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Latinx Immigrants

Transcending Acculturation and Xenophobia

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To my 25 co-authors for engaging in the spirit of familismo, simpatia, and orgullo. Together, we tell stories of hope, self-determination, and resilience of Latinx immigrants.

Preface

This book is written to honor the millions of immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries who have energized the US economy, its sociocultural transformation, and the country's future successful sustainability as a world power. There is a gap in the social science literature when it comes to an asset-based discussion of Latinx immigrants, in particular, and with this book, we put into context the historical and the contemporary, the realities and truths, and the hopefulness Latinx heritage people from 11 countries bring to the success of the USA. Much of the responsibility to provide comprehensive and accurate portrayals lies with people like me, who have the opportunity to engage with Latinx colleagues to tell the story of our countries' heritage. Eleven countries are discussed in this book who each share multiple common denominators historically, dating back to the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Of course, each country has its own story line of their encounters with the Spanish conquerors, later with migration journeys to the USA, and finally with post-migration experiences. The countries included are the Caribbean island nations of Cuba, Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico; Mexico, the greatest source of immigrants for decades; the Central American countries of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, all with examples of US intrusion; and finally, countries in South America with large land masses—Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela. A sociohistorical approach is taken to capture the richness of a country's history and emancipation and the persistence of its people to transcend centuries of oppression at the hands of White supremacists, military dictatorships, US imperialism, and civil wars. Some 400 years later, there are more recent political struggles in Venezuela and Nicaragua, economic and hurricane-related devastation on the island of Puerto Rico, and peace accords with guerillas in Colombia. This book, however, is focused on the immigrants from these 11 countries with ties to their homeland but with new lives for themselves and their families in the USA.

It would be a gross oversight on my part to not mention what we are witnessing in 2018. There are unbelievable incidents of children and parents separated at the US-Mexico border and thousands of children lost in the US systems of accountability. People who are trying to flee violence and danger in their home countries, particularly El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, are being dealt inhumane treatment.

These are people, like their predecessors, who want to have a safe life in the USA, yet the current administration has been heartless and cruel. There is so much Latinx immigrants have given to this country and will continue to give. We are hopeful, courageous, and optimistic people.

Spanish terms and phrases are used throughout, in chapter titles and headings. I am grateful to the authors for imprinting appreciation for the language of their cultural heritage in their writing. *Dichos*, or proverbs and sayings, are popular among Latinx people. I am proud to read these statements, many that are specific to a particular country's expression of emotion, motivation, and spirit. The use of one's language of heritage is a statement of pride (orgullo) and self-determination in a country that ridicules our language publicly. As Taymy Caso (2018) states in her chapter title on Nicaragua, *No me vendo ni me riendo* (I do not sell out nor do I surrender).

The chapters are organized similarly, beginning with an historical account of each country. There is a description of the shared history of colonization by Spanish conquerors beginning at the end of the fifteenth century with the arrival of Christopher Columbus on the island of Quisqueya, the Taíno word to mean *Mother of all Lands*, the original name of the island known today as Haiti and the Dominican Republic (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2018). Land was taken throughout the "New World" in the name of Queen Isabela leading to the decimation of indigenous groups. Throughout, new cultural groups were formed by the force of marriage, rape, and slavery leading to the evolution of *mestizaje* or mixed-race people. Color is a theme throughout the Latinx countries as colonialism seeded racism, classism, and sexism.

From the discussion of early history and conquest, each author moves on to discuss the varying reasons and periods of out-migration. There is variance for each country but suffice it to say there are commonalities such as US imperialism, evidenced with Puerto Rico and Mexico; US intrusion in self-governance by supporting military reigns in the Dominican Republic, Chile, and Argentina; and infiltration of the CIA in El Salvador, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Colombia. Additionally, the need for cheap labor has led to the pull-push phenomenon primarily between the USA and Mexico, Puerto Rico, and poorer Central American countries such as Guatemala and El Salvador. The exploitation continues to this day although the number of immigrants, both authorized and unauthorized is waning. In 2013, immigrant arrivals from Mexico and Latin America dropped below 30% from over 50% only a decade earlier (López & Bialik, 2017). Conversely, with the economic depression on the island of Puerto Rico and the devastation of Hurricane Maria, out-migration rates may result in a loss of 470,335 residents or 14% of the island's population by 2019 (Melendez & Hinojosa, 2017).

The waves of migration and settlement patterns from each country are discussed as life-changing events for families who left and stayed behind. Residents fled Chile and Argentina during the period of the "disappearances" of thousands of students, academics, authors, and others perceived to be threats to the military government. Instability in government and the increase in the danger of drug cartels pushed citizens out of Colombia, and today we see the continuing turmoil in Venezuela and its

"Chavista" socialist governments that have wreaked havoc on the lives of ordinary citizens with no immediate end in sight. Civil wars in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua forced many to flee, and there continues to be other forces of oppression in these countries that push people out and *al norte*.

The post-migration era is discussed with great variation on the one hand but also with shared experiences based on the processes of acculturation and experiences with xenophobia and discrimination. There are differences for each country with respect to settlement patterns around the country with New York, New Jersey, Florida, and California as primary states of destination. As well, there are differences in the number of immigrants. Mexico continues to have the greatest number, in general, while Nicaraguans have immigrated to the USA at much lower rates than their neighboring countries in Central America and only constitute about 0.7% of the immigrant population in the USA, equaling about 422,000 people (Flores, López, & Radford, 2017).

Hate crimes toward Latinx people in the USA are highly underreported; however, a recent report by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) showed that anti-Latino hate crimes rose by 15% in 2016—accounting for roughly 10% of hate crimes overall (U.S. Department of Justice, 2016). In spite of the struggles of language barriers, loss of social and economic status, and family separations, Latinx immigrants find ways to transcend obstacles to meet goals for themselves and their families, in the USA, and back home. Yes, there are mental health issues as families struggle with loss and grief and acculturation stressors because of gaps in education, income, housing, and healthcare, particularly for their children. Yet there are also success stories to be told. In the chapter about Mexico, Carlos Hipólito Delgado describes the legacy of guitar makers in the family that continues three to four generations later, instilling a source of pride. Wilfredo Colón was forced to leave Puerto Rico after the devastation of Hurricane Maria. He and his family arrived in Houston with only suitcases for a new beginning. A few months later, Wilfredo, a tattoo artist, was in business again. These are just two of many success stories accounted for in these few chapters, some are personalities such as Gloria Estefan, a singer of Cuban heritage; David Ortiz, baseball player from the Dominican Republic; Julia Alvarado, award winning author from the Dominican Republic; and Justice Sonia Sotomayor, of Puerto Rican heritage. The book celebrates Latinx immigrants and their families for continuing give to the lifeblood of the country they call home.

Phoenix, AZ, USA Patricia Arredondo

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About the Author

Hector Y. Adames, Psy.D. received his doctorate in Clinical Psychology from the APA accredited program at Wright State University and completed his APA predoctoral internship at the Boston University School of Medicine's Center for Multicultural Training in Psychology (CMTP). By training, he is a neuropsychologist and currently an Associate Professor at The Chicago School of Professional Psychology, Chicago Campus and the Co-Director of the IC-RACE Lab (**I**mmigration **C**ritical **R**ace **A**nd **C**ultural **E**quity Lab). Dr. Adames is the coauthor of a textbook on U.S. Latinxs titled, *Cultural Foundations and Interventions in Latino/a Mental Health: History, Theory and within Group Differences*. His research focuses on how socio-race, skin-color, colorism, and ethnic and racial group membership influence wellness. He has earned several awards including the 2014 Distinguished Professional Early Career Award from the National Latina/o Psychological Association.

M. Alejandra Arce was 15 years old when she moved to the United States to reunite with her mother, who had migrated almost 5 years earlier, following El Salvador's 2001 earthquake. Alejandra has two older siblings who continue to live in El Salvador, and whom she visits often and maintains a close relationship with. She currently lives in Atlanta, GA where she is pursuing a Ph.D. in clinical and community psychology, focusing specifically on the positive development and mental health of immigrant-origin youth. Alejandra has worked on a Master's thesis project investigating the role of individual and contextual-level factors on the development of multiple group identities (i.e., native and American) in immigrant-origin adolescents and emerging adults. Alejandra's ultimate professional goal is to help promote positive developmental trajectories and resilience among immigrant and other ethnic/racial minority youth.

Patricia Arredondo, Ed.D. has dedicated her career to scholarship and leadership that advances multicultural competency, social justice principles in psychology, leadership for women of Color, the assets of immigrants, and organizational change through a focus on inclusive diversity. An academic entrepreneur, she has held senior roles in higher education applying her creativity for cultural change; as an

organizational consultant to corporations, nonprofits, and universities, she has facilitated successful diversity initiatives. Dr. Arredondo is a licensed psychologist and National Certified Counselor. She has authored/co-authored seven books and more than 100 refereed journal articles, book chapters, and training videos. Dr. Arredondo is the founding president of the National Latinx Psychological Association and first Latina president of the American Counseling Association. She was named a Living Legend by the ACA and by APA, a Changemaker: Top 25 Women of Color Psychologists. She is proud of her Mexican-American heritage and enjoys mentoring young professionals and family members.

Jorge Ballesteros, M.S. is a second-year doctoral student in the Counseling Psychology program at Arizona State University. Jorge completed his bachelor's degree in Psychology and Sociology at UC, Santa Barbara. He finished a dual Master's in Sport & Exercise Psychology and Counseling at Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana. His research interests are on racial-ethnic minority student-athletes and their experiences at the collegiate level. Jorge hopes to investigate the formation of athletic identity among student-athletes. Furthermore, Jorge is interested in Latinx psychology and helping the community.

Agustina Bertone, M.S., Ph.D. candidate, School Psychology, UCSB, is a first-generation Argentine American. Her research focuses on the social-emotional development of Latinx preschool children, with consideration to contextual and cultural factors that influence the growth, development, and success of Latinx children in school settings. Her clinical experiences have centered on serving a predominantly Spanish-speaking, Latinx population, with an emphasis on bilingual psychoeducational assessment for elementary school children and culturally responsive school counseling practices. She is an active member of the National Association of School Psychologists and is the current Co-Chair of the Graduate Student Committee. Through this involvement, Agustina has served as Diversity Leader and developed a mentorship program to support students from diverse backgrounds entering the field of school psychology. She has joined forces with other students of color to support and advocate for inclusion in higher education.

Jack Borenstein is currently a third-year doctoral student in Counseling Psychology at Teachers College, Columbia University, under the advisement of Dr. Marie Miville. He received his Master's in Counseling from Long Island University. Jack was raised on Long Island, New York, and comes from a Jewish-Latino family from Colombia. His family immigrated to the United States for educational opportunities, amidst regional turmoil in the late 1980s to early 1990s. He is currently studying gender roles within marginalized Latinx populations, specifically, with Latinx Jews. Other research interests include Latinx Mental Health, Bilingual counseling, and acculturation.

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Germán Cadenas, Ph.D. is an Assistant Professor in the Counseling Psychology program in the College of Education at Lehigh University. Dr. Cadenas is himself an immigrant from Venezuela and has an extensive background in social justice activism and community organizing for immigrant rights, education, and mental health in the United States. He completed his Ph.D. in Counseling Psychology at Arizona State University, and both his doctoral internship and postdoctoral fellowship at the University of California Berkeley Counseling Center. Dr. Cadenas' research focuses on immigrant psychology and educational equity. He specifically studies the role that critical consciousness in activism/advocacy plays in undocumented students educational outcomes, how to create welcoming communities where immigrants can thrive, and how to heal trauma experienced by immigrants due to sociopolitical hostility. His research also focuses on underrepresented minorities' educational and career development in entrepreneurship and science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM).

Cassandra Z. Calle is a Latina-American (Ecuadorian) doctoral student at Teachers College, Columbia University working under the advisement of Dr. Marie Miville. She received her bachelor's degree from Montclair State University, majoring in psychology and minoring in Latino and Latin American studies, religious studies, and anthropology. During her time at her undergraduate institution, Cassandra served as president for the Multicultural Psychology Scholars and was the principal investigator in a study that explored definitions of health and healing for South American immigrant families in Bergen County, NJ. Over the years, she has worked with various organizations as a volunteer, providing social support to and translating for predominantly racial/ethnic minority families and communities. Cassandra's current academic and research focus lies with creating supportive environments and uncovering systemic injustices especially for undocumented and incarcerated populations.

Cristalís Capielo, Ph.D. is a proud Puerto Rico native, mother to Andrés E. Capielo Saul and wife to Steven E. Saul, Ph.D. She received her doctorate in Counseling Psychology from the APA accredited program at The University of Georgia in 2016. She is currently a tenure-track Assistant Professor in the Counseling and Counseling Psychology Department at Arizona State University. Dr. Capielo's research interests

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Taymy J. Caso, M.A., Ph.D. (ABD) is a fourth-year doctoral candidate in the Counseling Psychology Program at New York University. Taymy has been actively engaged in leadership at the local and national level to promote social justice advocacy, diversity, and inclusion of diverse communities. She holds several leadership roles, including serving as a Student Representative for APA Division 17's Section for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Issues for 3 years and collaborating with faculty from other universities on developing LGBTQIA-inclusive programming for annual APA conventions and division activities, a member of the Student Committee for the National Latina/o Psychological Association, and the Campus Representative for APA Division 45 Society for the Psychological Study of Culture, Ethnicity, and Race. At NYU, she serves as Student Action Group's Student-Faculty Representative and is a member of the Program Improvement Committee. Taymy has worked with the NYU Graduate Student Union (UAW Local 2110) to challenge unequal pay for Research Assistants teaching graduate courses as part of program requirements. Her research centers around examining intersectionality, consensual non-monogamy and exploring identity development and reconfigurations among Latinx, transgender or gender nonconforming people of color (POC) over the life course from a multidimensional, dynamic systems theoretical perspective. Taymy has earned numerous awards, including the Ronald McNair/Arturo Alfonso Schomburg Academic Excellence Award, which "recognizes a student who has excelled academically, shown commitment to diversity, equity, inclusion and social justice through their academic work and scholarship, and has used their academic training to support and empower a marginalized or underrepresented community in NYC."

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Ernesto R. Escoto, Ph.D. was born in El Salvador and immigrated to San Francisco, CA in the 1980s, fleeting El Salvador's civil war. He and his spouse, Luz Maria, now make Gainesville, FL home, where they both work at the University of Florida. Ernesto serves as the director of the Counseling and Wellness Center. He previously served as the director of the Counseling Center at the University of Miami and associate director of clinical services at the Counseling and Consultation Service with The Ohio State University. He is also an active member of the Association for College and University Counseling Center Directors and a licensed psychologist. Ernesto earned a Ph.D. in Counseling Psychology from New Mexico State University and completed a doctoral internship in psychology at the University of California, Berkeley—both accredited by the American Psychological Association. He holds an M.A. in Education and a B.A. in Psychology from California State University, Fresno. He also studied Public Administration at the John Glenn College of Public Affairs at The Ohio State University. In 2018, the University of Florida's Student Government recognized his contributions to the

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Diane Estrada, Ph.D. is an Associate Professor in the Counseling Program at University of Colorado Denver. Her research foci centers on Diversity and Social Justice and its integration in clinical training and supervision, counseling practice, and institutional policy. She has written several published articles on multicultural issues in supervision, intersectional identities in clinical practice, and the experiences of students of color in counselor education programs. Diane is past president of the Association for Multicultural Counseling & Development and sits on the Board of Directors for the American Family Therapy Academy.

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Luís Angelo Gomez, Ph.D. was born in Concepción, Chile and moved to the United States in 1998. He has a bachelor's degree in Pedagogy of English from Universidad de Concepción; a Master's in Rehabilitation Counseling from Bowling Green State University and a Ph.D. in Counselor Education and Supervision from the University of Maryland. He has worked as an Assistant Professor in Counseling, a Counselor for Latinx clients, a grant reviewer, and a board member in Cultural Competencies and Language Access committees. Currently, he works for the Government of the District of Columbia as a Rehabilitation Counselor for Transition Youth and serves as a Mayor's appointed Commissioner.

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Marie L. Miville, Ph.D. is a Professor of Psychology and Education at Teachers College, Columbia University. She is the author of two books and over 70 publications dealing with multicultural issues in counseling and psychology. Dr. Miville is a founding member and a Past-President of the National Latina/o Psychological Association (NLPA), Associate Editor for the *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, Book Series Editor for APA Division 44, and has served on several journal editorial boards. Awards include the Janet E. Helms Award for Mentoring and Scholarship, the APA Division 44 Distinguished Contributions to Ethnic Minority Issues Award, and APA Fellow status.

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Latinx Immigrants Set the Stage for 2050

Patricia Arredondo

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.
— Lazarus, E. (1883)

Historic and Contemporary Context for Latinx Immigrants

This well-known quote on the Statue of Liberty has served as a beacon of welcoming affirmation for those who weathered the death-defying journey on the turbulent waters of the Atlantic Ocean to arrive to the safety net of Ellis Island and the United States. Names were changed, creating new identities, some had family members or friends awaiting them with jobs, and a place to live and start anew. There are romanticized versions of the arrival of European immigrants through Ellis Island, but it is also known that these individuals experienced hardships of loss, discrimination, and family separations. Color was an issue even with these arrivals; persons from southern Europe were darker than the arrivals from the north, spoke other languages, dressed poorly especially if they were from rural areas, and stood out in ways that made them targets of racist microaggressions.

History reminds us that Mexican territory was ceded to the United States with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, leading to the eventual formation of the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. The Rio Grande became the border with Texas. As a result of this treaty, Mexican people became landless and eventually immigrants in their own country of heritage as they crossed the border for employment and family unification. The southern border of

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what is now the United States has also had entry points for persons from Mexico and all of Latin America but today continues to be highly contested sociopolitically. The continuous threat of an even more lengthy and costly border wall is indicating to Latinx immigrants that they are not desirable in spite of years of exploitation in the agricultural industry. Moreover, the federal government is turning a deaf ear to individuals seeking refugee status because of violence in their home countries of Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador as examples. In 2018, there are reports of intentional separation of parents and children and of lost children due to the irresponsible behavior of Immigration and Control Enforcement (ICE). According to a representative of the Department of Health and Human Services in testimony to the U.S. Senate, there were 1475 children lost in 2017 (Wang, 2018).

The establishment and evolution of the United States is based on several contradicting realities: dreams, freedom, families, immigration, xenophobia, meritocracy, slavery, racism and discrimination, resilience, and self-determination of immigrants. As we approach the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century, the contributions and persistence of Latinx immigrants and their families are becoming clearer. The individuals mentioned herein and in each chapter are demonstrating the resolve, resilience, and self-determination to live dreams and remain true to their *families* as cultural anchors. A new generation of political leaders are found in Julian and Joaquín Castro from San Antonio, Texas, Annette Zedillo from New Mexico, and Beto O'Rourke, also from Texas. Baseball phenoms such as David Ortiz from the Dominican Republic and Mariano Rivera from Panama are role models for youth and also demonstrate their philanthropy in retirement. Lin Manuel-Miranda, of Puerto Rican descent, created the powerful musical Hamilton, reminding the viewers of the creativity and resolve of Alexander Hamilton, an immigrant. Award-winning authors, Isabel Allende of Chile, Julia Alvarez of the Dominican Republic, and Sandra Cisneros of Mexican heritage affirm their cultural identity, countries of origin, and family values that sustain Latinx people across generations.

Who Are Latinx Immigrants and Their Families?

Latinx are the largest racial/ethnic minority group in the United States, with a population of 54.9 million or 17.8% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016), and making up 51% of the 43.2 million immigrants in the country (López & Bialik, 2017). There are 20-Spanish-speaking countries in the northern and southern hemispheres and the Caribbean Islands. Non-Spanish speaking countries include Brazil, with Portuguese as the primary language and in Guyana, where English is the official language. In the sixteenth century, conquistadores from Spain and Portugal opened new frontiers in this geographic area that today is Mexico, Hispaniola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic), Peru, and other countries. With their arrival, the conquistadores nearly decimated the indigenous peoples. Eventually, slaves were brought to work the silver mines and to do other heavy labor. From the co-existence of Europeans,

indigenous peoples, and Africans emerged a new "race," *meztizaje.* This is an important historical backdrop for contemporary Latinx in the Spanish-speaking world and the United States. The French and Dutch also had a presence in this part of the world as evidenced by the language spoken by individuals in Suriname, Haiti, Aruba, and so forth. In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, immigrants from Europe fled the Holocaust, sought new economic opportunities, and brought their languages, culture, and religions, particularly to Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, US leaders engaged in imperialistic, annexation behaviors with intentions of furthering the nation's footprint. To this day, there are conflictual relationships as demonstrated by the current (2018) president's hostile, verbal behavior toward Mexico and Puerto Rico and its leaders. Politically, there are specific relationship tensions with Cuba that go back to the Bay of Pigs incident, and with Puerto Rico because of its Commonwealth versus statehood status. The CIA involvement in Central America in the mid-1980s, and President Reagan's marginalization of victims of the civil war in Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua who came to the United States as refugees with Temporary Protection Status (TPS) also scarred these individuals until they were able to apply for permanent residency in 1997.

Representation from different Spanish-speaking countries has shifted over time although persons of Mexican heritage continue to be the largest demographic with 63.3% of the population of Latinos. Reports by the Pew Hispanic Research Center (Flores, López, & Radford, 2017) indicate the remainder of the Latinx population as 9.5% Puerto Rican, 3.8% Salvadoran, 3.7% Cuban, 3.3% Dominican, 2.5% Guatemalan, 1.9% Colombian, 1.5% Honduran, 0.7% Nicaraguan, 0.6% Venezuelan, 0.5% Argentine, and 0.3% Chilean.

It was reported in 2015 that there were 47 million immigrants in the United States, the highest percentage coming from the Americas, or Spanish-speaking countries. Mexico's border with the United States and historic employment arrangements make it the country with the most immigrants and children of immigrants. It is reported that the number of Mexican immigrants has decreased for multiple reasons—difficulty with border crossing, better options for employment in Mexico, and overt discriminatory behavior in the United States.

Frameworks for Understanding Latinx Immigrant Experiences

Immigration is a process that may have a beginning or several beginnings or attempts, but the consequences of immigrations may persist over a lifetime and across generations. Often described through models of acculturation and assimilation, these processes of change, loss, adaptation, and transformation can be compared to the five stages of death and dying outlined by Kübler-Ross (1997). In work with dying patients and their loved one's Kubler-Ross identified emotions of loss and grief as: shock, anger, bargaining, and acceptance. Of course, individuals went

through these processes of loss and grief over a period of time and arriving at "acceptance" did not mean someone did not experience anger and bargaining more than once. Specific to immigrants, this model provides utility to clinicians who may think that learning English, securing employment, or gaining a green card are evidence of assimilation. The model may also be instructive as immigrants try to understand their own emotions of survivor's guilt, self-blame, or reluctance to speak about the past. The change processes related to immigration involve many visible actions tied to goals set forth by immigrants for their new lives, but it is the less than apparent and visible conditions that may be the most difficult to discuss with family, friends, and professionals.

Clinicians engaging with immigrants need to appreciate the complexity of the individual's identity and many other contextual factors and sociopolitical conditions that have affected mental, physical, and spiritual well-being. The psychohistorical approach (Erikson, 1979) is particularly relevant for helping immigrants make meaning of their experiences. Accordingly, the psychohistorical approach provides a lens to review the chronology of events, an accounting of developmental events also taking place simultaneously (i.e., puberty and independence), reconstruction based on information and memories, analogous events and their impact, and for the clinician, assuming the role of both history taker and therapist. Latinx individuals often engage in what is the *plática,* or small talk. This is reflective of the value of *personalismo* or attention to the personal interaction. Thus, the psychohistorical approach invites storytelling, inviting the Latinx immigrant to discuss more than the here-and-now, and also explaining that to understand the current lies with also learning about the past—motivation for immigrating, family life back home, and hope for the new life in the United States. The narrative approach invites reflections, allowing immigrant clients to go at their own pace allowing for personal meaning-making, expressions of grief, and hopefully, eventually, self-acceptance.

Phases of Migration: A Framework

In my work with immigrants, I conceptualized three phases of the migration/immigration experience: pre-migration, migration-specific, and post-migration (Arredondo, 1986; Arredondo, Gallardo-Cooper, Delgado-Romero, & Zapata, 2014). In working with immigrant clients, this model provides the clinician with a lens for examining the post-immigration experiences in light of pre- and migration-specific events and processes. Additionally, it is necessary to see immigration as more than an event because it is also known that there are so many events and circumstances that contribute to acculturation stress and other post-migration experiences.

Pre-migration

Discussions about the pre-migration phase provide an understanding of motivating factors to come to the United States. Was it a natural disaster, employment, warfare, or other opportunities? Immigrants from Latin America have had many push-pull factors. To begin with, peoples from the rural areas of Guatemala have moved to the capital as a means to improve their earnings. This goal, if not achieved, causes them to move elsewhere, generally north to Mexico and eventually the United States. The pre-migration phase may introduce frustrations and disappointments, loss of whatever meager funds individuals possessed when they moved to Guatemala City, and embarrassment for letting down family members they left behind.

Another pre-migration condition causing many families to leave or to send their children out of their home country is violence. The undocumented children have arrived at the United States in increased numbers since 2014, principally from El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala. In effect, these young people have witnessed deaths of family members and friends, have been threatened with physical harm, and cannot be protected by their families. The best option is to make the journey north, on *La Bestia¸* the train that travels through Mexico with thousands of people, to go on foot, or otherwise to find other dangerous ways to travel with *coyotes.* These immigrants carry with them trauma, loss, and other emotions that cannot be readily erased when they arrive at their destination in the United States.

Of course, there are other pre-migration experiences to be understood. First, children do not make the decision to leave their home country and may resent their parent's decision to do so because it means leaving behind friends and other comforts they had. Second, immigrants often come from extended families with parents, grandparents, *tias* and *tios,* who may not understand why it is necessary for their children to take leave. Alternatively, many realize that they must rely on the monies that they will receive when their family member secures better employment in the United States. The pre-migration phase is a period of planning, assessing, and finally making a decision. For some individuals and families, the decision also involves consultation with faith-based leaders. Estrada and Torres Flores (this volume) discuss the engagement by pre-migrants with their Evangelical pastors. Together they pray on the decision to leave.

Migration-Specific Period

This phase can also be quite complex or for some easier. It involves modes of travel to arrive at the desired destination, in this case, the United States. In the 1960s, the US government supported the safe departure of Cubans affected by the rise of Communism, later *Balseros,* individuals who took small boats across the bay to Miami, had a less journey with different receptivity once they landed in Florida (Castellanos & Gloria, this volume). Victims of the Central American war often fled with the help of coyotes, often enduring a dangerous passage (El Norte movie, Nava, 1983). More recent escapes from violence and war in El Salvador, Honduras,

and Nicaragua (Arce & Escoto, this volume; Caso, this volume) involve similar treacherous journeys. The history of border crossing between Mexico and the United States is well documented and continues but the present narrative of 2018, those attempting to cross the border as refuges are coming primarily from Central American countries (Meyer & Pachico, 2018). Often, the migration journey has been one of terror and trauma with consequences for psychological, physical, and spiritual distress in the post-migration era; loss and grief, and depression are common responses (Arredondo-Dowd, 1981; Perreira & Ornelas, 2011; Potochnick & Perreira, 2010; Solheim, Zaid, & Ballard, 2016).

In 2014, there was a surge in the arrival of unaccompanied minors, primarily from the Central American countries of Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, where violence prevailed (Passel & Cohn, 2016; Rosenblum, 2015). Educators and clinicians alike will need to understand behavior in the post-migration period as affected by incidents and experiences in the middle phase. The experiences for youth will differ from those of adults. The Adverse Childhood Survey (ACS) refers to incidents such as homelessness, poverty, violence in the home, and abuse, both psychological and physical, that will have subsequent effects on one's well-being as an adult. Although experiences for migrant children are not specifically included through research studies using the ACS, it behooves clinicians to refer to this concept when working with immigrants who arrived as youth through less than safe passage.

Arrival to the United States from Latinx countries with documentation continues to be the exception rather than the rule. Gomez (this volume) discusses the benefits for individuals from Chile because of arrangements through work and student visas, family relations, and other programs that provide ease of entry for individuals who later stay in the United States. More typically, individuals arriving by plane on tourist, work or student visas overstay the allowable time, entering into an unauthorized phase and creating new issues for their legal continuance in the United States.

Post-migration Era

Individuals and families from each country represented in this text have had differing experiences "settling in," adjusting, or feeling welcomed in the United States. The post-migration period has no time limit, that is, individuals can have continuous experiences managing acculturation-related stressors relating to housing, employment, access to healthcare, and a sense of safety, dealing with sociopolitical dynamics including racism, maintaining relationships with families back home, and dealing with the emotions of loss (Chun, Balls Organista, & Marín, 2003; Falicov, 2013; Santiago-Rivera, Arredondo, & Gallardo-Cooper, 2002). In fact, 52% of Latinx reported that they have experienced discrimination (Krogstad & López, 2016). Color and language are two salient identity factors that can become barriers for some Latinx individuals and add stress to their sense of belonging and meeting their goals (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017).

The post-migration era involves meeting goals for family and self, raising children, and if possible, "living the American dream." *Honra a tus mayores y aprecia a tus menores (*Respect your elders and appreciate the children) is a dicho that speaks to the value of *respeto* and also to the interdependence of families. Counselors working with immigrant families must take note to this closeness and view it as an asset and source of strength. The value of the *familia* will resonate throughout this book; the post-migration era is about the collective, not just an individual's experiences with change and adaptation. It is going on at multiple levels and in different geographic locations.

Distrust will be a dynamic for Latinx immigrants, even those who are authorized. In this era of xenophobia and racism, individuals heard speaking Spanish have been ridiculed and insulted (Feis, 2018). For many Latinx immigrants fleeing civil wars and governmental oppression, the experiences of mistrust of the police and other officials is palpable. Even sharing information as part of an intake process for counseling or in registering a child for school may seem threatening. Immigrants are in unknown spaces and have heard enough before arriving in the States about ICE, police racial profiling, and even extortions by other Latinx persons who are in gangs. A current stressor for families relates to mixed-status families. With the heightened ICE sweeps, it is often a parent or older sibling who is unauthorized and under threat of deportation. If youth know that a family member is unauthorized, it is a source of daily stress and even helplessness. Healthy suspicion is normal, but it creates ongoing tension in addition to other acculturative stress.

In the post-migration period, there will be an interplay between adversity and protective factors (Arredondo et al., 2014). Relying upon protective factors such as the *familia,* one's faith, siblings, ethnic pride, hopefulness, and traditions will contribute to a sense of resilience or positive adaptations. Cardoso and Thompson (2010) found that immigration per se is not a "risk factor for a negative outcome" (p. 261), but the negative experiences surrounding the immigration and acculturation process become the stressors and negative forces.

Latinx Cultural Values as Sources of Strength

Researchers have found that systems, networks, and *familismo* describe the Latinx family structure (Falicov, 1998; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). Falicov (2013) underscores the importance of the microsystem for migrants who often move to the United States with a family member or friend. Together, they depend on one another to find employment, housing, and other resources. This behavior demonstrates values of interdependence and a sense of closeness and loyalty to the collective good. The Latino culture is described as collectivistic and hierarchical, organized by rules, roles, responsibilities, and *respeto* (Arredondo et al., 2014). Though to some counselors and psychologists this may seem "old-fashioned," the clarity of expectations for individuals facilitates a sense of grounding in the midst of a stressful developmental period such as the immigration acculturation experience.

Santiago-Rivera et al. (2002) indicate that to combat the negative effects of discrimination "…Latinos have effectively relied on their families and community network for survival" (p. 51). Family cohesion and the availability of community support associated with collectivistic traditions are advantages of first-generation migrants (Benzies & Mychasiuk, 2009; Marsiglia, Parsai, & Kulis, 2009). Unfortunately, family closeness is a double-edge sword with the threat of deportation introducing a collective climate of fear and anxiety for adults and children alike (Lopez & Minushkin, 2008; Migration Policy Institute, 2015).

Obligation and responsibility are cornerstones of Latinx culture and also serve as anchors, or a moral compass, in instances of change (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). Though not necessarily the case for all Latinx, particularly more acculturated individuals, there are examples to consider. The stories that emerge through the social media platforms, such as *I am an Immigrant*, provide rich narratives about the sacrifices made by many immigrants to succeed in the United States while also sending remittances to family members in their home country. These are everyday people who believe in hard work to become economically grounded and create opportunities for their bachelor's degree (Stepler & Brown, 2016).

In a study about shared values among Latinx from different national origins, 35% reported that they believe that people from different Latino countries shared values. Additionally, 38% indicated that there are values in common between people of their heritage in the home country and those in the United States (Lopez, 2013). For example, Colombian immigrants' connection to family as a cultural anchor is noted as essential for clinicians to consider (Miville, Calle, Mendez, & Borenstein, this volume). The permanence of Latinx cultural values is discussed in each chapter in this book because it is also part of a generational transmission process. How have acculturation and identification with the White mainstream culture affected Latinx identity status and affiliations? With multiple generation families in the United States, the loss or indifference to one's ethnic heritage and the Spanish language may occur as well as preferences to engage in more mainstream versus culture-specific activities (Arredondo et al., 2014; Pew Hispanic Center, 2013). This is discussed succinctly by Gomez (this volume) specific to Chilean immigrants who prefer to identify as White, more readily marry individuals of European or White heritage, and avoid mixing with other Latinx groups.

The Salience of Identity

The Dimensions of Personal Identity model (Arredondo et al., 1996; see Fig. 1) is introduced herein to underscore the intersecting identities of Latinx immigrants. The development of this model in the early 1990s was to position immigrants as "whole" people with multiple dimensions of identity beyond their status as immigrants who spoke English as a second language. A minimalistic and deficit view has historically been held about immigrants but more specifically with immigrants of color, the perceptions are not positive (Arredondo et al., 2014). The C Dimension in

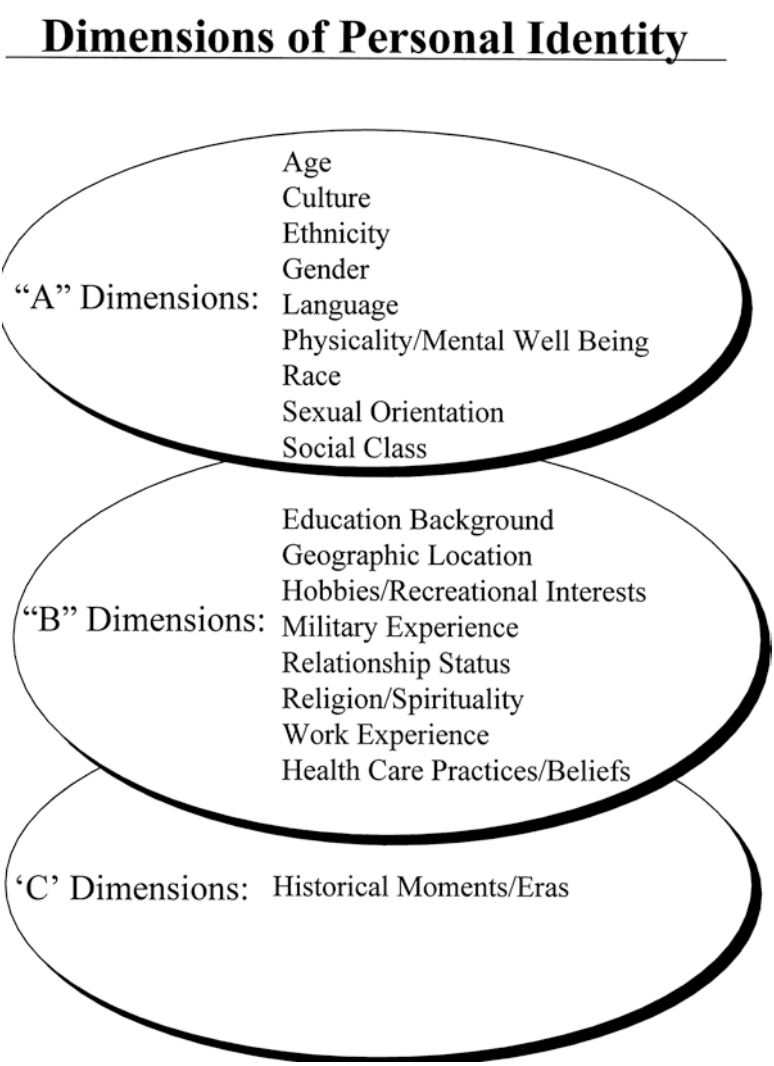

Fig. 1 Dimensions of Personal Identity model (Arredondo et al., 1996)

the model is described as Historical Moments/Eras and, specific to immigrants, immigration and the attenuating circumstances were the historical moment. What I learned in my early work with immigrant adolescents and their families in the early 1980s was that their A Dimensions (e.g., age, gender, sexual orientation) had an interacting effect with the act of immigration that then had an impact on the B dimensions of education, work experience, health/mental care, and so forth. In each chapter of this book, the model comes to life. The age of immigration is particularly salient as discussed in the chapter about Cuban immigrants. The children who

arrived as part of the Peter Pan movement were separated from their family of origin often leading to distress in the B dimension of their lives with respect to education and employment (Castellanos & Gloria, this volume). A more positive anecdote is arriving as an adult with a college education and being able to leverage that foundation in furthering one's geographic mobility, graduate education in the States, and subsequent work experiences (Gomez, this volume).

Ethnic identity will be discussed in each chapter in this book. The point made by most authors is that immigrants from Puerto Rico, Argentina, Chile, and so forth, prefer their national identity (i.e., Colombiano or Venezolano) to the pan-ethnic label of Latinx. They also mention, however, the cohesion that the broader label provides, particularly for children of immigrants. Ethnic identity provides a source of continued bonding with one's heritage and extended family. It is not to be minimized, even if one becomes a US citizen.

The Socio-political Context

Xenophobia continues to be a narrative within the context of the 150-year history of race-based immigration policy. This historical backdrop is visibly manifested with the emergence of hostile "show me your papers" legislation and racially charged immigration enforcement targeting low-income Latinx communities for detention and removal. We are also witnessing the "stigma of Illegality" created by racist and nativist narratives that exaggerate perceived threats and overshadow vast economic and cultural contributions made by immigrants. Even for Latinx individuals born in the United States, it is impossible to avoid xenophobia regardless of your educational achievements, income status, and community service. Deportation of Latinx individuals with families and long-term employment in low-income but necessary jobs is another example of persistent xenophobia.

The Executive Order signed by President Obama in June 2012, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, though not perfect, instilled a sense of hopefulness for Latinx individuals and other immigrants who serve the military, have a high school degree, are employed, are currently enrolled in school, and can meet other rigorous requirements. With the 5-year window of authorization expiring, changes with DACA were announced on September 5, 2017, with a 6-month window for Congress to "fix" the problem. In the interim, DACA recipients are filled with many fears and uncertainties for themselves and their families.

Safety is on the minds of all Latinx individuals, whether authorized or unauthorized. Sanctuary Cities have become safe havens for unauthorized immigrants in the midst of hateful and demeaning rhetoric. There also have been increasing movements to support immigrants and DACA status individuals. The "I am an Immigrant" website (imanimmigrant.com) has become a visible source of to celebrate immigrants, their accomplishments, and their commitment to this country. There are multiple stories on this website about individuals, families and their sense of pride, these sentiments transcend the negativity and xenophobia that still prevails.

Latinx Immigrants Set the Stage for the Future

Throughout this chapter and book, the reader will sense, I hope, a spiritedness based in ethnic pride, *familismo,* multiple cultural anchors, and positiveness. Latinx people are pragmatic, and determined, have transcended multiple challenges over the centuries, and continue to press ahead. Though there has not been a person of Latinx heritage as president of the United States, there are role models to call out, who have persisted to bring voice, particularly to Latinx immigrants. César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, and Luis Gutierrez have been steadfast in their social justice advocacy for Latinx immigrants. All have been arrested and stood alone with integrity to defend immigrant human rights. "Si se puede," is the chant originated by Dolores Huerta and used by many organizing on behalf of Latinx immigrants. It is a phrase of empowerment and resilience.

For educators and clinicians, I offer a few final thoughts. First, Latinx people as *meztizos*, have transcended centuries of hardship and yet persist. Second, as the "ethnic minority" group to become a majority in 2050, US society, at all levels, must understand the impact of this reality in higher education, employment, political elections, the military, and of course, the economy. Third, for clinicians in particular, recognize the endurance, optimism, and resilience of your immigrant clients, learn from their attitudes to create new models of positive counseling. Fourth,

Latinx immigrants may continue to decline but they have left a legacy with their children and grandchildren. Finally, the metaphor of the "living in the borderlands" (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 194), comes to mind when thinking about Latinx immigrants. For every day, they must live in two worlds, that of their home culture and that of the host culture, the United States. To be able to live in the borderlands for many years requires the resilience and self-determination that is described throughout this book.

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Argentines in the United States: Migration and Continuity

Andrés J. Consoli, Eduardo Bunge, Mercedes Fernández Oromendia, and Agustina Bertone

Historical Background and Cultural Characteristics

Argentina is the second largest country by size in Latin America after Brazil and an upper-middle-income country according to The World Bank (2018). The country is divided into 23 provinces and populated by 44 million individuals, though in an uneven distribution. In fact, almost one third of the population lives in the political capital of the country, Buenos Aires (the official name being Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires or CABA), and its surrounding areas. Those who live in Buenos Aires (the city, rather than Buenos Aires, the province) are generally called "*porteñxs,*"[1] as the city itself is a port. As of 2018, and according to traditional sources, 97.2% of Argentina's population identified as European or *mestizxs*, with only a 2.4% of Amerindians and 0.4% Africans (Central Intelligence Agency, 2018). Academic sources have challenged those numbers and have arrived at different conclusions. Specifically, biological anthropologist Francisco Raúl Carnese, of the Universidad de Buenos Aires, has concluded that, based on blood types, a more realistic distribution is 65% European, 30% Amerindians (contemporary referred to in Spanish as "*pueblos originarios*" or indigenous peoples), and 5% of African heritage (Navarra,

[1] The letter x is used for this and other nouns in Spanish to denote gender inclusion throughout this chapter.

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2011). Currently, Argentina is the country with the largest Jewish population in Latin America and sixth in the world (The Jewish People Policy Institute, 2013).

Argentina is among the countries with the highest ratio of natural resources (e.g., fertile land and favorable weather, sizable marine surface, minerals) by inhabitant in the world given its large surface area and relatively small population. This leads to frequent frustrations by Argentines, who expect their country's economy to be stronger and more stable. For example, in 2017, the annual inflation rate was 25%, the eighth highest inflation in the world, and second in Latin America after Venezuela (Trading Economics, 2018). Additionally, Argentina's gross domestic product per capita ranks 53rd in the world. Despite Argentina's natural resources, several major economic crises since the 1930s have caused a constant fear of instability and have had a significant impact on Argentina's culture (Reuters, 2014). For example, financial instability has led to markedly limited long-term planning and the entrenchment of an informal economy, which, in turn, affects job stability.

Education is compulsory through high school in Argentina. Students can attend free public schools or pay tuition at private schools. After high school, there are also free and public tertiary and university-based forms of education. The 2010 Argentine Census (available from www.indec.gov.ar) indicated a level of population illiteracy of 1.9%. Approximately one third of the population in Argentina lives below the national poverty line. Argentina is among the top tourist destinations in South America by number of visitors and is home to the Iguazu Falls, which are considered one of the seven natural wonders of the world and located in the Northeast border with Brazil.

History

As most Latin American countries, Argentina was subordinated to the Spanish Crown from 1536 until July 1816. Subsequently, massive immigration from Europe populated the country during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—mostly from Spain and Italy, followed by France and Germany, as well as Israel, Syria, and Lebanon. In the early years of the twentieth century, Argentina was the seventh wealthiest country in the world. However, since then a downward economic trend has emerged, and, despite ups and downs, this trend continues to the present. The economic decay may be explained by both historical and sociopolitical events.

In the early 1900s, Argentina was the *granero del mundo* (breadbasket of the world) and its economy became highly dependent on the prices of the commodities. In 1930, a period of political instability commenced, including several military coups. During the 1970s, this political instability led to the most violent era of Argentina's history with approximately 30,000 people being kidnaped and killed by a military dictatorship (including Beatriz Perosio, president of the Argentine National Federation of Psychologists and of the Buenos Aires Association of Psychologists) that ruled Argentina for 8 years (1976–1983). During these years, many Argentines went into exile abroad or migrated to other countries, mostly to

Europe, Mexico, and some to the United States. Since then, socioeconomic or family reasons have driven migration from Argentina, as well as *to* Argentina, considering that the country is a frequent destination by neighboring populations from Bolivia and Paraguay and, more recently, from other countries in Latin America, such as Colombia and Venezuela. For those interested in the history of Argentina written in English and by a US scholar, we recommend the work of professor David Rock (www.history.ucsb.edu/emeriti/david-rock).

Culture

Families Similar to other Latin Americans, Argentines tend to be collectivistic, family-centered (*familismo*), express positive feelings openly (*simpatía*), and build close interpersonal relationships (*personalismo*). In fact, Argentines reported the closest interpersonal space in a study including 42 countries around the globe and 5 countries from Latin America (Sorokowska et al., 2017). Specifically, Argentines reported the least interpersonal space in social distance (with strangers), personal distance (with acquaintances), and intimate distance (with close persons). Although these features are shared with other Latin American countries, the other four Latin American countries included in the study (Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru), did not report such a close interpersonal space.

Argentine families are influenced by this close interpersonal relationship style. Although the current family structure remains patriarchal (Herscovici, 2004), the recurrent socioeconomic crises have led more women to seek employment. This comes with the altering of power relationships within families and the lessening influence of the patriarchal, male-dominated features in the culture. Likely due to both socioeconomic and cultural reasons, youth tend to remain longer in the family home and gain economic independence later than those in the United States. In such a context, parental intrusion and overprotection of their children tends to be the norm more than the exemption (Herscovici, 2004).

Gender In recent years, several activist groups have been raising awareness of gender inequities, discrimination of gender minorities, sexual harassment, and gender violence. Grass root movements such as *Ni Una Menos* (Not One [Woman] Less) (http://niunamenos.com.ar; #NiUnaMenos) have sought to advance the rights of all women and raise awareness about the high number of femicides. While conservative ideas are still dominant, Argentina's culture is moving towards a more inclusive and egalitarian society with respect to gender. In fact, Argentina has the lowest level of gender inequality index in Latin America (Human Development Report, 2013) and has had one elected female president, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, who served two consecutive, 4-year terms (2007–2015), in addition to two elected female vice-presidents (Isabel Martínez de Perón who served as vice-president from 1973 to 1974 and then president, 1974–1976, when her husband, president Juan Domingo Perón, died in office; Gabriela Michetti, elected with

Mauricio Macri in 2015, to serve a 4-year term). Moreover, in 2010, same-sex marriage became legal in Argentina, making it the first Latin American country to legalize marriage equality. Nonetheless, abortion remains strictly limited by law, and Human Rights Watch estimates that half a million abortions are done in Argentina every year (www.hrw.org/legacy/women/abortion/argentina.html). In March of 2018, legislation seeking the legalization of abortion was introduced in the Argentine Congress.

Mental Health A unique characteristic of Argentina's culture is its relationship to the mental health field, captured by the sizable amount of mental health professionals and the popularity of psychotherapy, most specifically psychoanalysis. According to a 2005 study, Argentina was the country with the most psychologists per inhabitants in the world (Kohn et al., 2005), having 106 psychologists per every 100,000 inhabitants. To help put these numbers into perspective, Brazil had the second highest number in Latin America, with 31.8, while the United States had 31.1 psychologists per every 100,000 inhabitants (Kohn et al., 2005). Perhaps even more significantly, in 2012, a study reported that the ratio of psychologists in Argentina was 192 per every 100,000 inhabitants (Alonso & Klinar, 2013). Interestingly, most Argentine psychologists identify with a psychoanalytic orientation, possibly because of the marked European influence in clinical psychology within the country and because the Universidad de Buenos Aires, which is the public university and the one that trains the highest number of psychologists in Argentina has been a psychoanalytic stronghold. At the same time, it is possible that cognitive behavioral therapists are a minority due, in part, to the limited influence of U.S. psychology in Argentina (Muller & Palavezzatti, 2015).

Again, the popularity and acceptance of psychoanalysis and psychotherapy in Argentina speaks to Argentines' relationship with psychology and mental health (Alonso & Klinar, 2013; Muller & Palavezzatti, 2015). Therapists are ubiquitous, going to therapy seems to be the norm rather than the exception, those who attend may do it for many years without questioning the length of their treatments, and people share their psychotherapeutic experiences with each other without much concern of being negatively judged. Stigma about mental health services, access, and utilization are less commonly an issue among Argentines.

According to Cía et al. (2018), the lifetime prevalence of any mental disorder among Argentines is 29%, which is within the range of prevalence reported across the globe and in the lower ranges of the Latin American countries where data is available (Mexico 26%, Perú 29%, Colombia 39%, and Brazil 45%). Interestingly, and congruent with the popular use of psychotherapy, psychotropic medications are widely used in Argentina, especially in Buenos Aires. Actually, psychotropic drugs in Argentina have been associated with the highest net revenues among all medications (Shapira, 2009). A study on psychotropic drug use found that over 15% of the participants were using them, the lifetime prevalence was almost 30%, and almost 25% of the consumers were using them without medical advice and as a form of self-medication (Leiderman, Mugnolo, Bruscoli, & Massi, 2006).

Cultural Customs and Expressions Argentina is known for many of its cultural customs and expressions. Typical foods include *asado* (barbecue), *empanadas*, *locro* (stew), *dulce de leche*, *alfajores*, and the drinking of an herbal infusion, *yerba mate*, and wine, particularly Malbec. Argentines socialize with friends and colleagues at *cafés* and do so at different times of the day. Most men greet each other with a kiss on one cheek. Sporting events also bring together large numbers of people, particularly soccer, car races, basketball, rugby, field hockey, tennis, and polo. Artistic expressions include dances such as the *tango*, *zamba*, and *malambo*. Well-known musicians and interpreters include Carlos Gardel, Astor Piazzolla, Soledad Pastorutti, Mercedes Sosa, and Atahualpa Yupanqui. Argentina is known for its national rock, with interpreters such as Andrés Calamaro, Celeste Carballo, Charly García, León Gieco, Fito Páez, Patricia Sosa, and Luis Alberto Spinetta, and bands like *Bersuit*, *Callejeros*, *Catupecu Machu*, *Divididos*, *Enanitos Verdes*, *Fabulosos Cadillacs*, *Los Auténticos Decadentes*, *Patricio Rey y los Redonditos de Ricota*, *Soda Stereo*, and *Virus*.

Argentine poets and fiction writers have contributed meaningfully to Latin American literature, with some of the most well-known being César Aira, Roberto Arlt, Adolfo Bioy Casares, Jorge Luis Borges, Silvina Bullrich, Julio Cortázar, Tomás Eloy Martínez, Victoria Ocampo, Ricardo Piglia, Manuel Puig, Ernesto Sábato, Eduardo Sacheri, Juan José Saer, Samanta Schweblin, Osvaldo Soriano, Alfonsina Storni, and María Elena Walsh. Famous Argentine cartoonists include Juan Carlos Colombres, best known as Landrú, Joaquín Salvador Lavado, best known as Quino and the creator of *Mafalda*, Ricardo Liniers Siri, best known as Liniers and the creator of *Macanudo*, and Hermenegildo Sábat, who was born in Uruguay (1933) yet has lived and published in Argentine media since 1966.

Argentine feature films can convey profound aspects of Argentine culture. Pertinent to the matters addressed in this chapter, we recommend the following motion pictures focusing on aspects of Argentina's history: Chronicle of an Escape, Garage Olimpo, Kamchatka, and The Official Story. The following is a list of recommended movies highlighting aspects of Argentina and its cultural norms, perspectives, and traditions: A Place in the World, Intimate Stories, Live-in Maid, Lion's Den, Made in Argentina, Man Facing Southeast, The Distinguished Citizen, The Son of the Bride, Time for Revenge, and Waiting for the Hearse.

