1980-1990), the exile community not only had to deal with 125,000 new immigrants, but also the fact that they threatened the image of the Cuban community as a monolithic entity. However, the new immigrants also brought with them a renewed sense of nostalgia for the earlier exiles. In addition, during this time, Cuban Americans became a political force in South Florida, and began expanding beyond the borders of the initial enclave. As the Soviet Union ceased economic assistance to Cuba, there was a renewed sense of hope that Castro's reign would soon be coming to an end. Finally, the post-Soviet stage (1990 to present) has been characterized by not only the most desperate escapes of the balseros, but also by the end of the open-arms policy towards Cubans.

Gonzalez-Pando's (1998) stages are important in analyzing the Cuban immigrant story, as they delineate

different events that have shaped the exile community. In addition, the stages help us to examine how at each level different factors have been influential in shaping the exiles' experience in the U.S.

Factors Influencing the Experience of Cubans in the United States

There have been three often mentioned factors influencing the experience of Cuban exiles in the United States. According to Suarez (1998), wave of migration, along with immigration status and settlement location have been the most influential factors. The early refugees, who were mostly of the upper and middle class, and often professionals, were treated with open arms in America as "golden exiles." The strength of the U.S. economy as well as the fact that this wave of exiles embodied the anticommunist sentiment of the time contributed to the U.S. government's establishment of all sorts of relief programs to facilitate and aid this group of exiles. Later waves benefited from the first's establishments and achievements; however, their reception in the U.S. has been very different. A falling U.S. economy along with an ambivalent reception by early exiles has contributed to these later waves' experience.

Changes in U.S. policies has also contributed to the Cuban immigrant experience (Suarez, 1998). The Refugee Act of 1980 put an end to the assumption that all Cubans were persecuted in Cuba and should thus be granted political refugee status in the U.S. Those entering following this act found a limited access to health and social services, which together with the negative public perception of this group has contributed to their adjustment in the U.S. (Suarez, 1998). For both marielitos and balseros, accustomed to living under a socialist government, the "fend for yourself" American attitude has also caused problems in adjusting (Suarez, 1998).

The third factor influencing the Cuban exiles' experience according to Suarez (1998) has been geographic location of settlement. According to Jimenez-Vazquez (1995), 60% of Cuban immigrants have settled in South Florida, 16% in New York/New Jersey, and 6% in Los Angeles. Furthermore, scholars have argued that the creation of a Cuban enclave in Miami has been one of the most important factors influencing the experience of Cubans in the U.S. (Portes & Bach, 1985). The fact that a Cuban immigrant, in Miami, can live his or her entirely within their ethnic community has created an interesting dimension to the Cuban experience in the U.S. The creation of an ethnic enclave

will be given further attention in this review of the literature.

However, it is worth noting that there is another 20% of Cuban immigrants that have not settled in these concentrated Cuban communities. The literature on that population is very small. With the exception of a handful of studies, most research that has sought to analyze Cubans in the U.S. has mainly drawn from the experience of those living among large concentrations of Cubans. This is especially the case of Miami's Cuban community which has been the dominant sample from which studies have drawn (Perez, 1992). There is little about Cubans who have settled throughout other cities and towns in America and have had to adapt in perhaps very different ways than those living in an ethnic community. This is an element of the literature that warrants further investigation.

The Cuban Community and The "Success Story"

It is easy to underestimate the influence and role that a city itself has had in the experience of immigration. For Miami to respond positively to the influx of Cuban immigrants, as a community, it has had to essentially become bicultural. As Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick (1993), point out in the introduction to their book, City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami:

As time passed, however, it became clear that the environment itself was changing in ways that we could not have anticipated. The immigrants were transforming not only themselves, but also the city around them. Unwittingly, Miami had to become the nation's first full-fledged experiment in bicultural living (p. xi).

Thus, in order to understand Cuban immigrants in America, the city's development must also be taken into account as part of the contextual background of the overall Cuban exile narrative.

One of the literature's most dominant themes is the prominence of Miami's Cuban community as the leading example of a true ethnic enclave in the U.S. (Pedraza, 1996). The enclave concept was best presented by Alejandro Portes and Robert Bach (1985) in Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States. According to Portes and Bach (1985) an ethnic enclave is "a distinctive economic formation, characterized by the spatial concentration of immigrants who organize a variety of enterprises to serve their own ethnic market and the general population" (p.203). The concept of the ethnic enclave helps us to differentiate it from the immigrant neighborhood and both from the ghetto (Pedraza, 1992). It

is the institutional completeness of the enclave that is unique.

Portes and Rumbaut (1990) pointed out that the ethnic enclave is not unique to the Cuban American experience.

The authors cite Jews and Japanese immigrants at the turn of the last century as having developed a similar phenomenon. However, subsequently, other scholars have argued against Portes and Rumbaut's (1990) claim, asserting that although Jews and Japanese "had very fully developed immigrant neighborhoods but nothing so diversified and so institutionally complete as the concept of ethnic enclave that Portes himself has proposed" (Pedraza, 1992, p. 248). Whether unique or not, what is important is that Cubans in Miami have developed a local community that has been instrumental in sustaining the idea of the Cuban "success story."

The Cuban "success story" is yet another concept that has received a great deal of attention in the literature as well as the public at large. A leading image of Cubans in America has been of the self-made business-minded entrepreneur (Gonzalez-Pando, 1998; Suarez, 1999). The stereotype has been used in many ways including holding it up as anticommunist propaganda during the Cold War. Even if the stereotype neglects a large sector of Cubans living

in the U.S., especially those living in poverty, the "success story" is based on the economic prosperity that South Florida has undergone in the last four decades, and which Cuban-Americans have been in part responsible for. Also sustaining that "success" image have been statistics that have shown Cubans fairing better economically in comparison to other Hispanic ethnic groups (Suarez, 1999). Census data has shown that the percentage of Cubans living in poverty is lower than that of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, and the percentage of those earning \$50,000 or more is greater in comparison to those two Hispanic groups (Suarez, 1999). However, although the "success story" has received wide attention in the literature, scholars have come to different conclusions as to what has determined that success.

For Portes and Bach (1985) it was the development of the enclave that has been crucial to the Cuban "success story." These authors argue that Cubans were able to create an economically successful ethnic enclave because of the first wave's demographic makeup. At the time, Miami was an underdeveloped city and the first wave of highly educated and skilled exiles saw it as perfect for development (Levine & Asis, 2000). The exiles' level of expertise along with their entrepreneurial mindset helped

them establish an economically successful community where "Cubans...if they wish, literally live out their lives within the ethnic community" (Pedraza, 1996, p. 366). Angel and Angel (1992) found support for the enclave theory as their study found that residence in the ethnic enclave was beneficial for older Cubans, however, not necessarily so for other Hispanic ethnic groups.

Other scholars have argued that it was the cumulative impact of their social class origins as well as the influence of the Cuban Refugee Program that enabled exiles to succeed (Pedraza-Bailey, 1985). In other words, it is not enough to take into account the resources that Cubans brought with them to America, but also the millions of dollars that the U.S. government spent on relief efforts for the first and second waves of immigrants.

The third explanation was proposed by Lisandro Perez (Perez, 1985) who took into consideration women's labor force participation as a critical element of the "success story." According to Perez (1985, 1994) it was the participation of women in the labor force that promoted middle-class standing not as individuals but as families. In contrast to women in Cuba before the Revolution, and in comparison to Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, Cuban women in the U.S. do have higher rates of labor

participation (Pedraza, 1992). However, labor force participation as scholars have noted was more a part of family obligation than anything else (Prieto, 1987).

Hence, women's participation in the labor force was a family reality and not necessarily driven by the individual choice that it was for other women at the time.

Notwithstanding these points, what is critical is that throughout the literature it is evident that Cuban women have played an essential role in the development of the Cuban "success story" (Ferree, 1979; Garcia, 1996; Perez, 1985, 1994; Prieto, 1987; Rodriguez & Vila, 1982).

Although the three explanations of the Cuban "success story" all seem to point to different sources, in actuality, they all have been acknowledged as playing critical roles (Pedraza, 1992; Gonzalez-Pando, 1998).

According to Pedraza's (1992) review of literature,

The Cuban immigrant experience...is a unique form of incorporation based on the unique development of an institutionally complete ethnic enclave, the unique institutionalization of a generous, multifaceted Cuban Refugee Program of assistance, and the unique role played by the Cuban family as an economic enterprise (p. 249).

Furthermore, although the Cuban "success story" cannot be undermined, it must be understood as not only a Cuban enterprise but also clearly American (Gonzalez-Pando, 1998). The economic "success story" is not a self-contained phenomenon, but rather a multifaceted story that has transformed South Florida and its economy (Gonzalez-Pando, 1998).

Maintaining Cuban Culture in America

The development of the Cuban enclave in Miami has facilitated the maintenance of a great deal of Cuban cultural practices, values, and beliefs (Garcia, 1996). From religious to language practices, maintaining and transmitting Cuban ethnicity to subsequent generations became crucial to the Cuban community (Garcia, 1996). order to understand its role, it is important to note that Cubans take very special pride in their heritage, sometimes even "obnoxiously" so to outsiders (Suarez, 1998). According to Suarez (1998), "this specialness...may stem from the cultural fusion of European, African, and indigenous cultures" (p.190), which has given rise to many popular artistic expressions in music and the arts. In the United States, Cuban musicians such as Gloria Estefan and Jon Secada have gained widespread popularity. Nevertheless, it is in the daily lives of individuals and families that

Cuban ethnicity is maintained and transmitted. Following are three cultural areas—language, religion and politics—that the exile community has held dear in preserving the heritage of their homeland.

Language

Maintaining the Spanish language has been an important cultural aspect of Cubans settling throughout the Unites States (Bean & Tienda, 1987). Having immigrated as adults and largely settling within areas among other Cubans, many of the early Cuban immigrants have never had to learn to speak English (Gonzalez-Pando, 1998). Even after 40 years English proficiency has been found to be very small among early exiles. In a recent study by Mutchler and Brailler (1999), only 37% of their sample indicated speaking English well, and in comparison to other Hispanic ethnic groups, elderly Cubans had the lowest rates of English proficiency.

However, the low English proficiency must be understood as a cultural phenomenon that the early exiles used as a way of maintaining their cultural heritage (Gonzalez-Pando, 1998). Although later generations were quick to learn English, preserving the Spanish language was critical to the exile experience; this legacy is still prevalent today as Spanish is the language primarily spoken at home by many families (Gonzalez-Pando, 1998).

Religion

Yet another cultural characteristic that Cubans have maintained in America has been the strong sense of religiosity and spirituality. Roman Catholicism has played an important role in the lives of Cuban families, especially in regards to education, as many opted to send their children to parochial schools in America (Suarez, 1998). However, many Cubans have been dualistic in their faith as they not only follow Catholicism, but also santeria (Suarez, 1998).

Much has been written about santeria, especially as it became evident that it was part of what Cuban immigrants were bringing to America. Santeria is a religion that mixes elements of Spanish Catholicism and African beliefs and rituals (Suarez, 1998). It was developed by slaves in Cuba and now holds a common place in Cuban culture. In America, santeria has been controversial, especially its practices of animal sacrifice (Garcia, 1996). When the first official santeria church opened in South Florida, local officials passed an ordinance shutting down the church. However, years later, the U.S. Supreme Court sided with the church's position that the ordinance was a violation of the constitutional freedom of religious expression (Garcia, 1996).

Although not all Cubans believe in santeria, it is respected as part of the Cuban national identity. It has been especially popular among Afro-Cubans and the mulatto working class (Garcia, 1996). Yet, in times of crises many Cubans, regardless of class or race, have turned to these religious practices and beliefs. They remain a unique ethnic practice characteristic of the Cuban community.

Politics

The last cultural characteristic that I will focus on is that of politics, which has received perhaps the most attention throughout the literature and the media. You do not have to look further than the recent passionate debate over the fate of Elian Gonzalez to see that politics has played an important role in Cuban's experience in the U.S. The Cuban exiles have become an active part of American politics with one all-consuming obsession to overthrow the Castro government and establish democracy in Cuba (Garcia, 1996). From the paramilitary campaigns of the 1970's to strict conservatism, the Cuban exiles have shaped their political beliefs and values by their commitment to "la causa Cubana" (the Cuban cause) (Garcia, 1996; Gonzalez-Pando, 1998; Hill & Moreno, 1996). Anyone suspected of liberal or pro-dialogue tendencies with the Castro regime

is considered a political traitor, and even violent means have been taken in retribution (Gonzalez-Pando, 1998).

Although the exile politics has had to undergo change and adaptation over the years, it is clear that Cuban politics still remain largely anti-Castro even among second generation Cuban-Americans (Gonzalez-Pando, 1998; Hill & Moreno, 1996). The creation of the Cuban American National Foundation gave the exile community a lobbying entity in the U.S. Congress, and has shaped a great deal of America's policy towards Cuba. More so, it is likely that the Cuban exiles will continue to be heavily involved in the political climate of both America and Cuba.

In conclusion, although language, religion and politics represent only a few of the cultural aspects of Cubans in the United States, they have been central to the Cuban exile experience. Furthermore, these cultural characteristics point out a significant aspect of Cuban's ethnicity, and the Cuban community's commitment to maintain the culture of their homeland even after migration. One important aspect of this commitment to ethnic identity is the family.

The Cuban Family and Acculturation over the Life Course

There exists a small literature on Cuban-Americans that has, for the most part, looked at families and how

certain aspects of the acculturation process have been related to family disruption and stress. Since families have been cited as the primary agency driving acculturation (Gil & Vega, 1996), it is of no surprise that researchers have focused on families, rather than individuals alone, in researching Cuban-Americans.

To study families among a Hispanic ethnic group also makes intuitive sense since so much has been written about "familialism" as an integral part of the Hispanic culture and identity (Suarez, 1998): this claim holds true in examining Cubans. According to Boswell and Curtis (1983) prior to 1959 "Cubans self-confidence, sense of security and identity were established primarily through family relationships...The culture of Cuba viewed life as a network of personal relationships" (p. 181). This establishes part of the cultural and value orientation background for the early Cuban exiles, and a cultural element that has been sustained in the U.S. Even for later immigrants, the strong sense of familialism has continued to be an integral part of the Cuban identity.

It is worth noting however, that for Cubans,

definitions of "family" are not necessarily the same as

those of Americans. According to Suarez (1998) the concept

of extended family is so foreign to Cubans that a

comparable word does not exist in Spanish. For Cubans, "family" always includes extended family members (Gonzalez-Pando, 1998; Suarez, 1998). However, there is evidence that this value-orientation has been diminishing as a result of acculturation and adaptation into American society (Suarez, 1998). Just as other aspects of cultural life, for immigrants, there is change and adaptation especially as new generations establish themselves in society.

According to Corsini (1987), acculturation is defined as:

A process whereby individuals learn about the rules for behavior characteristics of a certain group of people. The term culture refers to the way of life of a people and includes tools or methods with which they extract a livelihood from their environment. It includes the web of social relations, understandings, and customs and rules or attitudes about supernatural or supreme beings...Culture continues to influence people's lives over the entire life span (p. 7-8).

Important in the above definition is Corsisni's emphasis on the life span as acculturation is defined as an ongoing process influencing individuals their entire life.

Furthermore, scholars have noted the acculturation continuum in which individuals and families differ (Kumabe, Nishido, & Hepworth, 1985). The continuum ranges from the traditional values of the homeland on one end to those of the mainstream society of the host country at the other. In the end, integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization are all acculturation outcomes which individuals and families reach as they become exposed to the host country's values and beliefs (Berry, 1980). This life long process can be stressful for both individuals and families, especially as different family members proceed to acculturate in different rates and modes.

Acculturation stress and conflict has been the focus of the work by Jose Szapocznik and colleagues, who have analyzed Cuban-American families, and have found different factors contributing to acculturative stress. One of their most important findings has been the differing rate of acculturation among family members due to age and gender. These researchers have found that younger males tend to acculturate the fastest, while older family members, especially females are slower in the process (Szapocznik, et.al, 1978; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; Szapocznik & Hernandez, 1988).

Using measures of acculturation that include dimensions of behavior and value-orientation, the result of such differences in rate of acculturation has been "intergenerational/acculturational" conflict. According to Szapocznik, Scopetta, and Tillman (1977),

the family becomes more and more polarized continuously focusing on the acculturational differences and setting the stage for the development of increasingly exaggerated acculturational/

Their findings have also shown that family disruption due to the intergenerational/acculturational stress, in turn has resulted in maladaptive behavior, such as drug abuse and delinquency, especially among adolescent boys (Szapocznik, et al., 1987).

intergenerational intrafamily differences (p.8).

The intergenerational/acculturational conflict is a struggle between the adolescent's Americanized values of individualism and the parents' challenge for family connectedness and struggle to retain their Cuban culture. Since Cuban parents are expected to be of continued dependence for their children even beyond adolescence, once their children acculturate and adapt American norms and values that emphasize independence, the intergenerational

gap is one that alienates both parents and children (Bernal, 1982).

To help families move beyond these acculturative conflicts, Szapocznik and colleagues developed an intervention tool that took into account the importance of both cultures in the lives of families—the Bicultural Involvement Model (Szapocznik, et al., 1986). The Bicultural Involvement Model examined how families must successfully learn to interact with the surrounding host culture and at the same time retain their culture of origin. In this model, used as an intervention and research tool, parents and children learn to change family structure and interactions with the aims of teaching bicultural skills to the family and reducing the intergenerational/acculturational conflict (Szapocznik, et al., 1986; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; Szapocznik et al., 1984).

According to Szapocznik and Hernandez(1988), biculturation takes on a three dimensional process consisting of first, the usual linear process of accommodating to the host culture (i.e., acculturation), a second dimension in which the characteristics of the original Cuban culture are retained or relinquished, and a third dimension by which both Cuban and American

characteristics are syncretized (p. 168). The ultimate goal is to establish effective functioning among individuals and families by creating cross alliances between generations and cultures (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). According to Szapocznik and Kurtines (1993), "the expected outcome...is a reduction in intergenerational conflict and firmer boundaries around the family" (p.404).

Like for many immigrant groups, with migration, set values and behaviors have had to undergo adaptation and change. As in other aspects of Cuban-American culture, though, many of the traditional Cuban beliefs and values have been maintained and still impact family life. Gender is one example of a value system that is very much part of the Cuban family acculturation experience.

Issues of Gender in Families

The literature on Cuban families has also emphasized some interesting issues relating to gender, especially as acculturation and adaptation has impacted family definitions and expectations.

Gender Roles

There is a great deal that can be said about Cuban families and gender roles, as there exists very strict and well-defined expectations. *Machismo* has been a widely researched area of inquiry, especially among Hispanic

cultural groups, and is very much a part of Cuban men's In traditional Cuban culture, it is the men who are patriarch, ruling over the lives of women and children. The husband is the great protector and provider of his family (Suarez, 1998). While the women should ideally remain pure and chaste until marriage, and should be ready to sacrifice anything for the sake of their husbands and the family (Suarez, 1998). As Suarez (1998) writes, "above all, they are expected to be mothers...which also means maintaining marital fidelity at all times. While adultery by a man may be condoned, an adulterous woman is scandalous" (p. 185). This double standard is exemplary of the male-female relationship in the traditional Cuban However, these strict gender roles also affect sense. other aspects of individual and family life.

Part of a woman's role in the family has been to maintain and transmit Latino/Hispanic culture (Salgado de Snyder, 1999). This has been found to be true among Cuban women who, from gender ideals to cultural practices, have the capacity to keep and transmit to their offspring their culture, values and traditions (Doran, et al., 1988). In their study of Cuban women, Doran et al., (1988) noted: "the woman is expected to not only be the homemaker, but the preserver of Cuban culture and language at home, to

pass these things on to children who are rapidly becoming American" (p.58).

Work and the Family

Prior to the Cuban Revolution, the Cuban family was your traditional Western family with the father working outside the home, while mothers stayed home and took care of raising the children. Furthermore, absolute obedience was given to the father, as head of the household and husband. However, as a result of immigration this patriarchal system began to break down as women, for economic necessities, began to enter the work force in America (Suarez, 1998). With increased economic independence, women began to develop a more outspoken and dissatisfactory view of their husband's chauvinism (Rodriguez & Vila, 1982). This change has been found to be a source of conflict for families (Suarez, 1998).

The move to work outside the home was not seen as an opportunity for growth as an individual, as it was mostly for middle class American women, but rather as a means to help the family. As Myra Max Ferree (1979) concluded, Cuban women's labor force participation was employment without liberation as Cubans "apparently stretched the traditional view of women as existing in and for the family, rather than as individuals, to include employment

as a regular part of the female role" (p.48). It is also important to note that although Cuban women went to work in great numbers, they also faced the issue of the "double shift." Like all women, they soon faced the fact that as mothers and wives they were also expected to cook, clean, and wash even if they had children old enough to do these chores themselves (Suarez, 1998). Which brings us to another important gender issue found among Cuban-Americans, that of socialization.

Socialization

Socialization for Cuban females is very different than for males (Suarez, 1998). Traditionally, boys are waited on by their mothers and sisters, because of their privilege as males. More so, as they enter manhood, boys are encouraged to act out on their sexuality while girls must always remain pure (Bernal, 1984). There is nothing more traditionally gendered than Cuban girls' ritual of quinciañera, which serves as a "coming out" party for fifteen year old girls who are "entering" the world from "girls" to "women:" not unlike a debutante ball. In both instances, this ritual, which still exists today in the U.S, but has been slowly loosing popularity among subsequent generations, marks the girl's introduction to

society (Garcia, 1996). No similar ritual exists for Cuban boys.

Even after such entrance, girls are expected to obey a strict moral code. Although less so now, for a long time, an unsupervised single girl was undesirable and of questionable moral character (Suarez, 1998).

Traditionally, girls who were dating were chaperoned to events by either their mother or another female adult. And at all times, girls were expected to act "properly" not showing much more affection than holding hands with a boy. However, above all, sexuality is not discussed in the family (Suarez, 1998). While boys enjoy to some extent, sexual freedom, for girls, the mention of sexual promiscuity can lead to serious consequences.

Although "traditional" patriarchal characteristics dominate most of the literature on gender roles, socialization, and expectations among Cubans, Boone (1980) points out a unique aspect of Cuban women's role in the family and society. Boone writes about "feminine assertion" as a character trait in Cuban women defined by a duality and contradiction in roles and expectations. Boone suggests that while mostly adhering to their husband's authority, Cuban women possess strength in character dominated by personality traits and their high involvement

in social life. Boone (1980) describes this contradiction as follows:

The culture history of the Cuban family and its sexrole system aids in understanding the contradiction between the ideals voiced by Cuban immigrant women, and their actual behavior. The duality of submission and assertion, derogation with status, and sheltered pampering combined with proclivity for the social, the exciting, the challenging, and the colorful persists today in the United States. Their strengths come in part from the hardships imposed by migration.

However, feminine assertion has a definite place in Cuban cultural history, and is not a new phenomenon (p. 241).

Doran, Satterfield and Stade (1988) drew from Boone's definition to emphasize characteristics that they also found in Cuban women in their study. Examining three generations of Cuban-American women, Doran and colleagues found characteristics that could not be solely explained within purely patriarchal or feminist definitions. These researchers point out that "feminine assertion" is not only a result of national character or upper class privilege, but a complex phenomenon that incorporates educational attainment, religiosity and devotion to the family. Like

Boone, these researchers point out different aspects of pre-Revolutionary Cuban society and aspects of the migration experience that are important in understanding this trait. However, further research is needed if generalizations are to be made beyond these studies.

Nevertheless, this research does point out an interesting facet of Cuban women's role in the family and society.

Overall, what the literature points out is that traditional values and expectations about gender have been maintained in the United States; however, over the course of acculturation, there is evidence that the expectations have not remained the same. The results have not been without conflict but the strict gender roles of earlier exiles have had to undergo adaptation as subsequent generations have been exposed to American beliefs and values. The shift in gender roles represents only one of the challenges faced by Cuban-Americans regarding their identity.

Cuban Identity in America

Ethnic identity has become an increasingly significant issue in the study of minorities in America (Phinney, 1996). Largely based on the theoretical and empirical writings of Erikson, the ethnicity literature points out

the importance of developing a sense of ethnic identity throughout the life course. According to Phinney (1996):

Ethnic identity has been conceptualized as a complex construct including a commitment and sense of belonging to one's ethnic group, positive evaluation of the group, interest in and knowledge about the group, and involvement in activities and traditions of the group (p. 145).

These are all issues that are pertinent in the study of acculturation and immigration. These issues are especially salient in the study of a group that, as mentioned earlier, unwittingly settled in the United States and have been described as retaining a great deal of their ethnic heritage (Rumbaut & Rumbaut, 1976).

However, although often mentioned as an important aspect of the Cuban experience, research on Cuban-Americans has focused far less on issues of identity than other sociological and/or psychological areas. Gonzalez-Pando (1998) writes, "time and again, most researchers have run into the same obstinate challenge: defining the identity of the subjects of inquiry. Who are these Cubans, really?" (p.84). In essence, how do Cubans define themselves? How has that definition developed over time and space? How are

these definitions maintained or changed over generations?

These are all questions that drive this research project.

Although limited, the Cuban-American literature does point to some very important issues pertaining to identity. Overwhelmingly, the generational differences between Cubans living in the United States has been the focus of the identity research, and this is especially evident in the research pertaining to families. While the first generation can be characterized as highly Cuban in affiliation, values and behaviors, the second generation began to develop more of a Cuban-American identity. However, it is important to keep in mind the historical and socio-cultural realities of these two generations: Factors that are important in understanding how they have come to define themselves. Also, although the development of a Cuban-American identity has been clearly documented throughout the literature, the strong ties to "Cubanness" or "Cubanidad" continues to also be evident (Garcia, 1996; Hill & Moreno, 1996).

For the early exiles, the first generation, an aspect of their identity was consumed by a sense of "nostalgia" (Gonzalez-Pando, 1998). Not unlike other first generation immigrants, however, the added sense that they would quickly return to Cuba added to their longing for their homeland (Garcia, 1996; Gonzalez-Pando, 1998). The sense of

longing and nostalgia has been especially evident in the arts, as the first generation Cuban exiles have often been depicted as living in "yesterday's Cuba" more than anywhere else (Garcia, 1996; Gonzalez-Pando, 1998). From music to literature, a theme characteristic of Cuban narratives in the diaspora has been the overwhelming sense of an exile identity and their continual longing for the sacred homeland (Behar, 1998). As Reinaldo Arenas, the famous Cuban writer who lived in New York once said:

Someone who's been uprooted, exiled, has no country.

Our country exists only in our memory, but we need something beyond memory if we're to achieve happiness.

We have no homeland, so we have to invent it over and over again (in Alvarez Borland, 1998, p.1).

The sense of uprootedness has been a central part of the Cuban story, and scholars have noted the impact this aspect of their experience has had on their sense of self (Espin, 1992; Rumbaut & Rumbaut, 1976).

Like the work focusing on nostalgia these first generation narratives have centered around the cultural struggles of exile and the strong sense of "Cubanness" needed for survival in America (Garcia, 1996; Gonzalez-Pando. 1998). To maintain a sense of "Cubanness" meant preserving Cuban cultural traditions and creating

organizations to promote and reinforce these values (Garcia, 1996). With every new wave of Cuban immigrants the sense of "Cubanness" and pride in all things Cuban has renewed and recharged the Cuban ethnic identity (Gonzalez-Pando, 1998).

In addition to being an immigrant population, the fact that the first generation were for the most part those well into adulthood has contributed to the strong sense of ethnic identity as Cubans. The development of ethnic identity has been viewed as a process beginning in adolescence and carried out throughout young adulthood (Phinney, 1996). Thus, as immigrants their sense of "Cubanness" was already a part of who they were before they immigrated and in reality probably not an added dimension once in exile.

For the second generation, the development of a Cuban-American identity has been evident. There have been a number of significant differences between the first and second generations of Cubans, including standard of living, education, experience with discrimination and politics (Hill & Moreno, 1996). Similar to other immigrant populations, part of the acculturation process is the second generation's acquirement of an American identity. Overwhelmingly, the second generation's ethnic identity has

been tied to a sense of being both Cuban and American (Hill & Moreno, 1996). The Cuba that their parents yearned for, is only now a distal reality. Their entire life has been spent in the United States; exile, uprootedness and nostalgia mean little beyond their family's story.

Identification as Cuban is also highly important, as a minority group in the United States, and acknowledging their parents' struggles and success in America. They are not allowed to forget the first generation's pain of exile (Suarez, 1998). Notwithstanding, it is also clear that the sense of Cuban uniqueness is not as present among this generation than for those who first migrated. Many in this generation are identifying themselves as Latino/Hispanic rather than simply Cuban (Hill & Moreno, 1996), indicating a shift in how they define and see themselves.

There are two other generations that need mention, but very little research exists that examines these groups' sense of identity. The first is what scholars have labeled the 1.5 generation (Rumbaut, 1991; Perez-Firmat, 1994). This group represents those who spent their childhood and/or adolescence in Cuba, but have grown into adulthood in the United States. Although in many ways they are first generation, they are not consumed by the aspects of the "old" world; yet they are not fully consumed by the "new"

world either (Perez-Firmat, 1994). The 1.5 generation share a unique reality where they are equally a part of being Cuban and American. Their sense of identity is equally tied to both cultures. Perez-Firmat (1994) calls this generation's experience as "living on the hyphen:" that of/between Cuban-American.

The last generation is the third, many of which are now entering adolescence or young adulthood. There is no research that currently looks at this generation's sense of ethnic identity, but it is likely that this group will follow the second generation's trend: they will not only become more American, but also probably define themselves more as Hispanic rather than Cuban. The 1.5 and the third generations warrant much more research in the years to come.

In conclusion, the identity literature reveals interesting aspects of the experience of Cubans living in the United States. The generational and cultural differences are evidence of the acculturation process in the Cuban community. However, important in this characteriztion is once again the idea of the early immigrants as political exiles. As exiles, the idea of "melting" into the mythical pot of America, would have ultimately led to the disappearance of their group's

identity, and essentially something they did not believe in doing (Garcia, 1996, 1998; Gonzalez-Pando, 1998). Thus, they took the aspects that they wanted from the American Dream, while refusing to give up their Cuban identity. Although this has symbolized to many the Cuban community's refusal to "assimilate," for Cubans, there is no contradiction (Garcia, 1996, 1998). After all, America is about opportunities, including the chance to define yourself as Cuban, Cuban-American, either, neither, or both. And even as acculturation differentiates the experience between generations binding them has been a strong anti-Castro mentality that is likely to not go away (Hill & Moreno, 1996).

