

CUBAN LATIN AMERICANS: PSYCHOSOCIAL CORRELATES
OF CULTURAL ADJUSTMENT

by

Elsa A. Rivera Sinclair

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Advisory Committee:

Professor Thomas M. Magoon
Professor Bruce R. Fretz
Professor Charles Gelso
Professor Nancy K. Schlossberg
Assistant Professor Kevin E. O'Grady

Maryland

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ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: Cuban Latin Americans:
Psychosocial Correlates of
Cultural Adjustment

Elsa A. Rivera Sinclair, Doctor of Philosophy, 1988

Dissertation directed by: Dr. Thomas M. Magoon,
Director of the Counseling
Center and Professor of
Education and Psychology

The process of adjustment to a new culture--acculturation--is considered a crucial factor contributing to variations of psychological distress and anxiety among immigrant groups. It is believed that a person's level of distress during the cultural adaptation process is a reflection of the interconnection of the psychological and sociocultural processes of personality functioning. Behavioral scientists' accounts of the psychological effects experienced by Latin Americans during the cultural adjustment process point to maladjustment rather than to the positive aspects of this cultural phenomenon. To a lesser degree the literature reveals that acculturation may have a wholesome effect for some individuals in the long run. Some evidence, however, suggests that biculturalism may be a healthy approach to cultural adjustment. The present study investigated the psychosocial correlates of biculturalism.

Two-hundred and fifty four male and female Cuban participants ranging from 18-90 years of age, living in

metropolitan Washington, D.C., were administered self-report questionnaires. This field study examined the role played in biculturalism (Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire, BIQ) by age, length of time in the United States, and gender of the participants. The role played by presence of a support group, educational level, income level, ethnic identification, and use of mental health facilities was also explored. The criterion for level of adjustment was the participants' anxiety scores (State Anxiety Scale, SAS). The investigation's assumption is that biculturalism is related to relatively low anxiety levels.

A hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis revealed that (a) biculturalism and anxiety are related to the length of time the Cuban participant has been in the United States, (b) biculturalism is associated with the person's age, (c) there is a significant and positive linear relationship between BIQ scores and SAS scores. This means that if a person continues to remain monoculturally Cuban while living in a bicultural community, his/her levels of anxiety will be high. This tested the psychosocial model of adjustment. However, the test for the curvilinear relationship was not significant, and (d) the presence of support group networks, educational level, family income and ethnic identification are significantly associated with the process of biculturalism.

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to an outstanding woman, my mother, who is a constant inspiration to me, and to the best three sons any mother could wish for, Harold, Tommy, and Ian Paul, whose devotion, support, enthusiasm, encouragement, good humor and help have made this work possible.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Negative Effects of the Acculturation Process among Latin Americans

A review of the literature discloses substantial evidence that the process of acculturation may be considered a crucial factor contributing to the degree and the variations of psychological stress and anxiety often leading to psychopathology among immigrant groups (Child, 1943; Christensen, 1975; Dohrenwend & ShROUT, 1985; Padilla & Ruíz, 1974; Sommers, 1964; Stonequist, 1935; Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines & Aranalde, 1978). Furthermore, Zavaleta's (1981) review of the Latin American literature, revealed that mental health problems are associated with the stress of immigration and social maladaptation.

At the present time, there are no cross-cultural studies that establish comparisons between other population groups and Latin Americans with respect to incidence of psychological distress due to the acculturation process. Nevertheless, the existing literature reveals that migrant groups show high rates of family disruption and behavioral disorder (Berry & Annis, 1974; Padilla & Ruíz, 1974; Trautman, 1961). From a series of field studies, Warheit, Bell, Schwab, and Buhl (1980) derived the notion that psychological dysfunctions usually cluster around certain demographic subpopulations and are not randomly distributed in the population in general. These results reinforce the

conclusion that individuals who are in the process of acculturating to this society are experiencing varying degrees of psychological distress. Negative psychological effects have been reflected in Cuban adolescents' drug abuse and experimentation with multiple substances (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980), identity confusion due to the impact of dual-cultural membership (Sommers, 1964), inter-generational difficulties in which members of a family find themselves at different levels in the acculturation continuum (Padilla & Ruíz, 1974; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; Szapocznik, Scopetta, & King, 1978a; Szapocznik & Truss, 1978c). Furthermore, emotional disturbance has been demonstrated to be the result of: (a) identity conflicts related to the culture of poverty and acculturating individuals' low social status and/or low-class minority group membership (Alvirez, 1981; Broom & Shevsky, 1951; Christensen, 1975; Sommers, 1964); (b) the sudden disruption of the familiar life and the social dislocation of culture of origin (Trautman, 1961); (c) prejudice, discrimination, indifference, and rejection on the part of the dominant culture (Christensen, 1975; Keefe, 1980; Padilla, 1980b; Rumbaut, 1977); (d) skin color, with darker-skinned Latin Americans tending to experience greater discrimination than lighter-skinned Latin Americans (López, 1972; Mendoza & Martínez, 1981; Padilla, 1981); (e) family members' role conflict and role stress (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980); and (f) cultural conflicts related to

culture-specific family values and traditions (Torres-Matrullo, 1980).

Latin American cultural values nurture and reinforce a group-oriented philosophy of family living emphasizing corporate welfare where the interests and well-being of the family are placed above the interests of the individual. When this pattern of relationships is altered, whether by choice or necessity, the psychological reaction to change translates itself into anxiety, depression, and/or psychiatric disorders. For instance, it has been documented that psychophysiological disorders which emanate from thoughts and emotions are the result of the stresses of daily living. Furthermore, the psychological effect of change leads to a sense of loss: loss of family, friends, and familiar surroundings, loss of country of birth, loss of tradition, social status and prestige (White, 1977). This is so because the kind of change experienced by acculturating individuals signifies uprootedness, uncertainty, conflict of loyalties, fear of the unknown, and longing for familiar ways. Added to these psychological stresses, there is usually the presence of poverty, poor nutrition, physical illness, the language barrier, new and unfamiliar surroundings, and the need to adapt to totally new customs and values (Rumbaut, 1977).

Although social scientists have increasingly paid attention to the area of acculturation and its relationship to mental health, very little research on Latin American

populations and their process of acculturation to United States society is presently available. Therefore, the group on which to do the research is a challenging question. It is challenging because there is no valid measurement for many of the Latin American subgroups. Of these, the most promising subgroup in terms of measurement credentials is the Cuban subgroup. Thus, Cubans were used in this research.

Background to Problem

A high degree of acculturative stress has been found in Cuban families whose members tend to acculturate at different rates, i.e., instances of an underacculturated mother and an overacculturated adolescent son. Familial pathology related to intergenerational differences in acculturation are reflected in Cuban mothers' role conflict and role stress. "This eventuates in the mothers' symptomatic behavior usually manifested by neurotic symptomatology and use and abuse of sedatives and tranquilizers" (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980, p. 152). These mothers' lack of bicultural involvement "is maladjustive because it renders them inappropriately monocultural in a bicultural context" (p. 152). Thus, while underacculturated mothers "exhibit rigid and neurotic patterns of behavior" . . . "sons tend to overacculturate, exhibit acting-out syndromes, reject their culture of origin, abuse illegal drugs such as marihuana, and experiment with multiple substances" (p. 146).

Some evidence suggests that biculturalism may be a healthy approach to cultural adjustment. Research results imply that for people living in bicultural communities such as Dade County, Florida, overacculturation and underacculturation produces psychosocial and behavioral disorders and may, therefore, be damaging to the mental health of acculturating individuals and/or groups (Szapocznik, Kurtines, & Fernández, 1980).

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this research was to investigate the relationship of various degrees of acculturation, including biculturalism, to measured anxiety among the Cuban population of the Washington, D. C., metropolitan area. The questions include the following:

1. What is the relationship of Anxiety (SAS scores) to (a) age, (b) gender and (c) length of residence in the United States?
2. What is the relationship of Biculturalism (BIQ scores) to (a) age, (b) gender, and (c) length of residence in the United States?
3. Is the relationship between Biculturalism (BIQ) and Anxiety (SAS) a curvilinear one? (Psychosocial model, Szapocznik et al., 1980). There are important theoretical and clinical implications to this research question. The theoretical importance of curvilinearity between Biculturalism and Anxiety will be its heuristic value to the acculturation process. The clinical importance of this

finding will be the identification of biculturalism as a less anxiety producing state, as compared to the monocultural poles of Cubanism and Anglo Americanism, and thus, a healthier approach to acculturation. If it is true that being bicultural helps the cultural adjustment process, then methods could be developed that would assist Cubans in acquiring appropriate bicultural skills earlier in their acculturation process.

4. Exploratory analysis:

How are the BIQ and SAS scores related to the following psychological and demographic correlates: (a) generation level, (b) presence of a support group, (c) educational level, (d) income level, (e) ethnic identification and (f) use of mental health facilities.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The scope of research reviewed for this chapter encompasses all the existing theoretical and empirical psychology literature pertinent to the theme of this investigation for the Latin American population. The Latino Mental Health Bibliography and Abstracts by Amado M. Padilla and Paul Aranda, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1976, the Hispanic Mental Health Bibliography II, by Amado M. Padilla, Esteban L. Olmedo, Steven López, and Robert Pérez, Spanish Speaking Mental Health Research Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1978, psychological research bulletins, and newspaper articles constituted the basis for this review. The literature review covers the last five decades, with major emphasis on the last two. The reviewed material will be presented in the following categories: (a) ethnohistorical and social perspectives of the target population, (b) demographic characteristics, (c) psychological effects of cultural adjustment, and (d) acculturation, concepts and models.

Ethnohistorical and Social Perspectives of the Target Population

Ethnohistory refers to the study of the development of cultures and the social aspect takes into account the relationships between individuals or groups. This social factor is said to be present "when the behavior of even one individual is affected by another person or group"

(Theodorson, 1969, p. 383).

In order to understand the ethnohistorical and sociopolitical background of the Cuban population, which is the focus of this literature review, it is important to present it within the context of the general Latin American ethnic population. By comparing the Cuban subgroup with the other two largest Latin American subgroups residing in the United States, i.e., Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, the reader will be able to view the Cuban subgroup in relation to the other Latin American subgroups.

Cubans come from an island in the West Indies, about 90 miles south of Florida. Historically, Cuba has been a slave-plantation agricultural society (Gurak, 1981). Cubans offer an altogether different picture of migration to this country from that of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. Cubans are, for the most part, political refugees, who arrived in the decade of the 1960's as a result of the takeover of Cuba by Fidel Castro in 1959. Thus Cubans, mainly constitute a first generation population, since they are the most recent arrivals to the United States.

Since the 1960's, the United States has seen three large waves of Cuban refugees. Each wave settled in this country in Dade County, Florida, including the city of Miami. Between 1959-1962, according to Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980), the first large group of Cuban refugees (186,592, C. A. Davidson, Statistical Analysis Branch, U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, personal

communication, February 24, 1988) consisted mostly of individuals from the middle and upper socioeconomic classes of Cuba, i.e., entrepreneurs, professionals, managers, and businessmen. Because these people possessed the necessary skills and experience, they soon gained upward mobility and settled themselves adequately in this country. No particular movement of Cuban refugees was registered between 1962-1965. The second major wave of immigrants arrived from 1966-1972 (280,709). This group, unlike the first was composed of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. By this time, the first group of refugees had moved to other more affluent sectors of the city. The second arrivals who were poor, then concentrated themselves in the highly Spanish populated section of Little Havana and Hialeah. The third group of Cuban refugees (133,825) arrived in the United States in 1980. According to Alvirez (1981) more of these Cubans apparently came from blue collar occupations than the two previous groups. It was later learned that many of these individuals had been discharged from jails and psychiatric hospitals. When the emigration was officially stopped, Cuban refugees still continued to come.

The Cubans' migration was affected by the political antecedents and the direct support of the United States government in a significantly different way from those of Mexican and Puerto Rican cultural subgroups (Gurak, 1981).

In contrast, Mexicans are a multigenerational

population in this country and their roots go back to the early Spanish colonization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Padilla, 1980). As a further contrast, Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States (Jones Act of 1917) and they started to come to the mainland after World War II. Compared with Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, Cubans seem to have found themselves in a better position economically. Both facts, the presence of a larger middle class and their better position economically may be the result of the Cubans' higher educational attainment.

Latin Americans in general may be identified as a "single-cultural group" since they share important elements of their European Spanish ancient heritage, such as common language, religion, values, customs and traditions. However, they also are distinct, ethnic subgroups with "recognizable patterns of unique traits," distinct ethnohistory and geographically different cultural patterns. Therefore, it is important to be able to differentiate between these Latin American ethnic subgroups (Padilla, 1981). Gurak (1981) further emphasized that this cultural diversity is the result of these ethnic groups' migrations which have originated at different times in history, from discrete cultures and societies, from separate sectors of each society, for quite different reasons, and the migrations established the groups in different parts of the United States.

Demographic Characteristics

Latin Americans are the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States. Even by conservative estimates, it is expected that Latin Americans will become the largest ethnic minority in the country by the year 2000 (López, 1979).

The Mixture of Races

Racially Latin Americans are very heterogeneous. There is great biological variation among its members. In the anthropological description of the continuum of the world's races, which go from the Caucasian/White-Yellow/Oriental-Negro/African, Latin Americans seem to be found all along that continuum. For example, if one observes the three main subgroups of Latin Americans living in this country, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, one finds that among the Mexican ethnic subgroup skin colors range from a Scandinavian white "Castilian types" to dark-skinned Indian types, with a wide variety of tones and shades in between. For Cubans and Puerto Ricans, the darkest shades of the continuum go towards the African types.

Most Mexicans, and their descendants, Mexican Americans and/or Chicanos, have both, Indian and Spanish ancestors. About 75 out of 100 persons are "mestizos" (mixed white and Indian), about 15 of every 100 are all-pure Indians and about 10 of every 100 are white of Spanish descent.

Puerto Ricans are a mixture of Taino Indians (the influence is more cultural than biological), Africans and Spaniards. On the other hand, about three out of four Cubans are white people of Spanish descent. The rest are Negroes or mulattos (a person of mixed Caucasian Spanish and Negro ancestry). Most of the Arawak Indians, the indigenous inhabitants of Cuba, were exterminated.

Since Latin Americans differ in genetic heritage, those who possess observable biological characteristics (darker skin and kinky hair) and/or mulatto features experience greater discrimination in Anglo American society than the lighter-skinned Latin Americans (Padilla, 1981). López (1972) found a correlation between acculturation and skin color similarity to members of the host culture. Thus, racial discrimination constitutes an additional source of stress for some acculturating Latin Americans, which limits their opportunities for educational, social and economic advancement.

Population Numbers

According to the 1980 Census of the Population, U. S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, the total number of people of Spanish origin in the United States was 14,608,673. This 14.6 million Latin Americans represented a 61% increase for the decade 1970-1980. This constitutes a substantial increase in the Latin American population compared to the 9% growth for non-Latin Americans (see Figure 1, Appendix A).

It is important to mention that besides the three main cultural subgroups, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, there are 3 million other people of Spanish origin in the United States, according to the 1980 Census.

Residence

The majority of Latin Americans residing in the United States are mainly concentrated in ethnic enclaves in/or near metropolitan areas. Thus, they are largely metropolitan dwellers. They also seem to be central city dwellers. For example, in 1980, 50% of all Latin Americans lived in central cities of metropolitan areas, compared to less than 33% of non-Latin Americans. They also tend to establish residence in the most heavily populated areas of concentrations of 1 million or over persons (see Figure 2, Appendix A).

Like other immigrant groups, another characteristic of Latin Americans living in this country is that their locus of residence seems to be related to their Latin American subgroup membership. It has been hypothesized that this characteristic may in the long run be detrimental to their acculturation process since it may retard and limit their interaction and contact with members of the host culture.

Socioeconomic status and education

The socioeconomic conditions of Latin American families in the United States today reveals that their standard of living is below that of the general population. Census Bureau figures for 1982 disclosed that the median

money income of Latin American families was approximately \$16,000 compared with a median of approximately \$24,000 for non-Latin American families (see Figure 3, Appendix A). Looking at the figures for the three ethnic subgroups of Latin Americans, one finds substantial differences in family income. For instance, Puerto Ricans had the lowest median family income, about \$11,000, followed by Mexican families which had about \$16,000. Cubans and "Other Origin" Spanish families fared a little better, had the highest median income--about \$19,000 (see Figure 4, Appendix A).

No encouraging changes in the income and poverty levels of Latin Americans have taken place during the last decade. The Census Bureau reports that as recently as 1979 to 1982, Latin American families have undergone a substantial decrease in real median family income of about 14%, i.e., from \$18,842 in 1979, to \$16,227 in 1982. These figures place Latin Americans as members of the lower income groups in this country. Furthermore, the 1982 Census Bureau statistics indicate that the proportion of Latin Americans who were below the poverty level was very high--30%--as compared to only 15% in the total population (see Figures 3 and 5, Appendix A).

Because differences in employment and unemployment patterns exist between Latin Americans and the general population, these translate into additional stress for Latin Americans (Padilla, 1981). The status of employment

for Latin Americans suggests that these ethnic subgroups are mainly represented in low-paying positions, such as domestics, clerical workers, craft workers, laborers, farm laborers, service station attendants, and truck drivers. Latin Americans in these occupations constitute twice the percentage of non-Latin Americans. While 9% of Latin Americans held professional and technical positions, non-Latin Americans in those jobs doubled that proportion. Furthermore, managerial or administrative positions were less likely to be held by Latin Americans than by non-Latin Americans.