Migration Patterns of Argentines to the United States

Over a million Argentines live abroad, and the United States is one of the top destinations after Spain and Italy. Argentina's unstable economy and military dictatorships of the 1950s resulted in a significant increase in emigration from Argentina by its native-born citizens. Estimated at 185,000 and referred to as "brain-drain," highly skilled Argentines left Argentina in the late 1960s and 1970s with an additional 200,000 in the 1980s to countries such as the United States and Spain, as well as Mexico and Venezuela (Jachimowicz, 2006).

Approximately 60% of Argentines currently living in the United States immigrated after 1990, with the most rapid increase in migrations to the United States from Argentina occurring between 2000 and 2005 (López, 2015). This increase coincides with the economic and financial downturn Argentina experienced in 2001 and the emigration of about 255,000 Argentines to countries such as Spain, the United States, Israel, and Italy between 2001 and 2003 (Jachimowicz, 2003, 2006). According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the number of Argentines living in the United States, increased from 103,000 in 1990 to 224,952 in 2010 (Ennis, Rios-Vargas, & Albert, 2011). About 80% of Argentines living in the U.S. report they have been living in the United States for at least 11 years (or more), while 40% have been in the United States for over 20 years. Argentines entering the United States most often have come under the family reunification provisions. The majority of temporary Argentine immigrants to the United States enter with specialty worker (i.e., H-1B visa), cultural exchange visitor (i.e., J-1 visa), or intracompany transferee visas (i.e., L-1 visa; Jachimowicz, 2006).

Personal Accounts of Immigration

I (Andrés) was born and raised in Buenos Aires where I earned a *licenciatura* degree in clinical psychology and practiced as a mental health professional. Due to challenging circumstances at home and a wish to learn English, I traveled to the United States in 1985 and overstayed my tourist visa, living and working in the United States though not properly documented. Personally, I began to understand the Argentine culture I grew up in while in the United States, which made me equally proud and humble of my cultural upbringing and nationality. While I appreciated the emphasis on relatedness and social engagement my culture of origin had impressed upon me, I also noticed the indelible marks of having grown up in a military dictatorship, with traditional gender roles, and prejudicial attitudes born out of discriminatory practices. I viewed myself then and continue to do so today as a "recovering prejudist." Professionally, after moving to the United States, I served as a residential counselor in a group home for adults living with a serious mental illness, was a personal attendant to people living with physical disabilities, labored in a gardening crew, worked as a bilingual counselor in a family service agency, and eventually, completed a doctoral degree in counseling psychology at the University of California, Santa Barbara in 1994. After a 2-year postdoctoral fellowship in behavioral medicine at Stanford University, I have been a faculty member since 1996, training scientist-practitioners in research and bilingual service delivery. All along, I have striven to honor the privilege of a doctoral degree by contributing meaningfully to the advancement of a discipline capable of redressing human suffering and fostering human strengths. As an immigrant, I have been transformed by the experience in ways words cannot do justice to the ongoing process. It has made me a better psychologist and an even more committed citizen of the Americas, north, central, and south alike, though at a personal cost.

I (Eduardo) was born, raised, and trained in Argentina and came to the United States a few years ago. My psychology training started right after finishing high school; I attended the Universidad de Buenos Aires, where I studied clinical psychology for 6 years and earned my degree and license as a clinical psychologist. The majority of the initial training I received was in the psychoanalytic tradition (mostly Freud and Lacan). Eventually, I took a cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) class and realized that evidence-based practice was the field I wanted to work on. So, I did a 2-year postgraduate training in CBT and started working hard as a clinician and publishing in the area of child and adolescent CBT. I then wanted to gain more research experience, so I came to the United States for a short visit, and there I was advised, "without a Ph.D. you won't be considered a psychologist here." So, I returned to Argentina, completed my Ph.D. and finally came to Palo Alto University in California as a visiting professor. What was supposed to be a 3-month visit with my spouse and our son was extended more than expected. It has now been more than 5 years since we arrived in the United States and a new member joined our family (our daughter). I am still in the process of understanding and adjusting to the new culture. I constantly feel the tension between how much I like my academic work here in the United States and the strong bonds with my country of origin; between how much I can contribute to the advancement of the field in an environment rich in resources and funding (the United States) and an environment that needs more resources and funding (Argentina); how much I want to give back to my family of origin in Argentina, and how much I want to give to the family I created in the United States. I believe that after the time I have spent here, I will now feel that tension wherever I go, and this is probably what immigrants have to deal with. I am not the same person I was 5 years ago, I see Argentina and myself from a different perspective, I have learned more than what I expected, and I am truly grateful for all those who shared this journey with me.

I (Mercedes) was born in Buenos Aires and moved to the United States at age 6 when my father was transferred to his employer's headquarters in Minnesota. After 3 years, we returned to Buenos Aires, as my parents could not envision raising their children away from our grandparents, cousins, aunts, and uncles. In 2001, the economic and political crisis worsened and safety and economic concerns in Buenos Aires prompted my parents to move the family permanently to Minnesota. Despite having considerable privileges as immigrants (my parents spoke English, were employed, we had visas, etc.), adapting to life in Minnesota was difficult. It was especially challenging that my sisters and I were the only immigrants in our elementary school, the only ones that spoke Spanish, and the school did not have an ESL program to help non-native speakers. In fact, it was not until college that I made Latinx friends. I missed connecting with Argentines and Latinxs so much that I cofounded *MateTime*, a student group for people from all nationalities to meet and drink mate once a week. Maintaining my connection to Argentina is very important for me. I still remain close to my childhood friends in Argentina, and although at times it feels as though we live very different lives, there is an understanding and connection that has been difficult to replicate in the United States. Personally, while working in a cultural identity research team in college I realized I could be both

Argentine AND American. Professionally, I have sought to build a career helping individuals, families, organizations, and professionals to assist immigrant youth to thrive in the United States. I have also sought to develop as a bilingual and bicultural professional doing an externship in Argentina, publishing in Spanish, and presenting my dissertation in Spanish at a conference. I am forever grateful to be able to have a foot in both places that I call home.

I (Agustina) was born in Los Angeles, California, to Argentine parents. My parents came to the United States in 1985, my father first, followed by my mother 9 months later. They made a living initially as construction workers, as my father could not find work as an architect or my mother as a teacher (the degrees they had received in Argentina). My mother then began teaching at an underserved elementary school in Los Angeles, to support my family and help pay my father's tuition at UCLA while he pursued his master's degree in architecture. In 1997, when I was 4 years old, my family returned to Mar del Plata, Argentina, due to my parents' desire to raise their daughters alongside their extended family and within the culture they identified most with. Following the economic collapse of 2001, my family relocated back to the United States in 2002, first to San Diego, California, and then to Palm City, Florida. Growing up in a bicultural and bilingual home, reconciling American and Argentine cultures has been both an enriching and difficult process, but one that has provided me with sensitivity and insight to working with multi-lingual and bicultural individuals, and a passion to advocate for the rights of underserved communities. I hope that my career as a school psychologist will allow me to work closely with Latinx families to support children's positive social-emotional and academic development.

Demographic Information of Argentines in the United States and Argentine Americans

According to the 2010 U.S. Census data analyzed by the Pew Research Hispanic Trends Project, approximately 242,000 individuals in the United States identified themselves as Argentine or of Argentine ancestry (born in the United States to Argentine immigrants) and comprised 0.5% of the U.S. Latinx population at the time of data collection. Approximately 61% of U.S. residents acknowledging a relationship with Argentina in the U.S. Census were born outside of the United States (compared with 35% of all Latinxs and 13% of the U.S. population overall) and approximately half of individuals identifying themselves as Argentine in the Census were citizens of the United States as of 2011 (López, 2015).

A few considerations must be made in light of the demographics presented. Sources that collect data about Argentine immigrants are limited to the U.S. Census and do not necessarily reflect the exact population size. Due to concerns with legal documentation and immigration status, it is likely that these numbers do not fully reflect the population size of Argentines residing in the United States. It is important

to note that the Argentine population in the United States is still relatively small in comparison to other Latin American countries, as it is the 14th largest Latinx population in the United States (López, 2015). Additionally, it is likely that the size of the Argentine population in the United States is even larger today, considering that the most recent data collection available is that of the 2010 U.S. Census and that the preceding decade had shown a sizable increase in the number of Argentines in the United States.

The largest communities of Argentines in the United States reside in New York, California, and Southern Florida, with 60% of all Argentines in the United States living in one of these three states (Jachimowicz, 2006; López, 2015). In 2013, approximately 61,000 Argentines lived in the Northeast region of the United States, with an estimated 28,000 living in New York. Ninety-three thousand Argentines lived in the South of the United States, and approximately 50,000 lived in Florida. Eighteen thousand Argentines lived in the Midwest, and 72,000 lived in the West, with an approximate 49,000 Argentines living in California. These settlement patterns are expected, as it has been documented that almost two-thirds of South American immigrants in the United States live among the states of Florida, New York, New Jersey, and California, collectively (Stoney, Batalova, & Russell, 2013).

Based on the U.S. Census of 2010 and the American Community Survey of 2013, it is estimated that 41% of Argentines over the age of 25 and living in the United States have received at least a bachelor's degree, exceeding the percentage (30%) of the U.S. population that has completed this level of education as well as that of all Latinxs in the United States, which is estimated at 14% (López, 2015). It is worth noting that the educational attainment of Argentines in the United States over the age of 25 is significantly higher than those in Argentina (estimated at 21% over the age of 25 who have received at least a bachelor's degree). An estimated 37,000 Argentine American children are enrolled in primary and secondary schools (K-12). It is also estimated that 75% of Argentines in the United States above the age of 5 speak English proficiently, while 77% of them speak Spanish at home. The median annual income for Argentine Americans is estimated at $31,000, compared to $21,900 for all Latinxs in the United States, and slightly better than the median earnings for the U.S. population ($30,000). The percentage of Argentine Americans living in poverty is estimated at 11%, which is lower than the rate for the general U.S. population (16%) and for Latinxs overall (25%; López, 2015).

The Post-migration Era

Challenges

While Argentines, like other immigrants, face shared and unique challenges in the migration process (for an insightful analysis, see Grinberg & Grinberg, 1984), they also count with significant benefits. In 1996, Argentina was added to the U.S. Visa Waiver

Program (US-VWP), a program that waives the need to obtain a visa in the U.S. Consulate at one's country of origin before traveling to the United States for business or tourism. The U.S. Federal Register indicates that the status was terminated in 2002 on the grounds that the 2001 Argentine economic crisis and default was increasing the number of Argentines attempting to enter the United States to live and work without the proper documentation or in transit to Canada for the same purpose (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2002). Although Argentina is not part of the US-VWP at the moment (as of 2018, Chile is the only Latin American country that is on the roster), Argentine passport holders can visit close to 160 countries without a visa. Due to Spanish and Italian ancestry, many Argentines have been able to secure dual nationalities and, in turn, gain better access to the United States considering that both Spain and Italy are part of the US-VWP. Immigrants from Argentina are more likely to have completed high school, and even received tertiary or university education, increasing their chances of accessing advanced employment in the United States. Of note, Argentines living in the United States are the second largest source of remittances to Argentina that is second only to the amount of money sent home by Argentines living in Spain (Countryeceonomy.com, n.d.).

One of the most immediate challenges faced by immigrants from Latin America, including Argentines to the United States, is the forced identification as Latinxs or Hispanics based on the U.S. Census categories. Argentine immigrants, similar to immigrants from most Latin American countries, are more likely to identify themselves based on their nationality rather than an ethnic, pan category such as Latinxs or Hispanics. For some, this umbrella identity may be affirming of a "shared struggle against oppression and recognition of the effects of racism… a political term reflecting defiance against White supremacy" while for others it may prove challenging as it "takes away nationality and symbolizes a loss of identity" (Garcia-Preto, 2005, p. 155). Regardless, Argentine immigrants to the United States are likely to confront their own stereotypes about Latin Americans from other countries (typically born out of classism, prejudice, or historical animosities) and about U.S. nationals whom Argentines may perceive as cold, excessively private, or interpersonally distant.

Argentine immigrants may face their own attitudes and beliefs about the U.S. government. In fact, less than four out of ten Argentines are positively disposed towards the U.S. government, contrasted with, for example, Salvadorians with eight out of ten reporting favorable outlooks (Pew Research Center, 2014). In general, Argentines have been skeptical of U.S. foreign policies; in a 2012 poll, only 19% of Argentines surveyed approved of U.S. leadership performance, the lowest rate of approval in all the Latin American countries (U.S. Global Leadership Project Report, available at www.gallup.com). At the same time, Argentines in the United States are likely to find themselves at the receiving end of stereotypes held by other Latin Americans about Argentines and by U.S. nationals about Latinxs. Living in another country is likely to lead to reflections on one's own Argentine national identity, known as "*argentinidad*," and the interactions previously mentioned, as well as those with other Argentine nationals in the United States, are likely to shape those reflections.

Language barriers can figure prominently among challenges faced by immigrants from countries where the national language is one other than English, including Argentina, where the main language is Spanish. This is not only the case with English as the dominant language in the United States, but also with Spanish itself. Argentine Spanish, referred to as *castellano* (Castilian) has a marked influence of Italian, and distinct pronunciation of certain letters such as the double l and the y, though the pronunciation of these letters varies by provinces and regions of Argentina. Most Argentines utilize the pronoun *vos* instead of *tú* (Spanish for "you"), a style known as *voseo*, and many use the interjection or vocative expression *che*, which, depending on when and how it is used, it can mean different things from slang such as pal or dude in English, to a speech filler, to calling somebody's attention as "Hey" does in English.

There are significant differences between Argentine Spanish and the Spanish spoken in other countries of the Americas, including the United States. Perhaps most significantly, there are considerable differences between Mexican Spanish, the most common Spanish spoken in the United States, and Argentine Spanish. While it has been a source of many humorous anecdotes and situations, there have been many thoughtful efforts that have sought to bridge that gap, including dictionaries that translate Mexican expressions into Argentine ones and vice versa. One of the most useful websites and dictionaries to this end can be found at www.elportaldemexico.com. Nonetheless, it remains an important issue facing immigrants, as well as mental health professionals practicing the "talking cure," when seeking to be understood and to understand others, be those English or Spanish speakers.

A related phenomenon among immigrants is that, unless they travel back to their home country frequently, their spoken language (in this case Argentine Spanish), does not keep up with the evolving cultural expressions and terminology. A common complaint by immigrants is that their colloquial language becomes outdated and does so surprisingly quickly. The first author has described this as a three-phase phenomenon: first he was *monolingual* in porteño (Argentine Spanish from Buenos Aires), then he became *bilingual* in a Spanish hybrid that mixed Argentine, Mexican, and Guatemalan expressions and a Californian English, and now he finds himself *alingual*, not fully articulate in any one language, as many expressions in one language come to his mind while speaking the other language.

Reasons for Migration The reasons for migration have shaped many immigrants' stories, and Argentines are no exception. The reasons span escaping political persecution, seeking labor, economic and educational opportunities, reuniting with family, and even adventurous traveling that result in relocation. With respect to political persecution, during the Argentine "Dirty War" within the *Plan Cóndor* (also known as *Operación Cóndor*, Condor Operation), many Argentines sought political asylum in countries such as Mexico, yet the United States was not as much of an option since the Argentine military dictatorship was supported, in part, by the Reagan Administration and by then secretary of state Henry Kissinger. Following the fall of the Argentine military dictatorship, some high-ranking militaries fled to the United States, the most infamous being Guillermo Suárez Mason. The terms of their entry into the United States remain unclear.

The impact of forced relocation on political refugees, frequently referred to as "exiles" can be quite notable. Julio Villegas, a Chilean social psychologist articulated a series of phases experienced by people who underwent similar circumstances: "*el sin país*" ("without a country" phase, e.g., living in a foreign country though without access to one's country embassy), followed by "*el sin redes sociales*" ("without social networks" phase), and the "*el sin raíces*" ("without" roots phase; Villegas, 2012, pp. 302–303).

Argentines have sought immigration to the United States due to economic crises and instability in the form of high inflation, predatory lending practices, corruption, ballooning of the national debt, recession, high unemployment rates, and multiple country defaults, some as recently as 2001 and 2014. Immigration to the United States was also brought about by experiences of limited, meaningful employment opportunities while in Argentina. Once immigrated to the United States, the sizable geographical distance and cost of the airfare to and from Argentina disrupted the family lives of many, making it difficult for immigrants to visit their home country, as well as challenging for Argentines to come visit their relatives in the United States. In addition, the immigration status of the person who emigrated and the difficulties of securing visas for those interested in visiting make it challenging for face-to-face encounters. The advent of technology and its increased affordability, along with social media, have made it possible for Argentine immigrants to stay in touch with loved ones. Nonetheless, anniversaries, birthdays, and other celebrations can be quite stressful for immigrants, particularly when their legal status, be that exiles, a temporary visa holder with limited privileges, or undocumented situation prevents traveling or is outside their financial reach.

Argentines have also migrated to the United States for social reasons, in a desire to be closer to family members, friends, or in pursue of a better quality of life due to rising crime back home. Similarly, Argentines have sought educational opportunities in the United States and some then decided to stay.

Intergenerational conflicts are likely to arise within families particularly when parents or older siblings grew up in Argentina and their children or younger siblings grow up in the United States. These conflicts may be brought about by differences in cultural norms, childrearing practices, and social expectations. Parents may find themselves without the habitual extended family or social network they relied upon while in Argentina and their U.S. born children may find it increasingly difficult to communicate in the language preferred by the parents. Depending on the reasons for migration and personal circumstances, some parents may struggle adjusting to a new environment with different, even stricter norms, possibly working longer hours to make ends meet, and noticing it increasingly difficult to keep up with their children's development and social life. A common phenomenon involves Argentine parents in the United States wishing to return to their home country but their teenage children taking a stance against such move or simply refusing to do so, creating a sizable tension within the family. Depending on the age of the children, educational aspirations, and social support network, some may stay behind with relatives and/or live at a college dorm.

Maintaining Cultural Values, Identity, and Sense of Belonging

Immigrants are likely to face significant challenges in their new country. However, numerous factors are believed to increase immigrants' resiliency. For example, family cohesion, language proficiency, biculturalism, strong ethnic identity, community support, and strong social networks have all been associated with positive outcomes (Cardoso & Thompson, 2010; Selmer & Lauring, 2015). To this date there are no studies exclusively focusing on protective factors for Argentine immigrants living in the United States. However, by reviewing literature on broader immigrant groups' experiences, as well as demographics of Argentines, one can extrapolate facilitators to adapting to post-immigration life (Brown & Patten, 2013).

Regarding language proficiency, the Hispanic Trends Project indicated that in 2011, 74% of Argentines in the United States reported speaking English proficiently, compared to 66% of Latinxs overall (Brown & Patten, 2013). The relative high percentage of Argentines who identify as feeling comfortable speaking English may increase this group's access and success in education and employment, and also increase contact with mainstream U.S. culture and communities. In addition, when compared to other Latinx immigrants in the United States, Argentines tended to have higher levels of education. This, coupled with higher language proficiency, could facilitate the ability of Argentine immigrants to the United States to do well in school and obtain higher-paying employment opportunities. However, it is important to note that in the recent decades the economic and political turmoil of Argentina have given rise to a new wave of working-class Argentines seeking economic opportunities in the United States. In fact, Viladrich (2005) argues that literature on Argentine immigrants has falsely overrepresented this group as homogenous, successful, middle-class, and white.

Maintaining a strong ethnic identity can be a protective factor for immigrants (e.g., Smith & Silva, 2011; Umaña-Taylor, 2011). For many immigrants living in ethnic enclaves, neighborhoods with high proportions of immigrants from the same country, such as in Little Saigon, San Francisco's China Town, and Koreatown, can facilitate a strong ethnic identity (Mazumdar, Mazumdar, Docuyanan, & McLaughlin, 2000). However, given the relative smaller numbers of Argentines in the United States, there are very limited neighborhoods with high concentration of Argentines. Two such exceptions are "Little Argentina" in Queens, New York and "Little Buenos Aires" in Miami, Florida. In addition, Viladrich's (2007) qualitative study of Argentines in New York found that many relied on Argentine magazines, radio shows, *milongas* (meet ups to dance tango), and other Argentines to connect with their culture of origin. Moreover, many cities have online social network groups for Argentines living in the area, where members post questions, recommendations, job openings, or simply comment on current events in Argentina. These groups frequently plan events where Argentines can meet other Argentines. Mercedes, one of the coauthors of this chapter, regularly attends these gatherings and is joining with other Argentine immigrants to show monthly Argentine films in a local Argentine restaurant. Argentine consulates also plan events to celebrate and share Argentine culture. Compared to other Latinx groups living in the United

States, Argentines tend to have been born outside of the United States considerably more frequently (36% and 61%, respectively). Thus, it is likely that Argentines continue to feel strong attachments to their home culture and country. To help maintain Argentine immigrants' connection to Argentine culture, the Argentine General Consul in Los Angeles opened "*La Escuela Argentina de Los Ángeles*" in 1983. The school provides Saturday classes for school-aged children of Argentine and Latin American descent (www.leala.org).

While it can be beneficial for immigrants to remain connected with the culture of origin, developing a bicultural identity, meaning identifying with both the host culture and the culture of origin, has been associated with psychological and sociocultural adjustment (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Some of the benefits of immigrants being able to navigate both the mainstream culture, as well as their culture of origin, are that they can build social support networks from both cultures (Mok, Morris, Benet-Martínez, & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2007), and integrate more readily into the U.S. culture. Even when individuals migrate in adulthood with a moderately stable sense of ethnic identity, there is often a reexamination and exploration of their ethnic identity upon contact with a different culture (Phinney, 1989). For Latinx youth, integrating the two cultural backgrounds has been associated with higher self-esteem, optimism, and prosocial behaviors (Schwartz et al., 2015). Speaking the mainstream language and having frequent contact with people from the mainstream culture may facilitate a bicultural identity. Thus, Argentines with the opportunity to learn English proficiently and work or attend school with U.S. citizens may be more likely to identify with both the United States and Argentine cultures. In addition, colorism, that is, advantages or disadvantages based on lightness or darkness of one's skin, may also impact Argentine immigrants' ability to integrate and succeed in the United States (Burton, Bonilla-Silva, Ray, Buckelew, & Hordge Freeman, 2010). Argentine immigrants who have physical characteristics associated with European White backgrounds may be at a particular advantage when compared to Argentine immigrants who have darker features.

Noteworthy Argentines in the Mental Health Field

There are many Argentine Americans who have influenced the mental health field in the United States, most noticeably within family therapy. Salvador Minuchin (1921–2017) was one of the founders of structural family therapy and published some of the most influential books working with multi-problem families. Carlos Sluzki is a world-renowned psychiatrist, family therapist, and consultant who directed the Mental Research Institute in Palo Alto, California (1980–1983) and served as editor of the journals *Family Process* and *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. Celia Jaes Falicov is a widely recognized family therapist who has made major contributions to the understanding of migrant, Latinx families through a multidimensional ecological comparative approach. Cloé Madanes is one of the founders of strategic family therapy and an indefatigable advocate for children's

rights; she is the director of the Council for Human Rights of Children housed at the University of San Francisco. Beyond family therapy, Isaac Prilleltensky is a prominent community psychologist, best known for his work in critical psychology exposing the philosophical and moral underpinnings of the profession and in the advancement of human well-being as a crucial construct for psychology.

Maintaining Identity and Integrity During the Next 50 Years

The Argentine population has been characterized as one that "*llegamos de los barcos*" (literally, we came from the boats, the title of a famous song by Argentine singer-songwriter Litto Nebbia) though currently this is considered a "half-truth." Argentina is indeed a country of immigrants, yet it also has considerable Amerindian ("*pueblos originarios*" or indigenous peoples) and African populations. While many European immigrants stayed in Argentina, others returned to their home countries. Over time, and propelled by economic, political, educational, labor, and/or family reasons, Argentines have migrated to Europe, Latin America, as well as the United States and Canada, totaling well over a million Argentines living abroad. They have brought with them cultural norms, practices, and expressions, many of which are present in the Latinx population in the United States and beyond. These include foods and drinks (such as *empanadas*, *dulce de leche*, and *yerba mate*), as well as music and dance (such as tango). It also includes ways in which Argentina dealt with its own social struggles, specifically, innovative ways of affirming human rights and standing against injustices. Two inspiring examples include the movement known as "*Madres de Plaza de Mayo*" (Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, the main downtown square where the mothers of the *desaparecidxs* or disappeared would gather to march in silence wearing white handkerchiefs over their heads) and the report of the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons titled "*Nunca Más*" (Never Again; CONADEP, 1986). In the former example, the importance of family as a cultural value is underscored, and it has continued with the formation of groups such as "*Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo*" for the grandmothers of those disappeared and the children born in custody, as well as sons and daughters of the *desaparecidxs*. In the latter example of affirming human rights and standing against injustices, many Argentines immigrants have brought with them the importance of affirming the common good by accepting responsibility for atrocities committed to facilitate national reconciliation and healing. Similar processes have since taken place in countries such as Guatemala and South Africa, among others.

Argentines in the United States may choose to start their own families and raise children outside their home country. Raising children in a foreign country brings additional challenges, particularly in cases where the parents may not be fluent in English or when they are not familiar with the mainstream American culture. Argentine immigrant parents are likely to find themselves needing to reconcile their own cultural values, norms, and parenting practices with those of the American culture they are exposed to. In cases where the parents are from different cultural

backgrounds, this may be increasingly difficult, as the parents also need to balance each of their own cultural backgrounds. Argentine immigrant parents may also adopt American values and practices over time, such as celebrating Thanksgiving.

At the same time, Argentine immigrant parents may find it challenging to retain a sense of Argentine identity in their children and as a family. This can be especially difficult when due to documentation, financial, or other barriers, families cannot return to Argentina. Over time, children of Argentine immigrants may feel more removed from their Argentine roots and identify more closely with the American culture. In some instances, parents may also encourage their children to downplay their Argentine heritage due to fear of discrimination or missing opportunities.

Over the next 50 years, Argentine immigrants currently living in the United States and Argentine Americans will continue to adapt and integrate aspects of both American and Argentine cultures. This process may look different for each individual and family unit, based on their own history as well as on the receptivity of the human context in which they will immerse themselves. New Argentine immigrants will come to the United States for a wide range of reasons, which are likely to shape their immigration experience and will engage in the cultural adaptation process accordingly. Some immigrants may choose to return to Argentina, taking with them novel experiences and ways of viewing themselves and the world that are likely to last a lifetime and be transmitted to future generations, much like their ancestors have done with them.

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Chilean Americans: A Micro Cultural Latinx Group

Luís Angelo Gomez

Chilean Americans: Context and Purpose of the Chapter

According to the latest U.S. Census (2010), Chilean Americans are barely over 1% of the overall US Latinx population, but they are a highly integrated group, who often identify as White. Nonetheless, they prove that internalized racism, colorism, and classism still persist beyond the achievement of the American Dream, such as citizenship status, presumed racial integration, the formation of a traditional family, high educational attainment, and the achievement of middle-class socioeconomic status. Consequently, while counselors may rarely come across a member of this group, when they do, they are likely to be puzzled by Latinxs who often differ from other US Latinxs. On the one hand, despite their advantages, they still struggle to find their place in the United States as immigrants, and as members of the Latinx community. On the other hand, and what is most interesting about Chilean Americans, is how they exemplify that today's immigration rhetoric is more complex than is often presented. Theirs is similar to most non-direct European immigrants, where racism and multiple internalized isms like colorism still prevail. Therefore, Chilean Americans, as a group, prove that some social barriers still remain strong and separate people in subgroups even within minority classifications.

Though Chilean Americans fall into the larger pan-ethnic category of Latinx (see Gracia, 2001), they struggle to find their place among other Latinxs in the United States, as Chileans in Chile struggle to relate to their neighboring countries, especially those who have a native majority (e.g., Peru, Bolivia) or African ancestry (e.g., Dominican Republic, Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia). Even though most Chileans define themselves as "*mestizos*" or racially mixed people of European (mostly Spanish) and indigenous backgrounds, it is the European influence that is

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prioritized, whether it is Spanish, German, Croatian, or from any other European nation. This sociocultural bias has created a self-identification among Chileans in Chile with their European roots rather than their indigenous heritage, and in the United States, Chilean Americans lean towards a self-identification with White Americans. Nevertheless, since the beginning of the twenty-first century, thanks to a new wave of immigration in Chile, there has been a demographic transformation, and it has made Chile a country of immigrants rather than emigrants (Larraín 2010, 2014). The Chilean government estimates an increase of over one million immigrants in Chile in the last two decades; they mostly come from the Central and Northern part of South America, and the Caribbean (Chile Censo, 2018). This has been propelled by the recent economic boom, and relaxed immigration policies in Chile, and it has been fostered by a shortage in the labor force. However, in very small numbers professional and educated Chileans still emigrate to the United States. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter, despite the limited literature on this group, is to provide a panoramic view of Chilean Americans in the United States with the intention of informing mental health counselors and other professionals to better serve this Latinx ethnic group.

Historical Background of Chile

In 1569, Alonso de Ercilla y Zuniga was the first European to describe Chile to other Europeans, in the epic poem, *La Araucana*:

> Chile, fértil provincia y señalada / en la región Antártica famosa, / de remotas naciones respetada / por fuerte, principal y poderosa; / la gente que produce es tan granada, / tan soberbia, gallarda y belicosa, / que no ha sido por rey jamás regida / ni a extranjero dominio sometida (2006, p. 2).

Before the arrival of Spaniards, only small, and mostly nomadic tribes inhabited Chile. In the North the tribes of Aymaras, Changos, Atacamenos, and Chonos lived. In the Central and Southern part of the country, *Mapúches* or people of the land (*mapu* means land, and *che*, gente), also known as Araucanos inhabited the fertile lands, cold coasts, and high mountains and were divided into smaller tribes known as Picunches, Huiliches, Pehuenches, and Lafquenches.

The natural geographical frontiers have isolated Chile from its continental neighbors for centuries (Subercaseaux, 2005). A popular Chilean expression describes Chile as, “una larga y angosta faja de tierra en la parte occidental y sur de Sudamérica” (a long and narrow strip of land in the Southwestern part of the American continent). The result is the formation of an insular culture and racial homogenization. Consequently, the origin and development of Chileans is intrinsically connected to the geography of the country and today’s Chilean idiosyncrasy (Subercaseaux, 2011).

Chile's Geography and Its Influence

The north of Chile is known for having the driest desert in the world, called *Atacama*. Initially, it prevented Inca invaders from entering the region. This natural barrier lessened the indigenous influence in Chile, when compared to its neighboring countries. Today, it limits the political instability and drug trafficking affecting other nations in the region (CIA, 2018). To the East, the Andes mountain range, part of the geographic spine that goes from Canada, the United States to the Antarctic continent, has isolated Chile with its eternally snowed peaks and unsurmountable heights. On the West, the Pacific Ocean has separated Chile's territory from other nations and thus minimized the number of invaders and colonizers. To the South, the Pacific and Atlantic oceans meet one another and have proved to be one of the most dangerous waters for sailing for centuries. Folkloric tradition says that the ocean waves mourn the souls of the Patagonia Natives, who Spanish conquerors killed, and later, exhibited as trophies. At the end of these Southern frozen lands, the Antarctic continent stands tall as a mighty giant, serving as an impenetrable wall. Altogether this geography has served as inspiration in Chile's literature, particularly as a land of poets (Berrios, 2016).

Chile's geographic barriers proved to be impenetrable to Incas from Peru, slowed Spanish conquest, but solidified the European influence. Chilean character is described as insular or "*gente de isla, pero de tierra firme*" (island people from the continent) and Chile as "*una isla en el mar*" (an island in the sea). However, frequent earthquakes and other natural disasters have nurtured in the people a mellow, but pragmatic, and resilient personality. Chileans are known as adaptable, with a strong European influence as its dominant characteristic (Perrone, 2018).

The geographical isolation of the country has also contributed to people losing contact with their Native American origins. Memory loss is what Chileans suffer from the most (Memoria Chilena, 2018). This memory loss began with the arrival of Spaniards during the period known as The Conquest. Spaniards' cultural influence helped to eradicate native traditions and languages. This European oppression and acculturation continued with the subsequent arrival of other European immigrants, who as they occupied the land, also suppressed the Native past. Paradoxically, the geographic diversity of Chile contrasts with the racial homogenization of its people, and their uniform social psyche (Villalobos, 2007). In *My Invented Country: A Nostalgic Journey Through Chile*, Chilean novelist Isabel Allende writes:

> Who are we, Chileans? It's difficult for me to define us in writing, but from fifty yards I can pick out a compatriot with one glance. I find them everywhere. In a sacred temple in Nepal, in the Amazon jungle, at Mardi Grass in New Orleans, on the brilliant ice of Iceland, there you will find some Chilean with unmistakable way of walking or her singing accent. Although because of the length of our narrow country we are separated by thousands of kilometers, we are tenaciously alike; we talk the same tongue and share similar customs. The only exceptions are the upper class from Europeans, and the Indians-the Aymaras and a few Quechuas in the north and the Mapuches in the south-who fight to maintain their identities in a world where there is constantly less space for them. (2003, p. 43)

The ongoing expropriation of land has also affected the collective memory of Chile. The less land indigenous people have, the less memory Chileans have of their own original past. Most Chilean faces give away an indigenous past (round faces, dark eyes, and jet-black hair), despite the *blanqiamento* (turning White) promoted by many governments, and the ruling classes in Chile. As Ercilla described, original Chileans are people "jamas vencida o … sometida" (never defeated or subdued).

Another geographic landmark is the Bio-Bio river that has served as a geographic divider between Chile's North, controlled by Santiago, the capital and its European influence, and the South, the symbol of the indigenous and rural people resistance. Natives there still fight the cultural European invasion, especially represented by the German immigration. Chileans as their geography, seem to like landmarks and dividers, both socially and culturally.

Immigration History in Chile

The colonization of Chile has never been a finished chapter. Incas made multiple failed attempts. The Spaniards who arrived in 1541 began the conquest with the foundation of Santiago by Pedro de Valdivia who never reached all the territory known as Chile. Spaniards only settled in the North and central part of Chile. Later on, other Europeans who arrived (e.g., French, Italians, English, and Croats) reached other parts of the country. Nonetheless, it is the Germans, who settled in the South, who have the strongest influence in the country, and of the ruling class. Germans have mixed with the *criollos*, or the descendants of Spaniards, who had previously mixed with indigenous peoples. This racial makeup is what has given Chile its contemporary cultural and racial identity, as well as its idiosyncratic pragmatism, and phlegmatic temperament (Perez-Rosalez, 1910; Villalobos, 2007).

While Chileans are mestizos (mixed-race people), usually from native women and male Spaniards, they often highlight their European ancestry. As Vicente Perez-Rosalez recounts in his book "Recuerdos del Pasado" (Times Gone By, 1910), this cultural amnesia served as the rationale to promote laws for selective immigration, known as *leyes del blanquimento Americano* (Laws for Whitening the American continent). These laws gave preference to Northern Europeans to immigrate to Chile, over people from other origins (Asian and African). This is the same amnesia that many Chilean Americans appear to suffer from today, and what seems to lead them towards the melting and assimilation into the US culture, but mainly with the White population.

Chile's history has been criticized by disloyal alliances with other Latin countries. For instance, Simon Bolivar's ideals for the unification of the Latin-American continent did not receive much support from Chile, and its venerated memory throughout most of Latin-American is scarcely known in Chile. More recently, in the war between Argentina and the UK over the Falkland Islands (Las Malvinas), Chile sided with the UK. Africans have been effectively assimilated and are "almost" unnoticeable in the general Chilean population, that is until today, when the new waves of immigration are bringing AfroLatinxs to Chile, especially from

The Dominical Republic, Haiti, Colombia, and Venezuela (Pedemonte & Dittborn, 2016). However, in art as in humor, truths can be revealed. Chile's most iconic mural, painted by Jorge Gonzalez, called "Presencia de América Latina" (Presence of Latin America), is located at *La Pinacoteca* (portrait gallery) of the University of Concepción in Concepción, Chile. Today, it is a national monument. Under the name of Latin America, the painter reveals the formation of Chile by the portrait of the merging of races in the faces of different natives and European immigrants (for a discussion on Latinx race formation see, Vasconcelos, 1997). In it a Native woman is escorted by a Spanish conqueror. This depicts Chileans and forces them to face their ancestral history, racial makeup, and national formation (Memoria Chilena, 2018).

The Beginning of European Ruling Beyond Its Independence

Chile's colonialist history may explain why Chilean Americans gravitate towards White Americans rather than other Latinxs or African Americans, and why they have not formed ethnic enclaves, as have Mexicans, Salvadorians, Peruvians, or other Latinx groups. This also may explain why there is not much written about Chileans who have immigrated to the United States.

Chile gained its independence from Spain on September 18, 1810. The first president was Bernardo O'Higgins, the illegitimate son of an Irish man called Ambrosio O'Higgins, appointed governor of Chile, and later on, served as Viceroy of Peru. Bernardo O'Higgins became the Father of the Nation, Chile. He was educated in Ireland, England, and France, as have many other Chileans. There, he learned about the principles of the Enlightenment, which he brought back to the country. Over the centuries, other Chileans also brought back ideas and their learning from Europe (Villalobos, 2007). The ideals of the Enlightenment ignited in Chileans their love affair with Europe's culture and a desire for independence from Spain.

Sociopolitical and Sociocultural Contexts for Modern Times

Chile's military coup d'état on September 11, 1971 is known worldwide. It established an 18-year military government led by General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, a French descendant. The carnage of people and lost democracy created historical resentment still present in Chile's society and represents one of the most divisive forces among Chileans. Somehow the Chilean character prevented the execution of open trials or a public display of justice; most prefer oblivion to public humiliation. As Chile returned to democracy in 1990, the country has enjoyed an economic boom, and social progress that has reached some, but not all, Chileans. In particular, Chilean Americans in the United States have reaped the benefits of coming from a prosperous nation, respected by its international peers, and other Latin-American

countries. Chile, today, is known as a peaceful and democratic country, a role model nation when it comes to government transitions after presidential elections, and with progressive social policies.

In the past, Chile was just known as a "larga faja de tierra" (a long piece of land), and "una tierra de poets" (a land of poets) because of the Literary Noble Prizes awarded to Gabriela Mistral, and Pablo Neruda, and poets of international recognition such as Vicente Huidobro, Nicanor Parra, and Gonzalo Rojas. Today, Chile is recognized as one of the most developed countries in Latin America, and as a global top producer of salmon, copper, lumber, wine, fruit, and minerals. Chile has the highest income per capita in Latin America with US$24000, and the highest educational attainment in Latin America, with a 98% of literacy rate. Over 80% of its current workforce has higher education. However, behind these accolades, Chile also hides one of the widest income gaps in the world (CIA, 2018; The World Bank in Chile, 2018). For more on Chile see summary report from the The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2018).

Paradoxically in comparison with other Latin-American countries, despite being a historically Catholic country since its foundation, Chile is the most secular nation in Latin America, with the highest percentage of agnostic people, accounting for nearly 20% of the population. There is also a notorious presence of non-Western traditions (e.g., Baha'i, Buddhism) (Chile Censo, 2018). Furthermore, the strong German influence, which began in the South of Chile, has introduced Protestantism, natural herbal medicine, and homeopathy. Also, New Age healing practices are part of the general population healing methods in Chile, in addition to native healing practices, which altogether complement modern medicine in Chile (Berrios, 2016; Subercaseaux, 2011).

In the twenty-first century, Chile faces three big challenges. First, there is a growing immigration from Latin America, especially from countries with high indigenous and African ancestry. This social phenomenon is causing social tensions, and divisions, due to the racial changes it is creating in Chile. This is exacerbated by economic and cultural barriers within the general population. Second, most Chileans resent the income gap that exists within the population and vastly divided social classes. The richest quartile makes 10–200 times more than the lowest ones. The basic salary of Chileans is nearly US$300.00 per month whereas senators' and other government leaders' base salary starts at US$20,000.00 monthly. Chile is a country of inequities, despite being the most prosperous nation among all its neighbors (CIA, 2018; The World Bank in Chile, 2018). Racially, Chile is vastly segregated. A small part of the country is White, they are usually the most educated, rich, and often still connected with their European heritage, while many Chileans are dark and also impoverished. This latter group call themselves Chileans from *el Chile sin Estrella* [Chile without a star] (Berrios, 2016). This refers to the star in the Chilean flag, a symbol of hope and prosperity. Third, while Chileans in Chile no longer define themselves as European descendants, they are now searching for their own identity in relation to the rest of Latin America. Although, mostly older, Chileans in Chile express discomfort with the association to non-European ancestors. This also seems to be the case in the United States, where most Chileans

identify as White as seen in the Census (2010). Therefore, while Chile used to be a racially homogenous society, with clear distinction of social classes, today, Chile is racially diverse, thanks to the recent waves of immigrants. This has created a dramatic demographic change, but also an economic stratification that correlates with colorism (Berrios, 2016).

As many colonial era constructions have disappeared, either as a result of earthquakes or other natural disasters, the obsessive push for renewal and progress has paved the way for the modernization and economic progress of Chile. The effect upon the Chilean culture, the social psyche, and its people is the omission of a past and veneration for progress, reinvention, and adaptability. This has fostered a culture that praises progress and embraces external worldviews, but to the detriment of its own. Chileans do not look at their past, rather they crave what is new or foreign, often coming from the United States. Thus, their desire for renewal, new places, and outside views are intrinsic to the contemporary Chilean worldview. Today, Chile is a world leader, but a country of people who, nonetheless, look outside its frontiers, and most often towards the United States for answers and role models (Berrios, 2016).

Chilean Migration and Settlement Patterns in the United States

Chilean immigration to the United States has occurred over a period of years and is described as four different waves of immigration. These waves embody different push and pull factors as well as values and the worldview of the immigrants. The fourth wave is one of speculations. Some of the migration waves overlap in time and space (Marrow, 2005).

The First Wave of Chilean Immigration

The first wave took place during the Gold Rush era in the United States in the mid-1800s. This migrant group formed a community north of San Francisco. Chileans today continue to be pulled to California for various reasons. For instance, they go to Los Angeles because of the movie and entertainment industry; to Napa Valley, due to the wine industry which is a staple industry in Chile; and to the Silicon Valley, because of the computer industry. Famous Chileans have lived in California, such as writer Isabel Allende, actor and TV personality Cristian De La Fuente, actress Cote de Pablo, multi Grammy award winner music producer Humberto Gatica, and comedian Fabrizio Copano.

The Second Wave of Chilean Immigration

The second wave began as a result of the military coup d'état that took place on September 11, 1973 and lasted until the mid-1980s. This event, beyond the human rights violations and murders that occurred, forced many Chileans into exile and had unintended consequences. Those Chileans who were exiled from Chile had the opportunity to leave the country, a rare opportunity for the average Chilean. Before this event, a trip to Europe was traditional rite of passage for middle and upper classes. However, Chileans who left during the military regime often accessed social, cultural, and educational opportunities and some brought these benefits back when they returned to Chile. Many of them are known as *Los Retornados* (the Returnees), who often brought back the knowledge upon which Chile has founded its current social and economic structure since the 1980s. Among them the returnees from the United States was a group of business persons and economists, known as "The Chicago Boys." They were trained at the University of Chicago, and implemented the current economic neoliberal and capitalistic system, which despite its faults, brings praise to Chile worldwide (Larraín, 2010, 2014).

The Third Wave of Chilean Immigration

The third wave began in the late 1990s and remains steady in the first part of the twenty-first century. This is a very homogenous group of Chileans, often from the middle and upper middle social classes and usually White or light skinned; they tend to self-identify as White. They come to the United States for specific purposes: business, advanced education or better economic opportunities. They often obtain graduate education (e.g., masters and doctoral degrees). According to Chile's and the U.S. Census (2017 and 2010), this wave represents the largest Chilean American group. They are one of the most educated Latinx groups and have a high level of social integration. Despite their rather small numbers (barely 1% of all Latinxs), they are considered a successful Latinx group because of their level of integration into the mainstream US society. Sadly, their integration comes at the price of losing their self-identification as Latinxs and even Chileans. Little census data is available on them, but specific demographic reports from Pew Research Center indicate that these Chileans in the United States surpass most Latinxs in terms of educational attainment, housing ownership, salary scale, and legal immigration status (2017, 2018).

There are several reasons to explain why this third wave of Chileans goes to the United States. These reasons include bilateral economic agreements; tourist visa waivers; educational agreements of cooperation [e.g., "Beca Chile" (Scholarship Chile) funded by CONICYT (Comisión Nacional de Investigación, 2018) to study at top US universities; Fulbright Chile]; work visa (e.g., H1B1); retirement benefits reciprocity between the Social Security Administration and the Chilean Health System; and economic development. Altogether these factors have contributed to

the prosperity among Chilean Americans in the United States, but also have created a separation from other Latinxs due to lack of commonalities in the immigration experience and other social and educational differences. Also, recent classifications by The World Bank, The International Monetary Fund, and other economic rankings have given to Chile the category of high-income economy, with almost US$$25,000 per capita GDP (see United Nations Report on Chile, 2018). This has facilitated the immigration and settlement of wealthy Chileans, artists, intellectuals, and entrepreneurs with their families.

Chileans from the third wave tend to be conservative, just like Chileans in Chile today. For instance, in the presidential election of 2017, Chilean Americans in the United States, who had the right to vote abroad for the first time for a Chilean president, chose the right wing presidential candidate Sebastian Piñera. This is not new for many Chileans in the United States, as they are known for their support for the Republican Party; they adhere to the English only movement; and they gave unfavorable reviews to the previous center-left governments in Chile. Overall, Chilean Americans of this group lean towards full integration in the United States with favoritism for the White population. Latest data indicate that Chilean Americans overwhelmingly favor mixed marriages, especially with White Americans (Pew Research Center, 2017). Opinions within the Chilean American community exemplify this trend. For instance, expressions such as *mejorar la raza* (to improve the race), *se caso bien* (you marry well), *se hizo gringa/o* (becoming American) are commonly heard among Chilean Americans. Though said in an amusing tone, they reveal cultural values that both Chileans and Chilean Americans support. As a Chilean woman raised in the United States explained to me, Chileans come to the United States to *casarse bien* (to marry well) or *hacerse la America* (make oneself rich); otherwise, ¿pa' que venir aquí? (Why come here?). Unanimously, those I interviewed for this chapter, both in the United States, and Chile, agreed with these statements express middle- and upper-class Chilean values and attitudes. In their view, it is not worth the trouble for Chileans to live in the United States, unless they can succeed professionally and economically, because *si pueden vivir bien en Chile, pa' que estar aquí/allí* (If you can live well in Chile, why leave the country?).

The Fourth Wave of Chilean Immigration

A potential fourth wave of Chilean immigrants to the United States may become visible soon if the Chilean government grants citizenship to more than half a million new immigrants in Chile. While many Central and South Americans would prefer to immigrate to the United States, tougher immigration laws, and border reinforcements have deterred them from attempting the journey to the United States. Now, they have shifted their attention towards Chile, the country with the highest standard of living in Latin America. As a result, there has been a large Latin-American immigration towards Chile since the early 2000s from Venezuela, Colombia, Haiti, Peru, and Bolivia, other Latinx countries to a lesser extent. Government policies have

facilitated the process to obtain residency and citizenship for immigrants (Pedemonte & Dittborn, 2016). Consequently, these new Chilean citizens are finding their way towards the United States as Chileans. However, while they may identify or be identified as Chileans, they are likely to differ in culture, social capital, and phenotype characteristics from the previous Chilean immigrants in the United States. As a consequence, despite their Chilean citizenship status, they may lack the social capital which previous Chilean Americans had, and because of that they may not reach the same levels of social integration and economic mobility. Therefore, they may become more connected to the general US Latinx community.

My Immigration Story

I was born in and raised in Concepción, Chile, a city which is culturally, economically, and technologically similar to a midsized US city. I arrived in the United States in 1998, after I graduated from college, where I studied in a traditional university (Universidad de Concepción). Initially, I came as a tourist to Ohio because I had a connection with members of the German community there. I grew up in an area in Chile with a strong German influence. First, I lived in a small college town in Ohio where I met local faculty, who encouraged me to apply for graduate programs; then, I moved to a midsize college town for a graduate program.

As Chilean citizen, it was relatively easy to have my bachelor's degree validated. The good training from Chile also proved useful since I was accepted to several graduate programs in Ohio. I obtained a master's degree in Rehabilitation Counseling, and also took classes in the Mental Health Program. Also, I came to realize that I knew how to adapt to social norms, how to interact with people in the United States (e.g., body language, personal space, open communication, direct answers), and had an educational background that prepared me well to study and live in the United States. However, during my time in Ohio, I suffered from racism, and thus sometimes, social isolation from the moment I left the small German community where initially I arrived. This was one of the reasons why I decided to leave Ohio and live in Washington D.C.

In this urban area, where I have lived ever since, I have found a much better social and cultural fit. In many aspects, Washington resembles Santiago. Here, I have worked as a counselor, research assistant, Spanish teacher, university professor, and translator. Moreover, as an immigrant, with social capital and advanced education, I have volunteered and worked for immigrants, refugees, and other ethnic and social minority groups. As most Chilean Americans, I find an urban environment a better fit for me because of the cultural and educational opportunities and the ease to blend in.

Despite the multiple challenges I have dealt with, I have obtained a doctoral degree, national accolades, and in 2016, I was granted US permanent residence, based on merit because of my academic credentials, work accomplishments, and multiple awards. In 20 years, I have come to represent the average Chilean American in the United States: I have a graduate degree, I am middle class, and while racially

mixed (mestizo), I recognize that I have social capital which allows me to navigate successfully a social life in the United States. Thus, I belong to the third immigration wave of Chileans and have many of the benefits this group has. Although my phenotype does not match that of the third wave, I physically relate more to other Latinxs. Consequently, I live a life between two worlds. As a person with an advanced degree having middle-class status, I live a life somewhat of privilege. Nonetheless, it is my phenotype characteristics that shape my daily social experiences, where I often face disenfranchisement. While I recognize the social capital I have from my home country, my phenotype affects how I am perceived in the United States, and how I am treated, even by other Chileans, Argentinians, and Spaniards. Dressing formally and wearing a government badge around my neck does change how the average United States person thinks of me. Often, I am called "buddy," "amigo," or "compadre."

Interestingly, my dark complexion, black hair, and round face are visible signs to other people who identify me as Latinx, and with that, as an ethnic minority. While I do identify as Latinx, and with that I create alliances with other Latinxs, I must admit I have lost some social capital, even among other fellow Chilean Americans in the United States. I recognize that those Chileans who are not identified as Latinx have faster social mobility and become more easily integrated.

The Migration Journey for Chilean Americans

Chilean Americans have high expectations for results from their immigration experiences. Counselors need to recognize that they demand more from their new home, and will move, change or adapt until they reach what they came for, *una buena casa y una buena pega*—a good house and a good job (Burson, 2018; Registro de chilenos en el exterior, 2018). Thus, immigration can be best understood in two dimensions. First, a physical experience as in moving from one place to another, and second, as a psychological experience of both struggle and coming to terms with living in a place different from one's place of origin. This latter dimension can entail a back and forth set of emotions of acceptance and rejection. Immigration can be an experience of empowerment, but also a source of disappointment, especially if the new place or dwelling differs from one's expectations. Under these circumstances, the biggest immigration journey for Chileans often happens after they are settled in the United States, in the post-migration era (Burson, 2018).