Limitations of the Literature

There are several limitations of the literature that I hope are apparent from this review. First, the research literature has sought to investigate immigration at one point in time without analyzing how those definitions and/or beliefs have changed over the life course. There is no study that looks at Cuban immigration from a life course perspective and examines how the exile community, after 40 years now perceives their experience in the United States.

Furthermore, although the literature emphasizes interesting gender dynamics, especially as it pertains to

labor force participation and gender role expectations, questions regarding other aspects of women's experience in families have been neglected. The study by Doran and colleagues (1988) is the only one to examine the Cuban immigrant experience from this gendered perspective rather than assuming that immigration and acculturation have been the same for men and women. Instead, giving voice to women's experience by allowing their stories to be told, and placing them as central to the study.

The third limitation of the literature, is that, as mentioned earlier, studies have mostly drawn from samples of Cubans residing in large communities with other Cubans. There is little known about Cubans who have settled throughout other places in America. A strength of this study is that it uses qualitative methodology, which allows for a smaller sample size. Thus, settlement location can be further investigated by comparing two groups in distinctly different locations.

These are some of the contributions that this study can make to the existing literature. Asking questions that have not been asked and framing them within a different perspective, the study has the potential to be beneficial to the study and understanding of immigrants in America.

Research Questions

Based on the literature review, the research questions driving this project include:

1. What is Cuban women's life course perception regarding immigration and acculturation, including the meaning, effects, and dynamics of the decision to migrate and settle in the United States?

This overall theoretical research question seeks to understand Cuban women's meaning of immigration and acculturation. Included in this general research question is how Cuban women now view their decision to leave Cuba and how they think it has impacted their lives and that of their families over the life course. Since so little research exists that examines this issue, as a general starting point, this research question will hopefully facilitate discovery.

Also included within this general question are two subquestions:

a. What strategies do Cuban women use in order to maintain their ethnic identity, as well as transmit cultural characteristics to subsequent generations?

b. What is the role of gender in Cuban women's perception of their experience in the United States?

As part of the central research question of this project, these two subquestions seek to analyze issues of ethnicity and the role of gender in Cuban women's experiences.

The first subquestion examines how Cuban women define themselves ethnically, as well as the strategies they used to pass on their cultural values and beliefs to subsequent generations. As noted earlier, Cuban women, like in other cultures, are responsible for maintaining and preserving Cuban culture (Doran, Satterfield & Stade, 1988; Salgado de Snyder, 1999), this research project will highlight how it is that women maintain and transmit these values and practices.

The second subquestion examines the role of gender which has been highly neglected in the immigration literature (Pedraza, 1991). Although we know that women initially dominated the flow from Cuba to the United States (Pedraza-Bailey, 1985), the literature has neglected gendered ideas about decisions to migrate and subsequently, the effects of migration on gender roles and attitudes. This project will highlight the transformation in gender

roles and the importance of understanding gendered experiences.

The second central research question driving this project includes:

2. What is the role of settlement location in Cuban women's perception of their experiences in the United States?

This last question seeks to compare the narratives of the two different groups of women in this study. Within this general question were others that included: (a) How is immigrating and settling in an ethnic enclave different from migrating to a predominately American city?; and (b) how do communities/environments act as a mediating factor in culture?

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The ecological and life course frameworks and symbolic interactionism provide the theoretical principles of this project. The ecological framework allows us to look at behavior not solely as acts existing within individuals, but rather as a process that requires the reciprocal interaction between individuals and their environments (Bronfebrenner, 1993). The life-course perspective offers a valuable way of thinking about the social patterning and interdependence of lives over time and history (Elder, 1998). These two frameworks, along with symbolic interactionism, which acknowledges the importance of interactions and meaning in human life, deem valuable in interpreting and understanding Cuban women's perception of their experiences in the United States.

Although serving as theoretical considerations, these three frameworks are only guiding principles for this project. They do not limit the research nor serve as the only frameworks that deemed valuable in understanding the phenomenon. However, these perspectives are used as guiding metaphors that aided in the interview process and

analysis. In this section the basic themes of each theoretical framework and how they inform the present study is discussed.

Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Model

Bronfenbrenner's Ecological model of human development has greatly influenced different disciplines including family and child development. Bronfenbrenner's theory draws from the works of Kurt Lewin and others, who emphasized the interrelationship between the individual and their environments (Thomas, 2000). In fact, Bronfenbrenner reformulated Lewin's equation (B=f[PE]), to suggest that "development is a joint function of person and environment" (Bronfenbrener, 1993, p. 7). In the first formal definition to the ecological model of human development Bronfenbrenner (1979) stated that:

The ecology of human development involves the scientific study of the progressive mutual accommodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by relations between these settings, and by the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded (p. 21).

Although Bronfenbrenner (1995) would later warn against scientific inquiry of "context without development," his work has been a major step in recognizing the influence of both biology and environment.

The relationship in the above definition can be viewed as hierarchical structures nested within each other and constituting systems that act both within themselves and in relation to each other (Bronfenbrenner, 1995). They include the micro, meso, exo, macro, and chrono systems.

In Bronfenbrenner's theory, the microsystem constitutes the most basic unit of analysis and is defined as the pattern of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1993). The home, school, or peer group environments are all examples of an individual's microsystem (Thomas, 2000). The mesosystem is defined as the linkages and processes taking place between two or more microsystems containing the developing person (Bronfenbrenner, 1993). The exosystem includes those settings that do not necessarily contain the developing person, but in which events occur that indirectly influence processes within the immediate setting in which the developing person lives (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, p. 24).

Bronfenbrenner (1993) defined the macrosystem as, "The overarching pattern of micro-, meso, and exosystems characteristic of a given culture, subculutre, or other extended social structure" (p. 25). The last structure, the chronosystem incorporates concepts of time into the model. This element of time has been instrumental for the life course perspective that serves as another theoretical framework for this project.

The Life Course Perspective

The life-course perspective can help us better understand familial processes over different generations, especially as it emphasizes the social patterning and interdependence of lives (Elder, 1998). There are four guiding principles in the life course perspective.

According to Bronfenbrenner (1995, 1999), principles of the life course perspective include: (a) the influence of historical events in the lives of individual's; (b) the influence of timing of events as culturally defined as well as within families; (c) the interdependence of all family members both within and across different generations; and (d) human beings themselves influence their own development through their own choices and acts.

In looking at women's perception of immigration and acculturation across the life course it is valuable to

understand how one generation perceives their experience in comparison to another. In addition, a generational cohort's perspective can help us better understand the timing of events in relation to processes such as adaptation. Together with the ecological framework, the life-course perspective can enrich the ways we think about generational transmission of values and beliefs and our understanding of acculturation and ethnic identity.

Symbolic Interaction Theory

The main focus of symbolic interaction theory is the acquisition and generation of meaning (Klein & White, 1996). With a long historical tradition, that has greatly influenced sociology and other disciplines, symbolic interaction theory emphasizes the interactions between humans and the meanings they construct from those Klein and White (1996) propose four major exchanges. assumptions for symbolic interaction theory that are important for this project. They include: (a) human behavior must be understood by the meanings of the actor; (b) actors define the meaning of context and situation; (c) individuals have mind; and (d) society precedes the individual. Although there have been many variations of symbolic interaction theory, the main assumptions have remained central to its scope.

It should be noted that in symbolic interaction theory, individuals not only acquire meaning by interaction with others, but also from exchanges within oneself. Human beings will act according to how they define a situation, as well as the meanings they have constructed from interactions with others. These main assumptions help this project to focus on the interpretations of Cuban women's experiences.

The theoretical framework of symbolic interactionism allows the researcher to explore the multiple meanings that women assign to their experiences as immigrants in the United States. Symbolic interaction theory also allows the researcher to inquire how Cuban women have played an active role in the meanings they have created about the adaptation process. Examining the perceptions of Cuban women will hopefully give us better understanding of their unique situation, as well as collective awareness about the immigrant experience in the United States.

In summary, the three theoretical frameworks discussed in this chapter are used to ground this project. All three frameworks are combined to give the researcher a collective interpretation of Cuban women's interpretations of their experiences. While symbolic interactionism focuses on the individual, the ecological model places the individual

within his/her contexts. Furthermore, the life course framework helps to understand how over time those meanings and contexts have changed and evolved, and influenced Cuban women's perceptions.

Figure 1 diagrams an initial theoretical model proposed by the author of this project. This model, based on the literature alone, provided help and guidance as an initial theoretical framework for data collection and analysis. The model was revised as a result of this study, and the application of Cuban women's own interpretations of their experiences.

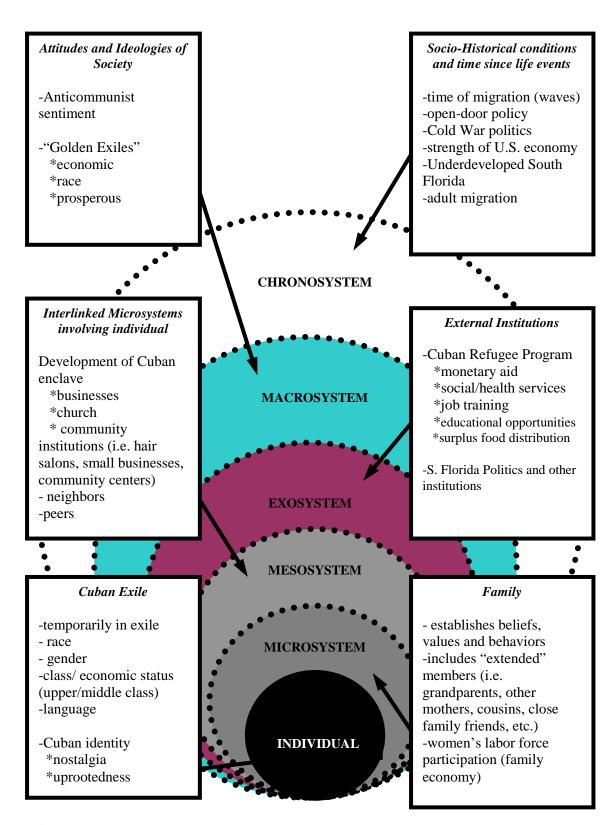


Figure 1:

<u>Initial Interpretation of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological</u> Theory Applied to First Generation Cuban Immigrants

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The general purpose of this study was to use qualitative methodology in order to describe and better understand Cuban women's experience in the U.S. To date, there is only one example of a qualitative study examining a similar phenomenon (Doran, Satterfield, & Stade, 1988). A qualitative approach was chosen because "without qualitative understanding of how culture mediates human action, we can only know what numbers tell us" (McCracken, 1988, p. 9). Specifically, the grounded theory approach guided this project (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998). The following section outlines the methodology used in this research project. The participants and sample selection, the procedures for data collection, issues of trustworthiness, the process of data analysis, and the representation of data are discussed in this chapter.

Participants and Sample Selection

A "purposive sampling" technique (Patton, 1990) was used in this study. The actual number of participants was initially unspecified, since the grounded theory approach

emphasizes a theoretical sampling technique were the actual number of cases is relatively unimportant (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). What is important is the potential for each informant to aid the researcher in developing theoretical insight into the phenomenon being studied (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Criteria for Inclusion

In order to participate in this study there were certain criteria used to identify possible participants:

(a) Cuban women between the ages of 65 and 80; (b) who migrated to the U.S. between 1959-1962 (first wave); (c) lived in Miami for at least 20 years and in Atlanta for at least 15-20 years; (d) have one or more children who were either born in Cuba or the U.S., (e) have at least one grandchild who was born in America; and (f) were married to a Cuban man at the time of migration.

These parameters were initially set in order to have a sample that was somewhat homogenous and made up a cohort that has been identified in the literature. However, no restrictions in terms of race or class were set.

Nonetheless, a rather homogenous sample was found with similar educational, social, and economic backgrounds.

In keeping with the rules and regulations of research at the University of Georgia (UGA), approval for this study

was sought from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) following the dissertation committee's consent of the original proposal. Once approval was received from IRB, recruitment of potential participants soon began.

Recruitment of Participants

A number of different strategies were used to reach out to potential participants for this project. strategies varied according to location. In Miami, with its large Cuban community, recruiting of participants was not very difficult. My mother is a small-business owner in Miami with an elderly Cuban clientele. Thus, she was the first person I contacted to recruit potential participants. After giving her details of the study's criteria, she asked potential participants if they would be willing to share their experiences with me. I then contacted the potential participants by telephone to make sure they met the criteria, to explain the logistics of the study, and to set a mutually agreeable date and time to meet. Four, out of the five Miami participants, were recruited this way. fifth participant was recruited through my father who referred me to one of his clients who he believed met the study's criteria. She indeed met the quidelines and wanted to participate in the study. Prior to the interviews, I

did not have a working relationship with any of these women.

In Atlanta, because of the small Cuban community, recruitment of potential participants was far more difficult. The first strategy was to contact the local Cuban Club, which is an organization established over 20 years ago and made up of Cubans living in the Atlanta area. There are several purposes to this organization including hosting events and activities to promote Cuban culture and customs. The Cuban Club continues to be an integral part of the Atlanta Cuban community. Prior to this study I had no relationship with this organization. Thus, making contact and establishing a relationship was the initial strategy. I made contact with a woman, Teresita Martinez, who several others suggested I meet in order to recruit potential participants. Teresita Martinez has been an active member of the organization since its establishment and was willing to help me recruit potential women for this study.

Although Teresita did not meet the criteria for inclusion in the study, she was willing to introduce me to women at the Cuban Club who might be interested in participating. She invited me to attend a celebration they were having at the Club in commemoration of Jose Marti's

birthday. At the party, I exchanged phone numbers with a couple of potential participants, and told them I would contact them in the next few days to talk more about the study and possible participation.

On the night of the celebration I also placed a bilingual flyer up at the Cuban Club (Appendix A). The flyer contained a small description of the project, along with the criteria for inclusion, and the researcher's contact information. The same flyer was also used in the second strategy to recruit participants in Atlanta. The flyers were placed at different businesses around town known for having a Cuban clientele. Cuban restaurants were the targeted businesses.

The last strategy used in Atlanta to recruit participants was a snowballing technique. This is a technique common to qualitative research, where participants inform the researcher of other potential informants for the study (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). This strategy seemed especially appropriate for this project since Cuban women who have lived in the Atlanta area for a number of years were likely to know each other. The group of women in Atlanta was recruited using a mix of all these strategies.

There were several difficulties that I encountered in the process of recruiting participants for this project.

One of the most difficult issues pertained to gaining an "insider status." In Miami, that "status" was not an issue since the women interviewed had in some way or another a relationship with a member of my family. I found that this aspect of recruitment in Miami not only facilitated participation but also trust between the participants and I. In Atlanta, however, becoming an "insider" into the Cuban community deemed much more complex.

In Atlanta, recruiting participants was a much more difficult task for many reasons. First, the number of Cubans living in Atlanta is far smaller than in Miami. That number is especially small if you consider those that migrated from Cuba during the first wave, as was the focus of this study. A second difficult aspect of recruitment was that the criteria for inclusion in this study oftentimes seemed quite narrow in relation to the reality of the situation. Again, although in Miami, the criteria did not seem as limiting, in Atlanta it was a different story. There were several women I met who did not meet one or two of the set criteria and they had to be denied inclusion in the project. Although the parameters for inclusion had to be set, it is my opinion that greater

flexibility was needed in order to accommodate the qualitative aspects of the project.

Notwithstanding, I honestly felt that once I began meeting these women face-to-face there was a comfort level and a mutual respect reached. The fact that I am Cuban was the most important factor in this regard. There was a sense of community responsibility in wanting to share their stories. Furthermore, once one woman agreed to participate, it became easier to recruit participants by using a snowballing technique and mentioning to other potential participants who had referred me to them.

Characteristics of the Participants

There are some general characteristics of the participants of this study that warrant attention. There were a total of nine Cuban women who participated in this study. Although 11 women were interviewed, only nine were used in this research study since the other two did not meet all of the study's criteria. The majority of the women were between the ages of 65 and 75. The youngest woman was 62 years old, while the oldest was 80. All the participants in this study were white.

Only one woman in this study migrated to the U.S. in 1959, while four women came in 1960. Of the other four women, two left Cuba in 1961 and the other two migrated in

1962. With the exception of one participant, they all came directly to the U.S.

The majority of the participants in this study (5) had a total of two children. Two women had only one child, while one woman had three and another had four children. However, the number of grandchildren varied greatly. The majority (7) of the participants had between two and four grandchildren. Yet, the other two women had five grandchildren each. One of those women was actually the great-grandmother of three children. No other woman at the time of the interviews was a great-grandmother.

Although all the participants were married to a Cuban man at the time of migration, there was a significant difference between the two groups of women in this study. Four out of the five women in Miami were widowed, while all the participants in Atlanta had their husbands still living. This was a significant difference between the two groups of women and may or may have not influenced these women's interpretations of their life experiences.

Procedures

This research project was based on the grounded theory approach. This methodological approach was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and grew out of the influence of the Chicago School of Sociology and proponents of symbolic

interactionism. Grounded theory is one of the most widely used techniques in qualitative research (Gilgun, 1992, 1999). Although there have been subsequent revisions and expansions of the original framework (Glaser, 1978; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998), the major principles have been maintained. The goal of this approach is the generation of theory grounded in the data collected (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Moreover, part of this approach requires that data collection and analysis must be carried out at the same time.

As mentioned earlier, the first step in the procedure process was to determine if the women met the set criteria for the study. Preliminary screening of participants was done over the phone. The women were explained the purposes and the process of the research project and they were to consider if they would like to participate. For some of the women I contacted there were several issues why they decided to not participate, these included scheduling issues or they were simply too busy to participate. After establishing that they met the set criteria and that they would like to participate, the researcher and the participants agreed on setting up a date and time to meet for the first interview. This first meeting took place somewhere that the respondents felt comfortable. The

majority of the meetings took place at the participant's home, however, one woman chose to be interviewed at her place of employment and another participant was interviewed at a family-owned business. These setting were all mutually agreed upon.

Before anyone was allowed to participate in the study, the consent form outlining the purpose, procedures, benefits, and risks of the research project were signed by the participant and the researcher (Appendix B). researcher and the participant signed the consent form in the presence of each other, and a copy was kept by each. The participant was informed that they had the right to deny answers to questions, and/or ask to turn off the tape recorder at any point throughout the interview process. They were explained they also had the right to terminate their participation in the research project if they so There were no conflicts encountered regarding any chose. of these issues. In addition, the participants were given a contact list of local clinical therapists and crisis lines should they feel overwhelmed by the research process (Appendices C & D).

Confidentiality was maintained by the use of pseudonyms during the process of data collection and the eventual write-up. Although the researcher first sought to

comply with the participant's wishes to choose to remain confidential or not, once two of the participants chose they rather not have their legal names appear in the project all the names were changed to pseudonyms. By the second interviews all the participants were told of this change. Thus, audiotapes, researcher journal entries, transcripts, and computer files were all kept with the women's pseudonyms.

Data Collection

For this project the data was collected through indepth interviewing. As McCracken (1988) mentioned, "the long interview is one of the most powerful methods in the qualitative armory" (p. 9). All the participants in this project were interviewed twice.

One of the goals of the first interview was to establish a balanced rapport (Fontana & Frey, 1994). This approach allowed the participant to feel comfortable with the interview process and established mutual respect between the researcher and the participants. A second goal of this first interview was to ask the central questions of the project. This initial interview was semi-structured, thus giving the researcher some guidelines as to what questions to ask, but also allowed for unexpected issues to

be explored (Appendix E). The interview was audio-taped for transcription.

After the initial interview, a rough transcription of the interview was completed and analysis had begun by the time of a second interview. Once all the first interviews from one group were transcribed, the researcher shared the transcriptions with the committee chair. The researcher and the committee chair then met in order to discuss each individual narrative as well as the collective themes that emerged. Questions for the follow-up interview were then established (Appendices F & G). It should be noted that the participants in Miami and Atlanta were treated as two distinct groups. Thus, the women in Miami were interviewed twice and those interviews were transcribed and analyzed before the process began again in Atlanta.

The second interviews were conducted 2-6 weeks after the initial exchange had taken place. The questions for this follow-up interview were designed to allow the researcher to further explore issues of the participants' experiences, as well as verify with the participant the interpretation of what emerged during the interviews.

Basically, the second interview built on the first one, but also allowed for new issues to be explored.

Moreover, during the interview process, the participants often shared with the researcher different materials or sources significant to their experiences. Photographs, books, and/or artifacts were all materials that were shared by these women. These sources were sometimes solicited, sometimes not, but they always enhanced the researcher's understanding of the participants' experiences. In addition, the inclusion of these multiple sources also served for triangulation purposes (i.e., ensure agreement among interviewer, interviewee, and third source, like artifact). The data from these sources were also used in order to confirm emergent themes or contradictions in the narrative (Denzin, 1978; Fontana & Frey, 1994).

For further triangulation, following each interview, the researcher kept detailed observations in a research journal with notes and immediate thoughts regarding the interview process and the participant's environment.

Collective themes or patterns inherent in the discussions were also noted in the research journal (Patton, 1990;

Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). This research journal allowed the researcher to explore issues regarding discomforts that arose as a result of the research process and/or discussion of these topics with participants. However, the journal

was mostly kept as a research tool to analyze emerging themes and patterns in the narratives and other details about the project.

Saturation in qualitative researcher is usually mentioned as the point where the researcher understands that new informants are yielding no new insight and it is therefore redundant to continue seeking participants (Lincoln & Guba 1985). The researcher and the dissertation chair agreed that saturation for the present study occurred between six and nine total participants. Because there were two distinct groups in this study, saturation was reached not only as a one collective group, but also two subgroups.

Issues of Trustworthiness

One of the strengths and weaknesses of a qualitative approach is that of the researcher as instrument. A strength of this approach, as some have argued, is that only a human instrument can capture human interaction and meaning (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). However, bias and subjectivity in collection and interpretation can be seen as a weakness to the approach. Thus, the trustworthiness of the project warrants addressing.

The traditional criteria for trustworthiness have been internal and external validity, and reliability.

Nevertheless, these concepts are not necessarily applicable to qualitative methodologies (Ambert, Adler, Adler, & Detzer, 1995; Guba, 1981). Guba (1981) concluded that these concepts must be changed as follow, "credibility" must replace internal validity, "transferability" must replace external validity, and "dependability" must replace reliability. Furthermore, Lincoln and Guba (1985) added neutrality as another issue of trustworthiness.

Credibility, or truth-value, refers to the ability of the researcher to represent the reality of the participants' experience as clearly as possible (Krefting, 1991; Morse & Field, 1995). Triangulation techniques were used in this project as a way of addressing this issue.

Dr. Thomas Coleman, the committee chair, audited the researcher's codes, interview transcripts, and research journal. The audit, along with member checks, multiple sources and prolonged engagement, were all strategies used to establish credibility. Thick description (Geertz, 1973) were also used as part of this criteria.

Transferability refers to the extent that another researcher might be able to replicate the study in similar contexts and with similar participants (Krefting, 1991; Morse & Field, 1995). However, it is worth noting that generalizability is not a goal of qualitative research.

Qualitative research is specific to time, place and participants, and should not be assumed that findings can be generalizable to the larger group. Thus, transferability has been a controversial issue for qualitative researchers who sometimes argue that this should not even be a goal of qualitative work (Sandelowski, 1993). However, the dissertation itself serves as a guide for those who want to replicate the study. Limitations and implications of the study will be addressed in the discussion section of the dissertation.

Dependability refers to the extent to which findings could be "found" again and is analogous to reliability in quantitative studies (Krefting, 1991; Morse & Field, 1995). Since the researcher is the instrument in qualitative work, it is unlikely that given the same circumstances, the "same" findings could be "found" again. Reliability assumes "absolute truth," a concern that qualitative research does not imply (Gilgun, 1999). However, triangulation strategies can be used as a way of showing that findings relied on multiple approaches and interpretations. Thus, the research journal, transcriptions, multiple sources, supervision audits, and member checks are all ways that dependability was enhanced in this project.

The last criteria of trustworthiness in qualitative work is that of neutrality. Neutrality refers to the extent that the findings are arrived at free from bias in procedure and results (Morse & Field, 1995). Although, perhaps an impossible task that assumes a positivistic view of scientific research, there are ways that qualitative researchers attempt maintaining neutrality (Morse & Field, 1995). For one, the researcher's subjectivity is presented in the findings. Second, through the use of memos and the research journal, the researcher pointed to biases that emerged during the project. Last, consultation with other researchers proved a valuable tool in maintaining neutrality, and exploring the researcher's biases.

Following each interview, Dr. Coleman read the transcribed interview, and audited the initial development of potential themes and categories. I also consulted Dr. Coleman about future interviews and the questions to ask particular participants. This process of consulting with an outside source highlighted issues of trustworthiness.

It should also be noted that because the researcher is of Cuban descent, it was both a weakness and a strength of this project. Being Cuban was a strength since interpretation was facilitated by being a member of the group being studied. In addition to gaining insider

status, there were also cultural elements that the researcher was familiar with that others might miss.

However, it is also a weakness since bias in interpretation was something the researcher was constantly aware of.

For example, there are conventions of behavior that had to be followed between someone of my age interacting with someone of the participant's age. As a twenty-seven year old male I had to constantly be aware of not crossing boundaries that might be deemed disrespectful by the participants. There are social and cultural mores that had to be maintained. Although not really an overwhelming issue in this project, I did often think about these issues, especially around more difficult and emotional issues. Thus, maintaining a respectful environment became a very important part of the research process.

Notwithstanding, there was a very important strength in this study by having someone of the same ethnic group as the informants as a researcher—the issue of language.

Language became a very interesting part of this project.

Initially, I set out to interview the participants in the language they felt most comfortable speaking in. I even assumed that variations might exist between these women.

However, in the research process it became evident very early on that in order for this project to truly be

effective, these women had to be interviewed in Spanish.

Not that they did not speak English, because they all did, some better than others, but because in order for me to understand their stories, they had to be told in Spanish.

Not so much that the facts of the interview would have been different had they been done in English, but rather that the emotions attached to those facts might have been expressed in a different way. It was thus an important and unique strength of this study that the researcher was able to interact and interview the participants in their native language.

Data Analysis

As mentioned earlier, in the grounded theory approach, data collection and analysis are carried out simultaneously. In terms of data analysis, the constant comparitive method was used for this project (Glaser & Straus, 1967; Straus & Corbin, 1998). The data was closely examined for coding by constantly comparing pieces of information as derived from the interview process. For example, if the researcher had two interviews with a participant, comparison of data across the interviews identified categories of person, behavior, or event being studied.

During the first level of coding, the interview transcript was analyzed line by line and descriptive or open codes were made representing common or dissimilar concepts (Glaser, 1978; Morse & Field, 1995). Throughout this process the researcher sorted and created categories or concepts based on the interpretation of the data. The researcher and the committee chair arrived at the initial emergent themes independently and then collectively came up with the final eleven concepts. Over 20 themes made up the initial list which were than narrowed down as analysis of all the interviews were conducted.

Alexander's (1988) narrative analysis techniques and Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffman Davis' (1997) construction of emergent themes deemed valuable tools at this stage of analysis. Alexander's (1988) technique allowed the researcher to identify the salient features of the interview and the data collected. Alexander (1988) proposes nine identifiers of salience including primacy, emphasis, and omissions, among others, in order to help the researcher identify the dominant themes of a narrative.

Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffman Davis (1997) propose five modes of analysis in order to construct emergent themes from the data. The five modes include, searching for: (a) repetitive refrains; (b) resonant metaphors; (c)

institutional and cultural rituals; (d) triangulation; and (e) revealing patterns. Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffman Davis' (1997) various narrative analysis techniques were helpful in documenting the themes that emerged throughout the study. Both Alexander's (1988) and Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffman Davis' (1997) techniques aided at this stage of data analysis where the primary goal was to clarify theoretical properties of categories.

In the selective coding procedure, which is the next level of analysis, the researcher memoed about the relationships that were emerging among categories and concepts. This process is usually called axial coding (Corbin & Straus, 1990). This procedure was carried out until saturation was reached, or when no new information was identified that would change existing categories or create new ones (Morse & Field, 1995). Core categories or themes emerged as central to the data.

The next step was creating initial hypothetical relationships from the data. These hypotheses were interpreted and reinterpreted throughout the data collection process. In the end, the goal was a theory that diagramed the relationships among categories as generated and grounded in the data collected. Since theories in this approach are grounded in the data they are always traceable

back to the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). A well-grounded theory is also trustworthy and represents with clarity the phenomenon being studied (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Representation of the Data

An important methodological consideration for a qualitative researcher includes matters of representation of the data. Representing the data in a way that is both respectful to the participants and within the conventions of academic discourse can be burdensome. However, in this study, Riessman's (1993) model of the levels of representation were used in order to better understand and "give voice" to these women's experiences. According to Riessman (1993), the five levels include: (a) attending to experience; (b) telling about experience; (c) transcribing experience; (d) analyzing experience; and (e) reading experience.

First, in attending to experience, the researcher reflected on the details of the participants' experiences. Questions were asked that were specific to the women's stories and the specifics of her experiences. At this first level of representation the data is based by choices made by the participants and the researcher. From

questions asked by the researcher, to the specifics remembered by the participants, there are constant choices made at this level. However, collectively, the researcher and the participants reflect, recollect and reframe the experiences being observed.

At the second level, there is the telling of experience. At this level, it is important to be aware of how the participants are bound by cultural and social boundaries, real and/or imagined, that are conventions of telling a narrative, an oral history. As Reismann (1993) noted, sometimes the meaning of experience can shift in the process of retelling.

In transcribing experience, the third level, the researcher transformed the spoken language to written text. In this study, the transcripts were written records of not only the participants' story, but also the emphasis and pauses that were also a part of the conversation.

Furthermore, the researcher's interpretative notes were also at times included as the process of translation sometimes required clarification. In many ways, as Reismann (1993) noted, the transcripts were like still-photographs documenting or capturing both reality and interpretation.

