

INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a manuscript sent to us for publication and microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted. Pages in any manuscript may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. Manuscripts may not always be complete. When it is not possible to obtain missing pages, a note appears to indicate this.
2. When copyrighted materials are removed from the manuscript, a note appears to indicate this.
3. Oversize materials (maps, drawings, and charts) are photographed by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each oversize page is also filmed as one exposure and is available, for an additional charge, as a standard 35mm slide or in black and white paper format.*
4. Most photographs reproduce acceptably on positive microfilm or microfiche but lack clarity on xerographic copies made from the microfilm. For an additional charge, all photographs are available in black and white standard 35mm slide format.*

***For more information about black and white slides or enlarged paper reproductions, please contact the Dissertations Customer Services Department.**

U·M·I Dissertation
Information Service

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

8701322

Colmenero, Jose Antonio

ISSUES AND PROBLEMS OF CUBAN IDENTITY AND ACCULTURATION

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Ed.D. 1985

**University
Microfilms
International** 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark .

1. Glossy photographs or pages _____
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print _____
3. Photographs with dark background _____
4. Illustrations are poor copy _____
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy _____
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page _____
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages _____
8. Print exceeds margin requirements _____
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine _____
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print _____
11. Page(s) _____ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) _____ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13. Two pages numbered _____. Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages _____
15. Dissertation contains pages with print at a slant, filmed as received _____
16. Other _____

University
Microfilms
International

ISSUES AND PROBLEMS OF CUBAN IDENTITY
AND ACCULTURATION

by

José Antonio Colmenero

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Greensboro
1985


Dissertation Adviser

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following of the Faculty of the Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Dissertation Adviser Lois V. Edinger

Committee Members Converse D. Clouse

David C. Ruppel

Jane Tucker Mitchell

Dec. 3, 1985
Date of Acceptance by Committee

Dec. 3, 1985
Date of Final Oral Examination

© 1985 by José A. Colmenero

COLMENERO, JOSÉ ANTONIO, Ed.D. Issues and Problems of Cuban Identity and Acculturation. (1985)
Directed by Dr. Lois V. Edinger. 110 pp.

The purpose of this study was to study and analyze the concept of Cuban identity and its relationship to acculturation and assimilation by examining the historical and cultural background of selected Cuban immigrants that have graduated from Cuban and American universities and that are presently living in the United States. Four questions provided a guide for this study. They included:

1. Is there a Cuban culture?
2. What is Cuban identity?
3. Acculturation or assimilation? What alternative do Cuban professionals have?
4. What are the assumptions that Cubans make upon arrival in the United States.

The investigation was conducted by observing the process of acculturation in an American setting. This study focused on the role of Cuban professionals in American macro-culture and explored the resistance of these Cubans to assimilate into American society. The following describes the approaches used in research designed to collect data:

1. Ongoing participation, observation and communication with selected Cuban immigrants in the context of their work setting.
2. Structured interview both in person and by telephone.
3. Visited selected Cuban immigrants in the privacy of their homes where we discussed, in depth, the issues and problems of Cuban identity, acculturation and assimilation.

4. Follow-up visits: Miami, Florida, 1979, 1981, 1985; Elizabeth, New Jersey, 1978, 1980, 1984, 1985; and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1980, 1984, 1985.

The following conclusions were drawn from the study:

1. Culture can be an important criterion of Cuban identity.
2. When a Cuban graduate is acculturated his or her identity does not necessarily cease to exist.
3. No one can be assimilated into American culture and retain his identity.
4. Social identity produces changes that facilitates the individual's adjustment to a new social relationship. These changes are often called acculturation.
5. To have a name and an identity one must belong somewhere. This is the dilemma that Cuban graduates face upon arrival in the United States.
6. Cuban identity serves as a guideline to integrate specific actions into the lives of Cuban immigrants.
7. This scheme for viewing acculturative situations is also useful for generating theory. Regarding generalizability of findings, the information reported here about Cuban university graduates may apply to other ethnic groups.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should like to pay special tribute to the teachers who have most influenced my thinking and enriched my life as a student. Among these outstanding teachers are: Dr. Lois V. Edinger, the Chairperson of my committee. To Dr. Edinger I offer my humblest gratitude for her always being available when needed. Dr. Jane T. Mitchell, who has always been a source of inspiration and steered me in the direction of the education of immigrants. Dr. David E. Purpel, who offered me guidance and moral support. Dr. Converse Clowse offered me full support and guidance. I am also indebted to Dr. R. Fritz Mengert who gave me new insights in the philosophy of education and Dr. Thomas K. Fitzgerald, who clarified and encouraged my thoughts about cultural anthropology.

Of course, I should like to acknowledge every Cuban university graduate who gave of his/her time and patience in answering all my inquiries. To all Cubans I met during my research, I extend my deepest gratitude and thanks. Never in my experience have I had a more rewarding and enjoyable research experience.

I am greatly indebted to my wife Jacqueline, for typing the first draft of this study, for her patience and helpful suggestions.

To all, I sincerely say, "Gracias!"

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
APPROVAL PAGE	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Homogeneity, Heterogeneity and the Macro- and Micro-Culture.	4
Statement of the Problem	7
Purpose and Significance of the Study.	8
Basic Assumptions.	11
Definition of Terms.	12
II. REVIEW OF ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION LITERATURE.	15
Historical Perspective on Cuban Identity	15
Concept of Race, Ethnicity and Culture	17
Acculturation and Assimilation	24
Summary and Conclusions.	37
III. PERSONAL DOCUMENTS OF CUBAN PROFESSIONALS: A SITUATIONAL APPROACH.	39
Case Studies of the Subjects of This Study	42
Summary and Conclusions.	60
IV. INTERPRETATION OF INTERVIEWS	62
Personal Interpretations	69
Stage One: First Doubts	74
Stage Two: The Freedom to Decide.	74
Stage Three: Trying the Options	75
Stage Four: The Vacuum.	75
Stage Five: The Turning Point	76
Stage Six: Socialization and Cognition.	77
Summary.	77
V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.	78
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	86

APPENDICES

Appendix A. Questionnaire.	98
Appendix B. Historical Background on the Rise of Cuban University Graduates	100
Appendix C. Demographic Distribution of Cuban University Graduates.	109

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There is a persistent assumption that immigrants--irrespective of their national origin or wishes--should be assimilated into the mainstream of American life. The central core of this assumption is that immigrants should be made to see "the value and justice of American ideals" (Draschler, 1920, p. 195). The proponents of this view became known as "Americanizers" and their method as "Americanization" (Carlson, 1975). He stated:

They applied their remedy for diversity, Americanization and education to nearly all areas of life. The quest for doctrinal orthodoxy also led them to seek for uniformity in high visibility areas like personal appearance, language, and personal habits. Conformity in these tangible respects gave evidence to the Americanizers of a person's commitment to the more vaguely defined U.S. ideology. (p. 4)

Thus "Americanization" became a tool to bring about a homogeneous America as well as an imperious demand for individual conformity to societal norms. Theodore Roosevelt expressed this sentiment better than anyone else when he proposed that in the course of five years any immigrant that failed to learn English as a second language "be sent back" to the country from which he came (Draschler, 1920, p. 124). This is not the place to discuss the problems involved in learning English as a second language, nor the disadvantages of it; suffice to say that Roosevelt and other advocates of "forced Americanization" appear to have overlooked the impossibility for a person to

develop "feelings of ethnic anomie" (Lambert, 1963), that is a state of confusion and insecurity during the process of learning English, which in the final analysis may lead him to resist "Americanization and adhere to his ethnic identity."

Carlson noted that "Americanization education" is nothing new. In fact, it first appears in the United States in the early part of the seventeenth century. He attributed this concept to the Puritans who "urged people to conform to the Orthodoxy of the church and the state." In the eighteenth century Benjamin Franklin focused his attention on this concept to gain support for his "prerequisite to what he hoped would be a new American political and social mission." By the mid-1800s Americanizers promoted tax-supported schools to train the children of immigrants in the skills that would help them become part of America's middle-class society (Carlson, 1975, p. 6). This Americanization became an all consuming passion from about 1914 to the 1920s (p. 8). Fortunately, this attitude has changed but the problem of "Americanization" or to use a less emotive term, "acculturation" remained.

I became interested in education, acculturation, and identity in 1947 when I, like countless other immigrants from Cuba and Latin America, entered the United States of America through the port of Miami, Florida. Although the term alien was familiar to me, somehow it took a different meaning. It meant that I was a foreigner, different, whereas I sincerely wanted to be a member of the American community while retaining my Cuban identity, values and norms.

In 1947, Cubans were admitted to the United States as legal immigrants, as distinguished from the refugees of the 1960s; yet, among them can be found a great number of professionals that, without resisting acculturation, are seeking to achieve equal status with their American counterparts. In regard to the presence of Cubans in the United States, Miller (1976) noted:

The Cuban presence in the United States is a unique one. Along with Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, they have become a part of the large Spanish-speaking segment of American society. Yet in terms of their refugee status and their political motivation for leaving their homeland, they remain quite distinct within the frame of American culture at large. Well-organized and proud of their heritage, the Cubans in the United States have already produced a group of scholars who are accomplishing most of the work concerned with the group. It should continue. (p. 189)

If culture is viewed as a group's channel of communication one can readily perceive the idea that whereas Cubans and Spaniards shared a common culture at the national level; they, nevertheless, had a separate channel of communication at the subcultural level. In this respect, it may be concluded that although Cubans and Spaniards shared a common culture, there is indeed a Cuban culture. Fitzgerald (1977) asserted that:

. . . if a group is only part of a larger culture and/or social unit, it may still be sufficiently distinct to have its own subculture or "micro-culture," which distinguishes it from general . . . culture or "macro-culture. (p. 1)

However, after the colonial period, Cuban and Spanish cultures, or cultural patterns, were internalized within the individuals so that Cubans learned to differentiate between a culture that grows out of a natural interaction of Cubans, and a culture (Spanish) which from

the Cuban point of view was no longer functional. Consequently, Cubans then as well as now do things in conformity with Cuban standards, which is conceptualized as "Cubanismo." Does this "Cubanismo" really represent the standards and values of their group? This distinction between a "Cubanismo" which is applied to everyday life and Spanish traditional culture which has no meaning as a mechanism of social adjustment is, I feel, a useful one for clarifying the Cuban situation in the United States. For example, Cuban immigrants in the United States undergo a dual acculturation that requires this sort of understanding. More specifically Cuban immigrants are often socialized, or resocialized, into the general culture (or macro-culture) and a Cuban subculture (micro-culture) which is in essence a mixture of American elements and Cuban culture--a cultural hybrid which has functional validity at the subcultural level but not at the "macro-cultural" level. The result of this situation is the Cubans feel threatened with a loss of identity. This, in turn, helps to account on the part of some to validate an ethnic identity which is both supportive and satisfying. This "social fact" (Durkheim, 1938, p. 13) suggests that "acculturation" does not necessarily lead to a changed self-identification. This is true of both the individual and group (Giles, 1979).

Homogeneity, Heterogeneity and the Macro- and Micro-Culture

Cuba is by no means a pluralistic society but rather a culturally heterogeneous one; a society having one basic institutional system. For example, Cuba does not constitute a single uniform culture whose

basic institutional system has remained undisturbed by other cultures. Its religion, education, kinship, economics and associated participation has been greatly affected by American culture; namely the American military occupation of Cuba during the last part of the eighteenth century. Cuba constitutes a society which clearly shows certain plural features without being a plural society. Cultural plurality is understood to be a condition in which two or more different cultural traditions characterize the population of a given society. Cubans form an ethnic group which share the same basic institutions with other groups while preserving their own distinct style.

At this point one might ask then what is the nature of this cultural heterogeneity? In the first place, Cuba is not made up simply of Indians and Spaniards. There are Africans, Chinese, Jews, Lebanese and other minority groups with immigrant status.

However, since none of these groups even begin to compare in size with Cubans descended from Spaniards, for the purpose of this study, they are numerically of little importance, and henceforth, I will refer to Cuba as a bicultural society rather than a multicultural one, which it technically is.

Cuban self-image: Cubanismo. "Cubanismo" is a term that Cubans use to refer to Cuban culture or a Cuban way of life. Often times this term refers only to pride in being a Cuban, and especially to distinguish Cuban identity. This term must not be confused with "hispanismo" or ethnocentrism which views one's own group as the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to

it. It must be clarified that Cubanismo does not lead Cubans to exaggerate and intensify everything in their own "folkways."

Cubans are, however, of the conviction that there is something culturally different about themselves that distinguishes them not only from Americans but from other groups such as Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans as well. This distinctiveness they call "Cubanismo" or "Cubanidad." For this reason, many Cubans resent to be referred to as "hispanic." The reason for this objection is that the term is a denial of their Cuban identity. For example, this term enhances all descendents of the "old" Spanish colonists, whether of pure Spanish blood or mixed Afro-Spanish, or Indian ancestry. Sometimes this term is used to refer loosely to non-Cuban residents of the United States. In summary, "Cubanismo" is identification with the micro-culture; it is a sense of belongingness, not necessarily dependent on the individual's cultural attributes--that is, what he is. "Cubanismo" to most Cuban immigrants is an inner feeling that the individual himself feels that he belongs to a group of people, a particular ethnic group, if you please.

The sense of belongingness and identity, then, becomes more necessary (and more problematical) wherever a wide range of possible identities is envisaged by Cuban immigrants. It seems to me that as long as Cuban professionals or any other Cubans for that matter, have this self-image ("Cubanidad"), the future of "Cubanismo" will never be completely lost in the United States.

Statement of the Problem

The study and analysis of the concept of Cuban identity and its relationship to education and acculturation is the central theme of this dissertation. It belongs both in the category of sociological historical investigation and to the category of cultural change. The historical treatment involves the development of the Cuban society and Cuban identity which cannot be divorced from the community and culture that produces it. Part of this study is a descriptive analysis of the historical and present day social status of Cubans who hold university degrees both from Cuban and American institutions and that are presently living in the United States and the role that they play in American Society. The sociocultural research, which is an important part of this dissertation, constitutes an attempt to identify the sentiment of these Cubans as they seek to achieve equal status with American middle-class professionals without resisting acculturation or renouncing their ethnic identity. This study describes the complexities of the adjustment by Cuban graduates, their attitudes to the past and the future, their expectations of their American counterparts and their notions about "the" Cubans in the American macro-culture. The essence of this study is to be found in experiences of seven Cubans who hold responsible positions in various American institutions and my own experience in becoming an acculturated Cuban in the United States. Four questions provided a guide for this study. They were:

1. Is there a Cuban culture?
2. What is Cuban identity?

3. Acculturation or assimilation? What alternative do Cuban graduates have?
4. What are the assumptions that Cubans make upon arrival in the United States?

This study focuses on the role of Cubans in American society and explores the refusal of these particular Cubans to adopt any role that others have prescribed for them. More and more Cuban intellectuals are insisting on playing only the role that conforms to their group's view of the type of behavior that represents the standard and values of their group. This attitude has not always been fully understood by the advocates of the "melting-pot" concept of acculturation. This, in some measure, explains why many of the programs of "Americanization education" have met with so little success.

Purpose and Significance of the Study

The attitude of the promoters of "Americanization education" and that of Cuban immigrants referred to earlier in this chapter, not only established the basis for the need to understand the problems related to the process of "acculturation" but also suggested new areas for further inquiry and reflection. Some examples include the following:

1. The analysis of the concept of Cuban identity and its relationship to education and acculturation.
2. A historical analysis that focuses on the community that produced the Cuban society and Cuban identity.
3. Conducting additional in-depth study on what constitutes the sentiment of Cuban graduates as they undergo acculturation.

4. Studying the relationship of how Cuban "consciousness" (or to use a more acceptable sociological term) "in-group" identification, translates itself into acculturation.

This fourth area, how Cuban "consciousness" translates itself into acculturation in American larger society, is the particular focus of this study. An understanding of why Cuban graduates welcome acculturation but not assimilation is critical to cultural integration, acculturation and curriculum development. A researcher who delves into the resocialization of Cuban graduates may not be surprised if he discovers that the meaning of acculturation and education, in this context, involves more than what these terms basically imply. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to create an awareness of the need to assess the basic concept of ethnic identity, and ethnic consciousness, and how in turn, these concepts relate to acculturation and education.

In order to examine the issues and problems of Cuban identity and acculturation, I chose to use a process including interviewing, visiting Cuban immigrants in their own homes, reading and my own experiences as a former Cuban immigrant.

Following is a description of the approaches and materials used in the study to collect data:

1. Ongoing participation, observation, and communication with selected Cuban graduates in the context of their work setting.
2. Structured interview both in person and by telephone.
3. Visited selected graduates in the privacy of their home where we discussed, in depth, the issues of acculturation, identity, and education.

4. Follow-up visits: Miami, Florida, 1979, 1981; Elizabeth, New Jersey, 1978, 1980, 1984, 1985.

Although the question of acculturation, assimilation, and identity are relevant to all Cubans, I limited my interviews to seven Cuban immigrants that have graduated from Cuban and American universities. Five men and two women who are presently living in Miami, Florida; Elizabeth, New Jersey; Union City, New Jersey; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Most of these Cubans are personal friends of mine. Three of these participants come from my home town in Cuba, so their family backgrounds provided an unusual source of information. During the past 25 years I have remained in contact with these friends, making it possible for me to contrast their present environment with that which they had in Cuba, and at the same time share our mutual experiences and impressions of the issues and problems of acculturation and assimilation.