Different from other Latinx immigrants, Chileans typically do not cross a desert on foot, ride a train for days or travel across multiple countries by bus or coyotes (men for hiring) to lead them across the border. Chileans can easily come to the United States when compared to other Latinxs. They can come as a tourist thanks to a visa waiver program from the US government; often, have the economic means to pay for their trip; can obtain student or work visas; and have their own work visa program, known as H1B1. Consequently, for most Chileans coming to the United States and eventually obtaining documented immigration is possible and relatively

fast. However, this expedited system for immigration, often leads to delayed realization that after becoming an immigrant, life for good in the United States is a reality and not a temporary stay.

Counselors and other mental health professionals may be surprised about how Chilean Americans and their children may struggle with their US experience, rather than the documentation to become immigrants. While most Latinxs struggle to obtain documents to immigrate to the United States, Chileans manage the process relatively quickly. Rather, the Latinx experience for Chilean Americans, as immigrants, often affects them as a *cultural shock*. This could be in the form of repeated microaggressions caused by discrimination for their accent, their darker skin color or despite meeting all criteria as an "American," especially as White Americans, they are not fully considered "White Americans."

Another aspect of acculturation for Chileans is the delayed process of realizing that they are immigrants. This is due to the easiness by which Chilean Americans can enter the United States, become part of the workforce, and engage and succeed in the US educational system. Nonetheless, the impossibility for some Chilean American to pass as White leaves them outside the mainstream culture, and this causes great disappointment. Privilege, for Chilean Americans, does not happen in all aspects of their lives, despite their efforts, expectations, and desire to extend it to all areas of their lives. They are no longer in Chile.

Another area of discomfort for most Chilean Americans is the classification as Latinxs. Their economic benefits, their racial classification as White and their usually higher education attainment do not relate to most Latinxs, but it does not always translate into full integration into the US society (Arredondo-Dowd, 1981). Moreover, while Chilean Americans, thanks to often documented status, can gain access to government services and programs, they also feel a social capital loss when they are classified as an ethnic or racial minority or they do not have the social status as they could have in Chile. To better understand this psychological transition process of immigration, the Chilean American experience is outlined in three stages.

Chilean Americans' Immigration Phases Model

Varying models of the immigration process, specific to loss and grief, are reported in the literature (Arredondo-Dowd, 1981). However, here I will use a simplified format more suitable to Chilean Americans. The first stage refers to *process of enchantment with the novelty of the experience*. This is accompanied with the excitement for the initial economic, educational, and environmental gains obtained by immigrating. This phase may end when despite all potential gains (economic, social, and educational), individuals may face questions that may seem like microaggression, such as "Where are you from? How long have you been here? Where did you learn English? These questions continue to remind Chilean Americans that they are not seen as "fully" US citizens.

The second stage involves *the existential nostalgia for the world Chileans have left behind*. Some people call this, *el llamado de la tierra* (the call of the land). Chilean Americans often express regret for their lost lifestyle, which they may never gain in the United States. This may refer to help at home, social networks, traditions, etc. Also, the distance between Chile and the United States makes traveling both challenging and rather expensive. Besides, as Chile and the United States are on opposite sides of the globe, they contrast in seasons. For instance, when it is summer in the United States, it is winter in Chile. As Chilean Americans often suffer from existential nostalgia, they seem to lean towards the description that Isabel Allende makes of them:

> We believe we are the center of the world-in our view, Greenwich should have been set in Santiago-and we turn our backs on Latin America, always comparing ourselves instead to Europe. We are self-centered: the rest of the universe exists only to consume our wines and produce soccer teams we can beat (2003, p. 9).

Despite the fact that Chilean Americans in the United States are often socially integrated, live in middle-class communities as documented immigrants or citizens, they still long for a cultural connection with their home country (Burson, 2018). This causes considerable dissonance because they are also aiming at full integration with the White United States society. Their sense of loss is real.

The third stage can be described in colloquial terms as *"buyer's remorse."* It refers to the realization that the decision to emigrate from Chile may result in never returning. Considering that many Chilean Americans have come from middle- and upper-class status, and despite the good economic status they achieve in the United States, they tend to long for what they may have lost. The similarities of life for Chileans in the United States with the life they often had in places such as Santiago (e.g., big city facilities, amenities, prosperity), often delay the realization that they may never go back. This is not due to financial or political reasons, but rather, it is based on the new avenues they have in the United States. For instance, new family bonds, often through intermarriage; children they have who are born in the United States; and careers. All this can be lost or disrupted if they choose to return to Chile.

Although some Chilean Americans return to Chile, most do it briefly, and return. For instance, a Chilean woman I met in college in Chile moved to the United States for a master's program. Here, she married a Jewish American man. She returned to Chile briefly, but came back for a doctoral degree. Later, she was offered a position as an assistant professor, and then obtained tenure. As she chose not to have children, but to focus on her career, which is not a rare option among contemporary Chileans, she considers herself to be too advanced in her field in the United States to return to Chile. In her view, going back to Chile is not an option as it would be like starting over. Another example comes from a Chilean relative who accepted a faculty in position in the field of forestry. His wife also had the opportunity to do research with him. After 10 years, and with two children born in the United States, they came to the mutual realization that they are immigrants. As a result, they have applied for US citizenship. They return occasionally to Chile for holidays and to visit relatives, but they do not feel that the option to return to Chile is good for them or their children.

They are used to living in the United States and comfortable in their professions and their accomplishments. For them, the United States is now their home as it is for their children. However, they confessed that they struggle with the Latinx identification, and their children growing up as Latinxs rather than Chileans. Although they live in Florida, which has a large Latinx population, they feel their children will lose something of their Chilean roots as Latinxs (Huneeus, 1985).

For most Chilean Americans I interviewed, the classification as Latinx introduces mixed feelings. Counselors and other professionals must use this category with caution since it is not fully integrated among Chilean Americans, as Chileans also expressed concerns about losing their identity as Chileans. This is not because of national patriotism, but due to the social capital their nationality gives them. Perhaps, it is the social capital that they miss the most, the ability to negotiate across networks that can facilitate a range of things, including entry for their children into private schools, or themselves, access to prestigious social circles.

Academia and business appear to be the professions or occupations that have been favored by many Chilean Americans. In a short poll I conducted using Facebook and other media outlets for Chilean Americans, I identified faculty of Chilean origin in every single major public, private, and Ivy League university in the United States. Most of Chileans live here with their families and intend to stay in the States although they are not fully engaged with their Latinx communities. The Pew Research Center (2017, 2018) identifies Chilean Americans as the group with over 80% of college and graduate education.

There is a loss of privilege in some areas that Chileans in Chile take for granted. For instance, US citizens do not rely on house help, gardeners, or chauffeurs unless they belong to a very high-income bracket, as do Chileans. For many Chilean Americans, their seemingly economic prosperity does not cover all previously known privileges from Chile. Consequently, they often suffer from homesickness, and a sense of loss of privileges in spite of their economic status prosperity in the United States.

Despite their existential anguish for their loss, most of Chilean Americans stay for good in the United States. This can be exemplified by world renowned pianist Claudio Arrau, and Nobel Literature winner Gabriela Mistral. They both lived and died in the United States. However, while rare, some Chilean Americans return to Chile, working for years to save money and return. Scientist Pablo Valenzuela, despite receiving multiple offers of work and options to live in the United States, decided to return to Chile, leaving family in the United States. His *llamado de la tierra* (call from the land), as some Chilean Americans call it, became stronger. Other Chilean Americans share their time between the United States and Chile. This can be exemplified by Miss Universe and CNN anchor, Cecilia Bolocco Fonck, who despite a marriage to a White American business man, winning two Grammies, and a rather stable financial life in the United States, returned to Chile.

Chilean Americans' Current Demographics in the United States

According to the "Registro de Chilenos en el Exterior" (National Registry of Chileans Living Abroad, 2018), there are 138,969 Chileans living in the United States, but only 96,444 were born in Chile. Florida has the largest Chilean community (22.0%), followed by California (19.8%), and New York (12.7%). This report also indicates that half of those who claim Chilean citizenship were born outside Chile. This creates two Chilean American groups: one that is Chilean native, and those who come from a Chilean parent or parents. Further research is needed to determine whether the children of Chileans born in the United States, often the result of mixed marriages, feel like US Latinxs, Chileans, or just White Americans. Most Chilean Americans are White or self-identify as White, but it is unknown whether Chilean Americans from the second group are part of the Latinx population by choice or by default. The explanation is likely to depend on phenotypes.

The Chilean-American Foundation offers the following description of Chilean Americans in the United States: In New York, there are 20,688; in Miami 17,161; in Los Angeles 10,471; in the Washington, DC metro area 6963; in San Francisco 4000; in Boston 2622; in Houston 2570; in Chicago 2454; in Orlando 1884; Atlanta 1779; in Seattle 1776; in San Diego 1730; in Dallas 1686; in Philadelphia 1505; and in Salt Lake City 1463 [often Mormons] (Chilean American Foundation, 2018).

Most Chileans I have met rarely identify as Latinxs, except when they need to claim a social, federal, or financial benefit. Those I have met explain that they do not feel part of the Latinx culture in the United States, due to their cultural differences, and immigration status. But also, this could be internalized racism, facilitated by social mobility, their capacity to pass as White, or mixed marriage. Similarly, Argentinians do not appear to feel attached to the classification of Latinx.

The Post-migration Realities

After immigrating, Chilean Americans tend to uphold upper middle-class values from Chile, as they appear to share three characteristics with their White counterparts. First, they do not seem to form or have the need for their own separate ethnic group. Rather they aim at reaching full integration into the mainstream US culture. Second, they often identify as a monolithic White group. This has a dual effect; on the one hand, it promotes alienation from other Latinxs, and on the other, it may facilitate adaption and integration, which often happens within the first generation. However, dark skinned Chilean Americans may not be able to pass as White people. Then, dark skin Latinxs and Afro Latinxs tend to mix with other Latinxs and African Americans. Third, Chilean Americans struggle to define their own identity in relation to other Latinxs and White Americans.

Value Sets Among Chilean Americans

Upon first impression, Chilean American families may appear more acculturated than their Latinx counterparts. They tend to have small families (one or two children), pay great importance to education, focus on career and social mobility, tend to marry less, and have fewer children. When I shared these data with a colleague, she thought I was being classist and discriminatory, but analysis of the limited but current data indicates Chilean families rarely have more than two children, and they marry White Americans at a higher percentage than other groups (Pew Research Center, 2017). They have high educational attainment, relatively high income, and have access to White collar professions. This also correlates with many cultural values among Chilean American women. They are often not considered traditional Latinx women. For instance, abortion rights, having a career over family, holding secular worldviews, expecting freedom and independence as a right not a privilege, and demanding more economic opportunities are valid options for them. They also expect equal rights in their relationships, equal pay at work, and shared responsibilities at home when in a relationship. These values may set them apart from many other Latinx women, but as more women go to college, it will be curious to see if the Chilean outs herself accordingly. While women in Chile may complain about Chilean men for being *machistas*, laws, high ranking positions, a professional labor force, and a woman, Michelle Bachelet was elected president in Chile. A progressive event compared to other Latinx countries.

Another value that characterizes Chileans as well as Chilean Americans is to be socioeconomically conscious rather than be aware of racial differences, except in relation to Blacks and Native people. The historical homogeneity in Chilean society fostered a culture of SES classification. Thus, being aware of a person's SES is an intrinsic Chilean value. As has been mentioned throughout this chapter, there is considerable social motivation to better oneself through education, economic gain, marriage if needed, and entrepreneurship (Berrios, 2016; Subercaseaux, 2011).

As Chilean Americans gravitate towards one another, and White Americans because they see more similarities with them, they search allies for integration; a Chilean value known as *pitutos* (social connections). Subsequently, Chilean Americans do not seem to see a need to engage with other Latinxs. This could explain why it is not their small numbers, but rather their closely held intrinsic values based on historic and contextual factors that set them apart from other Latinxs. For instance, according to the latest Census in Chile (2017), Chileans are more individualistic than previous generations. They live alone, marry late, and one in three Chileans do not have children. This appears to be in direct correlation with economic status and financial independence (The World Bank in Chile, 2018).

Post-migration Challenges and Counseling Considerations

Despite their high levels of social and economic integration, Chilean Americans often ruminate about their days back in Chile, as better and old-good-times. Chileans aim at full integration when they move to the United States, as if it were a given. People like me with dark skin, who cannot do the passing, tend to accept eventually the Latinx classification, whether because we cannot help it, or we use it to build alliances by means of that. At the same time, I do not deny that I am a Chilean. Commonly, individuals from Latin-American countries self-identify by their national origin, and if they are politically aware, they also realize the value of the pan-ethnic term, "Latinx."

Racism is quite present in the Latinx community, but it is not easily understood among Chilean Americans, who with open comments in sayings, expressions, and riddles will display, what may be understood as internalized racism. Chilean American families will not directly look down upon people from non-White races, but may express their feeling openly by praising someone who has light skin, light eyes, etc. A family member who marries a White person could be congratulated as an indicator of accomplishment or achievement, as if they were receiving a college degree. Whereas a Chilean who marries a darker skinned person may not receive the same warm affirmation.

The Chilean families I have met tend to minimize their Chilean culture. They highlight US values (e.g., independence, economic prosperity, education, and integration) and participate in cultural practices such as Halloween and Thanksgiving. They replicate cultural traditions with ease and comfort. Thus, a future task is to investigate whether second- or third-generation Chilean Americans become US Latinxs or further merge with the White culture.

Maintaining Cultural Values, Identity, and Sense of Belonging

Chileans often maintain a strong sense of family for support because for them, this is a means to economic and upward social mobility (Berrios, 2016). As secular individuals, Chilean Americans are not close to the Catholic faith or an organized religion, except those who are Mormons. Chilean Americans are eager to disclose their background to contrast themselves from other Latinxs, and to point out similarities with the White culture. Counselors who are White may have an initial rapport with Chilean Americans, but if they fail to understand the complexity of the immigration experience, identity preferences, and possibly internalized racism, they may overlook these possible sources of stress. This can lead to misunderstandings and possibly antagonism within a counseling relationship.

In Washington, DC where I live, despite having well-established Latinx neighborhoods, Chilean Americans prefer to live in the suburbs, known as White hoods. Their

belief is that proximity leads to familiarity. As Allende states, "we turn our backs on Latin America, always comparing ourselves instead to Europe" (2003, p. 9).

On an anecdotal note, there are no known Chilean restaurants, not even where there are concentrations of Chileans. Chilean stores often advertise under other categories. In Washington, a Chilean bakery advertises as a French bakery. In Chicago, a Chilean restaurant advertises as an Italian restaurant.

Success Stories: What Has Worked?

Chilean Americans seem to lean on three elements for their success. First, they draw upon their high educational level attained, before they left Chile or obtained in the United States. Second, they rely on the social capital they have as members of a technologically and economic advanced society as Chile's. Third, they often pass as White, which they like to do. This often serves them to achieve upward social mobility.

Most Chilean Americans come from urban industrialized areas, often Santiago where half of the population of Chile lives. Therefore, they are used to the social systems and a lifestyle similar to the one in the United States (e.g., transportation, government protocols, education). This helps them to adjust to life in the United States, as they know how to take a subway, apply for jobs, open bank accounts, use credit cards, etc.

Closing Thoughts: Considerations for Mental Health Counseling

Counselors and other mental health professionals need to be aware that most challenges for Chilean Americans may not be external, but psychosocial. These can be summarized in seven areas. First, Chilean Americans may struggle to find their own cultural Latinx identity both within the US society, and among other Latinxs. Second, most Chilean Americans may differ from other Latinx groups in terms of immigration status, overall socioeconomic class, values, and social needs; especially, when they may fail to reach full integration into mainstream society. Third, while most Chilean Americans self-identify or are classified as White, their cultural integration is never complete into this group. Consequently, Person Centered Therapy, Reality Therapy, Existential Therapy, and Psychoanalysis may work well with them. These theories can provide the assistance most Chilean Americans may need, which is the sense-making, the coming to terms, and the acceptance of all the immigration experience implies and conveys, with its gains and losses. Fourth, most Chilean Americans, except those who may live in Utah, are a secular group. Fifth, most Chilean Americans have small families and some may not have or choose to have children for a preference to pursue a career. Sixth, many Chilean

Americans marry at a late age or choose not to marry at all. They often have equal gender expectations, even when it comes to raising children; they often marry other Chilean Americans or more often, White Americans. Seventh, most Chilean Americans are politically conservative, but they may tolerate sexual minorities. Eighth, most Chilean Americans prefer to live in urban environments, but not in multi-ethnic areas. Ninth, most Chilean Americans have social capital such as high levels of educational attainment. Tenth, culturally, most Chilean Americans praise European culture over US and Latinx cultures.

Counselors should also be aware of colorism, as a major cultural barrier among Chilean Americans. This has implications in terms of identity, identification, association, and social mobility. Also, counselors should be cognizant that while Chile was a homogenous society, today, it is not. Future Chilean Americans, consequently, may not be as acculturated or appear White as today's Chilean Americans. Thus, newer Chilean Americans may be more similar to the current the US Latinx population culturally and racially.

As in Chile, some Chilean Americans in the United States may identify themselves with their European background, as Croats, Jews, German, etc. Subsequently, Chilean Americans may become active in the Jewish community, rather than in their local Latinx community. For instance, the famous TV presenter, who is known as Don Francisco but whose real name, is Mario Kreutzberger Blumenfeld. Other Chilean Americans may identify with the nation of their ancestors (e.g., Spain, France, Italy), rather than with their Chilean origin.

Lastly, research on Chilean Americans' acculturation and adaptation processes has not yet truly begun. Much can be learned about this small, but iconic Latinx group in the United States. Here are some areas of inquiry: (1) Will second and subsequent Chilean American generations engage with other Latinxs? (2) How will Chilean Americans phenotype characteristics promote integration with other Latinxs, other Chilean Americans, White Americans, etc.? (3) How does having African or Asian phenotype characteristics among Chilean Americans influence sense of identity? (4) How will second and subsequent generations benefit from their parents' social capital? (5) How will institutionalized and internalized racism in the United States influence their identity in the United States? and (6) How will Chilean Americans from mixed marriages with White Americans identify (e.g., as Chilean, Chilean American, or White)? Counselors need to ask rather than assume the identity that Chilean Americans have, and what set of values they hold as dear, how they prioritize their needs, and make sense of their life experiences to better serve Chilean Americans as clients.

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Colombians in the United States: History, Values, and Challenges

Marie L. Miville, Cassandra Z. Calle, Narolyn Mendez, and Jack Borenstein

M. L. Miville: *As the daughter of a Colombian immigrant who migrated to the United States in the late 1950s, during what is today known as the First Wave, I was raised to feel pride and joy about being a Colombian. My mother, who came from an upper income, professional family, came in search of a higher education, starting out as a student and teacher at a small Catholic college in North Carolina. Before the year was over, her father attempted to convince her to move back to Colombia, since she was a single woman and did not yet have any close family in the United States. Her first step back was to move to Miami, FL the following year where she found work as a secretary in a Catholic rectory. Within 6 months, she met and married my father, a US citizen of French Canadian background. I have many fond memories of my childhood in Miami, being taught Spanish along with my brothers by my mother in our screened-in porch, learning Colombian lullabies and other songs, listening to stories told in the form of "magical realism," and meeting many Colombian relatives and friends over the years when our family hosted their stay. I did not know it at the time, but Miami was one of only two primary areas (the other being New York/New Jersey) in which Colombians tended to raise their families. Once my mother knew she was going to stay in the Unite States, having married a citizen, she applied for and received legal permanent resident status fairly quickly. Then during the 1990s, when dual citizenship was made available to Colombians, she applied for and obtained her US citizenship. Because my mother had chosen to come to the United States to seek educational opportunities, she always was proud to say she was both Colombian and American, dual identities she retains to this day at the age of 94. My mother retained Spanish as her first language always, but also learned to speak English well, despite receiving little formal training in this language. I recall as a child that her initial years in the United States were challenging in the sense of feeling like an "other" as a non-native English speaker. Despite*

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Miami's history of welcoming Latinx people as well as people from Caribbean countries, many native born non-Latinx citizens typically viewed immigrants and Latinx people in particular with suspicion and sometimes open hostility, trends that continue today in many parts of the United States. As a result, at times I played the role of cultural broker, especially when my father was not available, in helping my mother deal with individuals who treated her negatively. Several other members of my family, mostly cousins, eventually migrated to the United States in the 1990s and 2000s, in part to escape the violence and constant threat of kidnaping as well as to seek educational/financial opportunities.

J. Borenstein: *My family came to the United States for educational opportunities and to escape the increasing conflict, brought on by the rise of drug cartels, political unrest, and growth of paramilitary groups. My paternal grandfather first left Colombia in the early 1950s and arrived in New York in search of better educational opportunities, amid political struggle and violence in Bogota at the time. Unfamiliar with the English language, my paternal grandfather struggled to learn and understand more than the basic phrases he had learned back in Colombia. His maternal uncle, who had left Colombia for New York, was a vital support for my grandfather. However, after completing high school, my paternal grandfather returned to Colombia, began working in textiles, and started a family.*

Like his father, my father came to the United States in the late 1970s, as an adolescent seeking better educational opportunities on an educational visa. He too struggled with the English language and US culture, but with guidance from relatives that had settled in New York some years prior, my father began to navigate his way through school. Working at many different local jobs and eateries, my father was able to pay for his education, and became the first in his family to obtain a graduate degree. His siblings would soon follow, to take advantage of the educational opportunities that the United States had to offer, as my father had.

My parents met, while my father was on break from college, in Colombia. My mother, after having developed a long-distance relationship with my father, decided that she too would seek to obtain a college education in New York. In the late 1980s, after my parents married, they decided that they would come to live in New York. The rise of the drug cartels and paramilitary groups like the AUC and the FARC, increased threats and dangers of kidnappings, extortions, and violence, which solidified for my parents that the United States would be the place to raise their family. Especially as Jews, who were generally in the higher socioeconomic classes in Colombia, the threat that the cartels and paramilitary groups posed was not to be taken lightly.

My parents were able to move to the United States with ease, as my mother already had American citizenship as an "anchor baby." Because my maternal grandparents were entrepreneurs of higher socioeconomic status and were survivors of the Holocaust, they came to Miami to have their children. Although they had raised their children in Colombia since infancy, they felt, given their history of persecution and oppression, that having American citizenship was an "insurance policy" for their children and grandchildren. My maternal grandparents came to Colombia from Europe in the mid-1900s, following persecution in the Holocaust.

They came to Colombia to be with their family, who had first arrived in Colombia in the early 1900s when there was economic promise and greater religious tolerance. My parents' marriage helped my father to receive residency in the United States and granted my siblings and me citizenship.

Both my maternal and paternal grandparents followed their family to the United States in the early 1990s to escape the growing violence, kidnappings, political unrest, and a rise in anti-Semitism in Bogotá. This sentiment awakened as a result of corrupt government officials, rise of narco-traffickers and paramilitary groups. However, their journeys were not seamless. After moving to Miami, my maternal grandparents were forced to spend a number of years in Canada while awaiting and reapplying for residency papers. After eventually receiving their green cards, my maternal grandparents were able to move back to Miami. My maternal grandparents had great difficulty in learning English and completing the citizenship exam—as it is given in English. However, my maternal grandfather finally achieved his dream of becoming an American citizen shortly before his passing at the age of 92. Similarly, my paternal grandparents spent numerous years applying, being denied and reapplying for residency in the United States, beginning in the late 1980s. After numerous unsuccessful attempts at residency, my paternal grandparents were able to obtain their green cards and move to New York to be with their children and grandchildren. For my paternal grandparents coming to America meant that they would have to attempt multiple lower level jobs and to take English classes with young adults half their age.

Leaving Colombia meant leaving behind their companies, their home, their language, and their community. The journey to the United States took many paths for my family but has ultimately led to the achievement of better opportunities, especially educational opportunities, safety, and security.

Colombian Americans are part of the rich mosaic that makes up the Latinx population in the United States today. As can be seen by the two narratives above, Colombians' experiences, during immigration and thereafter, reflect multiple diverse stories. As of the last census in 2010, approximately 1.1 million Colombian Americans were estimated to live in the United States (López, 2015). Given their small numbers relative to other Latinx Americans, it is not surprising that little has been published about the history, cultural values and strengths, and psychological challenges of Colombians and their families. We next present a brief summary of Colombian history and available demographic information, followed by a discussion of Colombian cultural values and psychological strengths.

Colombian American History

Since its founding in 1525 as a Spanish colony to the present day, Colombia has been known to fluctuate between times of prosperity and economic difficulties, educational resections and educational freedoms, religious persecution and religious freedom, political turmoil and disputes, peace and violence (Kline et al., 2018).

In the 1980s and 1990s, Colombians were associated with the stigma of drug trafficking and cartels, due to pop culture and media portrayals (Marrow, 2005) although this stigma has declined in recent years. Nevertheless, Colombians have developed and maintained a rich history of the arts, food, coffee, innovation, peace negotiations, and resilience in their native country.

Foundations of Colombian History

Considered a strategic passageway to South America, Colombia began experiencing migration thousands of years ago from Mesoamerica, providing passage for hunter-gatherers to populate other parts of the continent (Kline et al., 2018). Indigenous groups in the territory became the inspiration for the gold-rush legend that fueled the period known as the "Spanish conquest" of South America (Carvajal, 2017). Spanish colonization involved the massacre of a majority of the indigenous population, while at the same time, developing a large African slave market, primarily in the coastal cities, such as Cartagena and Santa Marta, and in the coastal regions of Chocó and Antioquia (Echeverri, 2008; Kline et al., 2018; Newson & Minchin, 2004). Colombia did not have large migratory movements until the early 1900s, when many came to the country after a new constitution allowed for greater religious tolerance (Kline et al., 2018). Consequently, people from European and Middle Eastern countries began migrating to Colombia, due to the promise of great opportunity (Carvajal, 2017).

Independence and Early Years

Colombia declared its independence from Spain in 1819, under the leadership of Simón Bolívar who had waged a series of campaigns starting in 1810 (Carvajal, 2017; Kline et al., 2018). The early years of the new nation brought with it much prosperity and growth (Kline et al., 2018). However, the 1830s were marked by the rise of both the conservative and liberal parties as powerful rivals in national politics (Carvajal, 2017; Kline et al., 2018). The many political struggles between conservative and liberal political parties fueled unrest and resulted in a bloody civil war from 1899 to 1902 that left hundreds of thousands dead. In 1902, another crisis struck the country when the United States acquired the zone where the Panama Canal was being built. After rejecting an accord that established US control over the canal, the Colombian government sent troops to Panama to regain control of the zone. However, with US support, local forces revolted and won independence from Colombia in 1903, creating the new country of Panama (Kline et al., 2018). After many years of tranquility and peace, following Panama's independence, conflicts between the Liberals and Conservatives led again to civil war in 1948 resulting in a dictatorship (Carvajal, 2017). From 1948 to 1958, increased economic

hardship and an oppressive dictatorship gave rise to a new round of political battles in the period known as *La Violencia* (Carvajal, 2017; Kline et al., 2018; Madrigal, 2013). The events of *La Violencia,* which resulted in the deaths of over 200,000, while destroying much of the agricultural industry (Carvajal, 2017; Madrigal, 2013), led to a major wave of Colombian immigration to the United States (Kline et al., 2018; Madrigal, 2013; Migration Policy Institute, 2015). The following section details the waves of migration that began in the 1950s, continuing until the turn of the century.

Immigration to the United States

The history of Colombians in the United States is part of a larger Colombian diaspora, constituting a long history catalyzed by political conflict, social unrest, and economic trouble. Colombian migration patterns have been distinguished by scholars as three distinct waves involving diverse demographic groups, reasons for migrating, and contextual factors with a mixture of push and pull factors from both the originating and host countries (Madrigal, 2013; Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Immigration to the United States was essentially minor from about 1820 to 1950 when fewer than 7000 Colombians immigrated to the United States. Indeed, the Colombian presence in United States was not recognized officially until 1960, when the U.S. Census began to specify the country of origin for South Americans (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Three distinct waves mark the major immigration points and are described below (for further details, please see Madrigal, 2013).

The First Wave (1945–1960)

The first Colombian community formed after World War I, through the arrival of several hundred professionals and their families who established themselves in New York City (Sassen-Koob, 1989). Many Colombians immigrated to the United States in order to complete their education, studying in universities across the country (Madrigal, 2013; Sassen-Koob, 1989). The growth of the Colombian American population was slow until the 1940s, when there was an increase in immigration as a result of the Colombian civil war (*La Violencia*) in 1948 and subsequent increased poverty (Sassen-Koob, 1989). Many Colombians continued to immigrate to the United States during the 1950s. The Colombian American community grew exponentially, when Colombian students decided to stay in the United States after earning their degrees in the mid-twentieth century (Migration Policy Institute, 2015).

The Second Wave (1965–1989)

The passage of several U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Act's amendments in 1965 allowed for more Colombians to migrate to the United States (Madrigal, 2013). New York remained the most popular destination although smaller communities formed in Los Angeles, Houston, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC (Guarnizo, Sánchez, & Roach, 1999). However, by the 1980s, Colombians began to settle primarily in Miami and its suburbs (Collier & Gamarra, 2001), given its proximity to Colombia as well as the presence of a large and diverse Latinx community. The area attracted wealthy Colombians, who settled there to get medical care, send their children to school, and escape from the social, economic, and political turmoil in Colombia. By the 1980s, Colombian Americans were one of the fastest growing Latinx groups in Miami (Collier & Gamarra, 2001). At the same time, negative and stigmatizing attitudes began to increase greatly toward Colombians in the United States, given the rise of drug cartels and violence in their home country.

The Third Wave (1990–2008)

The 1980s and 1990s brought the rise in cocaine trafficking, along with the influence of the drug cartels and paramilitary groups (Carvajal, 2017; Migration Policy Institute, 2015). From the 1990s, along with the ensuing turmoil over a political assassination in 1989, the number of Colombians admitted to the United States tripled, representing the largest numbers of immigrants from a South American country (Carvajal, 2017; Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Between 1992 and 1997, the intensity of the conflict in Colombia further increased, driving even more Colombians to migrate to the United States, with many of these immigrants departing to California (Guarnizo et al., 1999).

Although many Colombians sought naturalization and legal resident status in the United States, after 1990, undocumented entry into the United States increased (Aysa-Lastra, 2007). These individuals witnessed the political unrest and experienced the economic decline of their native home. This group of individuals also possessed a wider range of demographics, specifically in regard to socioeconomic status as compared to other groups during the prior waves of immigration. It was also during this time, and until the present, that the United States became more hostile to accepting applications for residency and citizenship:

> Colombians who entered during this wave…found themselves experiencing concerns and frustrations at their inability to obtain legal status, regardless of their educational and socioeconomic background. They [found] it difficult to understand the US system and accept that they [could] not obtain licenses and permits to work in their line of business or profession. (Madrigal, 2013, p. 30).

Aysa-Lastra (2007) also noted that after this time period not only were women more likely to travel without documentation than men, but also more Colombian migrants traveled without documentation after 1990 than before this period.

Colombians in the United States Today

Since the 2000s, the number of Colombian immigrants continued to grow, despite efforts from the Colombian government to bring back some of its citizens, specifically professionals (Carvajal, 2017; Madrigal, 2013). Throughout this period, multiple peace agreements were negotiated between the Colombian government and various paramilitary groups, most notably The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (*Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia*, or FARC), and by 2004 several of these groups had disarmed (Kline et al., 2018). Recently, intensive security operations against the remaining paramilitary groups have proven to be productive, and the number of crimes, kidnappings, and terrorist attacks in Colombia significantly has decreased (Carvajal, 2017; Kline et al., 2018). In June 2016, the Colombian government and the paramilitary groups signed a permanent cease-fire agreement, laying the groundwork for the final peace treaty (Carvajal, 2017; Kline et al., 2018). On August 15, 2017, the Colombian government declared an official end to its conflict with the last of the paramilitary groups (Kline et al., 2018).

In addition to immigration patterns outside of Colombia, there also are a large number of Colombians who have been and continue to be internally displaced as a result of the political turmoil and violence of the past 30 years (Carvajal, 2017; Migration Policy Institute, 2015). In fact, far more Colombians were internally displaced due to violence and turmoil than those who fled and settled abroad, numbering well over five million by 2015 (Højen, 2015). This internal displacement was a consequence of guerilla groups controlling large masses of land, in mostly rural areas, subsequently forcing movement of those living there to move to large cities. Although there have been recent peace proceedings with the FARC and paramilitary groups, internal displacement continues to be a major problem, as many rebel groups move in to take over the land portions when the FARC moved out.

Finally, entry into the United States by Colombians has persisted beyond the three waves of immigration. In 2012, approximately 280,000 people from Colombia obtained legal residency in the United States by gaining Lawful Permanent Resident Status (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). For the majority of these Colombians, this status was gained primarily through the familial sponsorship, followed by refugee status. Additionally, entry into the United States was procured through student visas, with 7000 students from Colombia in the United States, and temporary work visas.

In the current US political climate, it is important to consider the implications of immigration from countries like Colombia to the United States. Immigration detention centers continue to detain immigrants, who although not considered high priority under the Obama Administration, are now being removed from their homes without knowing when or if they may return (Fertig, 2017). From 2017 onward, these individuals at times have been suddenly and unexpectedly removed from their communities without any notification to their families, violating expected immigration agency protocols. This cruel way of handling immigration has led to undue and harmful separation from family members and desperate circumstances where

families are forcibly reconfigured and their children become at risk of their basic and psychological needs not being met fully. Given the many diverse causes and impacts of immigration narratives across several generations of Colombians described here, it is clear that a careful detailing of the unique circumstances of each Colombian family's immigration narrative should be a part of any mental health assessment.

Demographics of Colombian Americans

As noted earlier, as of the last census in 2010, it has been estimated that there are approximately 1.1 million Colombian Americans in the United States (López, 2015). Colombian Americans represent both Colombians who have immigrated to the United States and those born in the United States with Colombian origin through at least one Colombian parent (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Today Colombians constitute 2% of the Latinx population in the United States and are the seventh largest population of Hispanic origin (Pew Research Center, 2015; Pew Research Center, 2017; Sanchez & Aysa-Lastra, 2013). Although they make up a small percentage of the overall Latinx population in the United States, Colombians are the largest group of South Americans in the United States (Flores, 2017). Of the total 1.1 million, 61% are foreign born and 39% were born in the United States (López, 2015). Sixty-five percent of Colombian immigrants arrived before 2000 (Migration Policy Institute, 2015), and approximately 3/4 of Colombian immigrants (74%) have obtained US citizenship (Flores, 2017; Sanchez & Aysa-Lastra, 2013). Most Colombian immigrants in the United States arrived during the 1980s and 1990s, during a time of particular violence and upheaval in Colombia (Carvajal, 2017; Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Colombian immigrants in this era headed not only to the United States, but also to Venezuela, Spain, and Ecuador (Carvajal, 2017; Marrow, 2005). However, due to the current political situation in Venezuela, Colombians who earlier had migrated there later migrated to the United States (Carvajal, 2017; Madrigal, 2013; Sanchez & Aysa-Lastra, 2013).

Since the initial waves of immigration in the mid-twentieth century, Colombians have been in the United States long enough that today there is a second generation of Colombian Americans (i.e., US born children of Colombian immigrants). Approximately 397,000 individuals make up this population, the majority of whom (57%) have one parent who identifies other than Colombian (about half of these individuals have parents who are US born). Most second-generation Colombians are relatively young, with the median age of 15, although over 40% are of working age, i.e., between 18 and 64 (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Given this ethnic mixture, the issues of language capacity and ethnic identity seem important to assess and research.

Colombian Americans can be found all over the United States but are more heavily concentrated in the South and Northeast. Roughly 51% of Colombian Americans live in the South, with the majority (31% of total number of Colombians) located in

Florida (Collier & Gamarra, 2001; Madrigal, 2013; Migration Policy Institute, 2015); indeed, Florida has the largest population of Colombians in the United States. In the Northeast, mainly New York and New Jersey (25%), the second largest gathering of Colombians is estimated at 32% (Madrigal, 2013; Migration Policy Institute, 2015).

Education, Employment, and Socioeconomic Status

Colombian Americans, according to the Migration Policy Institute (2015), have similar levels of educational attainment to that of the overall US population. Colombian Americans, ages 25 and older, are one of the highest educated Latinx groups in the United States (Flores, 2017). A total of 34% of Colombian American have completed degrees in higher education, as compared with 14% of all US Latinxs which also is greater than the total US population (30%) (López, 2015). During 2012, a total of 161 doctoral degrees were awarded to international students from Colombia, making Colombia the 13th largest origin group amid international award recipients (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Although a common stereotype regarding international students in the United States is that they typically want to stay, this is not necessarily true for these high achieving students. Only about half of Colombian international students expressed such a desire.

Given their relatively large numbers in higher education, Colombian Americans on average earn higher wages than the median earnings for all US Latinxs, but still earn less than the median of the US population. Roughly 70% of Colombian Americans, 16 years old and older, are in the work force (Migration Policy Institute, 2015), and the median income for Colombian Americans is $54,500, making it the fifth highest earning group of all US Latinxs. Many Colombian immigrants, especially those who emigrated during the "third wave" in the 1990s include a larger percentage of the middle and upper-class professionals (Collier & Gamarra, 2001). Thus, the poverty rate of Colombians typically is lower than the overall US Latinx population, mirroring that of the general US population at 11% (López, 2015). Colombians who live abroad typically display strong ties to their native country, with Colombian remittances totaling $4.1 billion, including $1.3 billion funneled through the United States (Migration Policy Institute, 2015).

Regarding language proficiency, according to a study done by the Pew Research Center (2017), Colombian Americans are ranked the fifth highest Latinx group for English proficiency, at 64%, as compared with 32% of the total Latinx population. Additionally, in the same survey on English proficiency, 84% of Colombian Americans reported speaking Spanish at home. These statistics indicate that for the most part, Colombians typically learn to speak the language of the host country, which in the United States is English, while striving to maintain their native Spanish language within their family and personal networks.

Colombian Diversity

Colombians are a highly diverse population (Marrow, 2005). Racially speaking, Colombian Americans consist of European, Afro-Caribbean, Middle Eastern, Jewish, and indigenous heritages (Marrow, 2005). Nevertheless, Colombians largely identify themselves in the United States at much higher rates than other Latinx groups as "White" (Osorio, 2013). Colombian Americans include slightly more females (55%), which is unlike other ethnic groups (Osorio, 2013). Osorio further states that the ratio of female Colombian immigrants is higher than most immigrant groups and that the ratio has been rising. Moreover, Colombian Americans are relatively young with a median age of 36 (Pew Research Center, 2017), but tend to be older than other Latinx groups. Additionally, a small minority of the Colombian American population (7.2%) is under the age of 18 (Sanchez & Aysa-Lastra, 2013).

In terms of religious practice, 71% of Colombian Americans are Roman Catholic (Beltrán, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2014), and the second largest religious group, which makes up 17% of Colombian Americans are Protestants, primarily Evangelicals (14.4%) (Beltrán, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2014). Together, these numbers indicate an overwhelming majority of Colombians identify as Christian/Catholic. It also is estimated that 7.3% of Colombian Americans belong to Jewish, Mormon, Muslim, indigenous, and other religious groups (Collier & Gamarra, 2001; DellaPergola, Dashefsky, & Sheskin, 2017; Pew Research Center, 2009, 2014), while a small number of Colombian Americans (4.7%) are not religious (Beltrán, 2012). Unfortunately, limited data exist on these marginalized religious groups.

Race

The idea of racial discrimination is not one foreign to all Colombian immigrants, especially those identified as Afro-Latinxs. Colombia's neglect to enforce race-based anti-discrimination legislation is a systemic issue in the country (Castro, 2013). Unfortunately, identifying the total number of Afro-Latinxs in Colombia has proven a difficult task due to several variables, including the dearth of research literature regarding this population, the research methods utilized, and the high mobility of the residents of Colombia. A stark example of the negative experiences of racism in Colombia was reported in 2008 (Castro, 2013) when a woman and her friends were out dancing one night. They were rejected by multiple nightclubs in the capital city of Bogotá due to the color of their skin, a common practice not supported by the law but by social norms of "exclusivity." The group was in Bogotá's *Zona Roja* (Red District), an area synonymous with "wealth, exclusivity, and consumption" but only for White upper socioeconomic classes. In the weeks that followed this incident, the woman and her friends sought legal counsel who accused the nightclubs, the mayor of Bogotá, Samuel Moreno, and the former president of the country, Alvaro Uribe, guilty of not providing Afro-Latinxs protection from racial discrimination. The court case rose up to the Colombian Supreme Court

where they ruled in favor of the woman and her friends, and the protection of their civil liberties.

In addition to racism from one's native country, race is highly salient for Afro-Colombians entering the United States where racism continues to be a pervasive social illness, forming the basis of a racially stratified society (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). Furthermore, the term "Latinas/os" does not specifically address the realities and experiences of dark-skinned Latinxs, rendering them invisible and likely leading to psychological consequences. Mental health counselors should be aware of these concerns as well as the long history of race/racism in Colombia and all Latinx countries.

Gender

As with most Latinx countries and cultures, traditional gender roles are socialized from the time of birth for both males and females (cis-gender status is typically presumed of all Colombian children). These traditions are further buttressed by the deeply held religious beliefs of Christianity/Catholicism, Judaism, Islam, and other religious organizations. Thus, the culturally based constructs of *machismo/caballerismo* and *marianismo* remain highly valued and strongly expected in most Colombian families regarding the behaviors of men and women, respectively. A key finding of some recent research (e.g., Diaz, Miville, & Gil, 2013) regarding gender egalitarian attitudes is that although most Latinxs view the roles of women and men within the family as *equal*, this does not necessarily translate into meaning *similar.* Thus, Colombian families in the United States are likely to be traditional, although with some unique "Americanized" arrangements, such as the likelihood of both boys and girls being encouraged to seek higher education, though perhaps with different consequences regarding their respective career paths (Miville, Mendez, & Louie, 2017).

Socioeconomic Status (SES)

As the history of Colombian immigration to the United States indicates, Colombians from many levels of education and financial resources are present in the United States. Although little information has been gathered regarding the psychological needs and concerns of these various groups, it is reasonable to suggest that residence/citizenship status has an impact on current financial opportunities. However, counter to the stories of other Latinxs in the United States, a number of higher SES Colombians who immigrated to the United States were undocumented, especially those who left Colombia during the height of the 1990s violence. Thus, the intertwining of SES and immigration status may be quite complex, and it is the unique narrative of each Colombian person and family that will be important to assess for the impact of these respective statuses. Clearly much more research is needed to explore the impact of SES status on the mental health functioning of Colombia Americans.

Sexuality

In addition to considerations of race, gender, and SES, there are other Colombians who can be considered vulnerable and marginalized populations, specifically those who have been forced to leave their native country of Colombia because of issues other than war and violence. One such group is that of sexual minorities, including lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) people. Avivi (2006) described the invisibility of this population whose story is not one of military persecution but that of sexual persecution. Prior to arriving to the United States, LGBTQ Colombians must go through the process of political asylum that requires they disclose their sexual orientation and their stories of persecution (Avivi, 2006). This is quite a shift for many LGBTQ Colombians, since they typically do not disclose this information in Colombia, and according to Avivi (2006), thereby creating a "barrier" to enter the United States since many may experience a great deal of hesitancy about coming out about their sexuality. Another layer of marginalization is added when LGBTQ individuals are forced to "out" themselves to their fellow Colombians, who may act as their legal counsel and advocates but may not be welcoming or accepting of their sexual identity. Avivi (2006) argues this creates a propensity for the development of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in some of these individuals, and an experience that may continue to haunt them throughout their lives.

Once LGBTQ Colombians arrive in the United States, they navigate issues of privilege and power regarding their ethnicity, since much of the LGBTQ community is centered around White gay culture, including Miami and New York City. Multiple complex issues based on national, ethnic, and sexual identities need to be navigated at once beginning upon arrival. Therefore, LGBTQ Colombians struggle with straddling two different identity groups, and must consider living in predominantly Latinx neighborhoods such as Hialeah, in Miami, which provides a sense of ethnic hegemony and security (i.e., job attainment), or move to South Beach where there is an openly gay culture (Avivi, 2006). Transgender populations also face issues of homelessness coupled with discrimination that may lead to grave psychological implications. As with other aspects of diversity affecting Colombians, more research on LGBTQ Colombians is greatly needed.

Colombian Cultural Values: Promoting *La Vida Sana*

When discussing Latinx communities, a major topic involves describing the unique cultural values that form the basic framework of how Latinxs view the world and each other. Excellent descriptions of these values are available elsewhere (e.g., Arredondo, Gallardo-Cooper, Delgado-Romero, & Zapata, 2014), and we will focus on several values that seem especially relevant to Colombians and their families, particularly in understanding the sources of their strengths and resiliency. These values include *familismo, simpatía/personalismo, respeto,* and *fatalismo*.

Without a doubt, the key cultural value in which many Colombians are socialized from birth is the importance of family (i.e., familismo). Familismo includes extended family members and close associates and is linked with qualities such as "interdependence, obligation, loyalty, solidarity, and reciprocity" (Miville et al., 2017, p. 839). This value is central in most critical life decisions of Colombians, such as immigration (e.g., whether to leave family members), career choice (e.g., whether a job will take too much time away from one's spouse or children), and place of living (e.g., whether to return to one's family in Colombia upon completion of a higher education degree in the United States). Even the decision of accepting an LGBTQ family member is often predicated on the strength of familismo, that is, accepting one's loved ones, despite important, even potentially conflictual, differences, in order to promote family peace (this also includes LGBTQ family members regarding homophobic relatives).

Three other values buttress familismo, respeto, and simpatía/personalismo. Respeto is a value that recognizes the importance of individuals in authoritative positions, particularly parents/grandparents, religious and other leaders (priests, rabbis), teachers, professionals, and for more traditional households, even husbands. More modern understandings of this value reflect simply the need to always maintain the dignity of the other person in the context of human relations. Benefits of respeto include children adhering to family needs and expectations, for example, in the choice of partners and jobs to ensure the overall family's survival and success. However, risks can arise regarding rigid adherence to these values, for example, second-generation Colombians in the United States, when younger people wish to choose a person or a career that is at odds with parental and family wishes. Simpatía, a value that signifies that "each individual carries a responsibility to advance harmonious relationships through behaviors that communicate mutual respect, emphasize positives, and deemphasize negatives to achieve smooth interpersonal exchanges" (Miville, Arredondo, et al., 2017, p. 839) often plays a role in helping families resolve complex matters. Being *simpatico/simpatica* enables individuals to develop fairly sophisticated relational styles and communication patterns that can allow for working through differences while at the same time maintaining smooth or positive relations. A related value, personalismo, similarly emphasizes the importance of being courteous with others, reflecting the "unconditional recognition of the essential value of each individual. A person's value stems from who they are unto themselves and from their membership in a family group, rather than from their social status or from their professional accomplishments" (Mederos, 2004, p. 11).

Fatalismo, another key cultural value for many Colombians, often linked with spiritual/religious beliefs systems, refers to the collective wisdom regarding the many events in life that simply are out of one's control. Fatalism, for many Western mental health professionals, often is viewed negatively, as simply not taking responsibility, being apathetic or even pessimistic, perhaps leading to depression and other negative psychological consequences. In contrast, many Colombians, indeed many Latinxs, subscribe to the belief of *lo que Dios quiere* (whatever God wants). Simply put, fatalismo refers to letting go of "false notions of control… viewing individuals as part of a larger whole, being present in the moment, humility, equanimity, and

acceptance (akin to the famous serenity prayer)" (Miville, Arredondo, et al., 2017, p. 840). Some of these beliefs are now central tenets of several evidence-based therapies in the United States and elsewhere.

Together this constellation of cultural values forms the basic guide to and framework for building and living *la vida sana* (the sane life). Many Colombian families focus on working together for a larger purpose, such as to serve God/deity, raise children, take care of elders, and so on; success in achieving this purpose is attained by living a focused and disciplined life, at least to the extent that one can in the face of stress, discrimination, poverty, and so on. Living la vida sana is a major way of dealing with some of the concerns described next as Colombians transition to life, both opportunities and challenges, in the United States.

Colombians in the Post Migration Era

To date, there is an abundance of research on the post migration experiences of immigrants and children of immigrants from Latinx countries. Although this literature has been beneficial for many reasons, including work with the Latinx population as it relates to mental health, little to no research has been done on many specific Latinx populations, including Colombians. The following section will discuss these experiences for the general Latinx population that then will be followed by an exploration of how each topic applies to Colombians in the United States. Topics of the post migration era include (1) acculturative stress and intergenerational conflict, (2) racism, discrimination, and mental health, (3) sense of belonging and identity, and (4) contact with one's native country and maintaining cultural values.

Acculturative Stress and Intergenerational Conflict

Acculturative stress refers to the many stressful, unfamiliar, and uncomfortable experiences by Latinx immigrants and their children as they adjust to living in a new country (Arredondo et al., 2014). The cultural and psychological navigation between what often feels like two different worlds, the host country and country of origin, place much of the Latinx population at greater risk of stress. Often, the stress experienced by immigrants who find themselves in a new country parallels that of loss and grief (Arredondo-Dowd, 1981).

A common experience regarding acculturative stress is intergenerational conflict, especially with mixed status families. In other words, differences in age and immigration status often pose major conflicts between generations, especially within families (Dennis, Basañez, & Farahmand, 2010). Dennis et al. (2010) found that two types of intergenerational conflict, values/expectations and acculturation, between Latinx parents and children were predictors of depression and low self-esteem. These researchers, as many others, demonstrated that intergenerational

conflict is closely tied to acculturative stress and mental health outcomes. Given that nearly half of Colombians today are second generation and who also may have a parent either from the United States or another country, it is likely that intergenerational conflict is a highly relevant concern for many Colombian families.

Madrigal (2013) studied acculturation with Colombians in the United States from the three different waves of immigration and did not find any significant relations between acculturation and well-being (Madrigal, 2013). Instead, she found that for Colombians in the study, resilience and self-esteem were positively correlated with well-being. Since most of the participants of the study were first generation, Madrigal suggested that acculturative processes regarding the host country had not fully taken place, as they might for second and further generation Colombians.

Racism, Discrimination, and Mental Health

As with many other minority communities, there is some literature on experiences of racism and discrimination among Latinxs (Castro, 2013; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014; Feagin, 2014; van Dijk, Barquin, & Hibbett, 2009). In addition, a large portion of the research on discrimination ties these experiences to effects on mental health (Cislo, 2007; Díaz, Ayala, Bein, Henne, & Marin, 2001; Feagin, 2014; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Pérez, Fortuna, & Alegría, 2008). Results from studies repeatedly demonstrate the explicit and serious impact that such experiences can have on minority populations, especially the Latinx community. From seemingly "innocent" microaggressions to more explicit forms of discrimination, impact on mental health is a serious concern for minority communities, including Colombians, as Latinxs and for Afro-Colombians, as people of African descent.

Race is often a taboo subject for the Latinx community (van Dijk et al., 2009) both in Latin America and the United States. For many years, there has been a pattern of referring to the term, Latino/a, as a race, and potentially obscuring the racial diversity within the Latinx community. Although this sentiment still holds truth for many Latinxs, the scholarly discourse has moved towards referring to the Latinx community as an ethnicity with racial diversity. In an exploration of race in Bogotá, Colombia, Castro (2013) highlighted the everyday experiences of racism for Afro-Colombians. Although no study of Afro-Colombians' experiences with racism in the United States yet has been published, it is important to consider how experiences with racism may transfer from the country of origin, Colombia, to the host country, the United States, for these individuals.

In terms of mental health and well-being, undocumented Latinx immigrants often suffer from high rates of depressive symptoms, anxiety, and PTSD (Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco, & Dedios-Sanguineti, 2013; Grant et al., 2004; Kamal & Killian, 2015; Martinez et al., 2015, Vega, Sribney, Aguilar-Gaxiola, & Kolody, 2004), whereas current data indicate that documented Latinx individuals often share the same rates of disorders as the general population. Unfortunately, there is little literature that focuses specifically on the mental health of Colombians in the United

States. However, some evidence exists that demonstrates the most common mental disorder for Colombians in the United States is *depression* (Cislo, 2007). One interpretation of this trend is that, given the emphasis on promoting family peace and harmony, it is possible that some Colombians may internalize their strong negative feelings since their overt expression may be received negatively by others as interfering with smooth family functioning. Another important consideration is the lengthy exposure to violence that many immigrant Colombians were subjected to, prior to their arrival in the United States, leading to a greater vulnerability to depression.