At the fourth level, the experiences were analyzed. The researcher made several decisions at this point of the process. From style of presentation to sequencing of narratives, the experiences were analyzed and created what Riessman calls, a "hybrid story." This hybrid story included not only the participants' experiences as told to the researcher, but also included the researcher's own interpretations. Aspects of the participants' stories were ignored, while others were emphasized, in order to create sense and "dramatic tension" (Riessman, 1993).

At the fifth and final level, the researcher wrote about the participants' experiences for others to read and interpret. Reading and writing are not only bound by cultural and social conventions but also by language itself. In this case, the experiences being written about are not even being represented in the language in which they were told, nor experienced. They were in fact translated into the language necessary. However, that does not make this representation any less valid. What is important is to remember that all forms of representation of experience are limited portraits of reality (Reismann, 1993). The limitations are not only bound by conventions or methodologies, but by the complexity of representing human phenomenon.

CHAPTER V

CASE STUDIES

As I listen to these extraordinary women and men tell their life stories, I play many roles. I am a mirror that reflects their pain, their fears, and their victories. I am also the inquirer who asks the difficult questions, searches sometimes who evidence and patterns. I am the companion on the journey, bringing my own story to the encounter, making possible an interpretive collaboration. the audience who listens, laughs, weeps, and applauds. spider woman spinning their tales. the Occasionally, I am a therapist who offers catharsis, support, challenge and who keeps tracks of emotional minefields. Most absorbing to me is the role of the human archaeologist who uncovers the layers of mask inhibition in search of а more authentic representation of life experience. (Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1994)

In this section, vignettes of the women who participated in this study are presented. Through these vignettes, descriptions of the participants' experiences are given. Each vignette includes general information about each participant, their environment, our interactions and their descriptions of their experiences.

However, before describing the participants in this study it is important to also understand my own background, and the biases I brought with me to these interviews and my interpretations. Thus, it is time to ask myself, "What do

I think of when I think about Cuba? ¿Que es lo que pienso cuando pienso de Cuba?"

Cuban. Cubana/Cubano. Cubanness. Cubania. Island of 10 million people, the population of New York City. Spread throughout the world. On the island, in the diaspora, viviendo, luchando por todo el mundo igual. Longing for that Cuba. The Cuba in my Cuban dreams. And in those dreams, as always, I have to start with the food. No hay nada como una comida Cubana.

Pork, black beans and rice. Yuca. Tamales. Fried plantains and Flan. Pastelitos. Guayavas, mangoes, and coconuts. Dulce de coco, Cuba's national dessert. And that puts me in the island. The homeland. Palm trees. Las palmas tan bella. And green, greener than you have ever seen. And the sea. The beaches. Varadero. Bluer than the bluest eyes. "Blue-as-if-it-were-a-boy-blue." Blue like exists nowhere else on Earth. I am in the water and I can see the very bottom. I can see my toes so clearly. Old men in Miami say that the sun is different in Cuba; that the moon is different in Cuba; that the water in the ocean is different in Cuba. And I used to laugh that off, but now I understand. I can look into their wrinkled faces and I can see why they think the things they do. That I

too saw the sun, the moon, the ocean different. Que el mundo es diferente cuando uno lo ve asi.

Then I think about the people, my family. My grandparents, and tios y tias, and cousins, all millions of them. Second cousins, third cousins, even fourth. Playing cards into the wee hours of the morning. Drinking cheap rum. Telling stories. Laughing, dancing. Trying to teach their gringo cousin how to dance casino, merengue and salsa. And that takes me back, back to where I live now.

That when I think of Cuba, I also have to think of
Miami where I was raised, not born, but raised. Lived two
years in Panama. Came to the United States in 1983 when I
was ten. These things I recite like a poem in America.
With my well-versed English, polished and clean. "You
don't even speak with an accent." I think of CubanAmerican. Politics. Nostalgia. El exilio. Guzanos,
that's what we are. We are worms that ran away. Running
from one man. Fidel Castro, I hope you choke on your own
vomit. Puerco, asqueroso, mentiroso y come mierda. How we
never really fit. How even with economic success we are
still foreigners, marginal, like animals in outer space.
42 years de el exilio. ¿Cuando se ira a morir? Die you
crazy old man! That we live in a world torn between
nostalgia and reality. Perhaps they are one in the same?

Where family members marry into American families and their children cannot even communicate with their grandparents.

¿Que es eso? What disrespect! That as the years go by, less and less of us will remember the Cuba that we knew.

The one in our Cuban dreams. Now living in a place where Cuba is this island that most can't even find on a map.

But it's always on the news, especially last year with that boy Elian. El pobre. Like Moses, here to set his people free. What a crazy world exile is. But also part of the story: hopefully neither the beginning nor the end.

I could go on for pages about what I think, but I will not. However, I find it important because it tells you a little about the place from which I speak. The part of me that is both an insider and outsider. 100% Cuban, every bit inside and out, en los huesos, as they say. But I am also 100% American, raised and educated so. That I understand Cubans' nostalgia, just as much as American history, American ways, American dreams. That is all a part of the place from which I write. That I constantly ponder what it means to be un Cubano. What it means to have been raised in a Communist island that is now an oxymoron, an anachronism, to the modern world. What it means to be an outsider in mainstream America, where Cuba

means Ricky Ricardo, and Gloria Estefan, and sometimes even Ricky Martin or Jennifer Lopez.

That I understand that for the women who participated in this study, I was in fact reflecting, "their pain, their fears, and their victories." That I was their children and grandchildren. Perhaps their sense of loss and/or sense of pride. And that I am now the spider webbing their stories into narrative. That all these things contribute to how I look at the world, and more importantly, they tell you a little bit about the position from which I approached this study. For I'm also part academia, let me now try.

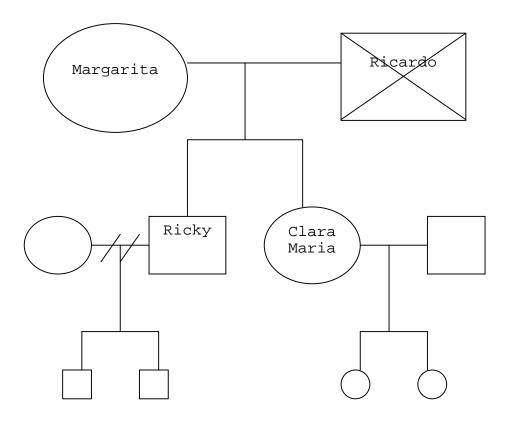
The following vignettes are assembled using my research journal, the interview transcripts, and the member checks. Each vignette includes: (a) a profile of the informant; (b) a description of the interview setting; and (c) a narrative of their experiences based on the interviews. For each case study there is a genogram and a summary table with key points from the narratives. These are included to help the reader, and the meaning of symbols used in the genograms can be found in Appendix (H). The case studies are presented in the order the interviews occurred.

Margarita Lopez

Margarita Lopez was the first woman interviewed for this study. Referred to me by my mother, I contacted her, upon arriving in Miami for the first round of interviews, to set up a time and place to meet. Although I have met Margarita before, we had never really had an in-depth conversation. I did not know very much about Margarita before this interview. We agreed to meet at her house early in the morning for the first interview.

It is difficult to describe Margarita because there is so much about her that stands out. Her over-the-top sense of humor and all-together craziness is something that I had been exposed to before. Throughout our interviews we often laughed about all sorts of comments she made. One comment that stands out was when she insisted that I psychologically analyze myself and promise to tell her that I was as crazy as she is. Her use of humor is both natural and genuine.

Margarita is 70 years old and stands at about 5'6" tall. She has a son and a daughter, and a total of four grandchildren (see Figure 2). Her husband, Ricardo, died a few years ago, however, her mother, at 93 is still alive. She comes from a family of four children, three girls and one boy, and in both interviews she spoke quite a bit about



Family Structure	Life in Cuba	Migration & Decision	Settlement Context	Cultural Identity	Adaptation
		to Leave			
Husband Ricardo (dead)	Grew up in a sugar mill	Left in 1959	Has always lived in Miami	Cuban but integrated	Emphasis on culture "shock"
		Left son		Described	
2	Described	in Cuba	Described	son as a	At first,
children	life in a		Miami as	Cubanaso	tremendously
Ricky	sugar mill	Believed	Cuba		difficult
Clara	as	it would		Daughter	
Maria	comfortable	be	Miami	more	Personality
	especially	temporary	built by	American	has aided
4 grand-	for women		Cubans		adaptation
children		"the best		Grand-	
		decision"		children	Cited Cuban
				Americanized	women as
					heroines

Figure 2:

Genogram and Summary Table for Margarita Lopez Case Study

her nieces and nephews, who live in different places throughout the world.

Something that stands out was that for both interviews, although dressed in a house gown, Margarita had make-up and earrings on. This anecdote reinforces one of the things she repeatedly acknowledged throughout her interviews about Cubans' emphasis on external appearance. To her, one of the first cultural shocks about living in the U.S. was how she saw American women with different standards of self-presentation. She said, "I got here and had a cultural shock...I came from a place where everyone has their nails painted and their hair done, and here I would see the old American women with their hair all crazy and without any nail polish...it was a shock." This theme of self-presentation was repeated in both interviews as both a cultural shock and a characteristic emphasizing the differences between Cubans and Americans.

Another thing that stands out from Margarita's interviews was her use and knowledge of psychological terms and expressions. For example, in her descriptions of family members she always emphasized the psychological traits of that person. In the second interview she even acknowledged that she finds "nothing prettier than

psychology." This was an interesting part of Margarita's interview, as she defined ethnicity, in this case Cuban and American, as psychologically different.

Both of Margarita's interviews occurred at her home in Coral Gables, an upper middle class neighborhood in Miami. One of things that I immediately noticed about her home, where she now lives alone, was the European style of decoration. Although she later told me she had bought most things, including the furniture, at yard sales, her home has a certain antique and European feel to it. She also told me that she enjoys decorating a great deal. and the arts are important aspects of Margarita's life. Throughout her interviews, she often mentioned artists and writers, and gave me several recommendations of books to read and movies I should see. Her emphasis on the arts is also noticeable in her home as she had several original paintings and other artworks displayed throughout. At the end of the second interview, she showed me a beautiful self-portrait hanging in her bedroom that was painted by an artist she once knew. Near the entrance to her home Margarita also has a table full of family photographs. The majority of the pictures are of her children, grandchildren, nieces and nephews.

I interviewed Margarita both times in the same place at her home. We sat in the Florida room, across from each other on comfortable wicker chairs with a small table between us that held the tape recorder and her telephone. Both interviews lasted about one hour and a half. During the second interview we were repeatedly interrupted by telephone calls from her mother who was very ill during the time of that interview. Overall, her interviews were funny, lively and informative, and she was very aware of her role as a participant in this study. Other members of her family have graduate and/or professional degrees and she is aware of the kind of work that goes into a dissertation.

Life in a Central and the Decision to Leave

Like all the interviews, we started with Margarita's life in Cuba before coming to the U.S. Margarita was born and raised in a central, a sugar mill, where her father was an engineer. She described that central as being like a small country. Although smaller than most centrales in Cuba, it had all the amenities and necessities available to those who lived there. Margarita emphasized that anything they needed, they only had to ask for. One of the things that she enjoyed most about living there was that everyone knew and was friendly to each other. However, Margarita

emphasized that Americans living at the central at the time were the only exception. She described them as arrogant and always keeping to themselves, without interacting with Cubans. Notwithstanding, Margarita described life in a central as very close-knit and comfortable, "where everyone knew your name." It was at that central where she met her husband, Ricardo, whose family owned a business transporting cargo to and from centrales.

Margarita described the decision to leave Cuba as a "family" one. Margarita and Ricardo were the first to come, temporarily leaving their son, Ricky, in Cuba with her family. Although initially planning to stay only temporarily, they soon realized that their stay would be longer than anticipated. After several months of being in Miami, Margarita's father wrote the family telling them that it was unlikely that the situation in Cuba was going to change. Subsequently, over the years, most of Margarita's family was able to leave Cuba, including her father and mother.

Without any immediate family left in Cuba, Margarita has never been back. Her husband, Ricardo, did return once to see his family, but the trip was emotionally stressful.

Margarita viewed the decision of having left Cuba as very positive. "The happiest day was that day," she said. She

especially emphasized her children's educational and professional achievements as markers that the decision was a wise one to make. Margarita explained:

My children were educated here. If we lived in Cuba they would not have gotten an education. They would have gotten an education under a Marxist/Leninist doctrine, which I do not believe in. And they are both very successful in their careers. The decision to come here was a very good one.

Margarita also expressed her deep love for this country, especially the way of life and the idea that "the individual is taught to self-develop."

Settling in Miami

Like the other women in this study Margarita had also been to Miami before settling there in 1959. She had actually been to Miami with her husband on their honeymoon. And although familiar with Miami, she still found that adapting to Miami was very much a "shock," especially a cultural "shock" given the differences she saw between Cubans and Americans. She spoke about those early years as "tremendously difficult." Margarita also mentioned different incidences of discrimination against them, especially for speaking Spanish in public.

In Miami, Margarita, who spoke English before migrating, got a job at a clothing store, while her husband established a restaurant in the Downtown area. Over the years, the family made their living in the restaurant business. Ricky, Margarita's son, became instrumental in the family business. At first, working was very difficult for Margarita who was not accustomed to that aspect of American life. "At the central, everything was within our reach," she said. "To get here was horrible." But slowly the family began adapting to life in this country. She said, "we had another mindset. Although I had never worked, I adapted perfectly to that...And although it was difficult at first, and we had no help, we began adapting."

The idea that that generation of immigrants had a different "mindset" was one of the strongest themes from her interviews. "We came with a different mentality," she emphasized during the second interview. "We came to work." Margarita also mentioned that work was especially difficult for women, who were not accustomed to working in Cuba, especially women of Margarita's social status. "We are the heroines of this," Margarita emphasized, "Without ever having done a thing in Cuba, look at us now." In addition, Margarita again pointed to the fact that this shift in roles did not necessarily cause family conflict since their

mindset was different: their mindset was to get ahead by all means necessary.

According to Margarita, the hard work and the emphasis on getting ahead has paid off, especially if you focus on what Miami has become. To Margarita, Miami has been built by Cubans. "When we got here, this was a dirt town," she said, "we were the ones to teach these people." Moreover, she also acknowledged that Miami has become a second home to her. "When I arrive at the Miami Airport," she explained, "it's like arriving in a town in Cuba. I love it. I love Miami."

Family and the Psychology of Cubans and Americans

Throughout both interviews, Margarita spoke a great deal about her family. As mentioned earlier, she especially acknowledged their psychological and personality traits. She described her husband, who passed away, as very introverted. The kind of man who held back a great deal, and as she said, "probably suffered a great deal in his life" because of that. "He never said anything or wrote anything," she said. "He never said I'm sad, or I'm happy. Nothing." It was also at this point in the interview that Margarita became noticeably emotional. Her body language changed and she was obviously moved by remembering her late husband.

Margarita also mentioned that Ricardo drank a lot.

The drinking was something that was especially stressful for their daughter, Clara Maria, who according to Margarita resented her father's drinking. She even wrote Margarita a letter once describing her father as "a shadow that passed through the house." Still, acknowledging his faults and a completely different personality from hers, Margarita described Ricardo as "a good man, a hard-working man." Although Ricardo's relationship with his daughter had obvious strains, according to Margarita, he was very attached to their son, Ricky. It was a reciprocal relationship, and even into old age they remained very close.

Margarita's relationship with her two children is very different. Like her husband, she is deeply attached to their son, Ricky. She even called him, "the prince of this house." Ricky, a very successful lawyer in Miami, is psychologically very similar to Margarita. They supposedly sometimes call him "Margarito." According to Margarita, Ricky is a "Cubanaso" and what has impressed his mother the most is his total ability to "move in both cultures."

Margarita also expressed great satisfaction in seeing how successful her son has become. From a young boy who sold Cuban sandwiches around to businesses, to the young man who

worked at the family restaurant during college, Margarita described her son as a "self-made man:" earning two degrees, in law and in business administration. Of her two children, it is also Ricky who looks after his mother the most. According to Margarita, Ricky constantly checks-up on her and makes sure to bring the family together for special events like Margarita's birthday and other family occasions. Although now divorced, Ricky did marry an American woman and they had two sons. Currently, despite his mother's disapproval, Ricky is dating another American woman, who Margarita described as "having a lot of miles." Afraid to "loose" her son, Margarita has chosen to be friendly with Ricky's new girlfriend.

Margarita's relationship with her daughter, Clara
Maria, is quite different. The first sign of that
difference was evident when she described her daughter as
"psychologically American." Not only American, but also
very different from Margarita's own personality. "She
reacts completely different from me," she said. "She is
like me in absolutely nothing." Despite their differences,
Margarita is also very proud of her daughter who is a
television network executive. Clara Maria is married and
has two daughters. Margarita described her daughter's
"Americanness" by citing that she is not able to call Clara

Maria just to see how she is doing. "Dare I call and bother my daughter," she said. "She has her rules and whatnot." Notwithstanding, despite the obvious differences in their relationships, Margarita is very attached to both her children and she noted them as the one thing she is most proud of in her life.

Margarita's grandchildren are a different story. She described her grandsons, Ricky's children, as "total disasters." However, Margarita acknowledged that it has been a complex upbringing with the "guilt of divorce."

According to Margarita, "because he had to work so hard,"

Ricky gives his sons, "everything he has and more." Her relationship with her granddaughters is also similar, but that is largely due to how she and Clara Maria get along.

Again, she cited that relationship as much more "American."

In fact, as a whole, she described her grandchildren as ethnically much more "American." Although she acknowledged differences among them, and noted the eldest grandson as much more "Cuban," she described them all as pretty much American.

On Being Cuban, but Integrated

When asked how she would describe herself ethnically,

Margarita gave a unique answer. "I am Cuban," she said,

"but integrated. Integrated to the American system. I

like it a lot." Furthermore, Margarita attributed her personality as the reason why she has been able to integrate to an American way of life. Margarita also mentioned the many interethnic marriages that can be found throughout her family, including her sisters who are both married to non-Cuban men. However, throughout both interviews Margarita emphasized the differences between what she characterizes as Cuban and American.

Despite Margarita's self-definition, she often mentioned the difficulty that Cubans have in being understood by Americans. "They don't understand our psychology," she said. Margarita highlighted language and Cubans' sense of family as two characteristics that have made Cubans' integration to America more difficult.

Margarita said, "We have lived here 40 years and we keep our customs. Especially our big extended families and all that." Family is at the heart of Margarita's definition of Cubanness. And when asked what she would immediately assume about someone who tells her they are Cuban,

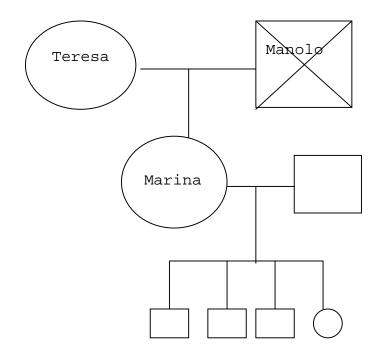
Margarita answered, "that they are family. To say they're Cuban, they become family."

Teresa Cortes

My interviews with Teresa Cortes were unique. Teresa, a 60-something year old woman, is the Student Services

Chairperson at a local middle school in Miami. Teresa has one daughter, Marina, and four grandchildren (see Figure 3). She has lived in the Coral Gables neighborhood ever since she settled in Miami. However, she now lives alone since her husband died a few years ago.

After making initial contact with her, via my mother's reference, Teresa urged me to come to her work for the first interview. After I suggested a more private setting, she insisted that the interview would be fine at her job. Although not the ideal place to hold an interview of this nature, I decided that I would interview Teresa at her job, since it was the space that she was acknowledging being comfortable in. Although this might seem like an avoidance gesture, I recognized that her request was more about getting the interview done, rather than about personal space. In addition, Teresa told me that it would take her only a few minutes to do the interview. Although I mentioned that the interviews might actually take one to two hours, she said she would not take very long. "If it takes someone else an hour and a half," she insisted, "it will take me 20 minutes." Both her interviews were about 25-40 minutes.



Family	Life in	Migration	Settlement	Cultural	Adaptation
Structure	Cuba	& Decision	Context	Identity	
		to Leave			
Husband	Lived in	Left with	Has always	Said Cuban-	Although
Manolo	Havana	family in	lived in	American, but	"horrible,"
(dead)		1960	Miami	acknowledging	prefers
	Studied			her roots and	having come
1	to be an	Left	Family	citizenship	
daughter	architect	everything	bought		Said she
Marina		at the	houses in	Daughter also	feels
	Was an	house as	the same	Cuban-	"cheated"
4	English	if going	neighborhood	American	
grand-	teacher	on	in Miami		Heart still
children	in Cuba	vacation		Grandchildren	in Cuba
			She has	more	
		Feels they	worked for	Americanized	Greatly
		were	the		mourns
		forced out	education		husband's
			system ever		death
			since		
			migrating		

Figure 3:

Genogram and Summary Table for Teresa Cortes Case Study

One of the other unique aspects of Teresa's interviews was the fact that they were done in English. She was the only woman in this study that I interviewed in English.

Although the first interview started out in Spanish, two or three questions into it, we shifted to English. The second interview was done fully in English. There was no real reason why the shift to English occurred. I can suspect it had something to do with the environment we were in and the fact that I had the interview guide written in English.

I now believe that this small fact had an impact in my interview with Teresa, the implications of which will be discussed later. However, I now believe that the only way I was able to fully comprehended her story was by listening to her say it in Spanish. Before and after the official part of her interviews, we made small talk in Spanish. It was during those moments that I felt I had a better sense of how she thought and felt. As mentioned earlier, not so much that the facts of the interview would have been different had they been done in Spanish, but rather that the emotions attached to those facts might have been expressed in a different way. It was a unique element of this study that was worth noting since I felt played an interesting role in the research process and my understanding of Teresa's narrative.

I interviewed Teresa both times in her office at the local middle school. During the first interview we were interrupted a couple of times, however, the interview continued without any real delay in the process. It was that first interview that Teresa seemed more distant and guarded about her answers to questions, stating more facts rather than emotion. However, the second interview was quite different. Teresa seemed much more willing to talk and analyze her feelings towards the events in her life, and my perception of her experiences changed dramatically. I was better able to understand her narrative once she opened up more and expressed the emotions attached to different aspects of her life.

We sat in her office opposite each other. The tape recorder was placed in the middle of the desk. One of the things I immediately noticed about Teresa's office were the several Cuban items displayed throughout. Although books and other school materials were the predominant items throughout the office, Teresa had obviously made an effort to also display some Cuban items. The Cuban flag, Cuban books, and old pictures of Cuba, were all items I saw. In addition, Teresa also had a few paintings and posters from her travels to Europe and other places. During her

interview, Teresa acknowledged that traveling is one of her favorite things to do.

Life in Cuba and Adaptation to Miami

Teresa was born and raised in the Biltmore
neighborhood in Havana. It was a neighborhood known for
being for the upper social classes of pre-Revolutionary
Cuba. Her family had six houses in that neighborhood.
Teresa's father was a pharmaceutical, who opened several
pharmacies throughout Cuba, and wrote many academic books
used as texts in Universities. Her mother, who came from a
wealthy family, never worked outside the home. However,
Teresa was trained as an architect, and also worked as an
English teacher in Cuba. Her only brother, who was in the
Cuban military before Batista, started a publicity agency,
which he still has in Miami.

Teresa described leaving Cuba as a family decision, with everyone in the immediate family migrating at once, on November 5, 1960. Teresa said, "We left all of our belongings in those homes, including our cars and our clothes…everything as if we were going on vacation." Like others, Teresa's family believed the move would only be temporary, "six months, at the most." However, over forty years later, they have never returned. "I don't plan on

returning," said Teresa, "not until that man dies." The majority of Teresa's family has either found a way to live in exile or have already died.

In Miami, thinking the move would be temporary,

Teresa's family decided to purchase a home in Coral Gables,
so the family would have somewhere to stay during their
travels back and forth between Havana and Miami. That
first home is still owned by the family now, along with
four other houses in the same street that they have
purchased over the years. "Like Cuba, the family united,"
acknowledged Teresa.

Those early years in Miami were "horrible" according to Teresa. There really was no formal form of help during that time, and the little there was seemed like nothing to exiles who had been used to a very different standard of living in Cuba. However, Teresa, like many other educated women who came, began by trying to find jobs doing anything they could. Teresa's first job was as a Cuban Aide for a local senior high school. Having to adapt to the mass influx of Cuban children and adolescents coming to South Florida, many schools in Miami hired qualified women to work as assistants in classrooms. Teresa acknowledged that her education, her ability to speak English and the fact that she had worked for many years in Cuba before coming to

the United States were factors that have helped her a great deal in adapting. Teresa explained:

I think I was quite prepared in the sense that I came to this country knowing English. That was an advantage. And I was also educated. I had those advantages, but it was still a shock. Even though I know that I came more prepared than other people.

Although she now views the decision to leave Cuba positively, and said she prefers having come, she acknowledged that personally the change was very difficult. Work was one of the aspects that Teresa acknowledged as being the most difficult. During both interviews Teresa reiterated "I never thought you could work as hard as I have worked in this country. I thought that was impossible." In the end, Teresa even acknowledged that work has been the one thing she has learned about herself in the last 40 years. "I never thought I could work this hard," she said.

Family and the Sense of Being Cuban-American

In comparison to the other women, Teresa spoke significantly less about her family. Her husband, Manolo Torres, had been a prominent politician in Cuba. Thus, unlike others who came, Manolo did not have a trade or a profession with skills that were easily transferable to

America. Subsequently, Manolo set up an ice cream shop in the Northwest section of Miami and worked there 25 years selling ice cream. Teresa admitted that for Manolo, the decision to leave Cuba "changed his life completely." That change was obvious by simply recognizing the dramatic transformation in occupations Manolo had to undergo in the U.S. However, Teresa affirmed that, "the change did not make him a bitter man." Although at first Manolo worked for the CIA, with time, he forgot about politics and concentrated on making a living in order for his family to survive and get ahead.

Like the other women interviewed, Teresa became visibly emotional when she spoke about Manolo's death. She again described the experience as "horrible." "He was a man who adored me," she explained. "Something I miss everyday of my life."

Teresa's daughter, Marina, has four children—three boys and one girl. Marina, like her mother, works in the education system and is fluent in Spanish and English.

Education has been an important part of the family heritage. In fact, Marina, who came to the U.S. when she was five years old, years later became the youngest person to graduate with a Bachelor's degree from Florida

International University. Marina's children have all been

educated in private schools in Miami and according to

Teresa, they have been raised with an awareness of their

Cuban heritage. "They all feel Cuban-American," explained

Teresa, "they don't feel purely American."

Teresa acknowledged, however, that her grandchildren's sense of ethnicity is based more on things such as knowing the history of Cuba, famous patriots, and the significance of historical dates, and not necessarily about psychological attachment to Cuba. Teresa did mention, though, that all her grandchildren have maintained the Spanish language and enjoy doing "Cuban" things such as dancing and listening to Cuban music. Moreover, Teresa also acknowledged that her eldest grandson is engaged to marry an American.

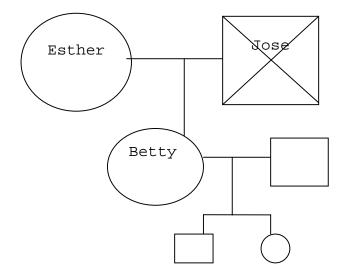
Teresa also defined herself as Cuban-American. "I would never be only American," Teresa acknowledged. On the other hand, she also recognized that she cannot call herself purely Cuban either. "Pure Cuban no, because I'm an American citizen...it wouldn't be fair in my part...so I'm Cuban-American." Teresa's self-definition was unique because she was the only woman in this study to label herself Cuban-American. However, Teresa did consider herself in exile, citing that she had not come to the U.S. by choice. "I would have rather have stayed in Cuba, to

tell you the truth" she explained. "I'm very grateful to this country, but my heart is still there. I feel cheated." Thus, despite Teresa's self-definition, it was evident that there was still an emotional attachment to Cuba. Despite her achievements and her family's success in the U.S. Teresa still felt that she did not belong in this country.

Esther Camino

Esther Camino was very eager to participate in this study. I spoke to her on the phone and set to meet the following afternoon at her home in West Miami. West Miami is a middle-class neighborhood, where Esther has lived for over 30 years. Esther, like the other women in the Miami study, now lives alone since her husband's death a few years ago. Esther is 70 years old and stands at about 5' 2" tall. She has one daughter, Betty, and two grandchildren (see Figure 4). The first interview lasted about an hour and a half, while the second one was about one hour.

There were a couple of things about Esther's home that caught my attention. Upon entering her home, the first thing I noticed were the number of family photographs displayed throughout. Near the entrance to the house, Esther has a table full of framed pictures of her immediate



Family Structure	Life in Cuba	Migration & Decision to Leave	Settlement Context	Cultural Identity	Adaptation
Husband Jose (dead) 1 daughter Betty 2 grand- children	Lived in Havana Home Economics teacher Home was intervened by Cuban government	Left in 1960 Knew Fidel's reputation in college Believed it would be temporary "The most intelligent decision"	Has always lived in Miami Miami has become a second home If not in Cuba, Miami Has always worked for education system	Said Hispanic but feels Cuban Daughter has main- tained sense of being Cuban Grand- children more American than Cuban	Emotionally still has her suitcase packed Feels she has not adapted emotionally Unravels perfectly in both cultures Emphasized Cuban women's history

Figure 4:

Genogram and Summary Table for Esther Camino Case Study

family. At the end of the first interview, Esther showed me the photographs and explained who they were.

In addition, something else that caught my attention was the number of books in Esther's house. In the living/dining room area there were a number of bookcases filled with books. Being that education played such an important theme in Esther's interviews, the books were a concrete example of her passion for learning and teaching.

Both interviews with Esther occurred in the same place in her home. We sat in the living room, across from each other with the tape recorder on the side table between us. I found Esther's interviews to be highly informative. She has a great analytical ability, answering each question with detailed analysis, and often being sensitive to her answers. As mentioned earlier, Esther's value for education extends beyond her professional life and into her personal one. She has read a great deal about Cuba and throughout her interviews she often referred to things she had read.

However, that is not to say that Esther's interviews were void of emotional moments. Like the other women, Esther showed a great deal of emotionality, especially when she spoke about her late husband. Esther also spoke a great deal about her emotional adaptation in the last forty

years. And in fact, she acknowledged that in her life she has always given "the emotional and the internal greater importance over the intellectual."