I recognize that this approach had certain advantages and limitations. The most salient advantage was that it provided me an opportunity to formulate concepts in order to explain the dimensions of the process of acculturation and assimilation. However, time and financial resources restricted me to interview a limited number of Cuban intellectuals in the eastern part of the United States. For this reason, I could not make any generalizations about the process of acculturation and assimilation. This is perhaps one of the most notable limitations of this study. However, the experiences of these seven Cuban immigrants, however limited, provided a wide range of experiences which opened an avenue for further research in the issues and problems of

acculturation and assimilation. Until this is accomplished, this study stands, as I originally intended, a preliminary study of the issues and problems of Cuban identity and acculturation.

Basic Assumptions

There are six basic assumptions that provide a foundation and direction for this present study. They are as follows:

1. The function of identity is that it provides a sense of belonging to a subcultural group that provides these Cuban immigrants psychological satisfactions that are not attainable in American "in-groups."
2. The major difference between Cuban professionals and their American counterparts is cultural rather than social in origin.
3. The acculturation of Cuban immigrants cannot be viewed as a simple substitute of American cultural traits for Cuban ones.
4. In acculturation, the cultural groups involved--Cubans and Americans--are in an essentially reciprocal relationship; both give some aspects of their culture and incorporate others from the host society. Acculturation, when viewed in this fashion, becomes a problem. Each group must consider what is to be adopted and what is not, and the reasons for so choosing.
5. From the Cuban graduates' point of view, "forced Americanization" is a form of social conflict in which the dominant culture intends to destroy their identity and control them.

6. The existing confusion of the relationship between acculturation, education, and identity is the result of a pervasive terminological confusion over the definition of these terms and also the result of a faulty understanding of what ethnic identity involves.

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of the clarifications and analysis of this study, I will present and outline the key terms used. Following Scheffler (1960), I have adopted the following types of definitions:

Descriptive. "Used for explanatory reasons to clarify the normal application of terms, to describe prior usage of terms" (pp. 15-16).

Stipulative. "A given term is to be understood in a special way for the space of some discourse or throughout several discourses of a certain type" (p. 13).

In this study the following definitions are primarily descriptive:

Acculturation. Following Fitzgerald's concept, acculturation is used in this study to refer "to changes which take place within and between two or more cultures in contact, without necessarily implying anything about the direction or the outcome of this change" (1977, p. 1).

Assimilation is a useful term for the process by which one culture is totally absorbed by the ruling cultural group. In this case, adopting culture is not in a position to choose. Broadly, it is the substitution of one's nationality pattern for another.

Americanization is the participation of the immigrant in the life of the community in which she or he lives. The point here emphasized is that patriotism, loyalty, and common sense are neither created nor transmitted by purely intellectual processes.

Ethnicity. This term is derived from the Greek word "ethnos" meaning "people" or "nation." Normally, this term is used to refer to a group with a shared feeling of peoplehood, hence, "ethnic group." Ethnicity provides an avenue whereby individuals are linked to society; in this sense, ethnicity is simply a particular form of collective identity.

Identity. The basic concept of "identity" is that it functions as a universal psychological mechanism for adaptation in face of change. Individual identity will be expected to vary from one culture to another.

The next definitions are stipulative:

Ethnic group. In the United States I feel that "ethnic group" or "ethnic relations" best apply to Cubans seeking to achieve equal status to Americans.

Cubanismo. Cubans, in the past as well as now, do things in conformity with Cuban standards, which I have conceptualized as "Cubanismo."

Macro-culture as used in this study is applied to American larger culture.

Micro-culture is used in this study to refer to Cuban culture as a subculture of American culture.

Resocialization as applied to the process of acculturation refers to a scheme designed to make up for deficiencies in the former socialization of Cuban immigrants. As such, "resocialization" is toward molding rather than developing the immigrant's personality.

In summary, as educators examine the study of culture contact and its relationship to education, they must account for differences between Cuban intellectuals and their American counterparts and be made aware that if an individual is acculturated, his identity does not necessarily cease to exist, which is not true of the process of assimilation. No Cuban can be assimilated into American culture and retain his Cuban identity. If one can illuminate these critical variables in the present program for educating immigrants, one should not find any obstacles to move ahead to the development of a success-oriented, liberating curriculum for all Cuban immigrants and their children as well.

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF ACCULTURATION AND
ASSIMILATION LITERATURE

Historical Perspective on Cuban Identity

Vital to the understanding of the question of Cuban identity is the study of the beginning of Cuban civilized life, Spanish colonial rule in Cuba and the circumstances that gave birth to Cuban identity and culture. One can hardly study these developments without giving special attention to the history of Spain itself. The reason for this is that the history of Spain is interwoven with that of Spanish-America. In his work, Spain in America, Charles Gibson (1966) made this observation:

In Spain, Christian knights had acquired jurisdiction over lands and people captured from the Moors in a form sometimes known as encomienda. In America, occupation took place under conditions similar to those of the Spanish reconquista and it yielded a comparable solution. (p. 52)

The encomienda as developed in Spanish-America was the patronage conferred by the Spanish monarchs as a favor over a portion of the natives concentrated in settlements near those of the Spaniards. In essence the encomienda were given the right to extract Indian labor as a reward for their contribution and founding of new colonies. C. H. Haring's The Spanish Empire in America (1963) offers an excellent discussion on the encomienda and how it became the basis for the Spanish-Indian relations and the means to teach Indians "the elements of

civilized life." Gibson, however, saw in the encomienda some decisive forces which greatly altered Spanish-American society:

The first is the encomendero class, consisting of former conquistadores, leading civilian colonists, and other privileged Spaniards. These formed an early colonial aristocracy exercising its power in the institution known as encomienda. The second is the colonial church, dedicated to the task of converting the Indians, preventing Indian exploitation by encomenderos, and establishing a Christian society. And the third is the Spanish secular state with its expanding colonial officialdom and its monarchical insistence on the state control over all persons and parties in America. (p. 49)

Gibson concluded his discussion on the encomienda as the first Spanish institution of importance in Spanish-America by pointing out that:

Upon it many of the first power conflicts were concentrated. It was a transitional device, between conquest and a settled society . . . the progressive legalization of encomienda reflects the complexities of American Hispanization, with the crown in control and a host of lawyers ready to exploit the subtleties of law. Encomienda allowed a thin surface of dominant, class-conscious Spaniards to spread over Spanish-America. (p. 67)

Another important work dealing with the history of Spain is the work of Antonio Domínguez Ortíz, The Golden Age of Spain 1516-1659. Christopher Columbus' journal (translated by C. Jane, 1960), and Bernald Díaz del Castillo's Historia Verdadera de la conquista de la Nueve España (Mexico, 1955) and Bartolomé de las Casas, Historia de las Indias (Mexico, 1951) provide the setting for both the conquest of Cuba and subsequent social developments. Victoria Ortíz in her work The Land and People of Cuba (1973) provides one of the best outlines of the history of the Cuban people from the discovery of the island until the independence of Cuba from Spanish rule. No less significant is the work of C. H. Haring, already mentioned in this study, The Spanish

Empire in America (1947). Haring provides a lucid account of the foundation of education both in Spain and in Spanish-America. This work is of special interest in tracing the rise of Cuban intellectuals as a distinct group and lays the foundation for understanding their contribution to the war of independence.

The Cuban historian, Herminio Portell Vilá in his work, Historia de Cuba en sus relaciones con los Estados Unidos y España (1969) gives an excellent outline of the influence of Spain and the United States in the political, social and economic developments in the island. Carlos Marquez Sterling, another Cuban historian, provides a classical account of the events that made Cuban history from Columbus to Fidel Castro. His work, Historia de Cuba (1969) and Portell Vilá is indispensable in the study of Cuban graduates as a distinct group. No other work is as valuable in studying the historical perspective on Cuban identity than Los forjadores de la cultura cubana written by Ediciones del Directorio Magisterial Cubano (exilio) Num. 28, which mentions the contribution of Cuban intellectuals to the rise of Cuban identity and their special contribution to education in Cuba.

Concept of Race, Ethnicity and Culture

Bagby (1963) asserted that "universal heredity traits found in human beings" are possible explanations of culture, and that these traits--physiological or psychological--may be found in individuals as well as groups. In his words "these are the phenomena usually known as 'race'" (Morner, 1967). Smith (1965) made the point that "in some usages of the term, ethnicity refers to race, in others to culture, and

yet others to nationality" and concluded by saying that in discussing population composition "race and nationality are appropriate terms" (p. 15). In his work, Race and Racism, Piere L. Van den Berghe (1967) states his preference for the term "ethnic group," or "ethnic relations" rather than the term "race." He argues that ethnic groups are socially defined on the basis of cultural criteria rather than physical. In the United States, the term "ethnic groups" or "ethnic relations" better describe the relationship of Cubans and Americans than does "race relations." The basis for this preference is that race conflict is presently nonexistent. Another reason is that race conflict as such seems at the present secondary to cultural ones. As for racial policy the Cubans cannot be classified with racial groups such as Negroes, Mexican-Indian, or any other. It is a well-established fact that in the United States laws are nondiscriminatory; for example, intermarriages are not socially disapproved and Cubans, as a rule, think of Americans as a people much like themselves--their differences can be explained in terms of traditional culture or of the usual stereotype image of American or Cuban character.

Fitzgerald warns that there is a tendency to make much of race concept which "leads to a simplistic view of the process of acculturation" (p. 5) and added that "complex societies surely call for different analysis" (p. 4). Fitzgerald (1977) explained that "culture designates the perspective that is shared by a people in a particular group" (p. 4). In this regard, Piere L. Van den Berghe offered the view that "ethnic groups are socially defined, but on the basis of cultural criteria rather than physical" (Race and Racism, 1967).

Daniel Valdés y Tapia in his work Hispanos and Politics (1976) noted that physical differences among racial groups are "slight and biologically unimportant" but the "physical and visible marks or race are of great social and cultural significance." For example:

They differentiate between groups of people, and they condition contact and interaction. Social attitude may arise toward physical and biological, as well as cultural traits. Each isolated racial group, and men of all racial and ethnic groups, look upon their own type as the only fully human form and tend to fear or despise men of other races and ethnic groups. (1976, pp. 12, 13)

George de Vos in his lucid article "Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accommodation" (1975) proposed the notion that "some sense of genetically inherited differences, real or imagined, is part of the ethnic identity of many groups" (p. 11) and then asserted that:

Real or supposed genetic differences, when socially recognized as a constituent of stratification, are usually used by dominant groups to maintain a castle-like exclusion regardless of the presence or absence of other ethnic distinctions, such as language or religion. (p. 12)

Fitzgerald (1977) argued that "just as with the culture concept, there is sometimes a tendency to make too much of the race concept" (p. 10). George de Vos suggested that the crucial question is the priority given to competing loyalties, for depending on that priority, a person's social relationship will tend to be quite different (p. 13). In sum, the ethnic identity of a group of people, Cubans or otherwise, consists of their subjective symbolic or emblematic use of any aspect of culture (DeVos & Romanucci-Ross, 1975).

Louis Breger's (1974) work, From Instinct to Identity: The Development of Personality, presented a unique point of view; the concept that individual differences "shape the individual's style"

(p. 123); "they comprise what is meant in one common usage of the term by an individual's 'personality'; those ways in which he differs from another; or in other terms, 'a unique way of being'" (p. 123). In Berger's, "identity is a way of expanding the concept of self to include social factors." In summary, the meaning of "identity is the self, composed of the various identifications of development" (p. 330) which is quite different in posture from that of Fitzgerald (1977) who focuses his research on acculturation and ethnic identity from the perspective of an elite acculturated group using a situational approach.

At this point, the author would like to clarify that the focus of this study is on understanding society rather than personality, or to express the matter another way, the concept of personality is a sociological one. This view is stated by Simpson and Yinger in these terms:

From our point of view, personality is best conceived not as a collection of traits, nor as a static system . . . but as a process . . . the process of carrying out functions of a shop steward in a union, superintendent of schools, or "courteous customer" does not allow full individual variation to come into play. The roles themselves have some compulsions that influence which of the various tendencies the individual will express. (p. 198)

Pertinent to the study is the question "Who are you?" Marjorie P. K. Weiser (Ethnic America, 1978) proposed the following answer:

Ethnicity "counts." It is significant on several levels. First, membership in a particular group is an integral part of self-identity, an important component of everyone's answer to the question "Who are you?" Ethnicity may determine what you eat for breakfast . . . what career you plan for, whom you choose as friends. Ethnicity counts in other ways as well. It has become a focus for political organization in the United States (p. 3)

Then Weiser added that "in perserving its distinctiveness, an ethnic group becomes a noticeable minority group" (p. 4). The disadvantage of this social status, according to Weiser, is that "a minority has subordinate status within the larger society and most of its distinguishing characteristics are considered undesirable" (p. 4). This explains, in some measure, the anti-Catholic, anti-radical and anti-immigrant sentiment of 1890-1914. For example, the Foran Act (1885) prohibited the importation of contract labor and general health (1891) as a qualification for admission in the United States. This attitude persisted until 1965 when new immigration law put an end to national quotas. Weiser described the multi-ethnic character of the city of New York as follows:

Constituting a very large segment of the population are 11.1 million Americans of Hispanic or Latin origin with ethnic ties to several countries in the Western Hemisphere as well as to Spain. Mexican-Americans, or Chicanos, with 6.5 million, are the second largest ethnic minority in the United States. Central and South America are the source of 792,000; Cuba with 687,000 represents nearly as large a component; Puerto Rico is the source of 1.7 million, and all other Hispanic nations combined add another 1.3 million. (1978, p. 38)

From this overview of the ethnic composition of New York City, it can be concluded that ethnic background affects values, communication, education and self-identification patterns as well as community structures, and that "group success" is somewhat related to the similarity between the value systems, lifestyle and physical appearance of this group and those of the host society.

Tamotsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kwan (1965), although not writing on "race relations" as a social problem, give special attention to the theory of inter-ethnic contacts. They noted that ethnic identity "lies

at the core of the self-conception" of a great many people and for this reason this subject matter is "explosive" (p. vi). They observed that, although there is a vast amount of scientific evidence there is nonetheless much misinformation on this topic. These authors argued that many historians dwell at length on ancestral "stock" of many leaders "as if this had some bearing on their psychological attributes" (p. vi); and that social scientists often take sides in political controversies and this colors their work. Nationalists, Shibutani-Kwan, pointed out:

. . . insist that all minority peoples should be assimilated, those who advocate cultural pluralism, however, view individuals who assimilate as traitors who are guilty of "self-hatred." (p. vi)

In these authors' view, "liberal reformers" classify those who suggest that ethnic groups are different, as "prejudiced," and concluded that these postures are all political. Some social scientists spend considerable time and effort supporting or refuting such positions and they sometimes "evaluate generalizations on the basis of desirability rather than evidence" (p. vii). On the other side of the spectrum, some intellectuals favoring cultural pluralism "deny that integration is almost invariably the end product of the contact of people" although historical evidence shows that exceptions to this fact are rare.

Writing on Hispanismo, Frederick B. Pike (1971) noted that Hispanismo is based on the notion that "through the course of history Spaniards have developed a lifestyle and culture, a set of characteristics, of traditions, and value judgments that render them distinct from all other peoples" (p. 1). This feeling of being "culturally unique" was conceptualized as "ethnocentrism" by Levine and Campbell

(1972). Its basic concept is that "one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (p. 8). For the purpose of this dissertation the most significant fact is that ethnocentrism--Spanish, American or any group--leads a group "to exaggerate and intensify everything in their own folkways" (LeVine & Campbell, 1972); each group thinks that all other folkways are not the right ones. From this perspective, cultural pluralism is the anti-thesis to "ethnocentrism," since it proposes that there is more than one legitimate way of being human without reducing the other group to the status of a second-class citizen. It is noteworthy that Bruce Gaarder defined "cultural pluralism" as a "new name for the melting pot" (1977).

John A. Coleman (1969), in his article "A Paradigm for the Study of Social Strata," made this observation:

It is meaningless, from the perspective of culture, to rank on a scale demonstrably different symbolic systems of thinking and doing as if one culture were higher or better than another. In itself, one culture is simply different, not "better than" another A ranking of strata on the basis of cultural factors does not tell us anything about the cultural differences between strata, only about the prestige attached to proposed cultural units. (Roach, Gross, & Gursslin, 1969, p. 96)

In spite of the threat that cultural pluralism presents to many Cubans, the fact that American society is stratified and that the manifestation of this stratification varies from Cuban society, they welcome the American way of life and the democratic ideals that are usually associated with the United States. At the same time, however, Cuban immigrants remain loyal, by and large, to the Cuban value system. Thus, Cuban immigrants find themselves in an

agonizing identity dilemma. They struggle to achieve equal status with Americans while retaining their Cuban identity. Pike (1964) observed that as late as 1904 Spanish priests saw in Catholicism the only "force that could prevent Spanish Americans from being absorbed by the United States and from disappearing "politically, culturally, and socially" (p. 182). The consensus of Spanish intellectuals was that "language was more important than any other single element in transforming different peoples into a race, into a cultural community" (p. 135). In their view, the existence of Spanish culture in America depended upon "preserving the Spanish tongue in relatively uncorrupted form" (p. 135). Giles and Saint-Jacques (1979) advanced the thesis that "ethnicity, like language, has a dual significance. It implies values and consequences for the individual and the group as well" (p. ix). They concluded by stating that "language and ethnicity are basic elements of the identity and individuality of a human being" (p. x). In their opinion, language and ethnicity "stand at the forefront of social interaction."