Sense of Belonging and Identity

Sense of belonging (SB) has been referred to as a vital mental health concept that has an impact on mental health and general well-being (Georgiades, Boyle, & Fife, 2013; Hagerty, Lynch-Sauer, Patusky, Bouwsema, & Collier, 1992; Young, Russell, & Powers, 2004). Although SB shares characteristics with loneliness, alienation, and hopelessness, it has a unique quality because of the many contexts it can be applied to (i.e., school, family, host country) (Hagerty et al., 1992). Although SB has been studied with a number of populations, it has not commonly been studied with the Latinx community.

Gonzales and colleagues (Gonzales et al., 2013) recently conducted a study that explored the effects of SB on the "1.5 generation" of immigrations (immigrants who have lived most of their life in the host country). Gonzales et al. described the inability of these individuals to participate in important "adolescent rites of passage" in the United States (i.e., going to their dream colleges, driving, or working at any number of jobs), which in turn pushes individuals toward social isolation. More specifically, Gonzales et al. state that 1.5 generational interviewees reported the feeling of having "no place to belong," eliciting feelings of uncertainty and stress. While SB has been demonstrated to have a serious effect on mental health in general, Gonzales et al. emphasized the vital role SB played in undocumented 1.5 generation individuals' mental health and well-being. Given the importance SB has on overall mental health, SB also is linked with identity development, since feeling as though one belongs provides individuals with space to create one's identity.

Although little research on either SB or identity has been conducted on Colombians in the United States, Madrigal (2013) whom we cited earlier explored ethnic identity and well-being among three waves of Colombian immigrants. Surprisingly, she found that the stronger Colombians identified with their ethnic background, the lower their well-being. This finding was particularly significant for Colombian men who had immigrated to the United States during the third wave (1990–2008) when political violence in their homeland was at its height. It was suggested that these findings can be understood:

> …by exploring feelings of discrimination, marginalization, or exclusion from mainstream society, dissatisfaction outside the country of origin, and cultural uncertainty. As Colombian

> men feel they belong to their nationality, their ethnic identity is delineated by their subjective personal knowledge about their country, and the pride Colombians feel for being members of that ethnic group. A strong ethnic identity of men in the sample does not seem to be a safeguard for their overall well-being; therefore, it affects them negatively. (Madrigal, 2013, p. 42).

Another important finding by Madrigal (2013) was that the well-being of those Colombians who entered the United States as political refugees was significantly lower than others who had entered with different types of statuses. Men from Wave 2 (1965–1989), particularly the latter end of the wave, had the lowest levels of well-being. These individuals had lived in Colombia for many years with chronic violence prior to their arrival in the United States. This gender difference conceivably might be linked with men's traditional roles as protectors of their family during particularly stressful periods. Clearly, much more research is needed to untangle the experiences of immigration (time and reasons), acculturation, identity, gender, and well-being for Colombians in the United States.

Contact with Native Country and Maintaining Cultural Values

Contact with one's home country for immigrants and their children provide individuals with information and critical cultural immersion experiences that should be explored for their impact on psychological functioning. The amount of, and manner in which, individuals communicate with others in one's native country provides insight into how connected immigrants may feel to both their home country and host country. In addition, this information also provides insight as to how immigrants maintain cultural values.

Waldinger (2007) surveyed Latinx immigrants (including Colombians) regarding their level of communication with their home country. Some significant trends included: (1) "63% of Latinxs surveyed do at least one or two of the following: send remittances (funds), make phone calls at least once a week, and/or travel back to their country of origin with the past two years" (p. ii); (2) "activities tied to home countries are more common among recent arrivals than among those who have been in the U.S. for many years" (p. ii); and (3) "higher levels of engagement with the home country are associated with weaker attachment to the U.S. across several indicators" (p.iii). Colombians were found to be among those Latinxs with the most contacts with their native country.

The maintenance of cultural values is another indicator of close ties with one's native country and culture. Sanchez and Aysa-Lastra (2013) explored how Colombians and Venezuelans maintain cultural values in the United States by examining how immigrant organizations from these countries portray themselves. Although Sanchez and Aysa-Lastra (2013) provided important information about immigration patterns, and portrayals of immigrant organizations in the United States, some of the most valuable information was describing who runs these organizations. Sanchez and Aysa-Lastra (2013) found that the largest organizations for

Colombians in the United States are student led. Many of the organizations focused on several important themes: promoting a more positive image of Colombia abroad, including the United States, and developing networks of communication among Colombian immigrants. Sanchez and Aysa-Lastra (2013) also found that "Over time, Colombian immigrant organizations have become more active inside US society, contradicting the apathetic and indifferent stereotype. This is consistent with their higher rates of permanent residence in US" (p. 10). This kind of information on organizations provides a pathway to how to speak about and conduct research with Colombians in the United States.

Conclusions and Future Directions

As we have discussed in this chapter, Colombian Americans represent a diverse group of individuals, based on race, religion, SES, immigration status, language proficiency, and so on. For more than half a century, many have arrived in the United States as the result of the pull of seeking greater opportunities and the push of escaping periods of intense violence and corruption. Today the future of the country of Colombia holds great promise politically and economically, with the end of much of the guerilla fighting. Colombians in the United States appear to be prospering as well, given their higher rates of academic achievement and earning power. Clearly, the future for Colombians in the United States and abroad is more hopeful today than ever before.

However, much research remains to be conducted regarding the strengths and needs of this diverse population. A number of unique challenges and resulting clinical concerns can be posited, including healing and learning from acculturative stress, resolving intergenerational conflicts constructively, developing positive identities and a sense of belonging as Colombians and Americans, and identifying factors that promote resiliency, for example, per cultural values. Each Colombian family has a unique immigration narrative that is important to articulate and share with future generations, as can be seen in the demographic data collected through various organizations and even through the two personal narratives that began the chapter. Issues of privilege and oppression (e.g., reason for immigration, religious affiliation, SES, and educational background) clearly affect the trajectory of these narratives, leading some to be able to navigate the immigration system with greater or less difficulty, due to these systemic concerns. One common characteristic, the source of strength and pride for all Colombians is critical to know and understand, the family. Family forms both the beginning and the end of each Colombian's narrative. It is through and by family that Colombians all over the world are able to survive and thrive. As we have noted throughout the chapter, much more research is needed to better understand Colombian Americans, their struggles and successes. We hope readers of this chapter will be inspired to engage in creating greater understanding of Colombians and other Latinxs living in the United States.

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Cuban Americans: From Golden Exiles to Dusty Feet—Freedom, Hope, Endurance, and the American Dream

Jeanett Castellanos and Alberta M. Gloria

Chapter Overview

Patria o Muerte—Venceremos (Fatherland or Death–We Shall Overcome) are common phrases associated to communism, socialism, and the rise of the Castro regime. An accurate understanding of Cuban Americans and the group's unique challenges requires an examination of the cultural practices, beliefs, and strengths to position a positive framing in working with Cubans who seek mental health services. As Cuban communities offer a rich cultural mixture of people who have witnessed liberty in different phases of the communist government, an assessment of positive coping and patterns of resilience paralleling their core values forms the basis of this chapter. Many terms are part of this narrative including exodus, asylum, refugee status, and parolee; these are examined in the context of identity and the role of unique privileges, the embargo, and the effects of separating islanders from their country and family members. Values such as *Cubanidad* (the shared sense of being Cuban), survivors' pride, and the essence of here and now are examined. Finally, a multigenerational model accounting for wave differences (e.g., Golden Exiles vs. Mariel), the chapter offers directives for clinicians and mental health providers to work with Cubans while promoting their emotional and behavioral adjustment, mental stamina, and resilience.

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Positioning Cubans Within the Latinx Diaspora

For close to 60 years, US leadership has continuously contended with the Castro regime, its communist practices and Marxist-Leninist fundamentals; as such, the United States continues to address remnants of the Cold War with the small island of Cuba (Pérez, 1993a, 1993b). Given the Castro regime and the complete transformation of the island's governance resulting from strong ties with the Soviet Union and the removal of Cubans' human rights, home and business ownership, and other practices of strict socialism (Pérez, 1986, 1993a, 1993b), a long history of Cubans immigrating to the United States exists. Cubans' history in the States started during the Spanish Colonial period of the 1500s (Ripoll, 1987) with a trickling of islanders (a term used for the group as they are native of an island) seeking opportunities; however, the migration eventually led to numerous islanders seeking refuge for multiple reasons as will be discussed. As the pattern of seeking refuge fluctuated and coincided with US policies, multiple waves of migration reveal distinct immigration patterns among Cuban individuals. Moreover, early policies and current changing policies in response to the island exodus offer unique circumstances that speak to a group's particular circumstances, all factors to consider when offering mental health services (Bernal & Shapiro, 1996; Santiago-Rivera, Arredondo, & Gallardo-Cooper, 2002).

Nuestra Historia en el Exilio–La Isla, La Política, y Nuestra Libertad (Cubans as Exiles: The Island, Politics, and Freedom)

Cubans have been migrating to the United States prior to the Louisiana Purchase and have a long-standing presence as immigrants since the 1800s (Pérez, 1986), with the greatest influx during the early settlements, close to the time when the Spanish and Cuban American War ended, and a Cuban government was established. In particular, Cubans first arrived as exiles and migrants to the United States in 1823 when Spain ruled the island. A number of these political exiles sought expansion (1823–1865) and hoped for annexation of the island by the United States with the goal of strengthening slavery, gaining independence from Spain, and preserving power for the Whites in the island (Mirabal, 2017). Other early Cuban exiles and migrants (both Afro-Cuban and White), however, advocated for the abolition of slavery, expansion of rights for slaves, and independence. Newspapers, pamphlets, journals, the creation of social political clubs and spaces were all means pursued to voice the importance of justice and freedom while developing a political exile agenda based around a freedom movement and revolutionary efforts (Mirabal, 2017).

In the middle to late nineteenth century, parallel to historical changes on the island and political conflicts with Spain, the onset of US. cigar companies attracted

businesses and workers in a time of political, social, and economic challenges. Consequently, the hiring of Cuban laborers to roll tobaccos (avoiding Cuban political disruptions and high tariffs on products) facilitated a greater influx of Cubans (Pedraza-Bailey, 1985; Pérez, 1986). In addition, the development of cigar operations attracted thousands of Cuban workers that helped grow Tampa, Florida's population. Post this period, Cubans continued to emigrate between 1920s and 1930s primarily for economic reasons, looking for employment classified as labor immigrants.

Although Cubans lived in the United States prior to Cuba becoming a dictatorship in 1959, it was not until the Cuban revolution that great numbers left. Specifically, the US–Cuba relationship grew tense as the Castro regime strengthened ties with the Russian government, leading to the Bay of Pigs (1961) invasion as it has been labeled. Essentially, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) attempted to invade the island but its efforts failed, further intensifying strained relationships between the two countries. As ties with Russia and Cuba strengthened, the island requested protection from future invasions leading to the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) when Russia stationed nuclear weapons in Cuba (Roberts, 2012).

Close to a quarter million Cuban immigrants arrived in the United States prior to the revolution; however, the largest exodus was after the Cuban revolution (1959), with exiles fleeing the country for freedom and human rights. The first wave of Cubans fled the island thinking their leave was temporary. They left their properties, homes, cars, and businesses with their friends. Given the political climate and concerned that Cuban children would be indoctrinated on communist principles, the CIA created the Operation Pedro Pan program between 1960 and 1962 in partnership with Catholic Charities facilitating the largest exodus of undocumented children to the United States. The program placed refugee children in relatives' homes, orphanages, foster homes, or boarding schools (Maret & Aschkenas, 2011).

In 1961, the CIA attempted to overthrow Fidel Castro (Bay of Pigs) but the dictator was secretly informed about the plan resulting in an unsuccessful invasion. Close to a year past the event, the United States faced the Cuban Missile Crisis, a 13-day political and military confrontation with the Soviet Union over the installation of nuclear missiles on the island and a threat to nuclear war. After great pressure, the Soviet Union agreed to remove all nuclear weapons but ties between the Soviet Union and Cuba remained strong and the government's loyalty resided with communism.

As the political climate in Cuba worsened and exiles continued to seek asylum, President Johnson enacted the Cuban American Act of 1966 allocating 1.3 billion dollars of direct assistance while making the group eligible for scholarships, financial aid, Medicare, public assistance, and free English classes. Moreover, the Cuban American Act of 1966 granted work authorization and permanent residency after 1 year in the United States safeguarding Cubans from the naturalization process and reducing any fear of prosecution or deportation (Abraham, 2015). The Act served as a unique privilege granted only to Cubans who were quickly seen as refugees given the Communist regime and the inhumane acts by Castro's dictatorship.

In 1996, President Clinton agreed with the Castro government that the United States would no longer accept Cubans found at sea and would only apply the Act to those who stepped on American soil. It was this agreement that spurred the wave of Cubans aptly named, "Dry Feet." Changes in the Act appeased the Cuban government that argued it encouraged Cubans to leave, yet angered many Cuban Americans (Abraham, 2015) who felt it was dangerous to send Cubans back to the island given the regime's history of incarcerating and mistreating those who did not support the revolution. Moreover, the Act underscored the longstanding-suffering experienced on the island and the insidiousness of Cubans' compromised human rights.

For Cuban immigrants, the Act provided benefits of residency after a year post arrival, health care benefits, and federal aid that were initially implemented for early Cuban refugees (Bruno, 2016). However, there remained a growing number of groups (including some Cubans) who questioned the unique privileges still granted by the Cuban American Act of 1966. In 2016, two Republican Senators sought to redress it given instances of misuse by more recent arrivals. As a result, minor changes were implemented to ensure individuals collecting benefits were not returning to Cuba. Although President Obama removed the Wet and Dry Foot (known as the Cuban Thaw stemming from the Cold War in January 2017) and moved to stop the embargo with the island in 2015–2017, the Trump administration tightened travel and commercial ties in November 2017.

Immigration-related terminology Resulting from America's response to the Cold War and its stance against communist ideologies, Cubans have "refugee status" that Kunz (1973) emphasizes as a "distinct social type" that underscores their loss of human rights in their homeland, a concept that acknowledges an involuntarily process of being "pushed out" of one's country. In essence, it is not economic opportunity or a different lifestyle that drives Cubans to embark on the open seas, but restriction of expression and limited safety that prompts their departure. In addition, Cuban status has been associated to "parolee" allowing the Secretary of Homeland Security to protect those claiming asylum based on humanitarian interests (Wasem, 2009). Another term includes exile, which recognizes the "push out" experienced by Cubans fleeing the island and underscoring the expulsion from their homeland with no rights to return. Lastly, the term "defected" is related to abandoning one's country or to be in opposition to one. As Cubans find themselves unprotected of their human rights, they defect and request refuge in a number of countries.

Other disparaging non-governmental names associated with those who left the island post-revolution include *gusanos* (worms) and *escoria* (human waste-scum). The Cuban government used the term *gusanos* to shame and discredit those who left and discourage other islanders from leaving. This process facilitates a separation between those who support Castro's ideologies and those who seek refuge by actively creating tensions within Cuban communities both in the United States and on the island (Skop, 2001). *Escoria* was a term most associated with the Mariel wave. Another offensive term, it was also used to shame and embarrass those Cubans leaving the island and categorized them to be unworthy. These terms created emotional

distance and a buffer for those who opted to stay on the island and affirmed that those leaving had undesirable traits best addressed by *escorting* them off the island. Overtly, the division within Cuban communities on the island expanded as those who wanted to support the government attempted to gain status by siding with the communist regime while maintaining hope that circumstances were going to improve. Other reports suggest that the Cuban separatists felt pressured to call the exiles names in order to not be questioned about their loyalty to the Communist values.

Nuestra Llegada y Las Olas a Través de los Años (Our Arrival and Our Waves Throughout the Years)

As Cubans grew increasingly dissatisfied with Batista's dictatorship (1952–1959), he was overthrown at the beginning of the Cuban Revolution. In the midst of a country seeking leadership for liberty and justice, Fidel Castro proposed a movement toward stability and strong governance. Some Cubans immediately recognized Castro's practices as communist or socialist, yet it was not until 1965 that the state was officially established under the Communist Party. Throughout the transition, Cubans witnessed persecutions, limited human rights, and endured issues of repression. These conditions alarmed countries witnessing the changes in Cuba and its people, promoting active practices (both by islanders and those in the United States) to facilitate the coming of Cubans to the United States. As a thorough review of Cubans migration or waves (i.e., time periods) is beyond the scope of this chapter, only a brief overview is presented in this chart.

Wave	Circumstances	Demographics	Process	Perceptions of group Unique points
Golden exiles/First Wave (1959–1962) The Historical Exiles or Golden Exiles	Beginning of the revolution Fled island in anticipation of the revolution	Included political leaders, government workers, executives, manufacturers, and established professionals (Gonzalez-Pando, 1998) There were approximately 200,000 exiles in this group (Rothe & Pumariega, 2008)	Defected as saw island changes Parted with all belongings	Considered risk-takers willing to leave all behind Perceived as highly educated and temporary residents Viewed as good immigrants with education and human capital Viewed as elitist given status Described as the group who "searched" and escaped (Pedraza-Bailey, 1985)

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Wave	Circumstances	Demographics	Process	Perceptions of group Unique points
Operation Peter Pan (Los Pedro Panes) The group—although not officially considered a wave, came from 1960–1962	As social climate of Cuba began to change, the Castro regime encountered resistance Worried for their offspring, parents sent their children to United States in hopes of protecting them from the revolution and its values	Initiative to host 14,000 young Cuban children who came without parents (Maret & Aschkenas, 2011) claiming political refuge	Operated by the Catholic Welfare Bureau Parent's underground efforts with church to facilitate entry of minors to America with sponsorship (Maret & Aschkenas, 2011) Received approved visas at hand	Name related to story of "Peter Pan" who leaves to Neverland without parents Story of hope and promise for a younger generation Heroic sentiment of anti-communist efforts by United States An act of humanitarianism to offer entry to the minors
Los primero balseros—Camarioca Leading to Freedom Flights (1965–1973)	As social climate changed, Castro opened the port of Camarioca and invited family members to pick up their family members at sea	Given dangers of picking up islanders via sea, almost 5000 processed but 200,000 expected Via commercial airline, 3000–4000 Cubans a month entered United States for 8 years (until 1973), which were known as Freedom Flights—the largest airborne refugee establishment in the United States	Program facilitated adjustment by helping Cubans find their family members, offering residency upon arrival, and medical benefits	As these Cubans waited for changes on the island, these refugees were viewed as those who waited and received assistance in their transition (Pedraza-Bailey, 1985) Witnessed the confiscation of businesses and the abolishment of private property by the Communist Party. They witnessed repression if expressed discontent (Rothe & Pumariega, 2008) Both this and previous group's welcoming approach seen as America's effort to create a "brain drain" on Castro's regime to dismantle its power and minimize its momentum

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Wave	Circumstances	Demographics	Process	Perceptions of group Unique points
El Mariel April–October 1980	The discontinuation of the Freedom Flights and continued problems in Cuba resulted in a bus filled with Cubans being driven into the Peruvian embassy to claim exile Chaos resulted in guard being shot and Fidel retrieving his personnel from the Peruvian embassy Peru responded by opening the embassy and welcoming 10,000 Cubans (Skop, 2001)	Estimated 125,000 Cubans who came to the United States in a 6-month period (Card, 1990), of whom 56% were males and included Afro-Cubans Almost 50% had less than a high school education but 18% of the group had completed college (Card, 1990) 1.4% of the group had committed unlawful crimes and some were from mental health facilities	Castro opened Mariel port and allowed all Cubans who did not want to be in the island to leave, as long as a ship came to pick them up Upon US arrival, some reunited with families and others found sponsors. Many males who did not have either were relocated to resettlement camps (Card, 1990)	Faced with media stereotype that were primarily criminals with false data representing them as threating and dangerous Group not granted automatic refugee status as the other Cuban waves Given a designation of "status pending"
Los Balseros (Cuban Rafters) 1994–1996	Numerous Cubans taking the sea to claim asylum Clinton administration quickly implemented the Wet Feet Dry Feet Policy	Intercepted at sea, more than 37,000 Cubans detained at Guantanamo Bay for 18-months Base housed adults and minors attempting to leave the island	In 1996, the last *balseros* were flown to the United States ending this wave (Puig, 2002)	Distinct from other waves, this group entering United States after the 1990s, who were "born, raised and educated" under the Castro regime (Garcia-Larrieu, 2006, p. 124; Rothe & Pumariega, 2008)
Dusty Feet (2015–2017)	With President Obama's loosening of ties with the island, Cubans arrived to the United States, traveling through airports or the Mexican–US border Obama ends Wet Feet, Dry Feet Policy in January 2017	Close to 56,000 Cubans entered the United States in 2016—a 31% increase over the 43,159 Cubans who arrived the previous year (Krogstad, 2016) By sea in 2015, close to 10,000 Cubans arrived compared to 4746 who arrived in 2014	The anticipated changes promoted Cubans to flee the island and find creative ways to claim asylum in search of freedom as political refugees	Some reports suggest the most recent wave of Cubans was prompted by their fear of the normalization of the United States and Cuba ties resulting in the repeal of the Cuban Adjustment Act Other accounts suggest the most recent Cuban refugees showed patterns of returning to their home country for long periods to visit after granted asylum

The reader is referred to Garcia (1996) and Gonzalez-Pando (1998) for a more thorough historical review of Cuban migration or waves.

It is important to note that the waves, as they are marked by time, conditions on the island, government policies, and Castro's open port cycles, directly inform Cuban Americans' perceived and lived experiences in the United States, their cultural identity, cultural preservation, social capital, socialization, and integration. Given the differences in level of education, income, professional status, years living under the regime, and challenges with their journey(s) to the United States, each wave of immigrants, and generational influence within families (e.g., US-born daughter of a *Balsero*) will have a unique sense of identity, group affiliation, perspective of the island and varying relations with previous and newer waves.

Race There is a long history of race relations in Cuba**,** a community based on Indigenous, Spanish, and African roots. Prior to the revolution, Afro-Cubans comprised one-third of the population. Although there was no Jim Crow or formal segregation, the group still experienced numerous inequalities. Benson (2012) notes that some Cubans attended "separate and exclusive social clubs and recreational facilities" (p. 3). In addition, Afro-Cubans experienced limited opportunities in the context of education, employment, and opportunity as the roots of slavery and plantation practices still influenced everyday activities. In contrast, offering a chronicle in her ground-breaking work, Mirabal (2017) notes a multitude of narratives that point to Afro-Cubans' migratory experiences to the United States in early island history (1823–1957), the political positions they held, and the scholarship they contributed. Noted in her book, is an accounting of Afro-Cubans immigrating to the New York prior to the revolution with exceptionally rich stories of sharing *Cubanidad* with White Cubans through "intellectual and political activism" (p. 19).

Castro pledged to eliminate racial discrimination with a system that afforded opportunities for all. He set an ideology for the country that "revolutionaries could not be racist" and socialism was a great answer to addressing the institutional racism embedded in prior governments. As scholars attempt to understand the role of racism in Cuba today in the context of employment, access, and economic mobility, the analysis is difficult, as the Cuban government does not collect racial identity statistics. Yet, some writings have addressed the experiences of Afro-Cubans on the island, the integration of race in Cuba, and the relations across racial groups on the island (Casal, 1989; Cole, 1980). An important fact is that the early exodus is marked by the departure of White elite Cubans and Fidel's movement to develop more Black scholars and professionals. Others argue that the Communist Party really did not need to attend to Afro-Cubans' positioning in Cuba as they were integrated and experienced equity. Despite the two discourses, post-revolution, the earlier waves (1959–1980) presented a racially homogenous exodus primarily comprised of lighter skinned Cubans who later claimed their family members and facilitated later departures from the island. Benson (2012) also notes that Afro-Cuban adjustment to US life shows a slower integration process, less economic success (with lower wages), and no representation in politics. Further, early Afro-Cuban refugees showed a limited involvement and inclusion in leading groups in Miami (Benson, 2012). Given the centrality of race in Afro-Cuban experiences, race

relations have shaped Afro-Cuban racial and ethnic identities and these dimensions must be accounted for when working with Cubans individually and collectively.

Current demographics In 2013, Cubans in the United States comprised 3.7%, the third largest ethnic "minority" group of the Latinx population. Today, it is El Salvador that holds the third position. Since the 1980s, Cubans have more than doubled in numbers growing from close to 800,000 to 2 million. Moreover, the foreign-born population of Cubans has also grown by 78%, increasing from approximately 60,000 in 1980 to 1 million in 2013 (Lopez, 2015). Nearly 60% of Cubans are foreign-born with 50% being in the United States longer than 20 years. Further, 60% are citizens (5 and older) and speak English proficiently (Lopez, 2015). Data reveal that approximately half of the Cuban people in the United States are Spanish-dominant and 36% are bilingual. In addition, 63% of Cubans prefer to be identified by their ethnicity or ethnic identity, rather than by the pan-ethnic term of Latinx (or Latino); yet 55% consider themselves as "typical Americans" and close to 80% speak Spanish in the home (Lopez, 2015).

In terms of education attainment, Cubans have higher education attainment than other Latinxs (14% vs. 25%) but slightly lower than the US population at-large (30%) (Lopez, 2015). Data indicate that 36% of US-born Cuban Americans report earning a BA as compared to 21% of their Cuban-born counterparts (Lopez, 2015). By income, Cubans earn a slightly higher yearly income of $25,000 vs. $21,900 for all Latinxs, yet lower than the total US population (i.e., $30,000). Approximately 20% of the group are in the poverty status but fair better than other Latinxs (25%), but higher than the US rate figure (16%). In relation to homeownership, 55% own a home as compared to 45% of Latinx, yet again lower than the US population (64%). Finally, 75% of the group have access to health care and 25% have no health insurance. By comparison, the Latinx group overall reports lack of health insurance at 29% while the US statistics reflect 15% of the population without coverage. The narrative for persons of Cuban heritage in the US is similar and different from that of their Latinx peers.

Author's Narrative

Although neither of the two authors were born in Cuba, Castellanos is a Cuban American whose family (i.e., parents, grandparents) fled the island for liberty and justice. Reflecting on memories and the generational transmission of a culture (Castellanos & Gloria, 2016), there are a multitude of family narratives that underscore the needs on the island, the limited supply of medicine for proper health care, the disconnection between the regime and early Cuban refugees, the continued opposition to the Cuban government's ideologies, the long-lasting yearning to have connection with family and hope for Cuba's freedom. In bringing to light the critical elements of well-formulated and culturally centered inquiry, Castellanos openly shares insight into her experiences as a Cuban American and reflects the following familial narrative:

What Is a Critical Childhood Memory That Reflects Your Familial Story?

"*Guantanamera… Guajira Guantanamera*." The Guantanamera was one of the first songs I learned to sing as a child. I vividly recall the emotional calls from Cuba one time a month and my mother's sorrow resulting from family distance and the embargo. A working-class family with neither parent completing high school, my narrative is unique in that we did not live in Florida nor experience some of the protective factors of living in a Cuban community. Instead, Cubans in exile in California created ethnic organizations and gathered on the weekend to address political changes on the island. I remember dressing up to attend the Cuban club and have slight memory of pledging to the Cuban flag and watching the collective group of adults singing the Cuban Anthem.

My father departed Cuba in the 1960s and was one of the first rafters found at seas by the Coast Guard. Not knowing how to swim (age 29 and leaving his family), he still risked his life for liberty and the American dream. From a different social class, my mother came from Cuba via Spain with nuns being away from her parents at age 15 until her early 30s. Both shared the common pain of family separation, cultural shock, language challenges, grief for losses coupled with promise and hope. They came to America seeking freedom. My father was older when he arrived and my mother was a teenager who felt a sense of grief due to the separation from her family. The two had unique perspectives of their journey and experienced different feelings as years passed and their parents remained on the island and communism prevailed. In particular, my father (*Pipo*) accepted that circumstances might not get better (affirming his self-initiated departure); my mother (who was sent by her parents as a young adolescent) yearned for her parents but learned to manage the fear of the unknown and grew into a tireless and fearless independent woman who learned to embrace challenges (poverty, divorce, and parenting) as these arose.

How Does Your Connection to Cuba Parallel That of Your Parents?

Similar to my parents, I long for a free Cuba, human rights for the Cuban people, and the initiation of the healing process after 60 years of dictatorship endured by our people. As I share my parents' mourning process of loss and sadness, disbelief of the regime's longevity, my parents' (and collective family's) resilience, strength and perseverance through their struggles and sacrifices, this cultivates my worldview, value for culture, and zeal for life.

The Post-migration Era

Although each migration wave encountered different social perceptions, sentiments, supports, and subsequent challenges in their transition periods, Cubans nonetheless share common narratives and hold realities that span the different waves that can be understood in the context of the group's challenges, goals, and achievements. These realities in the post-migration era are reviewed next.

Hope, despair, and *consejos* (advice) The first Cuban exiles post the revolution came with the belief that they would return to Cuba after a temporary stay. Engaging in a "Survival Stage" (Gonzalez-Pando, 1998), the initial wave took whatever jobs were available, and had limited opportunities due to union laws; however, had human capital. As older educated professionals, these Cubans had "pride, enterprising drive, adaptability, and a host of other psychosocial strengths that served them well in their new environment" (Gonzalez-Pando, 1998, p. 51). Their established identities and economic capital allowed them to preserve their culture. Moreover, the perspective of only temporarily staying, facilitated a less integrated (bicultural) identity and assimilation to the host US culture.

Although they tightly held on to cultural values, the immigrants sought to actively integrate into the United States (e.g., work, schools, politics) systems to acclimate while offering *consejos* to new Cuban arrivals about finding jobs and making sense of other important infrastructures. As the Bay of Pigs unfolded and the Cuban Missile Crisis surfaced, many refugees mourned the loss of their country; commercial air flights were discontinued. The immigrants experienced disconnection, grief, and homelessness (González-Pando, 1997). The challenge to survive offered the group a shared sense of dissonance, and a lack of normality; the result was a deeper sense of solidarity, normlessness, and hopelessness resulting in solidarity. Following the transitional period, Cubans worked at adjusting to a new life.

Privileges, psychological gains, and pushbacks The Cuban Adjustment Act (CAC) in 1966 served to assist the group in its adjustment process. The policy was an anti-Castro effort yet was considered "a preferential treatment and a double standard" (p. 56). As Cubans continued to risk their lives at sea after the Freedom Flights ended, the Peruvian Embassy incident occurred (1980) resulting in the next exodus known for its diversity. The wave was met with negative sentiments as the media described the immigrants as criminals resulting in other Cubans differentiating themselves from this sub-group (Fernandez, 2007). As prejudice and discrimination were part of the first waves' experiences (viewed as "loud and clannish"), *Marielitos* experienced a sense of systematic disenfranchisement and a tougher integration process (Fernandez, 2007). Today, some scholars suggest that more recent Cuban refugee arrivals have fewer ties to the previous Cuban refugees resulting in less financial stability and security. This experience is in sharp contrast to the first initial waves that collaborated and formed support systems, employment opportunities, and a strong sense of solidarity.

Acculturation and ethnic pride Many immigrants and their children experience unplanned acculturation processes with numerous challenges (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). As such, acculturative stress encompasses the challenges of cultural adaptation around language acquisition, and managing cultural differences in the host country (Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994). As the original waves of Cubans thought they would return to the island, their children were taught the language and understood the story of exodus, about how and why they left (Perez Firmat, 1996). Some children attended afterschool cultural programs—*Las escuelitas Cubanas* (Garcia, 1996) to learn about the island and cultural practices. In addition, by living in ethnic enclaves in Miami Cuban parents sought to solidify their children's ethnic identity and minimize assimilation, experience Cuban support systems, and engage in unique opportunities not found in other parts of the country (e.g., Little Habana; Pérez, 1993a, 1993b; Rothe & Pumariega, 2008).

Although Cuban ethnic enclaves served as safety nets, people still faced discrimination and experienced anti-immigrant sentiment and racism. An example was "the passing of an anti-bilingual ordinance, prohibiting Spanish in public places" (Rothe & Pumariega, 2008, p. 254). Similarly, second-generation Cuban children in Miami who attended predominantly African American high schools had the highest dropout rate (Rumbaut & Portes, 2001a, 2001b) but the lowest if enrolled at predominant White non-Latinx public schools. In addition, Cuban children attending predominantly Cuban schools had lower GPAs reporting higher parental conflicts and more time watching TV. Protective factors included having an intact family, grandparents in the home, and dedicating more hours to homework. Results support the buffer of ethnic enclaves and the relationship between socioeconomic characteristics across these families.

Acculturation distress, trauma, and psychological disorders Different from those who came with family, the children of Operation Peter Pan navigated an unfamiliar terrain without parental supervision and had host families who spoke a different language and espoused different cultural values. Although the children may have understood the reason for departure and separation, many encountered severe emotional and psychological distress in leaving their families and coming to a new country with little knowledge of the culture and understanding of their future. Some children were as young as 5 years old, separated from parents for years, and as a result, lost their language and grew disconnected from their families. Unfortunately, a number of these children experienced sexual and physical abuse and many did not feel sense of safety, affecting the group's emotional development and overall wellness (Maret & Aschkenas, 2011). Consequently, these children reported experiences of isolation, fear, uncertainty, and lack of safety (Maret & Aschkenas, 2011). Now adults, the effects of psychological traumas manifest on the exiles' self-concept and many report feelings of anger for the forced departure, sense of abandonment from their parents, resentment for family separation, and depression or anxiety from the long years of separation (Torres, 2004). There are concerns about unmet needs during key developmental years, the disconnection with their parents upon reunion, (They do not know them; parents are just a memory.) and the need to emotionally

revisit times of childhood that still need healing but have been repressed. These experiences add a dimension of psychological distress and trauma that remain as part of the post-migration process. Indeed, there are long-lasting effects of the pre- and post-migratory experience that persist and inform current day families, long after re-settlement.

In contrast to other waves who fled early, the Mariel group came almost 20 years post the Communist revolution on boats (April 1980–October 1980). Given the circumstances and processes, research consistently addresses trauma, depression, PTSD, panic, psychosis, phobia, and patterns of separation anxiety for this group (Portes, Kyle, & Eaton, 1992; Skop, 2001). As a new immigrant group, some *Marielitos* were misdiagnosed and improperly treated by physicians in immigration proceedings with psychotropic medications or committed to long-term facilities (Boxer & Garvey, 1985). Although a wave that entered the United States almost 20 years later (1994–1996), the *Balsero* children also reported feeling anxiety and expressed frustration as they assumed roles of adults, serving as language brokers and cultural bridges for their parents (Puig, 2002). On behalf of their parents, children interacted with educational, social, and health systems addressing matters that served to change the parent–child relationship, adding complexity and challenge (Puig, 2002).

Collective psychological challenges As each wave experienced unique psychological challenges related to their journeys and specific circumstances relative to supports and perceptions of them, Cubans collectively shared challenges that reflect their refugee status and history in the United States. There are many compounding issues that result from the process of acculturation and loss that occur concurrently, these include: distress and stress, ethnic identity development and confusion, cultural repositioning, the impact of family separation between clients and their family, levels of depression, anxiety, sense of loss, and mistrust of shifting US policies (Arredondo, Gallardo-Cooper, Delgado-Romero, & Zapata, 2014; Garcia-Larrieu, 2006). Likewise, familial separation and readjustment of family roles are common difficulties such as tensions because of generational differences, children's cultural adjustment, perception gaps between parents and children of challenges and sacrifices, and disappointment in the loss of family connection or less intense ties (resulting from busy lives and work responsibilities). Long-term effects of bicultural identities on family systems and cultural values (i.e., cultural clash) and everyday practices (Falicov, 2013; Garcia-Larrieu, 2006) are also experienced. Last, the psychological strains encountered by Cubans (the United States and on the island) are systems-based involving social, political, economic, and personal dynamic and challenges. In particular, the examination of how these challenges are filtered through individuals' lived experiences (past and present), identities, and sociopolitical conditions is warranted in counseling situations.

Given the unique and collective challenges, and to better understand individuals' experiences, the following guiding statements and questions are proposed when working with Cubans in the United States.

Questions	Domains to explore
1. Tell me about your coming to the United States	Year, wave, means of transportation, others who came, age of departure
2. How did you feel about leaving the island? (a) Who accompanied you and did you have family in the States?	Explore grief, sense of loss, sadness, regrets, hopes, ties with family, peers, lonely, lost, hopeful, disconnected or connected, the role of freedom and liberation
3. Who is left in the island? (a) How much contact do you have with them?	Nuclear or extended family, travel, phone, email, media
4. What was most challenging in your transition to the United States?	Language acquisition, cultural difference, family separation, generational differences, loss of property of social status
5. What challenges do you continue to face today? (a) How do the island's circumstances affect your well-being?	Cultural adaptation, continued separation, sense of hopelessness, despair, hope, gratitude, successes

Maintaining Cultural Values, Identity, and Sense of Belonging

Consistent with other core Latinx values, Cuban core values prioritize *familismo* (familialism) as the process and interconnection of values from which all others stem (Falicov, 2013; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). It is the strength and unity of family that offers a sense of community, processes of connection, and *compadrazgo*. The emphasis on the collective wellness of the family, not just the individual, suggests that the family's needs supplant the individual's needs (Garcia-Larrieu, 2006) and teach the younger generations that the family provides protection, guidance, support, and safety. Inspired by these family values, cousins are "brother-cousins and sister-cousins" (Garcia-Larrieu, 2006, p. 123), and a natural family system is reinforced through blood and fictive kin, individuals that offer family-like social ties although there are no blood ties.

Many Cubans separated from their family did not see their biological parents for decades, but found ways to recreate family systems and established acquired kinship through the new social systems in place. These new family systems (nuclear and extended) facilitated the engagement with others through *respeto* (respect), *personalismo* (pleasing interactions), and *cariño* (care). For example, Cubans pass down the value of greeting others properly or giving people a kiss on the cheek even if they are not family, emphasizing the role of *personalismo* with others. Younger generations of Cuban American seek to understand the interrelational nuances, the role of intense relationships, the importance of cultural expressions and affection, and even the value of engaging feeling and being openly spirited.

As they witness parents with fervent drives and heartfelt stories of resilience and endurance, younger generations and their parents are viewed as animated, vibrant, or overly enthusiastic. Coupled with keeping steadfast loyalty to surviving, the group also relays the message of *aguantarse* (to endure) in the midst of challenge while staying hopeful to realize a dream (*esperanza/sueño*). Further, Cubans emphasize the importance of *los abuelos* (grandparents), aunts and uncles, and other elders, and value and benefits through family connections. These ties facilitate family pride, buffer negative coping as life challenges arise, and reinforce culture and identity. As a result of life changes, family systems take different shapes. Cubans experience multi-systems of co-parenting (*compadres* and *comadres*) created to connect, extend, and support families (Gloria & Castellanos, 2013). *Los compadres* and *padrinos* (Godparents) offer emotional support, guidance, and another family system to the parents and the children while reinforcing power and sustainability through connections, collectivity, and community.

Although 50% of Cubans are Catholic, some embrace beliefs in cultural-bound syndromes, the power of supernatural exchanges (i.e., *mal de ojo*–evil eye), and the effects of *envidia* (jealousy) and other negative exchanges among individuals driven by ill-intentions. With strong ties to Catholicism, some Cubans practice *Santeria* (a fusion of African and Catholic practices) or believe in the power of this religious practice, creating an additional layer in the context of religious beliefs, supreme powers, external locus of control, and the role of God (Baez, 2001; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002).

One consistent religious figure associated to Cuban Catholics is the Lady of Charity (*La Virgen de La Caridad del Cobre, Cachita*). Considered the mother of the island, this patron saint is viewed as a divine representation of the Cuban people, the mother of God and the mother of the Cuban people, the conduit to higher powers (Tweed, 1997). Known for her kindness, gentleness, and loving heart, she is recognized for her compassion, love of her children, putting greatest attention to those in need and guiding the way in all their life journeys. She is viewed as a loving mother *que contesta las plegarias del pueblo* (who answers the pleas of the town). In review of her multiple appearances; the most famous reference is when she appeared to three men at sea. As the three had gone out at sea, they encountered treacherous waters. One had a medal of the Virgin and they all started to pray for mercy, protection, and safety. Suddenly, the skies cleared and the boat drifted toward an image that stated *"Yo Soy La Virgen de La Caridad del Cobre" (I am the Virgin of Charity*). Today, *La Virgen de la Caridad* continues to be a source of cultural history, tradition, and refuge, cultivating strength and hope in her peoples, guiding Cuban in the island and in exile.

Cuban people share values with other pan-Latinx ethnic groups; however, there are *valores* (values) and *tradiciónes culturales* (cultural traditions) that are directly socialized via family that have nuanced differences and meanings for those of Cuban heritage and are typically not addressed in most reviews of Latinx values. As *guajiros* (person from the inlands with agricultural background, farmers) fused their worldviews into the mainstream Cuban culture, there are a number of beliefs and practices aligned with the meaning of life, learning life lessons, and gaining from

different encounters. These lessons were often passed down through *dichos*—proverbs or other inspirational statements about life or how to live one's life. An example of a few dichos include: *Nadie muere en la víspera* (Nobody dies on the eve; one's destiny is determined), *Lo que esta pa' ti nadie te lo quita* (What's yours cannot be taken away), *Dime con quien andas y te dire quien eres* (Your friends tell me who you are), and *El vago trabaja doble* (The lazy person has to work twice as hard). These value-laden *dichos* underscore the active engagement, morals, faith, encouragement, and hard work ethic expected of Cuban people.

Cuban exiles rely on cultural beliefs, values, and traditions as they navigate challenging circumstances. Another supportive mechanism in the midst of trials and tribulations is a strong emphasis placed on humor. Early on, children are socialized to learn jokes, adults share funny stories, and laughter is a central element for connection and well-being. Similarly, the practice of *choteo,* or joking around, is one such value that has deep-meaning and implications for one's narrative that warrants discussion. In the face of unspeakable events and lack of human rights, the ability to maintain hope and positive attitudes requires an internal perseverance and resilience that is celebrated and tapped into by engaging in informal connections with others and even humor. Cuban people rely on many known yet intangible forces and strengths to persevere. These include inner optimism, the ability for *recuerdo* (remembrance) and pride for surviving and thriving. It is through the strength-based interconnection of persons from which the value of *Cubanidad* emerges, emulating a rich history of survival, solidarity, and determination for human dignity and freedom (Goncalves, 2014).

Success Stories: What Has Worked

Although "success" comes in many forms and fashions, the far-reaching impact of individuals of Cuban influence are prominent in today's society. From popular media, sports, academic, business economics, to politics, there are many and varied success stories of cultural maintenance, social advocacy, and advancement. In addressing the those who have influenced the social and cultural landscape of the United States, several persons of Cuban heritage are highlighted because their success stories reflect the values of perseverance, endurance, faith, hope, family, and *Cubanidad*.

Specific to entertainment, the songs of different Cuban individuals address endurance, living life positively, and making the best of life and its circumstances. For example, Celia Cruz sang about how *"La vida es un carnaval"* (Life is a carnival); while Gloria Estefan, with the Miami Sound Machine, yearned for a land she did not remember yet knew in her heart as she sang about *"mi tierra"* (my land). Similarly, Armando Christian Pérez, more commonly known as Pitbull raps about how Cuba still awaits the ability to live free. The influence of many others such as Benny Moré, Pérez Prado, Arturo Sandoval, Willie Chirino, and John Secada are well-known within the music industry.

Likewise, on television and movie screens, Cubans have been introduced into American homes as well as internationally. Desi Arnaz sang and led his orchestra in reverence to a *Santeria* god, *Babalú Ayé*, about being lost and forsaken. He appeared as Lucy Ricardo's husband, portrayed as an "equal" partner, considering the era of the program. Other actors and actresses include Cameron Diaz, Emilio Esteban, and Andy Garcia. Their performances have reached many audiences and often people rarely notice that they are of Cuban heritage or Latinx. Expressions of *Cubanidad* through song or entertainment emphasizes the importance of the collective identity as Cubans, underscoring the group's struggles, strife, and ultimate success (Garcia, 1996; Perez Firmat, 1994).

Within the context of professional or competitive sports, Cubans are well-represented in major league baseball. With the introduction of baseball in Cuba in 1864 with the Habana Baseball Club, playing baseball was associated with Cuban nationalism and served as an act of resistance and defiance (González Echevarría, 1999). In baseball today, Cuban players are signed to multi-million dollar contracts such examples are: José Dariel Abreu Correa (first baseman for the Chicago White Sox), Yasiel Puig Valdés (right fielder for the Los Angeles Dodgers), or Yoenis Céspedes Milanés, (outfielder for the New York Mets). Most recently in 2014, Rusney Castillo, signed a 7-year contract with the Boston Red Sox, for $72.5 million. Other nonprofessional Cuban athletes include Danell Johan Leyva, an all-around bronze-medal gymnast in the 2012 Olympics and a silver-medalist in the 2016 Olympic for parallel bars. A closer review of these unfolding statistics supports that approximately 95% of Cubans have participated in some sort of organized sport or exercise since childhood in the island (Longman, 2016). Yet, players "defect" because of the limitations of communism for its players.

Likewise, there are Cuban business professionals—Jeff Bezos founder and CEO of Amazon, Alberto Mestre former president of General Mills, and Nestor Carbonell former VP of Pepsico—who have made substantial influence through their economic leadership and social justice advocacy. Similarly, Mike Fernandez, a Cuban American health care business leader is most recognized for philanthropy and support of immigrant groups who have not attained unique privileges upon their arrival to the United States.

As the early Cuban arrivals were well educated, many attained professional positions, and found active means to be involved in political processes. Today, politics is a specific area of success in which Cubans are disproportionally represented among Latinx (Clark, Fowler, Loring, & Weigel, 2016). In 2018, a number of Cubans hold roles and influence in in Congress. These include U.S. Senators Ted Cruz, Republican; Marco Rubio, from Florida, and Bob Menendez, Democrat from New Jersey. In the House of Representatives is Ileana Ross-Lehtinen, Republican from Florida. Representing the Independent and Democratic Party, Xavier Louis Suárez was the first Cuban-born mayor of Miami (1985–1993 and 1997–1998). Following 1998, Miami has had a continuous representation of Cuban and Cuban American politicians serving as mayors up to 2018. These leaders representing the Cuban community in "little Havana" help further shape the Cuban collective identity and underscore the group's social mobility, gained social capital, and involvement in politics.

In reviewing scholars in higher education, there are an array of top Cuban administrative leaders, researchers, and professors. Recognized for his leadership, vision, and creative educational strategies, Eduardo J. Padron, President of Miami Dade College has been growing the Miami Dade education system to the largest institution of higher education in the United States since 1995. Today, he also is part of the board of directors of the American Council on Education. Trailblazing and demonstrating exceptional leadership, psychologist and professor Ana Mari Cauce is the first woman and Latina president of the University of Washington. Last, Dr. Antonio Puente is the second Latinx president of the American Psychological Association and the first Cuban in the position; Dr. Melba Vazquez, of Mexican heritage, was the first.

Closing Remarks and Reflections

In a time where the country continues to be increasingly diverse and pluralistic, there is a social climate promoting anti-immigrant sentiments. Cubans are not immune to this rhetoric led by the present White House administration. We must put intentional efforts forth toward cultural inclusivity among Latinx and people in-general. As political bodies push fear on younger immigrants in their messages to assimilate and ascribe to the American values, cultural understanding, ethnic pride, and cultural validation will be essential to sustaining healthy Cuban communities.

Younger generations of Cubans must learn about the struggles of their ancestors, the power in the narrative, and value of their ancestral heritage. A Latinx who does not fully understand the role of roots, history, cultural strengths, cultural teachings, and cultural meaning making will face the effects of fragmentation, the losses of cultural wealth and knowledge. Lack of cultural understanding can result in the person bypassing the deep understanding of the connection between wellness, the mind, cultural heritage, ancestors, and inner strengths. In sum, elders, history keepers, educators, and social advocates must arm younger Cubans with their cultural histories, family narratives, and cultural lessons (*El que no oye consejo, no llega a viejo;* One who hears no advice will not reach old age). Younger generations must learn and be able to identify the Cuban cultural imprints in American society in effort to facilitate personal power, generate internal understanding, and facilitate a movement toward collective consciousness in their future quests and dreams.

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The Drums Are Calling: Race, Nation, and the Complex History of Dominicans

Hector Y. Adames and Nayeli Y. Chavez-Dueñas

"When the homeland speaks its Indigenous and African heart, it will have dignity and memory"

(Marcos, 2001, p. 81).

Introduction

Quisqueya, the Taíno word to mean *Mother of all Lands*, was the original name of the luscious island in the Caribbean known today as Haiti and the Dominican Republic; an island later tainted by European colonizers who imported *el Fukú americanus,*[1] a curse that doomed and plagued Quisqueya and the Antilles (Díaz, 2007). While the island of Quisqueya suffered many oppressive, bloody, and superimposed divisions, both nations are intimately interwoven and warped by a history of destruction and survival. Together, the island became the first unique racial space in the Americas where Black, White, and Indigenous People met. Despite el *Fukú* and its venomous wrath, Quisqueya is a paradise, full of beauty, and "colorful cars, colorful houses, flowers everywhere... even the people are like a rainbow—every shade ever made" (Díaz, 2018, p. 13).

The central purpose of this chapter is threefold. One, we provide a critical look at how colonization and its *Fukú* allowed a minority of European colonizers to control the numerically larger group of Indigenous people in Quisqueya, engaging in the atrocious acts of genocide, slavery, land dispossession, and ultimately instilling a racist colonial ideology of White supremacy. Two, we describe some of the

[1] An ancient belief that is prevalent among Dominicans about the island being cursed by the arrival of the Europeans which can help explain many of the tragedies experienced by its Native people.

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realities and implications of this history when considering the role of skin color, phenotype, *mestizaje* (an ideology whereby everyone of Latinx[2] descent is deemed to be of mixed race), and nationhood on the present lives of Dominicans. Three, we illustrate the relentless resilience and resistance that Dominicans have displayed throughout history, including the ways they continue surviving against all odds in the United States. An important element of this survival includes Dominicans' recently growing celebration of the epiphany that the *Mother of all Lands* (i.e., Quisqueya) connects Dominicans to Africa; importantly, a growing number of Dominicans are continually seeking *The Motherland's* historical wisdom: all its joyful, beautiful, magnificent, and unstoppable Blackness.

Dominican History: A Saga of Resistance and Survival

> *"The future of the nation must be found by looking toward the past, toward those who were the first inhabitants, to those who first had wisdom, who first made us" (Marcos,* 2001*, p. 84).*

In pre-Columbian history, the Dominican Republic was occupied by peaceful, seafaring Indigenous populations known as the Caribs and Taínos with a strong legacy of hard work, a zest for life, and deep nautical knowledge. However, the history of the Indigenous people of the Caribbean and the islands they occupied were forever changed with the arrival of the Europeans who brought diseases, destruction, and racism to what they called the "New World" (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017; Garcia-Martínez, 2010, Livi-Bacci, 2008). The following sections describe the multiple unwelcomed invasions that took place in the Dominican Republic throughout history. We begin with pre- and post-Columbian Dominican history, followed by several US invasions and "political interventions" which undoubtedly formed the storm that propelled the migration of Dominicans to the United States and Europe.