Closing the Door and Cuban Women's Patriotism

Esther was born and raised in Havana. She studied at the University of Havana, and received a degree in Home Economics in 1958. She was a teacher at the Home Economics School in Pinar del Rio, where she taught manual and domestic arts. Before the Revolution, the Home Economics Schools were educational centers at the equivalent of a high school level that prepared future elementary school home economics teachers.

Esther's husband, Jose, worked as the representative for an American oil company in Havana. When Castro's government began intervening in businesses, Jose started planning to get the family out of Cuba. Neither Jose nor Esther, who actually had known Castro during her university years, believed in the Communist ideology of the Revolution. Esther explained, "that was the decision. He knew that this Communist ideology was getting closer to consuming us and we took that decision." After Esther's mother's house was confiscated, and theirs intervened, the step before confiscation, Esther went to government officials and turned over the keys to her house. "I closed

the door and left," she explained. "Many people left the same way."

Although Esther acknowledged that the decision to leave Cuba was in reality taken by her husband, she believed that she was happy to make it and that her "high sacrifice" was an expression of patriotism. Not just hers alone, but of all Cuban women who left in similar fashion. Esther explained,

You are leaving your position, your house, your life. Everything. You are closing a door and you leave. I believe that's an act of patriotism....Cuban women, the Cuban family, in 1960 could not live under Castro, and what did they do? They left. They left everything, denounced everything. A future. A homeland, the biggest thing you have, and you leave. I believe that is a super-patriotic position. Cuban women are very patriotic.

Esther accredited Cuba's history for reinforcing such strong patriotism among women.

Cuban women have always had great examples of what were the first wives of *Mambises*, and mothers of *Mambises*. That when it was time to fight for Cuba's independence, they fought. Even as young girls, in school and all. It's in the books of Cuba's history.

Great examples from all those women. I had to read them, study them, assimilate them. When your turn comes up, you have to do your part in the history.

Although Esther acknowledged that the decision to leave

Cuba was a sacrifice, she views it as the "most intelligent decision we made." She believed that taking their daughter out of Cuba made it all worth it.

Difficult Beginning and the Educational System

Like the other women who settled in Miami, Esther was also familiar with the city before migrating. Esther made the interesting anecdote that, at the time, many families in Havana would spend Friday and Saturday in Miami and be back in Havana by Sunday night. However, on October 14, 1960, Esther, Jose and their daughter who was at the time two years old, settled in Miami indefinitely.

The family spent the first six months in Miami in desperate need. Having no capital, the family spent those months in great scarcity. The family lived in an efficiency that Esther's mother had rented for them, and in order to make ends meet, they raffled some of their possessions. With the help of friends and family, Esther raffled some of her jewelry while Jose did the same with rum and cigars he had brought with him from Cuba. Jose

spent those early months looking for employment but he had little luck.

Having been among the first to come, there was no formal government help at the time. Although the oil company that Jose worked for in Cuba did provide a weekly monetary help to Cuban exiles, the family never took advantage of it. By the time government help was institutionalized Esther's husband had already found employment working for a rental car company. That first year, Jose tried his luck in a number of jobs, including working for the Amoco Oil Company. He even considered moving the family to Atlanta, Georgia where Amoco had offered him employment. However, during the time Jose was away, Esther found a job as a Cuban Aide for the Dade county school system, and the family remained in Miami.

Esther spent 5 or 6 six years working as a Cuban Aide at a local elementary school. Esther explained:

Because so many children came...so many Cuban children...and they were not able to communicate, the principal at my school was very intelligent. She was looking for people who were prepared, who understood those children, and that way she at least had the problem in better control...that was how I began in the school system.

During that time, Esther also returned to school, under the Cuban Teacher Training Program at the University of Miami, in order to be certified to be a teacher. In this Training Program, Esther had to repeat all sorts of courses she had already taken at the University of Havana, since the U.S. did not recognize her teaching degree.

Over the years, Esther has spent her whole life in education. After becoming a full time teacher she got involved with Miami's initiatives for bilingual and bicultural education. Although not designed solely for Spanish speakers, the philosophy of bicultural education included classes in English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL). It is a program that still exits today and Esther continues to be involved with it, now as a volunteer. Esther volunteers twice a week at one of the leading examples of bicultural education in the country where all students learn in a public school setting all course contents in both English and Spanish. The ability to "unravel" in both cultures and languages was one of the primary themes of Esther's interviews.

Adapting with the Suitcases Still Packed

Like the other women in this study, Esther believed that the situation in Cuba would soon change and that they would eventually return to their homeland. "I calculated

that no matter how horrible the situation was, things in Cuba were not going to last more than two years," she said. However, that added dimension has made adaptation to the U.S. an interesting phenomenon. Esther shared:

Sincerely, I have lived with the suitcases still packed. I have never lived here emotionally. What that means is that I've had to live beyond that sentiment. I've had to make a professional career. A new life.

Reaffirming that sentiment in the second interview, Esther added, "I'm still not adapted...And I live in a bicultural society. I unravel in both bilingual and bicultural. But in my heart, I have to say...I have lived with the suitcases still packed." However, fearing misinterpretation, Esther reiterated that "that does not mean that I'm going to return to live in Cuba...It's that they stopped my emotional clock." Not only does Esther not plan to live in Cuba, but she also understood that she will probably never return to her homeland. Although she had the "hope" she also understood that she is 70 years-old and the reason why she left Cuba "is still there." And more importantly, she does not regret the decision to have come, and admits that her husband's adaptation was completely different from her own.

Although Esther would not say that her husband's adaptation was easier than her own, she did acknowledge that his personality helped him in the process. "My husband was a man who, by nature, was very adaptable," she said. "He was a man who could close the door and leave everything else behind...and he could go forth whichever way he could. To him, in reality, I don't know if it was easier or his personality helped him accept it better." Despite the differences in adjustment, Esther's family moved forth and she adopted the philosophy of bicultural education to her own home. She made sure to raise her daughter in an environment where both languages and cultures were equally valued.

Family and the Importance of Culture

Esther's daughter Betty, came to the U.S. when she was only two years old. At that young age, Cuba was not the tangible homeland that it was for children who migrated at a later age. However, being raised in Miami, Esther always made sure that Betty knew about her homeland and her roots. Betty attended local Catholic schools in Miami that were often established by the same administrators who ran them in Cuba.

Today, Betty is an administrator for a local city government. She is married to a Cuban man and they have

two children, a boy, who is 21 years old and a daughter, who is 13. Esther acknowledged that like her mother, Betty "unravels perfectly in both cultures." Although, "logically, she has better command of the English language," Esther was positive that Betty also fits perfectly well within Cuban culture. In fact, as Betty has gotten older, Esther has noticed a sort of revitalization of Betty's Cuban roots. Esther explained:

As she has gotten older that *Cubania*, that I did not see when she was younger, has grown. Maybe as she has gotten older she has seen the pain of her homeland. Perhaps she has seen all the things that have been done to our country. And as an adult, she has been

However, with the next generation, Esther realized that the attachment to Cuba is greatly lost. Although Esther actively tries, she understood that for her grandchildren, "their roots are in America."

hurt, which is natural because they are her roots.

Esther spoke quite a bit about her grandson, who at 21, is now at the age when he is beginning to realize the importance of cultural identification. Although he was raised in a bicultural and bilingual home, where English and Spanish we spoken, English is much easier for him.

Esther attributed schools and peers as the influencing

factors. However, Esther acknowledged that when her grandson wants to be understood, "not only through language, but from the heart, he speaks to me in Spanish."

"He wants to reach me completely," explained Esther.

Esther has been an active part of her grandchildren's upbringing. She especially tried to do things in order to make sure they have kept a sense of being Cuban. "I am constantly buying them books," said Esther. But Esther realized that "that generation is different. They feel more American than Cuban." Furthermore, Esther also spoke about the fact that she "doesn't think that this country accepts them as citizens." By virtue of having a Hispanic last name, Esther felt her grandchildren will always be treated as "second-class citizens" in America. "And that hurts a little," Esther acknowledged.

At an individual level, Esther spoke a great deal about her own sense of being, not only Cuban, but also an exile. When asked about her ethnic identification, Esther responded,

When you come to his country, as I did at 28, you bring a foundation, personality, professional and academic background, and naturally my memories and my entire life until that moment were and are with Hispanic culture.

Although initially Esther described herself as "Hispanic," she later admitted that definition was her attempt at being mindful of other nationalities. "I should say and I feel Cuban," she emphasized. Moreover, Esther also described her sense of exile in this country.

"Although I'm an American citizen," she said, "and I know that I would do anything for this country, but I feel
Cuban. Exiled Cuban. As long as Fidel Castro is there I will be in exile."

Even though in exile, Esther recognized that not only did she not regret any of the choices she made, but that she is proud that they were able to get their daughter out of Cuba. In the end, it was her family that she is most proud of. "I'm very proud of what my daughter has achieved and what my grandchildren are achieving," Esther emphasized. However, perhaps exile has been less painful because they, like many other Cubans, have made Miami their second home.

The Building of Miami as a Second Home

Although more mindful than the other women, Esther also recognized that Cubans have been a great influence in what is now Miami. "Everyone in their field," she explained, "in their professions, put their maximum.

Architects, business men, men with money...and they have

helped build Miami." Esther also acknowledged that Cubans became a great influence in development and commerce, especially by being a tremendous labor force. "This was a place for vactioners," Esther explained. "And for the elderly...But Cubans have done a great deal." What was more important, according to Esther, was that Cubans have "opened the doors and made the opportunities that now exist for other Latinos." Furthermore, she added, "The doors were opened by Cubans. Reality is, the hard work was done by Cubans. The ones who felt hungry were Cubans. Others have not had to go through the same experiences."

At a more personal level, Miami has become a second home to Esther. Even though she said that that she loves to travel, she realized how much the U.S. has become a second home. "I realized that if not Cuba, here," she explained. "If I can't be in Cuba, I want to be in the United States."

Ana Smith Pereira

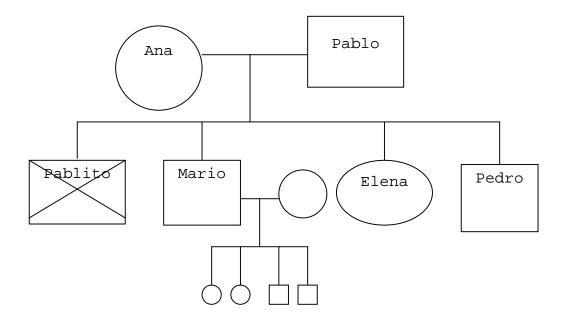
Of all the interviews, Ana's were the most intellectually and emotionally challenging. The first interview lasted over three and half hours, while the second one lasted almost two hours. In the end, I was emotionally drained. Ana's interviews were unique. Her story was unique. And by the end of the first interview, I

could tell we had made a special connection. For the second interview, Ana even greeted me with one of my favorite Cuban dishes—red bean soup.

Ana is 70-something years old. She stands at about 5'2" and is the mother of four (Figure 5). She also has four grandchildren. Although I had met Ana years ago at my mother's beauty shop, I had not seen her since then. Ana was very eager to participate in the study. As she said, she was eager at the opportunity "to be able to contribute something." Ana is also a participant in a 10-year medical study that examines Cuban women's physical health.

Ana lives in a small apartment in Coral Gables. At the time of the first interview Ana was living there alone because she had placed her husband, Pablo, in a nursing home. However, by the second interview, Pablo was back living with Ana.

The first thing I noticed about Ana's apartment were the number of photographs displayed throughout. No matter where you looked there were photographs, especially old black and white pictures. Ana pointed out who most people were in the photographs, but at the time I did not exactly know who these family members were. By the end of the first interview she once again pointed out who they were.



Family Structure	Life in Cuba	Migration & Decision to Leave	Settlement Context	Cultural Identity	Adaptation
Husband Pablo 4 children Pablito (dead) Mario Elena Pedro 4 grand- children	Lived in Havana Father was American Lived for 7 years in New York at the age of 10 Lived in Geneva for 2 years	Left with family in 1960 Did not want to come Views migration as a "fatal" decision	Lived in New Orleans for 2 months, before settling in Miami She has worked for in education ever since migrating	Very Cuban, denounced American citizenship Children all different, but all Americanized to some degree Grandchildren American	Lives in nostalgia Missed sensory experiences of Cuba Emphasized gender trans-formations

Figure 5

Genogram and Summary Table for Ana Smith Pereira Case Study

The pictures tended to be old family pictures from when her children were young: or photographs of family and friends in Cuba before coming to the U.S. There was one photograph that caught my attention because of its size and its obvious significance. It was an 8X10 photograph of her son, who died two years ago, that was displayed on a table on the corner of the living room.

The second thing that was very noticeable about Ana's apartment is the number of Cuban items displayed throughout. There were pictures of Cuba, books about Cuba, several Cuban flags, her Cuban passport, etc. Included among these, are also a number of items that Ana later told me were things people have brought her from Cuba over the years. These items tended to be arts and crafts that were bought in Cuba and brought back as souvenirs. There was even sand and dirt from Cuba kept in a glass container.

It is also important to mention the number of religious items Ana also had displayed. There were rosaries, along with pictures of saints, including La Virgen de la Caridad, Cuba's patron saint. There were not as many religious items as Cuban ones, but they were also prominent throughout her apartment.

For both interviews, Ana and I sat in the living room on wooden rocking chairs, next to each other. We placed

the tape recorder on a table near her rocking chair. It is also worth noting that her husband was present during the follow-up interview. Having just moved back home from the nursing home, Ana did not feel comfortable with Pablo going anywhere for the duration of the interview. He listened to the entire interview without saying a word. Although I was a bit uncomfortable at first, since these were suppose to be private interviews, after a while I realized that Pablo's presence was not really affecting the interview process. The themes of the first interview were only being reinforced more clearly even with him being there.

An American Father and Wanting to be Fully Cuban

Ana was born and raised in Havana. Her father was an American businessman who lived in Cuba most of his life.

He worked for an American-owned fiberglass company in Cuba. Ana described her father in a unique way as the embodiment of everything truly American, "the last of the red blooded Americans," yet he felt totally "Cuban." His reactions, his psychology, and his strong attachment to Cuba were things that for Ana signified his sense of "Cubanness."

Due to her father's nationality, Ana had the distinct opportunity of dual citizenship—American and Cuban.

However, by the time Ana turned eighteen, wanting to become "fully Cuban," she denounced her American citizenship. "I

have always been very Cuban," Ana explained. "So when I turned eighteen I went to the American embassy and said I wanted to denounce my citizenship...Because I used to say that I wanted to be fully Cuban and not be American."

That strong sense of patriotism was one of the primary themes of Ana's interviews. She even pointed out in her apartment where she keeps her Cuban passport next to a statue of La Virgen de la Caridad, Our Lady of Charity.

However, of all the women in this study Ana had the most exposure to American culture before migrating.

Besides being one-half American and knowing and interacting with her American family, Ana also spent seven years living in New York City. During World War II, Ana's grandfather, who had a war plant at the time, solicited the help of Ana's father to run the factory. The family moved to New York where they remained for seven years during the war.

This was the first time Ana had lived outside of Cuba for a significant amount of time and she found it difficult to adapt. "I'm not lying when I tell you that I used to cry myself to sleep," explained Ana. "I missed Cuba so much."

After the war ended the family returned to live in Cuba.

However, at the age of nineteen, Ana once again had the opportunity to live outside of Cuba, this time on her own, when her cousin in Switzerland invited her to spend

time with her in Geneva for a couple of months. Although Ana originally planned to only stay a few months, she spent almost three years there. "When I got off the plane and I saw those beautiful mountains," Ana recalled, "I looked at my cousin and told her I was never leaving Switzerland." Ana got a job teaching Spanish and English at a finishing school, and she also took the opportunity to learn French. Although Ana loved the time she spent in Switzerland she also acknowledged that she left Geneva because she once again missed her homeland. "I knew I needed to go back to Cuba where my roots where," Ana explained. And when a few years later she found herself about to leave Cuba again, but now indefinitely, the decision was difficult.

Difficult Decision, Even Today

The decision to leave Cuba was a difficult one for Ana to make. In fact, she acknowledged that it was really her husband who made the decision, and she followed. As the political situation in Cuba worsened Ana's husband believed that for the sake of their children they should leave for the U.S. Ana also explained that she initially believed in the Revolution. "I was one who believed in the Revolution," Ana said. "Had it not been for Pablo…I would have stayed." And although she soon realized the reality

of Castro's dictatorship, her initial support of the Revolution made the decision to leave even more difficult.

Because Ana's father worked for an American company, her family, including her husband's family, began taking their belongings out of Cuba through American and other foreign contacts. Late 1960, Ana and her husband left Cuba. At the time, Ana was pregnant with their first child, Pablito. Unlike others leaving at that time, Ana never believed the move was temporary. "I knew it was different," Ana claimed, "I always knew we would not return." Ana found herself surrounded by people who not only believed the move was temporary but that claimed they would "eat el lechon in Cuba." Meaning, that they were expecting to be back in Cuba by the next Christmas.

Some forty years later, the decision to leave Cuba remained a difficult one for Ana. She explained, "I still feel sorry how, beginning with myself, we abandoned Cuba. We abandoned our homeland. Our mother. Today, that still hurts a great deal. It still shakes me up." Furthermore, Ana found regret in the decision to leave. She explained:

I still think it was a fatal decision. Not only for us, but for everyone. I believe we should have stayed and defended what was ours...We ourselves saw our salvation in those 90 ninety miles. We did not love

our homeland...I think we should have never abandoned it...That has been what has made this exile so long.

Although Ana was the only woman in this study to admit regret in the decision to leave, she also recognized that she would not have wanted to stay in Cuba without her husband. Ana also added that she has never blamed her husband for the decision. Moreover, although she has lived the last 40 years with that regret, Ana has not wanted to return to Cuba, not even to visit. Ana believed that although she would love to return for the experience, she does not feel she is emotionally strong enough to go.

Initial Privileges

In the U.S., the family initially settled in New Orleans, but within a couple of months they moved to Miami. Like the other women in this study, Ana was very familiar with Miami, especially since over the years her family had vacationed there several times. However, Ana's family had never considered settling in Miami before Castro's Revolution.

In Miami, Ana and her family found a level of economic security that many other families did not have. Pablo's father, who was a renowned sugar production engineer in Cuba, was also a wealthy man. As he was able to take out

most of his wealth out of Cuba, once in Miami, he was able to financially help his family a great deal.

At first, Pablo, who in Cuba had studied to be a lawyer, took a job working for his father in a business position in sugar production. Although that position did not last long, because Pablo's interest were in a different field and he wanted to study, this immediate access to a job was something unique for most exiles coming at the time. Ana acknowledged that from that point of view, her family initially had a "privilege" that many other families did not have upon arriving in the U.S. Furthermore, when Pablo decided to go back to school to get a business administration degree, it was his father who once again provided for the family.

Ana, who had worked as a teacher in Cuba and in Switzerland, also found a job in education. At first, Ana was a homeroom teacher for a Catholic private school. She later became the Religion Coordinator for the same private school and remained in that position for nearly 18 years.

Building a Family and Their Ethnic Ties

In the U.S., Ana and Pablo started building a family. Within a few months of being here, Ana gave birth to their first son, Pablito. Three other children would follow—Mario, Elena and Pedro. Throughout both interviews Ana

spoke a great deal about her family. Both with great joy and sorrow, Ana shared some of the significant events that have, and continue, to shape their lives.

According to Ana, she had known her husband, Pablo, most of her life. They grew up in the same neighborhood of Havana and their families have always been very close. Pablo, who at one time attended Julliard to be a pianist, also studied to become a lawyer in Cuba. Once in the U.S., although he studied under the Cuban Lawyer Program at the University of Miami, Pablo was never able to practice law because he did not pass the Bar exam. Although Pablo also received a business administration degree, it was social work that he truly loved doing. Pablo spent over 30 years as a social worker.

About two years ago, Pablo stopped working because he had a nervous breakdown. According to Ana, the nervous breakdown was the result of several important factors.

First, an accumulation of the many years that Pablo had been a social worker, and the fact that psychologically Pablo has always been very "stoic." Unlike Ana, who shares her emotions openly, Pablo has always been more reserved and as Ana explained, "there just came a breaking point."

Another factor, and perhaps more significant, was an event that has affected the entire family tremendously—the

death of their eldest son, Pablito, two years ago. The effects of these factors have compounded and resulted in Pablo being diagnosed with an irreversible severe depression. As mentioned earlier, Ana tried taking care of him at home, but she felt she had to place him in a nursing home in order for him to receive better care. However, that soon changed and as mentioned earlier, by the second interview Pablo was living back at home. Nonetheless, Pablo's situation continued to affect Ana and her family a great deal. It is a stressful circumstance that has affected Ana tremendously in different aspects of her life including socially, financially and emotionally.

Throughout both interviews, Ana was very careful of talking about Pablito, their eldest son who two years ago died of AIDS-related complications. According to Ana, "He spent a year offering his suffering to God in exchange for his sins...A person who had been so tough...in the end, he was not afraid of death." She described those last years of his life as tremendously difficult and painful, and his death as an event that has obviously shaped the last few years of her family's life. Beyond that, Ana spoke little about Pablito. Although she later described him as extremely Cuban, her focus throughout both interviews was more on the remaining three children.

The now-eldest son, Mario, is actually the only one of Ana's children currently married. Mario is married to a Nicaraguan woman and they have four children. These are Ana's four grandchildren. Although Ana's own relationship with her son is strained, she admired Mario's relationship with his wife and kids a great deal. Of her children, Ana described Mario as the most Americanized. "He acts like an American," Ana described. "The way he stands…everything…his expressions, they shock me. His point of view. He is the mind, he is not the heart. He has an American mentality." Although, as Ana described, she has serious problems with her relationship with this son, she admired her son a great deal and acknowledged his success and his devotion to his family.

Ana also expressed a great deal of admiration for her only daughter Elena. "She is a very hard worker," claimed Ana. "Although she has been battling a learning disability, she has been able to make something of herself." Elena has worked as a child care provider for many years. According to Ana, Elena loves working with children and in return, the children tend to adore her. Ana also described her daughter as mostly Cuban. Although she mentioned that Elena has many American characteristics, Ana felt that she still identified as mostly Cuban.

Ana described her youngest son, Pedro, as the one to be most Cuban. In fact, Ana mentioned that Pedro moved back to Miami a few years ago because he never quite "fit in" in the other places he lived. Pedro had gone to work in Gainesville, Florida and then South Carolina, but he found himself back in Miami when he realized that he "never really felt good there." According to Ana, she has also noticed that Pedro rejects anything that is completely American. Although Ana acknowledged that she realizes he will never be fully Cuban, she felt that he, like Elena, "side with Cuba."

Patriotism & Gender

As noted earlier, Ana has always had a very strong sense of patriotism. From a young woman denouncing her American citizenship, to now surrounding herself with all things Cuban, Ana has always had very strong identification as Cuban. She tried passing on that sense of pride and identity to her children. In our interviews she recalled how as young children she always tried to talk to them and educate them about Cuba. Ana even mentioned that they would play a game that involved going to Cuba to kill Fidel Castro. She also remembered teaching her children a prayer that they would recite every night that also exemplified that strong identification with Cuba. The prayer read,

"Little boy Jesus, you who are a good child, make me a good child like you. And make that one day I will be able to know my dear homeland, named ______." And the children would all respond "Cuba." "Even as children, Cuba was something very important to them," Ana recalled.

However, over the years, Ana's family also experienced a great deal of conflict as the children have sought more of an American identity. With all of Ana's efforts, she still felt she failed to give them a total sense of being Cuban. Ana explained:

I think I raised them so they could strive in this country. So they could be very independent...I achieved it, because they have such strong personalities. And they are very hard workers. However, I failed in other ways...I set myself to raise them in American ways.

This had caused Ana a great deal of distress. "I get mad," she said, "I can't even say sad, when I see my children respond to me in manner, a mentality, that is totally American." Although she blamed herself for what has happened, she also acknowledged that the environment has played a significant role. Or rather, she blamed the "circumstances:" she believed she was simply doing what was best for her family in their new environment.

In addition, she saw no hope in the next generation in identifying as Cuban. "There really is no hope," Ana emphasized. "No hope at all...My grandchildren see Cuba as their grandparents' land. They have no interest in it. They say they are Americans." Ana acknowledged though, that her grandchildren are only half Cuban; they are also half Nicaraguan. And, Ana added that wives, and in this case Mario's wife, "always influence."

Ana's strong sense of Cuban ethnicity also extended to her identification with being a woman. "I feel so proud to be a Cuban woman," she said. "Cuban women, we have been known to cope with things that we were not able to cope with in Cuba...we have suffered a great deal, but we want to make sure everyone finds out what is going on in Cuba."

Ana cited the many organizations and causes Cuban women have identified with, and she saw immigration to the U.S. as opening the doors of opportunities for Cuban women.

Immigration especially contributed to women's work outside the home, something that, according to her, women in Cuba did not necessarily do.

Moreover, according to Ana, immigration has provided men the ability to redefine their roles in families. "I must say," Ana asserted, "men have been humanized." Due to family necessities, men have also had to learn to work at

home; to do things that in Cuba men rarely did.

Specifically, according to Ana, Cuban men in the U.S. have had to learn to actively participate in child rearing.

They have also had to learn to help out around the house, doing chores and other necessities. Ana has found this transformation in gender roles and expectations as positive. Ana stated, "men have won a great deal...they have adapted that wonderful custom for here, of raising children together. In Cuba, men did not have anything to do with children." However, Ana also acknowledged that the transformation has not been as dramatic in her generation of immigrants. The changes have been more pronounced in

Miami and the Sea

her children's generation.

Despite her nostalgia and her sense of longing for her homeland, Ana appreciated her life in Miami. Ana saw Miami not only as a second home, but as an extension of Cuba.

"Miami is Cuba," she said. "In Miami I can drink guarapo.

I can drink un café Cubano. I can read el Diario de las

Americas." And although she cited instances of

discrimination when she first got to Miami, Ana realizes

that now Cubans are hardly the minority they were when they first migrated. In addition, Ana also emphasized that

Cubans were the ones to build Miami.

Besides the access that she has to so many things that remind her of her homeland, it is the ability to be by the sea that Ana is particularly most grateful for in Miami.

Ana explained:

I cure everything by the sea. Whenever I'm doing really really really bad, I go at night to this little part of the beach between 73rd and 74th street. I go there with my beach chair and all I do is sit there and smell the sea. And I think that I'm in Cuba.

It is this longing for the homeland that characterized Ana's interviews.

Although she expressed great pride in her family and the things that they have achieved, she continued to live nostalgic for the Cuba she so strongly identified with.

However, according to Ana, her priorities in life have always maintained the same. Ana emphasized, "I have always said, first of all, the faith. Then, the family. Then, the homeland."

Gloria Alvarez

The last woman I interviewed in Miami was Gloria

Alvarez. Referred to me by my father, she was at first a

bit weary to participate in this study. Although over the

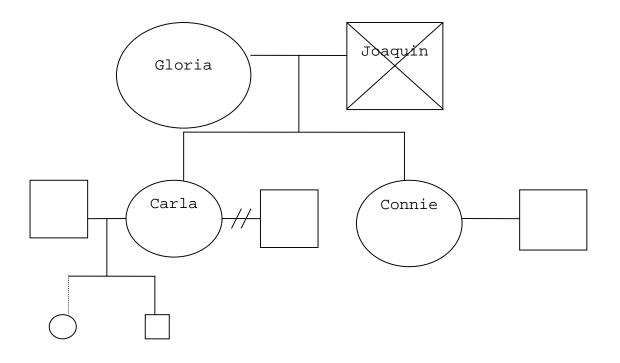
phone Gloria mentioned that she was excited about the

opportunity to share her story, she was also a bit weary of

the process and the purpose of the study. Once I explained both to her, she felt a lot more comfortable. In fact, after the interviews, Gloria wanted to make sure I kept in contact with her throughout the duration of the project and in the end share the findings of the study.

For both interviews, we set to meet at her home in Coral Gables early in the morning. Early for me, but not necessarily for Gloria who claimed she gets up at 5a.m. everyday, goes to church at 7a.m., and remains very busy throughout the rest of her day. I share this anecdote because it exemplifies a bit of the energy that Gloria exuded during our interviews. Gloria was very lively during both interviews as she shared many stories from politics to family matters. Gloria even acknowledged that she "could write a book" about her experiences, but she believed the task would be too burdensome and the book too long.

Gloria Alvarez, who stands at about 5'6" is a seventynine year old retired physician. She has two daughters and
three grandchildren (see Figure 6): none of which live in
Miami. In fact, Gloria has lived alone ever since her
husband, Joaquin, died soon after moving back to Miami in
the 1980's. I should also note that Alvarez is Gloria's
maiden name, which she has kept, in the tradition of Cuban



Family	Life in	Migration	Settlement	Cultural	Adaptation
Structure	Cuba	&	Context	Identity	
		Decision			
		to Leave			
Husband	Lived in	Left Cuba	First lived	Has always	Feels good
Joaquin	Havana	in 1961	in Miami	felt very	living in
(dead)				Cuban	Miami
	Her and	Daughters	2 years in		
2	Joaquin	came 2	Birmingham,	Daughters	Realizes she
daughters	were both	months	AL	also feel	has lived
Carla	doctors	earlier		Cuban	with "one
Connie		under	Lived over		foot here and
	Interned	Operation	20 years in	Grandchildren	one foot
2	at John	Peter Pan	Milledge-	more	there."
grand-	Hopkins		ville, GA	Americanized,	
children	Hospital			but grandson	Emphasized
(grand-			Moved to	more Cuban	Cuban women's
daughter			Miami in	than adopted	contributions
adopted)			early 1980's	granddaughter	

Figure 6

Genogram and Summary Table for Gloria Alvarez Case Study

women continuing to use their family name and not adapting their husband's last name. In fact, Gloria was very adamant about having kept her family name and strongly expressed that she does not understand how other Cuban women have followed in the American tradition of adapting their husband's last name. This is another example of Gloria's firm determination and something she shared right as we sat down for her first interview.