Acculturation and Assimilation

Although the concept of acculturation and assimilation has been amply investigated (Eisenstad, 1965; Fernandez Mendez, 1970; Gordon, 1964; Handlin, 1951; Herskovits, 1958; Morgan, 1978; Trennert, 1975), studies that focus on both of these concepts to gain a better insight into the process of culture change in a Cuban situation are rather rare. The author has not been able to locate any acculturation studies of any description among modern Cuban immigrants.

Most of the works found may be classified in two broad categories: one dealing with ethnic identity and the other with the cultural integration of immigrants into American society. Representative of these orientations are the works of George DeVos and Lola Romannucci-Ross (1975), who hypothesized that ethnicity is the "attribute of membership in a group set off by racial, territorial, economic, religious, aesthetic, or linguistic uniqueness" (p. 3). A UNESCO conference held in Havana, April 1956, gave special attention to the question of cultural integration of immigrants. It stated that the state "has responsibilities which include the provision of education for children and language instruction for adults" and the "protection of immigrants' rights against prejudice or harmful stereotypes" but nothing was said of the problems of acculturation, assimilation or identity.

This is not to say, however, that there have not been some acculturation-assimilation studies. What must be emphasized is that these studies, for the most part, have overlooked the question of Cuban identity; which is the focus of this study. The best that can be said of existing works on Cuban immigrants is that they are largely descriptive of the hardships these Cubans, like many other immigrants, encounter in trying to make sense of their world view and the obstacles they must overcome if they wish to become integrated into the American way of life.

The best known study of these persuasions include Oscar Handlin's (1951) The Uprooted. The value of this work is that it gives a penetrating look into the inner meaning of American immigration experience.

Handlin pointed out that immigrants, upon their arrival in the United States, had, to a significant degree, "a wide realm of choice" and therein lay the broader meaning of their experience. Immigration took these people out of traditional, accustomed environments and replanted them in strange ground, among strangers, where strange manners prevailed. The customary modes of behavior were no longer adequate, for the problems of life were new and different (p. 5). Handlin concludes that "immigrants lived in crisis because they were uprooted." There is no doubt that the immigrants that Handlin described suffered untold deprivation to make their way to the American shores. Weiser (1978) added that often times immigrants "sold their possessions, gave up their village, their homeland and often their family. They made the long ocean voyage in cramped steerage, fighting cholera and other diseases."

Ted Morgan's (1978) autobiography, On Becoming American, described the complexities of acculturation and assimilation into American culture, including the process of changing his own family name.

Name-changing has not been given proper recognition as an American pursuit. . . . In France, it's not so easy. A fellow I know named Dalmas de Polignac wanted to change his name because his father had collaborated with the Germans. He went to court, but the judge denied his petition, on the grounds that his name belonged to the nation's patrimony . . . In America, changing your name is part of the culture.
(pp. 75-76)

Morgan (1978) proceeded to relate that he wanted his French name "Gramont" to be Americanized; thus he adopted as his name Ted Morgan (p. 68). Name-changing, he stated, is to shake off "ethnic encumbrance" but not the only reason. For example, some names are very difficult to

pronounce or spell. In such cases it is more practical to modify them or change them. Morgan's work gives a first-hand account of what it means to become an American:

I came here in 1973 as a resident alien, and got my "green card," the new model of which is actually blue, but they still call it the "green card." I have hated that word alien - it means foreign, not different in nature; adverse, whereas to be not foreign, not different and not adverse. The central aim of the immigrant is to join a society not to be alienated from it. (p. 187)

Michael Novak (1973), a consultant for the humanities at the Rockefeller Foundation, examines the persistence of ethnic patterns in the United States in his book, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnic. In his work, Novak, a Slavic himself, pointed out the price of being Americanized--namely, giving up one's native language. Quoting Marx, he noted that "the place persons assume in the economic order deeply influences their sense of identity" (p. 41), and added Americanization even exacts a price of any participant in American professional life:

In order to move up in the world of journalism or television, especially on a national level, it is important to be able to see the whole national picture, and to scrap merely regional, ethnic or denominated views. Persons who enter the professional elites of journalism and broadcasting, or the corporate and academic worlds, tend to think of themselves as nonparochial. But one becomes a professional only through long submission to training, discipline, and carefully criticized experiences one enters; that is, a new and not less disciplines culture. (pp. 41-42)

Novak argues that to become a professional is "to acquiesce in separation from the people among whom one was born" (p. 43). Furthermore, the professional class into which one moves denies him the freedom to express his "sensibility." The bias of the professional class in the United States, according to Novak, "disguises ethnicity" (p. 43).

Novak's definition of an ethnic group "is a group with historical memory, real or imaginary. One belongs to an ethnic group in part involuntarily, in part by choice" (p. 56). Cuban professionals that have found membership in the professional community would agree with Novak's conclusion:

In any case, millions of Americans, who for a long time tried desperately, even if unconsciously, to become "Americanized" are delighted to discover that they no longer have to pay that price; are grateful that they were born among the people destiny placed them in; they're pleased to discover the possibilities and the limits inherited in being who they are; and are openly happy about what heretofore they had disguised in silence. There is a creatively and new release, there is liberation and there is hope. America is becoming America. (p. 342)

S. N. Eisenstad's (1965) work, Essays on Comparative Social Change and Milton M. Gordon's (1964) Assimilation in American Life make a unique contribution to the understanding of the process of acculturation and assimilation which provides a background for this study. In Eisenstadt's view, there are two kinds of assimilation: one is cultural (acculturation) and the other which involves role orientation (the process by which immigrants, as a group, learn the manners and style of the macro-culture), or if you will, a form of "in-group" communication without any regard to ethnic differences.

Milton M. Gordon, on the other hand, using a sophisticated social science approach, presents an image of American society "as a mosaic of sub-groups" based on ethnic background, social class and "intellectual interest." Following Eisenstad's and Gordon's premises, the author perceives through the sample of Cuban immigrants presented in this study that acculturation is actually taking place among these Cubans on the

subcultural level, but not assimilation. Assimilation involves the total eradication of their original cultural structure, which Cubans are not willing, at the moment, to abandon.

Another point of view may be found, however implicitly, in the work of Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (1971), *Beyond the Melting Pot*. The central thesis of this work is that "melting pot" assimilation does not happen:

Beyond the accident of history, one suspects, is the reality that human groups endure, that they provide some satisfaction to their members, and that the adoption of a totally new ethnic identity, by dropping whatever one is to become simply American, is inhibited by strong elements in the social structure of the United States. (p. xxxiii)

The authors support this notion by pointing out that a "new identity" is inhibited by the "unavailability of a simple 'American' identity; and that the underlying fault lies in American society that seems to maintain or permit the maintenance of ethnic identity beyond the point of cultural assimilation." In Glazer's and Moynihan's opinion ethnic groups are "essentially interest groups." Because of its common origin and cultural background, ethnic groups--Puerto Ricans and Cubans included--maintained a distinct identity which is the most appropriate unit through which members of these ethnic groups can seek greater political, social and economic power for themselves. Glazer and Moynihan argued that ethnicity is more than "an influence on events; it is commonly the source of events" (p. 310). For example, "a great number of institutions exist for the specific purpose of serving ethnic interest." It must be stated that in this sense, "interest group" is

any group that is organized to secure certain objectives which members value or regard as beneficial to themselves. Sometimes "interest groups" are referred to as "pressure groups."

Gordon D. Morgan (1981) takes issue with Glazer and Moynihan on their view of "ethnic groups" as "interest groups." Morgan asserted that they attributed characteristics to ethnic groups which are not fair to them. Morgan suggested that school teachers, irrespective of their national origin or ancestry, demonstrate the same interest in serving better working conditions and better salaries, but by no means does this lead anyone to conclude that school teachers are an "ethnic group." Marjorie P. K. Weiser (1978) emphasized this very point. Without denying that ethnic communities are indeed powerful interest groups, Weiser remarked that one "is still forced to wonder why common national origin would be the basis for organizing and sustaining an interest group" (p. 85). Greely (Weiser, 1978, p. 89) expressed the opinion that perhaps "it might be easier to understand the problems of the new immigrant groups if we were somewhat more aware of how older immigrant groups cope with their problem at a similar state in the acculturation process."

In summary, it seems that at the present time there is not enough empirical data to make any confident assertions regarding the validity of the various views described above, nor any analysis of the problem of identity and assimilation. While most writers are preoccupied with the question of "cultural pluralism" which emphasizes all sorts of "ethnic groups," it should not be thought that these writers

have not given careful consideration to the meaning of this conception and its implications, particularly the primary contact across ethnic group lines. Cultural contact between Cuban immigrants and Americans may lead these Cubans to become what sociologists call "the marginal man; a person who stands on the borders or margin of two cultural worlds but fully a member of neither" (Gordon, p. 56).

Perhaps two of the most valuable works on the conception of acculturation, identity, and education are the works of Thomas K. Fitzgerald (1977) and Eugenio Fernandez Méndez (1970). Fitzgerald's Education and Identity provides a unique background material to examine the problems that university graduates from other cultures face in the process of acculturation; namely, the complexities of adjustment, attitudes to the past and future. Fernandez Méndez is, like Fitzgerald, an anthropologist. In his work La identidad y la cultura (Identity and Culture) made the point that it is inhuman to ask anyone to live without "concrete culture" without specific history and place (p. 56). To express it in other terms, "culture" is a survival mechanism. It is the self-preservation of peoples and their heritage. In this context, he sees education as socialization. He argues that any "human being" must be "adoctrinado" (indoctrinated) from childhood in all aspects of his culture if he is to be an active member of his society (p. 67). The purpose of education "pura" (pure) is not to make individuals mere spectators of "nosotros mismos" (ourselves). Rather, education must have as its basis to make the individual aware of the values that he considers "desirable" and thus actively maintain them. He concluded

that any educational program that overlooks the social-cultural differences of people is bound to have little success.

No less significant is the work of Martin B. Staff, In Quest of Identity (1967). Professor Staff focuses on the history of ideas in Spanish America rather than education and identity; nevertheless, he made the problem of "authenticity and identity" clear. He observed that there are some drastic differences between Spanish American university students and their American counterparts. For instance, "intellectual components" weigh much more heavily among them than it does in the United States. He provided the example that often times in Latin American membership in the intellectual community is sufficient ground for election to the chief executive office of the nation, whereas in the United States, no one would have proposed Horace Mann to the presidency of the United States solely on his academic credentials.

In summary, a review of this selective literature about "ethnic groups," assimilation, acculturation and identity, indicates a need for agreement in social sciences over the usage of these terms. For example, early assimilationists tended to classify ethnic groups in two categories: a cultural group and ecological entity. Implied in this dichotomy is the concept that ethnic groups can only exist in cultural and physical isolation (Hraba, 1976). Other sociologists, however, reduced ethnic group diversity in America into two distinct groups: majority and minority groups. Accordingly, any category of persons who have a culture or subculture which differs from that of the macro-culture constitutes an "ethnic group." In less formal terms, any

"group which differs from the dominant members of the society is an ethnic group." This category includes American Indians, Asian Americans, black Americans and Spanish Americans. Other sociologists, not satisfied with this simple dichotomy defined an "ethnic group" as a "self-conscious collectivity of people who move through time and consider how the ways in which they manifest their ethnicity may change as they do" (Haraba, 1976, p. 28).

Theodorson and Theodorson (1969) presented another view. They suggested that the term "minority group" is not a technical term and that this term is often used to refer to categories of people rather than groups (p. 259). In their view this term "need be neither a minority nor a group so long as it refers to a category of people who can be identified by a sizable segment of a population as object of prejudice or discrimination" (p. 259).

Studies of assimilation and acculturation (Gordon) often assume the necessity of assimilation as a process of acculturation. Haraba identified two components of "assimilation," namely integration and acculturation. "The phrase 'fused together in a social unity' refers to integration or the fusion of groups in the sense that social interaction is no longer predicated upon one's racial or ethnic identity (1976, p. 29). Roucek-Warren make the point that "assimilation is the process by which two or more groups who have had different attitudes, mores, and cultural practices become alike in these things." Involved in this view is the concept of the fusion of different cultures which is often referred to as the "American melting pot." It must be

observed at this point that "pluralism" arose originally as a reaction against "assimilation"; a position taken by Milton Gordon (1964) and Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan (1970, 1975).

In regard to minority groups and the question of assimilation, McGee (1980) noted:

Some minorities resist assimilation. The policy of pluralism is the recognition of the persistence of cultural differences in subgroups in the population with no single subcultural group dominating the other. (p. 200)

In McGee's opinion assimilation may be forced upon the subordinate group. This occurs when the dominant group assumes that a minority is "inherently inferior in intelligence." The end result of which is discrimination against that minority in education and in the economy (p. 199). If this ideology is true, then Cuban graduates are likely to find a welcome reception in the American dominant group. Other minority groups, however, can only expect to be socialized for subordinate roles. Although assimilation may be forced upon minority groups, McGee noted that assimilation as such may be encouraged without imposition; in the United States assimilation has taken the form of "Anglo-conformity" (p. 200). Thus, the maintenance of English-oriented cultural patterns and "standards in American life." He made the point that:

It is no surprise that those immigrants who were most easily assimilated and who suffered the least prejudice and discrimination, were those who were most like the dominant group Despite the dream that all racial and cultural subgroups would intermingle in a single melting pot of American culture, in reality, assimilation has most often been primarily a matter of Anglo-conformity. (p. 200)

Basic to the problem of assimilation and acculturation is the question of identity which Babbie described as a sense of membership in or belonging to the group. It must not be forgotten, then, that the group constitutes an element in the individual's definition of who he or she is.

What is striking about contemporary literature on the question of acculturation and assimilation is how little recognition has been given to culture and personality. Among the few works dealing with this type of analysis are Francis L. K. Hsu, Psychological Anthropology (1961) and Sol Tax, Horizons of Anthropology (1964). Edward M. Bruner pointed out that:

. . . culture and personality, is one of the most controversial in contemporary American anthropology. The reasons usually offered in explanation of the controversy are that the field is relatively new . . . and that the early work of some of these scholars was lacking in scientific rigor. (Horizons in Anthropology, p. 71)

Some of the critics of this type of analysis--A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Leslie White--argued that "anthropologists should not be concerned with either psychology, personality, or individuals, even in a cross-cultural framework" (Tax, 1966, p. 71). Bruner concluded by asserting that:

We cannot infer personality from social institutions or overt behavior alone, but must investigate the share aspects of emotional and cognitive patterning based upon detailed study of individuals and of their significant social relationships. (Tax, 1966, p. 79)

Francis L. K. Hsu presented the view that "culture-and-personality deals with human behavior primarily in terms of ideas which form the basis of interrelationship between the individual and his

society" (p. 6) and concluded that:

But conformity with cultural norms . . . does not always gratify needs. Conformity often leads to the frustration of needs; and it is because of this frequent conflict between need gratification and cultural conformity that an understanding of personality dynamics is crucial for an understanding of cultural conformity, social control, and the operation of social systems. (p. 491)

Seen from this point of view, then, acculturation and assimilation as a means to achieve cultural conformity will doubtless never gratify the needs of Cuban immigrants. Michael Novak's reaction to this "melting pot" concept was that:

It points toward a common culture truly altered by each new infusion of diversity. Until now, the common culture has been relatively resistant to internal transformation; it has not so much arisen from the hearts of all as has been imposed; the melting pot has had only a single recipe. (Colburn-Pozzerta, p. 27)

Gustav Johoda in his work, Psychology and Anthropology (1982), noted that there is a close relationship between psychology and anthropology but admitted this kinship does not necessarily entail close sentiment. He stated that the value of psychology rests in the experimental method that it employs. By contrast, anthropology gives special attention to how people all over the world cope with the hardships of life.

This includes not merely social behavior and cognition, but also what used to be called the "passions"--love, hate, anxieties and hopes. (p. 274)

Richard W. Brislin, Cross-Cultural Encounters (1981), argued that there is a need for documenting "commonalities across people's various cross-cultural experiences. Then, professionals will be better able to prepare people for their cross-cultural experiences" (p. ix).

But Philip E. Vernon (1969), Intelligence and Cultural Environment, is of the opinion "to a great extent man makes himself and fashions his own environment, and it is he who must be changed if he is to achieve a more prosperous and healthy existence."