The Calm Before the Thunder: Pre-Columbian Dominican History

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the islands in the Caribbean were home to approximately 5–13 million ethnically diverse and culturally rich Indigenous groups including the Ciboney, the Taínos, and the Caribs (Beckles & Shepherd, 2004; Roorda, Derby & Gonzalez, 2014). These fascinating and intriguing civilizations shaped the culture of today's Caribbean people, including those of Dominican descent (Beckles & Shepherd, 2004). Anthropological evidence suggests humans first lived in what is known today as the Dominican Republic beginning around

[2] To include and explicitly center the broad range of gender identities present among individuals of Latin American descent, the term Latinx is used throughout this chapter.

approximately 4000 BC, when the Casimiroid People, who later developed into the Ciboney culture, arrived at the island from the Yucatan Peninsula in Mexico (Roorda et al., 2014). Around 250 A.D., another group of Indigenous people known as the Taínos arrived in the Dominican Republic from Venezuela (Roorda et al., 2014). Today, most historians agree that the pillars of Caribbean culture are rooted in the combination of three different Indigenous groups, including the Ciboney, Taínos, and Caribs (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017; Beckles & Shepherd, 2004).

The Indigenous groups of the Caribbean were not all the same. To illustrate, the Ciboney had a simple social organization that did not use agriculture or farming and instead relied heavily on hunting, fishing, and gathering (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017; Beckles & Shepherd, 2004). Conversely, the Taínos had a more complex civilization which included innovative systems of agriculture and social organization. The Caribs (also known as the *Kalinago*), speakers of the Caribbean language, were known for being skilled warriors and seafarers (Rouse, 1992). Of these three cultural groups, the Taínos were the largest, most complex, and most studied by historians and archaeologists (Beckles & Shepherd, 2004). Although each of these three ethnic groups were different, they have all been described as ingenious, hard-working, and joyful people, characteristics that are alive today and can be observed in their Dominican descendants (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017). Unfortunately, the arrival of the colonizers was an infringement upon and the near-destruction of this complex and diverse civilization.

The Encroachment and Looting of Quisqueya by the Spaniards

An unfortunate reality of the Dominican Republic is that it has the painstaking distinction of being the first European colony established in the Americas by the Spaniards. According to historians, Christopher Columbus first arrived on the island in 1492. In his endless arrogance, Columbus changed the island's original Indigenous name from *Quisqueya* to *Hispaniola*, a word that connotes and means little Spain. Four years later in 1496, Columbus' younger brother, Diego Columbus, established a settlement in Santo Domingo. The encroachment of Quisqueya by the Spaniards, along with their looting of the natural resources, devastated the island and its Indigenous inhabitants. For instance, the Indigenous people of Quisqueya became victims to the Spaniards' immoral sense of racial superiority and greed, which led to their mass murder and the destruction of Indigenous cultures (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017). Many other Indigenous people in Quisqueya died after contracting viruses from the Spaniards (e.g., chicken pox, small pox) for which they had no immunity (Roorda et al., 2014). In 1697, the Spaniards lost the western half of the island to the French. As a result, Quisqueya was divided into two separate colonies with the western part of the island constituting French Haiti and the eastern portion representing Spanish Santo Domingo. Until 1821, the eastern part of the island remained in the possession of Spain until the political leader, Jose Nuñes de Caceres y Albor, best known for leading the independence movement against Spain,

proclaimed the eastern portion of Quisqueya an independent state. This was Spanish Santo Domingo's first independence. However, independence was short-lived, as 2 months later the president of Haiti, Jean-Pierre Boyer, invaded Santo Domingo with the goal of uniting the island and fostering racial equity and abolishing slavery across the island (Ricourt, 2016). Consequently, the two halves of Hispaniola were reunited from 1822 to 1844 with Santo Domingo becoming part of the *First Black Nation* in the western hemisphere known as the Republic of Haiti (Ricourt, 2016). Boyer ruled French-speaking Haiti, and governed Spanish-speaking Santo Domingo as a conquered province until 1843, when Boyer was overthrown in a revolution (Ricourt, 2016). Santo Domingo officially proclaimed its second independence from Haiti in 1844. Unfortunately, the Dominican Republic experienced many other forms of invasions and control in the subsequent decades.

Not Once but Twice: The Invasions of the Dominican Republic by the United States

The United States has a long history of engaging in imperialistic actions towards Latin American countries to take advantage of their natural resources as well as to control and influence their political process (e.g., the Platt Amendment in Cuba, Operation Condor in Argentina, multiple invasions of Nicaragua, operation PBSUCCESS in Guatemala, CIA assistance, organization, training and funding of death squad activity in El Salvador). This imperialistic pattern can be readily observed in the Dominican Republic, an independent country which the United States has invaded and occupied twice. Through its multiple invasions and interventions, the United States has profoundly affected the island's history, economic stability, and immigration patterns of Dominicans.

One of the first of many US interventions in the Dominican Republic took place during the last years of Ulises Hilarion Heureaux Leibert's third and last presidency (1889–1899). During this time, the Dominican Republic's foreign debt, primarily owed to European nations, was more than $32 million. The debt conveniently came under the control of a firm of New York investors named the *Santo Domingo Improvement Company* (SDIC). The investments made by SDIC increased the political power of the United States over the island. Consequently, the investment served as the pretext for the US government to take control of the administration of Dominican customs in 1905 (Roorda et al., 2014). The United States proclaimed that its goal in intervening was to "help" the Dominican Republic pay off its debt to foreign creditors (Roorda et al., 2014). However, in 1916, the United States' imperialistic motives became more apparent when they invaded the Dominican Republic. Two main reasons purportedly propelled the invasion. The first involved the United States' concern that the island could be used as a military base by Germany to attack

the mainland. Second, the US government intended to "not only restore order to the nation's finances but also create the conditions necessary for political stability" (Peguero, 2004, p. 28). To this end, the United States dissolved the Dominican armed forces and transformed them into the Dominican Constabulary Guard (DCG) which was organized and led by a US citizen, selected by the US government, and appointed by the president of the Dominican Republic. The DCG acted as the defense agency and was the predecessor of the Dominican National Police (DNP).

One of the individuals who joined the DCG was Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, nicknamed "*el jefe*" [the boss] who was trained by U.S. Marines in 1918. Moreover, despite opposition from the island, the US armed forces took control of the Dominican Republic's government and heavily meddled and influenced their presidential elections (Peguero, 2004, p. 28). The overall goal of the US government was to ensure that only presidential candidates who supported the occupation would be elected. In 1922, the United States and the Dominican Republic came to an agreement, which led to the removal of troops from the island 2 years later in 1924. However, it was not until 1941 that the Dominican Republic regained its autonomy and authority over its custom revenues. In 1927, Rafael Leonidas Trujillo was promoted to commander in chief of the National Army and shortly thereafter, he took full control of the Dominican Republic (in 1930) beginning a period known as *El Trujillato*, infamously known as one of the darkest chapters in Dominican history (Peguero, 2004).

Trujillo became one of the most ruthless dictators in the history of Latin America. He ruled the Dominican people by fear and engaged in countless heinous human rights violations, including the murder of thousands of civilians, a figure believed to be over 60,000 homicides (Lawler & Yee, 2005; Peguero, 2004). Trujillo is also known for the horrific and racially motivated massacre of 20,000 Haitians (Peguero, 2004). He remained in power from 1930 until 1961, when he was killed by a group of conspirators aided by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (Peguero, 2004). Following Trujillo's death, the former vice president, Joaquin Antonio Balaguer, took nominal power of the island while the decision-making power remained under the control of the military (Peguero, 2004; Roorda et al., 2014). On December of 1962, Juan Emilio Bosch was elected president of the Dominican Republic; however, the United States disapproved of Bosch's political ideologies and worried that he might turn the island towards communism (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017; Lawler & Yee, 2005). Bosch's election led to civil unrest, and in 1963, a military coup supported by the US government appointed a military committee (Peguero, 2004; Roorda et al., 2014). Two years later, on April 28th, 1965, the United States invaded the Dominican Republic for the second time (Peguero, 2004). During this invasion, 42,000 troops arrived on the island, leading to the death of over 3,000 Dominicans (Peguero, 2004; Roorda et al., 2014). Following this invasion, the United States supported Joaquin Balaguer and quickly appointed him as president of the Dominican Republic, leading to another era of dictatorship that lasted for 28 years (Peguero, 2004).

The Complicated Realities of Skin Color, Mestizaje, Nation, and Dominican History

"Every time someone gives you a formula for what you should be and what you should do, you should know, they're giving you a pair of handcuffs" (Díaz, 2016, para. 14).

Race, the fictitious category created by people to group individuals according to their shared phenotypical characteristics, has real social, political, and economic consequences for individuals and groups (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017; Helms & Cook, 1999; Smedley & Smedley, 2005). The concept of race has been strategically used to uplift whiteness and oppress those who are not socially categorized as White. Hence, to fully comprehend the role of race on the lives of Dominicans requires an understanding of how skin color, phenotype, nation, and history all intersect to uplift whiteness within these spaces.

History

Several historical events and ideologies help frame how Dominicans make sense of race. To illustrate, the exploitation experienced by Indigenous groups on the island, coupled with the diseases imported from Europe to the Dominican Republic, led to the decimation of the Taínos and Caribs (Casaus Arzu, 2009; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). These oppressive realities, which were replicated in other Latin American countries, coupled with the need for free labor and Europeans ideologies about racial superiority, gave rise to the *Transatlantic Slave Trade* where more than ten million African people were kidnapped, tortured, and transplanted into the Americas (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). Like Native American populations, African enslaved people experienced grueling work and inhume treatment that contributed to high rates of mortality (Andrews, 2004; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014).

The colonial period gave rise to three racial groups in Latin America including African, Indigenous, and European (Gates, 2011). Consequently, a caste structure based on skin color and phenotypical characteristics (see Fig. 1) was established during the colonial period in Latin America (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017; Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). Spaniards and their descendants were strategically placed on the top of the system, allowing them access to political, social, and economic control (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014; Organista, 2007). Individuals and groups of Indigenous and African descent were at the bottom of the system with little to no freedom nor power and control over their existence. During the early 1800s, the "Spaniards composed about a quarter of the population and Africans a fifth, with the remainder a rapidly increasing racial blend of predominantly Indigenous and Spanish roots" (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014, p. 7).

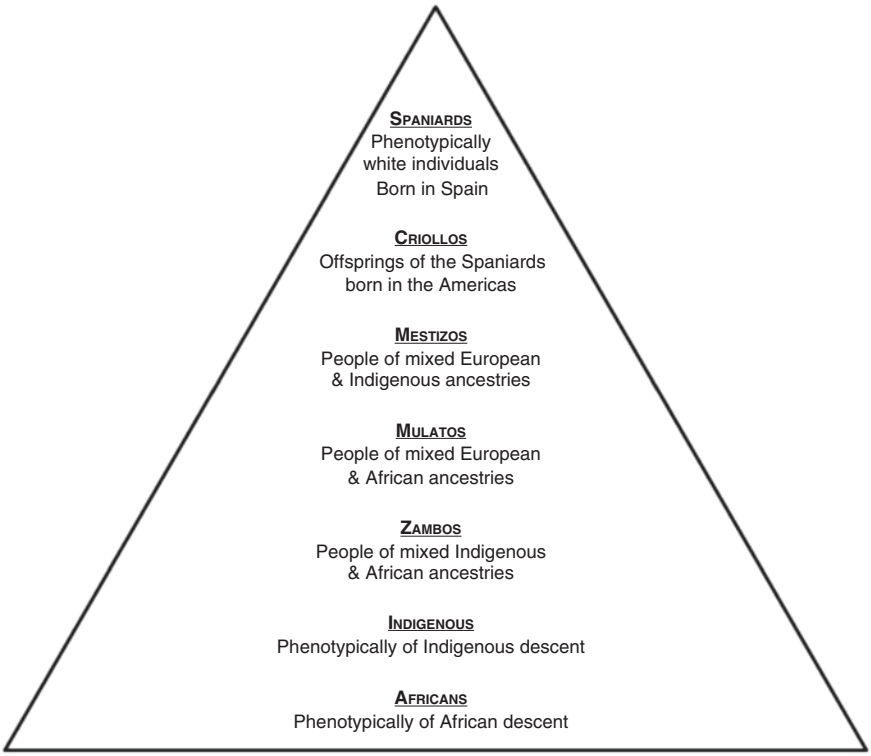

Fig. 1 *Latin American Social Caste Pyramid (LASCP)*. Adapted from "Skin-Color Prejudice and Within Group Racial Discrimination: Historical and Current Impact on Latino/a populations" by N.Y. Chavez-Dueñas, H.Y. Adames, & K.C. Organista in *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 36*(1), 3–26. Reprinted with permission. Note. Racial mix determined hierarchy, social status, and economic privileges

Skin Color, Phenotype, and Nation

The blending of Indigenous, Africans, and European people is referred to as *mestizaje*, a term used to connote that all individuals of Latinx descent are racially mixed (Adames et al., 2016). In general, *Mestizaje Racial Ideologies* (MRIs) "place individuals from the entire color spectrum, from the darkest Indigenous/African type to the lightest European type, into one racial category, deemphasizing the impact of skin color and phenotype on the lives of Latinxs" (Adames et al., 2016, p. 48). Hence, Latinxs have historically been socialized to not identify themselves racially despite being perceived and treated as such. As a result, a skin color hierarchy, leading to uplifting whiteness, is one of the most consequential implications of MRIs (Adames et al., 2016).

While Dominicans come from a deep history of traditions that trace their roots to the three predominant racial groups (i.e., Indigenous, Black, and White), they are socialized to reject their African roots and their Blackness (Sagás, 2000; Torres-Saillant, 2010). For instance, despite their historical and oftentimes visible Blackness, when asked about their racial group membership, most Dominicans will identify as White or mixed Indian (Indigenous) and White (Ricourt, 2016). To understand this racial myopic stance and anti-Blackness view that a majority Dominicans hold about *Dominicanidad* requires us to briefly review the conflict between the French and the Spaniards. Historians posit that this conflict began when Spain was defending Catholicism during the advent of Protestantism (see Peña Batlle, 1988 for more details). Hence, the French and Spaniards imported their toxic rivalry, greed, and intolerance of differences to the island, creating an artificial border with lasting atrocious consequences. Ricourt (2016, p. 24) lists several historical events that resulted from the long-lasting conflict between the French and the Spaniards including: (1) Haiti's independence and their struggle to remain a free Black nation; (2) Haitian President Jean Prierre Boyer's temporary unification of the island (when Haiti invaded and occupied the Dominican Republic); (3) the creation of the Dominican Republic as an independent nation where the Dominican elites and ruling power advanced anti-Blackness rhetoric and practices; (4) the mass murder of Haitians in 1937, also known as the *Hispaniola Holocaust*; (5) the unpardonable conditions of Haitian immigrants working in the Dominican Republic; and (6) creation of distinct cultural boundaries and languages between the two colonized nations.

The toxic effect of the artificial border that split the island into two countries continues to reverberate today. The 2010 catastrophic 7.0 Mw magnitude earthquake in Haiti that killed more than 300,000 people forced many Haitians to immigrate to the Dominican Republic, causing a refugee crisis (Pallardy, 2010). Some scholars posit that the 2013 law passed by the Dominican Constitutional Court, stating that anyone born in the country after 1929 will no longer be considered a Dominican Citizen, was motivated by the refugee crisis (Phillip, 2015). Consequently, the new law, which was retroactively applied, disproportionately impacts Dominicans of Haitian descent. Hence, for the past few years, the Dominican government has engaged in several shameful raids to round-up undocumented Haitians and have continued to racially profile anyone with dark skin who is perceived to be Haitian and those who have difficulties phonetically pronouncing the letter "r" (Phillip, 2015). In an interview with CNN, Raquel Aristilde de Valdez, a bicultural Dominican Haitian woman, describes the devastating impact that the new law has on the lives of dark skinned Dominicans. She states, "My skin color, my race, my physical features don't say I am Dominican" (Castillo, 2016 para. 18). Raquel further describes that her birth certificate is the only proof she has of being a Dominican citizen. Raquel's experiences parallel the realities that many Dominicans experience when they immigrate to the United States where their experiences are shaped by racism, nativism, xenophobia, and shameful criminalizing policies that target Latinx immigrants (Chavez-Dueñas et al., in press).

Dominicans in the United States

"You look at this country and you look at this world, and you need to understand it in complex ways" (Díaz, 2015, para. 1).

The Making of the Migratory Dominican Experience

Three waves Prior to Trujillo's dictatorial regime, also known as *El Trujillato*, few Dominicans immigrated to the United States. Upper class individuals made up a large percentage of Dominicans that left the country to travel and live abroad. During *El Trujillato*, few Dominicans were allowed to leave the country due to fear of anti-Trujillista Dominicans organizing in other countries to overthrow the regime (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017; Torres-Saillant & Hernandez, 1998). Hence, the political consequences of the economic and political turmoil following *El Trujillato* propelled the first wave of Dominicans, which was comprised mainly of pro-Trujillo followers who left the country due to concerns related to their safety and security. The civil unrest of 1965, when the island was re-occupied by the United States for fear of the Dominican government's alleged communist ideologies, fueled the second wave of Dominican immigrants (Lawler & Yee, 2005). The third large wave took place following the Dominican economic crisis of the 1980s and 1990s when billions of dollars were embezzled by the Banco Intercontinental (Graziano, 2006).

The three waves contributed to the increase in the Dominican immigrant population of the United States. In fact, after *El Trujillato* the number of Dominican immigrants grew from approximately 10,000 in 1960s to 350,000 in 1990 and 879,000 in 2010 (Nwosu & Batalova, 2014). By 2012, approximately 960,000 Dominican immigrants lived in the United States, approximately 2% of the total US foreign-born population of 40.8 million (Nwosu & Batalova, 2014).

Currently, the percentage of Dominicans in the United States is rapidly growing. In fact, the number of Dominicans in the United States has more than tripled since 1990 from half a million to approximately 1.8 million (López, 2015). Dominicans account for 3.3% of the total U.S. Latinx population, making them the fifth-largest Latinx group in the United States (López, 2015). Over half of Dominicans (55%) in the United States are foreign born, a significantly higher percentage compared to the general Latinx population (35%) and the total US population (López, 2015). Approximately 80% of Dominicans in the United States are concentrated in the northeast with about 47% residing in New York City and another large percentage residing in Lawrence, Massachusetts (Nwosu & Batalova, 2014).

Undocumented Dominican immigrants In 2004, approximately 45% of Dominicans were US citizens, with 55% being immigrants and 13–15% being undocumented immigrants (Grieco, 2004). However, according to the Migration Policy Institute, Dominicans account for only 1% (approximately 112,000) of the

11 million unauthorized immigrants in the United States (Zong & Batalova, 2018). Similarly, the number of Dominicans who are recipients of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program is minuscule. For instance, during the 2012 and 2014 period, roughly 2,670 DACA-eligible unauthorized youth of Dominican descent applied for the program (Zong & Batalova, 2018). In general, most immigrants from the Dominican Republic gained their permanent legal residence through a family reunification process with a smaller number of immigrants first arriving to the United States with a work visa (Nwosu & Batalova, 2014).

Growing social, economic, and political turbulence in the Dominican Republic has propelled individuals with less resources and financial need to migrate out of the country without documentation. In the 1990s, thousands of Dominicans used *yolas* [wooden boats] to migrate to Puerto Rico on a treacherous journey across a 60- to 90-mile stretch of sea that separates both islands (Graziano, 2013). The journey was deadly for hundreds of Dominicans seeking access to the United States. Given Puerto Rico's political status as a commonwealth of the United States, such a perilous journey has become the only viable option of survival for a segment of Dominicans. While many undocumented Dominican immigrants make Puerto Rico their home, others only stay temporarily on the island before continuing their journey to the US mainland (Graziano, 2013). Once Dominican immigrants make it to Puerto Rico, entering the United States becomes easier since travel from the island is similar to crossing from one state line to another; in other words, passports or visas are not required.

Challenges Encountered

The history of the Dominican Republic with the United States is long, contentious, and complicated by power dynamics. In many ways, these intense, arduous, and oppressive patterns continue to be reenacted today, creating a myriad of challenges for Dominicans in the States. The Dominican saying, *no es facil en los paises* [it is not easy in the states], captures the difficulties related to systemic oppression that many Dominicans face as Immigrants of Color (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2017, p. 60). Similar to other Immigrants of Color, the struggles faced by many Dominicans are often rooted in systems of power and oppression (Adames et al., 2018).

While Dominicans share similar systemic obstacles with other Latinx groups in the United States, they also experience several unique vulnerabilities. For instance, the percentage of Dominicans who live in poverty is higher (28%) compared to other U.S. Latinxs (25%) and the general US population (16%; López, 2015). To illustrate, the 2013 median annual individual earnings for Dominicans was $20,0000, a figure lower when compared to all U.S. Latinxs ($22,000) and the general population ($30,000; López, 2015). The cost of poverty for Dominicans is reflected in the low rates of homeownership (24%) and high uninsured health rates (79%). Despite the financial hardship faced by most Dominicans in the United States, they continue to subsidize a portion of the Dominican Republic's economy through the billions of dollars in remittances that family members receive from relatives abroad (Graziano, 2013).

With regard to education, Dominicans have higher levels of college education when compared to other U.S. Latinxs (17% vs. 14%, respectively). However, their level of education is significantly lower than the general US population (30%; López, 2015). Nonetheless, nearly half of Dominicans are bilingual (43%) and about half are Spanish-dominant (48%). Interestingly, most Dominicans (88%) speak Spanish at home, a figure that is significantly higher compared to other Latinxs (73%) residing in the United States (López, 2015). Concerning health insurance, approximately 2 in 10 Dominicans (21%) are uninsured, a figure that is slightly lower when compared to other Latinxs (29%) but higher when compared to the general US population (15%; López, 2015). Lastly, homeownership rate is lower when compared to other Latinxs (24% vs. 45%, respectively) and the general US population (64%; López, 2015). Despite the many challenges that Dominicans have faced throughout history, their unwavering hope and perseverance persist.

Dominicans Transforming a History of Colonization into Hope for the Future

"Nothing more exhilarating …than saving yourself by the simple act of waking" (Díaz, 2016, para. 28).

Despite their small numbers, people of Dominican descent have made significant contributions to the United States. Dominicans enrich the US culture through the beauty and complexity of their art, their service and leadership in politics, their invaluable contributions to the sciences, and their visibility in major league baseball (e.g., Boston Red Sox designated hitter, David Américo Ortiz a.k.a "Big Papi" and New York Yankees, shortstop and third baseman, Alexander E. Rodriguez a.k.an "A-Rod," who are both philanthropists). Table 1 provides a list of selected prominent Dominicans who have left their mark on the United States.

Throughout their history, people of Dominican descent have demonstrated their resilience and ability to thrive despite their colonization, the invasion of their homeland, and their experiences of racism and xenophobia in the United States. Dominicans exemplify all seven psychological strengths of Latinxs as described by Adames & Chavez-Dueñas (2017) which include (1) *determination*, (2) *adaptability*, (3) *esperanza*, (4) *strong work ethic*, (5) *connectedness to others*, (6) *collective emotional expression*, and (7) *resistance*. For instance, *determination* is shown in the endless drive and courage that it takes for many Dominicans to leave their country and migrate to the United States. Their immigration story also demonstrates a profound sense of *esperanza* that in a foreign land, they will be able to give their children the opportunities (e.g., formal education, economic stability) that they did not have for themselves in the Dominican Republic. They display the strength of *adaptability* by learning how to navigate a climate that is vastly different from the Caribbean, oftentimes not knowing the language and culture. Finally, their love and respect for merengue, bachata, and perico ripiao [oldest style of merengue] allows

Table 1 Exemplars of Prominent Dominicans in the Sciences, Arts, and Politics

Field	Name	Recognition
Sciences	*Elsa Gomez*	First Latina woman to serve as President of a major public university in the United States; served at Kean University from 1989 to 1994.
	Shirley M. Collado	Psychologist appointed President of Ithaca College in 2017.
	Aida Teresa Mencia Ripley	Social scientist and clinical psychologist who served as chairperson of the Social and Academic Inclusion for People with Disabilities and Special Education Needs in UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization).
	Victor A. Carreño	Aerospace Engineer and Aerospace Technologist of NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration). He also holds the patent for Single Frequency Multitransmitter Telemetry System.
	Juan Manuel Taveras Rodriguez	Radiologist referred as the "Father" of the Medical Specialty of Neuroradiology. He is also a founder of the American Society of Neuroradiology and founding editor of the society's journal.
Arts	*Junot Díaz*	AfroLatino Literary icon, author, and recipient of the Pulitzer Prize and winner of the 2012 MacArthur "Genius Grant" for the novel, *The Brief and Wonderous Life of Oscar Wao.*
	Julia Alvarez	World renowned scholar, novelist, and poet who authored (1) *In the Times of the Butterflies* and (2) *How the Garcia Girls Lost their Accents.*
	Clara Ledesma	Prominent artist considered the founder of the modernist school of Dominican painting and one of the first Latina woman to join the National School of Fine Arts.
	Oscar de la Renta	Internationally renowned fashion designer.
Politics	*Adriano de Jesus Espadillat Rodriguez*	U.S. Representative for New York's 13th Congressional District. He is also the first formerly undocumented immigrant to serve in the U.S. Congress.
	Marcos A. Devers	First Dominican American elected as a Mayor of a US city (Lawrence, Massachusetts) in 2001and Member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 2010.
	Thomas E. Perez	Accomplished US politician who serves as the first Latino in history elected as chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) in 2017.
	Rolando T. Acosta	First Dominican American elected as New York County Supreme Court Judge in 2002.

the Dominican community to engage in *collective emotional expression* whereby their rage, sadness, and joy are expressed through rhythm and dance.

As the number of Dominican families continues to grow in the United States, their warmth, zest for life, and *sazón* [flavor] will likely continue to shape and color the future of this great country. Nonetheless, the destiny of this beautiful community

will be heavily impacted by their ability to recognize, see, and connect or reconnect with the wisdom of their African and Indigenous Ancestors. In the mid-1960s, the prevailing Dominican narrative and ideology, which was devoted to its European Spanish roots at the expense of silencing and making invisible its diverse racial roots and complicated history, began to crack (Ricourt, 2016). It is through the dismantling and the cracks in the Dominican colonized hegemony that light can filter through so that a new movement, seeking to recover and celebrate African and Indigenous culture, can be born. The affirmation of Blackness was evident in the new political parties that surfaced during the post Trujillato era. For instance, prominent political figures such as Maximiliano Gómez (affectionately called "El Moreno") one of the founders of the *Dominican Popular Movement* and José Francisco Peña Gómez (Dominican of Haitian descent), a three-time candidate for president of the Dominican Republic and former Mayor of Santo Domingo, promoted an ideology where Blackness was centered. Today, there is a new generation of Dominicans in the United States who are, once again basking in the light of this movement by unapologetically celebrating their Black roots. These *Dominican Ambassadors* of African pride are educating the United States and Latinx communities on what it means to be both Black and Latinx. Celebrities such as Amara La Negra, Belcalis Almanzar (a.k.a., Cardi B), Maluca Mala, and Juan Carlos Ozuna Rosado (a.k.a., Ozuna) have taken the lead in this new movement. There is also a small but growing number of scholars in the social sciences (e.g., Hector Y. Adames, Beverly Araújo Dawson, Nayeli Y. Chavez-Dueñas, Edward Codina, Lillian Comas-Díaz, Lorgia García-Peña, Frank Montalvo, Milagros Ricourt) who are beginning to unpack the negative impact of colorism on Latinxs while researching and highlighting the importance of reconnecting this community with its African and Indigenous roots. Together, these scholars build on the work done at the City University of New York (CUNY) Dominican Studies Institute (DSI). CUNY-DSI was founded in 1992 and is the first university-based research institute solely devoted to the study of people of Dominican descent in the United States (CUNY, n.d.).

La Lucha Sigue

While a growing number of Dominicans are claiming, embracing, and celebrating their Black and Indigenous roots, the struggle for the Dominican Republic and its people is to find antidotes to the poison of White supremacy. It is in this spirit that Dominicans can continue to find creative ways to liberate themselves from *el Fukú americanus* and dance to the healing beats of merengue and bachata with its Indigenous and African musical elements. "The drums have called, and in the land's voices our pain and our history have spoken" (Marcos, 2001, p. 49). Some Dominicans may be sleeping and dreaming of their ancient past but the sound of the drums will now wake up the collective so that together we find the wisdom, the strength, and the love to transform despair into hope (Fig. 1).

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The Obstacle is the Way: Resilience in the Lives of Salvadoran Immigrants in the United States

M. Alejandra Arce and Ernesto R. Escoto

Historical Overview

The early history of El Salvador is closely linked to the history and development of the Central American region. Smaller than Spain in surface area, the isthmus of Central America (162,000 sq. miles) is composed of an impressive chain of volcanoes and tropical forests that stand against the Caribbean Sea on the north and the Pacific Ocean on the south (Woodward, 1999). El Salvador is the smallest and most densely populated Central American country—At 8100 square miles, El Salvador is roughly the size of the state of Massachusetts. Over 85% of Salvadoran are mestizos of mixed European and indigenous ancestry, 12% are White, and roughly 2% are of Mayan/Pipil ancestry (Cheney, 1990).

El Salvador's stunning natural beauty and spring-like climate sit in contrast with socio-economic problems stemming from a complexity of geographical, economic, social, and political issues. The country's earthquake-prone mountains and valleys, patchy arid areas, deforestation, and lack of navigable rivers, along with a history of colonialism and racial injustices, have contributed to astonishing poverty, inequality, limited economic development, and social unrest (Perez-Brignoli, 1989). The Central Intelligence Agency (2018) ranks El Salvador's homicide rate as one of the highest in the world.

Prior to Spanish colonization, Mayan and Pipil civilizations had developed important diverse settlements, including sophisticated hierarchical societies and organizations, in the highlands of Guatemala and El Salvador. In El Salvador, the

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Mayan urban centers of Casa Blanca and Tazumal experienced significant growth in the fifth and sixth centuries and, over the course of several migrations starting in the ninth century, the Pipil peoples arrived at the central region of El Salvador from Central Mexico. El Salvador's San Andres settlement, a Pipil urban center, flourished as an important civic and political center between the tenth and eleventh centuries (Bello-Suazo, 2008; Woodward, 1999).

Christopher Columbus landed on Central America's Caribbean coast in July of 1502. After several explorations into the region, Spanish colonization is said to have started around 1520 along two fronts—one from Mexico and the other from Panama. Hernan Cortez led the Spanish front in Mexico and overtook El Salvador in 1519. With the arrival of the Spanish in the region, deadly epidemics, including those of smallpox, pneumonia, bubonic plague, and dysentery, began infecting and killing the Mayan and Pipil peoples. By 1525, Hernan Cortez's forces had defeated the Mayans and Pipiles and overtaken their major urban centers in Guatemala and El Salvador (Lopez & Jovel, 2008; Perez-Brignoli, 1989).

During the second part of the sixteenth century, the provinces of Chiapas, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica came to form and be known as the *Kingdom of Guatemala.* Economic, religious, and military powers resided in Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala, which had been established as the capital of the *Kingdom*, contributing to the establishment of centralized governance as a political practice in the region. Because the region also lacked mineral resources (e.g., gold, silver), economic development and power relied on trade, slavery, and the exploitation of indigenous people through physical labor and the seizing of land and animals by the Spanish (Lopez & Jovel, 2008; Perez-Brignoli, 1989; Woodward, 1999).

Landholding, labor laws, and the exploitation and slavery of indigenous and African people are entwined throughout the social and economic history of Central America. In fact, the attitudes and beliefs behind *repartimiento laws*, which mandated labor from indigenous men, led to pervasive paternalistic and colonial beliefs about indigenous and African people as lazy, needing to be forced into labor, and/or being content living in poverty (Lopez & Jovel, 2008; Woodward, 1999).

By the eighteenth century, Central American society reflected a hierarchical organization. On the one hand, the Creole class maintained power through economic control embedded in landholdings, agricultural production, and related business, while Ladinos or mestizos, Blacks, and/or mulattoes represented, for the most part, the laboring or working class; and indigenous groups remained in isolated communities on the fringes of mainstream societies (Peñate, 2008; Woodward, 1999).

A new political and organizational structure emerged in the early nineteenth century. On September 15, 1821, under a short-lived annexation with Mexico, the Central American provinces declared independence from Spain. Under a federalist model of organization, five states made up the new republic, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, while Chiapas opted to be part of Mexico. Spain did not formally recognize Central America's independence until after 1850, following repeated failed efforts to overthrow its government. Nonetheless, lack of stability, poverty, and economic decline engulfed the newly formed nation and established the tone for decades to come (Dominguez, 2008; Perez-Brignoli, 1989).

The Federation of Central America

The republic adopted the official name of the Federation of Central America. However, the isolation of each state and the disproportionate distribution of the population limited the implementation of a federal republic. The First Congress elected Manuel Jose Arce, a Salvadoran *liberal*, as the Federation of Central America's first president who served during a tumultuous time of civil war and a declining economy. Conflicts between conservatives and liberals dissolved the Federation in March of 1839 in the midst of the civil war. Opportunism and arbitrariness at the hands of charismatic, authoritarian, and strong-minded individuals ruled the day and emerged as a pattern of leadership for the region focused on individual interests (Dominguez, 2008; Perez-Brignoli, 1989).

In the 1870s, with an improved economy largely based on the export of coffee, the *liberals* began a series of reforms and consolidated power among a few landholders and merchants. El Salvador's government confiscated lands belonging to the church and ensured that the church lost its power. The government then privatized confiscated lands to become part of the exportation of coffee and engaged in the expulsion of indigenous people, who fled to urban centers. New laws (1877) ensured forced seasonal labor from November through April among the now landless indigenous groups, a practice that lasted until the 1930s (Flores, 2008; Perez-Brignoli, 1989).

The confiscation of lands coupled with legislation (1881 and 1882) that eliminated common lands and communities made El Salvador's proletariat the fastest growing working class among the Central American states. At the same time, a reduced number of landholders owned most of the arable land and practiced despotic forms of management. Politically, El Salvador remained unstable and the government became the target of several coup d'etats (1890, 1895, and 1898; Flores, 2008; Perez-Brignoli, 1989). By the end of the 1800s, 14 families owned most of El Salvador's farm land, and banking industry, and controlled trade (Cheney, 1990).

Modern El Salvador

In the first half of the twentieth century, authoritarianism and paternalism remained evident in Salvadoran politics and government. As such, from 1913 until 1927, the presidency of El Salvador rotated from members of the Melendez-Quiñones family to another. The business elite continued to benefit from state-organized oppression though their coffee export businesses suffered from the economic crises of 1897 and 1908, and World War I. Also, during the Great Depression of 1929, El Salvador's coffee exports declined from $16 million in 1928 to less than $5 million by 1932. Poverty spread widely and with it greater discontent among the landless indigenous people, which began to demonstrate openly against the government (Cheney, 1990).

A short-lived enlightenment of sorts took place during El Salvador's Pio Romero Bosque's presidency between 1927 and 1931. President Romero Bosque passed

labors laws, permitted unions to legalize, and guaranteed freedom of the press and fair elections. President Romero Bosque was succeeded by Arturo Araujo in 1931, who brought socialist inclinations into the presidency, as well as an inability to manage the country's growing economic crisis. As a result, the business elite and landowners grew uneasy with Araujo's socialist inclinations and methods. Later in the same year, Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez, Araujo's vice-president and minister of war, deposed Araujo with a coup d'état and named himself president with the support of landowners (Perez-Brignoli, 1989).

A few years earlier, in 1925, Agustín Farabundo Martí had established the Salvadoran Communist Party. For the first time since El Salvador's independence, people had begun to identify as either from the *left* or *right*, and the indigenous people and laboring classes of El Salvador found a voice and agency to their concerns and pent up energies in Martí's rhetoric of seeking social justice and equality through an uprising of the laboring class. Soon, the laboring class would take up machetes and sticks in an uprising against the government. In response, in 1932, Salvadoran military forces, under president Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez, carried out what came to be known as *La Matanza* (The Slaughter), which resulted in the killing of an estimated 15,000–30,000 citizens, mostly mestizos and indigenous people living in the western provinces of El Salvador. *La Matanza* almost wiped out the entire indigenous population of El Salvador; those who survived it gave up their Nawat language, dress, and customs, and quickly assimilated mestizo customs and the Spanish language to survive further persecution from Salvadoran military forces (Cheney, 1990).

While labor unions expanded in El Salvador and benefited individuals such as artisans and railroad workers, social mobility among the poor remained vastly limited. Education was often last in government funding. A few Salvadorans found social mobility by joining the professional armed forces, including the National Guard, which served as a repressive arm of the government (Perez-Brignoli, 1989).

The post-World War II economic boom contributed to an increase in the price of coffee throughout the 1950s. In turn, El Salvador expanded programs in health, housing, and social security. The country also achieved greater economic diversification by beginning to invest in cotton production. Industry growth contributed to rapid urbanization where part of the laboring class began protesting against the government's unjust, repressive, and violent practices. Because fair distribution of wealth and social mobility remained lacking, many jobless and landless Salvadorans continued to migrate north, across the border into Honduras and settled in uninhabited lands. This contributed to escalating tensions between the Honduran and Salvadoran governments that culminated in the 1969 War of 100 Hours, given that 4 days after El Salvador had launched an attack against Honduras, the Organization of American States successfully intervened and negotiated a peace treated (Moran, 2008; Perez-Brignoli, 1989).

With the global rise of petroleum prices and the decline of coffee prices, the economic boom ended in 1973. By this time, the old liberal order in El Salvador was showing clear signs of deterioration and, with the spread of communist ideals throughout Latin America following Fidel Castro's successful revolution in Cuba in

1959, protests among the laboring class demanding social change had become increasingly difficult to suppress. In contrast to Costa Rican leaders who in the early twentieth century met demands for social change with new progressive laws, Salvadoran landowners and business leaders disregarded these demands for social change and justice as communist rhetoric and continued to hand down power to the military, who violently suppressed the laboring class and perpetuated a system of social exclusion. The persecution, kidnapping, torture, and death of priests, university students, politicians, labor leaders, and peasants at the hands of military and paramilitary groups contributed to the rapid growth of guerrilla groups (Cienfuegos, 2008; Perez-Brignoli, 1989).

In October 15 of 1979, with the support of the US government under President Carter, who was interested in breaking the patterns of violent repression, revolt, torture, and death, civilians joined military forces in an effort to overthrow Salvadoran government led by Carlos Humberto Romero. A year later, the installed Revolutionary Government Junta began falling apart, after many of the civilians abandoned the Junta due to military resistance to sharing power (Cienfuegos, 2008; Meyer, 2012).

By the start of the new decade, guerrilla groups, organized labor, grassroots organizations, and anyone who was a sympathizer, or appeared to be, with any of these groups were targeted by a wave of violence and repression orchestrated by the ruling class and a segment of the military forces. In 1980, death squads operated freely. On March 24, 1980, these groups assassinated San Salvador's Archbishop, an outspoken advocate for the poor, Monsignor Oscar Arnulfo Romero, while officiating mass (Cienfuegos, 2008; Hernandez, 2008). Over the next few months, leaders of the political opposition, including those of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR, its Spanish acronym), Social Democrats, and Christian Democrats were kidnapped and assassinated. In response, guerrilla forces—five groups in all, unified under the command of the Farabundo Mart National Liberation Front (FMLN, its Spanish acronym; Moodie, 2010; Perez-Brignoli, 1989).

On January 15, 1981, the United States began to provide military, including firearms, and financial assistance to the Salvadoran government to fight the increasing guerrilla insurgency. This was the start of a 12-year civil war that would result in the first massive exodus of Salvadorans to the United States. It is under these dire circumstances that this author, Ernesto, migrated to the United States. After securing US visas with the help of one of the owners of the newspaper where Ernesto's mother worked as a buyer, Ernesto and his sister, Cristina, both teenagers, moved to San Francisco, California. They were among the over one million Salvadorans that ended displaced across the globe, but primarily in the United States.

Through the early 1980s, government and agrarian reforms were either delayed, erased, blocked, sabotaged, or met with repression under the Constituent Assembly dominated by extreme right political parties. By 1983, the financial support from Salvadorans living in the United States to their families in El Salvador also prevented the collapse of the Salvadoran economy (Cienfuegos, 2008). Under President's Reagan, US aid exceeded $600 million in 1985, playing a crucial role in cementing President Duarte's power, whom had been elected in June of 1984, and weakening

the guerrilla's capacity to engage in warfare. In 1987, Costa Rican President Oscar Arias was awarded the Peace Nobel Prize for leading the region in drafting and putting into motion a peace accord. By the time the peace accords were signed in January 16 of 1992 in the Castle of Chapultepec in Mexico City, the 12-year civil war had taken the lives of at least 75,000 Salvadorans. The latter figure represented roughly 20% of El Salvador's population at the time. The 12-year civil war was the genesis of the first massive exodus of Salvadorans seeking jobs, refuge, and peace primarily in the United States (Cienfuegos, 2008; Moodie, 2010; Perez-Brignoli, 1989).

Though experts recognized the Salvadoran peace accords as one of the most significant political achievements in the Western Hemisphere, in her book, *El Salvador in the Aftermath of Peace: Crime, Uncertainty, and the Transition to Democracy*, Ellen Moodie (2010) reported how Salvadorans described the years following the accords as "being worse than the war" (p. 40), particularly in urban areas. In the following two decades, transnational criminal and violent organized groups with origins in the United States, such as the Mara Salvatrucha or MS-13, began terrorizing Salvadorans with a new wave of unpredictable and more sinister violence. In a post-war era, many Salvadorans lacked a readiness for anxiety, which they had developed during the 12-year civil war, making their exposure to unpredictable violence unbearable.

In addition to sociopolitical conflicts, El Salvador has been plagued by a number of natural disasters, including the earthquakes of 1986 and 2001, and Hurricane Mitch in 1998. According to the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), these natural disasters left over 1100 people dead, destroyed more than 150,000 buildings and other infrastructure, including schools, bridges, homes, and water systems, and exacerbated Salvadorans' anxiety and widespread trauma (The American National Red Cross, 2018; USAID, 2018). The combination of political and economic instability, gang violence, extortion, international drug trafficking, separated and broken families, internalized endemic violence, trauma, and the enduring unjust social and economic structures remained factors in yet a second exodus of Salvadorans to different parts of the world, but once again primarily the United States (Moodie, 2010).

Despite significant challenges, Salvadorans living both in El Salvador and abroad abound with courage and resiliency. In recent years, Salvadorans living in the United States have supported the Salvadoran economy with remittances of $4 billion annually, demonstrating a capacity to become an integral part of new communities abroad and offer support to those left behind (Cohn, Gonzalez-Barrera, & Cuddington, 2013).

Migration and Settlement Patterns

Estimates on the demographics of Salvadoran immigrants to the United States during the late 1980s and early 1990s are unclear. Overall, it has been estimated that during this time, at the midst of the civil war, the approval rate for Salvadoran asylum applications was less than 3% (U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants,

1986). In Los Angeles alone, the Salvadoran-born population went from 50,000 to 250,000 throughout the 1980s (Suro, 1998). With the passage of President Reagan's Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1986, some 140,000 Salvadoran refugees became eligible to obtain legal status in the United States (U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2013). By the middle of the 1990s, across the United States, around five hundred thousand Salvadorans have become recipients of some form of temporary legal status. Once these temporary permits expired, Salvadoran holding these expired permits were able to stay permanently in the United States either through amnesty or asylum (Suro, 1998).

At the end of the last decade, a new immigration pattern began emerging among minors fleeing gang-related violence in El Salvador. Unaccompanied minors are children who travel without any documents or caregivers with the intent of crossing into the United States from the Mexican border. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Office of Refugee Resettlement reported that between 2011 and 2016 the number of Salvadoran-born unaccompanied minors traveling from El Salvador across Guatemala and Mexico into the United States rose from 3678 to 20,117. By the end of the fiscal year 2017 for the US government, the number of Salvadoran-born unaccompanied minors that had been apprehended while crossing the Mexican–US border since 2012 had reached over 67,000 minors. Overall, 229,495 unaccompanied minors mostly from Central America's northern triangle, Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador have been apprehended by US authorities shortly after crossing the US border between 2012 and 2017. In 2017, roughly one third of unaccompanied minors were girls and approximately 69% were adolescents between the ages of 15 and 17 (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2018).

Current Demographics

Whereas El Salvador's population is 6,172,011 million people (Central Intelligence Agency, 2018), a recent report from the Migration Policy Institute revealed that approximately 2.1 million immigrants of Salvadoran origin reside in the United States, making them the nation's third largest community of Latin American origin (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). More than half of Salvadorans in the United States were born in El Salvador. It is estimated that around 64% of them immigrated to the United States before the year 2000.

Currently, first-generation Salvadoran immigrants make up the largest group of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) beneficiaries. TPS status was granted to approximately 217,000 Salvadoran immigrants in 2001, including the mother of one of the authors, after a series of earthquakes struck the country. In 2017, more than 195,000 Salvadorans in the United States continued to hold this protected status (Cohn & Passel, 2017). In addition, first-generation Salvadoran youth were the second largest group of DACA beneficiaries during the program's first few months in 2012–2013 (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Less than one third of Salvadoran immigrants in

the US hold citizenship status and although the number of undocumented Salvadoran immigrants in the United States is unclear, recent analyses have identified this population as the second largest unauthorized immigrant community in the nation with Mexican immigrants ranking first (Migration Policy Institute, 2015).

In terms of geographic distribution, the Salvadoran population in the United States is primarily concentrated in the states of California, Texas, New York, and the District of Columbia-Maryland-Virginia area, with the city of Los Angeles having the largest overall number of Salvadoran immigrants in the United States (20%), and the Washington metro area having the highest concentration of Salvadorans (15%) as a percentage of their total foreign-born population (Pew Research Center, 2017). About half of Salvadoran immigrants in the United States report speaking English proficiently; still, the majority (89%) report speaking Spanish at home (López, 2015). With regard to education, immigrants of Salvadoran origin have been found to have lower levels of educational attainment than the overall US population although it should be noted that the numbers differ by immigrant generation. Specifically, second-generation Salvadoran immigrants (i.e., those born in the United States to Salvadoran-born parents) have been found to have higher levels of education than their first-generation peers (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Approximately 89% of Salvadorans ages 16 and over are employed; however, only 10% work in professional or managerial positions (e.g., engineering, law, education, finances).

Although previous studies have found that Salvadoran men who are TPS beneficiaries earn approximately 13% more than those who are not TPS holders (Orrenius & Zavodny, 2015), the median annual income for Salvadoran households remains lower than that US households ($41,000 versus $50,000). In terms of religious affiliation, a large proportion of Salvadorans in the United States (42%) identify as Catholic. The second largest religious affiliation among Salvadorans is Protestant (37%; López, 2015).

The Post-migration Era

Although Salvadorans make up the third largest immigrant group of Latinx origin in the United States, only a few studies have conducted to better understand the specific challenges associated with their post-migration experience. Most of the current literature on Salvadoran immigrants in the United States has centered on (a) the role that family dynamics, cohesion, and conflicts play on every aspect of the acculturation and adaptation process of Salvadoran immigrants (e.g., Horton, 2009; Landolt & Da, 2005; Menjivar & Abrego, 2009), and (b) the importance of having a social support network for overcoming barriers in the post-migration era (e.g., Landolt & Da, 2005; Miyares, Wright, Mountz, Bailey, & Jonak, 2003). Most of these studies have focused on the increased risk of Salvadoran immigrants for a number of negative psychosocial outcomes. Although informative, risk-deficit research tends to miss the strengths and resources that have long helped “at-risk” communities thrive in the

face of adversity. Therefore, in this section, we will take a strengths-based approach to review the relevant literature on the post-migration experience of Salvadoran immigrant families and highlight internal and external sources of resilience.

Family Dynamics, Cohesion, and Conflicts

In an examination of family relations among transnational Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrant families, Menjivar and Abrego (2009) identified three types of transnational families that face particular post-migration challenges: (1) those who remain separated, (2) those who reunite after a long period of time, and (3) those who live together in the receiving country but are of mixed immigration status. Researchers noted that, among those families with parents and children who remain separated (e.g., parents live in the United States, while their children still live in El Salvador), feelings of resentment, anger, and guilt are especially prevalent. Specifically, it was noted that children who are "left behind" often experience emotional distress from the separation, and this is then expressed through anger and resentment toward their immigrant parents. As a result, immigrant parents may experience guilt and/or regret over their decision to migrate and leave their children behind. This sense of guilt has been well documented among Salvadoran immigrant *mothers*, in particular (Horton, 2009). However, researchers have also noted that children may be less likely to experience such negative feelings towards their immigrant parents when/if parents are able to consistently send remittances as these are seen as "proof that their parents continue to be committed to the family" (Menjivar & Abrego, 2009; p. 170). Indeed, researchers have often described *remittances* as evidence of the continuing obligations and commitment of Salvadoran immigrants to their family back in El Salvador (Horton, 2009; Landolt & Da, 2005). In 2012, the Pew Research Center reported that Salvadorans living in the United States send $4.2 billion in remittances to their families in El Salvador. This is the equivalent of 16% of El Salvador's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), representing the highest share in GDP among all Latin American countries (Cohn, Gonzalez-Barrera, & Cuddington, 2013).

Phone calls, letters, and care packages have also been identified as a proxy for parental presence among Salvadoran families who remain separated (Horton, 2009; Menjivar & Abrego, 2009). Their continued connection with family members in El Salvador, facilitated by advances in technology, has also been found to impact the ability of Salvadoran immigrants to overcome the different post-migration barriers they might face in the United States (Molina, 2008). This finding is consistent with this author's, Alejandra, personal immigrant experience. Although she was physically separated from her mother for approximately 5 years, Alejandra maintained frequent contact with her mother via phone calls and messages, which helped them both remain close and hopeful about the future.

Among families with parents and children who reunite after long periods of separation, the main challenge involves adjusting to their new family dynamics. Long

awaited family reunifications can be difficult to navigate and even problematic because individuals are faced with the task of learning to interact and get reacquainted with family members they often have not had contact within years. Also, like those in families who remain separated, individuals whose families reunited after a long separation may experience resentment and anger over the separation or "abandonment." Using quotes from a qualitative study, Menjivar and Abrego (2009) demonstrated that, among Salvadoran and Guatemalan families, reunifications after lengthy separations can be "bittersweet, leading to moments of happiness as well as tension and disappointment" (p. 177). Lastly, researchers noted that for families whose members all live in the United States but are of mixed immigrant status (e.g., children are US citizens and parents are undocumented; one child is a US citizen and the other are undocumented), tension and resentment may arise because of differential access to resources and opportunities based on legal status. For example, undocumented children may resent their US-born siblings for being able to travel to their native country or feeling less restricted with getting a driver's license. Similarly, Landolt and Da (2005) investigated the specific dynamics and challenges of transnational families in two samples: Salvadoran immigrant families in the United States, and Chinese immigrants in Australia. Using case studies, the authors highlighted the complexities and similarities across transnational families, stating that "there is not only one type of transnational families, but rather a continuum of familial arrangements" (p. 647).

Acculturation Gaps The ways Salvadoran immigrants navigate acculturation gaps within the family unit also has an impact on both family dynamics and individual well-being. In a recent study, Jensen and Dost-Gözkan (2015) examined discrepancies between adolescent and parents' expectations for autonomy and parental authority in Asian Indian and Salvadoran immigrant families in the United States, and whether these predicted family cohesion or conflict. As hypothesized, results revealed significant differences among adolescent-parent dyads, such that, across samples, parents endorsed parental authority at higher levels, and reported later age expectations for autonomy. In addition, parents reported significantly more family cohesion than adolescents. When examining only Salvadoran dyads, results revealed positive associations between adolescent and parents' endorsement of parental authority, expectations for autonomy, and family cohesion. Also, researchers noted that *familismo,* or a strong attachment and sense of obligation to the family unit (e.g., Kuhlberg, Peña, & Zayas, 2010), and appreciation for parents' struggle might be better predictors of family cohesion in Salvadoran immigrant families than expectations for autonomy and parental authority. This finding falls in line with Ganas' (1992) conclusion that children of immigrants, including Salvadorans, fare better when they value and embrace their parents' or caregivers' communities and values instead of rapidly assimilating into or more fully adopting mainstream American values.