Gloria's first interview was two hours long while the second interview lasted about an hour and a half. Both interviews were conducted in the kitchen, where we sat across from each other on the dinning table. I was not able to see much of Gloria's home. However, in the middle of the first interview Gloria took me on a tour of her Florida room, where she has an entire wall full of books and memorabilia from and about Cuba. One of the most interesting things Gloria pointed out was her Cuban passport, which is placed between a Cuban and an American flag. She also pointed out the many old pictures she has of her family's ancestors, who among them is Perucho Figueredo, the author of the Cuban National Anthem and one of Joaquin's relatives.

My interviews with Gloria were highly informative as well as political, as she often shared her views on

everything from Fidel Castro to the situations in other
Latin American countries. Gloria's interviews were also
unique since she had lived many years in a small town in
Georgia where many other Cuban families settled. In many
ways, Gloria served as a link between the two groups of
women in this study as she was very familiar with both
Miami and Atlanta.

Peter Pan Daughters and Having to Leave

Before the official interview started, Gloria had already told me about how she had sent her daughters through Operation Peter Pan in 1961. Through this Operation, thousands of children, including Gloria's two daughters, were sent from Cuba to the U.S. alone in hope that once in America, they would be able to legally claim their parents and the family would soon be reunited. many instances, the Operation was successful, however, the hardships many of these children endured have also been widely noted. The experiences of Gloria's daughters as part of this Operation will be discussed later. However, what is important is that the decision to send her daughters was a difficult one for Gloria to make, especially since it went against her husband's wishes. However, Gloria, who was convinced of Castro's Communist agenda, refused to raise her daughters in that environment. This sentiment was so strong that Gloria described telling her husband:

I'm not leaving them here. I'll kill them. If we don't leave, you can be certain that my daughters will not go to *el campo*, nor are they going to those schools. I'll kill them. And you know I will do it.

A very strong sentiment, however, exemplifying the desperate measures that Gloria believed she would have taken in order to ensure that her daughters would not be raised in a Communist environment.

Having gotten her daughters out of Cuba, Gloria began planning a way to get her husband and herself out as well. Permission for Joaquin to travel was especially difficult to obtain since he was a noted proctologist in Havana. However, with Gloria's tenacity and the help of a Cuban-American organization she was able to get permission for both of them to leave in order to attend a medical conference in the U.S. Thus, two months after her daughters had left Cuba, the family was once again reunited in Miami.

By this time, Gloria's family was among many other professionals, including many other doctors, who had left Cuba and had temporarily settled in Miami. Unable to accommodate so many doctors, and other professionals in one

city, the U.S. government began a relocation process for families wanting to settle in other parts of the U.S. with the promise of employment. Gloria's family became part of the relocation process and headed to Birmingham, Alabama. Leaving Birmingham to Live among Cubans

Gloria's family lived in Birmingham, Alabama for about a year. Gloria recalled their time there as positive as both she and her husband had been able to find jobs in the medical field. In fact, Gloria acknowledged that in Birmingham, they were "living the life of millionaires, in comparison to other exiles." However, a year after being in Birmingham, Joaquin, who had heard about many Cuban doctors having settled in the nearby town of Millegdgeville, Georgia, took the family to visit. In Milledgeville, Joaquin found a thriving community of other Cuban doctors and their families, and after his visit he was insistent about leaving Birmingham for Milledgeville and being among other Cuban families also in exile in that small town.

I should note several things about Milledgeville,
Georgia before going further. Milledgeville is a small
town located near Macon, Georgia, and in the 1960's had a
sizable Cuban community who had been relocated there in
order to work at the State hospital. In the majority of

these families the husbands were doctors. According to Gloria, the community grew to include as many as 80 different families at one point. With this number Cuban families centralized in one community, they began to create different social and educational Clubs in order to maintain and promote their culture: especially in order to make sure their children never forgot their roots. They would give Spanish classes, along with lessons on Cuban history and Cuban literature.

Gloria recalled life in Milledgeville as "very happy."
Furthermore, Gloria emphasized how "Cuban" her family's
life was there. "We lived a life like in Cuba," she said.
"My daughters had the same aspects of life as those they
would have had in Cuba. They had a teenage life distinct
from Americans...it was something very Latino."

Notwithstanding, Gloria admitted that outside the Cuban
community the rest of the town was not always as supportive
of the Cubans' efforts to maintain their culture. Gloria
recalled an incident when school officials visited her home
to encourage her to only speak English to her daughters.
Gloria, who did speak English, was very firm that she
refused to do so and that inside her home her daughters
would only speak Spanish—a rule that she upholds today,
even with her grandchildren.

Over the years, the Cuban community in Milledgeville began to decrease, especially as children went off to school and/or married, and many others moved to the nearby Atlanta. Nonetheless, Milledgeville was an interesting historical phenomenon as this small Southern town witnessed a dramatic migration of a culture so distinct from their own. As expected, the two cultures did however often interact as was the case with Gloria's eldest daughter, Carla, who had the first Cuban-American wedding in Milledgeville.

Over 20 years after moving to Milledgeville, Joaquin once again wanted to settle elsewhere, this time back to Miami. Although both were now retired and Gloria was not as excited about the move, she believed going to Miami "might help him feel better." Unlike other exiles, according to Gloria, Joaquin never believed that they were in the U.S. temporarily. And had been "depressed" for a while before deciding he wanted move back to Miami. According to Gloria, Joaquin did begin to show signs of emotional recovery, but two months after returning to Miami he died of a severe stroke. Although Gloria described the experience as "sudden and traumatic" she has chosen to remain in Miami for the last 15 years. She said she plans to do so until she can no longer drive, at which time she

will move to New Orleans or Atlanta, where her daughters live.

The Family and the Notions of Homeland

Throughout both interviews, Gloria spoke very admirably about her two daughters, Carla and Connie. Carla, who currently lives in Atlanta, Georgia, followed her parents' footsteps and became a physician. Although she divorced her husband from Milledgeville, she remarried and has two children. Although Gloria described Carla as psychologically "very much like a doctor," she did acknowledge that she does identify as ethnically Cuban. However, Gloria described Connie, the younger daughter who lives in New Orleans, as having a different "flavor...very much Cuban." Especially since Connie is married to a man who stays in tune to all Cuban matters. Gloria cited the influence of her daughters' husbands as the main difference between them. Nonetheless, Gloria reaffirmed that even in "given situations they are fully Cuban. I always made sure they knew they were the great-granddaughters of one of Cuba's greatest patriots...They always knew they were Cuban children...besides, they were 9 and 11 when they came here." Gloria reinforced the influence of age at time of migration and her daughters' abilities to maintain a Cuban identity.

As mentioned earlier, Operation Peter Pan was a very traumatic experience for many of the children who participated. According to Gloria, the experience left her daughters, especially Connie, with several scars. "My daughter Connie had many problems," Gloria admitted. "She had been at that orphanage for over a month and those things leave horrible scars." Carla and Connie, like many other children under similar circumstances were sent to an orphanage in a remote town in the U.S. That experience added to the trauma of separation and uncertainty. Years later, Connie admitted to her mother that during that time she believed her mother had chosen to stay in Cuba with her husband and sent them away. Although Gloria recognized that her daughters' experiences were traumatic for them, she does not regret the decisions she made. "I would do it again," she said. "The day they were going to leave...I cried with my back. The muscles in my back started shaking in a way that even if I tried I could not do again...It was something horrible." For Gloria, her daughters are her greatest source of pride, and their lives are indicators that the struggle and choices were worth it.

Gloria's relationship with her grandchildren is a bit different. Being raised away from Miami she makes sure that their sense of ethnicity persists. However, Gloria

acknowledged that for her grandchildren the sense of Cubanness has changed. During both interviews Gloria told the story of Carla's daughter, who is 13 years-old, and once asked Gloria to not speak to her in Spanish in front of her friends. Gloria, who was insulted by her granddaughter's request, firmly responded that she can be assured that she will always speak Spanish to her, no matter who is in front of them.

Although Gloria's grandson is only thirteen years old, he has so far shown greater interest in things Cuban. "My grandson says he wants to go back and live in Cuba," Gloria said. Furthermore, Gloria recognized that her grandson's interest in Cuba is in part a result of her own insistence to teach them as much as she can when they visit her in Miami. Gloria explained, "The first place I take them when they come is to La Hermita de La Caridad...and I point out their ancestors...and who everyone is." But Gloria admitted that with the younger generation their sense of Cubanness has nonetheless greatly changed.

For Gloria, Cuba personally represented many different things, including a deep sense of patriotism and emotion.

"To me, being Cuban means feeling for my homeland," she said. "Those are notions that I have that I don't believe exist anymore." Those notions of homeland are also closely

tied to her identity as an exile in the U.S. "I do believe there is an exile," Gloria claimed. "With fewer of us everyday, but there nonetheless." Not only did Gloria not regret migrating to the U.S. but she also doubted that she would ever return to Cuba. Although she hopes she will one day be able to visit, especially her parents' grave, she realized that at her age those chances are also less everyday.

According to Gloria, not being able to see her parents again has been the most difficult aspect of exile and adaptation. Gloria's father died the day of the Bay of Pigs Invasion and her mother died years later in Cuba of medical complications. Both deaths were very significant for Gloria, especially her mother's, because she had not seen her since migrating to the U.S. Although Gloria acknowledged the difficulty in having left her family behind, she felt positive about the decisions she made and the life she has been able to make in the U.S.

Furthermore, Gloria also spoke about a sense of personal pride in actively "working" for her homeland. As she said, "I've been able to do everything I can for my homeland." In particular, Gloria also expressed great pride in the work Cuba women in the U.S. have done.

"Whenever it will be written, they have given more than

men, "Gloria asserted. "Cuban women have given a great deal."

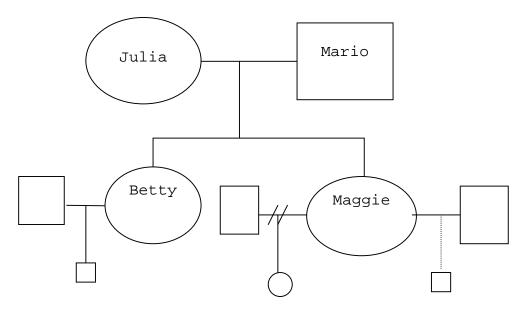
Julia Molina

Julia Molina was the first woman in Atlanta interviewed. I met Julia through Teresita Martinez, a Cuban woman who helped me recruit most of the participants in Atlanta. I spoke with Julia over the phone, but we had not set a time to meet for the interview since we would be seeing each other at the Cuban Club later that week. I met Julia, along with her husband and her youngest daughter, at the Cuban Club at a celebration we attended celebrating Jose Marti's birthday. I could tell that there was something about meeting me face to face that made her more comfortable with the project, especially once she found out I was Cuban myself. Thus, we decided that I would come to her house for the first interview later that week.

Julia is about 5' tall. She is in her late 60's and currently suffers from arthritis. She also has a visible deformation on one side of her face, that although we did not speak about it, I assumed was probably caused by a stroke. During both interviews Julia and I talked a little bit about her health, especially about her arthritis and the daily exercises she does in order to relieve some of the constant pain she suffers from.

Julia has two daughters, Betty and Maggie (see Figure 7). She is also the grandmother of three, including a girl who recently graduated from law school and her brother who is only three years old and was adopted by Julia's youngest daughter, Maggie. Julia's other daughter, Betty, only has one son who is an adolescent.

During both interviews Julia and I sat at the dining room table with the tape recorder between us. Throughout the interviews she was aware that the tape recorder was "on" even sometimes asking me to stop recording in order to tell me something privately. It is worth noting that Julia's husband, Mario, was present through part of my first interview with Julia. Although I had told her that the interview was about Cuban women's experiences and that I would be doing a private one-on-one dialogue, her husband still wanted to be included in the process. Although Mario did participate on several occasions on a number of different issues, he was mostly there interested in the process and not so much as an informant or "silencing" Julia's experience. For the second interview, Mario was not present and, the main themes of the first interview were only reinforced during this follow-up exchange.



Family Structure	Life in Cuba	Migration & Decision to Leave	Settlement Context	Cultural Identity	Adaptation
Husband Mario 2 daughters Betty Maggie 3 grand- children (youngest grandson adopted)	Lived in Las Villas, Santa Clara Was an elementary school teacher Husband worked for the Coca Cola Company in Cuba	Left Cuba in 1960 Felt that children were being indoc- trinated Emphasized "Terror tactics" by Cuban government	Lived in Miami for a year and a half Relocated to Wilmington , DE (2 years) Lived in New Jersey Moved to Atlanta to work for Coca Cola	Has always felt Cuban Daughters also feel Cuban Described eldest Grand- daughter as very Cuban Grandson put "Cuba" on ring	Likes living in Atlanta although it was a difficult adaptation She believes that an "eternal Cuba" that is not Communist will always be a part of her Miami as "Mecca"

Figure 7

Genogram and Summary Table for Julia Molina Case Study

Indoctrinating Students and Relocating to Delaware

Julia and her family lived in Santa Clara, in the province of Las Villas. She was an elementary school teacher teaching at a country school. Following the 1959 revolution, Julia, like other teachers of the time, began noticing the rapid changes that Fidel was demanding in the education system. Changes that Julia described as "indoctrinating students." These changes, together with the "terror tactics" that were evident in Santa Clara at the time, prompted Julia and her husband to want to leave Cuba. "We could not stay there," she said. "We were not going to raise our daughters in that kind of life." Thus, in 1960, Julia and Mario, took their daughters and came to the U.S. by boat.

Like the other women in this study, Julia believed the move was only temporary and that they would soon be back in Cuba. However, with time, the hopes for a quick return withered and adaptation to their new life in the U.S. was inevitable. The family spent a year and a half in Miami, looking for jobs, which at the time were very hard to come by. Unable to find steady employment, Julia's family decided to seek relocation to elsewhere in the U.S. With the help of an Episcopalian church the family was relocated to Wilmington, Delaware. Julia's family stayed in Delaware

for two years, and during that time, as Julia said, they "learned to live in the cold." However, Mario, who had been employed in the Coca Cola Company in Cuba, got a job with the company again but this time in New Jersey. Hence, the family once again moved.

By this time, Union City, New Jersey had a growing and visible Cuban community that had been settling near and around Berger Line, similar to what was happening with Calle 8 in Miami. During this time, Julia also began to work, first for a tablecloth factory and later for the insurance company, Blue Cross Blue Shield of New York.

Julia recalled her time in New Jersey as very positive, especially being surrounded by other Cuban families, including other people from her hometown in Cuba. However, after seven years in New Jersey, in 1972, Julia's family once again moved. This time to Atlanta following Mario's job with the Coca Cola Company.

Settling in Atlanta was not an easy move for Julia and her daughters who were already used to life in New Jersey. Julia recalled that she spent the first two years in Atlanta unable to adapt to the city. "I didn't think I could live here," claimed Julia. "Even after two years of being here I wanted to leave." However, with the help of their church and the local Cuban Club, Julia found a small

and growing Cuban community in Atlanta and adaptation to the city soon followed. Nonetheless, Julia admitted that she has always wanted to return to Miami. "We have always been headed to the Mecca," Julia expressed, "but we have never been able to go." With both her daughters now settled in Atlanta, Julia admitted that it is unlikely that she will move again. "Now I live happy here," she said. "It doesn't matter anymore...I wanted to move earlier to Miami, but not anymore. To start the story all over again? No way."

Taking Care of Her Daughters and Maintaining Culture

Throughout both interviews Julia often mentioned how she had spent most of her life taking care of her daughters and her grandchildren. Even when she was employed outside the home, Julia made sure that the job was not far from her home in order to take care of her daughters. Once her grandchildren were born, Julia spent most of her time taking care of them. It has been this closeness that has allowed Julia to pass on her culture to her daughters. "We have always been thinking about the homeland," Julia expressed. "And at the same time fighting for Cuba...they have assimilated the culture, but never allowing our own to disappear."

Julia noted how it was especially difficult for her family to adapt to American culture given the period of time that their daughters were growing up. "In the 1960's, all sorts of freedom began," she expressed. And Julia admitted that part of the adaptation was not just a social one, but also a moral one. "It was a constant struggle that us Cuban families faced," she said. However, Julia admitted that she feels she was successful in passing on her culture to her daughters.

Betty and Maggie, who were eight and three years old when they left Cuba, still maintain a strong sense of being Cuban according to Julia. "We have been able to conserve it without any problems," Julia explained. "I think it was easy because from the beginning we did it." Julia attributed raising them in an environment surrounded by other Cubans as instrumental in maintaining their sense of ethnicity. "All of our friends have always been Cuban," Julia said. Although Julia admitted that at times it was a struggle, she believed that she and her husband have been successful in transmitting a sense of Cubanness to her daughters.

Like the other women in this study, Julia also acknowledged that maintaining a sense of ethnic identity has been more difficult with her grandchildren.

Regardless, Julia believed that they have been successful in their attempt to raise them with some degree of Cubanness. Julia explained:

From the time they were born I would tell them they were Cuban. That they lived here but that we were born in Cuba. And everything here, the books, the pictures, the photo albums, everything was Cuba. So it seems they got it in their head.

Julia described her granddaughter, who recently graduated from law school in Chicago, as very much Cuban. "Even though she does not live here, she always looks for Cubans no matter where she is," Julia said. Also, in both interviews she mentioned her grandson who just graduated from high school and, to the surprise of his grandparents, put "Cuba" on his graduation ring. Even though the grandson does not speak Spanish very well, Julia more currently sees an interest in Cuban things that she did see before. Overall, Julia admitted that her proudest achievement has been that she has "raised a family in a very Cuban way."

Despite the fact that Julia described adaptation, especially in Atlanta, as being very difficult, she looks at her family's success as a marker of worth all the efforts. In addition, she maintained that an "eternal

Cuba" will always remain a part of her and her family's identity. An "eternal Cuba" that, as Julia explained, is not Communist and that "never dies." An "eternal Cuba" that is:

The one that we try that our children and grandchildren learn to dance. When things happened with Elian we wanted them to understand. They might be named Johnny Rodriguez, but when they are among other Cubans, they are rice and beans.

Eva Morales

Eva Morales telephoned me one day in response to the flyer I had placed at the Cuban Club. After I explained all the details about the purpose and process of the study, she told me she was very eager to help out and participate. Eva suggested we meet later that week at the Cuban restaurant she and her husband, Juan, own. The restaurant is actually one of three that the family own in the Atlanta area. For both interviews, we arranged to meet at a time when the restaurant would not be busy. We sat at a table across from each other with the tape recorder between us.

There were only a couple of minor interruptions during the duration of both interviews. For the most part, the interviews flowed naturally and Eva was not afraid to be open and honest about her experiences. At the end of both

interviews we discussed other women she knew in Atlanta who might meet the criteria for the study and would be willing to participate. She helped me a great deal with recruiting the other Atlanta participants.

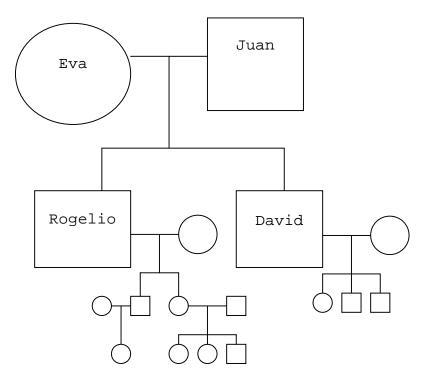
Eva stands at about 5' tall. She has the largest family out of all the women I interviewed for this project. She is the mother of two, the grandmother of five and the great-grandmother of four (see Figure 8). With the exception of her eldest granddaughter, her whole family lives in the Atlanta area. Very proud of her large family, Eva brought pictures of them to our first interview in order for me to see them.

Eva's interviews were very informative especially since she had lived in Atlanta for almost forty years.

Unlike the other women who relocated elsewhere before coming to Atlanta, Eva and her family came to Atlanta shortly after leaving Cuba. Thus, Eva shared an interesting perspective about being among the first Cubans to settle in Atlanta.

A Target for the Revolution and Settling in Atlanta

In Cuba, Eva and her husband lived in the Bivora neighborhood of Havana. They were both employees of the Cuban electrical company at the time of the Revolution. As Eva explained, "We were not dukes, we were workers. We



Family	Life in	Migration	Settlement	Cultural	Adaptation
Structure	Cuba	&	Context	Identity	
		Decision			
		to Leave			
Husband	Lived in	Sent	Lived in	Very	Separation
Juan	Havana	eldest	Key West	Cuban	from her
		son in	for few		family
2 sons	Worked	1961	months	Sons have	very
Rogelio	with	under		maintaine	difficult
David	husband	Operation	Moved to	d a sense	
	at	Peter Pan	Atlanta in	of being	"No other
5	electric		1963	Cuban	remedy but
grandchildren	company	Left Cuba			to adapt"
		7 months	Family owns	Eldest	
4	Opened	later in	3	Grand-	Family
great-	her eyes	1962	restaurants	daughter	together
grandchildren	very			also	has helped
	quickly	Lack of	Atlanta is	Cuban	with
		freedom	Havana		adaptation
		in Cuba		Other	
		was first		grand-	
		thing she		children	
		realized		too young	

Figure 8

Genogram and Summary Table for Eva Morales Case Study

were not rich, we were pretty middle class." Like many others in 1959, Eva and her husband originally believed the Revolution was going to be something positive for Cuba. However, Eva explained that she "suffered a great deal" because she opened her eyes very quickly. The lack of freedom was something that Eva noticed right away and something she strongly disapproved of. It was then that Eva began to plan to get her family to leave Cuba, starting with her eldest son, Rogelio, who was at the time 13 years old.

As an adolescent attending a Cuban-American school in Havana, Rogelio was a prime target for the Revolution, as a supporter or as a rebel. Eva believed that her son, along with others of a similar age and education, were being watched by government officials in order to monitor their behavior. When Eva found anti-Communist propaganda hidden in Rogelio's wardrobe, she knew she needed to get the family out of Cuba.

It was then that Eva heard of Operation Peter Pan, and that she decided to send Rogelio to the U.S. alone in order for him to later "claim" the family. Although a difficult choice, Eva understood that her decision was not unlike that of many other families who also found themselves in a desperate need to "save their families." Rogelio left for

the U.S. under Operation Peter Pan on July 18, 1961. It would not be until February of the following year that the rest of the family would be allowed to leave Cuba.

Once in the U.S., the family temporarily settled in Key West, Florida where Juan's distant American relatives had been taking care of Rogelio ever since coming to the U.S. However, according to Eva, jobs were very difficult to come by in Key West and after 20 months there, the family decided to move to Atlanta, Georgia. The family made the decision to move to Atlanta following Juan's sister and her family, who had also migrated to the U.S around the same time. In Atlanta, the family settled and has remained for almost 40 years.

Adaptation to the U.S. was initially difficult, especially for Eva, who had left her family in Cuba. Eva explained, "For me, it was very difficult. I left my entire family. Especially my mother. My mother and father were divorced, so my mother was everything to me." Despite the difficulty of leaving her own family behind, Eva placed her role as a mother above all else. "I am more of a mother than I am my own person," Eva explained. And that sense of responsibility made adaptation inevitable. Placing the family above all else was a strategy that Eva described a "natural" in order to protect her family.

Despite the difficult times and the "tremendous work" they have had to do here, Eva viewed the decision leave Cuba as ultimately positive. She credited freedom as the greatest asset she and her family have gained. "I see it as well done," she said. "My sons are free. I am free. I do what I want to do. Say what I want to say. Read what I want to read." In addition, she saw time as the greatest factor in adaptation.

In Atlanta, she has made a home and has no plans of ever leaving. "Atlanta is Havana," she said. "It's a city I love. The people are very good people. Very hospitable." And although getting used to the cold weather and transportation were challenges, she has never wanted to move elsewhere. "I love Miami to visit," she said. Adding that "Cubans there still live in Cuba, although they live in Miami."

Family Pride and Maintaining Culture

An aspect of Eva's interviews was that she spoke a great deal about her family. From the first interview Eva wanted me to make sure I understood how proud she is of her family. Her eldest son, Rogelio, married very young and his children are now grown adults with children of their own. Eva described Rogelio as a "very hard-working man...who paid his own way through school." Rogelio's daughter,

Eva's eldest granddaughter, is a source of great pride for Eva. Although she lives in Florida with her own children, Eva affirmed that she is very proud of her achievements. Eva also expressed great pride in her grandson, who is a lawyer and the father of one young child.

Eva also spoke a great deal about her other son,
David, who came to the U.S. when he was only three years
old. Career-wise, Eva described that David decided to
"work with his hands," and he helped build the Cuban
restaurant the family owns. He was also instrumental in
helping build Eva's home, as well as his own. He is
married and has three young children.

According to Eva, for her family, maintaining a sense of ethnic identity has not been difficult. Eva strongly defined herself as Cuban, and was adamant about not being labeled "Hispanic." "That's a new word that American people have come up with," she asserted. However, Eva also acknowledged that her husband has played a more active role in making sure the family continues to identify as Cuban. "I believe he has done more than me to maintain that flame," she explained. In addition, Eva mentioned that her eldest son was already a teenager when he came to the U.S., and has always been "very Cuban." While the younger son, although perhaps feeling a lesser sense of ethnicity, has

nonetheless also kept a sense of ethnic identity. Eva acknowledged that her younger son has always loved being a part of the local Cuban Club. "He respects the institution for what it represents," Eva explained.

Even beyond her own children, Eva also described her older grandchildren, especially her granddaughter, as very Cuban. Eva said that her granddaughter is very aware and interested in the situation in Cuba, while the younger grandchildren have described themselves as "half American, half Cuban." What is significant is that Eva and Juan have been able to actively maintain a sense of family ethnicity. "Everything they hear around the home is Cuba...If you were to go to my house you would see that it is a Cuban temple. I have Cuban flags and my husband has every book written about Cuba."

Like the other women in this project, Eva's strong sense of ethnic pride also includes a powerful anti-Fidel sentiment. With firm conviction, she said:

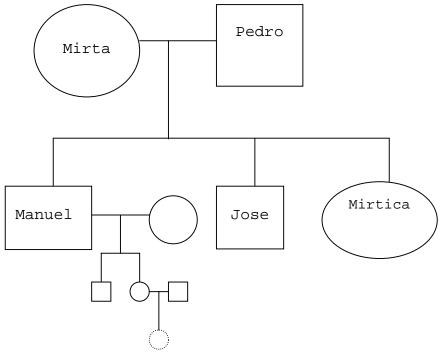
He took my family. And that is priceless. There is no money to buy that with. I lost my family the day I left Cuba. I lost my family in an attempt to save my other family...the one I owed. What price can that have?

Although Eva's political views are strongly anti-Communist she does not believe herself to be in exile. For Eva, the U.S., and especially Atlanta, has become her home. Not that she doesn't "yearn for the homeland" but that she doubts she will return. She does, however, wish for Cuba to one day be "free." As she has found "happiness" in the U.S, she hopes that those in Cuba will also do the same. As she explained, "because no one who's not free is happy."

Mirta Valdes

Following a snowballing technique, Eva Morales gave me Mirta Valdes' telephone number in order for me to contact her. Over the phone, I told Mirta the basics of the study, including the process of the interviews and the reasons for the project. Mirta agreed to participate in the study and suggested I meet her at her house the next day for the first interview.

Mirta Valdes is in her 70's and stands at about 5'8". She is the mother of four, and the grandmother of two (see Figure 9). She was also very excited because her granddaughter was pregnant and that will soon make her a great-grandmother. During the first interview, Mirta showed me around her home, specifically the living room, where one wall is filled with family photographs. Mirta showed me around, pointing out photographs of her children



Family Structure	Life in Cuba	Migration & Decision to Leave	Settlement Context	Cultural Identity	Adaptation
Husband Pedro 3 children Manuel Jose Mirtica 2 grand- children (grand- daughter pregnant at time of interviews)	Lived in Matanzas Lived near family Husband a veterinarian Husband a strong anti-Communist	Husband left by boat in 1962 Left with children 5 months later Did not want to come Thanks God, tomorrow, night and day	Lived in Miami for 3 months Relocated to Cleveland, OH Settled in Atlanta in 1970 when husband employed by federal government	Always very Cuban Children have all maintained a sense of Cuban, especially Jose Grand- children also feel Cuban	Separation from family very difficult Faith in God has aided adaptation Something of her stayed behind in Cuba Visited Cuba twice to see mother and sister

Figure 9

Genogram and Summary Table for Mirta Valdes Case Study

and grandchildren, as well as a beautiful picture of her and her husband, taken in celebration of their $50^{\rm th}$ wedding anniversary.

Both of Mirta's interviews took place in the kitchen with us sitting across from each other on the dining room table. Both interviews lasted about one hour and a half, although in both cases we continued talking for a while longer after the formal interview had ended. Towards the end of the first interview, Mirta's husband, Pedro, came home and joined us in our discussion. By that time, most of the interview was completed but we remained talking about many different things.

An interesting thing that happened during the first interview was that Pedro shared with me some of the poems he had written over the years. Pedro said he had written over 400 poems, and that he had put his 100 favorite in the album he showed me. Pedro was at one point thinking of publishing the poems, but he admitted he no longer wished to do so. The poems are kept as a family memento, and are often brought out at family functions. Pedro asked me to read some of the poems, especially those that were about Cuba. In one way or another all the poems chronicled some sense of nostalgia and longing for his homeland.

Living in Matanzas

In Cuba, Mirta and Pedro lived in the Versailles neighborhood of Matanzas. She met her husband at a very young age and dated for eight years before finally getting married. Mirta, whose family owned a pharmacy, went to school to be a teacher but did not graduate. Mirta admitted that she never liked going to school very much. After getting married, Mirta and Pedro remained in Matanzas in order to be close to their families. It was there that they began building their own family, and where they lived for fifteen years before deciding to leave Cuba.

According to Mirta, Pedro was aware of Fidel Castro's political views and was himself a "very big anti-Communist," and knew that he had to get his family out of Cuba. However, Pedro, who was also a veterinarian employed by the Cuban government at the time, had been refused a passport several times and had not been able to leave Cuba by legal means. Thus, after attempting to leave on three different occasions, Pedro was finally able to "escape" Cuba in March 1962, on a boat carrying four other men, including one of Mirta's brothers.

Mirta and her children stayed in Cuba, but Pedro had made sure she had all the paperwork necessary to have the family soon join him in the U.S. On August 8, 1962, Mirta

and her three children were finally able to leave Cuba and joined Pedro in Miami. Mirta acknowledged that at the time, she did not really want to leave Cuba. She said, "Let me tell you, I did not want to leave Cuba. Because I did not want to leave my family. I was always very close to my family." Nonetheless, Mirta expressed no regrets for having left, and as she said, "we thank God, tomorrow, night and day."