Summary and Conclusions

The historical perspective on Cuban identity presented in this chapter helps to clarify that Spaniards (peninsulares) and Spanish-American (Spaniards born in Cuba) are members of the same "raza" (race, a "raza" shaped more by common culture, historical experiences, traditions, and language than by blood or ethnic factors. However, during the Spanish colonial rule in Cuba, the Spanish crown often repressed or bitterly attacked the traditions, culture, and values associated with Spanish-America; in summary, the policy of the Spanish colonial government was one of strict assimilation to the laws of Castile. The assimilation to the system of Castile resulted in a colonial society guided by Cuban intellectuals, which in 1895 led Cuba to a war of independence. From this time forward, Cuba was to be guided by a new class--university graduates.

The literature dealing with the concept of race, ethnicity and culture reaffirms the notion that group interrelationship, race conflict as such, seem at the present secondary to cultural ones; besides ethnic groups are socially defined on the basis of cultural criteria rather than physical (race).

From the works given to the study of acculturation and assimilation, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. That culture can be an important criterion of ethnic identity.
2. If an individual is acculturated, his or her identity does not necessarily cease to exist.
3. No one can be assimilated into American culture and retain one's identity.
4. Social identity produces changes that facilitate the individual's adjustment to a new social relationship.

The question of the relationship between acculturation, education and ethnic identity, and the politics of assimilation is a matter of no little controversy between scholars and policy makers. This controversy seems to be the result of a pervasive terminological confusion over the definition of these terms and also the result of a faulty understanding of what ethnic identity involves.

CHAPTER III
PERSONAL DOCUMENTS OF CUBAN PROFESSIONALS:
A SITUATIONAL APPROACH

This study has given special consideration to the explanation of personality difference in acculturative responses and identification within specific situations in American society. It is this author's purpose, therefore, to present here a series of brief personal documents to analyze Cuban professionals as an elite group as well as their social position in the United States and Cuba. All Cuban professionals that were selected for case studies have some degree of familiarity with the process of acculturation; that is, they understand how American society is structured. However, within these Cubans there is also a broad range of intensity in acculturative backgrounds and in the degree of identification with Cubans in the United States as a subculture of the macroculture.

The author has, for the above reason, chosen to adopt a personal approach to look at these Cubans and their experiences, feelings, and doubts as they considered the options of acculturation and assimilation. The selection of these seven case studies was limited and channeled by the theoretical focus of this study--a situational approach. The order in which these life documents are placed is deliberate; they are representative of Cuban professionals who have undergone various degrees of American and acculturated Cuban influences. The cases presented here are drawn from a broad spectrum of Cuban

society--middle-class, middle-upper and upper class. Therefore, the author has chosen to omit the lower income group because to include that group would have introduced complications which obscure the relationship of Cuban intellectuals as an elite group to education and their social position in Cuban society. However, some of these Cubans belonged to a lower class in their early years in Cuba. It must be noted in this regard that class position in the United States does not necessarily correspond with class position of the Cuban subculture. The intention of this study, then, is to document and discuss the complexities in acculturative settings of Cuban professionals and the specific relationship of identity to the processes of change they experienced of this elite group. In interviewing these Cubans the author discovered that there were many distinct experiences of personality adjustment. My interest in learning what is expected of members of a particular culture and what sort of behavior is appropriate to various situations, led me to a concentration of educational incidents. As might be suspected, the understanding of a few occurrences in the life of the individual requires some form of outline of the past. Since my primary concern is the range of social situations I have chosen not to analyze in detail any one situation.

The conclusions presented in this section are based on 20 interviews. However, I have only selected the main events in the lives of seven Cuban professionals (two women and five men) who were encouraged in these relatively unstructured interviews to describe in Spanish their full bicultural orientations rather than merely concentrating on the Cuban microculture.

The underlying hypothesis of this study may be expressed as follows: "Identification among Cuban professionals, to a more or less degree, functions selectively depending on the definition of the situation" rather than any "arbitrary selected culture traits or degrees of acculturation" (Fitzgerald, 1977). This leads us to conclude that identification refers to the "general process by which an individual learns the roles expected of him in specific social situations."

In Fitzgerald's (1977) opinion any situational analysis requires the use of personal documentation; that is, if one is to fully "grasp the subjective and objective aspects of social life." The case studies presented in this chapter will be elaborated to ascertain the diversities of objective social situations as experienced by these seven Cuban professionals in different acculturative settings and also to reveal the subjective "definitions of the situations." The following case study merely suggests the range of reactions which these Cubans have to similar cultural differences and provided hypotheses about their behavior. In conclusion, my purpose is to look for cultural regularities and variations in situational adjustments as encountered in occurrences in their lives. In so doing, I propose to investigate the following questions:

1. What is the possible range in acculturative patterns within the Cuban professionals?
2. What are the most significant characteristics of the identification process of Cuban professionals?

3. What are some of the functions of Cuban identity in relation to the Cuban subculture in the United States?
4. Can Cuban professionals fully identify with American culture and assimilate into its main stream?
5. What choices do Cuban professionals have--acculturation or assimilation?

Case Studies of the Subjects of this Study¹

Case No. 1: Moisés. Moisés is 39 years of age. At the present time Moises is a professor of New Testament in one of the leading conservative theological seminaries in the United States. He has written several works dealing with theology and the use of New Testament Greek. His most recent work Biblical Words and Their Meaning has been recognized by the American Bible Society as "one of the first books to present a comprehensive exposition of Biblical lexicology." Furthermore, Moises is a naturalized American; married to an American woman and the father of four children. He presently resides in a suburb of Philadelphia. Although Moisés still retains strong Cuban sentiments, he represents, to some measure, the cultural adjustments, attitudes and aspirations of a modern acculturated Cuban university graduate.

Moisés was born and raised in the city of Havana. His father had a prominent position in the Cuban cultural sphere. Although his father, a corporation lawyer, was bilingual, Moisés never spoke English

¹The names used in this study are fictitious, and some aspects of the life history have been altered to protect the anonymity of these Cuban graduates. The basic facts of their life histories, however, remain as given.

until his family was forced to leave Cuba for the United States in 1960. However, after his family arrived in Miami, he attended a private American school where he completed both his primary and secondary education. During this period, Moisés for the first time became aware of cultural differences. Today he holds a Th.M. degree from Westminster Theological Seminary (Philadelphia) and a Ph.D. from the University of Manchester (England).

By upbringing, Moisés was aggressively Cuban but today he identifies culturally as both Cuban and American. In answer to the questionnaire item: Do you think of yourself as Cuban or American? Moisés replied, "practicamente igual" (practically the same).

Religious training was an important part of his home life. Consequently, Moisés' religious values and training served as a cultural mediator. This explains how Moises had no difficulty in internalizing certain aspects from Cuban and American cultures. It is noteworthy that the Baptist church which Moises attended in Cuba was founded by Americans and for years Cubans and Americans worshipped together in that environment.

Do you think that Cuban culture is superior/inferior to the American culture?

Moisés, after consideration expressed that he had not formulated an opinion in this matter.

Given a choice, could you renounce your Cuban identity and become assimilated into American culture?

Moisés replied that he could never renounce his Cuban culture and identity. However, when the question of choosing between American

and Cuban culture came up, Moisés¹ replied, "Es como pedirme escoger entre el ojo derecho y el izquierdo!" (it would be like asking me to choose between my right eye and the left).

What are the advantages of becoming a "naturalized" American?

Moisés¹ opinion is that it is the responsibility of every individual living in the United States to identify with America, its social and political system and share in all the facets of community life.

What language do you speak at home? English or Spanish?

At home, Moisés¹' family speaks English. As far as Spanish is concerned it is used only in certain situations. Bilingual education, in his opinion, is a good concept, but its implementation is a failure. He would prefer that his children be educated in a bilingual environment but finds that in Philadelphia this is virtually impossible to do.

What aspect of American culture do you think is the most difficult to comprehend?

In Moisés¹' terms, it is "la falta de respeto en las escuelas" (the lack of "respect" that is seen in the schools).

What value do you give to the education you received in the United States?

Moisés¹ values his education very highly and realizes that without it he would not be where he is today. Moisés¹' education, in its broadest sense, has been largely bicultural and identity largely situational. This explains why he sees acculturation but not assimilation in the same light. He tries to function in both Cuban and American cultures by a kind of cultural compartmentalization being Cuban in Cuban

company (in behavior, speech, and attitude), and American in American company. In answer to the question if he had more American friends than Cuban, Moises replied that most of his friends tended to be Americans rather than Cuban.

Case No. 2: Rubén. Rubén is 47 years of age, married, and the father of two children. He is naturalized American and at this time he resides in Union City, New Jersey where he practices internal medicine.

Rubén was born in a small town in eastern Cuba. He grew up in a very Cuban environment--a typical Cuban middle-class family. Rubén is not a typical Cuban graduate, however. First of all, he comes from a family where a number of them were teachers and Baptist ministers. For example, his grandfather on his father's side and two of his uncles were Baptist ministers. Two of his aunts and two of his uncles were school teachers. As such, Rubén's socialization was better than average in this type of intellectual environment. His family, no doubt, imparted to him a sense of cultural choice that accounts for his medical profession.

Rubén first attended the school of medicine at the University of Havana, but the political upheaval of 1959 forced him to find refuge in Spain where he completed his medical training in the University of Madrid. Shortly after the completion of his training he was able to come to the United States and in the due process of time he revalidated his medical credentials and became a naturalized American. In answer to the questionnaire item: Do you think of yourself as Cuban or American? Rubén replied that he thinks of himself as Cuban. In his

view being a Cuban involves culture, language (even the form of speech and mannerisms) food and appearance. He does not see any need to adopt American manners to get along in the United States.

Do you consider Cuban culture to be superior/inferior to the American culture?

Rubén replied that he has not formulated any opinion as to which culture is preferable.

Do you prefer that your children be educated in American or Cuban schools, and environment?

Rubén answered, "Americanas." Cuban culture and values are passing away. The second generation of Cubans born in the United States should adopt American culture and norms. He feels that Cuban parents should not impose their cultural and traditional views on the children. However, parents should inform their children of their heritage and cultural backgrounds.

Given a choice, which culture will you choose, American or Cuban?

Rubén replied "Ambas" (both). Then he added, "El homos cultus" is vitally related to the environment in which it finds itself. It does not refuse anything but rather absorbs. It develops under the shadow of both cultures.

What are the advantages of becoming a naturalized American?

It is to accept the reality of acculturation as a new way of life. It is the logical answer to the question of cultural change. To be human is more than being Cuban or American. Nationalities are incidental.

Could a Cuban ever be assimilated into American culture?

In Rubén's opinion this could never be. He asserted that assimilation is "chronological and voluntary." If one is exposed to American culture at a very early age, perhaps then assimilation could be realized but not as adults. He referred to the Puertoricans as an example of the impossibility of assimilation.

What language do you speak at home?

Both Spanish and English. However, Rubén sees bilingual education as a hinderance to acculturation and assimilation, especially in the case of children.

What aspects of American culture do you find more difficult to comprehend and adopt?

To use Ruben's words, "la política" (its political institutions).

How do you value your education?

Very high. Without it his future in the United States would have been very uncertain and insecure. In Rubén's view, there is no contradiction in being acculturated and retaining his Cuban identity; however, he is very sure that he, personally, could never be assimilated into American life.

Case No. 3: Pablo. Pablo is in his late 40's, married an American woman and is the father of one girl. He is a naturalized American and lives in Winston-Salem, NC, where he holds an executive position with a leading manufacturing company.

Pablo was born in the western section of Cuba. His father is a well-known medical doctor who is still in Cuba. Because of his father's

social and economic status, Pablo spent his early years in private schools. Although Pablo could have attended the University of Havana, he decided to come to the United States to become an industrial engineer. Since he had some exposure to Cuban and American cultures in his formative years, cultural awareness was not a problem to him.

After living in the United States most of his adult life, Pablo's attitude toward his Cuban identity has remained as strong as ever. In answer to the following questions, Pablo expressed his sentiment very forcefully: Do you think of yourself as Cuban, American, both, or neither? Pablo replied, "Yo me siento mas Cubano que nunca" (I feel more Cuban than ever)! As his whole life has been a bicultural adjustment he resents being labeled "an Americanized industrial engineer and he refuses to adopt any norms of an American executive which would detract from his Cuban identity.

Do you consider Cuban culture to be superior, inferior, no opinion, to the American culture?

Although Pablo's education has been bicultural (in fact his undergraduate work was done in American insitutions), his appraisal of American culture is that it is inferior to Cuban culture.

How do you rate your American training as an industrial engineer?

Pablo rated his education very high and admits that there is nothing in Cuba that could be compared with it. He sees American education as the most important step to elevate Cuban graduates to the level of socioeconomic status of Americans. What is interesting to note in this regard is that Pablo tries to live his "cubanismo" in the context of modern American administrative techniques.

Could a Cuban ever be acculturated and eventually assimilated into American culture?

Pablo's view is that acculturation--which he termed "Americanizarse" (Americanization)--is desirable. But concluded that assimilation is tantamount to renouncing one's Cuban culture and identity.

What are the advantages of becoming a naturalized American?

Naturalization to Pablo is the only way to achieve socioeconomic status in American society. He expressed the idea that he would have never been in his present position had it not been for his American training and citizenship.

Can a Cuban graduate participate in American society and still retain his Cuban identity?

To Pablo social worlds differ in the sense of identity felt by their participant. Social identity has to do with how an individual learns certain roles expected of him in specific social situations. This process is concerned with the Cuban professional's situations. This process is concerned with the Cuban graduates' adjustment to specific situations. Cultural identity, however, transcends situational adjustments. It gives meaning to the individual's behavior. Pablo finds no special cultural adjustments necessary as long as he is able to keep Cuban and American things separate. This compartmental adjustment seems to have been easy for Pablo to achieve.

Case No. 4: Elena. Elena is not a typical Cuban but is a typical Cuban university graduate. First of all, she is a third generation Lebanese and a practicing Roman Catholic.

Elena is 62 years old, single, pleasant and sophisticated; speaks English with a decidedly Cuban accent and until she came to the United States in the 1960's held a position as a pharmacist. Her grandparents came to Cuba from one of the Arab countries many years ago and settled in eastern Cuba where Elena and her two sisters and one brother were born. The community in which her family lived did not have a Lebanese population so Elena had a small family circle of friends consisting of a few cousins, aunts and uncles.

Elena's parents as well as herself, grew up in a totally Cuban environment. It is noteworthy that her family was affectionately known as "los moros" (a family of Lebanese ancestry). Discrimination was never part of Elena's experience. Elena identifies with Cubans socially and culturally. As for reference group, in the United States, Elena uses the Cubans as an identification group.

Elena's early socialization was in an entirely Cuban environment so that she completely identifies with Cubans. She attended the University of Havana and received a degree in pharmacology. Education has meant a lot to her; like many Cuban female graduates, she became a symbol of success and social mobility in Cuba. Unfortunately, she has thus far not been able to validate her degree in the United States. Presently she lives in the New York City suburban area among many other Cuban refugees. In answer to the question: Do you think of yourself as Cuban, American, both, or neither? Elena seems to be totally affected by "cultural shock." To use her own words, "Yo naci en Cuba y ahora soy ciudadana." (I was born in Cuba but now I am an American citizen.)

What does the term "cubanismo" mean to you personally?

Elena replied that in her view this term is applicable to those who are Cuban born.

Do you esteem American culture to be superior, inferior, no opinion to Cuban culture?

Elena has no formulated opinion in this matter. However, she thinks that it is a good thing to understand American culture and values, especially if one is considering the United States as one's home.

Could you ever be assimilated into American culture?

Although Elena has no opinion as to which culture (Cuban or American) is superior, she feels that she has been acculturated into American society but assimilation still is a problem with her.

What are the advantages or disadvantages of becoming a naturalized American?

Elena's opinion is that anyone who comes to the United States should learn English, identify with Americans and adopt this country as one's own; for this reason she became an American citizen and is actively seeking to participate in the American community.

Given a choice, what culture would you adopt, American or Cuban?

To use Elena's own words, "Vivo en E.U. Escoger la americana" (I live in the United States so I will adopt the American way).

The question of loyalty or acculturation does not present a problem to Elena. The fact that she was born into an ethnic minority group (subculture) has not influenced her present attitude toward

acculturation. After several years in the United States she has learned to compartmentalize both aspects of Cuba and Lebanese and American culture. However, she is Cuban whenever she finds herself among Cubans and a Cuban-American whenever she is with Americans. When asked about her loyalty to American culture, she replied, "I have adopted American culture and I like it."

Case No. 5: Lucia. Lucia is in her late 30's. She is a typical Cuban refugee. First of all she received her primary education in a communist school for girls in Havana. After her secondary education she was admitted to the school of civil engineering at the University of Havana. She married in Cuba and has a son.

Do you belong to any American social or professional organization?

Her resocialization in the United States has not prepared Lucia to enter into the American cultural mainstream. The only organization she has membership in is the church in a Cuban community.

What language do you speak at home?

Lucia is bilingual and shows no preference for either English or Spanish. As far as bilingual education is concerned she expressed that it is "super-buena" (super good).

After a prolonged struggle to leave Cuba, she and her family (husband and son) were allowed to enter the United States via Jamaica. Presently, Lucia lives in Miami, where she works for an airline company and has enrolled in the University of Miami in the School of Business Administration.