Unemployment rates reported by the Census Bureau (1984) paint a sad picture for Latin Americans and seem to perpetuate their membership in the "culture of poverty." Since 1973, when the annual unemployment figures were first reported for Latin Americans, unemployment rates have consistently been higher than the general population. For instance, comparative figures for 1973 and 1982 show that the Latin American unemployment rate was approximately one and one-half times that of the non-Latin American population (see Figure 6, Appendix A).

When a comparison is made between Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans, it is evident that unemployment rates are highest among the Puerto Ricans. For example, among adults Puerto Rican males show the highest rate and the longest periods of unemployment. Furthermore, 32% of Puerto Ricans are at the poverty level compared to only 9%

of the Anglo American population (Alvirez, 1981). Likewise, the educational levels of Puerto Ricans are also lower than any other subgroup. The Census Bureau (1984) reported that the afore-mentioned factors seem to play a significant role in the lower incomes of Puerto Rican families.

The interplay among socioeconomic status, unemployment, and education is clear. The Census Bureau reported that even though there have been some gains for this ethnic population since 1970, Latin Americans are far from reaching the educational level of non-Latin Americans. This improvement in the Latin American population can be seen when one compares the 1970 and 1983 Census figures. For instance, in 1970 only 45% of Latin Americans, between the ages of 25 to 34, were high school graduates. By 1983, this percentage had risen to 58. There has also been improvement in the proportion of college graduates. While in 1970, it was only 5%, in 1983 it was 10% (Bureau of the Census, 1984).

When one compares the educational attainment of Latin Americans to non-Latin Americans, the figures are particularly striking. For instance, in 1970 when the percent of High School graduates for Latin Americans was 45%, it was 73% for non-Latin Americans, and while in 1983, the improved figure for Latin Americans was 58%, it was 88% for non-Latin Americans (see Figure 7, Appendix A).

It is important to make a distinction among the three

main Latin American subgroups regarding educational levels of their young adults. From the three ethnic subgroups Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, the latter are reported to have the highest percentage of High School graduates. The figures are as follows: Cubans, 71%, Puerto Ricans, 55%, and Mexicans, 53%.

One explanation for the differences in educational levels among these Latin American cultural subgroups may relate to their sociopolitical and ethnohistorical backgrounds, as well as to the different migratory patterns undertaken by each one of these ethnic subgroups into this country.

Thus, from the cross-cultural research and recent Census Bureau statistics, it can be deduced that the majority of Latin Americans residing in this country are urban dwellers who cluster in central cities of large metropolitan areas, undereducated, poor, unemployed, and belong to the low socioeconomic strata of United States society. Furthermore, the majority of those employed are found in menial, low-paying positions compared to members of non-Latin American populations. Added to these, prejudice and racial discrimination constitute additional sources of stress for some acculturating Latin Americans.

Psychological Effects of Cultural Adjustment

The psychological effects of cultural adjustment are those reactions to change that individuals experience when they find themselves between cultures in contact.

There will be two main sub-categories discussed under this subtitle: (a) Cultural Conflict, and (b) Minority Conflict. However, before proceeding with this discussion, it is pertinent to mention that the existing body of literature detailing the psychological effects of the acculturation process for Latin Americans points to maladjustment rather than to the positive aspects of this cultural phenomenon. To a lesser degree the literature reveals that acculturation may have a wholesome and beneficial effect for some individuals in the long run. This finding may be surprising at first, since cultural transition is mainly considered to be a painful and stress-inducing experience (Padilla & Ruíz, 1974; Rumbaut, 1977). Therefore, it is important to recognize that the psychological effects of acculturation are not felt by all individuals in the same manner or to the same degree. While for some individuals cultural transition may prove to be overwhelming and, at the extreme, leading to psychiatric illness, for others it will serve as a motivating factor that propels them to advance themselves educationally, politically, and/or socially.

Change itself seems to have aversive effects in the lives of many individuals (Chiriboga & Cutler, 1980; Garza-Guerrero, 1974; Holmes & Rahe, 1967; Horowitz & Wilner, 1980; Rumbaut, 1977; Trautman, 1961; White, 1977). The accumulation of negative and suddenly changing life events, involving "loss or social undesirability," seem to lead to

what has been termed, clinical depression. These stressful changes have even a more drastic impact on those individuals who, for different reasons, whether voluntarily (emigrants) or reluctantly (refugees), leave or abandon a stable cultural niche in order to settle somewhere else. "In consequence, depression, open or masked, is the most prevalent psychiatric condition in migrants and others who are subjected to massive alteration of accustomed life circumstances" (Rumbaut, p. 125).

Thus, anxiety and depression and a lost sense of hope are common afflictions among most of the Cuban exiles, who as refugees ("the reluctant emigrants") are experiencing more extensively and intensely the pain of uprootedness, the shock of the abrupt transition from the familiar setting to an unfamiliar one, separation from family and country, the loss of tradition, the loss of identity, and the loss of a sense of belonging. These losses, which they view as irreparable and unsolvable give way to a sense of helplessness which translates into their depressive states. Azcárate (1970), describing the Cuban psychiatric symptomatology, referred to this sense of helplessness as being the result of their felt anxiety, depression and their inability to cope with stress. Added to these psychological effects, the degree of uncertainty and isolation that Cuban refugees experience within the new culture only serve to exacerbate their emotional conflict.

In order to better understand some of the reasons for

the high incidence of affective reactions among Latin Americans who are trying to adjust to Anglo American society, cultural conflict and minority status conflict need to be understood as they impinge on the acculturation process.

Cultural Conflict

This writer considers this to be the most disruptive element in the adjustment process of Latin Americans to U.S. society. Cultural sentiments tend to be intense, deep-rooted, and persistent since they seem to have a conditioning pattern of development. This may be so because culture is the summation process of having learned to value certain beliefs, customs, patterns of relationships, ideals, philosophies of life, world view, and feeling comfortable and secure in the familiarity of its boundaries. When these cultural boundaries are disturbed, insecurity, a sense of loss, loneliness, and sadness may ensue as a result of the disruption of established life circumstances. Unique features of the Latin American culture strongly emphasize family values, a distinct culturally-modified Catholicism, and powerful ethnocentric sentiments. These values are perceived and internalized very strongly. Therefore, cultural conflict occurs when change threatens to alter or modify to any degree these already established cultural patterns.

Latin American "tradition is extremely complex and, therefore, more difficult to describe succinctly in terms

of variation from the majority culture" (Padilla, 1981, p. 199). The most significant and prominent features of the Latin American culture involve the areas of family structure and concomitant sex roles. Familialism relates to the interrelational and formalized kinship ties with devoted feelings of love and uncontested loyalty to family, which is considered above all other social institutions (Padilla). A "typical" pattern of family functioning, involving an extended family and friendship network, is characteristic of all Latin American cultural subgroups (Padilla & Ruíz, 1974; Temple-Trujillo, 1974). Consequently, the extended family "is more than a meaningful cultural tradition" . . . it "offers real assistance as a primary support group" (Keefe, 1980, p. 105). As a consequence of this special family structure, dependency on family members, especially in the children-parent relationships, is greatly reinforced in this culture, and it is seen as a positive personal characteristic. However, in Anglo American society dependency is discouraged as children grow up, develop and become adolescents. Thus, these discrepant cultural values are the cause of psychological conflicts among Latin Americans.

Intergenerational family conflicts as a result of the acculturation process have been reported by Stonequist (1935), Szapocznik et al. (1978b), and Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980). Stonequist exposed a second-generation

phenomenon which he had observed occurring among immigrants' children in this country. It referred to marginality feelings, and he commented that, "This is likely to happen when the children adopt, as they readily do, the new culture more rapidly than their parents, and when the culture of the latter stands in sharp contrast with that of the new land" (p. 7). He felt that the difficulty of the second generation may be further compounded when a racial difference is added to the cultural difference. This would be the case with some Puerto Rican and Cuban second-generation children in this country.

Adaptation problems are reflected in mothers' behaviors as well. Mothers have a very special role in Latin American families since they are in charge of the preservation of the family (Padilla & Ruíz, 1974; Szapocznik & Truss, 1978). Therefore, as families acculturate to Anglo American society, mothers experience a high degree of stress in their struggle to redefine their roles and their place within the family constellation.

Communication patterns establish differences between these cultures in contact as well. In this context, age is another dimension of the Latin American culture that ipso facto establishes a hierarchy of relationships which is translated into deference and respect for one's age superiors, i.e., grandparents, parents, godparents, and/or other siblings. Furthermore, there are certain emotional

behaviors among Latin Americans which manifest themselves less frequently among males in other cultures. Affection among males is expressed openly by handshaking, touching while conversing, and embracing upon meeting and/or leaving (Padilla & Ruíz, 1974). Touching is considered an important element in interpersonal communication among Latin Americans, irrespective of gender.

Identity conflicts among Latin Americans represent these individuals' inner struggle in accepting their ethnic group membership which relates to the "culture of poverty" and to their low-social status in Anglo American society. Ramírez (1969) commented on the psychological stress produced by guilty feelings and self-deprecation when individuals are trying to abide by two opposing sets of value orientations and have to choose one over the other. This conflict of divided loyalties is deeply enmeshed in those traditionally nurtured Latin American cultural values related to family closeness and respect among its members, a distinct culturally-modified Catholicism, and powerful ethnocentric sentiments.

In like manner, cultural conflicts also result when Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and Cuban individuals do not adhere to their culture-specific values and traditions and try to pursue the goals of the dominant culture, mainly economic pursuits for self-betterment. This involves the second kind of conflicts Latin Americans face in United States society.

Minority Status Conflict

Experiencing a sense of new social status conflict has been true for most Latin Americans in this country. Padilla and Ruíz (1974) empirically found that Latin Americans were on the lowest rung of the socioeconomic ladder and constituted a "culture of poverty" in this society. This low socioeconomic status has reduced Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans to second-class status and has become associated with their minority group membership (Wittkower & Dubreuil, 1973). Consequently, they suffer from "socioeconomic marginality and alienation," split loyalties, feelings of frustration, low self-respect, and repressed hostility. These sociopsychological problems are the result of major blockages they have encountered when trying to carry out their ambitions (Broom & Shevsky, 1951; Gordon, 1978; Zavaleta, 1981) and the limited access they have to this society's rewards.

Any kind of personal or social discrimination aimed at a particular group is usually associated with lack of economic opportunities for that particular group (Christensen, 1975). This has generally been the case with Latin Americans in this country. This condition compounds their psychological distress and retards their acculturation process.

Another factor that isolates a good number of Latin Americans, mainly Cubans and Puerto Ricans, is that kind of

"minority status related to genetic observable characteristics,"--skin color (López, 1972; Padilla, 1981). Sommers (1964) has commented on the impact of dual-cultural membership on identity--termed "psychocultural neurosis"--in cases of mixed-blood individuals, and has observed that skin color and other racial characteristics reflecting low-ethnic status have a deeper impact on the person than the individual's low-social status. Usually, mixed-blood Latin Americans, i.e., mulattos (mixed Caucasian Spanish and Negro ancestry), as minority group members feel the impact of "being low-class members of a low-status minority group," and additionally, as mulattos, they feel the impact of low-ethnic status as well. It has been documented that experience with racial discrimination may be conducive to various kinds of psychological stresses and psychiatric symptomatology (Christensen, 1975; Sommers, 1964).

After reviewing the existing Latin American literature on acculturation, it seems clear that the social maladaptation to United States society and the acculturative stress experienced by many Latin Americans, including Cubans, mainly derive from their psychocultural and psychosocial conflicts, with emphasis on the former.

Acculturation: Concepts and Models

The process of adjustment to a new culture has been termed acculturation. Since the turn of the century, the complex phenomenon of acculturation has increasingly attracted the attention of behavioral scientists.

Acculturation is an elusive and somewhat ambiguous term. Diverse definitions abound in the literature. Mendoza and Martínez (1981), defined it as the process by which immigrants accumulate and incorporate the beliefs and customs of an alternate culture. Traditionally, the process of acculturation has been viewed as a linear and unidimensional phenomenon that implied the adaptation/accommodation of the migrant culture to the dominant culture (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980). Viewed in this way, acculturation has been considered a unidimensional bipolar variable in a continuum ranging from total retention of culture of origin to total assimilation to the dominant culture. The latter was the prevailing interpretation in the United States for many years. It emphasized the now outdated "melting pot" philosophy of acculturation, which presupposed complete assimilation of the acculturating individual to the dominant society.

Views have evolved and more recently it has been suggested that acculturation may not be a unidimensional process since it may also occur independently along elements of the dominant culture and the culture of origin (Lasaga, Szapocznik, & Kurtines, 1980).

The last twenty years have seen the emergence of Cultural Pluralism, a new philosophy in the United States which opposes the "melting pot" philosophy of acculturation. Cultural pluralism represents a state of multicultural coexistence. It emphasizes the preservation

of ethnic identity and respect for cultural diversity and encourages ethnic groups to profess pride in their cultural heritage (Padilla, 1981).

Historically the study of cultural change, i.e., acculturation, has been undertaken by those sociologists and anthropologists who analyzed change related to social institutions and cultural patterns--the group perspective. In contrast, the more recent interest of psychologists in the area of acculturation is focused on the individual. Psychologists' interests and concerns are mainly oriented towards the impact of cultural contact and the subsequent acculturative stress on the individual. Instead of focusing on the interpsychic or interpersonal approach as anthropologists and sociologists have done, psychologists have tended to concern themselves with intrapsychic mechanisms, i.e., the process of acculturation viewed from the perspective of the individual's inner world looking out (Chance, 1965). This phenomenological response to the environment has been emphasized by Padilla (1980b) who commented that in order to understand acculturative change, it is crucial to focus on the individual's experiences, role conflicts, coping strategies, and interpersonal relationships. This leads into the concept of ethnic identity.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity as a reflection of cultural group membership has been explained by Gordon (1978) who believed

that it is in the nature of human beings to tend to be members or to belong to a group they can identify with as "my people." This group is characterized by a particular common culture in which a set of religious beliefs, values, a distinctive social structure, a special pattern of the elements of race, national origin, and economic interests are uniformly shared by all of its members. All these elements are bound within the framework of ethnocentric sentiments. Ethnicity, then, is the totality of these elements in the group and constitutes a unified, consistent and harmonious whole which imparts stability and permanence to the group.

Gordon emphasized that psychologically the ethnic group functions as a basis for self-identification, "the locus of the sense of intimate peoplehood" (p. 117). Thus, ethnic identity for Latin Americans "is composed of cultural symbols and historical tradition, and often is a rallying point for solidarity for the group" (Cohen & Fernández, 1974, p. 414).

What happens, then, to the Latin American individual's ethnic identity during the process of acculturation?

Assimilation, Biculturalism, and Cultural Integration

Even though later theorists have amplified the variations in the individual's responses to a new culture, it was Child (1943) who originally identified the three basic responses. These were assimilation, rejection of the new culture, and biculturation:

1. Assimilation is complete rejection of their culture of origin by dissociating themselves from the labels of their original culture and expressing hostile attitudes towards its symbols, thus effecting a shift from the culture of origin to that of the host culture.

2. Rejection of the new culture characterizes a persistent retention of the traditional culture, by showing the greatest conformity with traits of the original culture.

3. Biculturation or biculturalism corresponds to the maintenance of some characteristics of the traditional culture while at the same time assimilating others of the host culture.

Berry (1980) added two more variations to a person's potential responses to a new culture:

4. Integration, the maintenance of one's cultural integrity, but also movement towards becoming a part of the larger, dominant society. This tenet is consistent with contemporary views of acculturation that suggest that the cultural integration phenomenon may occur independently along dimensions of culture of origin and host culture, and

5. Deculturation, the individual (or collective) state of confusion or anxiety characterized by feelings of alienation, loss of identity and acculturative stress.

Lambert (1977) suggested that the bicultural choice for some immigrants constitutes an organized and coherent synthesis of the elements inherent in both cultures.

Padilla (1981) commented that it is possible to

identify with more than one culture, when cultures are in contact. For instance, Latin American children in this country, who speak Spanish at home and English in school, may be able to identify biculturally and, thus, come to acquire dual-cultural identification. However, the author continued:

In many cases, this dual identification results in conflict and chronic anxiety, especially in that person who is only marginally familiar with the norms of one or the other of the cultures . . . Self and ethnic identity can be confused when there is lack of support in the family, when parents are not valued by the majority, and when a child feels conflicting loyalties to two cultures. The personal consequences can include anxiety, psychosomatic illnesses, addiction, neurosis, and psychosis. The majority institutions push for assimilation . . . pressure to assimilate can be destructive to the individual. (p. 202, 204)

Models of Acculturation

Several models of acculturation have been postulated which have attempted to explain and determine the impact of a new culture on a person of a different culture. Interestingly enough, the various models which will be presented in this review (Berry, 1980; Stonequist, 1935; Szapocznik, Kurtines & Fernández, 1980, Szapocznik,

Scopetta, Kurtines & Aranalde, 1978b) share among themselves the same basic elements of the process of acculturation. The variations among them are in the labels employed to identify the different steps as well as in their structural complexity. For instance, Stonequist's and Berry's models are stage models, each consisting of three well-defined levels, but what establishes differences between the two are their different conceptualizations and definitions. Szapocznik et al.'s models are unidimensional and multidimensional in nature, mainly emphasizing the psychosocial aspect of acculturation.