During the months Pedro had been in Miami he had not been able to find steady employment. It was during that time that he decided to seek relocation to somewhere else in the U.S. Hence, a month after Mirta and her children arrived in Miami the family moved to Cleveland, Ohio.

Mirta's family went to Cleveland because they had friends who had also relocated there. By that time, the U.S. government was assisting those who wanted to relocate out of Miami by providing monetary assistance and other necessities. In addition to the monetary assistance, the U.S. government gave Mirta's family coats, "because supposedly it was going to be cold."

In Cleveland, with a wife and three children, Pedro's first objective was to find employment. According to Mirta, he would work anywhere possible. At one point he had been promised a job in an automobile company fixing

fenders but when he showed up to work he realized the company had officially closed down. Desperate to find employment Pedro then went to the Catholic church that had assisted in the relocation and he asked for help finding a job. It was there that Pedro met Ms. Roulet, a French woman that was in charge of helping the Cuban refugees who had sought relocation to Cleveland. Mirta expressed many kind words for Ms. Roulet, who insisted on finding Pedro not only a job but one in his profession. Her efforts were successful and Pedro soon found employment as a veterinarian.

Mirta recalled her time in Cleveland as difficult, especially as they learned to live in a climate that was distinctly different from Cuba. In Cleveland, Mirta and her family lived in a "project for poor people," that they had been able to rent with the help of the U.S. government and the Catholic church. Slowly bettering themselves, the family moved several times during the seven years that they lived in Cleveland. However, when a relocation possibility to Atlanta became available the family decided to once again move.

Moving to Atlanta and Visiting Cuba

Mirta's family moved to Atlanta because Pedro had been offered a job as a veterinarian with the federal

government. Since Pedro had already had gotten his "foreign," validating his credentials as a veterinary doctor, he was able to obtain a job with the federal government who were at the time hiring Cuban professionals. Once in Atlanta, Mirta and Pedro have never left. Mirta has come to love Atlanta a great deal. "I love Atlanta," she affirmed. "I don't want to leave."

Over the years, Mirta had a couple of different jobs including working in a thread factory while they lived in Cleveland. Although initially Pedro did not want his wife to work, she, with the help of others, convinced him that it was a family necessity. Mirta currently makes "a little extra money" by sewing and making alterations at home.

Mirta spoke about her adaptation to her life in the U.S. as "emotionally difficult." Mirta cited being separated from her family as the most difficult aspect to get used to. However, just as she does not regret the decision to have left, she mentioned that having her children here "always came first." And that a "faith in God" has always guided her. Nonetheless, Mirta also realized that a part of her would always remain in Cuba. As she said,

Something of me stayed behind. I have my sister there. And at the time I had left my parents there.

A part of me, of my homeland was left there. We always yearn for it. Always. We have been here for forty years and we have always yearned for it. We yearn for it to be free.

That yearning and want to see her family in Cuba was what prompted her to go back to Cuba to visit.

A unique aspect of Mirta's narrative was that she was the only woman interviewed who had returned to visit Cuba. Mirta went to Cuba twice. The last time was ten years ago, to see her mother and sister who at the time still lived there. It was a very difficult trip for Mirta who said she "suffered a lot," by going. Later adding that she decided she would never return, especially now that her parents have died. Although Pedro yearns to return he feels he cannot go. "He doesn't want to go because he escaped. He escaped on a boat," she explained. "He yearns for Cuba a great deal. He says that when Cuba is liberated, he will move there. He wants to die in Cuba."

If not in Cuba, perhaps Miami, where Pedro has expressed interest in moving to. However, Mirta felt that she has made her family life in Atlanta and wished to remain there. And although only one of her children currently live in Atlanta, she considered the city "home."

The Family and Maintaining a Sense of Cubanness

Mirta also spoke a great deal about her family. Out of Mirta's three children, only the middle son, Jose, currently lived in Atlanta. Actually, Jose, who is single and a small business owner, currently lived in his parents' home. Manuel, their eldest son never really lived in Atlanta for an extended period of time, as he decided he would go to the University of Salamanca in Spain to study to become a medical doctor. Manuel, a gynocological surgeon, currently lives in New Orleans with his wife, who he met while studying in Salamanca and who is also Cuban. They have two adult children one of who is presently pregnant. Mirta's daughter, Mirtica, also single and a real-estate agent, recently moved to Denver, Colorado. Mirta believed that her daughter would soon return to Atlanta to be close to her family.

Mirta also shared how her children wish to go to Cuba one day. "Jose is a tremendous *Cubanaso*," she said, "so he dreams of going back." According to Mirta, Jose wants to eventually live in Cuba, and his two siblings wish to one day return to visit. What has been important for Mirta is that they, including her grandchildren, have all maintained a sense of being Cuban. She stated:

They are all very proud to be Cuban too. Even if they were raised here...But that's what we have taught them.

We have taught them about Cuba. And that Cuba is there and it will one day be free. And we pray for it. All of us. We all have that.

Being able to maintain that sense of family ethnicity has given Mirta a great deal of pride. And like the other women in this study, she too cited her family as her greatest source of pride. As she realized that her and her husband's sacrifices have been worth it. She summed up their life by stating,

We were able to educate our children. They were all able to study with their father's help and sacrifice. As well my own, because I also worked...They studied with our efforts. We are very happy with them. They have come out very good children, and my husband a very good man.

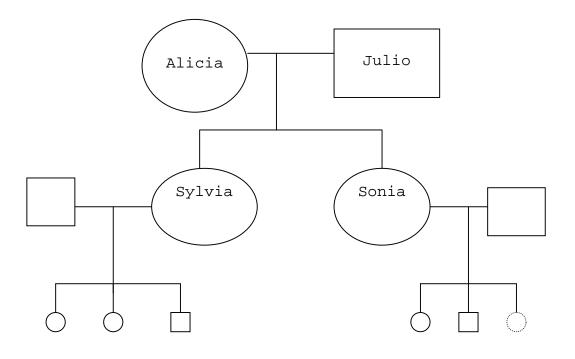
Alicia Rodriguez

Alicia Rodriguez was the last participant interviewed for this study. I had briefly spoken to her at the Cuban Club, but we had not had the opportunity to set a time to meet for the interview. Weeks later, referred to me by both Eva Morales and Teresita Martinez, I again contacted Alicia and she agreed to participate in the study.

Alicia stands at about 5'10," and is in her early 60's. She has two daughters, who also live in Atlanta, and she is the grandmother of five (see Figure 10). At the time of the interviews her youngest daughter was expecting another baby. Alicia was excited about having another grandchild as she is certain she will be the one to provide child care.

Alicia lives in an upper middle class neighborhood in Atlanta. The first thing I noticed about her home was how beautifully decorated it was. Although Alicia did not really show me around the home, I did notice that near the entrance there was a wall full of family pictures.

For the interviews, we sat across from each other on the dinning table. Although her husband, Julio, was home at the time, Alicia and I spoke privately. Alicia became visibly emotional several times throughout the interview. The emotional moments were especially evident as she recalled the process of leaving Cuba. However, as the interview progressed Alicia appeared much more comfortable. Alicia's interviews were informative and by the end, really achieving a sense of saturation in the stories. From her views on the decision to leave Cuba to the emotional aspects of the adaptation process, Alicia summarized many of the important themes emerging from all the interviews.



Family	Life in	Migration	Settlement	Cultural	Adaptation
Structure	Cuba	&	Context	Identity	
		Decision			
		to Leave			
Husband	Lived in	Left Cuba	Lived 8	Has always	Likes
Julio	Havana	in 1961	years in	felt Cuban	living in
			Spain		Atlanta
2 daughters	Married	Husband		Daughters	although it
Sylvia	for one	either	Moved to	also feel	was a
Sonia	year	became	the U.S,	Cuban,	difficult
	before	militant	first	although	adaptation
5	leaving	or had to	Miami,	born in	
grand-		leave	then New	Spain	Cuba will
children	Father had		Jersey		always
(youngest	been a	Left with		Grand-	remain in
daughter	part of	father-	Also lived	children	her heart
pregnant a	Batista's	in-law by	in	young, but	
time of	government	boat	Dominican	have been	
interviews)			Republic	taught about	
		Pregnant		Cuba	
		with	Settled in		
		eldest	Atlanta in		
		daughter	1980		
		when she			
		left			

Figure 10

Genogram and Summary Table for Alicia Rodriguez Case Study

Heading for Spain on the Last Boat

Alicia and her husband lived in the Bivora neighborhood of Havana. They had only been married for one year before they decided that they had to leave Cuba. Alicia, whose father had been a part of Batista's government, was finding that life in Cuba was becoming more and more difficult for her family who either had to side with Castro's new government or felt they had to leave. "The situation was that he had to either become militant, and side with all that," Alicia explained, "or know that he would be picked out for being against it all. So we had to decide to leave." Hence, in 1961, Alicia and Julio, together with Julio's father, boarded the last tourism boat to leave from Havana to Spain, and left Cuba. Alicia emphasized that leaving by boat was especially difficult as she remembered watching Havana in the distant slowly disappear.

Hoping the move would only be temporary the family headed for Spain where distant relatives lived. The family settled in a town in Asturias, Spain's Northern province, were small-town life was not easy to adapt to. "I went from a capital of a country," Alicia said, "to a town of 500 families. It was hard." Alicia, who was at the time one month pregnant with her first daughter, mentioned that

in the small town in Spain she often felt "caged."

However, she also added, "but you have to adapt. You had to accept it." For Alicia, aiding adaptation included the fact that her husband was able to find employment fairly quickly and that she found herself with a newborn child to care for.

Alicia also emphasized that adaptation was made easier once they met another Cuban family that had moved to the same small town in Spain. Alicia explained, "I did find a family that to me is now like my own family...We were in a similar process...So we coupled up and tried to adapt."

Although Alicia found adapting to life away from Cuba was difficult, she later acknowledged that in Spain it was perhaps easier for her family than for those who came to the U.S. She explained, "I know of families who came to the U.S. and they had it much harder than we did. We at least had family in Spain. But there were people here who did not have anything."

Alicia lived in Spain, where both her daughters were born, for eight years, before heading to the U.S. Although coming to the U.S. was "another big change" for Alicia, by that time, her parents had been able to leave Cuba. Eight years had passed since Alicia had last seen her parents, and she was happy to know they would soon be reunited.

In the U.S., Alicia and her family lived in several different places. Before finally moving to Atlanta in 1979, Alicia and her family lived in Miami and in New Jersey, as well as temporarily in the Dominican Republic. For Alicia, all these places have been marked by different aspects of adaptation. However, time has been the most significant component of adjustment. As twenty years have passed since her family first moved to Atlanta, adaptation was almost inevitable. Alicia explained, "logically we have adapted. We have made a life here."

Alicia acknowledged that although the decision to leave Cuba was a difficult one to make, "it was the best decision...at that time." There were a couple of factors that Alicia mentioned as contributing to the difficulty of the situation. First, as Alicia explained, "It was like they truncated our lives, our youths...We were beginning to live our marriage life in Cuba when it all came down. It was a drastic change." In addition, Alicia mentioned that the changes have left scars, that although ultimately have influenced her life in a positive way, they continue to be "thorns of all that you left behind." Notwithstanding, the ability to make a family life in the U.S. and to "bring our daughters forward" has been Alicia's proudest achievement.

Family Life and Making a Life in Atlanta

There is no doubt that Alicia's sense of pride lies greatly with her family, particularly her two daughters, Sylvia and Sonia. Sylvia, who is 40 years old, is married and has three children, who range in ages from twelve to three. The youngest daughter, Sonia, is 35 years old, married to a Cuban man, and has two children ages five and three. She is the one who was also expecting a new baby.

Alicia cited that both daughters have maintained a sense of being Cuban although neither were actually born in Cuba. As Alicia said, "Although they were born in Spain, they consider themselves Cuban." Sylvia, the eldest, has particularly shown interest in Cuba. Alicia mentioned: "my eldest daughter...tells me that she would like to return to Cuba because she realizes that those roots that we have planted in her, that she needs to find that piece she is missing." Alicia accredited having always raised her daughters with a sense of ethnic awareness as the reason why they have been able to maintain it in to adulthood and pass it on to their own children.

Alicia mentioned that for her grandchildren's generation, maintaining that sense of ethnicity has been different. Although they understand and try to teach them Spanish, Alicia believed that passing on an ethnic identity

has been more difficult. However, Alicia said, that her grandchildren do "consider themselves Cuban-American. Not just American, but Cuban-American...they are always taught their roots are Cuban." Regardless of how they feel, Alicia was glad that she has been an active part of her grandchildren's upbringing and living in Atlanta has made possible her role as care taker.

The decision to move to Atlanta, like for the other participants, was facilitated by her husband's employment. Alicia and her family moved to Atlanta when Julio's company, the same one he had worked for in Spain, decided to establish an office in the Atlanta area. Thus, the family moved to Atlanta, and Alicia, who had temporarily worked outside the home when they first came to the U.S., decided to stay home. Alicia first provided care for her father-in-law who had become ill, and over the years has stayed home to take care of her grandchildren.

Although adaptation to life in Atlanta was also difficult for Alicia, being able to develop significant friendships, especially with other Cuban families, facilitated the process. The search for other Cuban families in Atlanta was at first difficult, however, over time she has been able to not only find them but also remain an active part of the Cuban community. Access to

Atlanta's Cuban community has been the most instrumental part of Alicia's adaptation. And although Alicia did not believe herself to be in "exile," she acknowledged that for her, "Cuba will always be there. And my heart will be there, but I'm adapted to life here."

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS

[psychological] components can however, described using as a metaphor Janus, the Roman god of beginnings. Janus was always depicted at the gate of the cities and had two faces, which enabled him to see in opposite directions simultaneously. This illustrates the plight of the refugee. The face that looks back sees displacement, separation, uprooting, loss, nostalgia, and, in certain sense, even death, because some things die inside us when we are forced to abandon our homeland without the possibility of returning at will. The face that looks forward sees new horizons, unknown environments, strangers with unfamiliar customs and languages, real and imaginary perils, a vigorous challenge to survive, adapt, and grow, and even the opportunity of constructing a new identity in sudden anonymity. Thus, psychologically speaking, the refugee's experience combines elements of premature death and rebirth, a peculiar process in which he is both conscious protagonist and conscious spectator (Rumbaut & Rumbaut, 1976).

Several themes emerged from the data. These themes were related to issues of: emotional and intellectual interpretations of life experiences; significance of timing of life events; socio-historical contexts of migration; settlement location; circumstantial, cultural and social barriers; formal and informal resources; meaning of work; ethnicity; the role of family; gendered experiences; and exile identity. In this chapter, similarities and

dissimilarities among the themes in the narratives are discussed.

It should be noted that the following themes will be discussed using an ecological framework (see Figure 11). Thus, the approach will be from the contextual to the individual systems. However, there will be one exception. The theme of intellectual and emotional interpretations of life experiences will be discussed first because of its significance and prominence throughout the study. The final theoretical interpretation places this theme within the individual system.

It should also be noted that although certain themes are placed within a particular ecological system, it does not necessarily mean that they are exclusive to that particular context. Many of these themes cross systems, and it is the interactions between them that are significant.

Emotional & Intellectual Interpretations of Life Experiences

Throughout these narratives, the participants of this study emphasized what can best be characterized as a contrast between their intellectual and their emotional interpretations of life experiences. As the opening quote of this chapter states, the plight of the refugee can

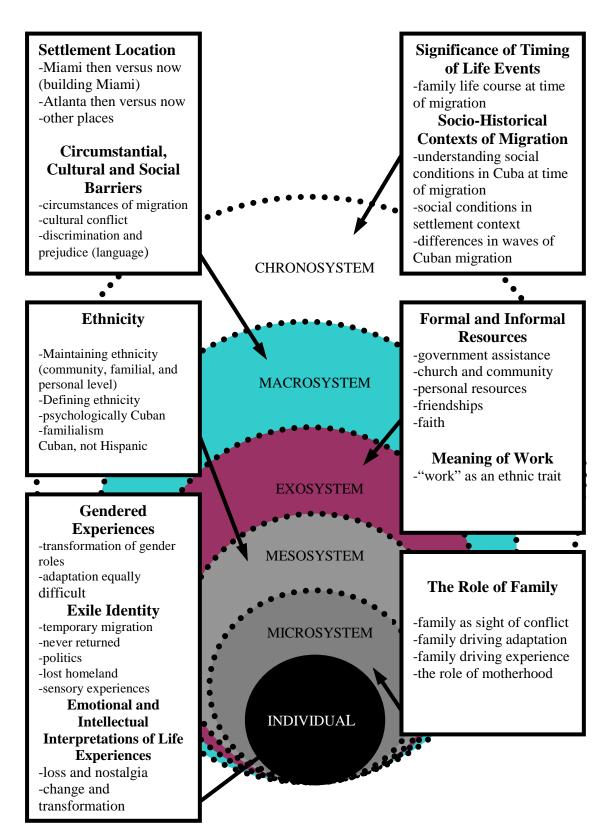


Figure 11:

An Interpretation of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory
Applied to First Generation Cuban Women Immigrants'
Perceptions of their Experiences

symbolically be depicted as encompassing several dualities, often contradictory, yet existing simultaneously. This duality was evident early on in this project as there was a distinction between these women's emotional and intellectual interpretations of their lives.

At one end, the women in this study saw their lives marked by successes, family pride, and other considerations that emphasized "positive" outcomes of the adaptation process. However, at the same time, they saw a life marked by emptiness and loss, and by the irreplaceable things brought about as a result of exile. Esther captured this overall theme best when she likened these two aspects of the adaptation process to train tracks. She said:

They go right there and I don't really know when they meet. Because definitely the intellectual adaptation is to study, to try to get up-to-date with your own professional background. And the emotional, is in everything that you suffer and in everything that happens, everything that you face. They go right there side by side like train tracks. And I don't really know when they meet up.

However, these intellectual and emotional interpretations should not be considered as polar opposites, but rather on a continuum. Furthermore, they were aspects experienced to

some degree or another by all the participants in this project.

Intellectual Interpretations

The intellectual interpretations were at first the most noticeable. Adaptation from this point of view encompassed issues of economic success, the attainment of language, the ability to go "forward," and in general, the struggle to make their lives "work." For example, Alicia often spoke about adaptation and the ability to bring her family "forward" as the most important focus driving her adaptation. Margarita focused on her children's successes and the gains they have had as a result of them leaving Cuba. While Eva emphasized freedom and the fact that she felt she and her family gained that as a result of migration. Each woman shared stories about their own ability to adapt and the gains they have made from migration.

In addition, the intellectual interpretations of life experiences were often most noticeable as these women, even the ones living outside Miami, often shared a strong sense of pride for what Miami has become. Whether symbolic or in reality, Miami has gone on to represent a victory over the struggle against exile and the achievements that the Cuban community has made in the forty years that they have lived

outside their homeland. Intellectually, that struggle has been "worth it" as they look at their lives and their family's life and the collective contributions they have made. Notwithstanding, the other aspects of exile, especially its emotional significance, also marked these women's experiences.

Emotional Interpretations

Over the course of the research process, the participants' emotional interpretations of life experiences became highly evident. Each woman in this study, in her own way, shared aspects of their experiences that highlighted the emotional aspects of adaptation. Each woman's narrative emphasized that despite the intellectual elements of adjustment, there is an emotional "emptiness that is never filled," and a sense of loss and nostalgia that accompanies the process.

For Eva, that sense of loss was evident when she spoke about losing her family for the sake of saving her own.

For Ana, who best exemplified the emotional interpretations of adaptation, it was apparent when she spoke about the world of nostalgia she now lives in and her views of the decision to leave as "fatal." While for Gloria, she acknowledged her own struggle when she said, "We did not accept it. And we still do not accept it. I have

everything here, but I realize that in the end I have one foot here and one over there." Although these are only three examples, each woman shared a similar point of view. For each participant, the emotional aspects of their life experiences have left scars that with time have not healed and continue to be a part of the overall story of their lives.

Although these emotional interpretations can be viewed as a part of their exile identity, which will be discussed later, they were also a part of the overall narratives of each woman's life. In fact, when asked about the lessons they have learned about themselves as a result of migration, it was adaptation that was always mentioned. As an outcome of migration each woman has gained a greater sense of knowledge about her own ability to adapt. Whether intellectual or emotional, it was evident that they both exist and were an integral part of the participants' life experiences and the adaptation process.

Significance of Timing of Life Events

From a life course perspective, the timing of life events plays a significant role in experience and human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1995). Furthermore, "timing" is the central component of the chronosystem. There were several ways in which "timing" played a role in the

participants' interpretations of their significant life events.

First, several of the women mentioned the significance of family life course as playing a role in their adaptation to migration. For example, Julia expressed that for those "who came in their middle years, it was easier to adapt. We came with the responsibility of a family." Furthermore, Eva shared a similar sentiment when she acknowledged, "I lived in the U.S. and I wanted to know. I came when I was 32 and I wanted to know what was going on. What my children were doing." Alicia also shared a similar opinion when she expressed that finding herself with a newborn baby helped her focus on the task of adaptation. With the responsibility of raising young children, many of the women agreed that adaptation was inevitable.

However, that does not mean that just because adaptation was described as inevitable, the changes were less traumatic or significant. As Esther said, "I was one person until I came here. With certain things determined socially and economically. And it was all a very abrupt change." In addition, Eva added that "the older you are, the more difficult it is." Julia and Ana both spoke about those of their parents' generation, who also came during this time, and found the changes much more difficult to

accept. They were a generation, many of which witnessed their families separated as grown children followed their own family trajectories.

Another aspect of family life cycle that was often discussed in the narratives was the significance of the death of the participant's husband. For those women who lost their husbands, this was an added dimension to their interpretations of their experiences. Esther, Teresa, Margarita, and Gloria all shared that the death of their husband was a very significant event in their lives.

Sometimes fighting the tears these women all shared that their husband's death was a traumatic event that influenced their interpretations of their life experiences.

However, as these women enter their later stages of life, they all also see great wisdom and knowledge. As Margarita mentioned, "when you get to be my age, everything is knowledge. Although it comes late, it does come." Although Ana described her life now as one in "nostalgia and alone," for the rest of the participants, as Julia said, "the worse has passed." No matter where they live, they now enjoy their children's successes as their own and use them as markers of why the struggle was worth it.

Socio-historical Contexts of Migration

In understanding the participants' experiences it is important to consider the socio-historical context of their migration: Not just the context of the country that they were fleeing from, but also those of the host country.

Furthermore, it is important to consider the differences that these women expressed between their wave of migration and those that followed later. In the chronosystem, historical time or eras are central in understanding the ecology of individuals.

Socio-historical Conditions in Cuba at Time of Migration

Entire books could be, and have been written chronicling the socio-historical conditions in Cuba following Castro's Revolution in 1959. All the women in this study shared their own unique stories of persecution and injustice at the hands of Castro's regime. In one way or another, they all described the conditions in Cuba following the Revolution as "suffocating" and/or "intolerable."

Some women, like Gloria and Alicia, recounted first-hand accounts of suppression by the government. Gloria spoke about her husband being placed in "house-arrest" and Alicia shared that members of her family were detained at el Morro during Playa Giron. While less dramatic, other

women, like Julia, Mirta and Eva, shared their stories of an environment that was slowly changing and where forms of freedom were being restricted. Furthermore, all the women in this study shared the sentiment that they felt they had to leave Cuba, as Teresa mentioned, "like we were criminals."

Another aspect of the historical context of Cuba at that time was that for many, including some of the women in this study, there was a great initial believe in Castro's revolution. As Ana mentioned, "Everyone believed in Fidel. Cubans, and I was the first one, had no idea." Believing that the revolution would be "nationalistic," many supported Castro before realizing that a Communist agenda was about to be set forth. For most of the women, once they realized that Castro's call was for a Communist form of government, the decision to leave was imminent.

However, they had to face an environment where they became enemies of the state. Julia acknowledged that, "at the time in Cuba, 99% of the people were pro-Castro. We had to do it all hidden. Running away...We were the number one enemies by not accepting the system."

Thus, every woman's decision to leave Cuba must be understood as based on political and not economic grounds. They were not women who came to the U.S. "seeking a better

means of life." These were women who as refugees were "pushed" to leave Cuba because the conditions became "intolerable." These were women who saw their homes being "confiscated" and jobs being "intervened." Women who, like Gloria and Eva, were so desperate for a better life that they sent their children alone to the U.S. under Operation Peter Pan. Furthermore, women who mostly believed that migration was only temporary and that a return to their homeland was forthcoming. Teresa best described their decision when she said,

We came here not by choice. We came here trying to flee Communism. Thinking always of going back...We came because we thought that that was going to finish and instead of staying there we thought we'd rather go to a safer place.

Perceived Differences in Migration

Time and again, all the participants in this study often mentioned the differences between their wave of migration and those that later followed. The differences were especially evident when the participants spoke about more recent waves of immigrants, those coming after 1980. One of the most significant differences that these women often mentioned was the motivation for migration. "The new

generation of Cubans," said Teresa, "they come here for money. Economics. So it's completely different."

However, often, the women also expressed other kinds of differences between the early wave of immigrants and those who have come since then. Gloria and Margarita agreed that "even the language is different." While Eva shared several stories of later immigrants who she believed took advantage of her and her family's generosity.

However, Esther most eloquently summed up the differences between her generation of immigrants and those that later followed when she said,

In Cuba, they have created...a totally different culture that is the product of a totally different system of government...You [now] have to live in a society that has different goals, different style, different objective, different education, different economy...So he has a society and a man that is a product of the era. I don't know how that Cuban thinks because I don't have that. I have not lived there to know. But indefinitely they have different values...They are the product of a country that has a life scheme that has absorbed them. To me there is no similarity in the Cuban of the 1960 and the Cuban of 1980...They made a series of changes and created new necessities, and

created a different culture, a different style of living.

These perceived differences have been so distinct that Ana even mentioned how she believes she could not "have a close friendship with someone who just recently came from Cuba."

"There is no way that they have the same mentality I have," she added. "The experience has been so different."

Furthermore, the perceived differences in migration also extend to the settlement context that newer immigrants enter. The participants all mentioned how more recent Cuban immigrants now enter a totally different social environment. From resources to language, more recent Cuban immigrants have come to the U.S. and found a totally different socio-historical context from their earlier counterparts. As Eva said, "Now you get to Miami and you don't have to speak English if you don't want to." Also, emphasizing these perceived differences, Margarita added that, "what the balseros have is a paso doble."

Settlement Location

As the "overarching pattern" characteristic of a given culture the macrosystem, for immigrants, includes the importance of settlement location. With the exception of Alicia, all the participants in this study migrated directly to the U.S. In fact, they all settled in South

Florida for some period of time, even if temporarily.

Thus, they all shared thoughts on what Miami was then versus now, as well provide insight into the other places they have also settled.

Miami Then Versus Now

Over the years, Miami has gone on to represent something symbolically important to Cuban immigrants. Even for those who do not currently live there, Miami represents many things Cuban. However, Miami has greatly changed from what it was in the 1960's to what it is now. The women in this study all had interesting insights into these changes, as they recalled the city's development.

All the participants in this study, except Mirta, were familiar with Miami before migrating to the U.S. From honeymoons to vacations, these women had often traveled to Miami before migrating. Nonetheless, in describing Miami then, at the time of migration, they recalled it as a "dirt town," "a desert," "in ruins," and "without street lights." However, weather was a determining factor attracting many to stay. Afraid of the "cold," the women in Miami stayed living there even though there were many efforts for relocation and the promise of employment elsewhere.

Miami has greatly changed in the last 40 years. When asked to describe Miami now, it is the accessibility to

"all things Cuban" that was most often mentioned by participants. Ana explained:

If I want to eat una croquetica, I can. If I want to go have café con leche at Versailles, I can also go do that. Or a pastelito de pollo, I can even imagine it right now...Miami is Cuba.

Margarita also shared a similar feeling with: "this is one of Cuba's provinces." Although only symbolically true, it is evident that for the participants, Miami and Cuba will forever be linked.

In addition, the participants, including those in Atlanta, all shared the common opinion that Miami was built by Cubans. There was no getting around that judgment. They all had their own theories on why the development occurred and what tools were necessary, but the fact remained that they view Miami as a Cuban creation. The city itself has become a sense of great pride for Cubans everywhere. As Julia said, "it is Mecca."

Atlanta and Other Places

Employment was the main reason participants in this study relocated outside of South Florida. Not able to find jobs, many sought their luck elsewhere. However, with the exception of Eva, none went directly to Atlanta. Mirta, Alicia and Julia were all relocated to other places before

settling in Atlanta. In fact, Alicia settled in four different places before finally arriving in Atlanta in the early 1980's.

Adaptation to these places was often described as "very difficult." For example, Alicia recalled how difficult it was for her to have gone from Havana, a country's capital, to a very small town in Spain where her husband's family lived. In addition, Mirta and Julia, who settled further North found the cold weather also hard to get accustom to.

Adaptation to life in Atlanta was also sometimes described as difficult for these participants. Having settled already in other places, Julia and Alicia both explained that Atlanta was yet another "traumatic process." Eva mentioned climate and transportation as two aspects of life in Atlanta that warranted getting used to.

However, these women, like those in Miami, have gone on to think of Atlanta as "home." "To me, Atlanta is Havana," claimed Eva. "I have lived here longer than I did in Cuba. I am very happy here." They all cited the local Cuban Club and the ability to make Cubans friends as factors that have made adaptation easier. Even though some of them shared that they sometimes think of moving

elsewhere, they realize that their lives, and their family's lives are there now.

Circumstantial, Cultural and Social Barriers

In the interview process it became evident that the women in this project also often spoke about different forms of barriers that they, and their families, faced.

Like Doran, et. al.(1988), this study found that barriers were an important part of the women's experiences.

Although Doran and colleagues differentiated between four different kinds of barriers, the present study will focus on three, circumstantial, cultural and social barriers, that are all part of the macrosystem and emerged as important themes in this study.

Circumstantial Barriers

Circumstantial barriers can be defined as those problems that arose out of the circumstances of migration and not necessarily out of cultural and/or social structures. Participants often mentioned instances where their educational and professional credentials were not recognized in the U.S. For example, only a number of Esther's university credits were accepted even though she had a teaching degree from the University of Havana. Gloria found herself teaching classes to her former

professors who were required to retake courses under the Cuban Doctor Program.