Things have not worked out too well for Lucia in Miami. She and her husband have separated and she lives alone but is very optimistic about her future and her aspirations to achieve equal status with American professionals. Lucia still retains her Cuban citizenship but not by choice. In answer to the questionnaire: Do you think of yourself as Cuban, American, both or neither?, Lucia replied that she thinks of herself as Cuban.

What does "cubanismo" mean to you?

"Cubanismo" means to Lucia Cuban "roots" (raices). It allows her freedom to "acculturate" and understand American culture but never allows for assimilation.

What do you think of American culture? Is it superior, inferior, no opinion, to Cuban culture?

In Lucia's view, American culture as a whole is superior to Cuban culture.

Can a Cuban graduate be "Americanized" and still retain Cuban Identity?

Lucia does not see any contradiction in acculturation into American life and still be loyal to one's culture and validate one's identity. In her view, acculturation is the sensible course of action to adopt.

What do you think of Cuban professionals who become American citizens?

If one is going to adopt the United States as one's home, then American citizenship is the answer to achieve a higher social level or

status. She sees it as a way of both helping oneself and also making one's contribution to the country and the community in which one lives.

In your view, what is the most difficult experience that immigrants face in the United States?

In Lucia's opinion the worst part is that of reorientation and resocialization. It is the problem of making sense of the "new world" in which immigrants find themselves. It involves the question of identity.

Do you think that Cubans educated in the United States are neither Cubans or Americans? How does this form of education affect their identity?

Lucia's opinion is that this is tantamount to assimilation, and that it is a matter of choice. There is no reason why Cubans could not compartmentalize both aspects of Cuban and American cultures (acculturation) and retain their Cuban identity.

When does a Cuban university graduate cease being a Cuban? When he renounces doing Cuban "things" and adopts American "things?"

According to Lucia, this is a question of social situations. Cubans among Americans are expected to act like Americans not like Cubans and vice versa. Such behavior does not mean that one has abandoned or renounced one's identity. For example, one can speak English and still prefer Spanish as the main language of communication.

Lucia and Elena, as well as other Cuban graduates, see no contradiction in the integration of American and Cuban values and their sense of loyalty to Cuban culture. However, there seemed to be a consensus that no Cuban can be assimilated into American culture and

retain his Cuban identity. In conclusion, Lucia was asked what, in her judgment, was the most difficult aspect of acculturation? Lucia replied that "accepting and understanding the American legal process and political systems and ideologies were the worst."

Case No. 6: Eviluís. Eviluís is 49 years old. At this time he is a missionary in northwestern Spain. While attending seminary in Dallas, Texas he met a Mexican-American executive secretary and married her. Eviluis, his wife and four children live in the city of Vigo, Spain.

Although Eviluís' Cuban sentiments are strong to some extent, he represents the cultural adjustments, attitudes and aspirations of most Cuban professionals. Eviluís grew up in a typical Cuban lower-class environment in the town of San Luis, Oriente. The town was made up of middle-class families. There were no institutions of higher learning and economic and social opportunities were practically nil. The years 1930-1936 (the year that Eviluis was born) were depression years and families in the community were very poor.

In the early 1950's Eviluís' family moved to Havana (western Cuba). Here he completed his secondary education and enrolled in the University of Havana as a pre-medical student. Eviluís worked at odd jobs to supplement the family income. In 1956 Eviluís found a way to come to the United States as a student. He borrowed the money to pay for his airline ticket and arrived in Detroit, Michigan with ten dollars in his pocket but fully confident of a bright future in the United States. Today he has earned a B.S., M.A., Th.M. and Ph.D. from Texas

Christian University. He has written various Bible commentaries in Spanish and held, until recently, the chair of "Presidente" of the Central American Mission Seminary in Guatemala, Central America. The answers to the following questions best describe Eviluís' sentiments and aspirations.

Do you think of yourself as Cuban, American, both or neither?

Eviluís replied, "Ahora me siento mas espanol y mas gallego" (at this time I think of myself as a Spaniard and Gallego). (Note: Residents in the Province of Galicia in northwestern Spain are known as "gallegos." These people are very individualistic and nationalistic. They speak a dialect (gallego) of their own rather than Spanish. In Cuba this appellation is synonymous with Spaniards--real Spaniards!

What in your opinion are the most salient characteristics of Cuban culture?

Eviluís answered, "adventure, optimism, good capacity for adaptation" (situation), determination to excel in any enterprise.

Do you think that Cuban culture is superior, inferior, no opinion, to American culture?

In Eviluís' opinion, no culture is superior to another. The problem of cultures is whenever an individual (immigrant) tries to live in another cultural environment (acculturation and assimilation). He added that immigrants in the United States have no other alternative than "acculturation"--survival, in other terms.

What language do you speak at home, English, Spanish, Gallego or all three?

Evilúfs, hís wife and children all use Spanish as their main channel of communication. However, they do not restrict their children to the use of Spanish only. Since they live in a region close to France and Galicia, their children exhibit familiarities with both French and Gallego as a secondary language.

What is your opinion of bilingual education in the United States?

In Evilúfs' view, bilingual education in the United States impairs the process of acculturation. Had he and his family lived in the United States he would rather see his children's socialization take place in an American environment (immersion) rather than in one where both languages are used.

Given a choice, which of these cultures would you adopt, Cuban or American?

Evilúfs replied that he would choose the best of both cultures (integration).

Is it possible for Cuban graduates to be assimilated into American society?

In Evilúfs' opinion, this is a question of personal preference and choice; but it also depends on the age of the immigrants. He thinks that assimilation (if it ever is to take place) is easier for children than adults. He gave as an example his own experience. He was 19 years old when he arrived in the United States and after several years he chose "acculturation" while retaining his "Cubanismo."

What aspect of American culture do you find most difficult to understand and adopt?

Eviluís remarked that once given its historical setting, American culture is not so difficult to understand. However, the "utilitarian" philosophy of Americans is another matter.

Of all Cuban professionals, Eviluís is the most difficult to analyze. In the first place, he seems to be a case of marginality and at other times, to use Fitzgerald's term "backward acculturation." Eviluís' change of social status both in Cuba, the United States, Guatemala and Spain accounts for the shift in loyalties. First from a Cuban to a naturalized American and now to a religious Spanish immigrant. Today Eviluís identifies culturally with Spaniards, so much so that it has given him a changed view of his cultural, social and ethnic identity. Some may argue, like Fitzgerald, that "such a transformation becomes possible only on the basis of an improved self-image and/or satisfying a new role" (p. 128).

Case No. 7: Rubendeul. Rubendeul is in his late 60's. He and his wife left Cuba about 10 years ago to Madrid, Spain. Like many Cuban refugees that could not come directly to the United States he went to Spain to seek admission here. At this time he resides in Union City, New Jersey. Rubendeul grew up in a small town in eastern Cuba. His father, although of lower-middle-class folk was well-liked and respected in the community.

Rubendeul's early socialization was in a typical Cuban environment. He attended primary and secondary education with the children of the leading families in his community so he never experienced socio-economic discrimination. Rubendeul's religious background goes back

into the early 1900's when Baptist missionaries came to eastern Cuba. His grandfather, father and mother were converted to the protestant faith at a time when most members of his community considered that to be a matter of religious aberration. To this day, however, Rubendeul continues in his Baptist faith and Biblical convictions.

In his early twenties, he and his brother established a private school in his town where they soon won the reputation of being one of the best educators of that particular area. They were able to do well in this status until the change of government under Fidel Castro. Rubendeul is not your typical university graduate nor typical Cuban immigrant. In answer the question: Do you think of yourself as Cuban, American, both or neither?, Rubendeul replied that he is "cubano" (Cuban).

What does "cubanismo" mean to you?

He defined "cubanismo" as something vitally related to one's past. He then added that it is very difficult for a Cuban who thinks and feels "Cuban" to accept another's culture and values.

Do you wish to ever become "Americanized?"

Without hesitation he replied "No."

Do you think that the Cuban culture is superior, inferior, no opinion to American culture?

Rubendeul was reluctant to give his opinion and elected not to answer.

Is it possible for a Cuban graduate to be assimilated into American society?

In his view no Cuban with a sense of "cubanismo" could ever be assimilated into American society. However, he thought that acculturation was a personal choice and oftentimes Cubans are acculturated as a way to achieve social and economic status, and for convenience sake.

Cubans educated in American institutions of higher learning undergo cultural changes that result in a cultural mixture. The end result of this mixture is that the graduate is neither Cuban nor American. Please comment.

In Rubendeul's view such cultural mixture destroys one's sense of "cubanismo" and identity.

What do you consider the most difficult experience of your life as an immigrant?

Without any hesitation, Rubendeul responded that making sense out of his varied experiences in the United States was the most difficult.

Rubendeul is a typical representative not of university graduates but of Cuban immigrants that find the process of acculturation and assimilation too painful to bare. He has chosen instead to maintain social and psychological distance. He lives among Cubans, attends a Cuban church and occasionally visits his family still in Cuba.

Summary and Conclusions

In summary and conclusion to the interviews presented in this chapter, there are certain themes that seem to recur frequently. Cuban university graduates said that they welcome acculturation and even integration into American society, yet they do not envision an end to

the Cuban subculture in the United States nor will they willingly renounce their "cubanismo" or Cuban identity.

Their fears revolved around their well-being which they define in terms of standard of living and intellectual as well as professional acceptance. They seek (or appear to seek) social status equivalent with their American counterparts because they fear that associating with lower-class Americans would put them into a disadvantageous position. This is one of the reasons why they accept acculturation as an alternative but will never accept the notion of assimilation which means the total renunciation of their culture and identity. With Cuban professionals the question of identity is of paramount importance!

CHAPTER IV

INTERPRETATION OF INTERVIEWS

The acculturation of Cuban immigrants involves national (American macro-culture) and subcultural (Cuban micro-culture) levels of experience as well as "latent" and "manifest" cultural dimensions. Fitzgerald made a distinction between "latent" and "manifest" culture which is vital to the understanding of Cuban immigrants' views of acculturation and assimilation:

We may distinguish between a culture which grows out of a natural interaction of individuals in group contexts, and hence is expressed as a living phenomenon, and a culture which, from the individual's standpoint is no longer functional in everyday life adjustment. The latter is a latent as distinguished from the former, which is a manifest culture. (p. 5)

Acculturation in such heterogeneous contexts is both multi-dimensional and specific. This suggests that one must avoid grouping Cubans into prearranged categories or stereotyping them. The purpose of this study, then, was to point out the complexities of the process of acculturation and the attitude of Cubans toward any program of Americanization which might force them to surrender their individuality or freedom of choice. One of the main concerns of this study may be stated as follows:

Identification refers to the general process by which Cubans--and other immigrants as well--learn the roles expected of them in specific social situations. As such, identification operates selectively, depending on the "definition of the situation"; for instance, setting, interaction and expectations.

An assumption growing out of this concern may be expressed as follows: Identification does not depend on any arbitrarily selected culture traits or degrees of acculturation.

In analyzing the acculturation, assimilation and identity of Cuban immigrants in the United States, two facts are noteworthy: (1) the United States is a culturally pluralistic society and (2) the degree of acculturation which Cuban immigrants may have undergone does not indicate their individual affiliation or identification with American macro-culture or Cuban micro-culture. This presupposes that one must attempt to explain personality variations in terms of cultural affiliation and cultural identification.

Therefore, an interpretation of the views of these Cubans regarding acculturation is required to group the subjective or objective aspects of social life. The life stories of the seven Cubans now living in the United States chosen for this study determine the varieties of objective social situations in different acculturative settings and provide the means to uncover the subjective definition of the situations. Theodorson and Theodorson (1969) defines this social-psychological process as "the way a person interprets a given object or set of circumstances and the meaning it has for him are in great part determined by his culture, particularly his values and social norms" (p. 105). Philip L. Harriman (1965) noted that "as situations change there are changes in roles, and hence alterations in personality" (p. 181).

The personal documents of the seven Cubans presented in this study merely suggest the range of reactions which these Cubans have

demonstrated to similar cultural differences and provides the hypothesis about behavior that can be verified, or tested, through other techniques. This study presents, in particular, cultural regularities and diversities in acculturation as expressed in the experience of these Cubans. In so doing two basic perspectives emerged. One perspective was that Cubans do not resist acculturation as such. The dilemma of these Cubans is how to achieve social, economic and cultural equality with their American counterpart without surrendering Cuban identity.

The second perspective was that Cuban professionals' achievements of socioeconomic, or intellectual, equality does not in itself mean an acceptance of cultural assimilation. The conflict over status equivalence and cultural integrity is still the dominant theme in Cuban-American interrelations. This is, obviously, one of the most important educational challenges for a pluralistic society such as American, especially when one is aware that acculturation of Cuban immigrants cannot be viewed as a simple substitute of American cultural traits for Cuban ones.

A reexamination of the experiences gathered in the interviews of Cuban professionals presented in the previous chapter of this study is helpful in making inferences and generalizations pertaining to the following questions: (a) Is there a Cuban culture? (b) What is Cuban identity? (c) Acculturation or assimilation--What alternatives do Cuban professionals have? and (d) What are the assumptions that Cuban professionals make upon arrival in the United States? In the following pages an attempt will be made to answer these questions.

(a) Is there a Cuban culture? When culture is viewed as a group's channel of communication one can perceive the idea that whereas Spaniards born in Cuba (Cubans) and Spaniards shared a common culture at the national level, nevertheless, they had a separate channel of communication at the subcultural level. In this respect, it may be concluded that although Cuban and Spaniards shared a common culture, there is indeed a Cuban culture. However, the structure of Cuban society began to change after the war of independence from the Spanish crown and with it the personality of the Cubans. The rise of this new individual disrupted the static unity of the Spanish society in Cuba and a growing individualism began to make its appearance in the intellectual community. This influence was soon felt in all social classes and affected all spheres of human activity: philosophy, political life, and even theology. From this time forward Cubans began to do things in conformity with Cuban standards, which can be conceptualized as "Cubanismo." Brown (1961) proposes the notion that "the culture or way of life of each society tends to produce different personality types" and asserted that "the constellation of personality characteristics" includes:

. . . modes of thinking and constellation of ideas, super-ego formation and . . . therefore, represents those aspects of personality which distinguish the members of different cultural communities. Character, on the other hand, is "the special variation in each individual to his cultural norm."
(p. 116)

Pablo's statement (Case No. 3), "I feel more Cuban than ever" is a vivid illustration of the assumption that "each culture tends to produce a particular type of individual with psychological traits suited to that culture" (Brown, 1961, p. 116). In this instance, Pablo could

be described as a "normal personality" for Cuban culture, and that which differentiates him from Moises (Case No. 1) in the same culture could be described as Pablo's character. Acculturation, then, when viewed from this point of reference would be acceptable to Pablo, but not assimilation which would force him to renounce both his individuality and his character.

(b) What is Cuban identity? This study has attempted to point out that from a sociocultural perspective Cuban identity can be usefully conceptualized as a group of individuals who have internalized the same social category membership as a component of their self-concept. This self-concept is referred to by Cubans as "Cubanismo." Basically, this term means how Cubans see themselves irrespective of the place where they live--Cuba or the United States. Primarily, "Cubanismo" is a sense of belongingness, not necessarily dependent on the individual's cultural attributes. To express it in other terms, "Cubanismo" is an inner feeling that one feels that one belongs to a group of people, a particular ethnic group.

Jean-Claude Deschamps, following Zavalloni's (1973, p. 245) definition of the "group" noted that it includes:

. . . several elements which, at different levels, identify an individual; this applies to social categories as general as those of age, sex or nationality, but it may also refer to roles or social positions such as the membership of a profession, a political affiliation, etc. (Tajfel, 1982, p. 87)

Social identity, according to Henry Tajfel (1982), refers to:

. . . that part of the individual's self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. (p. 2)

The basic assumption that this study made was that Cuban identity provides a sense of belonging to a subcultural group that provides Cuban graduates psychological satisfaction that is not attainable in American "in-groups." However, the exciting point about acculturation is that it requires a response to social uncertainty, thus forcing Cuban professionals into a novel social situation and evoking from them novel behaviors that correspond to American society. In this way, a process of socialization that probably ended long before these Cubans came to the United States, and which adequately directed them in times of calm, reemerges when the social structure itself undergoes a temporary destabilization by the new environment. This, perhaps, may be the result of the very nature of life itself; namely, to strive to continue in being. In this regard, John Dewey (1944) stated that the word "life" denoted "the whole range of experience, individual and racial," in his view, "life" covers customs, institutions, beliefs, victories and defeats, recreations and occupations" (p. 2).

(c) Acculturation or assimilation: What alternatives do Cuban professionals have? The Cuban professionals interviewed in this study saw themselves and Americans as two distinct cultural groups involved in an essential reciprocal relationship--in an acculturative situation. But one of the problems of acculturation is that at its core is the question of intergroup behavior and attitude. Tajfer agreed with Sherif's (1966) definition, namely that:

Whenever individuals belonging to one group interact collectively or individually, with another group or its members, in terms of their group identifications, we have an instance of intergroup behavior. (p. 3)

Assimilation on the other hand, is the process by which one culture is totally absorbed by the ruling cultural group. In this case Cuban professionals have two alternatives: (1) acculturate and participate in American society or (2) assimilate and lose their identity. As it may be ascertained by the answers given by these Cuban professionals, assimilation is undesirable.