It is pertinent to mention at this point, that the stage model by Stonequist (1935), though it may seem dated, has been selected for inclusion in this review because it is a classical model of acculturation that transcends time. A second reason for having chosen this model is because it deals with an aspect of the Latin American culture which has great impact on acculturation. This is related to genetic heritage which is indicated by observable physical characteristics. As Padilla (1981) commented, "Skin color is one obvious physical characteristic with a genetic link which differentiates Hispanic subgroups" (p. 198).

Initiating the description of the acculturation models, the two stage models will be presented first.

Stonequist's (1935) stage model. In his classic article "The problems of the Marginal Man," Stonequist answered the question of the individual's ethnic identity

conflict by defining three stages in the process of acculturation. He saw this process as a life-cycle and posited that individual traits tend to vary substantially depending upon the stage of development. The progression is as follows:

The first stage is the stage of preparation. The individual is in contact with two different cultures. Consequently, the person experiences some kind of assimilation into both cultures. This process of assimilation is spontaneous, and the individual is usually unaware of any "personality problem" or any assumption of responsibility to both cultures.

The second stage is the crisis stage. The person experiences cultural conflict either in a subtle inconspicuous way or brought about by the climaxing of a single event which is the result of a summation process. It is here that the "marginal man" characteristic traits emerge, both as a result of this crisis experience and as a reaction to the situation. There may be confusion, restlessness, disillusionment, estrangement and even shock. The term "'marginal'" represents a process of abstraction, a core of psychological traits which are the inner correlates of the dual pattern of social conflict and identification" (Stonequist, p. 10). In other words, the person's life is in a terrible state of disorganization and disarray. The emergence of a new self-consciousness reflects some kind of a divided personality. The term "denotes bicultural

membership combined with the relative inability to form dual ethnic identification" (Padilla, 1981, p. 202).

Stonequist (1935) called attention to and explained the mixed-race situation in Latin America, where racial intermarriage takes place on an extensive scale. This is a kind of situation which prevents the institutionalization of race prejudice. "Here the racial hybrid develops a somewhat more diversified character, reflecting the greater freedom of his position, and so approximates more nearly to the status of the dominant race" (p. 6). The racial hybrid is the mulatto, a person of Caucasian-Negro ancestry. Many of the Cuban mulattos who have come to the United States have experienced racial discrimination and, therefore, have submitted themselves to a conditioning process which has come to constitute the core of their life organization. Theirs is a situation in which their racial status is constantly called into question. As a result, their attention would turn toward themselves to an unreasonable degree. These are new feelings that they have not experienced before in their traditional culture. Consequently, they become marginal persons. Thus, "increased sensitiveness, self-consciousness, and race consciousness, an indefinable malaise, inferiority and various compensatory mechanisms, are common traits in the marginal person" (p. 6).

Moodiness, insecurity, and nervous strain are some other typical personality traits assigned by Gordon (1978)

to the marginal person. But, of course, not all individuals experience stress and anxiety in the acculturation process to the same degree (Olmedo, 1980) and the question of individual differences has to be taken into account in the assessment of individuals' psychological reactions to acculturation. Therefore, marginality will occur or not occur depending on the way individuals react to the acculturative experience (Berry, 1980; Dohrenwend & ShROUT, 1985; Stonequist, 1935). The level of distress reflects the interconnection of the psychological and sociocultural processes of personality functioning. When the psychological discomfort is not overwhelming, the acculturation process may have a beneficial effect on the individual, perhaps a motivational effect.

The crucial role of group support was discussed by Stonequist (1935) and Gordon (1978) in the notion of the marginal culture. The marginal culture is one that develops between two autonomous cultures and is whole and unitary. It is formed between the overlapping sections of the two independent cultures and, therefore, traits and values of each culture are absorbed by the marginal group. An example of a marginal culture has been the case of the Chicano community in the Southwest. Living within the boundaries of a marginal culture does not determine marginality. As was stated before, marginality will or will not occur, depending on the way individuals react to the acculturative experience. More importantly, for

individuals who are going through a transitional state of adjustment and have the support of their ethnic group, it is expected that their adjustment will be less severe and will produce less psychological distress. This would be so because the whole group--the marginal culture--would be going through the transition state as well, and the ethnic members would find plenty of emotional support among their "own people."

Stonequist's third stage of acculturation is the period of experiencing more enduring responses by the individual to the situation, i.e., the adaptation stage. According to this model, out of the crisis stage, some kind of adaptation will result since individuals will strive to exert some form of readjustment in order to resolve their psychological and sociocultural conflicts.

When individuals establish cultural contact and they are required to function in two different cultural groups, two alternatives may seem viable to them, they may either suffer and resist cultural change (which would be detrimental to their personalities) or adapt to and benefit from the situation. The choices made and the outcome of the process will not be the same for every individual. Several outcomes may be possible as individuals exert some form of readjustment and try to resolve the conflict. The first would be that while moving towards the dominant culture, the person may ultimately become an "accepted member" and the conflict stage thus may come to an end.

However, in some instances the presence of a biological barrier (mixed-blood features) may not allow this to happen. A second reaction could be the individual's movement in the other direction, toward the person's cultural group. It has been pointed out how the marginal cultures are composed of marginal persons and, in this situation, the marginal individuals' dual contacts may prove beneficial in providing them with the necessary skills to become leaders of the group. If their concern is that of raising "their people's" condition, then they will take the role of conciliator, reformer, political leader, teacher or "revolutionary." The usefulness for the individual in assuming these roles is that they provide some coherence, direction, and organization to the previously disturbed personality. Another common outcome of the crisis stage may be the person's withdrawal, isolation or removal. An instance of this situation may be the present decision of some mulatto Cuban refugees who have expressed a desire to return to their own country in an effort to elude racial prejudice. Other individuals may reflect on the situation and dedicate a great deal of time and effort to ponder over their struggle. The "appearance of superiority" frequently displayed by mixed-blood individuals, i.e., mulatto Latin Americans, is a result of this struggle for readjustment of their personalities, but individuals try to conceal this in a display of superiority. Lastly, the group between cultures, in which

individuals may find themselves, may be reasonably large to offer "a moderately satisfying life." In this situation, individuals assuming different roles in adjusting, may develop in the arts or in the sciences. By expressing themselves in this way they may mitigate their inner conflict.

Berry's (1980) stage model. Berry's theoretical model postulates the three-phase course of acculturation from the perspective of psychological adaptation which also takes into account the traditional state or pre-contact condition. Six different areas of psychological functioning help to conceptualize these psychological responses: language, cognitive style, personality, identity, attitudes and acculturative stress.

The first phase, the contact stage, which is considered absolutely necessary for acculturation to occur, is the central core of the notion of acculturation and is accompanied by concomitant psychological changes in the individual or group. Individuals are confronted with a new autonomous culture different from their own. These persons who are used to functioning in a particular society, composed of a unique set of cultural symbols and elements, are now interacting with a new set of symbols and elements belonging to the new culture. This stage corresponds to Stonequist's stage of preparation. At this point, some kind of change is bound to occur because, "Without at least partial assimilation the individual would not later

experience the conflict of loyalties" (Stonequist, 1935, p. 10).

Therefore, when change occurs, some psychological discomfort is experienced by the individual. This state of psychological distress constitutes the crisis stage, which is considered probable and is related to degree of resistance. This phase represents a disruption of the psychological referent and ethnic identity of the individual. The state of psychological distress experienced by the person may vary in degrees and may range from restlessness, confusion, shock, mild anxiety to complete disturbance and disorganization of the personality. This state of confusion or anxiety is characterized by feelings of alienation, loss of identity and acculturative stress. In this stage, individuals are out of psychological contact with either their traditional culture or the larger society.

Sommers (1964) empirically demonstrated the effects of the crisis stage on multiethnic patients. The impact of dual-cultural membership on identity was examined by intensively investigating 30 cases of cultural-hybrid individuals who were undergoing psychotherapy lasting from two to four years. Theoretical and clinical conclusions were drawn from these cases. One conclusion was that a "depreciated self-image" can evolve into a complex and intricate defense system. At this point, Berry focused on Stonequist's (1935) concept of marginality to refer to

individuals who are sharing the culture of two different groups, not wanting to part with their past and their traditions and, yet, not being accepted by the new group because of racial and/or cultural prejudice. Berry's crisis stage corresponds to Stonequist's similar conflict stage. Thus, Berry concurred with Stonequist that this second stage or crisis phase is liable to produce a marginal type of personality.

Out of this crisis stage, some kind of adaptation will result, and this constitutes Berry's third stage in the course of acculturation, i.e., adaptation. Berry posited that it is possible to move away from the common practice of treating acculturation exclusively as assimilation--adjustment of the individual/group to the dominant society--and use adaptation as a guiding concept considering all possible available options. In this way, a vast typology is exposed which takes into consideration the cultural interests of all individuals and groups and the political realities in which adaptation takes place. This kind of adaptation would vary depending upon the nature, the purpose and duration of the culture contact.

Other models of acculturation were reviewed for this research study including the Multidimensional Model (Mendoza & Martínez, 1981), but were insufficient for the purpose of this research. The following model has been chosen for the present study for the following reasons:

(a) It involves both the psychological and the social

aspects of cultural adjustment, (b) It provides a measure of biculturalism, and (c) It also provides the opportunity to investigate if there is a curvilinear relationship between biculturalism (BIQ) and anxiety (SAS).

The psychosocial/bicultural involvement model of adjustment (Szapocznik, Kurtines, & Fernández, 1980). There are differences and similarities between this model and the previous ones. The four basic differences are: (a) Unlike the others, which were theoretical models, this is an empirical model, (b) It differs from the stage models in that it specifically relates social conditions to cultural adjustment, (c) It operationalizes the various degrees of a person's involvement between cultures in contact by the use of the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ), and (d) It identifies areas of cultural adjustment such as monoculturalism (considered by the authors to be detrimental to the acculturation process of Cuban Latin Americans living in bicultural communities) and biculturalism (considered to be a healthy approach to cultural adjustment) thus, emphasizing the type of cultural context involved.

There are two similarities between the psychosocial model and the stage models: (a) they both consider the individual's level of stress and anxiety during the cultural adjustment process "to be a reflection of the interconnection of the psychological and sociocultural processes of personality functioning", and (b) they both

serve to provide a structure for placing individuals in the acculturation continuum.

The psychosocial model is best defined by its refined measure of biculturalism. The BIQ measures the degree of involvement in two cultural contexts--the Anglo American and the Cuban cultures. The basic premise is that for individuals living in a bicultural community, biculturalism leads to cultural adjustment while acculturating unidimensionally either way (monocultural Anglo Americanism/monocultural Cubanism) causes maladjustment.

This model originated with a unidimensional acculturation model by Szapocznik et al., (1978b). The authors proposed that acculturation is a multidimensional process and that its course depends upon the cultural context involved. In a monocultural context, the process would be essentially unidimensional and would proceed linearly from the culture of origin to the dominant culture. In a bicultural context, the acculturation process would be two-dimensional, with retention of the traditional culture and accommodation to the host culture. The model includes two main features, (a) a normative component and (b) a maladjustive component. The normative component corresponds directly to amount of exposure to the dominant culture, while the maladjustive component--which departs from the normative component--translates itself into over and underacculturation. This deviation from the normative component is maladjustive because the individual

remains or becomes inappropriately monocultural in a bicultural context. When individuals overacculturate, they fail to learn the necessary skills to interact with their own community. When individuals underacculturate, they fail to learn the necessary skills to communicate/negotiate with the host culture. The more extreme of either variation--over or underacculturation--from normal acculturation, the greater the likelihood of psychological problems. Thus, the authors believe that for individuals who live in bicultural communities, effective cultural adjustment necessitates an acceptance of both cultural worlds and the acquisition of the necessary negotiation and communication skills, "each with a separate set of rules." Moreover, this model suggests that the two most important variables in biculturalism are: (a) the amount of time of exposure to the host culture, and (b) availability of community support. While the former would help individuals with accommodation to the host culture, the latter would assist them to retain their own cultural characteristics.

From clinical experience and research with Cubans in the Greater Miami area, a bicultural community, Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernández (1980) documented psychological problems related to cultures in contact. Their research evidence indicates that Cuban immigrant youngsters, in their struggle to adjust to the dominant society, either tended to overacculturate or underacculturate, thus remaining monocultural in a bicultural context. This

produced maladjustment. Empirical evidence demonstrates that second-generation Cuban youngsters of high school age have a tendency to overacculturate to Anglo American society, and in the process of doing this, they usually end up rejecting their culture of origin, their parents and their roots. In this situation, parents generally strive to counteract this overacculturation and a conflict arises when youngsters rebel against their parents and against all authority figures. This behavior generalizes to the school situation and these youngsters become discipline problems. In contrast, when children underacculturate in Anglo American society, they usually "tend to get along well with their parents, but they also become withdrawn, isolated, and apathetic so that they present a depressed, neurotic pattern of behaviors" (Szapocznik et al., p. 363). Under severe circumstances, suicidal tendencies may also develop in these youngsters.

Of the models reviewed, the psychosocial model appears to be the most promising. A detailed description of the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ) is presented under "Measures."

Hypotheses

Hypotheses dealing with Anxiety:

Hypothesis I: Female Cuban subjects will demonstrate significantly higher state anxiety (SAS) than male Cuban subjects.

Hypothesis II: Older Cuban subjects will demonstrate significantly higher state anxiety (SAS) than the younger Cuban subjects.

Hypothesis III: Length of Cuban subjects' residency in the United States will correlate negatively with their state anxiety (SAS).

Hypotheses dealing with Biculturalism:

Hypothesis IV: Length of Cuban subjects' residency in the United States will correlate positively with biculturalism.

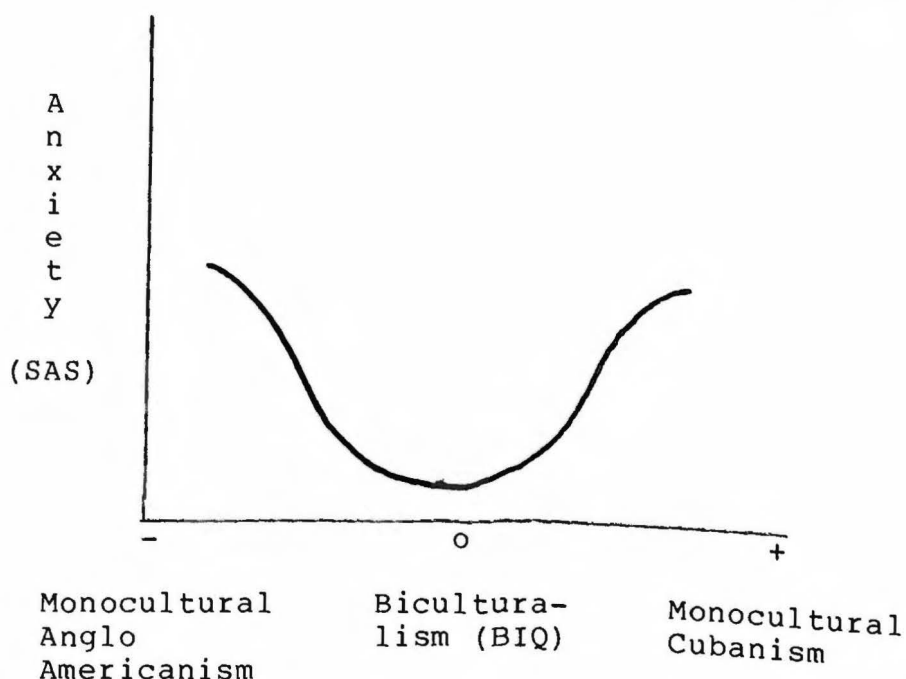
Hypothesis V: Male Cuban subjects will be more bicultural than female Cuban subjects (i.e., the mean score for males will be closer to "0" on the BIQ than the mean scores for females).

Hypothesis VI: Younger Cuban subjects will be more bicultural than older Cuban subjects (i.e., the mean score for younger subjects on the BIQ will be closer to "0" than the mean score for older subjects).

Hypothesis VII: The relationship of age and BIQ will be stronger for males than females (an age by gender interaction).

Hypothesis VIII: There will be a curvilinear relationship between anxiety (SAS) and degree of acculturation (BIQ) in which monocultural scores in either direction, either toward the Anglo American or the Cuban poles, will imply cultural maladjustment, while scores towards the middle will indicate cultural adjustment. The BIQ will be used as an independent variable in the analysis of anxiety (SAS). The quadratic term of the BIQ (the squared BIQ score) will be entered into the analysis after the linear BIQ term. As a test of the psychosocial model this specific prediction from theory had not been tested before. The authors implied that for individuals living in a bicultural community overacculturation (intense attachment to the dominant culture) and underacculturation (persistent attachment to the culture of origin) are pathological since they are maladjustive--states of disequilibrium between the individual and his/her cultural context. On the other hand, biculturalism, which is some mid-point on the acculturation continuum may represent a healthier approach to cultural adjustment. The possible range of scores for the BIQ is -84 to +84.

The following figure depicts this relationship:



Process of Acculturation in
a bicultural context

The assumption is that cultural adjustment is reflected by low anxiety. Thus, bicultural Cuban subjects will manifest significantly lower State Anxiety Scale (SAS) scores than will monocultural Cuban subjects. This curvilinear relationship will identify biculturalism as a less anxiety producing state than either state, monocultural Anglo Americanism or monocultural Cubanism. Therefore, a healthier approach to acculturation.

In addition to the aforementioned hypotheses, an exploratory analysis will be conducted in order to find out how scores on the BIQ and on the SAS are related to the following variables:

1. Generation Level
2. Presence of a support group
3. Educational Level
4. Income Level
5. Ethnic Identification
6. Use of Mental Health Facilities.