Moreover, Buckingham and Brodsky (2015) conducted a qualitative investigation of the ways Salvadoran immigrant families understand and navigate intrafamilial acculturation gaps, or differences in values, practices, or identifications between

two or more family members. Although previous research had associated gaps with problematic family dynamics, results from this study revealed that Salvadoran families engage in several effective and flexible strategies to navigate gaps, including collaborative problem solving, open emotional expression, empathy, humor, and putting family first, among others. The authors referred to these families as "remarkably resilient," emphasizing the benefits of applying a model of family resilience when seeking to better understand intergenerational gaps and conflicts among immigrant families. We will now summarize two case studies that exemplify the critical and protective role of family on the well-being and adaptation of Salvadoran immigrant families.

Case Study 1 Drawing from a larger qualitative study, Baily, Henderson, and Tayler (2016) presented the case of "Edwin," a 16-year-old Salvadoran immigrant, to highlight the challenges surrounding family separations and reunifications (e.g., difficulty acclimating to new family dynamics, feelings of resentment), and the factors that might help buffer their negative effect of the well-being of Salvadoran immigrant families. Edwin's mother had migrated to the United States when he was 7 years old, and they were separated for approximately 9 years although it is important to note that they maintained communication through other means. During the years that Edwin was separated from his mother, he was "passed between different family members" (p. 768) and had difficulty adjusting to the different parenting styles he was being exposed to. He also experienced several stressors outside of the family unit, including bullying at school and exposure to gang violence in his community. It is, thus, not surprising that, at the time of the interview, both Edwin and his mother reported some symptoms of depression, anxiety, and PTSD. However, the positive relationship Edwin had been able to maintain and further develop with his mother through the separation and upon their reunification appeared to buffer the negative effects of such symptoms on his functioning and adaptation to the U.S. Researchers concluded by highlighting the relevance of social support and resources at multiple levels, including familial, community, and institutional. We will revisit the topic of community support in a later section.

Case Study 2 Carranza (2012) presented a case study of a Salvadoran immigrant woman living in Canada, and her family members living in El Salvador and the United States. The case highlighted the influential role of the family unit on the way Salvadoran immigrants negotiate their resettlement and adaptation to North American countries. In particular, the role of *familismo* and connections with both immediate and extended family members were cited as a key source of resilience for Salvadoran immigrants. The author concluded by encouraging clinicians to be innovative and develop "inclusive practices" when working with transnational families. In the case presented, the author found teleconferences with the client's daughters, mother, and sister, to be especially beneficial in enhancing the client's psychological well-being, which had been impacted by family separation and traumas she'd experienced pre-migration.

Social Networks and Community Support

Indeed, a number of studies have highlighted the role of social networks and community support for the adaptation and well-being of Salvadoran immigrants. For example, in his report of best clinical practices with Salvadoran immigrant families, Kusnir (2005) noted that particularly beneficial interventions with this group will involve helping them "to utilize human resources in their community to build social networks, and to understand that sometimes causes of stress are also sources of resilience" (p. 264). Also, Miyares et al. (2003) highlighted social networks as a source of resilience in Salvadoran immigrant families. In this study, researchers documented the complexities of developing a sense of belonging to both the native and the host community in a sample of Salvadoran immigrant families in New Jersey. Using ethnosurvey data, researchers found that most Salvadoran immigrants maintained ties to El Salvador through social networks. In particular, many of the interviewees reported belonging to at least one social, political, or religious Salvadoran community group in the U.S. Researchers noted that such community support was beneficial in helping Salvadoran immigrants "overcome the interrupted circle" of transnationalism (Miyares et al., 2003, p. 82). Similarly, Landolt and Da (2005) found that Salvadoran immigrants often drew on social networks, such as church congregations and soccer teams, to aid in their adaptation process and to "reconstruct the torn social fabric of their lives" (p. 637), while Menjivar (2010) found that Salvadoran immigrants often rely on religious institutions for both emotional and instrumental support (e.g., financial assistance).

To summarize, although legal instability and exposure to violence have been frequently highlighted as a vulnerability for Salvadoran immigrants in the United States, themes of resilience appear to emerge in most investigations of the Salvadoran immigrant experience. In particular, the role of the family unit and other social support groups and affiliations, such as church congregations, appear to be instrumental in the development and adaptation of Salvadoran immigrants. This highlights the value of examining factors at multiple levels of the human ecology to better understand the ways Salvadoran immigrants navigate and overcome post-migration challenges.

Closing Thoughts

For decades, the attention that El Salvador and its people have received in the media and the literature has been limited, on the one hand, and negative on the other hand. Gang violence, natural disasters, and economic and political instability have too often been part of news headlines, as well as empirical studies and publications. Although sociopolitical factors have, from early on, shaped their experience, Salvadorans in El Salvador and in the United States have over and over demonstrated characteristics, both intrinsic and extrinsic, that have helped them thrive in the face of adversity. In this chapter, we sought to draw attention to the remarkable

resilience of Salvadorans, focusing particularly on the Salvadoran immigrant experience in the US context.

As previously noted, the literature on the Salvadoran immigrant experience is limited and characterized by several limitations. Most notably, these limitations include (1) small samples, (2) a lack of quantitative or mixed-methods research, and (3) a lack of research directly examining protective rather than risk factors for the well-being and adaptation of this population. The first two limitations—small samples and lack of quantitative/mixed-methods research—are perhaps best addressed together rather than separately. It is widely agreed that qualitative research provides details that go beyond what a quantitative measure could capture and facilitates in-depth understanding of social phenomena, including the Salvadoran immigrant experience. Although it is typical for qualitative research to be conducted on small as opposed to large samples, such sample characteristics—namely the small ranges of sample sizes—limit our ability to make inferences about the general Salvadoran immigrant population. Future research using a mixed-methods approach might allow us to examine data from different levels and help us achieve a more integrated understanding of the complex life trajectories of Salvadoran immigrants. In addition, more research ought to investigate the Salvadoran immigrant experience from a strengths-based approach, focusing on identifying multi-level contributors to the development and adaptation of Salvadoran immigrants in the United States. Currently, much of the research on vulnerable populations, including immigrants, centers around risk factors for negative psychosocial outcomes. Although informative, this approach does not fully capture neither the multifaceted nature of the immigrant experience, nor the strengths and tenacity of those who voluntarily or involuntarily (i.e., refugees) embark on a tumultuous journey to a better, more hopeful life in the United States.

We end with a note on the rescission of TPS. The authors of this chapter would like to draw attention to the US government's recent decision to discontinue the TPS program for several African and Central American countries, including El Salvador. As mentioned in the Migration Patterns section, in 2017, Salvadoran immigrants made up the largest group of TPS holders, followed by Hondurans, and Haitians. The majority of Salvadoran TPS beneficiaries have maintained residence in the United States for over 15 years—they have raised their US citizen children, have established their own businesses, contributed to the US economy, and made the United States their home. Although TPS was never meant to be a permanent or long-term solution to a faulty immigration system, the termination of the program without alternative options for the legalization of an estimated 325,000 migrants (Center for Migration Studies, 2017) has implications not only for the immigrant communities themselves, but also for the larger American society. A recent report found that "deporting all Salvadoran, Honduran, and Haitian TPS holders would cost taxpayers $3.1 billion dollars" and that "ending TPS for these three countries would result in a $6.9 billion reduction to Social Security and Medicare contributions over a decade" (Baran, Magaña-Salgado, & Wong, 2017, p. 1). It is our hope that government officials will legislate a permanent solution to avoid the deportation of these communities and offer them a pathway to citizenship.

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Guatemala—Paradise Lost: The Journey Away from the Land of Eternal Spring

Diane Estrada and Qiana Torres Flores

Historical Background

Guatemala is known as "the land of eternal spring" (von Humboldt, 1799–1804). This small country holds the beauty of nature and the devastation of historical and current colonialism. The topography of Guatemala contains a paradise of diversity in its landscape, its flora, and its people. Guatemala is the most populated country in Central America and was once the epicenter of Maya civilization that extended throughout Mesoamerica (Hawkins, McDonald, & Adams, 2010). In 1523, Pedro de Alvarado was sent to conquer the land region of Guatemala and its indigenous peoples. By 1540, the Spanish Conquistadores had complete control of the area. During this period, indigenous people were forced to convert to Christianity and leave their traditional beliefs and practices behind. They were stripped of the silver, gold, and jewels found on their land. The theft of natural resources allowed the Conquistadores and their families to become wealthy, powerful people. A societal hierarchy was created and placed the Spanish people who settled in Guatemala as the highest rank. People who were born in Guatemala and had Spanish descent ranked the second highest, those with mixed Spanish and indigenous blood (Ladinos) were ranked third, and the indigenous people held the lowest rank (Grandin, 2000).

Colonial rule lasted until 1821 when Guatemala declared independence as part of the Federal Republic of Central America that disbanded in 1840. Unfortunately, Guatemala's independence did not lead to a stable economic or social existence. Centuries of colonial ruling that stripped the Maya people of their way of life (i.e., economy, rituals, organization) through dispossession, dislocation, and murder left Guatemala vulnerable to chaos and corruption. In the late nineteenth century, Guatemala's agricultural resources were exploited by several foreign entities, one of

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the most prominent being the United Fruit Company (UFC). These companies supported dictators whose governmental policies exploited the local labor force. These inhumane policies were backed by the US government who supported the harsh labor policies and provided exception to policies for wealthy landowners (Green, 2009).

Beginning in 1944, the people of Guatemala enjoyed "10 years of Spring" under Presidents Juan José Arévalo and Jacóbo Arbenz from 1945 to 1954. During their terms, their administrations worked toward abolishing forced labor and returning lands to the indigenous people. When President Arbenz was elected to office, he announced a plan to nationalize and redistribute undeveloped lands. At that time, the United Fruit Company, an American business, owned 42% of the land used to cultivate bananas. During this time, the wealthiest 2% of the population owned 70% of the land. Soon after President Arbenz made the decree to nationalize lands, Guatemala seized 40% of the lands owned by the United Fruit Company. Politically and financially affronted by President Abenz's seizure, the US government staged anti-communist propaganda throughout the country and arranged a coup to be led by Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas of the Guatemalan Army (Morales, 2013; Dosal, 1993; Jonas & Rodriguez, 2014; Schlesinger, Kinzer, & Coatsworth, 2005).

After the coup ended, Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas became the military dictator of Guatemala in 1954. He launched a campaign to smoke out any communist sympathizers but was assassinated in 1957. His successors continued the campaign, igniting a strong resistance and insurgency from the people of Guatemala. The first phase of counterinsurgency started in 1966. Opposition leaders were targeted and killed. The second phase of the counterinsurgency took place in the 1970s and focused on snuffing out guerillas in the highlands which were inhabited mostly by the Maya (Jonas & Rodriguez, 2014). According to the Guatemalan army's report, the campaign destroyed 440 highland villages, killed or "disappeared" 150,000 (primarily Mayas) in the early 1980s alone, and displaced over one million people, 200,000 of whom fled to Mexico (Jonas, 2013).

On December 29, 1996, the final peace accord known as the Agreement for a Firm and Everlasting Peace was signed, detailing seven substantive agreements and three operational agreements negotiated under the mediation of the United Nations (Mersky, 2005). This peace agreement took over 10 years to come to fruition. Human rights continued to be a major factor in the process of establishing peace. After the signing of the peace accord, Guatemala held its first democratic election in 1999. Sadly, the country continued to struggle with issues of poverty, drug cartels, and high crime including feminicide (Bellino, 2009). For example, since the year 2000, more than 6500 women have been murdered in Guatemala (Migration Policy Institute, 2018).

Poverty rates have increased over the last few decades (Focused Economics, 2018) creating ripe conditions for desperate survival strategies. Corruption, drug trafficking, and government impunity plague a nation that has been under attack since the 1500s. These factors have created a psychology of "no future" for many in Guatemala, and especially among Guatemalan Maya. After decades of exploitation, displacement, and persecution, many Maya men and some women have taken

the risk of potentially losing their lives crossing international borders into Mexico and the United States in hopes of earning an income that will allow them to send remittances to their children and other family members in Guatemala. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the accompanying immigration policies have increased the dangers faced by undocumented Guatemalan immigrants.

While the official war ended, the violence has not. The extreme acts of violence during the decades of war and the years after having left a state plagued by feminicide. Feminicide entails more than murder and extreme hatred. It is an act of terror aimed at women in a public display of total control and perverted objectified mutilation. Feminicide draws attention to the complicity of the state in the continued murder spree and violence against women (Bellino, 2009). Governmental impunity is another contributor to the flight of female immigrants to the United States. Unfortunately, many have found themselves facing rape and degradation during their journeys and even within the US borders in government detention centers.

The ongoing violence in "postwar" Guatemala has forced parents to part from their children in hopes that they stand a chance for a better, and longer, future in the "land of opportunity." These familial sacrifices give rise to the emergence of unaccompanied children crossing the border into the United States in the last few years. The desperation for a "possible future" weighs heavily on the impossible choices made by many Guatemalan families, particularly indigenous Maya families.

Guatemala's Migration and Settlement Patterns in the United States

The migration pattern of people from Guatemala to the United States came in waves. The US backed military coup that overthrew President Jacobo Arbenz and the civil war that followed triggered the first wave of Guatemalan immigration to the United States in the 1970s. Additionally, immigration patterns of Guatemalans seem to be impacted by immigration policies in the United States. As a result, we saw periods of increases and decreases in migration to the United States from 1970 to 2012.

The 1970s

In 1970, the United States saw more immigration from Guatemala than ever before. Specifically, the U.S. Census estimates that 5138 Guatemalans migrated to the United States in 1970 (Jonas & Rodriguez, 2014). The next surge of migration occurred in 1977 when 13,785 Guatemalans were estimated to journey to the US border (Jonas & Rodriguez, 2014). The civil war prompted immigration northward on foot, bus, or train. On the journey through Mexico, immigration officers boarded transports and operated checkpoints. Guatemalans who reached the United States often settled in Mexican–American neighborhoods in Los Angeles and throughout Southern California (Jonas & Rodriguez, 2014).

The 1980s

By the 1980s the service industry was strong and attracted migrants looking for an opportunity to live and work in the United States. Overtime, Guatemalans came to settle in places where the service industry was growing creating a significant increase and impact on the Latinx population. Some primary settlement areas included Houston, Chicago, New York City, Washington DC, and Southern Florida (Hiller, Linstroth, & Vela, 2009; Jonas & Rodriguez, 2014).

When immigration policies granted residency in the United States, immigration of Guatemalans increased. Specifically, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) was signed into law in 1986 and allowed undocumented immigrants who arrived in the United States before January 1, 1982 an opportunity to apply for amnesty. However, IRCA also required that employers know the immigration status of their employees and made it illegal to hire undocumented employees. Applicants were required to: pay a fine and back taxes, to prove that they had no criminal record, have knowledge of US history and government, and fluency in the English language. Over 113,000 IRCA applications were submitted by people from Guatemala, 19,942 were granted amnesty. Later in 1989, over 50,000 Guatemalans received residence through the IRCA (Jonas & Rodriguez, 2014).

The newly documented immigrants became more socioeconomically mobile because they qualified for higher wage job employment and had English-language fluency. Those who were granted amnesty were able to sponsor others to migrate to the United States and were finally able to visit home without worrying about not being able to return. Many returned to Guatemala, connected with family, built homes, and shared money and goods with their communities. This time period saw an increase in flights to Guatemala offered by the airline industry (Jonas & Rodriguez, 2014).

The 1990s

The Immigration Act of 1990 spurred another surge of immigration to the United States. The Act raised the number of immigrants who could be allowed into the United States to 700,000 for 1992–1994 then back to 675,000 in 1995. In 1994, 21,749 Guatemalan's were estimated to migrate to the United States. At this time, immigrants are concentrated in large cities where the service industry continued to grow like Los Angeles, Chicago, and Houston. Additionally, immigrants also worked agricultural jobs and settled in rural areas in the southeast, namely in Florida (Jonas & Rodriguez, 2014). For example, since the 1970s the number of Maya who settled in Indiantown, FL increased as word spread that it was a haven for refugees and had opportunities to work on surrounding farms, albeit for low pay (Bogin & Loucky, 1997; Hiller et al., 2009). Overtime, Guatemalan immigrants created similar enclaves in the south including Morgantown, NC where they took jobs in a local poultry plant. Even after their journey to the United States, Maya people continue to experience economic exploitation through low wages for their hard labor.

The brewing anti-immigration sentiment became more politically and publicly prominent in the 1990s. For example, in 1994, California passed Proposition 187 (also known as the Save Our State Initiative) proposing the development of a state citizenship screening system and disallowing undocumented immigrants from using social programs provided by the state. The proposition was later deemed unconstitutional. Furthermore, the Mexican government increased border patrol at its most southern border and there were 126,000–133,000 cases of deportation of Guatemalans from Mexico (Jonas & Rodriguez, 2014). More people died attempting to cross the dessert to avoid cities where there was concentrated immigration enforcement. Soon after Proposition 187, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA) was passed and developed criminal penalties for racketeering, smuggling undocumented migrants, and the use or creation of fraudulent immigration documents. In 1996, 2106 Guatemalan immigrants were deported from the United States. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the Department of Homeland Security was created along with the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency significantly tightening immigrations policies on all US borders.

The 2000s

Fast forward and deportations of Guatemalans go from 9729 to 30,313 in 2004. Steel barriers are built along the US–Mexico border and immigration enforcement personnel increased by 85%. In 2005, Guatemala found itself in dire economic conditions and experienced natural disasters (e.g., volcanic eruptions, mudslides, Hurricane Stan, and Tropical Storm Agatha) that may have incited 56,737 undocumented and documented Guatemalan immigrants to make their way into the United States. This represented a 127% increase in immigration that included a rising number of younger immigrants. Specifically, Guatemala experienced some of the highest levels of economic inequality in the world at this time. A significant number of rural workers were unemployed and impoverished. The country also endured Hurricane Stan, Tropical Storm Agatha, and drought conditions that induced famine and starvation. Incidence of feminicide was also on the rise. Women were often found raped, tortured, and killed. No government intervention was attempted in the city or rural areas (Jonas & Rodriguez, 2014).

In 2007, immigration to the United States from Guatemala decreased. The United States plunged into a recession which meant that Guatemalan immigrants started to send less money home. In kind, the lesser amount of remittances sent home impacted the Guatemalan economy since the money sent home made up 11% of the country's GDP. In 2008, there began reports of Guatemalan gangs targeting people who were receiving remittances from their family members in the United States, at times holding them for ransom (Jonas & Rodriguez, 2014).

In the United States, the war on terrorism and the accompanying anti-immigrant sentiment led to an increase in raids in known immigrant hiring industries. One

event that sent a clear anti-immigration message to the Guatemalan community was "The Postville Raid." On May 12, 2008, ICE agents raided Agriprocessors Inc., a kosher slaughterhouse and meat packing plant in Postville, IA. Seventy-five percent of the company's employees were Guatemalan, and many identified as Maya. ICE agents arrested 398 employees who were arraigned and detained at the National Cattle Congress, a facility typically used to show livestock. Employees were pressured into pleading guilty of aggravated identity theft. ICE reported that they arrested 230 defendants who were sentenced to 5 months in prison and 3 years of supervision for using false identification to obtain employment after admitting to using an actual person's identity (McCarthy, 2010). Since the raid, the plant closed its doors and the town of Postville has been withering away economically.

By 2012 the US economy had rebounded from the recession and the Executive Order signed by President Obama, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DREAM) Act was announced. DACA gave residency to undocumented children who came to the United States before reaching their 16th birthday. There were several requirements including needing to prove that they resided in the United States from June 15, 2007, up to the present time, had to be in school/obtaining their GED, graduated, or were an honorably discharged veteran of the Coast Guard or Armed Forces of the United States. At the time, 11,395 Guatemalans received DACA status (Jonas & Rodriguez, 2014).

Personal Narrative: One of the Lucky Ones

My (first author) re-immigration into the United States was spurred by the devastating earthquake of 1976. The earthquake killed approximately 22,000 people and left one million others homeless. The foundation to our home had been destroyed. My mother had moved to the United States for a job just 4 days earlier. I was 10 years old at the time and had been left under my grandmother's care until my mother established herself in the United States. My immigration story to the United States is filled with pure luck: (1) I was born in the United States and moved to Guatemala at age 2; and (2) My mother had a US residency card and was able to move back to the United States without fear of border patrol intervention. My biological father had the economic means to facilitate the attainment of my mother's residency card (a luxury reserved to only a few in Guatemala given the economic conditions required for US residency cards). I had technically become an undocumented immigrant in Guatemala at age 3 when my visa expired but I remained in the country with my mother and family. During my undocumented time in Guatemala, I attended school, participated in activities in my community, and visited other communities without a care in the world. After the earthquake, when my mother wanted me to come back to the United States with her, all she had to do was pay a fine for overextending my stay (by 7 years old) and I was given 2 weeks to leave the country. No prison time. No deportation holding center.

I have been back to Guatemala to visit family and have taught at one of the universities several times since then. There was no shaming or banishment from the

Guatemala's state department. On the contrary, I have been welcomed back and have enjoyed the warmth of my family members as they greet me at the airport. My family members never had to worry about my physical safety beyond the usual concerns of air travel. They did not have to worry about whether I could obtain a job and receive decent pay for my work (gender salary gaps aside). While the actual migration back to the United States was smooth from a legal standpoint, the trauma of leaving loved ones in Guatemala and entering a whole new culture was and continues to be a challenging journey.

The Migration Journey

Residents of Guatemala have immigrated for a myriad of reasons through the generations. During the 36-year war (1960–1996), many residents were forcibly pushed out of their homes and lands. The United Nations-sponsored Truth Commission called this time a "genocide against the Mayan people". There is an irony about the migration of the Maya to the United States given the instigation and involvement of the World Bank, USAID, and the United States in the crimes waged against the Maya people during times of war and peace (Green, 2009). One study assessed the reasons why Central Americans left their homes and found that 35 of the 46 Guatemalan participants cited threats of violence as the reason for leaving the country (Keller, Joscelyne, Granski, & Rosenfeld, 2017). The CIA World Factbook estimates that the displacement of the Maya, in addition to those who fled their homes to avoid the violence, created approximately one million refugees.

Some people migrated out of Guatemala in search of more economic opportunities. More than half of the population lives in poverty. Poverty most severely impacts indigenous communities, 79% of indigenous people live in extreme poverty in Guatemala. Furthermore, the country is rated as having one of the highest levels of malnutrition leaving one out of five children under the age of 5 chronically malnourished. One research study found that, when asked why Guatemalan migrants migrated to the United States, 59.8% of participants reported that they came to the United States "for a better future" (Dunn & O'Brien, 2009).

Making the decision Those who make the decision to immigrate to the United States do not do so lightly given the cost and potential risk. Often coyotes are employed to help them make the journey to the United States. However, their asking price is often above and beyond the budgets of those trying to migrate. Families put up their homes and lands up for collateral, promising coyotes payments once the family member has made it across the border. These high stakes make it imperative that the journey and settlement in the United States be successful. Those choosing to migrate might also consult their local pastors about whether to make the move. These consultations can happen over several months before a final decision is made. Should they decide to migrate, pastors may help make arrangements with other churches for safe passage along the way and upon arrival into the United States (Hagan & Ebaugh, 2003).

Spirituality can also play a large role in the migrant's journey north. Specifically, researchers found that spirituality played a large role in making the decision to migrate through to the settling or deportation of the migrant (Hagan & Ebaugh, 2003). For example, in the Pentecostal Tradition, migrants and their families turn to pastors for "migration counseling," whereby the pastor gives the final decision on whether the trip would be a successful one. After deciding to make the journey, migrants and their families pray, gather for blessings, and bring their coyotes to be assessed by the pastors for their trustworthiness. Along the journey migrants call pastors to pray for safe passage as they approach Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) checkpoints or when they are apprehended by law enforcement.

Making the journey Those making the journey northward must cross the Mexican *and* the US border to get to their destination. Between the two borders are ten formal checkpoints. As mentioned previously, migrants make the journey on foot, bus, boat, and train as arranged by coyotes to avoid contact with border patrol officers. In 2014, Mexico engaged in the *Plan Frontera Sur* (Southern Border Plan) to increase border enforcement. As with other efforts to tighten immigration laws, this forced migrants to take alternative routes. Examples of their journey may include hopping a train and laying down on its roof, hoping not to be seen; or walking through miles of burning dessert lands to avoid immigration law enforcement on the way to the border. Migrants are more at risk of being victimized by gangs in-place along these alternative routes. While many make it to the border, many die trying, or get deported along way. Should immigrants not make it to the border, their families are often responsible for paying the loans and sometimes are evicted from their homes and lands (Jonas & Rodriguez, 2014).

The impacts Maya from rural areas of Guatemala make up a majority of those who immigrated to the United States. The Maya have a long history of intergenerational trauma since they were targeted for genocide and dispossession of lands by the Spanish during the conquest of Latin America and then again by the government during the civil war in the 1970s–1990s. One study suggests that the exposure to war and violence predisposes people of Maya descent to cumulative trauma (Millender & Lowe, 2017).

The economic benefit for the families is dependent upon the success of the migration journey. As stated previously, much is at stake for the families of the undocumented immigrant. Failure to make it across the border means potential loss of already limited resources for the family. For those who successfully make the journey, the remittances to the family back home mean that they will stand a chance to survive and potentially thrive in their home countries. The economic impact for US companies entails workers who provide labor at minimal cost thereby increasing profits for their companies.

Emotional impacts for the undocumented immigrants include feelings of loneliness, the loss of cultural home, and guilt of survival. For the families left behind, there is loss of loved ones for support and, sometimes, physical protection. For family members on both sides of the border, it represents an unknown as to when they will see each other again, if ever. News of older members passing away can lead to compounded grief for the family member that was not able to say good-

bye (Poulsen & Estrada, 2014). Technology has facilitated some connection for those who have gained enough resources to afford technical equipment such as cell phones and computers.

Research study results on the health impacts of Maya immigrants indicate that the children of those who immigrate to the United States have better health outcomes. Specifically, Maya children in Los Angeles and Indiantown, FL, were found to be taller and have longer legs than their counterparts in Guatemala. However, Maya-American children were found to be less physically active and more overweight, increasing their risk of diabetes and hypertension. More interestingly, the same study found that children of parents who were less assimilated (i.e., preferred Spanish, continued to observe their cultural traditions), were healthier than those with parents who were more assimilated (Bogin & Loucky, 1997).

Current Demographics

The current population of Guatemala is 17,091,591 (World Population Review, 2018). Ethnically, Guatemala is a very diverse country. The 2010 census found that 41% of Guatemalans are Mestizos (Ladinos), a mixture of European and indigenous ancestry. Amerindians make up 39% of the population, the largest indigenous population in the western hemisphere, mostly Maya descendants: K'iche (11%); Q'eqchi (8%); Kaqchikel (8%); Mam (5%); and other Maya (7.5%). Whites of European descent make up 18.5% of the population and are mostly of Spanish and German heritage. There are also small percentages of settlers from Norwegian, French, Italian, English, Irish, and Russian background. The remaining 1.5% of the population is made up of Garifuna, Black Africans who intermarried with indigenous peoples; Mulattos and Afro-Guatemalans, descendants of slaves who worked on plantations; and a large number of Asians mainly of Chinese and Korean descent.

Guatemalans living in the United States The Pew Research Center (2010) reports that approximately 1.1 million people of Guatemalan origin are living in the US Guatemalans make up 2.2% of the Latinx population making them the sixth largest population of Latinxs in the country. According to the American Community Survey, two out of three Guatemalans are foreign born and more than seven out of ten Guatemalan immigrants in the United States arrived in or after 1990 (Pew Research Center, 2010). Twenty-four percent of Guatemalans are US citizens. The majority of Guatemalan immigrants are younger, averaging 27 years of age. In comparison, the median age of United States, population is 37 years old. Less than half (41%) of Guatemalans are married. Guatemalans have lower rates of education (8% have a college degree) compared to the Latinx population at large (13%). The median annual income for Guatemalans 16 and older is $17,110. Comparatively, Guatemalan's have lower median annual incomes than the overall U.S. Latinx population ($20,000) and the general US population ($28,500). Twenty-six percent of Guatemalans live in poverty compared to 25% and 15% of Latinxs and the general population in the United States, respectively (Pew Research Center, 2010).

The Post-migration Era

The post-migration era of Guatemala immigrants in the United States is reflective of the diversity within Guatemala. It is noteworthy to mention that this chapter has focused heavily on the Guatemalan Maya immigrant because they make up the largest percentage of immigrants to the United States since the end of the "10 years of spring" (1944–1955). Therefore, the post-migration stories are varied based on the immigrant's identity as Maya, Ladino, or Guatemalans of European ancestry. Researchers state that multiple factors can impact the post-migration experience. One of the most significant factors is the make-up and attitude of the receiving community in the new country. Issues of language, ethnic identity, colorism, and socioeconomic status are mitigating factors in the experience of pre- and post-migration stories. For example, a Maya immigrant who speaks an indigenous dialect and does not speak Spanish will have additional challenges in their acculturation journey even if they find a home in a Latino community in the United States. Issues of ethnic identity compound acculturative stress in ways Guatemalan Ladinos may not face and vice versa. Thus, it is important to note that the challenges and the successes of post-migration are complex and varied based on multiple sociocultural and sociopolitical factors.

Post-migration Challenges

Acculturative stressors Acculturative stress refers to the level of psychosocial strain experienced by immigrants and their descendants in response to challenges faced as they adapt to the culture in a new country (Cervantes, Padilla, & Salgado de Snyder, 1991; Mena, Padilla, & Maldonado, 1987). Acculturative stress is positively correlated to psychological distress (Hovey, 2000). In particular, anxiety and depression have been found to be associated with specific dimensions of acculturative stress including stress from immigration, culture/family expectations, and discrimination experiences. Caplan (2007) describes the acculturation process using a three-dimensional conceptual framework which includes the following factors: (1) instrumental and/or environmental (e.g., lack of education, financial barriers); (2) social and/or interpersonal (e.g., loss of social network or social status); and (3) societal stressors (discrimination, documentation status). This framework suggests that the context of the receiving community where the immigrant resides could be a major factor in the immigrant's experience of acculturative stress (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Acculturative stress can also intensify in this environment.

In the case of Guatemalan immigrants, the acculturation process is one that may involve multiple contexts of acculturation. For example, the Maya immigrant may have faced dispossession and dislocation within their home country of Guatemala making them regional migrants within their own country. The differences in lifestyles between rural and urban Guatemalan are quite dramatic sand important to keep in mind while assessing the migration process. Many Guatemalans first

migrated to Mexico before immigrating to the United States, thereby experiencing multiple receiving communities before their arrival to the United States. While there are no specific studies focused on Guatemalan immigrants and acculturative stress, studies of Latino immigrants that include participants from Central America found that lack of family cohesion, adherence to Spanish, and limited time of residence in the United States had a positive correlation with increased acculturative stress (Miranda, Estrada, & Firpo-Jimenez, 2000). Another study inclusive of Central American immigrants investigated the differences between undocumented and documented Latino immigrants in the prevalence of three immigration challenges (separation from family, traditions, and language) to acculturative stress (Arbona et al., 2010). The study found higher levels of all three immigration challenges for undocumented immigrants, suggested that the undocumented immigrant population is more susceptible to depression and anxiety. Interestingly, the study also found that both documented and undocumented groups reported similar levels of fear of deportation, and this factor was found to be a unique predictor of both extrafamilial and intrafamilial acculturative stress. The fear of deportation by documented and undocumented immigrants might be partially explained by their experience of racism and discrimination in the host country. In the presidential campaign of 2016 and subsequently, the 45th president of the United States has continued to assail Latinx people and, in particular, immigrants.

Racism and discrimination What does it mean to be Maya? LeBaron (2012) broadly defines Maya as "indigenous groups in Southern Mexico and parts of Central America who speak one of the languages that relate linguistically to the 'proto-Mayan' language of some 4000 years ago. Thus, they have ancestors among the ancient and pre-conquest Maya" (p.180). Maya in Guatemala have long endured racism and discrimination from non-indigenous Guatemalans which evolved out of the Spanish conquest. According to Reeve's (2006), "few Ladinos were inclined to think of indigenous people or their culture as anything more than a necessary evil" (p. 192). Despite the genocide and violence, the Maya in Guatemala suffered by the conquistadors and then the government, their cultural and ethnic identities held strong. Thus, many Maya immigrants in the United States, especially older generations, have a strong connection to their indigeneity and an aversion to "Latino" or "Hispanic" as ethnic labels. While there is a deep connection to their ancestral indigenous heritage, Maya people also carry an old shame that is compounded by being oppressed as immigrants in the United States. Shame is compounded by the fear of being detained which forces Maya from Guatemala to stay invisible (Alberto, 2017; LeBaron, 2012).

Racism toward Maya immigrants shows up in a myriad of ways, from non-Latino *and* Latino groups. One interviewee remembers his grade school years after immigrating into the United States not knowing Spanish or English, "…we weren't really ridiculed by the Americans or African-Americans, we were ridiculed by the Mexicans and Latinos—Spanish people… in hindsight, the reason why is "cause we were trying to learn Spanish first and our Spanish was broken, ah, so then they would ridicule us regarding that" (Hiller et al., 2009, p. 2). When asked about how he coped with everyday racism, the same interviewee stated, "I've had this armor

built over the years and it's so strong that it doesn't really affect me…" (Hiller et al., 2009, p. 3). This interviewee speaks to the intra- and inter-group conflict that Maya immigrants face as a population that have held on to their indigenous heritage and culture. Not only do Maya immigrants need to navigate US culture, but they must also navigate the Latinx culture in the United States.

As a response to racism and discrimination, some Maya immigrants from Guatemala break with their traditions to survive. They may abandon their Maya identities and mirror Mexican behaviors or claim Mexican heritage given that it is seen as a higher valued cultural and racial identity. It is also common for Maya people to legally change their names to "noble-sounding Spanish names" when they obtain legal residency to avoid being disparaged for their Mayan names (LeBaron, 2012, p. 118). LeBaron (2012) explains that a typical Mayan name may include all four of a person's family names which are considered first names in Spanish. He offers the name "Francisco Antonio Pedro Francisco" as an example of what might be a typical Mayan name.

Mental health challenges Researchers have highlighted how immigrants managing issues of acculturation often experience dealing with acculturative stress and mental distress. Higher rates of depression and anxiety have been found in the latest wave of immigrants from Central America living in the United States (Keller, Ford, Trinh-Shevrin, Meserve, Sachs, Leviss, Singer, Smith, Wilkenson, Kim, Allden, & Ford, 2003). The atrocities of war and the hazardous life-threatening conditions of border crossing as an undocumented immigrant provide a plethora of factors leading to diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder among many undocumented immigrants (Keller et al., 2017). Feminicide in the country of origin, tales of rape during the journey of immigration, and rape and sexual abuse in detention centers in the United States contribute to high rates of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression among women and adolescent girls (Bellino, 2009; Brobeck, Lykes, & Hunter, 2014; Sanchez, De la Rosa, Blackson, Sastre, Rojas, & Dillon, 2014). A study surveying 102 Maya from Guatemala in Southeast Florida found a positive correlation between trauma occurrence, alcohol use, and depression (Millender & Lowe, 2017). More specifically, men were more susceptible to alcohol use while women were more susceptible to depression. Arguably, substance abuse is a symptom of distress associated with depression. Another study assessed a group of 46 Guatemalan immigrants for post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression. The data showed that 30% of participants exhibited symptoms of PTSD and 8% exhibited symptoms of depression.

We cannot think of individual immigrants and the impact on their mental health without also considering the impact on family members' mental health and well-being both in the United States and in Guatemala. There have been multiple studies and book chapters published on the importance of family in Latino and indigenous cultures (Arredondo, Gallardo-Cooper, Delgado-Romero, & Zapata, 2014; Falicov, 2014). The impact on the physical and mental health of family members that are separated due to ICE raids and detention at the border are particularly poignant in cases of parents and young children. Brabeck, Lykes, and Hunter (2014) report on

the psychosocial impact of detention and deportation on US migrant children and their families. It is estimated that 4.5 million US citizen children live in families where at least one family member is an undocumented immigrant (Passel & Cohn, 2011). Research on risk and protective factors in the development of children highlight the importance of understanding the context of a child's life. In the case of undocumented and mixed status families, reports indicate that deportation leaves family members vulnerable to exploitation, stigma, discrimination, economic disadvantage, and social marginalization. The impact of parental deportation on children has been documented as contributing to a range of disorders including depression, anxiety, and PTSD (Henderson & Baily, 2013). Developmental, behavioral, and academic difficulties are also reported for children whose parents (from Guatemala and El Salvador) have been detained and deported (Brabeck, Lykes, & Hershberg, 2011). Instances of double and triple trauma have been reported for children who have seen their parents physically removed from their homes and who have already experienced violence and trauma in the country of origin and/or during the migration journey (Brabeck et al., 2013). As much of a protective factor as family can play in the lives of children and adolescents from Guatemala, intergenerational conflicts in the process of acculturation can still exist, and uncertainty of deportation is a huge factor.

Intergenerational conflicts For Latinos in general, intergenerational conflicts have been associated with the process of acculturation. Specifically, the impact of language barriers for Latino parents that leads to their dependence on their children for translation in business and other transactions. The need to have children involved in adult transactions on behalf of their parents, not typically practiced, creates an imbalance in the hierarchical positions in the family. Traditional Latinx families, support the notion of parents being at the top of the hierarchy and being the mediators between the family members and the outside world. When a child is the primary interpreter in a family, the child is in direct contact with the outside world, giving them a more powerful position in the hierarchy. However, some adolescents may become resentful of being in this parentified position (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001); they may feel robbed of time with friends or other social activities.

Conversely, parents' ecological fears (e.g., gangs, racism, discrimination, sexual assault for daughters, and criminal activity in poor neighborhoods) can often lead to more restrictive adolescent experiences which can create intergenerational tensions (Falicov, 2014). The rules and roles in the family can be confusing for adolescents as they have more power in one context (translators) and less power in another (individual freedom from the family). Family members' ability to manage these contradictory roles impacts a family's general sense of cohesion. This dynamic has been prevalent in families the first author has come to know and worked with. In the Martinez family, the teenage daughter, Lupe, expressed frustration over the freedom and responsibilities associated with managing the family's business interactions due to her English language ability while at the same time not being allowed to make decisions about what items she could buy with her own money. Her parents expressed their concern over the choices she made when she was away from the family and hanging out with her friends. The parents did not approve of the friend's

emphasis on outer looks and material things. While Lupe wanted to respect her parent's guidance, she also wanted to have the freedom to make choices. Her parents had brought the family to the United States so they could have "a better way of life" which she interpreted as financial and material resources.

Contacts in the home country Newer studies of acculturation highlight the impact of technology on the development of biculturalism for many Latino adolescents (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). Access to information and communication via the web inform children of immigrants as well as child immigrants about the current way of life in the country of origin. This allows a process of connection with the home culture that facilitates family interactions in the host country. Additionally, family members who engage in the process of reciprocal acculturation, adolescents who actively embrace their parents' native culture, and whose parents become more involved in US culture (Smokowski & Bacalloa, 2011), stand a greater chance of developing healthy behaviors and avoiding the risks of substance abuse, school dropout, and suicide attempts (Smokowski, David-Ferdon, & Stroupe, 2009).

Maintaining Cultural Values, Identity, and Sense of Belonging

The importance of biculturalism for good mental health cannot be overemphasized. The research continues to show that good mental health for immigrants is embedded in their ability to navigate a fluid movement between adapting to the new host culture and maintaining a sense of connection and belonging in the traditional culture, and by extension, their homeland. Factors impacting this sense of belonging for many Guatemalan and Maya immigrants include participation in cultural traditions from an ethnic and spiritual lens.

Participation in cultural traditions Claiming and engaging in Maya culture is one reinforcing activity that helps immigrants to maintain a sense of community and belonging. For instance, many Maya immigrants participate in churches that host native rituals and provide a space to develop community. When asked how they socialize their adolescents, one study cited Guatemalan mothers intentionally engaging their children in cultural events, language, food, and visiting their home country to instill a sense of pride in them for their heritage (Umaña-Taylor & Bámaca, 2004). For example, the Maya-American identity evolved as the first and second generations moved toward biculturalism. Some hold on to their parent's native languages, some continue to observe cultural traditions such as wearing *traje typica* (traditional clothes) by women specifically.

Another Maya tradition that continues to be transmitted through the generations is the game of soccer. The "Mayan Ballgame" is an ancient game that was played as "ritual combat" symbolizing the fight against light and the dark in the underworld. The game has survived hundreds of years of colonization, acculturation, and evolution and continues to be a force of bonding today, especially among men (Morales, 2013).

Spirituality Often when migrants settle in the United States, they attend churches that are partnered with churches in Guatemala. Church communities often link new comers with resources to help them settle into the United States. Newcomers continue participating in church, however, the practices are not the same. Specifically, there are less *ayunos*, or fasting and informal prayer services on sacred grounds in Pentecostal churches in the United States. Migrants begin to contribute financially to the church and send money back home. Another study surveyed Guatemalan and Salvadoran immigrants to assess psychological health and how participants found meaning in life and found that 50% of the sample (58% were people from Guatemala) reported that they attended church once a week, sought counsel from clergy, and engaged in prayer regularly. The results reflected that the sample had high levels of social support and religious coping (Dunn & O'Brien, 2009).

Though these studies suggest that immigrants are practicing religion, some also keep up with their indigenous spiritual traditions. For example, a subsection of the Pastoral Maya congregation in Georgia holds a community meeting that blends Catholic and Maya traditions (LeBaron, 2012). Tobar (2013) recalls being feverish in his childhood home in Los Angeles with a medicine woman applying "pungent ointments" on his body while his family quietly prayed around him. Groups in the Bay Area organize events where a Maya priest presides over a sunrise ceremony where the community is invited to bring marimbas and offerings for the alters. Events like these give those of who immigrated from Guatemala an opportunity to reconnect to rituals they might have done in their homeland. It also gives their children who might have been born in the United States the experience of connecting to their culture's spiritual roots. Morales (2013) suggests that these practices may increase one's sense of belonging to the Maya culture.

Success Stories: What Has Worked for Guatemalans in the United States?

Formal and informal studies suggest the importance of a very welcoming receiving community, a connection to cultural information and traditions of the home country, language acquisition, and family cohesion as important factors in the success of Guatemalan Maya immigrants to the United States (Dunn & O'Brien, 2009; Roblyer et al., 2017; Schwartz et al., 2010). In this section, these contributing factors to success will be discussed.

Welcoming Receiving/New Arrival Communities

Most immigrants that succeed have something in common, a welcoming community that supports their existence in that community. In a news report sharing the narrative of two immigrant brothers (Julio and Diego) from Guatemala, the children

discuss the impact of caring teachers at their school who facilitated their academic success and eventual college admission. Julio states that the teachers allowed time for them to get help from translators and provided them with tips on how to complete their work in order not to be left behind (Short, 2016). The teacher's efforts were applauded as the two boys have now received scholarships to attend college. Similar stories are shared by various immigrant young adults who were able to succeed academically when teachers where culturally responsive to their learning needs. This experience is not only shared in the K-12 educational system but has also been found to be a crucial component in the success of college and graduate level students (Hipolito-Delgado, Estrada, & Garcia, 2017). A sense of safety, acceptance, and welcoming helps immigrants to establish themselves in the host country in a more expedient and confident manner.

Language Acquisition

In a research study of adult English language learners, participants reported feeling the most amount of discrimination based on their ability to speak to English. The ability of the immigrant to learn English facilitates the navigation of social systems in the United States thereby making language acquisition a crucial component of success. Ek (2009) highlights the importance of language in the experiences of Guatemalan immigrants in the United States, particularly in academic success. Adult immigrants' English proficiency is an important factor in their ability to secure higher wages and thereby ease extreme financial stress for their families. Furthermore, immigrant adults' ability to acquire English language proficiency allows them to maintain their hierarchical position when navigating interactions with the outside world which eases tension within the family unit.

Family Cohesion

Family cohesion is a protective factor against acculturative stress and distress (Miranda et al., 2000). A study investigating psychosocial factors associated with depressive symptoms in Latina immigrant women living in a new arrival community found that lower levels of family cohesion and social support were associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms. The authors of this study found that access to community resources served as a protective factor against depression for undocumented women. For example, several local foundations in Oklahoma have targeted Latinx communities with resources to aid with family and mental health needs thereby communicating a sense of support for these women. The same type of support does not appear to be as readily available for documented immigrants who may be perceived as not necessarily having the same need. Therefore, strengthening family cohesion and fostering higher levels of social support for all

foreign-born Latinas is highly encouraged (Roblyer, Carlos, Merten, Gallus, & Gryzwacz, 2017). Family cohesion has also been found to be an important mitigator of acculturative stress in Latinx populations (Miranda et al., 2000).

Resilience Stories

Guatemalan Maya migrants can take comfort in the work of Rigoberta Menchú, Nobel peace prize laureate (1992), who endured tremendous losses of family, community, and homeland but who did not stop working to organize and protest for farm workers' rights and other social justice causes. She began this work with her family during her teenage years. After her father, mother, and brother were arrested, tortured, and killed, she continued the fight in Guatemala until 1981 when she was forced into exile in Mexico City, where she continued her work in order to honor her family and her indigenous community (NobelPrize.org). Her efforts have paved the way for other migrants who have dealt with oppression in education and racism in Guatemala and in their new "home countries."

The resilience of Guatemalan immigrants in achieving educational success is well documented in the story of Sandra Ramirez (pseudonym), a 27-year-old Guatemalan woman who arrived in the United States at age 15 to reunite with her mother who had left Guatemala 5 years prior (Borjian, 2016). Sandra attended 2 years of high school in the United States, then took 1 year of adult classes and 3 years of classes at a community college before going to a major university and earning her bachelor's in accounting. Sandra's story depicts the challenges of the educational journey while simultaneously navigating the changing landscape of a new culture, new family dynamics, and a new language. Her story details the need for teachers to understand the complexity of the journey and provide migrant students with detailed feedback, and opportunities to re-do work that allows them to learn and succeed in the mastery of a new language and new cultural concepts. Sandra's story also highlights the importance of being encouraged to attend college. This message needs to be supported by school officials since the "survival" mode at home may not allow for dreams to be dreamed or achieved.

Closing Thoughts: Maintaining Identity and Integrity During the Next 50 Years

One of the greatest dangers to mental health is ambivalence and uncertainty. A relentless sense of fear of deportation, impending potential family separation, and a loss of hope can endanger the human spirit with constant cognitive and emotional dissonance. Thus, maintaining identity and integrity require a resolution to the question of immigration reform in the United States. Latinx communities and specifically Guatemala Maya communities require a sense of safety and belonging in

order to address the centuries of oppression faced by their people. Welcoming communities play a crucial part in constructing hope and opportunity for immigrant children and their families. A longitudinal study of the role of religious identity in the life of a Guatemalan immigrant reported that the role of churches in creating a connection between the host country and the home country can be beneficial to the immigrants' sense of identity and belonging (Ek, 2009). Educational and social networks have the potential to provide a launching pad for success by implementing culturally responsive learning and service strategies that support the growth and adaptability of immigrant members of the community.

Latinx community members, as well, need to face their own internalized oppression in order to become bridge makers in the life journey of new immigrants. The potential benefits for generations of immigrants who have been in the United States longer is the ability to stay connected to the home country via the stories of the new immigrants. Factors that impact the success of Guatemalan migrants include access to education and teachers that see the potential of students. Emotional support alongside academic mentorship serves as a protective factor against the barriers of racism, discrimination, sexism, and xenophobia faced by so many Latinx migrants. Family, community, and mentorship provide fertile ground to grow the flowers of the land of eternal spring. Unidos si se puede (united, yes we can).

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Cultura y Familia: Strengthening Mexican Heritage Families

Carlos P. Hipolito-Delgado

Family is a crucial aspect of Mexican culture; in fact, interdependence and strong affiliation with family seem to be cultural mandates. For people of Mexican ancestry, family can serve as a first resource for support. Further, connection to family is linked to positive mental health outcomes in people of Mexican descent (Castillo & Hill, 2004; Crockett et al., 2007; Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013; Morgan Consoli et al., 2016). Alas, there are many challenges faced by Mexican origin families in the United States including discrimination, internalized racism, issues related to immigration, and the acculturation gap. To overcome these challenges, Mexican heritage families must draw upon their assets--their cultural heritage, familial support, and religion and spirituality. This chapter is intended to provide the reader with a greater understanding of Mexican heritage families in the United States. Please note that I intentionally use the terms Mexican heritage, ancestry, or origin in an attempt to collectively address Mexican Americans (those born in the United States) and Mexican immigrants (those who have migrated to the United States). In cases when I speak of Mexicans, I will only be speaking of those born outside the United States and, similarly, when I speak of Mexican Americans I will be referring to those born in the United States. To gain a more thorough understanding of the Mexican origin community, it is essential that we present a brief history of Mexico and waves of migration to the United States, as this informs the conditions of modern Mexican heritage families. The reader will also be provided with a demographic overview of people of Mexican ancestry, including settlement patterns and salient sociopolitical indicators.

The main goal of this chapter, however, is to provide insights into the challenges faced and the strengths possessed by Mexican heritage families. Further, strategies for counseling Mexican heritage clients and families will be discussed. Through this

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chapter, I hope the reader gains a greater appreciation of Mexican history, culture, and the resilience of Mexican heritage individuals and families.

Mexican Historical Background

Though a full exploration of Mexican history is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, to understand the culture and experience of Mexican heritage people in the United States, it is crucial to examine four periods of Mexican history: Spanish conquest and colonization, Mexican independence, American colonization, and the Mexican revolution.

Spanish Conquest and Colonization

To appreciate the modern Mexican heritage community in the United States, we must return to the genesis of this community in the conquest of the *México*, more erroneously referred to as Aztecs, by the Spanish (Gonzalez, 2009). At the time of Spanish contact, the *México* capital of *Tenochtitlán* was believed to be one of the world's greatest cities: Centered in Lake *Texcoco*, *Tenochtitlán* had beautiful architecture, a complex system of roads, and over six million inhabitants (Gonzalez, 2009). Despite being outnumbered by the *México*, the Spanish victory was facilitated by plagues (diseases of European origin) that decimated the *México* population, superior weaponry, and other indigenous tribes who sought independence from *México* rule (Gonzalez, 2009; LaRosa & Mejía, 2007).

The Spanish conquest of the *México* empire changed world history, ushered an era of colonization of the Americas by Europeans, created the mixed-race people who would become Mexicans, and left racial and social tensions that can still be felt in people of Mexican heritage (Gonzalez, 2009; LaRosa & Mejía, 2007). The Spanish would claim racial purity as Europeans to rationalize their position atop the racial hierarchy they imposed throughout colonial Mexico. The reverence for racial purity was maintained by the *castas* (Hipolito-Delgado, Gallegos Payan, & Baca, 2014), a racial cast system with proportion of European blood determining position of superiority. The legacy of the *castas* can still be viewed in Mexican standards of beauty with fair skinned and light-haired people considered the ideal and people with more indigenous or African features being seen as less desirable. Another consequence of the colonization was the Spanish imposing their language and Catholic faith, which are both major aspects of Mexican culture (Gonzalez, 2009). Though some indigenous languages and spiritual practices survived, they are not as prominent as they once were. A final consequence is that, though the image of the noble *México* is still revered in Mexican culture, little consideration is given to the marginalization experienced by contemporary indigenous people of Mexico.

Mexican Independence

The Mexican war for independence was sparked by drought and famine that led to escalating tensions between the Spanish elite and peasant workers (LaRosa & Mejía, 2007). A major figure in the independence movement was a Catholic priest named Miguel Hidalgo who was disgusted by the treatment of the indigenous peoples of Mexico and issued the *Grito de Dolores* on September 16, 1810 (LaRosa & Mejía, 2007)—now marked as Mexican Independence Day. Through a bloody war and aided by revolution in Spain, by 1822 Mexico would gain its independence (LaRosa & Mejía, 2007). Understanding this period of history is also significant as it demonstrates the importance of Catholicism in Mexican history and begins a period of political turmoil that would lead to American colonization, the Mexican Revolution, and beginning of Mexican migration to the United States.