Acculturation, however, offers them a choice whereas assimilation does not. It may be predicted, then, that as long as the spirit of "Cubanismo" exists among Cuban professionals, assimilation will continue to be rejected as a means to participate in American social and cultural life.

(d) What are the assumptions that Cuban professionals make upon arrival in the United States? One of the assumptions that most Cuban professionals make is that the barriers may find on their arrival between them and Americans would never be overcome. One of the reasons for this assumption is that language obstacles, cultural, social and economic differences, will mark them as foreigners and outsiders even after they become acculturated. Another reason is the pressures they find everywhere for conformity to another culture at the expense of their own. Even their children are subjected by the state to a minimum standard of education which is not preserving their cultural values.

Another assumption that these Cubans make is Cuban identity may be weakened by the process of socialization. Thus, most of them err in failing to recognize that socialization, in an acculturative situation, is a process of education involving the full range of means by which immigrants ultimately become members of American society.

Another assumption which these Cubans make is that they can participate in American society as "Cubans" and that identification with the American macro-culture is of secondary importance. Basic to this assumption is the idea that education is the principal route to success and, of course, social mobility. Cuban professionals, then, can identify with American professionals at this level and at the same time validate their Cuban identity.

In conclusion, it must be noted that the most difficult problem that Cuban professionals face is that of the overpowering pressure they meet everywhere to acculturate or assimilate in American life. This process involves more than making a choice, it involves a total abandonment of their cultural heritage for the values and norms of behavior of another, one which is strange to them. This difficulty increases due to the fact that Cuban immigrants oftentimes have misconceptions as to what membership in the American middle-class is like. More specifically, these Cuban immigrants tend to underestimate the pressures which a highly technical and demanding society places upon its members. When they do come to experience these pressures they feel threatened and take refuge in the company of other Cubans among whom they feel secure and find satisfaction.

Personal Interpretations

As I interviewed the seven Cuban professionals for this study, I could not help but compare and contrast the difficulties that we all shared in the quest for identity in the United States. At the economic level most of us shared the same status. The lack of

industrial background and technical skills placed most all immigrants at the lowest level of American economy. Next to this, although not in the order of importance was the problem of learning English as a second language; more disconcerting than that was the realization that American society is a pluralistic one. The multiplicity of culture was not quite what most of us expected of American society; naturally we asked the question, "what is the real American like?" For most of us the American pluralistic society gave us a sense of social distance and social position; a feeling of separation from "American society." Thus, I was confronted with a problem I had never faced before--self-identification and self-location. This problem I soon discovered, was common to all the Cuban professionals with whom I had contact.

As I reflected on my experiences as an immigrant and contrasted them with those of the subjects of this study, it became apparent that our educational and social status were significant aspects of these experiences. My question was, to what extent do social class distinctions affect our willingness, or lack of it, to acculturate but not assimilate into the American way of life? What do Cuban professionals have in mind when they express their determination to retain their "Cubanismo?" What does it feel like to be uprooted? A suitable way to find answers to these questions is to draw from my own experiences as an immigrant, all of which is in keeping with the premise that knowledge of what is real is constituted by persons as they interact in the "everyday world." After all, "the member of society has a thoroughly practical interest in the everyday world. And, unlike professional scientists, the person operating in daily life has a

thoroughly practical interest in knowledge about the world" (Kotarba & Fontana, 1984, p. 39). Accordingly, the experience of any immigrant simply cannot be used as representative of the whole of any group or social class.

The core of the questions stated above can be found in the primordality of ethnic identity. In this sense, ethnic identity is more than an existential choice, it is a given human existence--Cuban existence. Therefore, when assimilation is measured by this standard, it will be seen that for these Cuban professionals to assimilate means nothing less than the end of their "Cuban existence." The process of both acculturation and assimilation is so painful that many Cubans withdraw from American society--a form of social distance--rather than expose themselves to the influences of American culture. Rubendeul (Case No. 7) is an example of such Cuban professionals who are reacting in this manner. For the same reason, it took me almost five years to come to the place where I, for the first time, entertained the idea of becoming an American.

Furthermore, as I interviewed these Cuban professionals, I could identify with the same pressures imposed upon them to conform to American society. Some of these pressures were cultural, others were social and some intellectual. It seems that everywhere one goes there is pressure placed upon the immigrant to accept American norms and values. One must dress like an American, play the role of an American and even think and reason like an American. When I first came from Cuba, I had with me some nice suits of clothes and shoes but soon gave up the idea of wearing them for fear of looking like an immigrant. My

first adventure into American schools was to learn and behave as an American; this was the goal of the Americanization school. When I first became a member of the engineering staff of a local firm, the pressure was placed on me to act and look like an American professional and become an "organizational man."

Another point of stress upon immigrants' sense of identity is taking the oath of allegiance to the United States of America. Most proponents of "Americanization" have only a meager idea of the feeling that immigrants have while taking the oath. This feeling becomes more intensified when one meditates on the meaning of the following words:

I hereby declare, on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and adjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that I will support and defend the constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies foreign and domestic, that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, So help me God!
(Immigration and Nationality Laws and Regulations as of March 1, 1944, U.S. Government Printing Office)

While it is true that this oath does not mean that the immigrant has been assimilated, it does affirm a renunciation of previous loyalties, norms and values to those of his native country. Only an immigrant knows what the taking of this oath really means! The most obvious consequence is that of socialization and resocialization.

Kotarba and Fontana (1984) pointed out that:

. . . a person is seen to be socialized and to exist in and through the various components of culture and social structure. More specifically, self can be viewed as the center of a configuration of social categories, social statuses, and social roles . . . at the most basic level, culture and society define individuals. (p. 21)

Another aspect of the implications of taking the oath of allegiance is that it involves a change of basic values and that, too, is very painful. According to Kotarba and Fontana (1984):

An individual who violates his own basic rules or those of the groups in which he is emotionally grounded, feels that he has betrayed his self, and he experiences the pain of severe guilt or shame; this pain, in turn, reinforces the rules, making it more likely that he will not betray his self the next time. This does not mean that we are doomed to meek cultural conformity. (p. 83)

Basic values such as freedom, justice and patriotism, serve to orient us toward our social world. Because of the strong feeling attached to values and because they serve as standards for judging specific acts of behavior and goals. Cubans are not willing to change them unless they are persuaded that their values and the American value system have come in conflict creating a situation which makes the process of acculturation and socialization difficult for them. This, to some measure, explains why Cuban professionals accept acculturation and even take the oath of allegiance. My own personal experience attests to this fact.

The process of acculturation was for me, and I think is for those I interviewed, essentially one of transformation in self-identity. Although the experience of any single Cuban cannot be used as representative of Cuban professionals as a class, it was evident in our interviews that there are certain stages that can be applied to the process of acculturation.

Stage One: First Doubts

The first stage is that of initial questioning, the time when Cuban university graduates first begin to allow themselves to question American social norms and wonder whether they, as immigrants, will really be accepted by the community of which they are a part. For example, when I first attended the Roman Catholic Church, I discovered that the standard performance of mass in the United States was totally different from that which I knew in Cuba. The priest seldom used Latin, the altar boys played a different role from that which I myself played as an altar boy in Cuba. I was shocked when I found that "Bingo" was frequently played in church buildings; something which no church would ever do in Cuba. Even protestant churches seemed different. Square dances were held as a form of social activity. Another area of values which greatly disturbed me was the apparent lack of respect for teachers and professors. In Cuba these people were held up as a sort of "intellectual parent"; education for most of us was the means to become responsible members of our community and not just a tool to social mobility.

Stage Two: The Freedom to Decide

The second stage in acculturation--or role-leaving process--comes when Cubans begin to realize that they have the freedom to remain aliens as long as they wish. However, while this freedom of choice is extended to all of us, the time comes when we face the fact that social mobility in the United States requires a good education and acculturation--even Americanization. This experience came to me when I

applied for a position as a civil engineer in the state of Connecticut. The first question that was addressed to me was "are you an American citizen?" Of course, I was not; therefore, I lost my opportunity to get that position.

Stage Three: Trying the Options

After experiencing the freedom to decide, the next stage is trying the options of our new life in the United States, and the role that is expected of us by the larger society. This involves the questions put to us by well-meaning Americans: "why don't you go to school and learn English?" without realizing that language is a vital part of culture and that in this process one begins to learn also another culture that can clash with one's own culture. Another question put to us is, "why don't you vote in our local and national elections?" "Why aren't you involved in our community affairs?" So the pressure to conform to the community values and norms is on! The result is that we must learn to acquire new social roles. When I decided to try these options I became a happier person as I realized that in many ways I had become an active member of the community in which I live and made my contribution to make it a better one.

Stage Four: The Vacuum

During this stage, which appeared to be a vacuum in the experience of an immigrant, most of us go through a reevaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of acculturation and assimilation. Central to this reevaluation is the question of social position, self-identification and self-location. In other terms, the question is that of "what am I?"

I began my life in the United States with an awareness of isolation which became the source of many of my anxieties; therefore, my first concern was to overcome the anxieties by becoming part of the community hoping that as I interacted with American professionals I would overcome my feeling of separateness. However, this requires a new identity which I could not obtain without first finding my social position. As I reevaluate my situation, I actually anticipated--as most Cuban university graduates do--what it would be like if I renounced my Cuban identity. While it may be easy to do this intellectually, it is not so easy emotionally. This is especially true when one takes into consideration that our sense of Cuban identity is a sense of general guidelines for orienting ourselves in the world in which we live. A Swiss university graduate, after giving serious consideration to what it would be like to renounce his Swiss identity remarked, "I will never do it!"

Stage Five: The Turning Point

The fifth stage, which I have called the turning point, is a time in which most Cuban immigrants become partly acculturated and had begun to socialize with American professionals. By this time they have internalized many aspects of both cultures. Eviluis (Case No. 6) is representative of this stage in his present relation to American culture. Very often this experience is relatively insignificant to the individual, because this experience simply comes to symbolize the motions and thinking that are involved in the decision to become an American. For me, the turning point was when I discovered that I could

see Americans as human beings and that I sincerely could esteem many of them as members of my own group. At this point, then, I had no difficulty in becoming an American.

Stage Six: Socialization and Cognition

Socialization, according to Fitzgerald (1977), "is a process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, and disposition that make them more or less able members of their society" (p. 26). In acculturative settings, socialization must "bring about equivalent changes in basic values to be effective" (Brim & Wheeler, 1966, pp. 33-37). During this stage, Cuban immigrants, like myself, have come to accept the fact that one must choose values outside one's culture and discriminate what values are desirable and what values are not. Moisés (Case No. 1) is a typical example of Cuban university graduates who have integrated both aspects of Cuban-American cultures which is in essence what is involved in acculturation in American society.

Summary

These six stages I considered to be part of the process of acculturation and to some degree these stages played an important part in the lives of those I interviewed and are part of my own experience as a former immigrant.

CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of this study was to analyze the relations between acculturation and assimilation and the attitude and perceptions that Cuban immigrants have of themselves and of American culture. This study, furthermore, sought to investigate the refusal of some of these Cubans to adopt another culture and its values. Answers to these questions become complex when they are considered in the context of Cuban culture and identity. More specifically, in the context of identity since to have "identity" is to stand in contrast with others.

An understanding, then, of why Cuban immigrants welcome acculturation but not assimilation is critical to cultural integration, acculturation and curriculum development. First of all, it is critical in that it includes as a necessary condition the mutual adjustment of multiform or conflicting culture traits. It is also critical in that acculturation relates to the process by which Cuban immigrants, irrespective of their social status, acquire the language, behavior and thought patterns of American culture. In this respect, a curriculum development must allow for cultural differences; and broaden its perspective to include a Cuban-American identity--acculturation. A researcher who delves into the resocialization of Cuban graduates may not be surprised if he discovers that the meaning of acculturation and education, in this context, involves more than what these terms

basically imply. For example, one implication of choosing to acculturate is to select which norms and values to realize and which to inhibit.

This complex relationship between acculturation, assimilation and identity was investigated in three areas: (1) defining what Cuban culture and identity included as a necessary condition to acculturation and assimilation; (2) the process and implications of acculturation and assimilation and how Cuban professionals viewed them; and (3) the Cuban professionals' attitudes and perceptions of Cuban identity and American culture were examined in individual interviews. The perceptions and views of Cuban professionals contained in a descriptive review of the data were interpreted personally and theoretically. These interpretations were used to address basic research questions which were identified to guide and direct the study.

These interpretations were also relevant to theoretical commonalities and basic assumptions discussed in the first chapter. The problem on which this study has focused is the explanation of how Cuban professionals as individuals with different degrees of acculturation and backgrounds view American culture and their views of acculturation and assimilation.

As the interest of this study is in personality adjustment within intergroup relations and perceptions, I have relied on the theoretical contributions of Richard Y. Bourhis and Peter Hill's theory of the dynamics of real-life intergroup situations. In its simplest form this theory involves a series of interrelated social psychological processes described as "social" categorization, social identity, social

comparison and psychological distinctiveness (Tajfel, 1982, p. 435). Each of these was applied to the relationship between Cuban professionals' view of acculturation and assimilation.

Social categorization. This is a tool which allows Cuban immigrants to "define and organize their social world in meaningful units" (Tajfel, 1982, p. 435). Categorizing immigrants as "ingroup" and "outgroup" according to Bourhis and Hill, leads to "outgroup" bias.

Social identity. Cuban immigrants are conscious of the group to which they belong. In this fashion membership violates their identity.

Psychological distinctiveness. Cuban immigrants cannot be satisfied with being mere aliens and spectators. Thus, they engage in various activities to achieve equal status with Americans. The major assumption is the Cuban graduates need to validate their self-esteem and in so doing they feel constrained to acculturate and not assimilate.

Social comparison. Cuban professionals may feel more or less satisfied in being a member of their own professional group. This is contingent upon who they consider their relevant comparison group to be. Tajfel (1982) concluded that:

. . . group members can maintain a positive social identity by avoiding unfavorable comparisons with "advantage" outgroups; thus, group members may maintain a positive social identity by comparing with outgroup members that are of lower status than themselves. (p. 437)

According to Caddick, individuals have a need for maintaining a positive self-concept and noted that:

. . . self-concept needs, insofar as they are salient, become needs to establish or maintain a satisfactory social identity. Depending on the outcome of these comparisons--and assuming

that neither individual mobility between groups nor the assimilation of one group by another is possible--individuals may be motivated by their social identity needs to establish or maintain ingroup distinctiveness on these or other valued dimensions. (Tajfel, 1982, p. 139)

This study advanced the hypothesis that the major difference between Cuban and Americans is cultural rather than social in origin. Taken as a broad statement, in my opinion, this hypothesis has been confirmed.

Furthermore, there is some evidence that Cuban immigrants see no contradiction in becoming acculturated and retaining, at the same time, their Cuban identity; whereas assimilation is seen by them as a threat to both their culture and identity.

This study suggested that there is a distinction to be made between social and cultural identities. For example, social identity refers to the general process by which an individual comes to learn specific roles expected of him in specific social situations. Social identity, in this context, is an essential part of acculturation, which Cuban professionals have little difficulty in accepting as a link in their relationship with the American "in-group." Cultural identity, however, is more difficult to accept since it refers to standards of behavior, values, norms and other aspects of culture. This implies that in assimilation Cuban immigrants must shift their behavior with each adaptation to new situational demands and at the end of this process their culture and identity is totally absorbed by the American macro-culture. In other words, social identity facilitates the Cuban immigrant's adjustment to his new relationship with members of the American group. Cultural identity, on the other hand, goes beyond

situational adjustment or social relationships; it results in changes in identity. From this analysis it may be concluded that acculturation is more situational than assimilation. Acculturation produces changes in the relationship of the individual and his relationship to other groups, usually in the form of new social roles. In assimilative situations the individual perceives a change taking place in the area of social world behavior that impinges on his or her existence. These unwelcomed changes can occur at the level of education, technology, values, rules, or any other realm of social life, or interrelationships. Eviluis (Case No. 6) is an illustration of the way this process operates. What is crucial is that this Cuban intellectual appears to view this process of assimilation as relevant to maintaining a satisfying self and thus avoids the personality characteristics of the "marginal man."

In conclusion, the final remarks of the study deal with some of the difficulties that Cuban immigrants face in the process of acculturation and the fear that they experience in the prospect of losing their identity.