Summary

The review of the literature reveals that the majority of Latin Americans are undergoing some psychological distress in their process of acculturation to Anglo American society. The psychological effects of the acculturation process seem to vary in degrees among this population, oscillating from mild anxiety to the most serious and disorganized cases of personality dysfunction. To a lesser degree does the literature acknowledge that cultural adaptation may have a wholesome effect for some individuals in the long run. The literature also discloses the absence of research on Latin Americans in general, and on their process of acculturation in particular.

From the existing Latin American research, Szapocznik et al. (1980) posited that biculturalism may be a healthy approach to acculturation and they empirically demonstrated that bicultural Cuban youngsters were better adjusted than their monocultural counterparts. Biculturalism, as one level of acculturation among Cuban Latin Americans, has not been studied, except in one dissertation (Labarta, 1982).

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The methodology followed is one of a cross-sectional investigation, with particular reference to the degrees of monoculturalism/biculturalism and anxiety levels.

Pilot Study

Cuban subjects were used in this research because there is some validity information on that group for the instrument to be used, the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ). There is also reliability information. A brief pilot study was carried out to establish the following: (a) length of time of the administration of the questionnaires, (b) clarity of the instructions, (c) the testing conditions, and (d) the kind of questions to be expected from the participants. The purpose of the pilot study was to check on potential difficulties so that there might be an opportunity to overcome them. The instruments and procedures followed in the pilot study were those of the main study described below. The only difference was the number of subjects (2 or 3 for the pilot study).

Main Study

Subjects

The participants were males and females of Cuban origin and descent (N = 254, 18 years of age and older) who are members of the international Latin American community of Metropolitan Washington. This group of Cubans included

immigrants, residents, refugees and students.

The participants were recruited from the following places located in the Adams Morgan area of Washington, D.C., plus in the Maryland and Virginia suburbs:

1. Adelante, Washington, D.C.
2. Andromeda Hispano Mental Health Center,
Washington, D.C.
3. Arlington Family Service, Virginia
4. Ayuda, Washington, D.C.
5. Blair High School, PTA, Maryland
6. Department of Bilingual Education,
Washington, D.C.
7. Division of Elder Affairs - Family Resources,
Maryland
8. Elizabeth House, Maryland
9. English as a Second Language, ESL,
Washington, D.C.
10. EOFULA Psychosocial Program of Intensive Care,
EPPIC, Washington, D.C.
11. Foxhall Apartments, Maryland
12. Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.
13. Housing Opportunity Commission, Washington, D.C.
14. Institutional Research and Planning, UMCP,
Maryland
15. Interamerican Development Bank, BID,
Washington, D.C.
16. Montgomery County International Students
Admissions, Maryland
17. Montgomery County Office of Minority and
Multicultural Affairs, Maryland
18. Multicultural Career Intern Program, MCI,
Washington, D.C.
19. Museum of Modern Art of Latin America,
Washington, D.C.
20. Northern Virginia Family Service, Virginia
21. Organization of American States - Department
of Human Resources, OEA, Washington, D.C.
22. Our Lady of the Americas, Capilla Latina,
Washington, D.C.
23. Panamericana Market, Maryland
24. Sacred Heart Church, Washington, D.C.
25. Spanish Catholic Center, Washington, D.C.
26. Spanish Community of Maryland, Maryland
27. Spanish Education Development Center, SED,
Washington, D.C.
28. Spanish Senior Center, EOFULA, Washington, D.C.
29. Spanish Speaking Committee of Arlington, Virginia
30. St. Bartholomew's Church, Maryland
31. St. Camillus Church, Maryland

32. St. Catherine Laboure, Maryland
33. St. Matthew's Cathedral, Washington, D.C.
34. St. Michaels Church, Maryland
35. St. Thomas Apostle, Washington, D.C.
36. Takoma East Silver Spring Community Center,
TESS, Maryland
37. Takoma Park Junior High School, PTA, Maryland
38. Tropicana Restaurant, Maryland
39. The Cuban American National Foundation,
Washington, D.C.
40. The Cuban Program, Washington, D.C.
41. The Family Place, Washington, D.C.
42. The Red Cross, Washington, D.C.
43. The Voice of the Americas, Washington, D.C.
44. The Washington Hilton, Washington, D.C.
45. University College, UMCP, Maryland
46. University of the District of Columbia,
Washington, D.C.
47. Wheaton Center, Maryland

Preliminary contacts covering the complete process had been made with the directors and other contact persons from these places, but they needed to be reestablished. After making the contacts by phone, each one of these places was visited in order to discuss the research study personally with the liaison persons. The extent of these persons' cooperation was influential in getting the prospective subjects to take part. If few subjects were recruited the first time, it was necessary for the liaison persons to assist in recruiting subjects a second, or a third time. In places like mental health centers, arrangements with individual and family therapists were made to allow the investigator to see their clients/patients either before or after individual and/or group sessions. In church congregations, the priest was requested in writing to make announcements about the study to the congregation during Sunday masses and to allow the investigator to meet with

the Cuban participants after mass. It was necessary for the investigator to come back to some of these places several times.

Measures

Two different standardized measures were employed in this research--the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ) and the State Anxiety Scale (SAS)--as well as one other form, a Demographic Data Sheet which includes ethnic group identification items.

Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire

The Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ), (Szapocznik, Kurtines, & Fernández, 1980), assesses the participants' level of acculturation, i.e., the degree of comfort in the Anglo American and Cuban cultures. It measures "a dimension of biculturalism which ranges from monoculturalism to biculturalism" (p. 356). The BIQ consists of 33 items divided into five sets: A, B, C, D, and E. The sets reflect involvement in either the Anglo American or Cuban cultures. Thus, by adding items 6-10 (set B), 18-24 (set D) and 25-33 (set E) the "Americanism" scores were obtained. In like manner, by summing items 1-5 (set A), 11-17 (set C), and the reverse of the weights for items 25-33 (set E), the "Cubanism" scores were obtained. An example of set A is: "How comfortable do you feel speaking Spanish 1. at home, 2. in school, 3. at work, 4. with friends, and 5. general." Participants were to choose in a Likert-type scale from: (1) Not at all comfortable,

to (5) Very comfortable, to indicate how they felt in each instance.

An example of set E is: "Sometimes life is not as we really want it. If you could have your way, how would you like the following aspects of your life to be like? Please mark an "x" in the column that applies to you." Then a list of items such as food, music, television programs, way of celebrating birthdays, books, ways of celebrating weddings would follow and the participants were asked to choose in a Likert-type scale from (1) "I would wish this to be completely Cuban" to (5) "I wish this to be completely American."

As mentioned earlier, the computations of the scores for the two bi-polar dimensions are based on two subscales, one assessing Cubanism and the other, Americanism. The differences of the summed items of the Cubanism and Americanism scores will reflect the Biculturalism scale (BS). Three scores are obtained. BS scores close to zero will indicate biculturalism, scores less than zero will represent monocultural Americanism and scores above zero will indicate monocultural Cubanism. The possible range of scores for the BIQ is -84 to +84 (see Appendix B).

At the present time the BIQ is the only measure of biculturalism developed and normed with Latin American populations. The items that constitute the BIQ were obtained from the items of the Acculturation Scale (Szapocznik et al., 1978). Some items were modified and

others, were adopted as they were. Originally, the items were developed in the Spanish language. This property of the scale enhances the appeal of the instrument for its use cross-culturally.

The psychometric qualities of the BIQ were assessed by the authors (Szapocznik et al., 1980) with four junior high school samples ($N = 192$). Computed alpha coefficients of internal consistency for two samples (93 Cuban Americans and 47 non-Cuban Hispanic Americans) resulted in .93 for the Hispanicism scale and .89 for the Americanism scale. Internal consistency reliability for the BS scale was .94. BS test-retest reliability (for a six-week interval, based on 16 Cuban Americans and non-Cuban Latin Americans) was .79.

The correlations between the scale scores and teacher ratings (bi-cultural teachers) constituted the criterion validation for the BS. Teacher ratings for biculturalism were correlated with BS scores. The BS correlation of the Cuban American students in sample 1 ($n = 53$) was reported as significant, $r = .42$, $p < .001$.

In order to further evaluate the scale, the relationship between the BS scores and adjustment was assessed. Teachers' ratings of level of adjustment were operationalized by using a 5-point Likert scale, with "1" = outstanding (denoting good adjustment) and "5" = problem students (indicating poor adjustment). Two levels of biculturalism (high and low) were used to classify the

students. An ANOVA significant main effect for level of biculturation $F(1, 87) = 4.6, p < .03$ was obtained for the Cuban American students.

Moreover, when extremes of the adjustment continuum were investigated by selecting and comparing the best adjusted ($n = 10$) and the least adjusted ($n = 7$) students among Cuban Americans, the BS attained significance for these groups ($t = 3.03, df = 15, p < .005$).

The State Anxiety Scale (SAS)

In order to measure the participants' state anxiety, the Spanish version of the State Anxiety Scale (SAS) was administered to the Cuban participants. The State Anxiety Scale is part of the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI) (Spielberger, González-Reigosa, & Martínez-Urrutia, 1971). The State-Anxiety Scale was selected for this research study because it is the most appropriate scale to measure the kind of stresses that the acculturating person is confronted with, as opposed to the Trait-Anxiety Scale that represents a more enduring and stable personality characteristic. In developing the State-Anxiety Scale, "the essential qualities that were measured were tension, apprehension, and nervousness as these feeling (phenomenological) states varied along a continuum of increasing levels of intensity" (Spielberger, 1976, p. 9).

Psychologists from 10 different Latin American countries assisted in the translation into Spanish of the State and Trait Anxiety Inventory (Spielberger, Gorsuch, &

Lushene, 1970). The internal consistency of the Spanish A-State and A-Trait Scales was demonstrated by validation studies which reflected high item-remainder correlations and alpha coefficients between .82 and .95. High correlations (.83 to .94) established the equivalence of the Spanish and English versions of the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory. The Spanish-English correlations for the A-Trait Scale were: .83, .89, .85, and .85, and for the A-State Scale were: .83, .91, .91, and .94. Test-retest reliability was high for the Spanish A-Trait Scale (.84 and .83, intervals of ten days in Texas and one week in Puerto Rico), but not for the A-State Scale (.49 to .63). It was found as expected that temporary situational stress affects the A-State Scale, while the A-Trait Scale demonstrates stability over time. The validation studies were carried out on Latin American populations, in Texas (sample aged 19-55) and Puerto Rico (sample aged 20-51). The above work on the instrument suggests that the Spanish State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI) is particularly appropriate to use with Latin American populations.

The STAI A-State consists of 20 items. Some examples of SAS items include: "I feel calm," "I feel upset," "I am presently worrying over possible misfortunes." On this scale, subjects were also asked to circle on a scale of one to four, the number that indicated "As a Cuban living in the United States, how you have felt during the last month:" 1 (Not at All), 2 (Somewhat), 3 (Moderately So),

and 4 (Very much So) (see Appendix C).

Demographic Data Sheet

This form contained usual definers of demographic status. Most of the information obtained through the demographic data sheet served to answer questions contained in the various hypotheses which were generated for this research. These demographic variables included the person's:

1. Age
2. Gender and
3. Length of time in the United States

An exploratory analysis was made of the following variables:

1. Presence of a support group
2. Educational level
3. Income level
4. Ethnic identification and
5. Use of mental health facilities (see Appendix D).

Experimental Consent Agreement

No consent agreement form was used in this study. The Department of Psychology Human Subjects Review Committee, stated that no consent form was needed for this research because, after being apprised of the task and its voluntary nature, the very act of persons filling out the questionnaires is implied consent.

Incentive to Participate

As an incentive to take part in this research study,

all participants who completed the questionnaires were entered in a lottery drawing for a pair of tickets for dinner and Flamenco show at the Spanish Restaurant, "El Bodegón," in Washington, D.C. Since three pairs of tickets were raffled in total, and there were 254 participants, each person's chance for a prize was one in 84.

Debriefing Statement

The debriefing statement provided participants with a basic description and an explanation of the purpose of the field study, details about the lottery drawing and how the winners would receive their prizes. It also offered the participants the opportunity to approach the researcher should they require any further answers to particular questions they might have. An offer to provide the results of the study at some future time was also made. A desire to obtain the results had been indicated by the subjects on a separate submitted card.

Procedure

This researcher contacted several potential places in the Adams Morgan area, Maryland and Virginia suburbs. Details were worked out by phone with the directors and other contact persons from these places regarding the best possible way to maximize contact between this investigator and students, clients, or patients. The research study was explained to these liaison persons. A certain number of standardized notes describing the field study, both in Spanish and English, were either delivered or mailed to the

liaison persons two weeks prior to the date the data were to be collected. The notes in English were for people who find it more comfortable to use the English language, i.e., second generation and bi-lingual Latin Americans (see Appendix E for the English and Spanish recruiting notes).

The contact persons were asked to distribute the contact notes among the potential participants. Alternative plans were agreed upon if that was not feasible. A few days before coming to the agency, church, center or school for the administration of the questionnaires, the investigator made an appointment to visit the liaison persons to obtain the number of persons who were to take part in the study.

The research measures were grouped in numbered packets. Even though the field study was conducted in the Spanish language, an English version of the packet was available for those persons who felt more comfortable using the English language. Spanish packets started with a 500 sequence and English packets, with 800. The packets contained the Demographic Data Sheet, the State Anxiety Scale (SAS), and the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ). The SAS and the BIQ were given in random order to avoid introducing any order effect.

Instructions to participants were given both in Spanish and in English. Again, even though the participants had been informed about the purpose of the research through the contact notes, and whether they were

to take part individually or as members of a group, the investigator addressed the participants as follows:

I will be talking to you in Spanish first, but if there is any person who prefers to be addressed in English, please raise your hand (or let me know) and I will be glad to repeat what I am now saying in English.

I know you have been given advanced notice of the purpose of this research study. However, I would like to mention it again. As you know, I am a doctoral student in Psychology at the University of Maryland College Park. I am from Lima, Perú. The work I am doing right now is for my dissertation, and as you know, the population I have selected for this field research is you, the Cuban population of Metropolitan Washington. As you have been informed, the purpose of this research is to try to identify some of the positive as well as the negative conditions that Cubans are experiencing in this society, the United States culture. Therefore, I requested your help, and your cooperation will be greatly appreciated. The questionnaires that you will fill out today will take about 15 to 20 minutes of your time.

The information that you will kindly provide will assist in developing methods and programs to help

Cubans to make a better adjustment to United States Society. No names will be given by you since this study is strictly confidential and I do not in any way want to connect any names with the information given. Furthermore, all persons who complete these questionnaires will be entered in a lottery drawing for a pair of tickets for dinner and Flamenco show at "El Bodegón" restaurant in Washington, D. C. Do you have any questions? If any of you would like to talk to me after completing the questionnaires, please do so.

Before handing over the packets to the participants, the investigator said:

You have a choice of using either a Spanish packet or an English packet. Please, choose the one you feel more comfortable with.

The investigator then handed over the packets to the participant(s). The participant(s) then was (were) told:

Please, be sure not to write your name on any of the three questionnaires. I do not need to have your name on any questionnaires and I do not want to have your name because I should not know which persons gave which answers. When you finish the three questionnaires, I will ask you to put your name and telephone number on a separate card for the drawing, and that card, you yourself, will put in the lottery box.

Do you have any questions? I would also like to ask you to please read all the instructions very carefully before proceeding with each questionnaire, answer every question in the forms and do not leave any blanks. Please, ask me if you have any questions while you are completing the questionnaires. Here is an envelope for you to put in the questionnaires and the lottery box to collect the cards. Before you put the materials in the envelope, please go over each sheet to see that you have not left any blanks.

When the participants were ready to leave, the investigator gave them the debriefing statement (see Appendix F). Then, the investigator asked them: "Do you have any further questions?"

Data Analysis

The data were analyzed by means of hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis (MRA), which is a general technique for examining the relationship of a single dependent variable to one or more independent variables. In MRA each independent variable, or set of independent variables, can be entered hierarchically into the analysis so that the significance or unique contribution of a single variable, or set of variables, can be assessed. Once a variable is entered into the analysis, its effect on the dependent variable is controlled for (partialled out) as other variables are subsequently entered into the analysis.

It is also the case that, when two or more variables are entered on the same step of the analysis (i.e., simultaneously), the effect of each one is controlled for when the significance of the remaining variable(s) is (are) tested.

The hypotheses presented before were tested in one of two separate hierarchical regression analyses, one for each dependent variable--Anxiety (SAS) and Biculturalism (BIQ).

The independent variables were entered into the analyses in a predetermined order. That order was determined first, by the causal priority among them and then, according to their relative importance. Each hypothesis was represented by an independent variable in the analysis, which was tested for significance as it entered the analysis by means of a standard F-test.

The multi-categorical variables (>2 categories) were represented as sets of effects-coded variables. For example:

Educational Level

The original five categories of education were collapsed into three: primary, high-school/vocational and college.

Education was effects coded. The two effects coded variables were tested as a set and that is the test of the Main Effect. To do the comparison among the means, the Fisher's Protected t test was used.