American Colonization

Mexicans are one of only two Latina/o/x groups who did not have to migrate to the United States, but rather had their territories invaded and colonized. However, Americans forget, conveniently, that the United States attacked Mexico and that Americans were invaders in Mexican territory (Gomez, 2007). Prior to 1848, the term Mexican American was devoid of meaning as only a negligible number of Mexicans lived in the United States (Gonzalez, 2009). It was the US colonization of northern Mexico that created Mexican Americans as an ethnic group (Gomez, 2007).

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the US colonization of the southwest, for our understanding of Mexican heritage populations, is the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—that ended the US–Mexican war. The treaty led to the cessation of half of Mexican territory (what is now California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, and Colorado) to the United States and provided the Mexicans living in the north with the barest guarantees related to citizenship and property rights—Mexican Americans became second class citizens (Gomez, 2007). By the 1900s, most people of Mexican descent had lost any land they possessed in the colonized territory, either through force or fraud (Caldera, Velez-Gomez, & Lindsey, 2014). Sadly, today many people of Mexican heritage are treated as foreigners on what once were their native lands. Additionally, the rhetoric that was used to rationalize the denial of rights to Mexicans continues to exist today and perpetuates claims of Mexicans as lazy, uneducated, drunks, and violent criminals.

The Mexican Revolution

Frustrations with the Mexican dictator Porfirio Diaz, and his preferential treatment of the Mexican elite, led to revolution in 1910. Many important Mexican cultural figures, such as Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa, played prominent roles in the

revolution. The Mexican revolution would ultimately conclude with the adoption of the modern Mexican constitution in 1917. This historical period is significant in our understanding of Mexican heritage families in the United States as many individuals and families migrated to the United States to avoid the violence and governmental chaos in Mexico (Henderson, 2011). I would also argue that this period is significant in that the figures of Zapata and Villa continue to inspire revolutionary attitudes and a struggle for equity and rights in many Mexican heritage individuals.

Mexican Migration to the United States

In discussing migration and settlement of people of Mexican ancestry in the United States, it is important to remind the reader that many Mexicans never migrated to the United States, but had their lands taken by the United States. The ancestors of many Mexican people have occupied the southwest for generations prior to it becoming part of the United States (Falicov, 2005). In fact, a good friend can trace his family roots in Arizona to prior to US occupation. Another challenge, in discussing Mexican migration to the United States is that Mexico is a large country and immigrants come from various Mexican states, some from large urban centers and other from more rural areas (Caldera et al., 2014). There are 31 states in the country of Mexico and each has its identity, set of industries, and history with immigration to the United States. As such, I will provide an overview of the topic, but will encourage the reader to do more research on Mexican migration in their particular community.

Most Mexican migration to the United States is influenced by financial hardship and political unrest in Mexico and perceived economic opportunity in the United States (Cervantes, Mejía, & Guerrero Mena, 2010; Falicov, 2005). Additionally, the complementary economies of Mexico and the United States have led to cyclical migration patterns: During periods of economic growth in the United States, Mexican workers are actively recruited, and these same workers are deported during periods of economic recession (Falicov, 2005; Henderson, 2011). What follows is a brief exploration of six periods of history that highlight the cyclical migration patterns between Mexico and the United States.

The First Wave (1880s–1920s)

During the first phase of migration, Mexican immigrants were primarily employed in railroad construction and agriculture—these workers were seasonal, typically coming to the United States for a specified period of time and then returning to Mexico (Caldera et al., 2014). Push factors for migration were the expansion of

Mexican railroads that led to a rise in commercial agriculture, a spike in land values, a rise in the price of corn, the loss of land by rural farmers, and increased unemployment (Henderson, 2011). The start of the Mexican revolution also served as a push factor for migration to the United States as migrants attempted to avoid the conflict.

There were also a number of pull factors attracting migrants to the states. The expansion of the railroad in the United States provided ample jobs for Mexicans (Henderson, 2011). Additionally, there was a high demand for agricultural workers and miners in the southwest (Henderson, 2011). During this period of time there were limited restrictions for Mexicans to enter the United States; in fact, the demand for Mexican agricultural workers was so high that recruitment programs, such as the *bracero* program, were introduced to ensure a steady stream of workers (Henderson, 2011). By 1900 there were approximately 100,000 Mexicans in the United States. (Caldera et al., 2014).

The 1920s and 1930s

Economic hardship and governmental corruption continued to provide a push factor for Mexican migration (Henderson, 2011). However, White nationalism, a product of World War I and the Great Recession, took hold in the United States and lead to efforts to stop immigration (Caldera et al., 2014; Henderson, 2011). Additionally, labor unions sought to stop Mexican immigration, claiming that immigrants took jobs from US workers and suppressed wages (Henderson, 2011)—a claim that will be repeated throughout US history. Municipalities in the United States undertook "repatriation" programs, in 1931 Los Angeles county began the process of rounding up and deporting people of Mexican ancestry—approximately half a million people, both citizens and foreign born, were ultimately deported (Henderson, 2011).

The Bracero Era (1940s–1950s)

The US involvement in World War II created a need for agricultural workers and a second *bracero* program was enacted (Caldera et al., 2014; Henderson, 2011). This new *bracero* program would extend until 1964 and led to the participation of over four million Mexicans (Henderson, 2011). Due to a lack of penalties for illegal entry into the United States, many Mexicans entered without documentation and became "*braceros*" upon acceptance of jobs (Henderson, 2011). After World War II, White nationalism again took hold and led to a mass deportation effort, called Operation Wetback, which specifically targeted people of Mexican ancestry (Caldera et al., 2014; Henderson, 2011).

1964–1986

Continuing the trend of immigration control efforts, the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) of 1965 set limits to the number of visas provided to Mexicans (Caldera et al., 2014; Henderson, 2011). Alas, INA did not account for the US demand for Mexican laborers; therefore, Mexicans continued immigrating to the country. By 1970, fewer than one million Mexicans lived in the United States (Gonzalez-Barrera, 2015). In a second attempt to curb immigration, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 provided increased funding for Border Patrol and the chance for immigrants to legalize their status (Caldera et al., 2014; Henderson, 2011). These two acts would signal the start of an era of increased border and immigration control efforts. It would also lead to the establishment of a larger Mexican American community as some Mexicans gained citizenship and increased border security dissuaded others from returning home.

The NAFTA Era (1990s–2000s)

Another economic recession in the United States in the early 1990s led to more nativism and the progressive militarization of the US border (Henderson, 2011). During this period of time, high tech detection devices were installed along the border, walls and fences were erected (yes, we already have a border wall), and there was a dramatic increase in the number of Border Patrol agents (Henderson, 2011). During this period, Immigration and Naturalization Services was dissolved and enforcement duties were assumed by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) who, through a series of militaristic raids, then and now, have become symbols of terror in immigrant communities.

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) among Canada, Mexico, and the United States was also signed into law and cast Mexico as a junior partner, with the primary role of providing cheap labor (Henderson, 2011), for the creation of Canadian and American goods. Despite the increased difficulty in crossing the border, Mexicans continued to migrate to the United States as NAFTA has led to an increase in poverty in Mexico (Henderson, 2011). By 2007, Mexican migration reached a peak with approximately 12.8 million Mexicans living in the United States (Gonzalez-Barrera, 2015).

Present (Late 2000s–2018)

In the late 2000s, the United States experienced another great recession and has been slow to recover. This slow recovery has led to less job opportunities for Mexicans in the United States (Gonzalez-Barrera, 2015). As such, for the period of

2009–2014, there has been a net decline in immigration with approximately 140,000 immigrants returning to Mexico from the United States (Gonzalez-Barrera, 2015).

What I have tried to highlight through this review is that Mexican laborers came to the United States because there were jobs available for them. Now that these jobs are not readily available, Mexicans are returning home. Though border security might deter some migrants, if the US economy demands cheap labor—Mexican workers will find a way to fill these positions. History demonstrates that no amount of legislative action can stem the flow of ambitious, hard workers (Henderson, 2011).

Modes of Entry

Despite the narrative that migrants from Mexico enter the United States illegally, about 45% of undocumented migrants arrived in the country though some legal means (Pew Hispanic Center, 2006). This group of migrants become undocumented if they remain past their visa date and/or if they are unable to obtain residential status (Pew Hispanic Center, 2006). Those who enter the United States without documentation do so under extremely risky circumstances—in 2017, approximately 294 people died crossing the US–Mexican border (United States Border Patrol, 2017). Reasons for death included traffic accidents, heat exposure, homicide, and drowning (Government Accountability Office, 2006). The journey often takes migrants to remote parts of the desert, on trips that can take multiple days of walking, women are at risk of sexual assault, and all are at risk of robbery or being abandoned by their guide.

Serial Migration: A Personal Accounting

Many Mexican heritage families come to the United States through serial migration: The process where select individuals leave for the United States in order to establish a new home, leaving the rest of the family behind to immigrate at a later date (Cervantes et al., 2010). My family's migration story highlights the process of serial migration. My maternal grandfather and his brother were guitar luthiers (they built and repaired guitars). The brothers began building instrument in Torreón and, later, in Cuidad Juarez, Mexico. Given the demand for their guitars in the United States, the older brother, Candelas, would ultimately open a guitar shop in Los Angeles. As is common in serial migration, Candelas would establish roots in the United States allowing for his family members to follow.

Due to the success of their business in the states, my grandfather Porfirio, joined his brother in Los Angeles. For 5 years my grandfather lived and worked in United States, while my grandmother stayed behind in Juarez with my mother and her siblings. Seeking to reunite with his family, impressed with the US educational system,

and being able to provide a better quality of life, my grandfather made the decision to move his family to Los Angeles. According to my mother, the family did not have advance notice of the move—this is also common in serial migration where the family must capitalize on an opportunity to reunite. Unlike modern migration stories, my grandfather was able to secure visas for the family one morning in El Paso and by the afternoon, he was in Juarez packing for the trip. Highlighting the process of serial migration, it would take three stages (great uncle, grandfather, and grandmother and mom) of migration for my family to make the move to the United States.

Settlement Patterns in the United States

The vast majority of people of Mexican ancestry (51%) live in the western United States (López, 2015). In fact, 35% of people of Mexican ancestry live in California alone (López, 2015). Also, in the west, Arizona and Colorado are the states with the third and fifth largest number of people of Mexican ancestry accounting for approximately 5% and 2% of the total population, respectively (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, & Albert, 2011). The south has seen a rising population of people of Mexican ancestry (particularly in Georgia and North Carolina), as the agricultural and the poultry industries attracts workers. It is worth noting that the majority of the Mexican population in the south (26%) is accounted for by Texas (Ennis et al., 2011). Approximately 10.9% of people of Mexican ancestry live in the mid-west, with Illinois being home to approximately 5% of all people of Mexican descent (Ennis et al., 2011). The remaining 2.9% of people of Mexican ancestry reside in the northeast (Ennis et al., 2011).

Demographics of Mexican Origin Communities in the United States

As of 2013, there were approximately 34.6 million people of Mexican ancestry residing in the United States (López, 2015). Approximately one-third (11.5 million people) of Mexican ancestry are non-US born, with 42% of Mexican immigrants having been in the United States for over 20 years and approximately 26% of Mexican immigrants possessing US citizenship (López, 2015). In terms of language proficiency, approximately 68% of people of Mexican ancestry report speaking English proficiently and 73% primarily speak Spanish at home (López, 2015). In terms of language dominance, 26% of people of Mexican heritage reported being English dominant, 34% were Spanish dominant, and 34% reported being bilingual (López, 2015). Again, the narrative that Mexicans are a new immigrant group is flatly wrong—the data indicate that Mexicans are an established

community that has largely adopted the English language and have integrated into the US society at large.

The median age of people of Mexican heritage is 26 (López, 2015). In terms of educational attainment, 10% of all people of Mexican ancestry have a college degree (López, 2015). However, there is a large disparity in degree attainment based on country of birth as 15% of Mexican Americans and only 6% of Mexicans possess college degrees (López, 2015). The median income for people of Mexican ancestry is $20,800 a year, with 26% of people of Mexican ancestry living in poverty, and 9.8% being unemployed (López, 2015). These educational and income statistics lag grossly behind the White ethnic group.

Identity Labels

Prior to entering a discussion about challenges and strengths faced by Mexican heritage families, an examination of identity labels is prudent. Identity labels influence how a person understands themselves, how others understand them, and how cultural groups relate to each other (Malott, 2009). In her study on Mexican heritage youth, Malott (2009) found that identity labels were significant for youth as they indicated cultural traits, values, and traditions. Youth stated that family was the primary motivation in their cultural identity as they choose labels that maintained a close connection to their family's cultural history.

There are multiple ethnic labels adopted by people of Mexican ancestry, including Chicana/o/x, Latina/o/x, Hispanic, Mexican American, and Mexican. A full exploration of these labels is beyond the scope of this chapter, for a further exploration the reader is referred to Hipolito-Delgado and Diaz (2013). One label that requires some attention is Chicana/o/x as it is almost exclusively adopted by people of Mexican ancestry. However, Chicana/o/x should not be conflated with Mexican American (Hipolito-Delgado & Diaz, 2013). To be Chicana/o/x is to reject Eurocentrism, to connect with one's indigenous heritage, and be committed to the pursuit of civil rights (Garcia, 1997). Chicanos are thought to be militant and political radicals with far-leftist values (Garcia, 1997). I proudly identify as Chicano as it speaks to my cultural heritage and inspires my advocacy for equity.

In a survey conducted by the U.S. Census, most adults of Mexican ancestry (57%) preferred the ethnic label of Mexican (López, 2015). When asked to choose between Hispanic and Latino, over half of Mexican adults expressed no preferences (López, 2015). In terms of racial background, people of Mexican heritage (the *mestizo* product of European, Indigenous, and African bloodlines) do not neatly fit into U.S. Census categories. This is evident in the results of the 2010 census where 52% of people of Mexican heritage reported being White, nearly 40% identified as some other race, and 1.4% identified as American Indian (Ennis et al., 2011).

The Post-migration Era

In the following sections, I will explore the challenges faced and the strengths that might be relied upon for Mexican heritage families living in the United States. I will begin by examining the challenges related to immigration, discrimination, internalized racism, access to mental health services, and the acculturation gap. This will be followed by a discussion of strengths including culture, familial support, and religion and spirituality.

Challenges

Immigration The actual process of coming to the United States can be full of dangers, especially for those who cross clandestinely. The optimism that brings Mexicans to the United States can quickly dissipate as the stress of navigating a new culture, the loss of familial resources, and worries for safety are experienced. The loss of extended family can result in significant stress for immigrant Mexican individuals and families (Yznaga, 2008) as traditional sources of support are lost. What is worse, resources that claim to serve immigrants might prey on undocumented communities, taking their money and not fulfilling promised services (Cervantes et al., 2010). With the rescinding of deferred action for childhood arrivals (DACA), in Denver we have seen an increase in fraud as unscrupulous lawyers and notaries take advantage of undocumented individuals rushing to file their extension paperwork.

As was introduced earlier, serial migration is the most common method of migration for Mexicans arriving in the United States. However, the recurrent separation and reunions of families associated with serial migration creates tension within Mexican families (Cervantes et al., 2010; Falicov, 2005). The family members who migrate might feel a sense of isolation from those left behind and must form new support networks in the United States—this action might be viewed as betrayal by those left behind (Cervantes et al., 2010). In the absence of the father, the mother becomes like a single parent, forcing the family to adapt and individual members take on new roles (Falicov, 2005). When the family reunites, they are then forced to adapt again, much like when a step parent is introduced into the family (Falicov, 2005).

Mexican immigrant families, particularly adults, also face numerous challenges related to learning English, gaining employment, and changing familial roles in the household. It is not uncommon for a female partner to find employment faster than her male counterpart, at times leading to conflict and changing gender roles (Cervantes & Mejia, 2009). Older children might also be expected to take employment in order to help the family survive economically. Another challenge is when families have mixed citizenship, with children born in the United States being legal citizens and other family members being undocumented and potentially subject to

deportation (Cervantes et al., 2010). Following, the election of the 45th president of the United States, a wave of deportations where carried out throughout the country, including in my home city of Denver. Local activists worked with families to develop deportation plans, that included resources on how to respond to ICE agents and plans for child care should parents be detained. Though Denver has not officially declared itself a sanctuary city, local government officials' decision to not fully comply with ICE mandates has made the city the target of various immigration raids in 2017.

Discrimination Any illusions of safety and prosperity in the United States are typically replaced with feelings of fear due to discrimination (Cervantes et al., 2010; Falicov, 2005). Racism and discrimination inflicts pain and loss of community for people of Mexican ancestry (Flores-Ortiz, 1999; Niemann, 2001). Discrimination and oppression can lead to cultural and familial isolation. Flores-Ortiz (1999) argued that self-blame and self-loathing are product of living through oppression and discrimination and can ultimately manifest in familial violence.

Mexican and Mexican American youth have described experiences of discrimination in school, health, and community settings (Malott, 2010). Discriminatory beliefs and stereotypes have historically portrayed people of Mexican ancestry as less capable and intelligent. Incidences of discrimination lead youth to feel less capable than their Anglo peers (Malott, 2010). Males, in particular, described incidents of harassment from police (Malott, 2010). As a young man, I recall facing many incidents of discrimination. In one instance, my family was traveling to Juarez, Mexico, on the El Paso, Texas border, to visit relatives. We stopped at a fast food restaurant in Texas and an older White man came up to me and stated that there were bounties for the apprehension of "illegals." Though my family are all US citizens, and at the time I did not fully understand this man's statement, I was scared. What is more, this incident has stuck with me, and I now find myself being particularly aware of circumstances when I find myself in the ethnic minority—demonstrating the lasting negative impact discrimination has on people of Mexican ancestry.

Internalized Racism Many of the stereotypes faced by people of Mexican ancestry today (being lazy, uneducated, criminal, and violent) are derivations of the negative stereotypes used to characterize Mexican as culturally inferior and to rationalize their marginalization. What is worse, people of Mexican ancestry have internalized these stereotypes that might ultimately hurt their self-efficacy across multiple domains and leads to distancing from cultural heritage (Hipolito-Delgado et al., 2014; Niemann, 2001). The internalization of racism is also likely to lead people of Mexican ancestry toward cultural assimilation—the denial of Mexican cultural heritage and full adoption of American cultural values. Though, this was thought to be the ideal, recent research (described below) highlights the importance of maintaining Mexican cultural values. People of Mexican ancestry who internalize racism feel that by cultural assimilation they can escape bias and discrimination. Unfortunately, many people of Mexican heritage are overdetermined by our physical

appearance—being unable to pass as Euro American. As such, if they face rejection from American communities they are left without cultural resources to rely upon for support.

Access to Mental Health Services Cultural barrier theory, a deficit-based approach, assumes that traditional Mexican cultural values conflict with values of counseling and, thus, keep Mexican Americans from seeking mental health services (Ramos-Sánchez, 2014; Ramos-Sánchez & Atkinson, 2009). In a study of Mexican Americans, Ramos-Sánchez and Atkinson (2009) found that that acculturation to US cultural values had no impact on mental health usage, and that greater association with Mexican cultural values was related to more help seeking. Given the correlation between maintenance of Mexican cultural values and help-seeking attitudes, Ramos-Sánchez (2014) encouraged mental health providers to move away from deficit frames of thinking.

Structural barriers, such lack of transportation, child care, Spanish-speaking counselors, mental health facilities near Mexican American communities, and culturally sensitive counselors result in Mexican heritage individuals and families' underutilization of mental health services. (Ramos-Sánchez, 2014; Yznaga, 2008). Further, Ramos-Sánchez (2014) noted that 31% of Mexican Americans lacked health insurance, which would require these individuals to pay out of pocket for mental health services—making accessing services financially unattainable. To address this challenge, mental health providers must take an advocacy role and creatively work to eliminate barriers to the usage of counseling services.

The Acculturation Gap In the context of US counseling and psychology, acculturation has come to represent the Americanization of ethnic minorities—that is the acceptance of dominant Euro-American cultural values (Hipolito-Delgado & Diaz, 2013). The acculturation gap describes a process by where children acculturate to US values at a more rapid rate than their parents (Hipolito-Delgado & Diaz, 2013); this is often due to children having more sustained contact with US cultural institutions. This process can lead to conflict in the family as parents feel that children are becoming too Americanized and are ashamed of Mexican cultural values.

Intergenerational tensions associated with the acculturation gap can be accelerated when parents, who can no longer rely on the watchful eyes of extended family and trusted community members, compensate with restriction on youth's social activities (Falicov, 2005). This can take the form of limiting involvement with afterschool activities and requiring youth to speak only Spanish at home. I have often heard parents tell their children that inside their home is Mexico, outside is the United States.

Youth might also experience tensions between the cultural norms expected at home and more Americanized expectations of school, peers, and work (Falicov, 2005). In some cases, because of quicker mastery of English, youth will become translators for their family; as such these youth enter the parent sphere. The blurring of boundaries can become problematic when youth are then expected to conform to roles and behaviors associated with the child sphere. For example, being forced to

obey and being submissive to teachers' directives at school can be confusing for youth who take on more adult roles at home.

Intergenerational conflict can also be heightened by gender expectations; this is especially true as Mexican heritage females who seek opportunities outside of the home but are also expected to maintain familial obligations (Castillo & Hill, 2004; Niemann, 2001). The deviation of Mexican heritage females from cultural norms can be seen as the ultimate sign of disrespect in traditional Mexican homes. I most frequently observe this gender tension with young women who are pursuing college. It has been helpful for me to ensure the family that, if they have instilled important values in their daughter, she will maintain them. Further, I remind the families that they came to the United States to seek greater opportunities for their children and going to college will open many opportunities for their daughters—parents need to be affirmed.

Strengths

Cultural Pride Several studies underscore how Mexican heritage youth described pride for their culture, as a source of strength and resilience (Malott, 2010). Similarly, Mexican heritage college students described taking strength in their cultural heritage (Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013). As such, counselors are encouraged to help Mexican heritage youth learn about their culture of origin. Further, counselors are encouraged to facilitate Mexican origin youth's participation in cultural traditions and celebrations (Malott, 2010). This might include participation in *ballet folklorico*, *mariachi*, or culturally specific clubs such as *El Moviement Estudiantil Chicana/o de Aztlan* (MEChA).

Interestingly, being Mexican was defined, by these youth, as the ability to overcome hardships, being strong, and being tenacious in overcoming challenges—this definition empowered them to deal with environmental stressors (Malott, 2010; Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013). Morgan Consoli and Llamas (2013) equated these statements with the notion of *aguantando* which best translates as enduring or persevering. This definition of Mexicans as resilient, inspired Mexican heritage youth to face their challenges with ambition and determination to overcome (Malott, 2010; Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013). Therefore, counselors are encouraged to explore collective strengths of being Mexican and use these discussions as a way to inspire individual strengths in people of Mexican heritage they have the opportunity counsel.

Further, Morgan Consoli, Llamas, and Consoli (2016) found that affiliation with traditional Mexican cultural values predicted thriving in Mexican origin college students, and that traditional Mexican cultural values contributed to psychological well-being and positive mental health outcomes. Perhaps the reason that connection to culture buffers mental health ailments is that connection to traditional cultural values leads to more stability in the family and access to community resources (Falicov, 2005).

Parental Support Familial connection and interdependence are integral parts of Mexican culture (Caldera et al., 2014). The importance of family can be closely linked to the traditional values of *familismo*, familial interdependence including extended family members (Caldera et al., 2014; Falicov, 2005), and *respeto*, the notion of providing respect and deference to people of significant social position and older generations (Caldera et al., 2014; Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013). It is important to recognize that in Mexican culture, family is often extended to include grandparents, aunts/uncles, cousins, and close family friends. The notions of *familismo* and *respeto* might lead to longer states of interdependence in Mexican heritage families than would be viewed in more Americanized families (Falicov, 2005).

In Mexican families a hierarchy is common, with parents being high and children—even adult children—being low (Caldera et al., 2014; Falicov, 2005). Within the child sphere, older siblings receive more respect than do younger siblings. Related to familial hierarchy, the notion of *machismo* carries a bad connotation in the United States. Though some men will abuse *machismo* to defend sexist behavior and rationalize abuse, *machismo* should involve a father's dedication to their family and responsibility to provide for the family's well-being (Falicov, 2005). I learned *machismo* from my *Tio*: most of his life he worked as a mechanic and I remember him coming home from work tired with his hands stained by oil. He cared deeply for his family, he had two daughters—one adopted—that he treated equally with love and protected fiercely. My *Tia* and *Primas* were well cared for and wanted for nothing, meanwhile he made due with minimal possessions. He served as mentor for me and my brothers, teaching us how to navigate manhood, marriage, and fatherhood. Yes, he was always served dinner first—what I see as a sign of respect for all he did for his family—but he never abused his position of respect.

For people of Mexican ancestry, family might be the first resource they seek for emotional support. Further, family provides identity, a sense of security, and social and financial support (Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013; Ramos-Sánchez, 2014). Mexican origin youth described being inspired to achieve academically by the sacrifices and hard work of their parents (Malott, 2010) and the notion that family should come before all else (Malott, 2009). Research has also supported the importance of family in Mexican heritage individuals. A negative relationship has been found between familial support and psychological distress, acculturative stress, and delinquent behavior (Castillo & Hill, 2004; Crockett et al., 2007; Shah & West-Olatunji, 2015). Additionally, a positive association was found between familial support and emotional well-being, resilience, and thriving (Morgan Consoli et al., 2016; Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013; Shah & West-Olatunji, 2015). Later in this chapter, I will discuss how to leverage familial support in working with Mexican heritage individuals and families.

Religion and Spirituality Traditionally, communities of faith, particularly the Catholic church, have held a position of importance in Mexican heritage communities (Falicov, 2005). Religion can also provide a sense of community and priest can be both spiritual leaders and emotional supports. Familial celebrations and

important life markers are often associated with religious events. In my family, the Catholic celebration of sacraments, like baptism, and holy holidays, such as All Saints Day, are all observed. Though I am not a strict Catholics, so much of Catholicism is intertwined with Mexican culture—as such, recognizing Catholic holidays seems more like a cultural celebration. A prime example of this is *Día de los Muertos*, a blend of indigenous and Catholic holidays and a celebration and remembrance of loved ones who have passed, has become an important holiday for me and my family.

It is suggested that religion and spirituality be viewed as a resource for support and problem solving with Mexican heritage individuals. Mexican heritage college students described turning to faith in difficult times (Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013) and connection with faith was associated with thriving (Morgan Consoli et al., 2016). If they are sensitive to sociopolitical circumstances, priests can also provide support to Mexican heritage families—especially as it relates to existential concerns. It is also worth noting that the use of *curanderos* is still widely accepted in many Mexican heritage communities. A *curandera/o* uses a mix of prayer, herbs, and talk therapy to help clients through physical, spiritual, and emotional ailments. Many Mexican heritage families might be more inclined to see a *curandera/o* than to rely on counselors or western medicine.

Success Stories: What Works

In this section, I will share strategies and considerations for successfully counseling Mexican heritage clients and families. An important first step to working with Mexican heritage clients and families is developing rapport. Falicov (2005) and Ramos-Sánchez (2014) called for counselors to be warm and personable in working with Mexican ancestry clients; a warm, friendly, and respectful environment capitalizes on the cultural value of *personalismo*. I am particularly put off by counselors who use a customer service approach to counseling, starting off a session by asking "what brings you in today." Though an expedited approach such as this might be appropriate with my cell phone company, I want a counselor to get to know me personally.

Additionally, counselors will need to work to gain access to Mexican heritage clients. By working in churches, community centers, and schools, counselors can build relationships with stakeholders, learn about issues faced in the community, and begin to develop rapport with community members (Shah & West-Olatunji, 2015). I encourage counselors to offer free workshops to Mexican heritage communities, a popular topic is often facilitating communication in the family. By reaching out and offering services to the community, you will begin to develop trust and will likely see an increase in clients arriving for services.

Genograms

Widely used in family therapy, genograms might be particularly useful in alleviating acculturative stress and promoting culturally appropriate therapy with Mexican heritage families (Yznaga, 2008). The use of the genogram allows for more specific cultural understanding of the individual client and family and provides space for the client to tell their story. Yznaga (2008) recommends asking clients to identify the strengths and positive characteristics of family members diagramed as this provides a way to metaphorically connect and adapt familial coping strategies. The genogram might also be a way to identify redundant family patterns and identify exceptions (Yznaga, 2008).

Parental Support

Given the importance of family, counselors are encouraged to incorporate family either as sources of support or as part of therapy when working with Mexicans and Mexican Americans (Castillo & Hill, 2004; Malott, 2009). Ramos-Sánchez (2014) goes further to assert that family should be at the forefront of treatment of Mexican origin clients. Including parents in counseling with youth allows space for open dialogue, it allows youth to gain parental support, it can normalize and validate feelings, and should ultimately encourage continued support outside of counseling (Shah & West-Olatunji, 2015). During challenging times, counselors should encourage family connectedness as a way of bolstering social and emotional support (Ramos-Sánchez, 2014).

Indirect or third person communication is common in Mexican origin families (Falicov, 2005). It is believed that this passive form of communication might be aligned with the cultural value of *simpatia*, or maintaining harmony (Falicov, 2005). Alas, this passive form of communication can be vague as to its intentions and can be misinterpreted. As such a counselor might need to serve the role of an intermediary, helping to clarify familial expectations and helping to translate cultural values between generations (Falicov, 2005). This tendency for *simpatia* and indirect communication can also impact how Mexican heritage families communicate with their counselor. Encourage Mexican origin families to express their reactions openly and to disagree with the counselor when necessary; inform families that this is not a sign of disrespect but will help the family in clarifying their values and needs (Falicov, 2005).

Another tool for fostering communication in Mexican origin families is through the usage of *dichos*—sayings or proverbs that are intended to provide important life lessons (Arredondo et al., 2006). Growing up my great grandmother and mom, used *dichos* as an indirect form of instruction to convey how they expected me to behave. A counselor might use *dichos* in counseling for various reasons: First, the use of dichos is culturally affirming. Secondly, encouraging Mexican heritage families to

share their favorite *dichos* allows the counselor to learn more about the family's values and beliefs (Arredondo et al., 2006). Finally, the discussion of *dichos* as a family can help clarify expectations and foster dialogue between generations.

Debunking Stereotypes

In order to avoid the internalization of racism, counselors can facilitate conversation with their Mexican heritage clients and families that lead to the realization that bias and stereotypes are rooted in flawed societal attitudes (Niemann, 2001) and the sociopolitical context that demonizes Mexican people. Counselors can help Mexican heritage clients' work though the dissonance of negative stereotypes (Niemann, 2001). The goal here is to help the client recognize that stereotypes and discrimination are not a reflection of the client, but rather the ignorance of the perpetrator. It is also helpful for clients to focus on the positive aspects of cultural identity and the resilience of people of Mexican ancestry in the face of a long history of oppression (Niemann, 2001). By focusing on the positives of culture, the counselor affirms the value of Mexican heritage and encourages the client to use this as a point of strength.

Malott (2010) not only encouraged debunking incidences of discrimination, but training clients on how to respond to discrimination. When one is faced with discrimination, there can often be shock and disbelief rendering one either incapable of formulating a response or leading to an angry outburst. By practicing responses to discrimination, Mexican heritage clients can be armed with tools to potentially defuse the situation and call the perpetrators actions into question.

Empowerment

Empowerment describes the ability to exert control over one's sociopolitical circumstances. Empowerment is particularly important for Mexican heritage clients and families given the years of oppression they have faced in the United States. Shah and West-Olatunji (2015) stated that empowerment could specifically help Mexican American youth deal with the stresses of discrimination. Although a full exploration of empowerment is beyond the scope of this chapter, the key aspects of consciousness-raising, positive identity development, and community action are briefly discussed.

Consciousness-Raising Healing from the injustices of oppression requires an active understanding of the realities of oppression and deconstruction of internalized "isms" (Flores-Ortiz, 1999). To this end, counselors can facilitate open dialogue about the experience of oppression and the negative psychological impacts it has on the family. Encourage youth and family to increase understanding the role society has played in the oppression of Mexican origin communities (Niemann, 2001)—how US policy has placed people of Mexican ancestry on the lower end of

sociopolitical structures. The goals of these dialogues are to highlight that the challenges faced by Mexican heritage families are rooted in larger systems of oppression, that the family is not to blame for their current sociopolitical circumstances, and to inspire the family to take action to improve their sociopolitical circumstances.

Positive Identity Do not assume a clients' ethnic label preference, discuss with clients their preferred ethnic identity label and the meaning associated with their preferred label (Malott, 2009). This discussion will illuminate aspects of your Mexican heritage clients' worldview and values and will allow you to identify potential strengths. Counselors work to empower clients by building on their cultural values, reconnecting them with their past, and in defining empowered identities (Cervantes & Mejia, 2009; Morgan Consoli et al., 2016). A positive identity grounded in the beauty of Mexican cultural heritage can protect against the negative effects of oppression. Further, positive cultural identity can inspire connection to family and community and, ultimately, a desire for sociopolitical change.

Community Action For empowerment to take hold, sociopolitical change must occur—this entails community organizing and action. Counselors can facilitate this process by encouraging Mexican heritage families to engage with local advocacy groups. For example, in Denver there is a group called *Padres y Jovenes Unidos* that does advocacy work related to education and immigrant rights. This will be an excellent place for Mexican heritage families to participate in community action. As families gain confidence, they might be willing to up their involvement in other community actions to help improve their and their community's sociopolitical reality.

Psychospirituality

As previously discussed, religion and spirituality can be a source of strength for Mexican heritage families, thus, counselors and therapists are encouraged to consider how this can be better incorporated in counseling. Cervantes (2010) advocated for a psychospiritual approach he calls Mestizo spirituality when working with Mexican origin individuals. This approach begins with the assumption that "traumas, emotional/physical insults, joys, and sufferings of life are part of one's spiritual journey toward wholeness" (Cervantes, 2010, p. 532). Key principles include awareness and respect for the sacredness of one's life journey, renewal of spiritual beliefs and traditions, forgiveness for past wrong doings, reconnection to a larger cosmic reality, learning to speak from one's heart, and service to others. According to Cervantes, specific technique is much less important than the healing presence of the therapist who facilitates dialogue: first, about the client's life goals and existential dilemmas; then about the client's presenting issue in the context of their life; third, about forgiveness and recommitment to social and community networks; fourth, a movement toward increase self-awareness and being true to one's self; and finally, a commitment to a larger cosmic reality and being of service to others in

order to promote positivity. I was particularly drawn to this approach as not only did it include culture and spirituality but was consistent with goals of empowerment.

Closing Thoughts

Since the presidential campaign of 2016, people of Mexican ancestry have faced a new wave of discrimination, public ridicule, and oppression. In the past, communities of color have reacted to marginalization by attempting to assimilate to Euro-American cultural values in an attempt to hide their difference—such a strategy has never been a good choice, and furthermore, it would be imprudent for Mexican heritage families. What should be clear from this chapter is that for people of Mexican ancestry, our cultural heritage and family are sources of strength; we do not have to compromise ourselves. As mental health professionals, it is incumbent upon us to promote healthy family connections and an appreciation of cultural heritage to promote the mental well-being of Mexican origin families.

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“No me vendo ni me rindo”: Nicaraguans Surviving U.S. Interference, Redefining Cultural Identities, and Overcoming Injustice Through Active Resistance

Taymy J. Caso

Overview of Nicaraguans

According to Suárez-Orozco and Yoshikawa (2015), “long backlogs, a byzantine bureaucracy, and increasing rates of denials of legal status are cementing growing numbers of immigrants as transnationally separated mixed-status families” (p. 98). Research on Latinx immigration often focuses on Mexico, Central American countries like El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, as well as Caribbean countries such as Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic which contribute more significantly to the number of immigrants in the United States (Flores, 2017). Thus, Nicaragua is often overlooked in the research. Despite being the largest land-mass country in Central America, Nicaraguans only constitute about 0.7% of the immigrant population to the United States equaling about 422,000 people (Flores, 2017). According to data released by the Pew Research Center, of those 422,000 people, about 58% were born in Nicaragua, 63% are English-speaking, and 74% are citizens of the United States (Flores, 2017). However, only 30% graduated from high school, 19% had earned a 4-year degree or higher, 14% were living in poverty and of those who were naturalized, 18% were uninsured (Flores, 2017).

Currently, there are approximately 75,000 undocumented Nicaraguan immigrants living in the United States, of which less than 3,000 have Temporary Protected Status, meaning that they are susceptible to deportation (Cohn & Passel, 2017). These statistics and academic outcomes are devastating and continue to reflect the challenges many immigrants face when arriving in the United States; the acculturation struggles are significant. Integrating into mainstream culture is an ongoing challenge (Birman & Addae, 2015). Suárez-Orozco and Yoshikawa (2015), suggest “the

Title translation: “No me vendo ni me rindo”—“I do not sell-out, nor do I surrender.”

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poor working conditions of the undocumented contribute substantially to the lower cognitive skills of children whether these children are citizens or not," and may account for the low rate of immigrants earning university degrees and pursuing higher education (p. 101). Although Nicaraguan immigrants prioritize education, they are often not equipped with the social capital and economic resources to pursue it.

Demographics

According to data reported by CIA World Factbook (2018), Nicaragua's population totals approximately 6,025,951 people comprised of four major ethnic groups: "Mestizo (mixed Amerindian and White) 69%; White 17%; Black 9%; and Amerindian 5%" (Nicaragua, 2018). Spanish is the official language of Nicaragua although English is spoken on the Caribbean coast, and indigenous communities speak Miskito and other mestizo dialects (Nicaragua, 2018). According to census data, over half of the Nicaraguan population identifies as Roman Catholic, about a third identify as Evangelical, and the rest do not specify a religious affiliation (Nicaragua, 2018). Overall, Nicaragua has an 82.8% literacy rate for the entire population, meaning that individuals over 15 are literate (Nicaragua, 2018).

Historical Background

The history of Nicaragua has been heavily influenced by centuries of colonization, corruption, battles to gain independence only to lose it to more powerful forces, and decades of US political involvement (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011). Historical accounts indicate the Spanish initially colonized the land and its peoples in 1524 (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011). From 1633 until the mid-1800s, British forces invaded and settled on Nicaragua's Miskito coast, or East coast, established the colony of Bluefields and ruled its people, traded African slaves and forcibly resettled them to work on plantations picking cotton and farming, and plundered the land's resources (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011). After years of rebellion, Nicaragua managed to gain its independence from Spain in 1821; however, the victory was short-lived as it was immediately absorbed into what was then known as the Mexican empire (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011). After 2 long years of civil unrest, Nicaragua gained its independence from Mexico in 1823, but was then incorporated into the United Provinces of Central America, which comprised several other countries in the region, including Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011). Simultaneously, the United States strategically adopted the Monroe Doctrine as a counter measure opposing continued European colonization of South and Central America, which resulted in the US occupation of Nicaragua for the next 20 years (Dix, 2011; Encyclopædia Britannica, 2017).

Although Nicaragua regained its independence once again in 1838, the British continued to hold dominion over Bluefields in the Miskito coast, which they reluctantly agreed to surrender after signing the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with the United States in 1850 (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011). Doing so was a necessary step in what the British believed would result in the development of the Nicaragua Canal connecting the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, which would have been an incredibly lucrative strategic move. However, several complications including US sponsored attempts to gain political control over Nicaragua delayed plans for the development of the Nicaragua Canal, further frustrating their efforts in the region (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011). For instance, in 1856, a "U.S. adventurer, William Walker, invades Nicaragua, declare himself president, and legalizes slavery" (Dix, 2011, p. 209). These egregious acts caused civil unrest among the people and led to the ouster of Walker (Dix, 2011). The aftermath shed light on the weaknesses of the Liberal Party, portraying them as incapable of defending the people's interests and protecting the country from hostile foreign forces, and paved the way for the Conservative Party to gain political control over Nicaragua for more than 35 years (Kerevel, 2006). Despite their renewed efforts to centralize and mobilize Nicaraguan political resources, the US and British forces continued to pursue their own political and economic interests in the region. Over time, the plan to develop the Nicaragua Canal became increasingly untenable and new efforts were shifted toward the development of the Panama Canal (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011).

As a result, the British occupation of Bluefields and the Miskito coast persisted decades later until the late 1890s. Amidst chaos in the region, General José Santos Zelaya, member of the Liberal party, rose to power and became the president of Nicaragua in 1893 (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011). The following summer, the British government, with US support, initiated the process of ceding Bluefields to the Nicaraguan government. Not surprisingly, "the creole oligarchy and American congressmen who ran Bluefields objected" (p. 539) to losing their autonomy as a colony and a rebellion ensued, resulting in thousands of deaths in the region (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011). With the assistance of British and US military forces, General Zelaya was able to end the revolt, take back the Miskito coast, and restore order (Kerevel, 2006). According to Laurence and Cuesta (2011), "some 200 years [after being sacked by the British], 'the Mosquito Shore' [Miskito Coast] ceased to exist as a separate political entity when a formal convention was signed on 20 November 1894" (p. 538). The Nicaraguan government would continue to contest claims made on its borders for the next 80 years. It is believed that the Miskito Coast was one of the most disputed borders of Nicaragua (Dix, 2011); today, it remains a part of Nicaragua. Figure 1 below illustrates the political divisions of Nicaragua during this period.

Despite regaining control over Bluefields, the Nicaraguan government struggled to incorporate the region and reunite a divided people due to cultural differences. Nicaragua became home to culturally diverse communities of enslaved people originating from several countries, including Nigeria, Panama, Jamaica, and several islands in the Caribbean (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011). Their descendants, known as Afro-Nicaraguans, live primarily in the East Coast and constitute three major ethnic

Fig. 1 Historical map of Nicaragua from early 1900s. Source: (van Gelder, n.d.). http://www.stampworldhistory.com/country-profiles-2/americas/nicaragua/

groups: Creoles or people of mostly Jamaican heritage, the Garifuna or people of Caribbean and Amerindian heritage originating from the Antilles, and Zambos or indigenous people of mixed African, Mayangna (otherwise known as Sumo, however the term Sumo is considered a racial slur), Rama, and Miskito ethnic groups (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011). Laurence and Cuesta (2011) argue:

> Culturally, however, Bluefields remains an English-speaking Protestant creole enclave physically isolated from Nicaragua, and culturally separated by its language, religion, 'race', and historical experience. The Miskito Indians emerged out of the contact and miscegenation which occurred when Amerindians of the Mosquitia region of Honduras and Nicaragua, largely Sumu Indians, encountered British buccaneers and traders and their African Slaves…Before the end of the seventeenth century the mixture of Africans with Amerindians produced a new ethnic group, the Miskito, who were called *Zambos* by the Spanish, meaning half-African and half-Amerindian. (pp. 538–539)

In addition to these differences, the Miskito indigenous group had its own political history which was at the very core of their survival. For 200 years, the Miskito had been encouraged by the British government to maintain order in the region which motivated them to attack neighboring communities of Amerindians and, at times, even "enslave their captives and sell them out to the British" (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011, p. 539). They established their own monarchy, made trade deals in English, and defended themselves against the Spanish (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011). Reintegrating into Nicaraguan rule was devastatingly difficult, and this sentiment persisted through the 1980s when the Miskito Indians opposed the Sandinista revolution (Laurence & Cuesta, 2011).

US Dominion and the Nicaraguan Canal

In the early 1900s, foreign forces continued to dispute over Nicaraguan canal rights. In 1909, the US government and military interfered in Nicaraguan political affairs and helped depose President Jose Santos Zelaya (Kerevel, 2006). Kerevel (2006) argues the United States' continued intrusion, which lasted until 1933, led to:

> …the fall of two consecutive Liberal presidents [José Santos Zelaya and José Madriz], the return of the Conservative Party to power, the establishment of a U.S. protectorate over the country, the stationing of Marines in Nicaragua for over two decades, and political instability culminating in the war led by Augusto César Sandino from 1927 to 1933 (p. 5).

Sandino was then, and continues to be, idolized as a national hero by famers and the working poor for using superior military strategy to combat US interference in Nicaragua (Kinzer, 2007; Sandinista revolution, 2018).

Somoza Dictatorship for 44 Years

Four short years later, Anastasio Somoza García, member of the Military Nationality Liberal Party, was elected president and began a 44-year legacy of the Somoza dictatorship (British Broadcasting Company [BBC], 2017; Kinzer, 2007). The corrupt practices of the three Somozas motivated Carlos Fonseca to establish the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN; Kinzer, 2007). Although not entirely concurrent, the Somoza rule began in 1937 and ended in 1979. Anastasio Somoza García, served two non-consecutive terms from 1937 to 1947 and from 1950 to 1956, when he was assassinated. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Luis Anastasio Somoza Debayle, who ruled until 1963. Their reign ended with Anastasio Somoza Debayle, Anastasio Somoza García's second son, who ruled from 1967 to 1972 and 1974 to 1979. With US economic, social, and political resources, along with marriage alliances supported by the United States, their rule bankrupted the Nicaraguan people for almost four decades (Holloway, 2011).

The third Somoza, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, nicknamed "Tachito," "was the most brutal and corrupt of the three Somozas who tyrannized Nicaragua for nearly half a century" (Kinzer, 2007, p. 194). He was known for saying "I don't want an educated population; I want oxen" (Holloway, 2011, p. 408). The Somoza dictatorship resulted in censorship of the press and deaths of many dissenting voices throughout the country, including Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, a journalist for a major conservative newspaper based in Managua titled *La Prensa*, in 1978 (Kinzer, 2007). Chamorro's murder incited a massive nation-wide uprising and the revival of the Sandinista revolution (Kinzer, 2007). To this day, Nicaraguans remember the celebrations after the 1979 victory of the Somocistas in La Plaza de la Revolución (Central Square) in Managua.

In 1980, Tachito was assassinated by a group of Sandinistas while living in exile in Asunción, Paraguay and the FSLN took control over the government. The U.S. Reagan administration deemed this as a major threat to US political interests of forcibly implementing democracy in the region (Feldmann & Perala, 2004; Kinzer, 2007). As a result, the United States began financially sponsoring *Contras*, right-wing conservative rebel soldiers, to overthrow the FLSN and eliminate communism in Nicaragua and throughout Central America (Kinzer, 2007). The Contras' primary warfare strategy was terrorist attacks leading to thousands of deaths throughout Central America (Feldmann & Perala, 2004; Kinzer, 2007). By January 1985, just 4 years later, Daniel Ortega, affiliated with the FSLN, was elected president and spent the next 5 years reconsolidating branches of government to increase his power and control over Nicaragua (Kinzer, 2007). After the death of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, his widow, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, became the publisher of *La Prensa* and used her platform to denounce the corruption of the Somozas and Oretga (Arguello, Parker, Nietschmann, Orozco & Walker, 2016). During this time, Violeta Chamorro gained popularity and political influence for her outspoken disapproval of the Contra war and demands for peace in Nicaragua (Arguello et al., 2016). In 1990, Chamorro defeated Ortega for the presidency nad served until 1997. Chamorro's peace negotiations, stance on disarmament, and strategic downsizing of the military by more than 80% were instrumental in bringing the Contra war to an end (Nicaragua – The Sandinista government, Encyclopædia Britannica, 2017). During her presidency, she forged alliances between opposing political parties and drafted the Unión Nacional Opositor (UNO) [National Opposition Union] alliance, securing the "resignation of General Humberto Ortega, brother of Daniel Ortega and chief of the army during the Sandinista regime" (Nicaragua – The Sandinista government, Encyclopædia Britannica, 2017). She is known for ending the Contra War and bringing peace to the country.

In 1998, Ortega was re-elected president, and it is said, laid the path for some of Nicaragua's most corrupt presidents, including José Arnoldo Alemán Lacayo (often referred to as Arnoldo Alemán) and member of the Constitutionalist Liberal Party, whose abuses of power resulted in his indictment for embezzlement and corruption in 2003 and sentencing of 20 years (BBC News, 2017). Although initially a major victory for Nicaragua, Alemán's sentence was commuted to house arrest and then by 2009 he was released (BBC News, 2017).

Nicaragua Today

The conviction of corrupt government leaders since the mid-2000s has changed the relationship between the government and the people. Current leaders have had to compromise by moderately improving the lives of its citizens through the promotion of social justice reform to reduce overcrowding in prisons, implementation of new transit systems, and with promises to initiate a $50 billion construction project to build a canal connecting the Pacific and Atlantic oceans (BBC News, 2017). Although controversial, Ortega's presidency has led to modest job growth and economic mobility for Nicaragua's poorest cities (Instituto Nacional de Información de Desarollo (INIDE), 2017a, 2017b).

Nicaraguans remember the terror the Somozas inflicted upon their land and are still heavily influenced by the Sandinista revolution and ideology. They have not forgotten that "Ortega came to power as part of the Sandinista rebels who overthrew the Somoza dynasty in 1979. He fought against the US-backed contras during the 1980s and has remained a key ally to Venezuela" (Chaves, Lugo, & Plaza, 2018). Unfortunately, this Sandinista sentiment has led to blind resignation and acceptance of Ortega's policies and apologies for a long tenure of corruption, akin to that of the Somozas (Chaves et al., 2018). Ortega was re-elected as president in 2006, 2011, and 2016 although "Nicaragua's constitution bars presidents from being re-elected and also bars candidates who are relatives of the sitting president from running" (Chaves et al., 2018). Prior to his last re-election, Ortega successfully pressured legislators to change the constitution eliminating term limits and giving the president absolute power:

> According to an article in Al Jazeera (2014), "Ortega's ruling Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) controls all four branches of government: the executive, judiciary, electoral authority and national assembly and has a majority of seats in the assembly, making final voting on the reform largely a formality." (Chaves et al., 2018; Al Jazeera, 2014)

A country in uproar. President Ortega's disregard for the Nicaraguan constitution, citizen's rights, and abuses of power, have contributed to months of civil unrest and "the largest street protests the country has seen since the civil war ended in 1990" (Feingold, 2018). Ortega proposed new social security reform by overtaxing citizens and reducing benefits and pensions for retired workers, after decades of misappropriating government funds and committing numerous acts of fraud (Chaves et al., 2018; Diao, 2018). Students, educators, journalists, and activists began peacefully protesting Ortega's proposed policies and were met with government sanctioned excessive use of force (Chaves et al., 2018; Feingold, 2018). Ortega issued several speeches to the Nicaraguan people condemning and threatening college students, graduates, educators, and reformists who oppose his and his wife, Vice President and First Lady, Rosario Murillo's rule (Feingold, 2018). On April 22nd, 2018, after continued organized protests throughout Nicaragua and increased death toll, Ortega repealed social security reform, but the country remains in turmoil (Feingold, 2018).

According to interviews documented in a CNN article published by Chaves et al. (2018), "Human Rights Watch received credible accounts that suggest that police officers used excessive force to shut down demonstrations in several places across the country and that pro-government groups attacked peaceful protesters." The United Nations Human Rights Office has issued a statement requiring Daniel Ortega to allow peaceful protestors their right to free speech and assembly although violence against protestors continue (Chaves et al., 2018). Municipal buildings, including the Office of Attorney General and Tax Administration offices, in several cities have been burned down under suspicious circumstances (100% Noticias, 2018B). According to an article published by 100% Noticias (2018B) titled "Turbas del Gobierno Queman Fiscalía y Procuraduría de Masaya" [Government Crowds Burn Down the Office of the Attorney General and Taxation Office of Masaya], locals living in the neighborghood watched as government officials moved boxes filled documents and records into their vehicles days before both buildings were torched (100% Noticias, 2018B). The Ortega administration continue taking part in numerous incidents of destruction of property and theft in order to deprive Nicaraguan citizens of necessary resources to mount a full rebellion.