Among the most difficult problems Cuban immigrants face is that of the overpowering pressure they meet to become Americans of Cuban culture. The process of assimilation demands more than willingness to submit to this pressure. It demands a total abandonment of one's cultural ancestry for the values and norms of behavior of another group. This process is extremely painful, slow and never-ending. Acculturation is an ongoing process; it is not something that is accomplished

once and for all. Leiter observed that:

. . . the sense of social structure is not something that is accomplished once and for all, needing only occasional repair. Instead, the facility of the social world is maintained by interpretative work that is without interruption or remedy. (Leiter, 1980, p. 106)

Leiter (1980) also pointed out that:

. . . as properties of talk, behavior, and objects, indexicality and reflexivity make the meaningful character of the social world the product of continual interpretation. (p. 106)

This painful experience increases due to the fact that Cuban immigrants seldom, if ever, understand fully the social change that will be required of them. Their assumption is that their legal status guarantees them the choice of remaining Cuban aliens forever. Coupled to this assumption, is the notion that American society is a static society. It is not until they have spent a year in the United States, learned English, and begin to communicate with members of the professional and intellectual community that the real picture of American society and culture become clear and realistic. After this experience, the process of acculturation begins, a process which is usually completed when members of the American in-group no longer see the immigrant as an outsider, and when the immigrant himself is no longer concerned with the social and cultural differences that made him once an outsider and stranger.

Finally, this conceptual scheme readdresses some of the conceptual confusion surrounding the use of the terms "acculturation," "assimilation," "ethnicity" and "identity." This study pointed out that the understanding of Cuban identity is vital to any successful

program for educated immigrants irrespective of their national origin. Furthermore, this understanding of what identity means to immigrants must be taken into account by an industrial enterprise which seeks to employ the services of professional immigrants. Both educational and industrial programs must allow for the adjustment and integration of these immigrants into American society in any of its forms.

The proposed framework of this study offered a number of distinct analytical advantages: (1) it provided approaches to the definition of Cuban identity and culture; (2) it accounted for differences between Cuban and American intellectuals; (3) it avoided the problem of how to account for the lack of mobilization in certain ethnic groups; (4) it identified acculturation as one of the key factors to social and economic mobility; (5) it demonstrated that the big problem that Cuban professionals face in the United States is how to achieve social and economic status in American society while retaining their identity; and (6) it pointed out that the role of identity is that it provides a sense of belonging to a shared past and shared future. Cuban identity is a positive sense of belonging to a rewarding subculture. In summary to the foregoing discussion, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. Culture can be an important criterion of Cuban identity.
2. When a Cuban immigrant is acculturated his or her identity does not necessarily cease to exist.
3. No one can be assimilated into American culture and retain his identity.

4. Social identity produces changes that facilitates the individual's adjustment to a new social relationship. These changes are often called acculturation.
5. To have a name and an identity one must belong somewhere. This is the dilemma that Cuban immigrants face upon arrival in the United States.
6. Cuban identity serves as a guideline to integrate specific actions into the lives of Cuban immigrants.
7. This scheme for viewing acculturative situations is also useful for generating theory. Regarding generalizability of findings, the information reported here about Cuban university graduates may apply to other ethnic groups.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aguilar, L. E. (1972). Cuba 1933: Prologue to revolution. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Aldridge, A. O. (1971). The Ibero-American enlightenment. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Arnold, G. H. (1985). An interpretive analysis of teacher expectations in early childhood education. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Greensboro, NC.
- Babbie, E. R. (1980). Sociology: An introduction. Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Bagby, P. (1963). Culture and history. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Batista y Zaldivar, F. (1964). The growth and decline of the Cuban Republic. New York: Devin-Adair.
- Baughman, E. E. (1972). Personality: The psychological study of the individual. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Berger, P. L. (1963). Invitation to sociology: A humanistic perspective. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.
- Berger, P. L., & Luchmann, T. (1966). The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge. New York: Doubleday.
- Best, J. W. (1970). Research in education. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Bhatnagar, J. (Ed.). (1981). Educating immigrants. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Blanco, T. (1975). El prejuicio racial en Puerto Rico. New York: Arno Press.
- Bledstein, B. J. (1976). The culture of professionalism: The middle class and the development of higher education in America. New York: W. W. Norton.

- Bogdan, R. (1972). Participant observation in organizational settings. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Bolmeier, E. (1977). The school in legal structure. Cincinnati, OH: W. H. Anderson.
- Borrie, W. D. (Ed.). (1959). The cultural integration of immigrants. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- Bourne, E. G. (1962). Spain in America 1450-1580. New York: Barnes & Noble.
- Brandenburg, F. (1964). The making of modern Mexico. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Breger, L. (1974). From instinct to identity: The development of personality. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Brewer, M. B., & Collins, B. E. (1981). Scientific inquiry and the social sciences. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Brim, O. G., & Wheeler, S. (1966). Socialization after childhood. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Brodzinsky, A. (1979). Lifespan human development. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Brown, J. A. C. (1961). Freud and the post-Freudians. Baltimore: Penguin.
- Bruyn, S. T. (1966). The human perspective in sociology. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Carballosa, E. L. (1964). Cuba, Castro and Communismo. Unpublished master's thesis, Library School Southern Methodist University.
- Carlson, R. A. (1975). The quest for conformity: Americanization through education. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Christensen, L. B. (1980). Experimental methodology. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Church, R. L. (1976). Education in the United States: An interpretive history. New York: Free Press.
- Colburn, D. R., & Pozzetta, G. E. (1979). America and the new ethnicity. Port Washington: Kennikat Press.
- Collins, R. (1979). The credential society: An historical sociology of education and stratification. New York: Academic Press.

- Commager, H. C. (Ed.). (1968). Documents of American history. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Cooley, C. H. (1909). Human nature and social order. New York: Charles Scribner's Son.
- Cordasco, F., & Bucchioni, E. (1973). The Puerto Rican experience. Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Crawford, W. R. (1961). A century of Latin-American thought. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- de Quesada, G., & Northrop, H. D. (1970). The war in Cuba. New York: Arno Press.
- DeVos, G., & Romanucci-Ross, L. (Eds.). (1975). Ethnic identity: Cultural continuities and change. Palo Alto: Mayfield.
- Dewey, J. (1967). Democracy and education: An introduction to the philosophy of education. New York: Free Press.
- Dominguez Ortiz, A. (1979). The golden age of Spain, 1516-1659 (J. Casey, Trans.). New York: Basic Books.
- Drachsler, J. (1920). Democracy and assimilation. New York: Macmillan.
- Durkheim, E. (1938). The rules of sociological method. New York: Free Press.
- Dye, T. R. (1976). Who's running America? Institutional leadership in the United States. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Eastman, C. M. (1975). Aspects of language and culture. San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp Publishers.
- Eckhardt, K., & Ermann, M. (1977). Social research methods: Perspective, theory, and analysis. New York: Random House.
- Elliott, J. H. (1963). Imperial Spain, 1469-1716. London: Edward Arnold.
- Erickson, E. H. (1968). Identity: Youth and crisis. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Espinosa, R. (1967). Elementos de historia de Cuba. Miami: Ediciones Universal.
- Fernandez Mendez, E. (1970). La identidad y la cultura. San Jaun: Instituto de cultura Puertorriquena.

- Fitzgerald, T. K. (1977). Education and identity: A study of the New Zealand Maori graduate. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Florit, E., & Patt, B. P. (1962). Retratos de Hispanoamerica. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Floyd, T. S. (1973). The Columbus dynasty in the Caribbean, 1492-1526. Alborguerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Foner, P. S. (1962). A history of Cuba and its relation with the United States (Vol. 1). New York: International Publishers.
- Foster, G. M. (1960). Culture and conquest: America's Spanish heritage. Chicago: Quadrangle Books.
- Foster, G. M. (1962). Traditional cultures and the impact of technological change. New York: Harper Brothers.
- Foster, G. M. (1968). Reading in contemporary Latin American culture: An anthropological source book. New York: Selected Academic Readings.
- Gaarder, A. B. (1977). Bilingual schooling. Newburg: Newbury House Publishers.
- Gartner, A., Greer, C., & Riessman, F. (Eds.). (1984). Beyond Regan alternatives for the 80's. New York: Harper and Row.
- Gibson, C. (1966). Spain in America. New York: Harper and Row.
- Giles, H., & Saint-Jacques, B. (1977). Language, ethnicity and inter-group relations. New York: Academic Press.
- Giles, H., & Saint-Jacques, B. (1979). Language and ethnic relations. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Glazer, N., & Moynihan, D. P. (1970). Beyond the melting pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press.
- Good, H. G. (1956). A history of American education. New York: Macmillan.
- Goodwin, A. (Ed.). (1967). The European nobility in the eighteenth century. New York: Harper and Row.
- Gordon, M. M. (1964). Assimilation in American life. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Gurvitch, G. (1966). The social frameworks of knowledge (M. A. Thompson & K. A. Thompson, Trans.). New York: Harper and Row.
- Guzzardi, J., & Walter, . (1965). The young executives: How and why successful managers get ahead. New York: Mentor Executive Library.
- Habermas, A., Horkheimer, B., & Neumann, M. (1976). Critical sociology. New York: Penguin Books.
- Hall, E. T. (1969). The silent language. Greenwich: Fawcett.
- Hammond, P. E. (Ed.). (1967). Sociologists at work: Essays on the craft of social research. New York: Anchor.
- Handlin, O. (1948). Race and nationality in American life. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Handlin, O. (1951). The uprooted. New York: Grosset and Dunlap.
- Handlin, O. (1966). Children of the uprooted. New York: George Braziller.
- Handlin, O. (1969). Boston's immigrants: A study in acculturation. New York: Atheneum.
- Hanke, L. (1951). Bartolome de las Casas: An interpretation of his life and writings. The Hague: Martinus Hijhoff.
- Hanson, E. P. (1962). Puerto Rico: Ally for progress. New York: D. Van Nostrand.
- Haring, C. H. (1947). The Spanish empire in America. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Harriman, P. L. (1965). Handbook of psychological terms. Totowa: Littlefield, Adams.
- Hartmann, J. B. (1964). Cultural and social anthropology. New York: Macmillan.
- Healy, D. F. (1963). The United States in Cuba 1898-1902: Generals, politicians and the search for policy. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Herberg, W. (1960). Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An essay in American religious sociology. New York: Anchor Books.
- Herskovits, M. J. (1958). Acculturation: The study of culture contact. Gloucester: Peter Smith.

- Higham, J. (1965). Strangers in the land. New York: Atheneum.
- Holme, J. G. (1920). The life of Leonard Wood. New York: Doubleday.
- Horgan, P. (1963). Conquistadors in North American history.
Greenwich: Premier Books.
- Hraba, J. (1976). American ethnicity. Itasca: F. E. Peacock.
- Hurwitz, E., Jr., & Tesconi, C. A., Jr. (1972). Challenges to education: Reading for analysis of major issues. New York: Dodd, Mead.
- Immigration and nationality laws and regulations. (1944). Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Investment in Cuba. (1956). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce.
- Jones, M. A. (1960). American immigration. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kamen, H. (1983). Spain 1469-1714: A society in conflict. London: Longman.
- Kelly, E. L. (1967). Assessment of human characteristics. Belmont: Brooks/Cole.
- Kent, D. P. (1953). The refugee intellectual. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kirk, J. M. (1983). Jose Marti: Mentor of the Cuban nation. Tampa: University of South Florida.
- Knight, F. W. (1970). Slave society in Cuba during the nineteenth century. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Kotarba, J. A., & Fontana, A. (1984). The existential self in society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kritz, M. M. (1983). U.S. immigration and refugee policy. Toronto: Lexington Books.
- Leighton, A. H. (1959). My name is Legion: Foundations for a theory of man in relation to culture. New York: Basic Books.
- Leiter, K. (1980). A primer on ethnomethodology. New York: Oxford University Press.

- LeRiverend, J. (1967). Historia economica de Cuba. LaHabana: Instituto del libro.
- LeVine, R. A., & Campbell, D. T. (1972). Ethnocentrism: Theories of conflict, ethnic attitudes, and group behavior. New York: Wiley and Sons.
- Lieuwen, E. (1965). Arms and politics in Latin America. New York: Praeger.
- Livermore, H. (1968). A history of Spain. New York: Minerva Press.
- Lynd, R. S. (1939). Knowledge for what?: The place of social science in American culture. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mair, L. (1972). An introduction to social anthropology. London: Oxford University Press.
- Manzano, J. M. (1950). Historia de las recopilaciones de las indias. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispanica.
- Marquez Sterling, C. (1969). Historia de Cuba desde Cristobal Colon a Fidel Castro. Miami: Las America Publishing.
- McClellan, G. S. (1981). Immigrants, refugees and U.S. policy (Vol. 52). New York: H. W. Wilson.
- McGee, R. (1980). Sociology: An introduction. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- McGoldrick, P. J. K., & Giordano, J. (1982). Ethnicity and family therapy. New York: Guilford Press.
- McLendon, J. C. (Ed.). (1966). Social foundations of education: Current readings from the behavioral sciences. New York: Macmillan.
- McPherson, T. (1970). Social philosophy. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Mead, M. (Ed.). (1955). Cultural patterns and technical change. New York: Mentor Books.
- Miller, W. C. (1976). A handbook of American minorities. New York: New York University Press.
- Millett, A. R. (1968). The politics of intervention: The military occupation of Cuba, 1906-1909. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

- Morgan, G. D. (1981) America without ethnicity. Port Washington: Kennikat Press.
- Morgan, T. (1978). On becoming American. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Morison, S. E. (Ed.). (1967). Sources and documents illustrating the American revolution 1764-1788 and the formation of the federal constitution. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Morner, M. (1967). Race mixture in the history of Latin America. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Mulgrew, E. B. (1979). Relationships and personal development: An ethnomethodological study of teacher's perspectives. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Greensboro, NC.
- Namias, J. (1978). First generation in the words of twentieth-century American immigrants. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Nisbert, R. (Ed.). (1972). Social change. New York: Harper and Row.
- Novak, M. (1973). The rise of the unmeltable ethnics: Politics and culture in the seventies. New York: Macmillan.
- Ortiz, V. (1973). The land and the people of Cuba. New York: J. B. Lippincott.
- O'Toole, R. (Ed.). (1971). The organization, management and tactics of social research. Cambridge: Schenkman.
- Packard, V. (1961). The status seekers. New York: Pocket Books.
- Padover, S. K. (1953). Thomas Jefferson on democracy. New York: Mentor Books.
- Pandover, S. K. (1970). Jefferson. New York: Mentor Books.
- Park, R. E., & Burgess, E. W. (1921). Introduction to the science of sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Payne, S. G. (1973). A history of Spain and Portugal. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Perez, L. A., Jr. (1983). Cuba between empires 1878-1902. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Phillips, B. S. (1976). Social research: Strategy and tactics. New York: Macmillan.

- Picon-Salas, M. (1962). A cultural history of Spanish America. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pike, F. S. (1964). The conflict between church and state in Latin America. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Pike, F. S. (1971). Hispanismo, 1898-1936. London: University of Notra Dame Press.
- Portell Vila, H. (1969). Historia de Cuba en sus relaciones con los Estados Unidos y Espana. Miami: Mnemosyne.
- Ramos y Rubio, J. N. Los forjadores de la cultura Cubana. Miami: Ediciones del Directorio Magisterial Cubano (exilio).
- Ramsay, O. (1963). Social groups as system and subsystem. New York: Free Press.
- Rex, J. (1970). Race relations in sociological theory. New York: Schocken Books.
- Roach, J. L., Gross, L., & Gursalin, O. R. (1969). Social stratification in the United States.
- Rogers, M. F. (1983). Sociology, ethnomethodology and experience. Cambridge: University Press.
- Rogg, E. M. (1974). The assimilation of Cuban exiles. New York: Aberdeen Press.
- Rogler, L. H. (1972). Migrant in the city. New York: Basic Books.
- Rose, A. M. (1954). Theory and method in the social sciences. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Rose, A. M. (1956). Sociology: The study of human relations. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Roucek, J. S., & Warren, R. L. (1966). Sociology: An introduction. Totowa: Littlefield, Adams.
- Sainz, M. S. (1973). Tres vidas paralelas (F. de Arango y Parreno, Fleix Varela, Jose A. Saco). (Origen de la nacionalidad Cubana). Miami: Ediciones Universal.
- Santovenia, E. S., & Shelton, R. M. (1966). Cuba y su historia. Miami: Cuba Corporation.
- Saver, C. O. (1966). The early Spanish main. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Schwartz, H., & Jacos, J. (1979). Qualitative sociology: A method to the madness. New York: Free Press.
- Selltiz, C., Jahoda, M., Deutsch, M., & Cook, S. (1959). Research methods in social relations. New York: Henry Holt.
- Shibotani, T., & Kwan, K. M. (1965). Ethnic stratification: A comparative approach. New York: Macmillan.
- Shumsky, A. (1955). The clash of cultures in Israel. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Silen, J. A. (1971). We the Puerto Rican people. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Silverman, D. (1971). The theory of organizations. New York: Basic Books.
- Simmons, R. C. (1976). The American colonies. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Smith, A. H., & Fischer, J. L. (Eds.). (1970). Anthropology. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Smith, R. M. (1965). Spain: A modern history. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Smigel, E. O. (1971). Handbook on the study of social problems. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Stabb, M. S. (1967). In quest of identity. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Stein, H. F., & Hill, R. F. (1977). The ethnic imperative. University Park: University of Pennsylvania State Press.
- Steward, J. (1963). The methodology of multilineal evolution. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Subhlicki, J. (1969). University students and revolution in Cuba, 1928-1968. Miami: University of Miami Press.
- Tajfel, H. (1982). Social identity and intergroup relations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tax, S. (Ed.) (1966). Horizons of anthropology. Chicago: Aldine.
- Theodorson, G., & Theodorson, A. G. (1969). A modern dictionary of sociology. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.