Both the State Anxiety Scale (SAS) and the Bicultural

Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ) differed for people with different educational levels.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Dependent Variables	Primary	High-School/Voc.	College
SAS:	45.43 SD 12.90 (N = 30)	37.65 SD 11.63 (N = 75)	33.78 SD 9.33 (N = 149)
BIQ: (Absolute Value)	36.76 SD 24.20 (N = 30)	29.56 SD 21.95 (N = 75)	17.7 SD 15.23 (N = 149)

Fisher's Protected t-tests among means:

SAS: $F(2, 246) = 13.36, p < .001$

1 vs. 2 $t(246) = 3.41, p < .01$

2 vs. 3 $t(246) = 2.58, p < .01$

1 vs. 3 $t(246) = 5.51, p < .01$

BIQ: $F(2, 246) = 8.02, p < .001$

1 vs. 2 $t(246) = 3.37, p < .01$

2 vs. 3 $t(246) = 7.9, p < .01$

1 vs. 3 $t(246) = 12.58, p < .01$

BIQ: $sr^2 = .053 = 5.3\%$

SAS: $sr^2 = .095 = 9.5\%$

Fisher's "protected t " test, a multiple comparison technique is used to test for differences among the means, if the main effect of a multicategorical variable is significant. In this two-stage procedure, "Only if F is significant at the α criterion level are the means compared, this being done by an ordinary t test. Thus, the t tests are protected from large experiment-wise Type I error by the requirement that the preliminary F test must

meet the α criterion" (Cohen & Cohen, 1975, p. 157).

Participants' scores on the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ) were used in two ways according to the particular interpretation dictated by the hypotheses. One, which is by definition positive, is the BIQ absolute values (range from "0" (bicultural) to 84 (monocultural), and the other is the BIQ signed values (range from -84 to +84).

BIQ Absolute Values

In general, those hypotheses which have the BIQ as a dependent variable only distinguish monoculturalism and biculturalism without regard as to Americanism or Cubanism. The significance test provided the magnitude of the effect by indicating how far away from "0" people were in the biculturalism scale. Scores such as 10 degrees on the monocultural American side of the scale and 10 degrees on the monocultural Cuban side of the scale indicated that both persons were at equal distance from the center point "0" or biculturalism. Because biculturalism falls in the middle of the scale, the absolute value of the BIQ score is used to reflect the distinction between biculturalism and monoculturalism. In effect, then, these scores range from "0" (bicultural) to 84 (monocultural).

The hypotheses for this research were stated using absolute value BIQ scores except for the Curvilinear Hypothesis, where the BIQ signed values were used.

BIQ Signed Values

For the analysis of the SAS, a test of the Curvilinear

Hypothesis (No. VIII) regarding the relationship of the BIQ to the SAS requires that a distinction between Americanism and Cubanism be made. In this instance, the BIQ was entered as an independent variable, in contrast to its use as a dependent variable in the other hypotheses, therefore, the full scale, BIQ signed value scores were used. The interpretation of scores such as -10 and +10 will be different from the absolute value interpretation. A score of +10 is in the direction of Cubanism, while a score of -10 is in the direction of Americanism. In this case, scores for the analysis of the BIQ range from -84 to +84.

In testing the linear term, the BIQ (signed values) was entered into the analysis of the SAS after the following predictors: age, length of time in the United States, gender, age by gender, presence of a support group, educational level, total family income, ethnic identification and use of mental health facilities. The purpose was to control for these specific variables. In addition, the BIQ-squared was entered into the analysis after the BIQ linear term.

The categorical variables used in the analyses were coded as follows:

Educational Level (See page 63.)

Ethnic Identity

This variable was represented as a dichotomy--Cuban and Cuban-American,--instead of the four original groups. Six persons (2.3%) who reported "no identity" were excluded

from the analysis.

Presence of a Support Group

This variable was represented as a dichotomy with participants coded as having one support group versus two or more groups. Only nine persons (3.5%) reported having no support group.

Use of Mental Health Facilities

This variable was also represented as a dichotomy with the two categories being no mental health facilities versus one or more.

Generation Level

This variable was not included in the analysis because nearly everyone was first generation.

Missing Data

In addition to the six individuals excluded from the analyses due to no reporting of their ethnic identity, one participant did not report any income.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This Cuban sample has a few salient demographic characteristics which seem to be exclusive of this particular Latin American subgroup. Descriptive statistics illustrated in Tables 1 and 2 revealed that the Cuban participants, when compared to other Latin American subgroups living in this country, are more educated (58% had gone to college), have a larger annual family income (average \$43,000) and are an older population (average 48 years).

All Cubans have legal status in this country. The immigration status for this group spans two subgroups which may be classified according to period of entry: those who came before 1/1/59, and those who came after 1/1/59 as political refugees after the takeover of Cuba by Fidel Castro. From the interview experience and general inspection as the data accumulated, the investigator did not identify any notable differences between the characteristics of those two subgroups. However, no special analyses were made of the two subgroups.

Overview of Results

The principal findings of this study were that (a) biculturalism and anxiety are related to the length of time the Cuban participant has been in the United States, (b) biculturalism is associated with the Cuban participants' age, and (c) acculturating Cuban participants are

Table 1

Demographic and Psychometric Characteristics of the
Cuban/Cuban-American Sample

	Number of Cases	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
SAS	254	20.00	76.00	36.30	11.12
BIQ (1)	254	-64.00	84.00	12.05	28.31
BIQ ABS (2)	254	0.00	84.00	23.45	19.88
Age	254	18.00	90.00	47.75	17.08
Income	253	1,200.00	165,000.00	42,994.46	36,209.18
Time in the U.S.A.	254	1.72	58.72	20.06	8.34

(1) BIQ signed values

(2) BIQ absolute values

Table 2

Demographic and Immigration Characteristics of the
Cuban/Cuban-American Sample

(N = 254)

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Gender		
Females	127	50
Males	127	50
Marital Status		
Single	71	28
Married	141	55
Widowed	19	7
Divorced	17	7
Separated	6	3
Generation		
First	237	93
Second	17	7
Native Language		
Spanish	240	94
English	12	5
Both	2	1
Education		
Primary	30	12
High-School	60	24
Vocational	15	6
University	98	38
Post Graduate	51	20

(Table Continues)

Table 2

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Religion		
Roman Catholic	234	92
Protestant	7	3
Other	5	2
None	8	3
Occupation		
Housewife	32	13
Student	24	9
Professional	72	28
Blue Collar	62	24
Retired	15	6
Business	49	20
Ethnic Identification		
Cuban	122	48
American	5	2
Cuban-American	121	48
None	6	2
Immigration Status according to period of entry:		
Cubans before 1/1/59	14	6
Cubans after 1/1/59	224	88

experiencing high levels of anxiety as they continue to remain monoculturally Cuban.

Furthermore, to the extent that they are generalizable, the results of this research identified some variables as significant correlates of the process of cultural adjustment, specifically biculturalism. Besides length of time in the United States and age, other variables emerged that seem to be crucial to the process of biculturalism. Educational level is associated with both anxiety and biculturalism. Family income and the presence of support groups are related to biculturalism, and ethnic identity is associated with level of anxiety.

Hypotheses

Table 3, Intercorrelational Matrix of the Demographic and Psychometric Characteristics, presents the coefficients for each one of the predictors corresponding to anxiety (SAS) and biculturalism (BIQ). Hypothesized correlations and those from exploratory analyses are enclosed in boxes. Table G-4 presents the Analyses of Anxiety (SAS) and Biculturalism (BIQ), Regression Coefficients, Partial Correlations, and Pearson Correlations (see Appendix G). The B's to be reported are the standardized, raw regression coefficients.

Hypothesis I postulated that female Cuban participants would demonstrate significantly higher anxiety (SAS) than male Cuban subjects. The results of the multiple regression analysis demonstrated no support for this

Table 3

Intercorrelational Matrix of the Demographic and
Psychometric Characteristics of the Cuban/Cuban-American
Sample

	Gen- der	SAS	BIQ S Value	BIQ Abs Value	In- come	Sup- port Groups	M.H. Fa- cil- ities	Time in US	Eth- nic Iden- ti- ty
Age	.00	.06	.52**	.26**	-.26**	.09	.19*	.23*	-.05
Gen- der		.02	.10	.05	.02	.03	.01	.07	-.17
SAS			.28**	.26**	-.25	-.02	.17	-.13	-.19*
BIQ (S Value)				.61**	-.36**	.09	.19*	-.10	-.30**
BIQ (Abs. Value)					-.31**	-.12*	.16	-.11	-.10
In- come						.04	-.14	.35**	.20*
Sup- port Groups							.07	.07	.06
Mental Health Facil- ities								-.09	.00
Time in U.S.									.21*

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Boxed correlations represent those for which hypotheses were tested, and those for which exploratory analyses were carried out.

hypothesis, in that there was no significant difference between males and females on levels of anxiety (SAS). For comparison purposes, it is interesting to note that with college students Spielberger et al. (1970) reports a mean of 36.35, SD 9.67 for males and a mean of 35.12, SD 9.25 for females. This is very similar to the findings with the subjects of this study, mean 36.30, SD 11.12.

Hypothesis II predicted that older Cuban subjects would demonstrate significantly higher anxiety (SAS) than younger Cuban subjects. There was no support for this hypothesis, such that no significant relationship was found between age and anxiety (SAS).

Hypothesis III postulated that the length of Cuban subjects' residency in the United States would correlate negatively with their state anxiety (SAS). This relationship was significant and in the predicted direction. The longer the person had been exposed to the United States culture, the less anxious that person was, $F(1,251) = 5.93$, $p < .02$, ($B = -.208$, $pr = -.152$, $r = -.133$). This significant effect was relatively small and accounted for 2.3% of the variance in SAS scores.

Hypothesis IV predicted that the length of Cuban subjects' residency in the United States would correlate positively with degree of biculturalism. This hypothesis was supported with the analysis yielding a significant negative relationship between length of time in the United States and degree of monoculturalism (Absolute value of BIQ

with high scores reflecting monoculturalism). Therefore, the longer a Cuban participant had been in the United States, the more bicultural that person was, $F(1,251) = 9.27, p < .01$ ($B = -.445, pr = -.189, r = -.11$). In this instance, the significant effect of the relationship between length of time in the United States and BIQ (absolute value) was also relatively small and accounted for 3.3% of the variance in BIQ scores.

Hypothesis V which predicted that male Cuban subjects would be more bicultural than female Cuban subjects was not confirmed. There were no gender differences in degree of biculturalism (BIQ absolute values).

Hypothesis VI postulated that younger Cuban subjects would be more bicultural than older Cuban subjects. This prediction was supported by the significant positive correlation between age and degree of monoculturalism. That is, older Cubans tended to be more monocultural than younger Cubans, $F(1,252) = 19.31, p < .001$ ($B = .31, r = .26$). The significant effect of the relationship between age and BIQ (absolute values) was also relatively small and accounted for 7.1% of the variance in BIQ scores.

Hypothesis VII predicted that the relationship of age and BIQ would be stronger for males than females (an age x gender interaction). This prediction was not supported.

Hypothesis VIII postulated that BIQ monocultural scores in either direction, either toward the Anglo American or the Cuban poles would imply cultural

maladjustment, while scores towards the middle would indicate cultural adjustment. This hypothesis was not sustained. There was no evidence of a curvilinear relationship between anxiety (SAS) and biculturalism (BIQ).

In order to test the nonlinear relationship between degree of biculturalism and anxiety levels, the BIQ (signed values) linear was entered as an independent variable in the regression analysis for Anxiety (SAS). The quadratic term of the BIQ (the squared BIQ score) was entered after the linear BIQ. The nonsignificant quadratic effect may have been due, in part, to the relatively low frequency of participants with scores less than zero. As indicated in Table 1, the mean of the BIQ falls well within the positive end of the continuum. The results were also nonsignificant when the squared BIQ score was entered only after: Age, Length of time in the United States, Gender and Age by Gender.

However, there was a significant and positive linear relationship between the BIQ (signed) and anxiety (SAS). In this instance, the distinction is between Americanism (negative pole) versus Cubanism (positive pole). Therefore, as participants continue to remain monoculturally Cuban, they are more anxious, and as they become more Americanized they are less anxious, $F(1,235) = 7.08$, $p < .01$ ($B = .083$, $pr = .171$, $r = .28$). Furthermore, as they come closer to the "0" midpoint on the acculturation continuum, they are also less anxious. This

is one of the most important findings of this study because one of the assumptions of this research has been that cultural adjustment would be reflected by low anxiety (SAS) scores. The significant effect of the relationship between the BIQ (signed) and anxiety (SAS) was relatively small and accounted for 2.4% of the variance in SAS scores.

The linear relationship was also significant when the BIQ was entered only after age, length of time in the United States, gender, and age by gender, $F(1,248) = 16.99$, $p < .001$ ($B = .122$, $pr = .253$, $r = .28$, where the r represents the correlation of BIQ (signed) and anxiety (SAS)).

Other Findings

Significant findings from the exploratory analyses identified the following variables as correlates of anxiety (SAS) and biculturalism (BIQ). (See Table G-4, Appendix G.)

Presence of a Support Group

As far as support group was concerned, it was significantly related (albeit of small magnitude) to biculturalism (BIQ scores). However, it was not related to anxiety (SAS scores). Cuban subjects who reported having the presence of two or more support groups were more bicultural (their scores were closer to "0") than those who had only one, $F(1,248) = 6.05$, $p < .02$. The means for the BIQ corresponding to the two groups were, "One source" ($n = 139$) 25.65, SD 19.92, "Two or more sources" ($n = 115$), 20.79, SD 19.59.

Educational Level

Both the BIQ and SAS differed for the Cuban participants with different educational levels. The more education the acculturating Cubans possess, their possibilities for becoming bicultural are enhanced. Even more significant it is to note that as their education increases, their level of anxiety progressively diminishes, BIQ: $F(2,246) = 8.02, p < .001$; SAS: $F(2,246) = 13.36, p < .001$.

The means corresponding to the BIQ for the three educational levels, Primary ($n = 30$), High-School/Vocational ($n = 75$), and College ($n = 149$), were 36.76, 29.56, and 17.7 respectively. The means for the SAS corresponding to the three educational levels were 45.43, 37.65, and 33.78 respectively, as reported on page 63.

For the biculturalism scores (BIQ), the t -tests among means (Fisher's Protected t -tests) indicated that Primary was different from High-School/Vocational, $t(246) = 3.37, p < .01$; that High-School/Vocational was different from College, $t(246) = 7.9, p < .01$; and that Primary was different from College, $t(246) = 12.58, p < .01$.

For the anxiety scores (SAS), the t -tests among means indicated that Primary was different from High-School/Vocational, $t(246) = 3.41, p < .01$; that High-School/Vocational was different from College, $t(246) = 2.58, p < .01$; and Primary was different from College, $t(246) = 5.51, p < .01$, as reported on page 63.

Total Family Income

Biculturalism (BIQ) is negatively related to family income. As income increases, biculturalism scores decrease or they get closer to "0" (a decrease in the scale is an increase in biculturalism), $F(1,244) = 4.08, p < .05$ ($B = -.0000, pr = -.13, r = -.31$).

Ethnic Identity

As far as ethnic identity is concerned, it was found to be significantly related to anxiety (SAS scores), (albeit of small magnitude) but not for biculturalism (BIQ scores). The Cuban participants reporting a Cuban identity were more anxious than those reporting a bicultural (Cuban-American) ethnic identity, $F(1,237) = 4.15, p < .05$. The means for the two groups were, Cuban ($n = 122$) 38.46, SD 11.21, and Cuban-American ($n = 126$) 34.30, SD 10.84.

The following chapter will deal with the meaning of selected findings, limitations and implications.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This research has validated and clarified several aspects of the process of biculturalism and acculturation.

The results of this study support the basic premise of the acculturation models by acknowledging the course of acculturation. The data confirm that acculturation is a crucial factor contributing to the degree and the variations of psychological stress and anxiety among acculturating individuals and groups. The notion that remaining monocultural within a bicultural community can create emotional disturbances for acculturating individuals are corroborated by this study. In this way, the premise under which this study was undertaken has been sustained. The results also support the two-dimensional model of biculturalism and validates the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ) for use with an adult population.

Furthermore, several crucial variables associated with the course of biculturalism were identified.

Even though the significant relationships among the various variables in this study were relatively small, they all were in the predicted direction.

These results will be discussed in terms of their relevance to previous research.

The basic concept postulated by the acculturation models presented earlier (Berry, 1980; Stonequist, 1935; Szapocznik et al., 1980) was substantiated by this

investigation, albeit with results of small magnitude. The authors proposed the inevitability of a crisis situation, with its concomitant variations in psychological distress and anxiety, when individuals find themselves between cultures in contact. They also posited that individuals under those circumstances would strive toward a resolution of their cultural crises by choosing some kind of adaptation. However, this crisis resolution would depend on the kind of adaptations they choose and the options that the community has to offer. For some individuals living in bicultural communities, as is the case of the Cuban participants in this study, one resolution to their crises would be to become bicultural.

This study tapped two levels of responses to the environment by the Cuban participants, their psychological distress and their behavioral manifestations. The type of anxiety measured represents a cognitive-emotional process consisting of a phenomenological as well as a physiological response to the environment. It involves both stress and perception of threat (Spielberger, 1976). Results of this investigation confirmed that those Cuban subjects who were subjectively experiencing various degrees of psychological discomfort and anxiety were remaining monoculturally Cuban. Thus, anxiety is related to cultural adaptation. This confirms the premise of this study.

The most notable findings of this research include some of the predictions of the stated hypotheses, as well

as results from the exploratory analysis. The former included findings related to length of time in the United States, age, and monoculturalism and its relation to anxiety levels. The latter identified variables which seem to play a significant role in the biculturalism process, i.e., the presence of support group networks, educational level, income level and ethnic identification.