However, the two examples mentioned above were at least able to eventually continue in similar professions as those they had in Cuba. Teresa's husband, who had been a prominent politician in Cuba, found himself selling ice cream in Miami for 25 years. In order to get the family ahead the participants and their families sought employment wherever possible. Nonetheless, these circumstantial barriers were often temporary and unavoidable, and through no fault of individuals or society.

Cultural Barriers

Cultural barriers can be defined as those in which

Cuban values come in conflict with American society (Doran,

et. al., 1988). Whether collective or personal, the

participants often mentioned ways in which their value

system came in direct conflict with American ways and

attitudes.

The majority of these kinds of conflicts revolved around issues of family dynamics, especially in the context of generational differences. From child-rearing practices to supervision of adolescents, participants shared different stories of how their ideas and values often contradicted with those that their children were learning

outside the home. As Julia said, "it was a great struggle…especially when they would see everyone else going out alone." After sharing a story about her daughters being left unsupervised outside their school, Gloria said, "No Cuban mother would have ever done that."

However, sometimes, the cultural barriers extended to a personal level as participants spoke about aspects of American society that they personally found opposing.

For example, Ana cited "materialism" and "individualism," while Margarita mentioned a lack of self-presentation as American values that they found "shocking" and sometimes conflicting.

Social Barriers

Social barriers can be defined as those particular problems that arose not necessarily as a result of circumstance or culture, but rather discrimination. All of the women shared some story or anecdote about some form of discrimination that they faced when they first got to the U.S. Language was most often associated with these discriminatory acts. Margarita shared her story of being on the bus in Miami with a friend, and being shoved by someone who told them that they did not "speak that language here." Ana shared a story about confronting a school teacher who had told one of her sons, "to roll

himself right back to Cuba." And Alicia also asserted that "at that time in Miami to say that you were Cuban was like saying you stank."

Although these social barriers were often mentioned in the past, these women did not believe that discrimination no longer exists, especially as it pertains to younger generations. Speaking of her grandchildren, Esther shared that "although they feel more American than Cuban...I don't think that this country accepts them as its citizens. By their last name they will always be second citizens. That does hurt a little bit."

Moreover, a point of view that was shared by most of the women was a sense that American society ultimately does not "understand" them. "They don't understand our psychology," Margarita said. "...you have to take their finger and show them on a map where Cuba is." The Elian Gonzalez fiasco was often mentioned as a case in point of the struggle between Cubans in exile and these social and cultural barriers.

Formal and Informal Resources

The exosystem in Bronfenbrenner's theory includes those settings that do not necessarily contain the developing person, but in which events occur that indirectly influence other systems including the developing

individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1993). Resources are often a part of this system. Defined as the individual and collective strengths that a family has, resources are the assets from which a family can draw from in response to a stressful event (Boss, 1987)—in this case migration. From economic, psychological and physical assets, resources may include those things that existed before migration and those introduced later.

For the purposes of this project, there is a differentiation between formal and informal forms of resources. Formal resources, usually a part of the exosystem, may include things such as government assistance, established work programs, and other structured forms of assistance created for the sole purpose of aiding immigrants. These forms of resources were mostly instrumental at the time of migration.

On the other hand, informal resources, usually a part of the mesosytem, can include such things as friends and peers, language, and education, among others. These informal resources are usually not structured kinds of "help," but nonetheless are factors that aid in the adaptation process. They have been especially significant over time and continue to play a role in these women's experiences. For the women in this project, there was a

mix of both these kinds of resources. Although never acknowledged as a "resource," these women spoke of government programs and other community and personal characteristics that have been a part of their experiences. Formal Resources

When asked about resources the majority of the women in this study firmly responded that they had not received any. However, their responses were considering the formal resources that the Cuban Refugee Program (CRP), once established, gave out. Time of migration was the most important factor in determining if the women in this study utilized these formal forms of resources. For those participants who came early on, Margarita, Esther, Teresa, Gloria, Ana, and Julia, the refugee programs that were established later on were usually not used. As Teresa said, "At the time, there was no help." However, for those who came later, like Eva and Mirta, the CRP did provide some form of assistance, even if only temporarily. For Mirta, the help the government provided was even more extensive as she mentioned that her family lived in "government housing" for some time while living in Cleveland, Ohio.

Other government programs were also often mentioned as a formal resource; in particular, programs that were

designed for those who had been professionals in Cuba and wanted their credentials validated. For example, Esther was part of the Cuban Teacher Training. While Gloria was a part of a similar program designed for medical doctors.

Ana also spoke about her husband's involvement with the Cuban Lawyer Program at the University of Miami, while Mirta's husband sought to get his "foreign" in order to practice veterinary medicine in the U.S. Moreover, Teresa and Esther both started out in the education system in Miami as Cuban Aides, which were positions for Cuban refugees with an educational background and was part of a program to help Cuban students in public schools.

Resettlement or "relocation" to other parts of the U.S. was also another aspect of the refugee programs. For example, Eva spoke about receiving monetary assistance when her family decided to move to Atlanta. However, it was the church, and not the government, which was most often mentioned as helping out families seeking to relocate.

Both Julia and Mirta spoke extensively about the help they received from churches of different denominations that were assisting Cuban refugees. As Esther said, "Churches of different denominations helped a lot of refugees. Without asking or saying anything." From food to clothing,

churches were instrumental in providing and orchestrating a number of relief measures.

Informal Resources

Sometimes the kind of assistance that deemed most helpful, however, were not so much structured government programs, but more informal forms of help that nonetheless influenced experience. It was more often than not, these informal forms of resources that were mentioned by these women as helping over time and in the adaptation process. Personal resources, friends and faith were all mentioned by the participants as informal forms of assistance.

Personal resources. The women in this study all came from Cuba with a number of personal resources that have deemed important in the long run. Socio-economic status was one of the most significant aspects of these personal resources. Comprising of the upper and upper middle classes of pre-Revolutionary Cuba, these women came to the U.S. with a background that became a resource during the adaptation process. Socio-economic background was most important in Ana's narrative whose husband's family had been able to bring most of their wealth with them from Cuba and financially helped Ana and her family. However, Ana recognized that her experiences were not like that of most Cubans who came during that time. She said, "When we got

here, we were not like most others. We got here with a power that many did not have." Although not as fortunate as Ana, and for the most part coming with next to nothing, the other women in this study still came with socioeconomic backgrounds that put them at an advantage and that in the long run has deemed important for adaptation.

Education was yet another personal resource, which has been an important part of these women's experiences. All but two of the women in this study mentioned having attended universities and/or having an education background. Some of them, Gloria, Esther, Ana, Teresa, and Julia, all had professional careers in Cuba before migrating. Many of them also came already speaking English, which was an important factor in seeking and finding employment. Teresa recognized both these aspects of her personal background when she said, "I think I was quite well prepared in the sense that I came to this country knowing English. That was an advantage. And I was also educated. I had those advantages." However, Teresa still added that, "it was still a shock. Even though I know that I came more prepared than other people."

Friendships. Another informal resource that has been important in these women's lives has been close friendships: especially friendships with other Cubans going

through a similar process. For Alicia, who at first found it difficult to adapt to life in a small town in Spain, adaptation was made easier with the help of another Cuban family that migrated to the same town they lived in. said, "I did find a family that to me is now like my own family. They took from their own things, their own clothes that they brought from Cuba, in order to make me clothes and bed sheets for my daughter's bed." Later adding, "This ...family were my homeland. My blood." Every woman in this study, especially those in Atlanta, mentioned time and again the importance of friendships as a resource that in the long run has been an important part of their adaptation and their experiences. From sitting around and sharing stories about Cuba to helping out each other with child care needs, every participant recounted a story that distinguished the significance of friendships in their lives, even today.

Faith. While the church often acted as a formal resource, faith was also sometimes mentioned as an informal form of assistance that has also helped a great deal. All the women in this study shared a tremendous amount of faith and religious devotion. The influence of religion could be seen even in the language these women often used. "Thank God," "God willing," and "I ask God," were all expressions

often used throughout the narratives. However, as playing a role in adaptation, it was Mirta who summarized this theme best when she responded that it has been "faith in God" that has been most helpful. Adding, "that has always been very important. I put everything in God's hands."

Acting as both a formal and an informal resource it was clear that these women's faith and religious devotion was, and continues, to be an important part of their lives.

The Meaning of Work

Throughout these narratives there was a constant theme of work repeated again and again by the participants of this project. Whether talking about adaptation, generational differences, or ethnic characteristics the women in this study brought up issues of work in a number of ways.

Symbolically, a strong work ethic was often mentioned in relation to the adaptation process and as an outcome of migration. "Here, we have worked like animals," claimed Eva. Later adding, "we struggled like everyone else, but we have worked." Teresa best exemplified this theme when she often repeated, "I never thought that you could work as hard as I have worked in this country." This strong work ethic was also seen as a distinguishing attribute of that generation of immigrants.

All the women in this study spoke about work as a collective value characteristic of their wave of immigrants. "When we first got here, work was all we talked about," claimed Julia. Margarita added, "We had the mindset that we had to work." They also often compared other waves of immigrants and their different work ethic.

As Margarita said, "The concept of work that Cubans had 40 years ago is totally different than what they have now."

And in response to characteristics of later waves of immigrants, Eva simply replied that "they don't work."

In addition, the women in this study also generally defined work as an ethnic trait. Work was most often mentioned as part of the Cuban character. Although often associated with gender, "work" was generally described as part of the Cuban psyche. Mirta claimed, "Cuban men are very responsible. And very hard workers." And Ana shared a similar sentiment by stating that Cubans "have proved a lot about working." Esther also added, "Reality is that the hard work was done by Cubans. The ones who felt hungry were Cubans. Others have not had to go through the same experiences."

Whether symbolically or as a Cuban trait, work was clearly a part of every woman's narrative. The popular Cuban "success story" was acknowledged, even if never in

such terms, as part of the collective experience of these women's lives. Thus, even for those women who did not "work" outside the home, it was still a part of their family's exosystem and influencing their lives and their experiences.

Ethnicity

Seeing that ethnicity was at the core of this project, it was not surprising that it emerged as an important theme in these narratives. Ethnicity became an important part of the mesosystem, by serving as the linkage between the women's microsystems. What it means to be Cuban and maintaining that sense of ethnicity across generations were important aspects of these women's experiences.

Defining Ethnicity

Cubans have always been known to have a very strong sense of ethnic pride (Suarez, 1998). Whether that sense of pride is a product of exile or a part of the Cuban character is arguable. However, what was apparent was that the women in this study all had very strong feelings about what it meant to be Cuban. There is no way to simply pick one quote defining these women's sense of ethnicity. What being Cuban meant had all the following answers:

Mirta: For me it's the biggest thing on Earth. I am Cuban with honor.

Eva: To be Cuban, to me means, to have adapted to life here...but that we still live the way we lived in Cuba. To continue to love the homeland, to think about it, and to hope it will be liberated.

Julia: I feel so happy to be Cuban. To have lived in Cuba. I have always loved being Cuban.

Gloria: To me, being Cuban means feeling for my homeland...I value my homeland.

Ana: For me, it's a blessing from God...To me, it's a blessing that I'm so thankful for. I thank God for having been born in Cuba...And I say that because like Cubans there are no others. I say like a race, not even a nation...We have such wonderful qualities.

Alicia: To me being Cuban is my homeland, my landscapes, my beaches, my music, the customs, the food, all those things.

All these quotes exemplified a very strong sense of ethnic pride. A pride that not only includes a sense of "uniqueness" but also defiance about being called

"Hispanic." "I'm not Hispanic," Eva asserted, "that's a new word that American people have come up with...I consider myself Cuban." Other women also shared that point of view.

However, in defining ethnicity, besides pride, there were other attributes that were also often mentioned. In defining ethnic identity, it became clear that psychology was also a determining characteristic. Several of the women in this study defined "Cuban" and "American" as psychologically different. A strong sense of family was the psychological attribute most commonly used to define Cubanness. This strong sense of familialism, although not surprising, was brought up repeatedly throughout the narratives. Furthermore, this sense of family became one of the main reasons why maintaining an ethnic identity was a strong focus of these women's experiences.

Maintaining Ethnicity

Maintaining an ethnic identity was a very important aspect of these narratives. Moreover, the preservation of ethnicity occurred at many different levels. At a community level, organizations such as the Cuban Club in Atlanta, were established with the goal of preserving and promoting Cuban ethnicity and culture. Gloria also spoke about the different social and educational clubs that were established in Milledgeville, GA at the time with similar

goals. And in, it goes without saying, but these community level efforts for preservation and promotion of Cuban culture still exist today. Notwithstanding, it was at the family level were maintaining a sense of ethnicity became most important.

All but two of the women felt they had been successful in passing on a sense of Cuban identity to their children. Some even called their children, "Cubanasos," which exemplified their children's inflated sense of Cuban identity. For the women who were not convinced they had been successful in passing on that sense of ethnicity, they often mentioned discrepancies between their children with one child having a great sense of being Cuban while another one did not. Furthermore, personality and temperament were often mentioned as attributes identifying the lack of Cubanness. Once again supporting the psychological components of a Cuban identity.

There was also a sense that as the children have gotten older they have wanted to reclaim their sense of ethnicity. Alicia, Mirta and Esther all shared stories about their daughters and/or sons, now adults, wanting to reclaim a sense of Cubanness. As Esther said, "as [my daughter] has gotten older that Cubania, that I did not see when she was younger, has grown."

Furthermore, the women in this study often mentioned being active participants in trying to maintain that sense of ethnicity. "It's something that from the beginning we have tried teaching them," said Alicia. For Julia controlling her daughters' social environment was her strategy. "All of our friends have always been Cuban," she said. Even for the majority of children born outside of Cuba, their mothers still believe that they have been able to maintain sense of Cubanness as part of their identity. However, the women also recognize that there is an inevitable generational difference in their definition. As Gloria said, "sure, it's a Cuban flavor that's not 100%, but when confronted, they are more Cuban than anyone." The generational differences were even more pronounced when looking at the generation of these women's grandchildren.

In examining the participants' descriptions of their grandchildren's generation there are several things evident. First, for many of these narratives there is no conclusive evidence to determine if their grandchildren's generation has or has not maintained a Cuban identity.

Second, even for those who affirmed their grandchildren's Cubanness, their sense of ethnicity was often measured by their ability to speak Spanish and/or know about things Cubans, more than anything else. Nonetheless, it was

evident that age was a significant factor for this generation. While some of the women described their grandchildren as "too young to really know," those with older grandchildren were affirmative that they had indeed been able to maintain a sense of being Cuban.

The Role of Family

As stated earlier, a sense of family is central to Cuban identity. Thus, it was not surprising that families were central to these women's narratives. Families have been mentioned several times already as an important part of every woman's story, however, the theme of family as a microsystem and the role it served as part of the adaptation process will be discussed in this section.

Included will be how families were the primary agency driving not only adaptation but also experience.

Furthermore, the role of mother as central to understanding the participants' identity will also be discussed.

Most of the participants in this study shared that the choice to migrate and leave Cuba was a "family" decision.

For Teresa and Ana, the decision was made by their families, which included their parents and siblings. But even for those women who said that their husbands made the decision, their interpretation is a positive one given the benefits the "family" has had as a result of migration.

For example, Mirta, who said that she initially did not want to leave Cuba, pointed out that in the long run, she did not regret it. That sentiment was shared by most of the women in this study who characterized the decision as indeed a "family" one.

Furthermore, in the U.S., it was in the family unit where adaptation and acculturation was often negotiated. As children began to adapt American customs, families were often at conflict with what to do. For the majority of families the struggle was between raising their children in a "Cuban" way versus the American values and ideas they were learning from the outside environments. However, for Ana, the opposite was true. She believed she raised her children in an "American" way, and she viewed that choice as negative. As she said, "All that I criticized I would do. I would educate them that they come from a Cuban family...And I would raise them just as I would have had I had them in Cuba." Nonetheless, the struggle between parents and children was often mentioned in the other women's stories as well.

The conflicts that occurred as a result of the adaptation process were especially evident for families with female children. Some of the women in this study shared how raising a Cuban daughter during the 1960's in

the U.S. was often difficult. Julia described the process as not only a cultural and social adaptation, but also a moral one. Eva mentioned how she was glad she had two boys, because she often saw other Cuban families with daughters going through a difficult adaptation. Eva shared, "I always said, thank God that we did not have a daughter, because we would have suffered."

Families, however, have played another central role in these women's lives. Not only were they critical in the adaptation process but also as part of their overall experiences. This was evident as the participants all shared how their choices, even today, were derived according to their families' needs. For the women in Atlanta this was especially apparent as they often mentioned how their choice to settle and to stay in Atlanta has been based on their families. As Alicia said, "my daughters have established their lives here. grandchildren are also here. I doubt I would go anywhere else." Julia also shared a similar sentiment although she and her husband have always talked about moving to Miami. However, it was evident that their decision to stay has been linked to their family identity, especially her role as a mother.

Throughout these narratives it became evident that the role of mother was significant to understanding these women's experiences. Eva for example, acknowledged that it has been her role as a mother that has driven most of her decisions and life experiences. "I am above all a mother," she said, "even more than I am my own person." Several of the other women in this study also shared similar sentiments as they often turned to their children's achievements as a source of personal pride and a marker that their own struggles were worth the efforts. mothers, the family has been the center of these women's lives and motherhood has provided them with a sense of identity. Although filled with implications of gender issues, it was clear that for the participants in this study the role of mother has been an important part of their family and personal life experiences.

Gendered Experiences

Issues of gender were at the center of this study and emerged as a significant theme in these narratives. When asked specifically regarding gendered experiences three patterns were generally evident.

First, some of the women in this study held very strong belief systems about their experiences as Cuban women. Ana spoke about a sense of pride in being a Cuban

woman, while Margarita claimed that "we are the heroines of this." Furthermore, Gloria acknowledged that "Cuban women have given more than men. When it is all written, they have given more than men." Esther further added that "Cuban women are very patriotic...they have always had great examples in history." The above quotes signified a very strong sense of not just pride, but also acknowledgement that they have been active participants in their families and their experiences.

The second issue that was often mentioned concerned a transformation of gender roles and expectations as a result of migration. In Cuba, traditional gender roles are widely maintained and encouraged. "Machismo" has been widely written about as part of Cuban culture. However, in the U.S. those gender expectations have had to undergo changes. One of the most significant changes occurred as women, for family necessities had to enter the work force. These changes had the possibility of creating family conflict. For example, as Mirta acknowledged, "My husband did not want me to work. I had to find a lot of people to back me up and at the time he was earning very little." However, even for those families were women were accustomed to working, these transformations still had to take place.

For all but three women, work and professional careers had been a part of their lives in Cuba before migrating. In the U.S., these women found themselves not only in a "double shift," but also with the added dimension of Cuban men's "machismo" value system. Not only were they working outside and inside the home, but when their husbands got home they were still expected to be "waited on." Some of the women spoke about how in Cuba, those women who worked outside the home, being of a certain socio-economic status, usually had some form of hired help to assist with housework. In the U.S., although that was not the case, the gender expectations still remained.

Over time however, there were suggestions that changes have taken place. Ana mentioned that especially starting with her children's generation men have had to adapt to participate in family roles that in Cuba men were not accustomed to. The expectations now include that men will be an active participant in child rearing, and as Ana claimed, men's role has thus been "humanized."

The last area where gender issues were often mentioned was in terms of adaptation, specifically in comparing men's and women's experiences. Mirta, Eva, Julia and Margarita all agreed that men have had a more difficult time in adapting. These women often cited men's inability to openly

express their feelings and the burden of responsibility for the family as reasons why men had a more difficult adaptation to their lives in the U.S. As Margarita added, "Women are emotionally stronger."

Unable to specify who won or loss more, Alicia, Esther and Teresa all claimed that it has been an equally difficult adaptation. As Esther said, "I would say that neither won." And Alicia added, "I think that for both it was very hard...I would say equally hard." This leads to the last theme that emerged from the narratives, that of an exile identity which has made adaptation, even after forty years, a difficult process.

Exile Identity

Simply defined, someone who is in exile no longer lives in their home or country. Whether voluntary or involuntary, exile is marked by many boundaries, real and imaginary. There are cultural, social, political, economic, psychological, physical, personal and emotional boundaries shaping the exile identity.

There were several aspects of these women's experiences that define aspects of an exile identity.

First, the women in this study all agreed that they were not willing immigrants, but rather political exiles "forced out" of their homeland. As Teresa said, "we did not choose

to come here...We left when we saw ourselves being forced out." Fleeing an environment where they saw themselves not wanted as part of the society they took their families out of Cuba.

A second aspect of their exile identity included that all these women left their homeland but with the hopes that they would soon return. Exile was only supposed to be a temporary condition. As Alicia recounted, "It was always with that hope that we were going to return. That we had left, but that we would soon return. That it was just a few months." From months to two years, every woman shared their personal theories of just how long they believed they would be away from their homeland. Hoping for that eventual return has made exile a difficult situation.

Forty-two years have passed since the revolution and only one woman in this study has returned to Cuba. Mirta, who for the last time went to see her mother and sister ten years ago, was the only woman in this study to have ever been back. Even she admitted that as travel has become more common she no longer wants to return. The decision to not return, even now for Mirta, has been completely political. As many of them shared in the sentiment: "the reason why I left Cuba is still there."

Thus, a fourth aspect of these women's exile identity pertained to politics and their views on Fidel Castro.

They all shared some very strong words about Fidel, often making sure to cover the tape recorder, or excusing themselves for their language. A "coward" and a "bastard," among many other things, were descriptions that they gave of Fidel. As Eva said, "He is a bastard. He did not take away from me a sugar mill, nor any property, nor anything. He took away my homeland."

It has been that sense of a lost homeland that characterizes the fifth, and last, aspect of these women's exile identity. All the women in this study spoke about the sense of loss and longing they feel for Cuba. This sense of longing often included descriptions of sensory experiences of Cuba.

Many of these women talked about the things that they miss about Cuba including the food, the people, the landscape, and the beach. The last one was especially significant as the beach was often talked about both physically and symbolic. Many of the women spoke about the beauty and healing powers of the sea. For Ana, the sea has been the place where she finds healing. "I cure everything by the sea," she said. For Alicia, the beauty of Cuba's beaches remains forever in her mind. "Like Varadero, there

is no another," she claimed. "Maybe the beaches in the Cayman Islands. But forget it, there is no comparison."

Furthermore, as part of their sense of loss and yearning, the participants often described having to "recreate" the homeland in order to keep those memories alive. As Esther said,

So imagine, I have to be here, or wherever I have to be, thinking about the flag, thinking about the history, the symbols, remembering. And that's your homeland. The memories. The past. The stories. Trying to remember in order to have those memories alive...that love for the homeland, so that your children and grandchildren can as well.

The above quote sums up many of the themes of this study. By honoring the past these women seek to keep the memories alive and ensure that the generations that follow will remember their experiences. Experiences that have been filled by the dual sense of looking ahead to the future while also longing for the past. Like Janus at the gates of the cities looking ahead and back.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION

To be Cuban is to be born in Cuba. To be Cuban is to go with Cuba everywhere. To be Cuban is to carry Cuba in a persistent memory. We all carry Cuba within like an unheard music, like a rare vision that we know by heart. Cuba is paradise from which we flee by trying to return. (Guillermo Cabrera Infante, 1994)

The purpose of this study was to describe and analyze first-generation Cuban women immigrants' perceptions of their experiences. In this chapter, I will examine the two central research questions and address the limitations of the study. The two central research questions were as follows:

- 1. What is Cuban women's life course perception regarding immigration and acculturation, including the meaning, effects, and dynamics of the decision to migrate and settle in the United States?
- 2. What is the role of settlement location in Cuban women's perception of their experiences in the United States?

Research Question One

There are many different aspects of this research question that warrants attention. Included within this more general question were the issues of gender and

ethnicity, specifically the role of gender in Cuban women's perceptions' of their experiences and the strategies they use in order to maintain and pass on a sense of ethnic identity to subsequent generations. However, it should be noted that in general, the women in this study defined their experiences in the United States as positive. Looking back at their life, none of the women in this study expressed regret in the decision of having migrated to the United States.

Furthermore, they shared a sense of understanding of the dynamics that led to their migration. The women in this study all expressed that, as the literature has suggested, they felt they were "pushed" out of Cuba (Pedraza, 1996). Thus, migration to the U.S can be viewed as politically motivated. Although it was the opinion of these women (and of myself) that politics was the primary factor, economic issues can also be interpreted to have been at play in their decision. However, whether politics or economics were the "true" motivating factors for migration is beyond the scope of this project. What is important is that the effects of their journey still have great meaning even forty years after migration. While intellectually the women in this study have adapted to

their lives in the U.S., there was also the awareness that emotional adaptation has been a different matter.

Moreover, the women in this study have relied on their families to create meaning out of their experiences. These women viewed their family's successes as a symbol that migration has indeed been worth their struggles. It was that sense of family that emerged as shaping these women's interpretations of their life experiences. Similar to the findings by Doran and colleagues (1988), this study found that the family was the central system where not only issues of migration and adaptation were negotiated, but also other aspects of Cuban women's lives.

There were several other interesting things that emerged from this first research question. The importance of an ecological model in framing the participants' experiences will first be discussed followed by greater focus on the emotional aspects of adaptation. The subquestions regarding gender and ethnicity will then be addressed.

Ecological Framework

The ecological framework grounded this research project from its initial stages. In the data collection and analysis process it became evident that the ecological framework was indeed emerging as an important theoretical

model for this study. In order to understand Cuban women's experiences they had to be analyzed and represented within the contexts in which they occurred. The role of contexts in shaping experience was overwhelmingly supported.

Every woman in this study spoke about the importance of understanding their particular "era" or "generation" and the significance of the historical events that have shaped their lives. There was no doubt that the history of Cuba has ultimately shaped and changed these women's life experiences. Furthermore, these women acknowledged the significance of other contextual systems that have also shaped their experiences. From the chrono to the microsystem, it became important to understand the individual and collective contexts that have influenced each woman's life experiences. Thus, the primary themes of this study were interpreted using an ecological framework, which emphasizes the interrelationships between individuals and their environments (Thomas, 2000).

In addition, it became apparent that the interactions between the different contextual levels were also significant. In order to interpret the individual experiences, it was important to understand how they were shaped by the interactions between the individual, families, communities, and society at large. For example,

these women's strategies to maintain a sense of ethnic identity were not simply an individual phenomenon, but also shaped by the contexts of their families and communities.

Hence, the interactions between the different contextual systems have shaped these women's experiences.

However, there were interesting differences between the initial theoretical model and the framework that later emerged from the data. The final theoretical model places the experience within the participants' interpretations. From this perspective, it is perception that is key to understanding these women's life experiences. It is the individual perception of those contexts that became important throughout these women's narratives. In fact, perception was the individual system that dominated the participants' interpretations of their experiences. In particular, the intellectual and emotional interpretations of life experiences emerged as the individual characteristic assigning meaning to migration and adaptation.

Adaptation Process

This study found an interesting duality between Cuban women's emotional and intellectual interpretations of their life experiences. Generally, and in research, when considering adaptation and acculturation, it is the

intellectual characteristics of that process that are emphasized and studied. For example, studies have examined language acquirement as a measure of acculturation.

However, as this study shows, measures and research that focuses on intellectual adaptation alone only tells half the story. The emotional characteristics of adaptation are just as important, if not more, but often a neglected aspect of the process.

This study found that from the participants'
perspective, the emotional aspects of adaptation are
perhaps even more valuable to immigrants' interpretations.

It was emotional adaptation that brought together these
women's stories. Every woman in this study spoke to some
degree or other about the emotional impact that migration
has had on her life experiences. Although the nine women
in this study have followed different adaptation
trajectories, they all agreed that emotionally adaptation
has been very difficult.

Similar to the work that has analyzed the literary narratives of this generation of Cuban immigrants (Behar, 1998), the women in this study emphasized a sense of loss and nostalgia as part of their experiences as exiles. As the exiled Cuban writer, Guillermo Cabrera Infante, acknowledged in the opening quote of this chapter: "We all

carry Cuba within like an unheard music, like a rare vision that we know by heart. Cuba is paradise from which we flee by trying to return."

From this perspective, adaptation and acculturation are not solely about the ability to learn the language, find employment, or even monetary success, but also about the scars and the losses, which despite individual and/or family gains, are still felt forty years after migration. It has been this emotional aspect to adaptation that has been missing from the immigrant research literature.

From the perspective of symbolic interactionism the meanings of migration and adaptation have been central the participants' interpretations of their lives. Individually and collectively they have defined their experiences as one where emotional adaptation has been a significant part of the process. Emotional adaptation was not only responsible for these women's own sense of identity, but also the reason why they felt so strongly about making sure that future generations maintained a sense of Cuban identity and pride.

Defining and Maintaining Cuban Ethnicity

The findings in this study indicated interesting characteristics of the participants' interpretations of Cuban ethnicity. One of the significant findings of this

study was Cuban women's conceptualization of Cuban ethnicity to include psychological traits. Although ethnicity is widely researched, there has been little written about ethnic psychological traits, especially as it pertains to the Hispanic population. In this study, it was evident that the participants defined Cuban ethnicity to include psychological characteristics. Within these characteristics, a sense of family was central to that definition.

Although a great deal has been written about familialism as a value-orientation characteristic of Hispanic identity (Suarez, 1998), research on Cubans has not focused on a sense of family as a distinguishing psychological trait. For these women, in defining Cuban ethnicity it was evident that the psychological aspects of familialism were included in their definitions of what it meant to be Cuban. And in defining ethnicity, the women in this study also focused on their attempts to make sure their families maintained a sense of Cuban ethnicity.

Although the women in this study strongly agreed about their own identity as Cubans, they varied greatly on their interpretations of their children and grandchildren's sense of ethnicity. The differences between the participants' interpretations were especially evident in examining their

views of the third generation. Not surprising, as other research has suggested (Hill & Moreno, 1996), among the second generation, which includes children born in Cuba and the U.S., there was still a strong sense of Cuban identification. The majority of the participants described their children as mostly Cuban. Even when the participants acknowledged a more "Cuban-American" orientation among their children's generation, for the most part they still emphasized their "Cubanness." However, there is evidence that by the grandchildren's generation that sense of ethnicity greatly changes. The participants emphasized how the sense of Cuban ethnic identity was less by the third generation.