- Thernstrom, S. (Ed.). (1980). Harvard encyclopedia of American ethnic groups. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Thomas, H. (1971). Cuba: The pursuit of freedom. New York: Harper and Row.
- Thomas, L., & Anderson, R. J. (1977). Sociology: The study of human relations. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.
- Toffler, A. (1970). Future shock. New York: Bantam Books.
- Trennert, R. A., Jr. (1975). Alternative to extinction: Federal Indian policy and the beginnings of the reservation system, 1846-1951. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Urena, P. H. (1966). A concise history of Latin American culture. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.
- Valde's y Tapia, D. (1976). Hispanos and American politics. New York: Arno Press.
- Vidich, A. J., & Bensman, J. (1968). Small town in mass society: Class, power and religion in a rural community. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Vitier, M. (1938). Las ideas en Cuba: Proceso del pensamiento politico filosofico y critico en Cuba, principalmente durante el siglo XLX. Tomo II. La Habana: Editorial Tropico.
- Wagner, H. R. (Ed.). (1970). Alfred Schutz on phenomenology and social relations. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Walter, R. (1962). Popular education and democratic thought in America. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wesby-Gibson, D. (1965). Social perspective on education. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Wilds, E. H., & Lottich, K. V. (1970). The foundations of modern education. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Wickens, J. F. (1970). Themes in United States history. Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press.
- Williams, E. (1970). From Columbus to Castro: The history of the Caribbean, 1492-1692. New York: Harper & Row.
- Wright, L. B. (1957). The cultural life of the American colonies, 1607-1763. New York: Harper & Row.

- Zeitlin, I. M. (1973). Rethinking sociology. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Zito, G. V. (1975). Methodology and meaning. New York: Praeger.

APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

CUESTIONARIO PARA IDENTIFICAR
FACTORES DE LA CULTURA CUBANA

99

1. Nombre _____ Edad _____ Sexo _____.
2. Estado matrimonial: Casado _____ Soltero _____ Hijos _____.
3. Ciudadanía: Cubana _____ U.S.A _____.
4. ¿Adonde nació?
5. ¿Son sus padres españoles? _____ Descendiente de españoles? _____
6. ¿Profesión?
7. Titulo universitario.
8. ¿A que universidad asistió?
9. ¿Cual es el significado del termino "cubanismo"? ¿Que significa para usted?
10. ¿Cuales son los factores más importantes que componen la cultura cubana? Su opinion por favor.
11. ¿Cree usted que la cultura cubana es superior _____ o inferior _____ no opinion _____ a la americana?
12. ¿Se siente usted mas cubano _____ que americano? _____
13. ¿Considera usted que es indispensable comprender y adaptar los modales americanos?
14. ¿Tiene usted mas amistades cubanas _____ que americanas _____?
15. ¿Pertenece usted a sociedades americanas? _____ (Profesionales o sociales).
16. ¿Cual es su idioma preferido? Español _____ Inglés _____
17. ¿Cual de estos idiomas habla usted en su casa? Español _____ Inglés _____ Bilingue _____.
18. ¿Que opina usted de la educación bilingue?
19. ¿Prefiere usted que sus hijos - nietos etc., asistan a escuelas cubanas o americanas? Por favor explique.
20. A veces se dice que cubanos educados en U.S.A. al final se apartan de los demas cubanos. ¿Cree usted que esta opinion es cierta _____ no justificada _____ o erronea _____?

APPENDIX B
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE RISE OF
CUBAN UNIVERSITY GRADUATES

Historical Background of the Rise of Cuban University Graduates

In order to understand better the rise of Cuban university graduates and their influence in the development of socioeconomic and political institutions in Cuba, I feel that a historical survey is in order at this time. I have chosen this historical investigation to formulate answers in the form of concept and generalizations to the fundamental problem of historical change in the social and political activities of the Spanish rule in the island of Cuba and also, as J. H. Plumb (1971) expressed it, "to deepen understanding about men and society." Daniels (1966) observed that "historical events have created all the human groupings. This includes countries, religion, and classes, and all loyalties that attach to these." From this point of view, then, the record of Cuban university graduates offers a unique opportunity for inquiry and understanding the question of acculturation, education and identity.

The Beginning of Royal Government in Cuba

J. H. Elliott (1963), in his classical work Imperial Spain: 1469-1716, remarked that "if any one year can be taken as the marking of the beginning of Castilian imperialism, that year was 1492." This year, no doubt, stands as one of the most famous in the history of Spain. First of all, the Moors were expelled from Granada; and second, Cristobal Colon discovered the New World.

From this year forward, foreign policy questions played a large part in the affairs of the Spanish state which were to have profound

influence in Cuba and the rest of the American continent. In about 22 years after the discovery of the West Indies, Ferdinand could boast that "the crown of Spain has not for over seven hundred years been as great or as resplendent as it now is" (Kramen, 1983). This outstanding achievement was not without the help of the Roman Catholic Church. Pope Alexander VI, the Aragonese Pope (Payne, 1973), issued a number of bulls. One of these bulls, the famous Inter caetera (1493), granted the Spanish monarchs:

. . . the exclusive rights of exploration, trade and colonization over all lands that should be discovered that were not occupied by any Christian prince. (Bourne, 1904)

Thus Spain could now claim for herself the greater part of the New World and establish there a colonial empire that was to last over four centuries.

The Emergence of Cultural and Ethnic

Identity in Spain

The emergence of cultural and ethnic identity in Spain has its origin in the union of the crowns of Castilla and Aragon in 1469. Before this union, Spain was fragmentalized in five principal divisions: Castille, Aragon, Portugal, Navarre, and Granada; because of this fragmentalization, Spanish identity as such did not exist. For example, Payne¹ (1932), noted that "Visigothic Hispania was brittle and incohesive," with the union of Castilla and Aragon "Spaniards could claim both unity and a distinct ethnic identity" (Payne, 1932).

¹According to Payne, "Hispania, the name given by the Romans to the peninsula was strictly a geographic label without specific culture or political connotation" (Payne, 1932, p. 2).

One of the events which transformed the prospects of Spanish society was the effort of Ferdinand and Isabella to advance the culture of the "new Spain." Italian intellectuals were welcomed to the University of Salamanca, one of the earliest universities in Europe, to lecture on Renaissance thoughts. The University of Alcalá de Henares was established by Cardinal Jimenez de Cisnerós in 1508, and together with Salamanca and the University of Valladolid became one of the leading centers of higher education in Europe. In this regard, Payne (1973) wrote:

Among the seven thousand students to be found at any one time in sixteenth-century Salamanca, there were always representatives of the leading Spanish houses, and some nobles themselves became distinguished exponents of the new learning, like Don Alonso Manrique, professor of Greek at Alcalá. (p. 18)

During this same era, the Castilian language was formalized and in a few years, Castilian became the language of Valencia, Catalonia, and even Portugal and Spanish-American (Payne, 1973). Castellano (Castilian) became the main language of Spain, a language which later on became known among foreigners as "Spanish."

By 1493, the Spanish monarchs began to insist that no "letrado" could hold any post in any tribunals nor in any town of the Spanish kingdom unless he had a notarized document certifying that he had studied common or civil law for a minimum of ten years in a university (Kamen, 1983). As a result, university graduates soon began to monopolize senior and administrative posts in the empire. The immediate influence of this policy was that higher education became the channel for social mobility, and, as Kamen observed, "state service gave status

and thus the integration of university studies were integrated with the needs of the state."

In order to understand the emergence of cultural and ethnic identity of Cuban university graduates in Cuba, and also their desire to retain their identity in the United States, one must have some appreciation for the circumstances that in the course of history gave rise to this distinguished group.

The Europeans that participated with Diego Velázquez (1465-1523) in the colonization of Cuba were almost exclusively Spaniards. The exclusivist Spanish policies of this period and subsequent years are summarized by Haring (1947):

The Spanish government from the beginning tried to build up numerous white Spanish population in the Indies by promoting the immigration of Spanish families, and by forbidding married men to sail to the New World without their wives, except by royal dispensation. (p. 197)

At first the social structure was very simple--there were Spaniards and Indians. But this period of colonization witnessed--with Spanish inflexible control of power and authority--a society which was rigidly stratified:

The few descendants of the Conquistadores, others who were related to distinguished families in Spain, higher civil authorities, and wealthy Creoles . . . formed a colonial aristocracy based chiefly upon wealth. (Haring, 1947, p. 198)

This new class virtually monopolized all forms of colonial power including education. It is true that there were many schools and college in the New World, but it is also true that higher education was not intended for everyone (Haring, 1947, p. 208). When these developments are taken into consideration it is not difficult to see how higher

education became an instrument of control by the Spanish crown and how university graduates came to acquire their unique "elitist" character.

By the end of the 1800's the University of Havana which until this time was under the influence of the Church and the State, became secularized and administered by an autonomous body of Cuban intellectuals who became the advocates of Cuban independence from Spain. In so doing, Cubans no longer thought of themselves as Spaniards but as Cubans of Spanish origins. The Spanish crown in answer to this movement intensified its persecution of Cuban intellectuals. Many of these departed for Europe, Central and South America but many of them came to the United States--Key West, Miami, Tampa, Philadelphia and New York became sanctuaries for these refugees.

The emergence of this population center of Cuban exiles in the Southeastern United States was concurrent with the development of other emigre in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia . . . increasing numbers of Cuban Creole middle-class families sent their children to the United States for their education and professional training, adding to the expanding expatriate community. (Perez, 1982, pp. 96-97)

At the close of the 1800's the United States offered to Cuban immigrants an appealing model of freedom, progress and industrialization. Among the most distinguished Cuban patriots of this period were José de la Luz Caballero, Felix Varela, José Maria Heredia and José Martí. Many of these Cuban university graduates developed a lasting respect and deep admiration for American institutions, but remained dedicated to:

. . . perserving basically intact the type of social structure bequeathed them by their colonial experience. The steadfastness with which they applied themselves to this objective evidences their accord with the fundamental values of hispanismo. (Pike, 1971, p. 330)

Summary and Conclusions

The revolt of these Cuban intellectuals against Spanish rule was, in some sense, reflections of an upward struggle for freedom of choice in the full cultural sense and a need to remake or recreate a society acceptable on their own terms. From their point of view this revolt was also a defensive action against the Spanish attitude of cultural superiority.

One of the lessons that may be learned from this historical survey is that Cubans, many of whom have become naturalized, still constitute a separate people in the total American society. Another lesson that may be learned in this respect, is that Cuban university graduates do not consider themselves inferior to their American counterpart. For this reason their idea of assimilation remains incompatible with the concept of Americans as a model of acculturation; in conclusion, acculturation from the Cuban university graduate's perspective cannot be viewed as a simple substitution of American culture traits for Cuban ones.

Immigration of Cuban University Graduates to the United States

During the last decade immigrants and refugees have attracted a great deal of attention, so much so, that one tends to lose sight that the United States of America has since its founding accepted immigrants who were attracted to its shores by the lure of wealth, opportunity and freedom. However, it must be emphasized that immigrants--irrespective of the country of origin--have always come here because of the

interaction of two forces: (1) expelling pressures in their homeland and (2) attractions of the United States. This was verified by the coming of Cuban intellectuals to the United States of America in 1890 to escape Spanish persecution and by the more recent arrival of Cuban intellectuals who left Cuba for similar political reasons. On the other hand, there were many Cubans who came here in the 1800's attracted by the many opportunities and by the desire to secure a higher level of technical education. Since my arrival in 1947 to 1950, I never met any Cuban who came to the United States motivated by the sole desire to become "American." The matter of fact is that most Cubans have consistently resisted assimilation. For example, whenever American cultural values came in conflict with theirs, they chose to retain their own culture, ethnicity and identity. What many advocates of "Americanization" overlooked is that at the core of becoming an American is the painful, hard and difficult process of assimilation. Kent (1953) observed that:

Assimilation is not a question of the immigrant's preserving the best of his culture and combining it with the best of American culture . . . but of abandoning his culture and adopting American culture. (p. 239)

Assimilation is a slow and traumatic process, not only because of the immigrant's former cultural ties and values, but also because the acquisition of another culture is in itself very difficult. Discarding one's former culture gives one the feeling of betraying one's family, traditions, and values. This, to some degree, explains why Cuban communities settled in Key West, Miami and Tampa and established Cuban communities there where they could preserve their culture

and identity. Today Miami, Florida is a faithful representation of this traditional desire to be responsible members of the American community while at the same time retaining their Cuban identity.

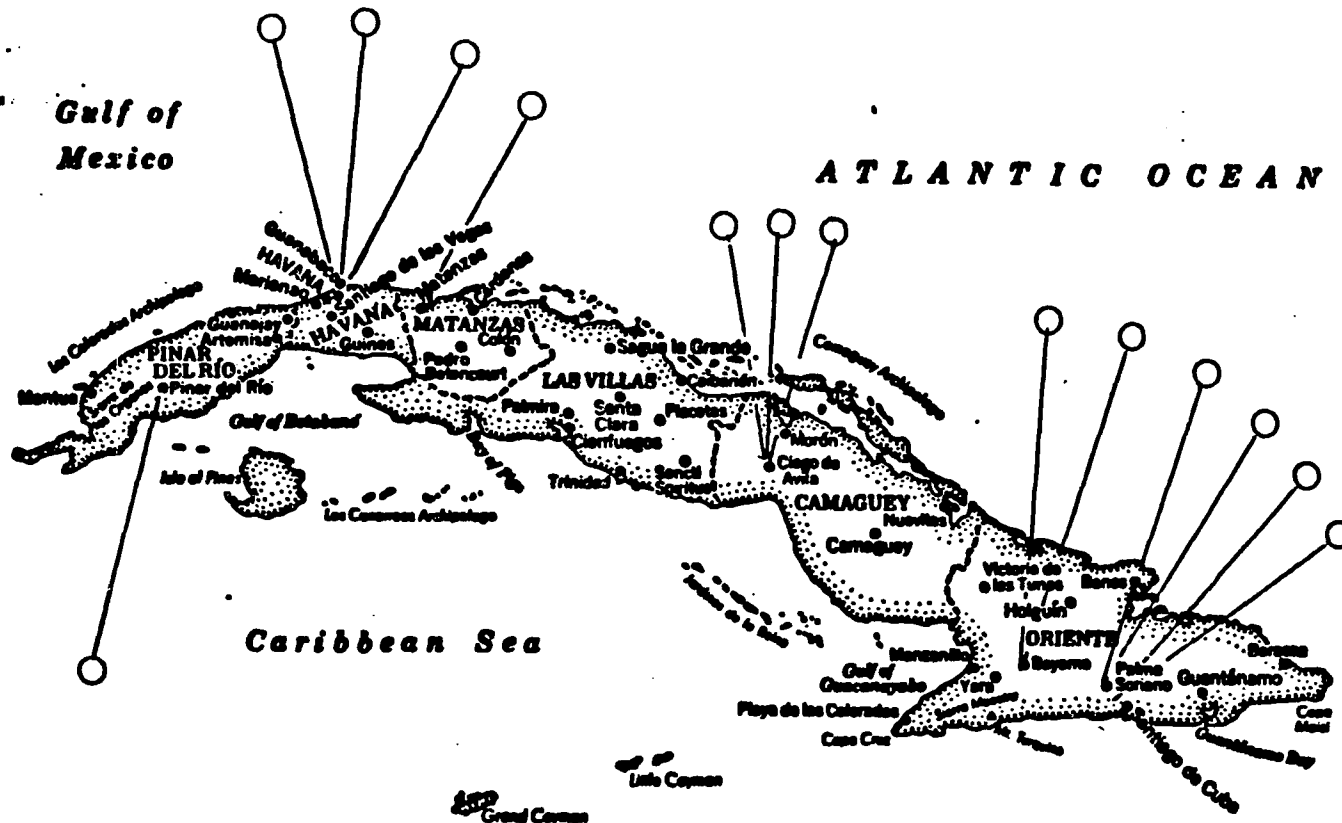
Summary and Conclusions

My final remarks deal with the implications of becoming a member of the American "in-group" and the difficulties that Cuban university graduates encounter in this process. Among them, is the pressure to conform to American norms and the demands to totally abandon their cultural ancestry for the values and norms of behavior of another. This difficulty increases due to the fact that many immigrants oftentimes have misconceptions as to what life in the United States is like and the inability to make sense of everyday life experience--the unquestioned ways that they have, feelings and fears that they experience.

Several factors stood out to me as significant in terms of the advantages and disadvantages of this study. It presented me another opportunity to rethink my experience as a former immigrant and reflect on the complexities of the process of acculturation and its relation to education and identity. However, the lack of literature dealing with the question of Cuban identity to look at these difficulties was one of the major disadvantages that I encountered in this, nonetheless, profitable and meaningful study.

APPENDIX C
DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF CUBAN
UNIVERSITY GRADUATES

DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION
OF CUBAN UNIVERSITY
GRADUATES



Cuba
BEFORE 1960