Length of Time in the United States and its
Relationship to Biculturalism and Anxiety

Length of time in the United States emerges as an accurate reflection of biculturalism. The longer the Cuban participants had been in the United States, the more bicultural they had become. This concurs with Szapocznik et al.'s (1978b) findings from acculturation measures that cultural adaptation is a linear function of the amount of time the individual is exposed to the host culture. Labarta's (1982) results from Bicultural Scale scores also support these findings. From her research with Cuban college students, she concluded that the shorter the period of stay in the United States, the least culturally adjusted the person is. More recently, Morote-La Torre (1985) reported a significant relationship between months in the United States and social adjustment for immigrants (students) mainly from Central America. Furthermore, these results also indicate that the longer the participants reside in this country, the lower their anxiety levels. In this respect, the assumption of this study that

biculturalism would be reflected by relatively low levels of anxiety was confirmed. It seems that amount of time in this country may tap the cognitive-emotional process reflected in state anxiety, and in this way, may assist Cubans in attenuating their anxiety. Consequently, it may facilitate their process of biculturalism. It seems from these results that the process of becoming bicultural requires time. Perhaps time which would allow, not only familiarization with the environment, but more importantly, the development of a sense of belonging to that environment. Culturally-linked preventive and clinical interventions that would assist Cubans to recognize and appreciate those variables that are related to their biculturation process could assist in clarifying their cultural expectations and in analyzing their anxiety levels.

Age and Its Relationship to Biculturalism

The important finding of this study that younger Cubans are more bicultural than older Cubans may raise critical implications for future research. This result is also consistent with Szapocznik et al.'s (1978b) findings that the rate of cultural adjustment is a function of the individual's age, with young persons adjusting to United States society more rapidly than older persons. These results also concur with Labarta's (1982) who reported that younger Cuban students were more acculturated than the older ones.

It has been documented that family conflict occurs when family members find themselves at different levels in the acculturation continuum (Stonequist, 1935; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980). While the latter authors reported that the extremes of the acculturation continuum (over and underacculturation) created family psychosocial and behavioral disorders for people living in bicultural communities, results of this study (related to age differences in biculturalism) suggest the potential for intergenerational disturbances among Cuban families when younger adults become bicultural, while either or both parents and older relatives remain monoculturally Cuban. The complexity of the conflict relationships and the anxiety producing potential and stress within a constellation of family members simultaneously produces a ripple and reciprocal effect. Scientific inquiry that produces theory construction is essential to the systematic exploration of these complex family relationships.

The Positive Linear Relationship
Between the Biculturalism Scale (BIQ) and
the State Anxiety Scale (SAS) Scores

This is one of the most important findings of this study since it confirms the basic premise under which this study was undertaken: that cultural adjustment would be reflected by relatively low anxiety levels. Thus, this finding reveals that anxiety levels are correlated with cultural adaptation. As Cubans continue to remain

monoculturally Cuban, while living in bicultural communities, they experience more anxiety. However, as they would proceed in their acculturation process towards biculturalism and farthest to the monocultural Americanism pole of the acculturation continuum, they would become less anxious. This result is consistent with the findings of Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) that cultural adjustment is related to 16PF characteristics. One of these characteristics is possessing low levels of anxiety.

Other Significant Variables Associated with the

Biculturalism Scale (BIQ) and

the State Anxiety Scale (SAS) Scores

Presence of a Support Group

As indicated by the results of this study, (albeit of small magnitude) the presence of support group networks are beneficial to the process of biculturalism. For individuals who are going through the transitional state of cultural adjustment, the availability of two or more sources of emotional support seems to be more effective than just one source of support. One of the reasons may be that these support group networks come to assume the character, function and purpose of the extended family networks in the Latin American culture. Keefe (1980) commented that the extended family, in addition to being a significant cultural tradition, functions as a primary support group.

These results coincide with Szapocznik and Kurtines'

(1980) tenets of the biculturation model which consists of a two-dimensional process of acculturation, approximating biculturalism. One dimension is the "accommodation" of the individual to the dominant culture, and the other is the preservation of the culture of origin. The authors suggested that degree and availability of community support for the traditional culture was a very important variable in the preservation of the culture of origin.

The results of this study also sustain Morote-La Torre's (1985) findings that the presence of social support networks are significant determinants in the social and psychological cultural adjustment of young Latin American immigrants.

Educational Level

It seems from this investigation's results, that education plays a very important role in assisting individuals in their process of becoming bicultural. Education seems to equip individuals with survival skills that would allow them to effectively manage and control available resources, with sensitivity to be able to perceive more available options and with the necessary ability to effectively problem solve. It was reported earlier that Cubans were doing better educationally than Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. Judging from this sample, in which 58% of the participants had some university and/or post graduate studies, it seems that the majority of Cubans are experiencing less difficulty in adjusting to the United

States society. Implications of this finding would suggest preventive interventions with Cubans and perhaps Latin Americans in general to assist them in preparing themselves educationally. Clinical interventions would aim at providing awareness and insight as to the benefits of education and in helping Latin Americans to develop immediate and long-term educational goals.

Total Family Income

Another significant variable which would be crucial in assisting the cultural adjustment process of Cubans to this society is family income. In spite of the fact that Labarta (1982) reported that self and parents' incomes bore no relationship to biculturalism scale scores, this study's results demonstrated that biculturalism is related to family income.

According to the 1982 Census Bureau figures, Cubans, compared to Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, had the highest median family income--about \$19,000. However, in this sample the average annual total family income was \$43,000 (see Table 1). If Cubans continue to do this well economically, they will be able to make their cultural adjustment in a less painful way than the other Latin American subgroups.

From this observation then, preventative intervention goals with some Cubans and perhaps other Latin American subgroups need to be focused on assisting them to acquire the necessary skills, educationally and/or vocationally, in

order to make acculturating Latin Americans employable.

Ethnic Identity

Reporting a bicultural identity was associated with low anxiety scores for the Cuban participants in this study. Identifying themselves as Cuban-Americans seem to reduce their psychological stress produced by guilty feelings and self-deprecation when they are trying to abide by two opposing sets of value orientations. They feel the conflict of having to choose one over the other--a conflict of loyalties. Not having to make this choice, seems to ameliorate their anxiety.

In the present study, 21 tests of significance were employed in different ways and different kinds. Of these, 10 tests proved significant. It appears extremely unlikely that many of those significant findings could have been due to chance alone.

The Two-Dimensional Biculturation Model

The biculturation model (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980) has also been supported by these findings. The authors proposed that if/when acculturation takes place in a bicultural context, the course of biculturalism would go along two unrelated dimensions. One is a linear process by which persons "accommodate" to the host culture and the other is a more complex process in which individuals either retain or relinquish the characteristics of their traditional culture. The authors further proposed that an important variable influencing the "accommodation" of the

individual to the host culture is the amount of time the person has been exposed to that culture, and that the most important variable influencing the person's retention of his/her traditional culture was the degree and the availability of community support for the traditional culture. Both these variables were identified as significant in the process of biculturalism in this investigation.

Validation of the Bicultural Involvement

Questionnaire (BIQ)

The age criteria has shown corresponding differences on the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ) in this study as it did in the validation studies with junior high-school samples (Szapocznik et al., 1980). In this manner, it has validated this instrument for future research with adult populations.

Limitations of the Study

This Cuban study was cross-sectional in nature. This research method limits fully understanding the acculturation/biculturation process. It was based on sampling at one point in time only in contrast to other studies that might be done longitudinally. It is possible that if investigators are in a position to gather information at different points in time, they might obtain different results. This issue would be an implication for future research. For example, next steps in research require longitudinal studies of Cuban family dynamics. To

develop a systematic exploration of family members relationships, it would be effective to gather data at regular intervals, from large samples of Cuban families, from different levels of the social structure, and base these studies on the observations of active family interactions, in addition to individual personal interviews. Furthermore, the complexity of conflict relationships in acculturating Cuban families warrants an interdisciplinary approach--anthropologists, sociologists, special intercultural network relationships, psychologists --in order to understand the etiology and the dynamics of its process.

As far as this Cuban sample is concerned, the data revealed that it consisted of a majority of Cubans with high educational and income levels. On this basis, it would be likely to assume that this sample may not be representative of the Cuban population in general. However, it is worth noting that according to the 1982 Census Bureau statistics, Cubans, when compared to Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, had higher educational and income levels. Future research is needed to clarify whether higher educational attainment and income levels are special characteristics of the Cuban subgroup, as opposed to the other Latin American subgroups, or if they are the result of this convenient Cuban sample.

Another possible limitation involves the researcher's insertion of an added phrase to the instructions of the

State Anxiety Scale (SAS). The addition consists of the following underlined material: "As a Cuban living in the United States, . . . during the last month," instead of keeping the original instructions which read: "indicate how you feel right now, that is, at this moment." This may have influenced the subjects' responses in some unpredictable way. The real answer to this question would be found in an empirical study of the methodology comparing the instructions with the same group of subjects to see if their answers to these questions differ.

Lastly, the significant relationships among the various variables obtained in this study were still relatively small. However, they all were in the predicted direction.

Implications for Future Research

This Cuban study suggests that several considerations need to be taken into account in similar research generally, and in cross-cultural studies in particular.

1. The effects of differences in the mental health status of Cubans, and Latin Americans in general, as part of the relationship of biculturalism and anxiety, need to be addressed in future research. The degree and the variations of psychological distress and anxiety of acculturating Latin Americans seem to retard their biculturation process. Therefore, the conceptual framework for studies dealing with biculturalism, need to involve these levels of stress and anxiety and relate them to the

meaning of individual differences in psychological well-being.

Within a psychosocial theoretical framework, age, length of time in the United States, and gender need to be included as important variables in the biculturation process. Furthermore, other demographic and psychological variables, which this study identified as significant in biculturalism, could answer broader questions. Variables such as presence of support group networks, educational level, income level, and ethnic identification. In addition, clinical research could reveal other variables related to cultural differences in biculturalism, such as: social norms, specific bicultural skills, racial characteristics, and immigration status (in recent years large numbers of refugees have entered the United States from various countries in Central America).

2. Another implication for future research might be to contrast the two subgroups of Cubans, those who came to the United States before 1/1/59 and those who came after 1/1/59 as political refugees. The purpose would be to find out if indeed there are any notable differences between these two subgroups. In this study, the number of individuals in one of the groups was too small to contrast the two groups. To conduct such a study larger community samples, particularly of the earlier arriving group, would be needed.

3. The average age of the Cuban sample in this study

was 48 years. Compared to Mexicans and Puerto Ricans residing in the United States who are very young populations, Cubans are the oldest group in this country. The reason for the age difference among these Latin American subgroups is that the older Cubans were forced out of their homeland for political reasons, which was not the case for Mexicans or Puerto Ricans (Alvirez, 1981).

If Cuban families continue to live together with their older adults, no problems for the future are envisioned. However, if they continue to acculturate and follow the norms of Anglo American society, there will be a pressing need for special programs for older Cuban adults in the 21st. century. Research needs to be attuned to this Cuban age characteristic to better meet the future needs of the Cuban population.

4. As far as the generalizability of the results is concerned, it is not clear at this time how these results will generalize to other areas of the country. However, it is worthy of note that, as pointed out in the Results section, this sample confirmed other investigators' research from the metropolitan Washington, D. C. area and from Miami, Florida. When the same psychological instrument (the BIQ) was used with Florida samples, (Labarta, 1982; Szapocznik et al., 1980), the Cuban subjects responded to it in the same way.

5. Replication of this research with other Cuban groups would be useful and could follow the procedure of

the present study. There were no special limitations on the sample as far as general characteristics were concerned. The participants were of Cuban origin and descent, 18 years of age and older, who lived in the metropolitan Washington, D. C. area, and were willing to participate in the study. After the necessary contacts were made with the liaison persons, the data were collected by the investigator and a graduate student in real life situations: in the participants' homes, their places of work, in community service centers, in their schools, restaurants, laundry shops, clothes boutiques, church congregations after Sunday masses, art museums, government offices, private offices, and ethnic markets.

7. Methodologically, there is a pressing need for acculturation/biculturation research instruments to be developed in the Spanish language since its inception for use with Cubans and other Latin American subpopulations. Some sources of nonequivalence in cross-cultural research have pointed out issues of conceptual equivalence (underlying constructs), behavioral equivalence (psychological characteristics which vary cross-culturally), linguistic equivalence (psychological meaning of words which differ among cultures), as well as experimental condition equivalence, sampling equivalence, and psychometric equivalence (Butcher, 1982). One of the reasons why this study was limited to the Cuban subgroup only was because of the unavailability of psychological

instruments which had been validated with other Latin American subgroups.

Investigator's Impressions

Some impressions from interviewing included the following:

1. The total time to reestablish liaisons, obtain subjects and collect the data for this field study was much less than it had been anticipated--only eight weeks. This investigator found most of the liaison persons extremely helpful and cooperative. Once one contact was established, a link was initiated in a continuous chain of relationships, persons suggesting other Cuban relatives, friends and/or acquaintances.

2. As to my impressions of the Cuban subjects as a group, I was particularly impressed with their enjoyment in various aspects of their culture. Friends are usually gathered around a table with many Cuban delicacies, Cuban or Latin American music in the background, and relatives and family everywhere. Catholicism plays a major role in every aspect of their daily living. However, the majority of them expressed a desire to learn the American customs, language, and adjust to American society. It seems that they are inclined towards a pluralistic philosophy of acculturation to United States society. It would be interesting to know what will happen within five or ten years. Will they become bicultural, culturally integrated, or monocultural in the American way?

3. This investigator found herself using Spanish most of the time in her interactions with the Cuban participants. On the few occasions during introductions and when amenities were exchanged, among bicultural people, English was spoken. However, switching into Spanish always created instant rapport. Two bicultural Cubans can engage in conversation of a superficial nature for a few minutes after meeting, but as soon as they switch into Spanish the relationship becomes more meaningful. An instant familiarity seems to bring them closer together. Language switching is exercised in all kinds of relationships, when acquaintances are incorporated as friends in gatherings of the extended family, in business practice, in teacher-student relationships, etc. The meaning of language switching is acceptance and one's incorporation into their group membership.

4. Most of the women in this sample were involved in various activities. Some were professional, but most of them worked or studied. They kept very active. Others organized church group gatherings which included Sunday dinners and/or evening meetings in churches or recreation places. This may have been one of the reasons why there were no differences in biculturalism and/or anxiety between males and females in this particular Cuban sample.

5. Although it is generally believed that one encounters difficulty in researching subjects--that the attitude of research is detached and businesslike--this

investigator found this group of subjects exceedingly congenial, warm and friendly. As a matter of fact, the majority of the subjects went out of their way to make the investigator feel welcome in their homes.

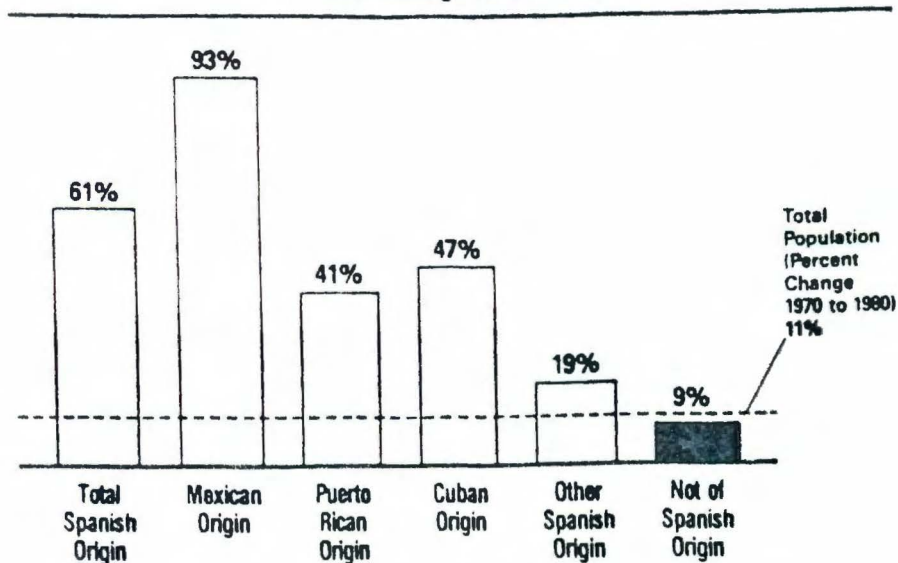
APPENDIX A
Census Bureau Statistics

Figure 1

CHART 3.

Population Growth

(Percent Change 1970 to 1980)



The 14.6 million Hispanics represented a 61-percent increase since 1970. Compared to the 9-percent growth for non-Hispanics, the proportionate increase for Hispanics is enormous. This growth resulted in part from high fertility and substantial immigration from Mexico, Cuba, and other Central and South American countries. But other factors contributing to the large increase were overall improvements in the 1980 census, better coverage of the population, improved question design, and an effective public relations campaign by the Census Bureau with the assistance of national and community ethnic groups. These efforts undoubtedly contributed to the higher count in 1980.