The findings of this study also pointed to evidence for Phinney's (1996) framework for the development of ethnic identity. This study found that as the children and grandchildren have gotten older their sense of ethnic identity has become a more salient aspect of their life. This was especially evident in comparing the interpretations of women with adult versus young grandchildren. Women with adult grandchildren described them as mostly Cuban, while younger ones often described them as Cuban-American, Hispanic or even American. This seems to suggest that as the third generation gets older,

there is hope that that their sense of ethnicity will become a more important part of their identity.

Nonetheless, what was certain was that these women have gone to great lengths to make sure that their children and grandchildren maintain a sense of being of Cuban descent. From actively teaching them about Cuba to maintaining the Spanish language in their homes, the women in this study noted a number of strategies to making sure that their children and grandchildren do not forget their Cuban roots. While maintaining that sense of ethnicity was mostly described as a family responsibility it was also evident that Cuban women have been instrumental in this effort.

The Role of Gender

The question of gender in this study yielded some interesting insights. First, as others have suggested (Suarez, 1998), there was evidence that the patriarchal gender roles and expectations that were traditionally Cuban characteristics have undergone transformations in the United States. This was especially evident when the participants spoke about their participation in the U.S. labor force and the new role that many of them found themselves in as equal economic providers in their families. However, Ferree's (1979) conclusions that for

Cuban women employment did not mean "liberation" was also found in this study. The participants in this study often spoke about their double-shift role and the burden they felt working outside the home and their families' expectations inside.

There was also evidence for what Boone (1980) described as "feminine assertion" as a character trait among the women in this study. Similar to the findings of Doran and colleagues (1988), this study found that the participants described their experiences with the duality and contradiction in their perceptions of women's roles and expectations. The women in this study were highly educated and social, and at the same time maintaining traditionally patriarchal ideals. There was that complex intersection between educational attainment, religiosity, and devotion to the family that other studies have found (Boone, 1980; Doran et. al., 1988). Nonetheless, the women in this study were also very aware of the significant role they have played in their families and in their communities. And their strong sense of patriotism and pride in being a "Cuban woman" was evident throughout the study.

Issues of gender were also reflected in some other more subtle ways throughout these narratives. Gender issues were especially salient as the participants

discussed parent-child relations, child-rearing practices, and even the adaptation process. However, the direct influence of gender in their interpretations of their experiences is inconclusive. While some participants spoke about their experiences as unique to that of men, others felt that the burden of adaptation had been harder on men's roles. There were also other participants that emphasized that being a woman has actually made adaptation easier. In general, there was an overall sense of downplaying gender as a factor in their experiences while focusing on the difficulty of the situation for all those who were a part of it. The focus was to describe the experiences of Cuban men and women as equally difficult; with both genders having lost a great deal.

However, since women's experiences were at the center of this study it cannot be implied that Cuban men's experiences were the same or similar. The findings of this study were unique to Cuban women and how they have come to give meaning to their experiences. Furthermore, given the researcher's gender, this might have yielded some limitations throughout the research process.

Research Question Two

There were interesting findings regarding the role of settlement location in the interpretations of the

experiences of Cuban women. While there was evidence that settlement location has played a significant role in these women's perceptions, the findings were less indicative than expected. The fact is that the women in Miami, Florida and Atlanta, Georgia described their experiences in very similar ways. Although this would seem to suggest that settlement location has not played a significant role in adaptation, in analyzing this question further some interesting observations can be made.

First, the women interviewed in Atlanta had lived in a number of different places before finally settling in that city. They all mentioned how each new place was a different and unique adaptation. They emphasized that they had to start the adaptation process all over again in each new city. Moreover, they all agreed that adapting to life in Atlanta was in fact a difficult process. Some women cited the lack of other Cubans living in Atlanta at the time, while others mentioned the climate as adding to their interpretations. This not only supported the idea that settlement location is indeed a significant factor in adaptation, but also highlighted an important difference between the perceptions of the two groups of women.

There were some other general differences noted between these two groups of women. In fact, the women in

Atlanta, who had all lived at one time in Miami or had a current relationship with Cubans there, were adamant about acknowledging that their experiences in Atlanta have been unique to that of those who settled in South Florida. In describing the differences between the experiences of these two groups of women, it was the access to other Cubans and to "all things Cuban" that were often cited as distinguishing the two cities. As Alicia, one of the Atlanta participants acknowledged, "in Atlanta, we had to search in order to find Cubans." While the participants in Miami agreed that, "Miami is Cuba."

The idea that there is a need to search in one location and that the other is somehow an extension of the homeland, has also created another interesting dimension in the experiences of these two groups of women. Comparing these two groups, the women in Miami had a stronger sense of an exile identity than those in Atlanta. In fact, while all the women in Miami described their experiences as one of exiled, the women in Atlanta were far more cautious.

Most of the women in Atlanta did not even mention exile as part of their present reality. That is not to say, however, that the experiences of those in Atlanta have been less traumatic or emotionally easier, but rather that it

has been one where an exile identity has perhaps played a lesser role.

Notwithstanding, the women in Atlanta and Miami all agreed that adaptation has been very difficult and even painful. The similarities found in the experiences of these groups of women gives greater credibility to the overall findings of this study regarding the importance of emotional adaptation. As all these women described their emotional experiences in similar ways, it goes to validate the importance of this aspect of the adaptation and acculturation process. Furthermore, it tells us a great deal about the overall narrative of the experiences of first-generation Cuban women immigrants in the United States. Experiences that have been complex regardless of location.

Limitations of the Study

Despite significant findings, as in any study, there are limitations to this project that warrant attention.

The methodology used in this study has some inherent limitations. First, generalizability from the findings of this study would be difficult to determine. Like most qualitative studies, this project is bound not only by specific time, place and participants, but also by the researcher. Thus, generalizability or transferability to a

larger group would be difficult to make. This study used data from in-depth interviews from nine participants, and generalizability to those in the larger group would be difficult, if not impossible to make.

Furthermore, it should be noted that in no way was the goal of this research for the findings to be transferable to other ethnic groups, even to other Hispanic nationalities. Nonetheless, there are some general findings about acculturation and adaptation that would probably be to some degree applicable to a larger group, even if caution would be appropriate.

A second limitation of this study also involves methodological considerations. Given that in qualitative projects the researcher plays a role equivalent to a computer in quantitative research, there are limitations to those assumptions and expectations. Not only is interpretation, or neutrality, an issue in this study, but there are also questions regarding how the researcher "influences" the findings. I will not address any solutions to this limitation considering it involves philosophical questions greater than the scope of this project. However, I should note that it was an obvious consideration, and as stated throughout the study, attempts

were made to maintain neutrality and explore the researcher's biases when appropriate.

A third and last limitation involves another methodological consideration, but of a different kind. As stated earlier, the majority of interviews in this project were conducted in Spanish. The experiences retold in this study were for the most part not told in the language that they now exist within these pages. It cannot be assumed that something is not lost in the process. Having said that, I strongly believe that this project benefited from having a researcher fluent in Spanish. There are levels of human experience that can only be told in the language that they occurred. Although I recognize these limitations, I am also humble in understanding the strengths of this study and the significant recommendations that this research implies.

CHAPTER VIII

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH, PRACTICE AND POLICY

The findings in this study challenge us to better understand immigrants' interpretations of their experiences in order to design and implement effective research, practices and policies. The following chapter contains recommendations that may contribute to this goal.

Although, as stated earlier, transferability to the larger group was not a goal of this project, the findings of this study do have some inherent implications for the immigrant population, in particular Hispanics in the United States.

Moreover, this study also has specific implications for our knowledge and understanding of Cubans living in the U.S.

Future Research

First, the findings of this study indicate the need for further research that uses an ecological perspective in analyzing perceptions of the immigrant experience. By examining the different contextual levels that influence and impact the lives of immigrants, we can begin to get a wider sense of their overall experiences. It is not enough to simply look at community or social environments, without

understanding how they interact to influence the micro experiences of individuals and families.

Second, greater research is also needed that further examines the experiences of Cubans in the United States. As the findings of this study indicate, the Cuban population has been unique in many respects and greater research is needed that examines the different experiences that exist within the Cuban population. Comparing and contrasting the different waves of migration might yield interesting insight about the role of context in adaptation and acculturation. Furthermore, we have a unique population that currently has between two and four generations still living. Greater research examining the differences between generations can be beneficial to understanding how time plays a role in families, their abilities to adapt, and the transmission of cultural values across generations.

Third, there is a need for more research that focuses on the interpretations of the immigrant experience. As researchers we cannot simply make assumptions about those experiences based on our own biases and understanding, without first understanding the group and individual interpretations. Symbolic interaction theory can be used as a framework for this research. With the focus on how individuals assign meaning to their experiences, research

that emphasizes perception can help us better understand how individuals define their experiences and how that in turn influences their behavior. Moreover, more research is needed that focuses on interpretation with the goal of empowering those being studied. By sharing their unique stories there will hopefully be a greater sense that they have indeed contributed to the overall narrative of the United Stated.

Fourth, there is a need to conduct studies that look further into the emotional aspects of adaptation. It is not enough to simply focus on the intellectual responses to the acculturation process. The emotional aspects of the immigrant experience deserve greater research attention. While emotional adaptation has been evident in literature and other artistic media, this has not translated to academic research. Given that emotional adaptation was such a strong theme in this study, it is evident that it plays a very significant role in the immigrant experience. In addition, these findings also give us practice implications.

Implications for Practice

As the findings of this study indicate, practice with the immigrant population must also take into account the emotional aspects of adaptation. Practitioners working with

the immigrant population need to pay close attention to this characteristic of the adaptation process. This is especially true of the specific population in this study. For Cuban women of who migrated to the U.S. in that particular time, there was the added dimension of an exile identity. An exile identity that has made the emotional side of adaptation long-lasting and an important part of how they interpret their life experiences.

A second practice implication of this study is specific to work with the Hispanic population. Practice with the Hispanic immigrant population should also focus on issues of family dynamics. Hispanic families including cultural conflict that is a result of the adaptation process as well as the strong sense of family identification that is characteristics of this group's ethnic identity. As families become the primary agency driving adaptation, they also become the most vulnerable system. Practitioners should be aware of the family dynamics and the ways the family itself might serve as an important resource. The sense of family should be interpreted at as a strength of Hispanic identification that can aid in the intellectual and emotional aspects of adaptation.

Third, practitioners working with the Hispanic population, and in this case, Cuban, must take into account the role of gender. The findings in this study suggest that gender roles have changed and been transformed as a result of migration. Practitioners working with this population might have to deal with families and/or individuals were there is conflict resulting from these new roles and expectations. Gender, as a social construct, influenced these women's individual and family lives, and practice with this population might need to consider the implications of these changes.

Strategies for Policy

As with research, policies must be established that takes into account an ecological perspective of the immigrant experience. Policies must not only target individuals and/or social systems, but all the other different contexts that influence the immigrants' experiences. This will hopefully help to expand the resources available to aid in the adaptation process.

Moreover, it might also help develop and implement policies that are designed for specific populations and the different systems that influence their development. From the local to a national level, policies must be made with an ecological frame of reference.

The final implication is that policies must promote community building among the immigrant populations. and again throughout this research project there was mention that the accessibility to an ethnic community was a positive influence in adaptation. Policies that promote the building of communities can aid the immigrant population by providing a sense of belonging. Furthermore, by promoting community efforts, immigrants will hopefully feel that they are a part of the larger context they now call "home." As Esther, a participant in this study stated, "it will be of great benefit for this country to understand better the people who live here as a second home. Because the United States has become our second home." Policies at all levels of the ecology can provide guidance and promote better understanding of the immigrant population in the United States.

EPILOGUE

I have a story to tell you. Something happened to me one time in Mexico that to this day has remained with me. I was at an outdoor market and I wanted to buy something. When the vendor heard me speak he asked if I was Venezuelan.

"No," I responded, "I'm Cuban."

"Cuban from Cuba?" He then asked.

"Well, all Cubans are from Cuba," I said. "But if you want to know where I now live, I live in the United States."

"Oh, then I can charge you more," he said.

I was so bothered by that. I was so angry. So I immediately turned to my husband and said I wanted to go home.

"Home? Where? To Cuba or Miami?" The vendor then asked.

"To Miami," I responded. "If I can't be in Cuba, I want to be home in Miami."

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Announcement/Flyer

Appendix B: Consent Form

Appendix C: Contact List (Miami)
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Phrases

Appendix A

Announcement/Flyer

¿Usted o alguien que usted conoce vino de Cuba entre 1959-1962?



Un estudiante doctoral está buscando participantes para un estudio sobre las experiencias de mujeres cubanas en Atlanta. Las participantes deben tener los criterios siguientes:

- (1) mujer cubana que salio de Cuba entre 1959-1962
- (2) debe ser entre las edades 60-80.
- (3) ha vivido en el área de Atlanta por lo menos 15-20 años;
- (4) deben ser abuelas
- (5) debe haber estado casada con un hombre cubano antes de emigrar.

Las participantes serán entrevistadas. Por favor llame a **Carlos A. Toledo** al **404-249-7217**, o E-mail (ctoledo74@hotmail.com).

Did you or anyone you know migrate from Cuba between 1959-1962?



Doctoral student is looking for participants for a study on the experiences of Cuban women in Atlanta. Participants must meet the following criteria:

- (1) Cuban woman who migrated to the U.S. between 1959-1962
- (2) must be between ages 60-80.
- (3) have lived in the Atlanta area for at least 15-20 years;
- (4) have one or more children who were either born in Cuba or the U.S., and at least one grandchild who was born in the U.S.
- (5) must have been married to a Cuban man before migrating.

Participants will be interviewed and asked to share their experiences. Confidentiality will be maintained. Please call **Carlos A. Toledo at 404-249-7217**, or e-mail (ctoledo74@hotmail.com)

Appendix B Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

I AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH TITLED A QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION OF CUBAN WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN THE UNITED STATES, WHICH IS BEING CONDUCTED BY CARLOS A. TOLEDO, DEPARTMENT OF CHILD AND FAMILY DEVELOPMENT, 542-4832. UNDER THE DIRECTION OF DR. THOMAS M. COLEMAN, DEPARTMENT OF CHILD AND FAMILY DEVELOPMENT, 542-4882 I UNDERSTAND THAT THIS PARTICIPATION IS ENTIRELY VOLUNTARY; I CAN WITHDRAW MY CONSENT AT ANY TIME WITHOUT PENALTY AND HAVE THE RESULTS OF THE PARTICIPATION, TO THE EXTENT THAT IT CAN BE IDENTIFIED AS MINE, RETURNED TO ME, REMOVED FROM THE RESEARCH, OR DESTROYED.

THE FOLLOWING POINTS HAVE BEEN EXPLAINED TO ME:

- THE REASON FOR THE RESEARCH IS, TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE EXPERIENCES OF CUBAN WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES. AS WELL AS TO BETTER UNDERSTAND HOW HISPANIC FAMILIES ACCULTURATE TO AMERICAN SOCIETY
- 2] THE BENEFITS THAT I MAY EXPECT FROM IT ARE. THAT I MAY BE ABLE TO HELP DEVELOP BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT HISDANIC FAMILIES AND CHILDREN GO THROUGH AS WELL AS GENERATE BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHALLENGES THAT FACE HISDANIC FAMILIES THROUGHOUT ACCULTURATION.
- 3) THE PROCEDURES ARE AS FOLLOWS. [HERE WILL BE AT LEAST TWO INTERVIEWS, EACH INTERVIEW WILL APPROXIMATELY TAKE ONE TO TWO HOURS, DEPENDING ON HOW COMFORTBULE [FEEL, | WILL BE ASKED TO PARTICIPATE IN A PROVINCE IN A PROVINCE DISCUSSION WITH THE RESEARCHER CONCERNING MY THOUGHTS AND EXPERIENCES AS A CUBBIN MOMAN LIVING IN THE [INTED STATES.] HE INTERVIEW WILL TAKE PURCE MUTUALLY AGREED UPON SETTING, THE RESEARCHER MIGHT POSSIBLY TAKE NOTES DURING THE INTERVIEW, THE SECOND (AND DOSSIBLY THIRD) INTERVIEW WILL BE SCHEDULED BY THE BESEARCHER SOME TIME AFTER THE INITIAL INTERVIEW, I WILL NEED TO BE AVAILABLE TO THE INVESTIGATION FOR APPROXIMATELY 3 MONTHS FOLLOWING THE INITIAL INTERVIEW FOR THE FOLLOW UP INTERVIEWS AND MEMBER VALUATION.
- 4) SOME DISCOMFORT OR STRESSES MAY BE FACED DURING THIS RESEARCH RELATED TO DEALING WITH SOME EMOTIONAL ISSUES WHICH ARE A PART OF DEALING WITH A VETERIENCE OF BEING A CUBRN WOMAN IN THE UNITED STREES, I DO NOT HAVE TO ANSWER ANY QUESTION THAT MIGHT BOTHER ME. HOWEVER, THE RESEARCHER WILL PROVIDE ME WITH A LIST OF REFERRAL S SHOULD I NEED TO TRIK TO ANYONE ARROUT THESE ISSUES
- 5] NO RISKS ARE FORESEEN. [FFORTS WILL BE MADE IN THE INTERVIEW PROCESS TO REDUCE RISKS

PARTICIPANT/DATE

- 6) THE RESULTS OF THIS PARTICIPATION WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL, AND WILL NOT BE RELEASED IN ANY INDIVIDUALLY IDENTIFIABLE FORM WITHOUT MY PRIOR CONSENT, UNLESS OTHERWISE REQUIRED BY LAW. [INTERVIEWS WILL BE AUGUSTAPED WITH MY PERMISSION, BUT] MAY REQUEST THAT THE RECORDER BE TURNED OFF OR NOT USED AT ANYTIME. [I PSEUDONYM THAT] SUPPLY WILL BE USED ON ALL TAPES AND TRANSCRIPTS, AND TRANSCRIPTS, AND TAPES WILL BE ERRSED BY JUNE 1, 2002. [TRANSCRIPTS WILL NOT INCLUDE ANY INFORMATION THAT REVEALS MY IDENTITY.]
- 7] THE RESEARCHER WILL ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE RESEARCH, NOW OR DURING THE COURSE
 OF THE PROJECT, | HAVE BEEN THE ABOVE AND HAVE BEEN GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS AND
 RSK QUESTIONS, | HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT | MAY CONTACT (BRIOS | OLEOO AT [404]249-7217
 TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS | MAY HAVE QUAING THE INVESTIGATION, | AGREE TO PRATICIPATE AS A
 SUBJECT WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT | MAY WITHDRAW AT ANY TIME WITHOUT INTERFERING WITH
 MY REGULAR CARE.

 SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR/DATE
 SIGNATURE OF

PLEASE SIGN BOTH COPIES OF THIS FORM. KEEP ONE AND RETURN THE OTHER TO THE INVESTIGATOR.

FOR QUESTIANS ON PROBLEMS ABOUT YOUR RIGHTS PLEASE CALL OR WRITE, MS. JULIA (REXAMBER, BLAMAN SUGLECTS (FIREY, UNIVESSITY OF ECORGIA, BLOEB) BYFOR EGROUNTE STOURTS (BESERICH (EATER, BTHENS, EGORGH 306012-741), TELEPHONE (TOO) 542-6514. [-Mon Hoories 118/Quiga cou.

Appendix C

Contact List (Miami)

ADVANCED PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES INC

7235 CORAL WAY, MIAMI, FL 33155 (305) 264-5008

ALTERNATE FAMILY CARE INC

8390 NW 53RD ST, MIAMI, FL 33166 (305) 477-9055

CATHOLIC FAMILY SERVICES

9999 N.E. Second Avenue, #311, Miami, 33138 (305) 758-0024 FAX (305)757-6287

COUNSELING FOR DAILY LIVING

9000 SW 87TH CT, MIAMI, FL 33176 (305) 598-6640

CUBAN AMERICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL INC

1223 SW 4TH ST, MIAMI, FL 33135 (305) 642-3484

DADE PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION

7600 SW 57TH AVE, MIAMI, FL 33143 (305) 663-6366

FAMILY COUNSELING SERVICES OF GREATER MIAMI

10651 N. Kendall Drive, Suite 25, Miami, FL 33176 305-271-9800, FAX: 305-270-3330

HELEN B BENTLEY FAMILY HEALTH CENTER

3090 SW 37 AVE, MIAMI, FL 33133 (305) 447-4950

LOREN'S HEALTH CARE

9520 SW 40TH ST, MIAMI, FL 33165 (305) 485-0701

NEW HORIZONS COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH CENTER

INC-PERMANENT HOUSING 2650 NE 2ND AVE, MIAMI, FL 33137 (305) 576-4416

NEW HORIZONS CUMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH CENTER

NEIGHBORHOOD FAMILY ELDERLY SERVICES 1251 NW 36TH ST, MIAMI, FL 33142 (305) 635-0003

UNITED WAY OF MIAMI DADE ON AGING

1 SE 3RD AVE, MIAMI, FL 33131 (305) 860-3000

Appendix D

Contact List (Atlanta)

Accessible Counseling Svc

(404) 377-3588

1534 N Decatur Rd NE Ste 201, Atlanta, GA 30307

Aabacus Counseling & Resource

(404) 767-2992

4854 Old National Hwy Ste 160, Atlanta, GA 30337

Alliance For Counseling

(404) 233-7439

42 Lenox Pointe NE, Atlanta, GA 30324

Atlanta Counseling Ctr

(770) 458-1583

4470 Chamblee Dunwoody Rd, Atlanta, GA 30338

Atlanta Women's Counseling Ctr

(404) 524-1427

280 Elizabeth St NE, Atlanta, GA 30307

Central Dekald Counseling Ctr

(404) 371-8221

240 Candler Rd SE, Atlanta, GA 30317

Community Psychotherapy Svc

(404) 524-5005

541 Edgewood Ave SE, Atlanta, GA 30312

Counceling For Women

(770) 619-9095

110 Westchester Way, Alpharetta, GA 30005

Dunwoody Counseling Ctr

(770) 393-0044

1742 Mount Vernon Rd, Atlanta, GA 30338

Midtown Women's Ctr

(404) 873-7911

65 10th St NE, Atlanta, GA 30309

Charter Behavioral Health System

1105 Sanctuary Pkwy # 400

Alpharetta, GA

678-297-4440

Appendix E

Interview Guide I (Miami and Atlanta)

Migration History

- 1) Tell me about your life in Cuba?
- 2) How did the decision to leave Cuba come about?
- 3) Tell me about your experience in America when you first got here?
- 4) What kind of help (if any) did you receive once in the US?
- 5) How do know look at your decision to migrate?
- 6) How do you believe leaving Cuba has influenced your life?

Family Questions

- 1) Tell me about your husband.
- 2) How do you believe the decision to migrate influenced his life?
- 3) Tell me about your family?
- 4) How do you think the decision to leave Cuba influenced your family's life?
- 5) What kinds of conflicts did your family experience as a result of leaving Cuba and settling in the US?

Cultural Transmission

- 1) How do you define yourself ethnically?
- 2) How has the definition changed or evolved over the years?
- 3) On a day to day, what kinds of things do you do to maintain your ethnic heritage?
- 4) How do you see your children carrying on your cultural traditions?
- 5) How do you see your grandchildren carrying on your cultural traditions?

- 6) What kind of things have you done over the years in order to make sure that your children and grandchildren maintain a sense of who they are ethnically?
- 7) What is your relationship with Cuba now?

Gendered Experiences

- 1) How do you see your life, and the decision to leave Cuba, as a Cuban woman?
- 2) What kinds of things do you believe Cuban women are expected of doing?
- 3) How do you view these expectations?

Settlement Context

- 1) Tell me about your decision to settle in Miami/Atlanta?
- 2) Tell me about Miami/Atlanta then versus now?
- 2) What kinds of things are available to you in Miami/Atlanta that you are glad of? What kinds of things are not available to you that you wish were?
- 4) Have you ever thought about settling in a different city?

Appendix F

Interview Guide II (Miami)

1) Is there anything you have thought about since the first interview that you would like to tell me? Anything in regards to your experience and how you described it during our first interview?

Coping Mechanisms

- 1) How would you characterize your coping strategies upon arriving and now?
- 2) What has been most helpful?
- 3) What kinds of informal resources did they have when they first got here? How about now?

Emotional and Intellectual interpretations of Life Experiences

- 1) After analyzing all the interviews I realized that for many of the women there was a separation between the emotional and the intellectual, do you think that is true?
- 2) If so, which one is more salient in your life?
- 3) What would be the emotional? And what would be the intellectual?

Gender Transformations

- 1) Many of the women talked about a transformation of sorts in relation to gender after migrating, do you think that is true? And how would you characterize it?
- 2) Which gender won and lost the most?
- 3) Which gender had the more difficult time in adjusting?

Work Ethic

1) How would you describe the differences in work ethic from that of more recent immigrants?

- 2) Are there other differences between your generation of immigrants and those that have come later? If so, what are they...?
- 3) Other women also mentioned a great deal about your generation as the ones who built Miami, do you believe that to be true?
- 4) Outside of Miami, what contributions do you believe Cubans have made to America?

Family Cohesion

1) During the immigration and acculturation process, what aspects of family are most threatened and why?

Ethnicity

- 1) Why do you believe your grandchildren have or have not maintained a sense of being Cuban?
- 2) How would you define what it means to be Cuban?
- 3) Cuban-American?
- 4) American?
- 5) How do you define exile?
- 6) Do you still consider yourself in exile?

Husbands (tell them they do not need to answer this)

1) One of the things that was similar among all the women I interviewed is that they had all lost their husbands one way or another. How has that shaped your experience?

Self-Identity

1) Is your self-identity now as it would have been if they had remained in Cuba?

- 2) What have you learned about yourself as a result of the last 40 years of life experiences?
- 3) When you look at your life in the US, what are you most proud of?

Last Question

How would you sum up your experience in the US?

Appendix G

Interview Guide II (Atlanta)

1) Is there anything you have thought about since the first interview that you would like to tell me? Anything in regards to your experience and how you described it during our first interview?

Coping Mechanisms

- 1) How would you characterize your coping strategies upon arriving and now?
- 2) What has been most helpful?

Family Cohesion

1) During the immigration and acculturation process, what aspects of family are most threatened and why?

Emotional and Intellectual Interpretations of Life Experiences

- 1) After analyzing all the interviews I realized that for many of the women there was a separation between the emotional and the intellectual, do you think that is true?
- 2) If so, which one is more salient in your life?

Gender Transformations

- 1) Many of the women talked about a transformation of sorts in relation to gender after migrating, do you think that is true? And how would you characterize it?
- 2) Which gender won and lost the most?
- 3) Which gender had the more difficult lime in adjusting?

Work Ethic

1) How would you describe the differences in work ethic from that of more recent immigrants?

- 2) Are there other differences between your generation of immigrants and those that have come later? If so, what are they...?
- 3) What contributions do you believe Cubans have made to America?
- 4) How do you think your experiences have been different from women who settled in Miami? How about similar?
- 6) How do you think your experiences have been similar to the experiences of women who settled other places in the US?

Ethnicity

- 1) Why do you believe your grandchildren have or have not maintained a sense of being Cuban?
- 2) How would you define what it means to be Cuban?
- 3) Cuban-American?
- 4) American?
- 5) How do you define exile?
- 6) Do you still consider yourself in exile?

Self-Identity

- 1) Is your self-identity now as it would have been if they had remained in Cuba?
- 2) What have you learned about yourself as a result of the last 40 years of life experiences?
- 3) When you look at your life in the US, what are you most proud of?

Last Question

How would you sum up your experience in the US?

Appendix H

Key to Genogram Symbols

Although there is general agreement on the basic genogram structure, and codes, there are some variations on how to depict certain family situations, such as cutoffs, adoptions etc. In the genograms included in this dissertation only the names of the first-generation and their children are used. Although no names are used for grandchildren and in-laws, the relationships identified in the genograms were real and existing at the time of the interviews. The following are the codes used in this dissertation:

\bigcirc	
	Male
	Marital Union
-//-	Divorce
	Child
	Adopted Child
$\langle \rangle$	Or Child (not yet born)

Appendix I

Glossary/Translation of Words and Phrases

Throughout the Dissertation there are words and phrases in Spanish, not translated to English. These were often left in Spanish because no "true" translation exists in English, or because the true essence or meaning is best understood in Spanish. This appendix is included to help the reader identify these words and phrases.

Arroz con pollo-a hallmark of Cuban cooking; A chicken and rice dish. It is said that a Cuban woman who masters this dish is ready for marriage.

Café Cubano-Cuban coffee.

Calle 8-8th street in Miami; a street known for having a number of Cuban businesses; an important street in the Little Havana community.

Central—a sugar mill

Cubana/Cubano-Cuban female/male

Cubanaso—a very Cuban Cuban; a popular term for a Cuban with a heightened sense of Cuban identity.

Cubania-Cubanness.

El Diario de las Americas—a Miami newspaper with a strong Cuban exile readership.

Dulce de Coco-Coconut dessert; often considered Cuba's national dessert.

En los huesos-in the bones; meaning deep within the bones.

El exilio—the exile

Guarapo-a drink made from sugar canes.

Guayavas-Guavas; a popular fruit in Cuba.

Guzanos-worms; a popular derogatory term used for those who have fled Communist Cuba.

La Hermita de la Caridad—Shrine of Our Lady of Charity. A church in Miami dedicated to Our Lady of Charity, Cuba's patron saint.

Mambises—Mambises were those who fought during the War of Independence against the Spanish; to say someone is a "Mambi" means that they have valor, that they struggle and triumph.

No hay nada como una comida Cubana-There is nothing like a Cuban meal.

La olla-a saucepan; a pressure cooker.

Las palmas tan bellas-the palm trees so beautiful.

Pastelitos-Cuban pastries, usually made with guava inside.

El pobre—the poor one; a popular expression used for someone you feel sorry for.

Que el mundo es diferente cuando uno lo ve asi-That the world is different when you see it as such.

Que es eso?-What is that?

Que es lo que pienso cuando pienso de Cuba?-What do I think about when I think about Cuba?

Tamales-a Cuban dish made from corn.

Tios y tias-uncles and aunts.

La Virgen de la Caridad-Our Lady of Charity; the patron saint of Cuba.

Viviendo, luchando por todo el mundo igual—Living, struggling throughout the world the same way.

Yuca-cassava; a popular Cuban staple.