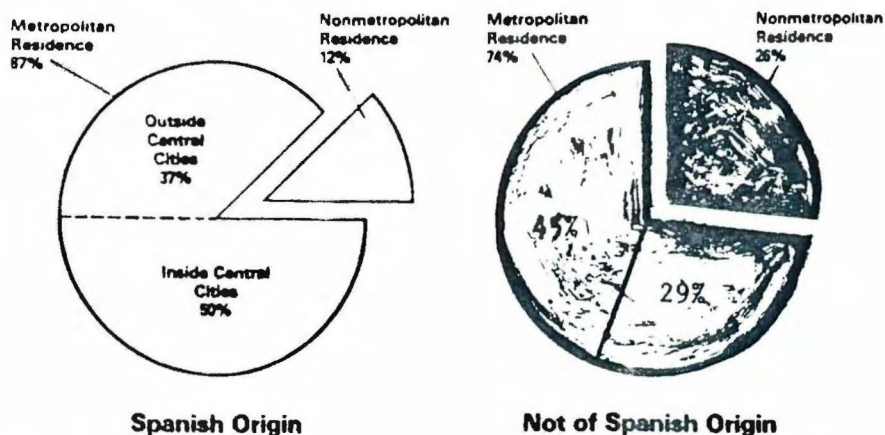
All of the Hispanic groups contributed to this substantial growth during the 1970s. The Mexican origin population, which is by far the largest Hispanic group, grew by 93 percent during the decade; both Puerto Ricans and Cubans grew by more than 40 percent, persons of Other Spanish origin by 19 percent.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1984.

Figure 2

CHART 6.

Metropolitan-Nonmetropolitan Residence: 1980



Base — Total persons of Spanish origin or not of Spanish origin.

Hispanics are largely metropolitan dwellers. And they were more likely than non-Hispanics to live in central cities. For instance, in 1980, one-half of all Hispanics resided in the central cities of metropolitan areas compared with slightly less than one-third of non-Hispanics.

Not only did most Hispanics live in the metropolitan areas, but they were heavily concentrated in the largest areas—those of 1 million or more persons. Puerto Ricans and Cubans were more likely to live in the largest metropolitan areas (73 and 83 percent, respectively) than Mexican origin persons (55 percent).

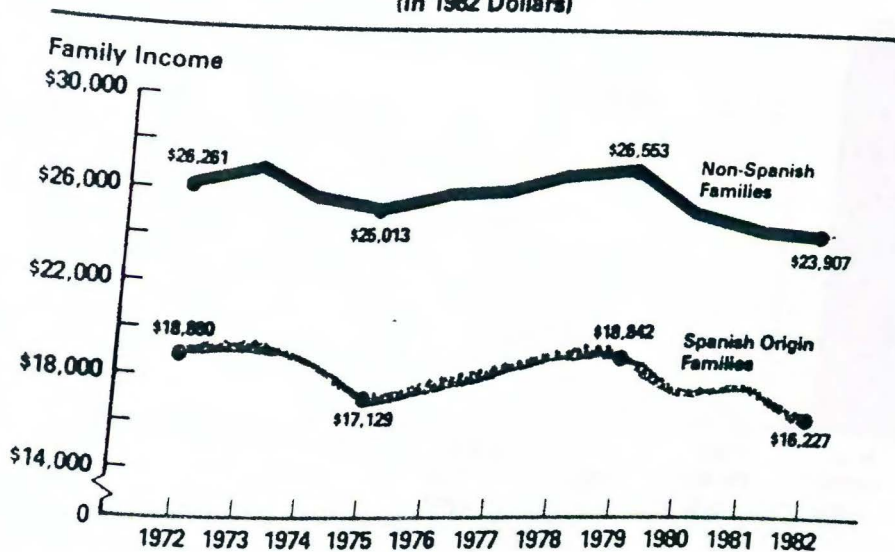
U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1984.

Figure 3

CHART 22.

Median Family Money Income

(In 1982 Dollars)



Overall, the changes during the last 10 years in the income and poverty levels of Hispanics were not encouraging. From 1972 to the mid-1970s, the median cash income of Hispanic families generally moved downward. Gains during the latter half of the 1970 decade offset the earlier decline. In the most recent period, 1979 to 1982, Hispanic families experienced a substantial decrease of about 14 percent in real median family income.

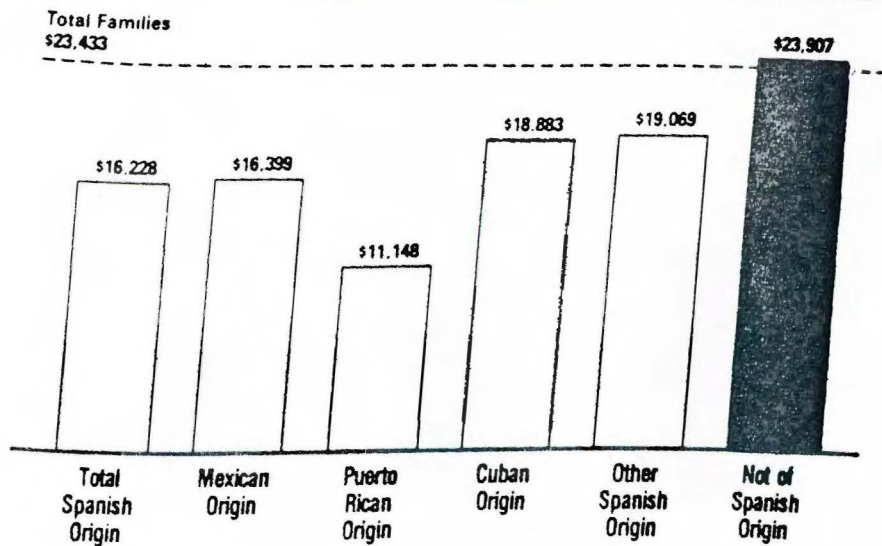
During the last 10 years, the median cash income of non-Hispanic families showed the same general pattern of changes as that for Hispanic families.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1984.

Figure 4

CHART 21.

Median Family Income in 1982



On average, the income levels of Hispanic families were lower than those for non-Hispanic families. The median money income of Hispanic families in 1982 was about \$16,000 compared with a median of about \$24,000 for non-Hispanic families. Looking at the figures in more detail, one can see substantial differences in family income among the Hispanic groups. Puerto Rican families had the lowest median family income of about \$11,000 in 1982. The median cash income of Mexican origin families was about \$16,000; Cuban and Other Spanish origin families had the highest median incomes of about \$19,000.

The cash income levels of families may be related to a number of factors, such as number of workers in the family, educational attainment levels, and composition of the family. The proportion of Puerto Rican families with no workers was much higher than for other Hispanic groups. In addition, the educational attainment levels of Puerto Ricans were relatively low. These are some of the factors which contribute to the lower incomes of Puerto Rican families.

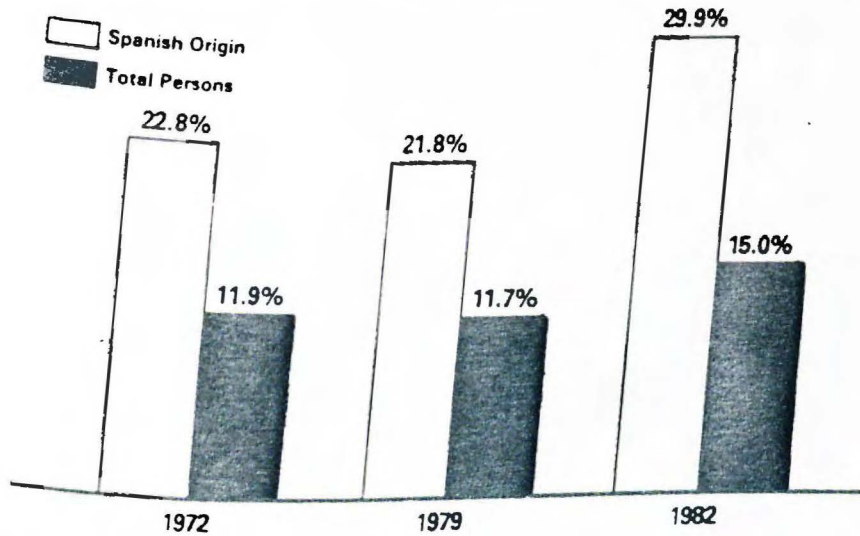
The money income figures do not reflect the fact that many families receive part of their income in a nonmoney form, such as Medicare benefits or employer contributions to health and pension programs. Noncash benefits intended for the low-income population are discussed later in this report.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1984.

Figure 5

CHART 23.

Poverty Rates of Persons



Base - Total, all persons or persons of Spanish origin for whom poverty status is determined.

The proportion of Hispanic persons below the poverty level in 1982 was very high—about 30 percent—and represented a sharp increase over the 1979 rate, 22 percent. The recent recession and associated rise in unemployment contributed to the increase in the poverty rate. The 1982 proportion was also much higher than the 1972 rate.

The poverty rates for Hispanics have been consistently higher than those for the total population throughout these years.

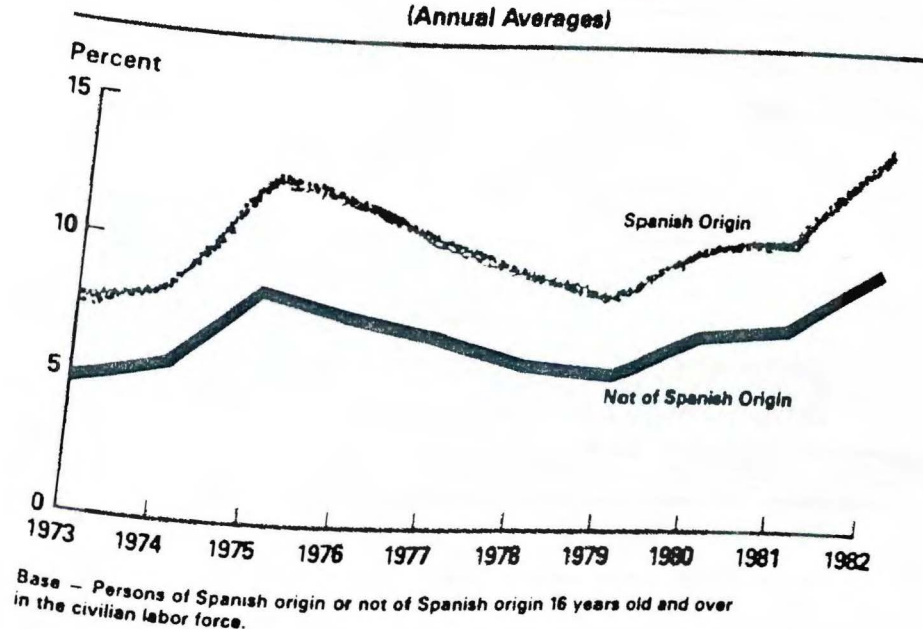
U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1984.

Figure 6

CHART 18.

Unemployment Rates

(Annual Averages)



Since 1973, when annual data on the unemployment of Hispanics first became available, Hispanic unemployment rates have been consistently higher than those for non-Hispanics. In 1982, as well as in 1973, the Hispanic unemployment rate was about one and one-half times that of non-Hispanics.

The unemployment situation for Hispanics reflected the changing economic conditions of the Nation. The jobless rates of Hispanics climbed during the recession of 1973-75 and then showed a significant downward movement until the end of the decade. However, during the 1979 to 1982 period, their unemployment rate climbed again and grew from 8.3 percent to 13.8 percent. The particularly marked increase from 1981 to 1982 in the unemployment rate of Hispanics resulted from the most recent recession, which also caused a rise in the rate for non-Hispanic persons.

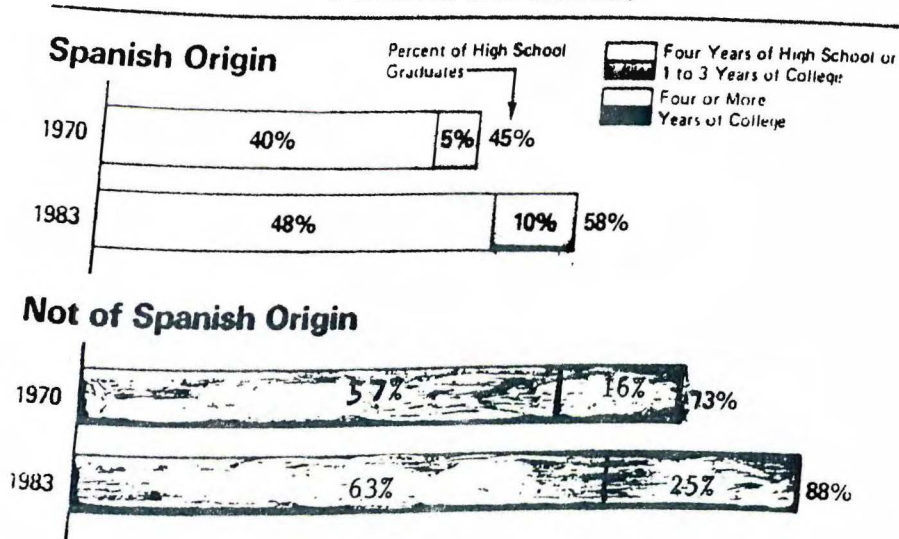
U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1984.

Figure 7

CHART 10.

Educational Attainment

(Persons 25 to 34 Years Old)



It is most encouraging to observe the marked improvement in the educational attainment level of young Hispanics. In 1983, 58 percent of young Hispanic adults (25 to 34 years old) were high school graduates, compared to only 45 percent in 1970. This improvement also appears in the proportions of college graduates, which was 10 percent in 1983 but only 5 percent in 1970.

Despite these gains, Hispanics have not reached the level of non-Hispanics. In 1983, 88 percent of young non-Hispanic adults were high school graduates and 25 percent had completed 4 years or more of college.

There are striking differences in educational attainment between young adults of selected Hispanic origin groups. Seventy-one percent of Cubans were high school graduates compared to 53 percent of Mexican and 55 percent of Puerto Rican origin persons.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1984.

APPENDIX B

Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ)

(English version)

Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ)

(Spanish version)

Instructions: In the following questions please circle the number that best describes your feelings:

A. How comfortable do you feel speaking SPANISH

A. How comfortable do you feel?					Very com- fortable
	Not at all comfortable				
	1	2	3	4	5
1. at HOME.....	1	2	3	4	5
2. in SCHOOL.....	1	2	3	4	5
3. at WORK.....	1	2	3	4	5
4. with FRIENDS..	1	2	3	4	5
5. in GENERAL....	1	2	3	4	5

B. How comfortable do you feel speaking ENGLISH

	1	2	3	4	5
6. at HOME.....	1	2	3	4	5
7. in SCHOOL.....	1	2	3	4	5
8. at WORK.....	1	2	3	4	5
9. with FRIENDS..	1	2	3	4	5
10. in GENERAL....	1	2	3	4	5

C. How much do you enjoy

C. How much do you enjoy					Very much	
	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5
11. Cuban music...	1	2	3	4	5	
12. Cuban dances..	1	2	3	4	5	
13. Cuban-oriented places.....	1	2	3	4	5	
14. Cuban-type recreation..	1	2	3	4	5	
15. Cuban T.V. programs....	1	2	3	4	5	
16. Cuban radio stations....	1	2	3	4	5	
17. Cuban books and magazines...	1	2	3	4	5	

D. How much do you enjoy

D.	How much do you enjoy					Very much
		Not at all				
		1	2	3	4	5
18.	American music...	1	2	3	4	5
19.	American dances..	1				
20.	American-		2	3	4	5
	oriented places.	1				
21.	American-type		2	3	4	5
	recreation.....	1				
22.	American T.V.		2	3	4	5
	programs.....	1				
23.	American radio		2	3	4	5
	stations.....	1				
24.	American books		2	3		
	and magazines...	1				

E. Instructions:

Sometimes life is not as we really want it. If you could have your way, how would you like the following aspects of your life to be like? Please mark an "x" in the column that applies to you.

	1	2	3	4	5
	I would wish this to be completely Cuban	I would wish this to be mostly Cuban	I would wish this to be both Cuban & American	I would wish this to be mostly American	I would wish this to be completely American
25. Food					
26. Language					
27. Music					
28. T.V. Programs					
29. Books/ Magazines					
30. Dances					
31. Radio Programs					
32. Way of celebrating birthdays					
33. Way of celebrating weddings					

Instrucciones: En las preguntas que siguen, por favor ponga una "x" sobre el número que mejor describa sus sentimientos.

A. Como se siente hablando ESPAÑOL?

	No muy cómodo/a			Muy cómodo/a	
1. en CASA.....	1	2	3	4	5
2. en el COLEGIO.	1	2	3	4	5
3. en el TRABAJO.	1	2	3	4	5
4. con AMIGOS....	1	2	3	4	5
5. en GENERAL....	1	2	3	4	5

B. Cómo se siente hablando INGLÉS?

	No muy cómodo/a			Muy cómodo/a	
6. en CASA.....	1	2	3	4	5
7. en el COLEGIO.	1	2	3	4	5
8. en el TRABAJO.	1	2	3	4	5
9. con AMIGOS....	1	2	3	4	5
10. en GENERAL....	1	2	3	4	5

C. Cuánto disfruta

	No lo disfruto			Lo disfruto mucho	
11. música Cubana...	1	2	3	4	5
12. bailes Cubanos..	1	2	3	4	5
13. lugares con, orientacion Cubana.....	1	2	3	4	5
14. recreación de tipo Cubano....	1	2	3	4	5
15. programas de T.V. Cubanos/Hispanos.....	1	2	3	4	5
16. estaciones de radio Cubanas/Hispanas.....	1	2	3	4	5
17. libros y revistas Cubanas/Hispanas?.....	1	2	3	4	5

D. Cuánto disfruta

	No lo disfruto			Lo disfruto mucho	
18. música Anglo-Americana....	1	2	3	4	5
19. bailes Anglo-Americanos...	1	2	3	4	5
20. lugares con orientación Anglo Americana.....	1	2	3	4	5
21. recreación de tipo Anglo Americano....	1	2	3	4	5
22. programas de T.V. Anglo Americanos...	1	2	3	4	5
23. estaciones de radio Anglo Americanas...	1	2	3	4	5
24. libros y revistas Anglo Americanos?.....	1	2	3	4	5

E. Instrucciones: A veces la vida no es realmente como la queremos. Si pudiera hacer las cosas a su modo, como le gustaría que fueran los siguientes aspectos de su vida? Por favor marque una "x" en la columna que le aplica a usted:

Quisiera que esto fuera completamente Cubano	Quisiera que esto fuera mayormente Cubano	Quisiera que esto fuera ambos Cubano y Anglo Americano	Quisiera que esto fuera mayormente Anglo Americano	Quisiera que esto fuera completamente Anglo Americano
--	---	--	--	---

- 25. Comida _____
- 26. Idioma _____
- 27. Música _____
- 28. Programas de T.V. _____
- 29. Libros/Revistas _____
- 30. Bailes _____
- 31. Programas de radio _____
- 32. Modo de celebrar cumpleaños _____
- 33. Modo de celebrar matrimonios _____

APPENDIX C

STAI A-STATE (English version)

STAI A-STATE (Spanish version)

Instructions: A number of statements which people have used to describe themselves are given below. Read each statement and then circle the appropriate number to the right of the statement to indicate: As a Cuban living in the United States, how you have felt during the last month. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any one statement, but give the answer which seems to describe best your feelings in the last month.

	NOT AT ALL	SOMEWHAT	MODERATELY SO	VERY MUCH SO
1. I feel calm.....	1	2	3	4
2. I feel secure.....	1	2	3	4
3. I am tense.....	1	2	3	4
4. I am regretful.....	1	2	3	4
5. I feel at ease.....	1	2	3	4
6. I feel upset.....	1	2	3	4
7. I am presently worrying over possible misfortunes.....	1	2	3	4
8. I feel rested.....	1	2	3	4
9. I feel anxious.....	1	2	3	4
10. I feel comfortable.....	1	2	3	4
11. I feel self-confident.....	1	2	3	4
12. I feel nervous.....	1	2	3	4
13. I am jittery.....	1	2	3	4
14. I feel "high strung".....	1	2	3	4
15. I am relaxed.....	1	2	3	4
16. I feel content.....	1	2	3	4
17. I am worried.....	1	2	3	4
18. I feel over-excited and "rattled".....	1	2	3	4
19. I feel joyful.....	1	2	3	4
20. I feel pleasant.....	1	2	3	4

Instrucciones: Algunas expresiones que la gente usa para describirse, aparecen abajo. Lea cada frase y ponga una "x" sobre el número que indique: como Cubano que vive ahora en los Estados Unidos, como se ha sentido Ud. durante el pasado mes. No hay contestaciones buenas o malas. No emplee mucho tiempo en cada frase, pero trate de dar la respuesta que mejor describa sus sentimientos en el pasado mes.

	NO EN LO ABSOLUTO	UN POCO	BASTANTE	MUCHO
1. Me siento calmado/a.....	1	2	3	4
2. Me siento seguro/a.....	1	2	3	4
3. Estoy tenso/a.....	1	2	3	4
4. Estoy contrariado/a.....	1	2	3	4
5. Estoy a gusto.....	1	2	3	4
6. Me siento alterado/a.....	1	2	3	4
7. Estoy preocupado/a actualmente por algun posible contratiempo.....	1	2	3	4
8. Me siento descansado/a.....	1	2	3	4
9. Me siento ansioso/a.....	1	2	3	4
10. Me siento cómodo/a.....	1	2	3	4
11. Me siento con confianza en mí mismo/a.....	1	2	3	4
12. Me siento nervioso/a.....	1	2	3	4
13. Me siento agitado/a.....	1	2	3	4
14. Me siento "a punto de explotar".....	1	2	3	4
15. Me siento resposado/a.....	1	2	3	4
16. Me siento satisfecho/a.....	1	2	3	4
17. Estoy preocupado/a.....	1	2	3	4
18. Me siento muy excitado/a y aturdido/a.....	1	2	3	4
19. Me siento alegre.....	1	2	3	4
20. Me siento bien.....	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX D

Demographic Data Form (English version)

Demographic Data Form (Spanish version)

Demographic Data

1. Sex: Female _____ Male _____
2. Age: _____
3. Occupation: _____
4. Country of birth: _____
5. Marital Status: Single _____ Married _____ Divorced _____
Widowed _____ Separated _____
6. Native language: _____
7. In what year did you come to the United States? _____
Secondly, what season of the year?
Winter _____ Spring _____ Summer _____ Fall _____
Make your best guess.
8. Temporary visitors: What is your expectation of stay
in the Washington Latin American community?

9. Education: How far did you go in school? Please
specify level in each case:
- (a) Elementary _____ (d) College/University _____
- (b) High-School _____ (e) Post-Graduate _____
- (c) Vocational _____
10. Generation: To which generation do you belong?
- (a) First generation in U.S. _____ (foreign born
person in U.S.)
- (b) Second generation in U.S. _____ (person born
in U.S. with one or more
parents who are foreign born)
- (c) Third generation in U.S. _____ (person born in
U.S. with one or more
grandparents who were born
in a foreign country).
11. Religion: _____

12. Income Level:

(a) Self: How much money did you make last year? _____.

(b) Parents or spouse: How much money did your parents or spouse make last year? _____.

13. Have you in the past, or are you at present, using any of the following services?

(a) Andromeda _____ How many times? _____

(b) A place that provides assistance to refugees _____ How many times? _____

(c) A clinic in metropolitan Washington _____ How many times? _____

(d) A hospital _____ How many times? _____

(e) A doctor _____ How many times? _____

(f) A ministry _____ Which church? _____ How many times? _____

(g) Other service _____.

14. Do you have any kind of support group in the U.S.?

(a) A Cuban community already established in the U.S. _____

(b) A nuclear family in the U.S. _____

(c) Close Cuban friends in the U.S. _____

(d) Other _____.

15. When you have a personal problem (when you feel sad, dissatisfied, or frustrated) who do you go for help?

16. Do you consider yourself: (choose one)

(a) Cuban _____

(b) Anglo American _____

(c) Cuban-Anglo American _____

(d) None of the above _____.

Datos Demográficos

Sírvase contestar lo siguiente:

1. Sexo: Femenino _____ Masculino _____
2. Edad: _____
3. Ocupación: _____
4. País de nacimiento: _____
5. Estado civil: Soltero/a _____ Casado/a _____
Divorciado/a _____ Viudo/a _____
Separado/a _____
6. Idioma nativo: _____
7. En que año vino Ud. a los Estados Unidos? _____
En cuál estación del año? Invierno _____
Primavera _____ Verano _____ Otoño _____.
Si no recuerda, dénos su mejor aproximación.
8. Esta pregunta es para los que están de visita en los
Estados Unidos: Cuánto tiempo espera Ud. quedarse en
la comunidad Latino Americana del área metropolitana
de Washington? _____
9. Educación: Qué grado de estudios ha alcanzado? Por
favor marque a continuación su nivel educativo:
(a) Primaria/elemental _____ (d) Universidad _____
(b) Secundaria _____ (e) Post-grado _____
(c) Vocacional _____

10. A qué generación pertenece Ud.? Seleccione una de las siguientes:
- (a) Primera generación en Estados Unidos _____ (Esta es una persona nacida fuera de los Estados Unidos.)
 - (b) Segunda generación en Estados Unidos _____ (Esta es una persona nacida en Estados Unidos, con uno o mas padres nacidos en el extranjero.)
 - (c) Tercera generación en Estados Unidos _____ (Esta es una persona nacida en Estados Unidos, con uno o mas abuelitos nacidos en país extranjero.)
11. Religión: _____
12. Nivel Económico:
- (a) De uno mismo: Cuánto dinero ganó Ud. el año pasado? _____
 - (b) De sus padres/esposo/a: Cuánto dinero ganaron sus padres/esposo/a el año pasado? _____
13. Ha usado Ud. en el pasado, o está Ud. usando en el presente alguno de los siguientes servicios?
- (a) Andromeda _____ Cuántas veces? _____
 - (b) Un lugar de ayuda a los refugiados _____
Cuántas veces? _____
 - (c) Una clínica en Washington metropolitano _____
Cuántas veces? _____
 - (d) Un hospital _____ Cuántas veces? _____
 - (e) Un doctor _____ Cuántas veces? _____
 - (f) Un sacerdote _____ Cuántas veces? _____

- (g) Otro servicio cualquiera _____ Cuántas veces? _____
14. Tiene Ud. familia, amigos, o grupo de personas en Estados Unidos quienes le ofrecen ayuda emocional y compañía? Indique cuál/cuáles:
- (a) Una comunidad Cubana ya establecida en Estados Unidos _____
 - (b) Familia inmediata (padres o hermanos/as) en Estados Unidos _____
 - (c) Amigos íntimos en Estados Unidos _____
 - (d) Otra fuente de ayuda emocional _____.
15. Cuando Ud. tiene algún problema personal (se siente solo, triste, disatisfecho o frustrado) a quién acude Ud. por ayuda? _____
16. Qué se considera Ud.? Seleccione uno de los siguientes:
- (a) Cubano/a _____
 - (b) Anglo Americano/a _____
 - (c) Cubano-Anglo Americano/a _____
 - (d) Ninguno de los mencionados _____.

APPENDIX E

Recruiting Notes, English Version

Recruiting Notes, Spanish Version

Dear Madam/Sir:

I am a doctoral student in Psychology at the University of Maryland College Park. I am from Lima, Perú. At the present time, I am working on my dissertation and the population I have selected for this field research is you, the Cuban population of metropolitan Washington. The purpose of this research is to try to identify some of the positive as well as the negative conditions that Cubans are experiencing in this society, the Anglo American culture. Therefore, I really need your help. It will take about 15 to 20 minutes of your time to fill out some questionnaires. No names will be given by you since this research study is strictly confidential and I do not want to connect any names with the information given. I can come and give you the questionnaires before you go to your meetings/classes. The information that you will kindly provide will assist in developing methods to help Cubans make a better adjustment to United States society. Furthermore, all respondents who complete these questionnaires will be entered in a lottery drawing for a pair of tickets for dinner and Flamenco show at the Spanish Restaurant, "El Bodegón," in Washington, D.C.

If any of you would like to talk to me after completing the questionnaires, please do so. Thank you for your excellent help and cooperation!

Elsa Rivera-Sinclair

Estimada Sra./Srta./Sr.:

Estoy haciendo mi doctorado en Psicología en la Universidad de Maryland, College Park. Soy de Lima, Perú. Ahora estoy trabajando en mi Disertación y la población que he seleccionado para mi estudio son Uds., la población Cubana del área metropolitana de Washington, D. C. El propósito de ésta investigación es tratar de identificar algunas de las condiciones, tanto positivas como negativas, por la que los Cubanos están pasando en esta sociedad Anglo Americana. Es por ésto que necesito vuestra ayuda, la cual tomará de 15 á 20 minutos de vuestro tiempo, para llenar unos cuestionarios. No se les pedirá nombre, pues esta investigación es estrictamente confidencial y no intento relacionar nombres con la información que me han proporcionado. Yo vendría a darles los cuestionarios una hora antes de vuestras reuniones/clases. La información que se sirvan proporcionar servirá para desarrollar métodos de ayuda para los Cubanos a fin de que puedan adaptarse mejor a esta sociedad. Además, todas las personas que participen entraran en un sorteo para ganar una cena para dos personas con espectáculo Flamenco en el Restaurante "El Bodegón" en Washington, D. C. Si a alguno de Uds. le gustaría conversar conmigo despues de haber llenado los cuestionarios, sírvanse acercarse.

Les agradezco vuestra excelente ayuda y cooperación!

Elsa Rivera-Sinclair

APPENDIX F

Debriefing Statement (English version)

Debriefing Statement (Spanish version)

Debriefing Statement

The major purpose of this research is to identify some of the events which have an impact, whether negative or positive, in the acculturation process of Cubans to the United States society. Of special interest are the following issues: (a) whether bicultural persons are making a better adjustment to the United States society than monocultural persons, (b) what is the role played by age, gender, length of time in the United States, income level, educational level, generation level, availability of a support group, and ethnic identification in the process of cultural adaptation and (c) who are those persons who are making use of community services and resources, are they the more acculturated or the less acculturated persons? You have answered many of these questions today.

Now, what are you taking with you as a recompense for having taken part in this research today? Besides my deep thanks for having so generously given of your time and effort, I can only say that you take with you the personal satisfaction of having helped your fellow Cuban Americans towards making a better adjustment to this society. Furthermore, you will be entered in a lottery drawing for dinner tickets and Flamenco show for two persons at the Spanish Restaurant, "El Bodegón" in Washington, D. C. So please, fill in your name and telephone number or home address on the card I have given you. Be sure to put your card in the lottery box that I have here before leaving.

Three winners will be picked out at random from all the cards. If you are a winner, you will be notified to the telephone number or address that you have written in these cards, so please write clearly. Good luck to you and thank you again for sharing your personal experience!

If you would like to hear about the results of this investigation, please mark "Yes" in the space provided in the card after the sentence: "I would be interested in receiving the research results." I shall be more than glad to share this information with you.

Pormenores de la presente investigación

El propósito principal de esta investigación es identificar hechos que tienen un impacto, ya sea negativo o positivo, en la aculturación de los Cubanos a la sociedad Anglo Americana. De especial interés es averiguar (a) si las personas biculturales se adaptan mejor que las monoculturales a esta sociedad, (b) cuál es el rol que desempeñan la edad, el sexo, el tiempo de permanencia en este país, el nivel económico, la educación, la generación, la identificación étnica y la presencia de familia y/o amistades, (c) quiénes son aquellas personas que usan los servicios de la comunidad latina, son aquellas que están mejor adaptadas a esta sociedad o lo contrario? Ustedes han contestado muchas de estas preguntas hoy día. Pero, que están llevando consigo Uds. como recompensa por haber tomado parte en esta investigación? Además de mi profundo agradecimiento por tan generosamente haber contribuido con vuestro tiempo y esfuerzo, llevan consigo la satisfacción personal de haber ayudado a sus compatriotas a hacer una mejor adaptación a esta sociedad Anglo Americana. Aún mas, cada uno de Uds. automáticamente entrará en un sorteo para obtener entradas para una cena con espectáculo Flamenco para dos personas en el Restaurante Latino, "El Bodegón" de Washington, D. C. Así es que por favor pongan su nombre, domicilio y número de teléfono en las tarjetas que les he dado. Asegúrense de poner su tarjeta en esta caja que tengo aquí, antes de retirarse.

De todas las tarjetas se escogieran tres ganadores/ras al azar. Si Ud. resulta ser uno de los ganadores/ras, se le notificara al numero de telefono o domicilio que Ud. haya dado en estas tarjetas, asi es que escriba con claridad. Buena suerte a Uds. y gracias otra vez por haber compartido conmigo vuestra experiencia personal!

Si Uds. desearan conocer los resultados de esta investigacion, por favor marquen "Si" en el espacio correspondiente a la frase: "Me interesaria recibir los resultados de esta investigacion." Yo tendre mucho gusto en compartir esta informacion con ustedes.

APPENDIX G

Table G-4

Table G-4

Other Findings		<u>B</u>	<u>pr</u>	<u>r</u>
1. Presence of a Support Group	SAS:	-.313	-.01	-.02
	BIQ:	-5.875	-.15	-.12
2. Family Income	SAS:	-.000	-.12	-.25
	BIQ:	-.000	-.13	-.31
3. Ethnic Identity	SAS:	-2.885	-.13	-.19
	BIQ:	-.005	-.00	-.10
4. Use of Mental Health Facilities	SAS:	2.589	.11	.17
	BIQ:	3.135	.08	.19

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: Elsa A. Rivera Sinclair.

Permanent address: 116 Fleetwood Terrace,
Silver Spring, Maryland 20910.

Degree and date to be conferred: Ph.D., 1988.

Place of birth: Lima, Perú, South America.

Secondary education: Colegio María Alvarado, Lima, Perú,
1948.

Collegiate Institutions attended	Dates	Degree	Date of Degree
Western College for Women	1954-1955	-	-
University of Louisville	1964-1968	-	-
Montgomery College	1972-1976	A.A.	1976
University of Maryland College Park, (UMCP)	1976-1979	B.A.	1979
University of Maryland Baltimore County (UMBC)	1979-1982	M.A.	1982
University of Maryland College Park (UMCP)	1982-1985	Ph.D.	1988

Major: Counseling Psychology

Professional Positions held:

Teaching Assistant. Montgomery College, Takoma Park,
Maryland. Fall semester, 1974.

Bi-lingual Counselor. St. Elizabeths Hospital,
Washington, D.C. June 1978-September 1979.

Bi-lingual Counselor. Hispanic Mental, Drug and Alcohol
Abuse Center, ANDROMEDA, Washington, D.C. March
1979-present.

Psychology Extern. Spring Grove State Hospital Center,
Catonsville, Maryland. September 1980-June 1981.

Research Assistant to Alice Isen, Ph.D., University of
Maryland Baltimore County, Catonsville, Maryland.
June 1981-December 1981.

Research Assistant to Janet Helms, Ph.D., University of
Maryland College Park. January 1982-September
1982.

Psychology Intern. Veterans Administration Medical
Center, Washington, D.C. September 1, 1985-
September 1, 1986.

Research Assistant to William Sedlacek, Ph.D., University
of Maryland College Park. May 1984-present.