Additionally, the government has closed several universities to discourage protests. In response to government interference preventing peaceful protest and assembly, several university students have worked together to take back major national universities and have released a statement demanding immediate sanctions against corrupt police and agencies actively suppressing protestors, an end to media censorship and their coverage of the civil unrest taking place, and adherence to Ley de la Autonomía de Instituciones de Educación Superior [Law on the Autonomy of Institutions of Higher Education], which defines institutions of education as sovereign entities and prohibits unlawful occupation by police and other (100% Noticias, 2018A). With limited opportunities to leave their country and escape persecution, civilians continue to actively resist police brutality, challenge media censorship, advocate for their legal rights, and fight for a *Nicaragua Libre* where their families can be safe.

Socioeconomic Hardships Contributing to Immigration to the United States

Nicaragua remains the poorest country in Central American and its citizens face many challenges in order to survive and make ends meet (Gomez, 2013; INIDE, 2017a, 2017b). Historically, Nicaraguans have faced a stifled economy with limited opportunities for job growth, deregulation, and enforcement of employee rights and protections, limited opportunities for middle-aged and older adults to enter the workforce, gender inequality in the hiring and selection process, and a significant gender pay gap (Gomez, 2013). Additionally, like in other Central American countries, parents are responsible for paying school matriculation fees, uniforms, and other education-related costs for public and private schooling, further burdening

low income families (Gomez, 2013). According to reports produced by the Banco Central de Nicaragua (Central Bank of Nicaragua) based on Census data from 2011 and 2013, urban areas had an incidence of poverty rate of 26.3%, whereas rural areas had a rate of 63.3% (Gomez, 2013).

According to the INIDE, extreme poverty and general poverty were defined by monthly income of $334.79 and $568.65, respectively (Gomez, 2013; INIDE, 2008). An assessment of economic well-being of three of the most impoverished neighborhoods in Managua, Nicaragua's capital, revealed that each had from 44.3 to 58.2% of habitants living in extreme poverty and from 18.2 to 26.2% living in general poverty (Gomez, 2013). Families living in extreme poverty do not earn enough money to purchase meat and eggs and instead rely on more affordable sources of protein like cheese, rice, and beans (Gomez, 2013). These families cannot afford to eat 3 meals per day, access to private health care, send their children to school, or purchase books and electronics to facilitate their children's education (Gomez, 2013). Furthermore, their living conditions are also impacted by their lack of resources, resulting in homes that have poor infrastructure with limited enclosed spaces (doors, gates, etc.), dirt floors, higher susceptibility to theft and robbery, and that are made from unsuitable materials (Gomez, 2013).

Despite these economic challenges, the last 10 years have brought about improvements in overcrowded homes evidenced by a decrease from 30.2% at the national level in 2009 to 17.9% in 2016 (INIDE, 2017a, 2017b). According to data reported by INIDE (2017a, 2017b), there have been significant improvements to accessing clean water and hygienic services; however, there are significant disparities between urban and rural settings. Although national statistics indicate approximately 19.2% of people still do not have access to these resources in urban areas, it is only 6.7%, and in rural areas 38.6% of people are living without sufficient access to clean water (INIDE, 2017a, 2017b). In rural communities, about 15.1% of children between the ages of 7 and 14 do not attend school, compared to only 4.7% in urban areas (INIDE, 2008, 2017a, 2017b).

Thus, families are still incredibly burdened by their circumstances and are often forced to relocate to other countries to find employment and earn a living wage (Castro, 2014; Dyer, 2014; Ramírez, n.d.). In the past, all of the aforementioned factors have served as primary motivators for Nicaraguans to migrate to other countries in search of a better life (Dyer, 2014). In the late 1990s and early 2000s, legislative acts like the 1997 Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act or NACARA helped "some 180,000 Nicaraguan migrants to legalize their status in the U.S…. legally emigrate to the U.S. and bring their families" (Dyer, 2014, *para* 21 and 22). However, even with amnesty laws, less Nicaraguans migrate to the United States than other Central Americans (Castro, 2014; Dyer, 2014). Unlike neighboring countries in Central America, Nicaragua's migration patterns are not unilaterally linked with the United States (Castro, 2014; Dyer, 2014). Violent crime, gang violence, and poverty in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras make these countries unlikely destinations for Nicaraguan migration (Castro, 2014; Dyer, 2014). For Nicaraguans, traveling south to Costa Rica and Panama are safer pathways to more promising economic opportunities (Dyer, 2014; Replogle, 2014). These countries have experienced considerable economic growth and employment from international tourism and have a simplified visa process in comparison to the United States.

The Migration Journey and Settlement Patterns in the United States

As the US government continues to restrict immigration and end protected status for Nicaraguans, they will be faced with additional obstacles to chasing their version of "El Sueño Americano." Traveling to the United States may still be an enticing option for Nicaraguans with immediate or extended families residing there. For those choosing to immigrate to the United States, the journey is complicated. Suárez-Orozco and Yoshikawa (2015) argue the "majority [of Latinx immigrants] arrive through the borders 'uninspected,' though a substantial number are visa overstayers" (p. 97). Depending on how much money they have saved for the trip, many Nicaraguans either fly to the most northern part of Mexico or take a 17-h bus ride into Guatemala, cross the border into Mexico, and then look for coyotes to secure safe entry into the United States either through the southwestern part of California, the southern part of New Mexico or Arizona, or the southeastern part of Texas. Like other Central American immigrants, those who travel to the United States through these methods often experience trauma from physical exhaustion, dehydration, assaults, life-threatening travel conditions, and starvation from the journey (Martínez et al., 2017). Others die trying to cross the border (Cornelius, 2001; Martínez et al., 2017).

Individuals of higher socioeconomic status, greater access to resources, and significant ties to Nicaragua (i.e., stable full-time employment, property), are more likely to be able to enter the United States legally through a temporary visitor's visa or by marrying a US citizen. In these cases, people make considerable efforts to earn a college education and learn English, to facilitate the process of making several trips to the US alone in order to demonstrate to U.S. Immigration and Customs that they are not likely to overstay their visas. Afterwards, they request visas for their spouses, children, and other members of their immediate family and complete multiple trips. Eventually, after several years of renewed extended visas, families begin to liquidate their assets and move to the United States by overstaying their visas. Although this process is extensive and cost-prohibitive, some families are able to immigrate to the United States through this method. Unfortunately, in many cases, they experience a decrease in social status upon staying in the United States as they lose their social capital of employment, legal or citizenship status, economic hardship, and of course, discrimination.

In the United States, Nicaraguan immigrants are known to settle in Florida, California, and Houston, Texas. Outside of Miami, there is a community known as Little Managua, signaling a way to form community away from the homeland. In the years ahead, it will be important to learn how this collective settlement has benefited the well-being of Nicaraguan immigrants and their families, and children born in this country.

Personal Narrative

My father named me Taymy, pronounced Tie-me. I am the youngest of four children and the only one to have been born in the United States. I have Afro-Nicaraguan and Cuban heritage on my mother's and father's sides, respectively. My mother's parents and extended family have a long history of military involvement in Nicaragua and were persecuted in the 1970s and 1980s during the transition from the Somoza dictatorship to the Sandinista regime. Turmoil between local and national governments tore our family apart and resulted in her childhood home being burned down and the loss of many of their belongings. To escape financial hardship, my mother began working as an adolescent, got married very young, and gave birth to my three older siblings by the time she was 19. In 1988, after a failed marriage, the death of my grandmother, and several years of struggling to make ends meet, she believed she had no choice but to immigrate to the United States by herself and bring her children once she had a stable source of income. She dreamed of creating a better future for her children, one where they could pursue an education and have opportunities she did not. Shortly after, she remarried. A year later, in 1989, my mother paid for a coyote to bring my sister and uncle to the United States and in 1990, I was born. Ten years later (2000), my mother was able to bring my middle siblings, both older brother and sister, to the United States through the NACARA, the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act.

Although my siblings and I do not share the same father, my mother tried to raise us as if we did. She would tell us "*hijos de la misma madre son hermanos de sangre*" (children who are born to the same mother are blood-siblings), but growing up apart made it very difficult for us to treat each other as such. My eldest sister was 7 years old and my other siblings were 14 and 13 years old when they came to the United States. Our narrative is very similar to that of many Central American families. Social, political, and economic circumstances divided us from the start, so much so that we lost years together and were never able to grow back into a cohesive family unit. As the only child fortunate enough to be born in United States, I have often grappled with that privilege and felt without a home, never fully identifying as American and often experiencing racism and stigma due to my Nicaraguan and Cuban heritage and Latinx identity. The disjointed nature of my family structure and the irony of my name have remained with me. I grew up wanting to be connected to my siblings, my family, my home, and my country, whichever that might be.

For this among other reasons, the memory of the journey through Mexico is one that my family holds very closely. My uncle, oldest sister, and several other members of my family immigrated to the United States on this path and sacrificed it all for a better life. My uncle and sister flew to Mexico from Managua, Nicaragua, were taken in a large cargo truck to a drop off point, and then traveled by foot from Northern Mexico through the Rio Grande and into Texas. My sister, now an adult, still has haunting memories of her journey. She remembers traveling with a group of undocumented children and adults and being severely dehydrated after walking for several days without being able to eat or drink. She remembers a hunger she had

never felt before and the feeling sore all over her skin from being bitten and covered with insects. She remembers wanting to give up and begging our uncle to leave her behind in the desert because she could not withstand the aches in her legs and feet from walking. She recalls arriving at a stranger's house somewhere in Texas and being picked up our mother. My sister has only shared her story with me once. I think enduring such a terrifying experience as a child is crippling for many and it is something our society rarely discusses openly. These suppressed memories are a mental burden for many later on in life. To this day, my uncle struggles to share his experience carrying my dehydrated and malnourished sister in his arms across the Rio Grande. It is well-known that many have died trying to make across the border (Black & Millman, 2017; Fernandez, 2017).

Mental Health of Nicaraguans

Although the extant research literature on mental health outcomes of Nicaraguans pre- and post-migration to the United States is limited, data on Latino mental health suggests exposure to political violence, immigration trauma, undocumented status, low income, level of education, length of time living in the United States, and acculturative stress contributes to adverse mental health outcomes (Finch & Vega, 2003; Sanchez, Dillon, Ruffin, & De La Rosa, 2012). Research conducted by Sanchez et al. (2012) indicates that experiencing several risk factors leads to higher levels of acculturative stress among Latino immigrants. According to Fortuna, Porche, and Alegría (2008), epidemiological data collected from the National Latino and Asian American Study (NLAAS) shows immigrants from Nicaragua, Cuba, El Salvador, Mexico, and Columbia have the highest rates of exposure to political violence, "civil war, poverty, and government repression" (p. 8). Fortuna et al. (2008) argue that the Nicaraguan "Civil war directly affected 15% of the population; resulting in internal displacement of 350,000 and an external exodus of 250,000 refugees" (p. 20).

Given the limitations in the research literature on Nicaraguan mental health, psychological protective factors remain largely unexamined. For Latino immigrants broadly, Sanchez et al. (2012) explain that higher levels of education and socioeconomic status often serve as protective factors against acculturative stress. Previous research has attributed religiosity or religious coping to better mental health outcomes; however recent studies have challenged those findings (Sanchez et al., 2012). According to a study conducted in 2012, Latino immigrants "who used higher levels of pre-immigration external religious coping reported higher levels of post-immigration acculturative stress" (p. 10). Although longitudinal research examining the relationship between self-reported acculturative stress and mental health outcomes has not been conducted, the Sanchez et al. (2012) explain:

> It may be that a dramatic loss of these valuable resources, soon after immigration, could make recent immigrants more vulnerable to experiencing acculturative stress. Hence, those immigrants who have used the church or religious leaders as a means of coping in the past may find themselves at a loss when those resources are no longer readily available to them in their host country (p. 9).

Therefore, it is important to consider the role religious faith plays in migration patterns for Nicaraguans. Connecting to religious communities, churches, and other faith-based resources increase social support and promote resilience among immigrant communities (Garcia, 2005).

Despite the decades of civil unrest in Nicaragua, it is the home of many well-known literary and legal minds, liberation theologists, civil rights activists, athletes, and artists. Chief among them are poet Félix Rubén Garcia Sarmiento (better known as Rubén Darío) founder of modernismo,novelist and poet, Gioconda Belli, journalist, Claribel Alegría, religious scholar, Ernesto Cardenal, politician and lawyer, Nora Astorga, civil rights activist, Bianca Jagger, professional boxer, Ricardo Mayorga, and singer, Luis Enrique Mejia López (better known as Luis Enrique). These figures, among others, are evidence of Nicaraguan resilience and grit.

The Post-migration Era

Recent studies indicate a generational shift in cultural attitudes and departure from traditional acculturative styles (Birman & Addae, 2015). According to survey data collected by the Pew Research Center, the number of Latinx people speaking Spanish at home has increased substantially from 31 million in 2006 to 37 million in 2015 (Krogstad & Lopez, 2017). Nevertheless, the percentage of Latinx people speaking Spanish has decreased 5% in the same timeframe, which suggests strict adherence to host culture might be less enforced by parents (Birman & Addae, 2015; Krogstad & Lopez, 2017). Largely, this decline has been attributed to generational changes in cultural attitudes among the younger Latinx community which de-emphasize the importance of speaking Spanish (Krogstad & Lopez, 2017).

Nicaraguans who immigrated to the United States have had to respond to demands of daily living. They have had to engage in acculturative processes, such as learning English, pursing higher education, negotiating prioritizing host culture over home culture (i.e., cultural expectations of independence in United States over cultural collectivism and interdependence in Nicaraguan), securing competitive employment in fields that they might not have experience in (i.e., given that United States often does not recognize licensure eligible degrees from non-English-speaking universities), and raising multiple generations of children and grandchildren that have been born in the United States. Like most Central American immigrants, Nicaraguans have had to grapple with promoting their own cultural values, language, and traditions across generations that are bombarded with pressure to assimilate into host culture (Suárez-Orozco & Yoshikawa, 2015).

For younger generations still living in Nicaragua, they now have unprecedented access to resources and education. Social justice reform has led to more, albeit limited, opportunities to buy property, establish businesses, and build a future for their families. Although Nicaragua is still a very poor country, change is on the horizon. As for my family, immigrating to the United States gave us the opportunity to earn a higher education. My older brother and myself are first-generation college graduates

and have earned graduate degrees. Several of my cousins speak multiple languages, have traveled around the world, obtained college degrees in engineering, law, political science, and technology. Some have even bought property in Nicaragua, which our families were financially unable to do for generations. Together we have become the first generation of educated professionals in our family. I am the first person in all of my immediate and extended family to pursue a doctoral degree, and it would not have been possible if my mother had not decided to come to this country in pursuit of a better life. Our histories, traditions, experiences, and triumphs make us proud to call ourselves Nicaragüenses.

Closing Thoughts: Maintaining Identity and Integrity During the Next 50 Years

As the political climate becomes increasing hostile for communities of color and immigrants in the United States, both documented and undocumented, Nicaraguans will have to consider whether immigrating to the United States is a worthwhile sacrifice. Documented Nicaraguans already living in the United States will continue to face acculturative stress and pressure to promote their culture in a country that is largely ignorant of their customs and traditions. Those with TPS, may have to leave the country by 2019, it is reported, increasing stress with this threat and uncertainty. According to the psychological literature, acculturation has been examined by how much immigrants adhere to their native culture (i.e., listening to native music, using native language, frequenting ethnic venues, connecting to ethnically similar groups, and preference for media in native language) (Birman & Addae, 2015; Suárez-Orozco & Yoshikawa, 2015). However, immigrants experience substantial pressure to assimilate into American culture, disconnecting them from traditions and practices of their host culture (Birman & Addae, 2015; Suárez-Orozco & Yoshikawa, 2015). Along with subtraction acculturation styles, like assimilation, Nicaraguan immigrants will likely need to consider additive acculturation, wherein they can "adopt aspects of the new culture…[and] maintain their connection with their culture of origin, integrating the two" (Birman & Addae, 2015, p. 125).

Mes de rosas. Van mis rimas
en ronda a la vasta selva
a recoger miel y aromas
en las flores entreabiertas.
Amada, ven. El gran bosque
es nuestro templo; allí ondea
y flota un santo perfume
de amor. El pájaro vuela
de un árbol a otro y saluda
tu frente rosada y bella
como un alba; y las encinas
robustas, altas, soberbias,
cuando tú pasas agitan

sus hojas verdes y trémulas,
y enarcan sus ramas como
para que pase una reina.
¡Oh, amada mía! Es el dulce
tiempo de la primavera.

Translation:

Now is come the month of roses!
To the woods my verse has flown
Gathering fragrance and honey
From the blossoms newly blown.
Beloved, come to the forest,
The woodland shall be our shrine
Scented with the holy perfume
Of the laurel and the vine.
From tree-top to tree-top flitting
The birds greet you with sweet lay,
Finding joyance in your beauty
Fairer than the birth of day;
And the haughty oaks and hemlocks
Bend their leafy branches green
Forming rustling, regal arches
For the passage of a queen.
All is perfume, song and radiance;
Flowers open and birds sing:
O Beloved, 'tis the season
Of the Spring!

—*Primaveral* by Ruben Dario (1867–1916), a Nicaraguan poet known for the inception of modernism in poetry.

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Puerto Ricans on the U.S. Mainland

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Testimonios: Migration Stories

Marlaine

For most of my early childhood, I lived in a small Puerto Rican *barrio* in the capital city of San Juan. Most of my days were spent with my tight-knight family, while my weekends were spent at the ocean. However, when I was just 7 years old, my mother, sister, and I left Puerto Rico to escape her abusive marriage. At that time, we moved to a small town in Connecticut, where I was exposed to a different language, climate, and, most salient, a completely different culture. Although difficult, being so young helped my older sister and I quickly learn English and adjust to the cultural differences. However, my mother had a drastically different experience. Despite her goal of achieving the "American dream," by arriving to the United States, she struggled living in a crowded relative's house and had difficulty finding steady employment. Nonetheless, she did not give up, and as a single mother, she successfully learned English while moving between Connecticut and Florida in search of different job opportunities. Throughout this time, we lived below the poverty line and struggled to meet our basic needs, often requiring government assistance.

At 12 years of age and after 5 years in the United States, my family became homeless and my mother decided to send my sister and I back to Puerto Rico to live with my grandmother. This time, returning to Puerto Rico was a bit more difficult given that my sister and I were older and had acculturated considerably to the mainland US culture. While I enjoyed the stability of living with my grandmother and the

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warmth of having a lot of family around, I grew frustrated with the unchallenging and disorganized public-school system on the island. Five years later at the age of 17, primarily for academic and financial motivations, I made the difficult decision to move back to the mainland on my own. Being the first person in my family who would go to college, I knew moving back would afford me the opportunities that I otherwise would not have had by remaining on the island. That move for me was a permanent one, and although I visit my family frequently and continue to help them financially, I had a way for the past 13 years, thereby transitioning my migrant pattern from circular to one-way.

Cristalís

I was born and raised in Ponce, Puerto Rico, on the south central coast of the island. My best childhood memories are those in which I am surrounded by cousins who were like siblings, and aunts and uncles who were like parents. Living close to each other helped build these strong bonds. By just walking up or down *la cuesta* [hill] I could be at my grandma's or my aunt's house. While weekdays were for school and church, Saturdays were for family meals at *casa de Mamá* [grandmother's house]. I also grew up surrounded by examples of hard work and sacrifice. Although none of my grandparents had more than a fourth-grade education, they worked hard to give their children the opportunities they did not have. Just as my grandparents had done, my parents did all they could to give my sister and me a better life, my mother as a middle school teacher, and my father as a security guard and plumber for a pharmaceutical factory.

Despite their efforts, a declining economy in the late 1990s, after the closure of many factories (including the pharmaceutical factory where my dad worked), prompted my parents to make the difficult decision to move our family to the US mainland, henceforth referred to as only mainland. Florida was our destination. The day we were scheduled to depart, a large part of my family came with us to the airport to say goodbye. We had to rent two 18-passenger vans. The trip to the airport was a combination of laughter as we recounted funny stories and tears every time we were reminded of the imminent separation, and that there would be no family waiting for us *al otro lado del charco* [on the other side of the puddle].

Upon arrival, we faced the difficult challenge of trying to function within a new culture. The inability to speak English fluently initially kept my mother from working as a teacher. Although my dad had been able to establish a small plumbing business on the island, he was never able to obtain his Florida license. The licensing tests were only offered in English, testing content knowledge, and not skills. Financial difficulties led my parents to experience feelings of shame and eventually symptoms of depression. As my parents struggled financially and psychologically due to their unmet expectations of what life in Florida would be like, my sister and I had to deal with a public-school system ill prepared to educate ESL students. According to my guidance counselor, I was not smart enough to attend a college or

university on the mainland. Fortunately, the extended Puerto Rican immigrant community helped my family and me transcend these challenges and thrive. With the love and support of new Puerto Rican friends who became our Florida family, as my grandparents had done before, my parents worked hard to push my sister and I forward towards educational success.

Marlaine and Cristalís' migration stories serve as examples of common experiences Puerto Rican families face when making the difficult decision to leave the island and the struggles and successes in their post-migration lives. They point to examples of racism, loss, *familismo*, and self-determination, all topics to be covered in this chapter. We begin with a brief historical and demographic review of this ethnically diverse Latinx group. Later in the chapter, we discuss pre-migration, migration-specific, and settlement patterns, examining common reasons for migration and the challenges faced on the island and the mainland. We end with a discussion of sociopsychological factors that affect the post-migration experiences of Puerto Ricans on the mainland and the strength of character and optimism that persists for the group as a whole. There are many Puerto Rican success stories, and these will be shared as exemplars for other Puerto Ricans, Latinx persons, and the mental health field at-large.

¿Qué es la que hay?[1]: A Profile of Puerto Rican People

On the mainland, Puerto Ricans are the second largest U.S. Latinx group (Krogstad, 2015). In terms of geographic location, approximately 51% of Puerto Ricans reside in the Northeast, 32% live in the South, 9% in the Midwest, and about 7% in the Western region of (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). As of 2010, more Puerto Ricans lived on the mainland than on the island (Krogstad, 2015). The mass migration of Puerto Ricans following the start of its latest financial crisis helps explain this phenomenon. For example, between 2005 and 2012, over 300,000 Puerto Ricans migrated from the island to the mainland, representing a 201% increase in migration compared to the decade before (see Fig. 1). Moreover, in 2015 alone, approximately 240 Puerto Ricans migrated to the mainland daily (Velázquez Estrada, 2017). The devastation caused by Hurricane María on September 20, 2017 has exacerbated Puerto Rican migration. According to reports, over 143,000 Puerto Ricans migrated from the island to Florida within the first 2 months after the storm (Florida Governor's Office, 2017). The island's struggle to recover has led demographers to estimate that the island will lose 14% of its population by 2019 (Meléndez & Hinojosa, 2017) reducing its overall population to a little less than three million. These statistics highlight the urgent need for professionals who work with this population to have a thorough understanding of the migration patterns, causes, consequences, and experiences of this unique Latinx community.

[1] ¿Qué es la que hay? [What's happening?].

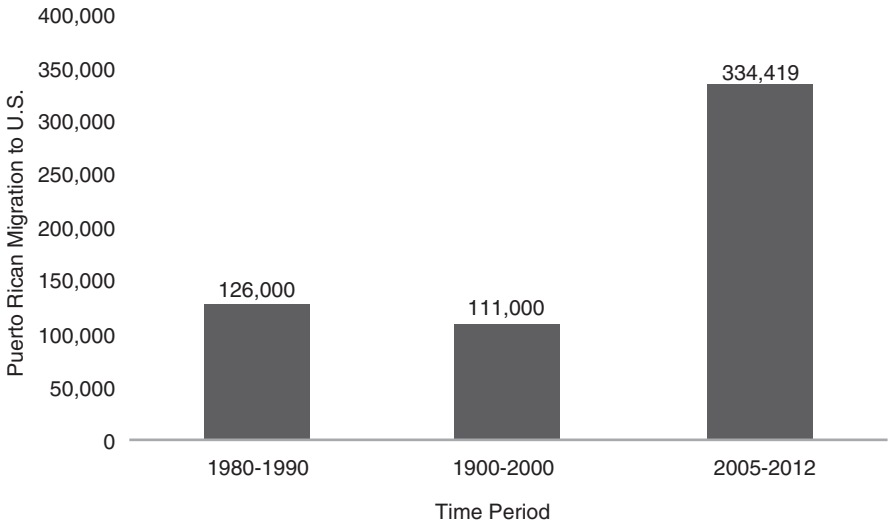

Fig. 1 Puerto Rican migration patterns to Mainland. Adapted from U.S. Census Bureau (2016)

The Oldest US Colony

Like many Latin American countries, Puerto Rico is also characterized by a history of White European colonization, decimation of indigenous people, exploitation of African slaves, a Spanish language dominant population, and Catholic roots (Delgado-Romero & Rojas-Vilches, 2004). Despite these significant similarities, Puerto Ricans are distinct from other Latinx groups due to their long-standing colonial relationship with the United States, which began following the Spanish-American War of 1898. This war resulted in the island of Puerto Rico becoming an unincorporated US territory. Nineteen years later, in 1917, Puerto Ricans were granted US citizenship after the enactment of the Jones-Shafroth Act (Sparrow & Lamm, 2017). However, this did not result in equal treatment or protections under the US constitution. To illustrate, Puerto Rican island residents are not allowed to vote in US presidential or congressional elections. Their sole representative in the US federal government, the Resident Commissioner, has no voting rights. Even when Puerto Ricans were finally allowed to vote for their own governor and establish a constitution under the Commonwealth status in 1952, the Puerto Rican constitution could not in any way contradict the US constitution (Torruella, 2017). Political subordination also prevents Puerto Ricans from having representation in the United Nations, the World Bank, or the International Monetary Fund; policies which have impeded the island's efforts to manage its financial crisis (Torruella, 2017). Instead, on June 9, 2016, the U.S. Congress passed the Puerto Rico Oversight, Management, and Economic Stability (PROMESA) Act (Nuño, 2016). PROMESA established an unelected seven-member board to oversee the island's finances and

debt (Nuño, 2016). These members were selected by President Obama out of a list generated by a Republican majority Congress (Nuño, 2016). Five members are Puerto Ricans (a judge and four economists) all whom lived on the mainland before their appointment. Two members are White American mainland residents (two economists; Sparks & Superville, 2017). PROMESA's proposed austerity measures have greatly affected island Puerto Ricans (e.g., reducing the federal minimum wage from $7.25 to $4.25 an hour for workers 25 years old and younger; Sparks & Superville, 2017). This decrease in wages creates greater inequity and social injustices.

Island Puerto Ricans unequal access to social services is another manifestation of its colonial status. Despite contributing to payroll and state taxes of $3.7 billion in 2009 (Torruella, 2017); island Puerto Ricans do not receive the same social welfare benefits made available to those on the mainland (Acosta-Belén & Santiago, 2006). While the federal match rate for Medicaid expenditures is 100% across all 50 states and D.C., Puerto Rico and other unincorporated territories have been relegated to receive only a 55% match rate since the 1965 Social Security Act (U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 2015). Additionally, Puerto Ricans on the island are not eligible to receive Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and island Puerto Ricans with disabilities only receive a $74 monthly stipend under the Aid to the Aged, Blind, or Disabled federal program, compared to the $750 month stipend individuals on the mainland receive through SSI (Torruella, 2017).

Puerto Rico's sociopolitical status has also had important cultural and institutional implications. For example, after the US arrival English was established as the island's language (Rivera Ramos, 2001). Although this practice ended in 1948 (Pousada, 1999), Puerto Rican public schools still have English as a mandatory subject. This may explain why one quarter of the island population identifies as bilingual (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Other early Americanization efforts in the island included compulsory and unnecessary medical interventions and centralization of medical care in an effort to regenerate the Puerto Rican blood as the dominant doctrine of the time was that Puerto Rican blood was degenerated due to Spanish colonization (Trujillo-Pagan, 2014). Physicians were also mandated to obtain a medical license and accreditation from the United States and prohibited from collaborating with *curanderos/as* [folk healers] or *parteras* [midwifes], also known as *comadronas* (Trujillo-Pagan, 2014). These interventions are often credited with the creation of an American-like medical system on the island (Trujillo-Pagan, 2014), not aligning with Puerto Rican values and practices. In terms of cultural values, while differences on adherence to individualism have been reported between Puerto Rican and US professionals, no differences were found around values of universality and utilitarianism (Fok, Payne, & Corey, 2016). This may be partly due to the US influence on Puerto Rican industry (Fok et al., 2016). Concerning ethno-racial identity, a majority of island Puerto Ricans identifies as Puerto Rican, American, and White (69%; U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Colorism resulting from colonization also influences Puerto Ricans' racial and ethnic identity self-identification. For example, island Puerto Rican women are more likely to use Puerto Rican as their ethnic label and White as their racial identity and mainland

Puerto Rican women are more likely to identify their ethnicity and race as Puerto Rican or Latina than black (Landale & Oropesa, 2001).

Over 100 years of differentiated political and financial policies have created an atmosphere of migration and cyclical poverty across island and mainland Puerto Ricans (Baker, 2002). Despite the island's geographical isolation, Puerto Ricans have been shaped by their contact with the United States. This has led researchers to suggest that island Puerto Ricans might be undergoing a process of acculturation to the United States without leaving the island (Cortés et al., 2003). For those who come to the mainland, prior contact with the United States while on the island may create the conditions for a unique acculturation and migration experience (Sánchez et al., 2014). For example, Duarte et al. (2008) found that Puerto Rican youth in San Juan experienced higher levels of acculturative stress than Puerto Rican youth living in New York. More recently, an examination of acculturation measurement models, Capielo, Lance, Delgado-Romero, and Domenech Rodríguez (in press) showed that acculturation among Central Florida Puerto Ricans and island Puerto Ricans (who had never lived in the United States) was best measured as a bidimensional construct of simultaneous adherence to Puerto Rican and White American cultural aspects across behavioral, values, and ethnic identity domains, which resulted in six acculturation factors (i.e., Puerto Rican behaviors, values, and ethnic identity and European American behaviors, values, and ethnic identity). Both samples had similar strength of relationships between the indicators and their respective factors and had similar range of scores across indicators. A mean comparison across groups showed that Central Florida and island Puerto Ricans only differed on their scores on Puerto Rican and European American values, with Central Florida Puerto Ricans having higher scores than island Puerto Ricans. Strong adherence to Puerto Rican values among Central Florida Puerto Ricans may reflect a commitment to their home cultures as they navigate being a minority on the mainland, something that island Puerto Ricans have not had to deal with. The strengthened attachment to Puerto Rican culture by those living on the mainland may also function as their assertion of moral and spiritual autonomy and resistance to persistent Americanization and assimilation efforts, "expressed in the protection of its [Puerto Rico's] historical patrimony" (Duany, 2003, p. 428).

Dr. Antonia Coello Novello

A current Central Florida resident, Dr. Antonia Coello Novello is a notable story of success. As the first woman and the first Latinx to become Surgeon General of the United States, she held the most prestigious position in public health. Born in the small town of Fajardo, Puerto Rico, Dr. Coello Novello was motivated to become a doctor after suffering from a medical condition and lacked resources to correct the condition as a child. Living most of her life in Puerto Rico, Dr. Coello Novello came from a humble but hardworking family. Her mother, a schoolteacher and later a junior high school and high school principal instilled in her the value of education.

Even with a medical condition that was not treated until the age of 20, Dr. Coello Novello graduated from high school at the age of 15 and went on to obtain her M.D. from the University of Puerto Rico. She moved to the mainland to continue her medical training in Michigan and then to Washington, DC. Early on in her career she blazed trails, becoming the first woman to be named intern of the year and then became deputy director of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

Dr. Coello Novello moved to the Central Florida area as vice president of Women and Children Health and Policy Affairs at Disney Children's Hospital at Florida Hospital in Orlando, Florida where she was in charge of advocating, translating, and implementing public health issues across the board and was actively involved with local organizations. She was passionate and made a huge impact on public health through her work. Like many Puerto Ricans on the mainland, Dr. Coello Novello sees in her accomplishments, the responsibility to forge paths for others, "*When you succeed, don't forget the responsibility of making somebody else succeed with you*" (Coello Novello, n.d.).

Current Demographics

According to the U.S. Census, the Puerto Rican population on the mainland now surpasses the island population, 5.1 million vs. 3.4 million (2016). Compared to other Latinx groups and the US population, Puerto Ricans are younger with a median age of 47 among island-born and 22 for those born on the mainland (Dockterman, 2011). Among Puerto Ricans 5 year and older and who currently in the United States, 42% are English-dominant, 16% are Spanish-dominant, 41% identify as bilingual, and 17% speak English "less than very well" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). However, a closer look at first-generation Puerto Ricans reveals important language expression differences. For instance, 36% of island-born Puerto Ricans are Spanish-dominant and 49% are bilingual (Dockterman, 2011). Regarding unemployment, most recent estimates indicate that the unemployment rate among Puerto Ricans is roughly 5% on the mainland, with the most common occupations for Puerto Ricans being in the fields of management, business, science, and arts (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Unfortunately, low unemployment has not translated to better income, as Puerto Rican yearly median household income is slight over $42,000, making them one of the lowest paid immigrant groups in the United States (Lopez & Velasco, 2011). Additionally, the share of Puerto Ricans who live in poverty, 27%, is higher than the rate for the general US population (16%) and for Latinx in general (25%; U.S. Census Bureau, 2016).

Popular states for Puerto Ricans. While there are Puerto Ricans living in every state, there are ten states which lead the nation with the highest percentages of Puerto Ricans. These states, in order from most to least populous, are New York, Florida, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, California, Illinois,

Texas, and Ohio. Based on the most recent report from the U.S. Census Bureau (2016), New York currently has the highest percentage of Puerto Ricans, with over a million residing in the state. However, the Puerto Rican population in New York and Florida only differ by less than 90,000 (Krogstad, 2015). Although New York City was the primary destination for Puerto Ricans for most of the 1900s (Gibson, 2016), a new pattern begun to emerge in the 1990s, as Florida became a popular destination for Puerto Ricans (Duanny, 2002), a pattern that continued during the 2000s. For instance, data from the 2014 American Community Survey (ACS) also showed that the Puerto Rican population in Florida increased by 110% since 2000 (2016). ACS data also revealed a preference for Florida over New York among recent migrants; between 2005 and 2013, while 43,363 island Puerto Ricans migrated to New York, 130,862 migrated to Florida (2016).

The sociodemographic profile of Puerto Ricans also appears to vary by mainland US region. A comparison between New York and Florida points to economic and educational advantages for Puerto Ricans in Florida (see Table 1). Additionally, the sociodemographic profile of migrants moving to Florida appears different from that of previous waves. For example, more Puerto Rican professionals, such as teachers and medical doctors, have been migrating to Florida (Duany & Silver, 2010). It is important to note that this information was gathered and evaluated prior to Hurricane María. Therefore, it is important to keep abreast of how Puerto Rican migration post-María will continue to change the US Puerto Rican and overall Latinx landscape. Regardless, the profile of Puerto Ricans in the United States needs to be understood in the context of the sociopolitical conditions and recent island devastation that continue to affect its people adversely.

Table 1 Socioeconomic profile of Puerto Ricans in New York, Florida, and Mainland

	Region		
Characteristic	New York	Florida	Mainland US
Income (past 12 months)			
Median household income	36,610	42,614	42,856
Poverty level (all families)			
Percent below poverty level	24	16.9	20.2
Employment status (16 years or older)			
Percent unemployed	5.5	4.7	5.5
Percent employed	49.5	56.9	56.0
Educational attainment (25 years or older)			
Percent high school graduate or higher	29.6	30.6	29.9
Percent bachelor's degree or higher	10.4	14.1	12.2
Ability to speak English (5 years or older)			
Percent speaks English less than "very well"	16.9	20.4	17.2

Note. 2016 American Community Survey

Health Profile

An examination of the leading causes of death among reveals a profile of health disparities among mainland Puerto Ricans. Compared to the general US population and other Latinx groups, cancer rates are highest among mainland Puerto Ricans (American Cancer Society, 2015). Puerto Ricans also report high rates of smoking, Hepatitis C, and obesity, all risk factors for cancer (American Cancer Society, 2015). Diabetes is another prevalent chronic disease among Puerto Ricans (Rodríguez-Vigil, Rodríguez-Chacón, & Valcarcel, 2016). Mortality associated with diabetes among Puerto Ricans is twice that of all other racial and ethnic groups in the United States (Colón-Ramos et al., 2016). According to the Hispanic Community Health Study/Study of Latinos, the overall prevalence of metabolic syndrome, a risk factor for diabetes, was highest among Puerto Ricans (Heiss et al., 2014).

A similar profile appears when examining the mental health of this community. For example, Puerto Ricans appear to be at a higher risk for mood and substance abuse disorders. For example, depression continues to disproportionately burden mainland Puerto Ricans (Liefland, Roberts, Ford, & Stevens, 2014). Puerto Ricans are more likely to reports higher depressive symptoms and major depression episodes than Mexican and Cubans in the United States, even after controlling for sociodemographic covariates (Alegría et al., 2008). Puerto Ricans also report higher rates of psychiatric disorders (Alegría et al., 2007) and mental health disabilities compared to Mexicans, Cubans, and other Latinxs (Rivera & Burgos, 2010).

Although there is a vast literature pointing to health and economic disparities among mainland Puerto Ricans, few studies have focused on explaining why this may be the case. One important sociopolitical aspect to consider among Puerto Ricans is colonization. In a recent study conducted by the first and second authors of this chapter, colonial mentality (i.e., internalized inferiority towards the colonized group and preference for the colonizer; David, Okazaki, & Giroux, 2014) was associated with higher acculturative stress, which in turn predicted more depression symptomatology among mainland Puerto Ricans (Capielo, Schaefer, Ballesteros, Renteria, & David, 2018). Circular migration and frequent travel between the island and the mainland can also help explain health disparities (Alegría et al., 2008). For example, Aranda (2006) found that participants associated circular migration with their feelings of disconnection, loneliness, and estrangement. Post-migration, experiences of discrimination, and housing segregation have also been linked to lower socioeconomic status and higher mental and physical disability among mainland Puerto Ricans (Baker, 2002).

Another area that deserves further examination is the *immigrant health paradox*. Scholarship from a wide range of disciplines indicates that Latinx immigrants have similar or better psychological and physical health outcomes than the US-born Latinx study participants (Sánchez et al., 2014). While research points to a possible advantage first-generation Latinxs may have over older generations, these findings have not been consistently replicated among first-generation Puerto Ricans (Sánchez et al., 2014). These discrepancies highlight potential implications of the unique

Puerto Rican migration reality. For example, important differences between mainland and island Puerto Ricans may have been blurred by decades of unrestricted and circular migration between the territory and the mainland. In the next sections, we explore how the island's status influences the pre- and post-migration experiences of Puerto Ricans.

La guagua aérea[2]: Migration and Settlement Patterns in the United States

Puerto Rican migration is an integral part of Puerto Rican life. Unlike other Latinx groups, Puerto Rican migration is officially classified as internal migration (Alcántara, Chen, & Alegría, 2014). However, the cultural, linguistic, racial, and socioeconomic crossing that Puerto Ricans experience when they migrate to the mainland is more comparable to that of immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean than to US internal migrants (Landale & Oropesa, 2001). Therefore, the migration experience of Puerto Ricans can be best understood when analyzed from a transnational perspective (Duany, 2003). The magnitude of living on the mainland while maintaining a strong connection with the island (about 87% of Puerto Ricans visit the island more than once a year; Duany, 2010) demonstrates the need for a better understanding of migratory processes and the psychological consequences of migration for Puerto Ricans.

Puerto Rican migration takes three forms: the "one-way migrants," who move permanently to the mainland; the "return migrants" who after many years return to the island from the mainland to re-establish residence; and the "circular migrants" who migrate back and forth between the island and the mainland spending extensive periods of residence in both places (Acevedo, 2004). The following subsections will provide more specific information on the three subcategories of Puerto Rican migration patterns.

One-Way Migrants

One-way migration of Puerto Ricans refers to individuals and families who migrate from the island to the mainland and who do not return to the island for residency (Acevedo, 2004). These individuals are distinct from those who return to the island or who engage in circular migration patterns in that they maintain residency on the mainland throughout the remainder of their lives. Despite being US citizens by birth, these individuals demonstrate similar migration challenges faced by other Latinx immigrant communities such as acculturative stress, intergenerational

[2] The 1993 film *La Guagua Aérea* [The Airbus] was written by Luis Rafael Sánchez about the immigration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland during the decades of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

conflict, and increased risk of living in impoverished conditions (Landale & Oropesa, 2001). A qualitative study sample of 20 middle-class Puerto Rican one-way migrants reported experiencing separation from family and kinship networks, racism, discrimination, and exclusion from the mainstream culture (Aranda, 2007). Perhaps because study participants were of middle- to upper-class social status, they did not report concerns commonly associated with financial hardship. It is important to note that this study, while rich in data on the middle-class experience of one-way Puerto Rican migrants, is unable to describe the experience of working-class and poor Puerto Rican migrants living on the mainland, more representative of the majority of Puerto Rican migrants. However, Aranda (2007) pointed out that the experience of transnationalism is more common among those with higher education, and therefore with more access to resources to be able to migrate to the mainland. As such, this study describes an important profile of the social and discriminatory experiences that one-way migrants can encounter.

Several other studies have examined the impact of one-way Puerto Rican migration among lower- and working-class individuals. For example, Aguilera (2005) pointed out that Puerto Rican migrants are among the lowest wage earners of any ethnic or racial group in the United States, despite their privileged status of being able to automatically and legally work in the United States. Although Aguilera (2005) did not measure the psychological impact of low wages on mainland Puerto Ricans, low wages have been associated with a perceived loss of social status, which was in turn is or was associated with an increased risk for mental and physical health complications (Alegría, Canino, Stinson, & Grant, 2006).

As noted in Cristalís' testimonio, her parents' inability to initially obtain employment and salary commensurate to their education and experience in Puerto Rico not only resulted in financial struggles for her family but also in psychological distress. As such, professionals working with this community need to pay attention to the role of unmet financial expectations may have on Puerto Ricans migrants.

Return Migrants

Return migrants are those who previously migrated to the mainland from the island and returned to live on a permanent basis (Acevedo, 2004). These immigrants may have settled in the United States for a period, but eventually made the decision to resettle back on the island. Between 2000 and 2010 it is estimated that 11,000–13,780 Puerto Ricans below the age of 65 migrated from the mainland to the island (U.S. Census, 2010). A qualitative study which examined the lived experiences of 20 return Puerto Rican migrants showed that while they did not have the intention to resettle back in Puerto Rico, the challenges they faced in the United States (e.g., perceived downward social mobility, loss of kinship) contributed to increased psychological distress and ultimately their decision to return to the island (Aranda, 2007). Moreover, Aranda (2007) also points out how structural inequalities (e.g., work discrimination) contributed to the decision to leave the mainland and return to Puerto Rico.

As would be expected, return migrants experience many of the same social and economic disadvantages as other Puerto Ricans living on the island who never left (Aranda, 2007). Examples include decreased accessibility and coverage of social welfare programs (i.e., Medicare/Medicaid), lack of representation in the U.S. Congress, and decreased federal funding for relief aid in natural disasters (e.g., US government's response to the crisis in Puerto Rico after Hurricane María compared to Texas after Hurricane Harvey). Furthermore, return migrants can also experience a shift in their social relationships upon their return, as the extended distance from the island may result in a loss of the social relationship that once existed. As illustrated in Marlaine's testimony, some return migrants may also experience the challenges associated with the re-acclimation process to their native country.

Circular Migrants

Perhaps the most unique group of migrants are those who engage in a circulatory migration pattern. Circular migrants are those who continually reside on both the mainland and the island of Puerto Rico (Acevedo, 2004). Circular migration for Puerto Ricans can be traced back to the recruitment of Puerto Rican men by mainland factories and farms in the early and mid-twentieth century (Duany, 2003). Historically, initial waves of migration to the United States by Puerto Ricans peaked immediately after World War II when multiple government contracts were established between the mainland and the island. Circular migration of Puerto Ricans was exacerbated during the 1960s when high unemployment rates in Puerto Rico forced many individuals to seek seasonal or temporary work on the mainland to provide for their families (Duany, 2003). This resulted in the circular migration patterns that we know today, as economic changes influence when certain circulatory Puerto Rican migrants enter and leave the mainland. To illustrate, between 1980 and 2000, circular migration accounted for 10–20% of total migration between the mainland and the island (Duany, 2002). Although no data is available, circular migration is expected to be significantly less from 2005 to 2010, a period that saw a persistent negative net migration for the island, associated with the island's financial crisis (Otterstrom & Tillman, 2013).

As was noted in Marlaine's testimony, circular migration patterns are not always a result of economic conditions. In her case, the circular migration was, in part, due to leaving a negative situation, as well as the need to return when stable and consistent work was not obtainable on the mainland. The same is also true of other types of migration patterns. Simply because individuals meet the definition for one migration pattern, does not mean that they remain in said category for the remainder of their lives. As such, professionals working with Puerto Rican migrants should avoid categorizing an individual into one of these categories. Puerto Rican migrants are fluid and capable of shifting between categories depending on their circumstances and responses.

Ibrahim Ramos Pomales

Mr. Ramos, as he is known in the middle school, teaches at in Osceola County, Florida, migrated from the island with his family in 2011. A clinical researcher and lecturer in the island, Mr. Ramos left after his contract lapsed and was not renewed due to the financial crisis. Similar to other first-generation Puerto Ricans who migrate to the mainland, language barriers initially kept him from obtaining a job commensurate with his education and experience. Despite his disappointments, Mr. Ramos recounts with pride his journey towards eventually becoming a teacher in Florida.

> "It doesn't matter if you have to start from zero, if you have to clean toilets or work at Burger King…all work is honorable, and all works serves you as experience. I arrived without knowing much English, I could write it but being able to have a conversation was my biggest obstacle but today I teach at a middle school. I still have other goals to achieve, I am not done yet but having an accent won't get on my way. You have to do it for yourself and for your family. Each day you have to try, try, try" (I. Ramos Pomales, personal communication, March 12, 2015).

Se pusieron los huevos a peseta[3]: The Migration Journey

Mr. Ramos' migration story is also supported by the data on Puerto Rican migrants. According to the Current Population Survey, employment and a desire to give their families better opportunities were the most commonly identified reasons by Puerto Ricans when asked to explain their migration to the mainland (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013). However, this is not a new trend. Soon after the US invasion of Puerto Rico, a diversified agricultural economy was turned into a predominantly sugar producing economy (Baker, 2002). The devastation caused by Hurricane San Ciriaco in 1899 further devastated the coffee industry of the island. Recovery efforts after the storm were stultified by the US government's denial of funds to help coffee producers (Trujillo-Pagan, 2014). As impoverished conditions took hold of the island, many Puerto Ricans had no other remedy but to migrate to the mainland in search of employment (Baker, 2002). Puerto Rican contract labor to Hawaii, New York, and other US locations between the 1900s and 1950s, became a colonial government strategy (Acevedo, 2004). Migration became a method to deal with Puerto Rico's vast poverty and unemployment and to fill the low-wage labor needs of the mainland US, including the distant islands of Hawaii (Acosta-Belén & Santiago, 2006).

The search for better economic opportunities continued to be the central reason for Puerto Rican migration through the 1940s and 1950s. Failed US economic policies on the island such as operation Bootstrap (this policy eliminated corporate tax

[3] Se pusieron los huevos a peseta [An egg is now worth a quarter]. Common Puerto Rican saying to describe a worsening situation.

for American companies that relocated to the island; Ruiz Toro, n.d.). The situation further exacerbated Puerto Rican migration during this period, often described as the Great Migration of the 1950s (Duany, 2002). Most Puerto Ricans settled in the northeast US (Baker, 2002), primarily New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey. Upon their arrival, however, many faced racial, housing, and employment discrimination (Baker, 2002). This dynamic is thought to be one of the main factors to explain the overrepresentation of northeast Puerto Ricans in low-wage and light manufacturing jobs (Baker, 2002) and circular Puerto Rican migration (Acosta-Belén & Santiago, 2006).

As Puerto Ricans on the mainland continued to struggle, the island's economic conditions were improving. In 1976, the U.S. Congress approved Section 936 of the Internal Revenue System, which provided tax incentives to US companies that relocated to the island (Corrales, 2001). Section 936 led to an increase in the Puerto Rican banking, construction, and pharmaceutical sectors and indirectly led to the creation of managerial, exporting, and clerical jobs needed to sustain this new economy (Corrales, 2001). These factors had important consequences for Puerto Rican migration to the United States and by the mid-1970s, migration to the mainland declined (Baker, 2002; Otterstrom & Tillman, 2013).

By the early 1980s, Section 936 began to receive much opposition from the U.S. Congress (Collins & Bosworth, 2006). Job creation decelerated and migration to the United States once again intensified (Collins & Bosworth, 2006). All efforts to renew Section 936 failed and by 2005, most tax incentives to American companies ended (Collins & Bosworth, 2006). The end of this tax incentive program sent the Puerto Rican economy once again into recession and Puerto Ricans continued their migration to the mainland (Duany & Silver, 2010). However, Puerto Ricans began to see in Florida a more suitable destination. Because they found in Florida better housing and employment opportunities, and a lower cost of living (Duany & Silver, 2010).

This latest wave of Puerto Rican migration from 2010 to 2017 has been described as unprecedented and more significant than the Great Migration of the 1950s (Meléndez & Hinojosa, 2017). Most continue to choose Florida, particularly the Central Florida region. Among the reasons for electing to move to Central Florida are access to a growing job market, a lower cost of living, and a climate and culture similar to what they left behind (Barreneche, Lombardi, & Ramos-Flores, 2012). The rapidly growing Florida Puerto Rican population offers new challenges and opportunities to examine the impact of colonization, migration, and other sociocultural factors. The emergent literature on this population paints a mixed profile of struggles and successes. For instance, while the Florida Puerto Rican population report higher education attainment, income, and business ownership than Puerto Ricans in the Northeast, compared to other Latinx groups in Florida, Puerto Ricans have a higher rate of mental health and physical health disabilities (Duany & Silver, 2010). In terms of sociocultural correlates of mental health, in a recent study conducted by the first author of this chapter, it was found that as levels of acculturative stress increased among Puerto Ricans in Central Florida, so did their likelihood of experiencing moderate or severe levels of depression symptomatology (Capielo,

Delgado-Romero, & Stewart, 2015). On the other hand, those who practice adaptive forms of coping (e.g., talking to a friend or family member) were less likely to experience moderate or severe levels of depression symptoms (Capielo et al., 2015).

Sonia Sotomayor

Poverty and the need to find and secure a better life for themselves and the family they hoped to have, Juan and Celina Sotomayor left their homeland of Puerto Rico to settle in the United States. One-way migrants, they permanently settled in the Bronx, had two children and created a community with relatives and other Puerto Rican neighbors. A single mother after the passing of her husband at 42, Celina insisted on the importance of education, being the only one in the neighborhood to purchase encyclopedias and send both children to Catholic schools. Both children eventually graduated from college with high honors and her son went on to become a physician and her daughter a lawyer. She credits her parent's strength and migration story with her success and for her strong Latina identity. A self-described "Nuyorican" she describes her identity nurtured through shared experiences and traditions with a closely knit family. At 8 years old she learned that she had diabetes, lost her father when she was 9, and lived most of her childhood in poverty. Yet, Sonia Sotomayor, a true American dream success story, persevered, eventually attending Princeton, then Yale for her law degree, and making history as only the third woman and the first Latinx to sit on the highest court in the land (Felix, 2011).

Additional Devastation

On September 20, 2017, Hurricane María, a Category 4 hurricane when it arrived at the Yabucoa Harbor just after 6 am local time, brought unprecedented devastation to the island. The results of the storm were insurmountable and catastrophic, leaving thousands without access to running water, shelter, food, healthcare, and other basic life necessities. Although major news outlets reported just under 500 known deaths, the final death toll due to the indirect causes of Hurricane María such as deaths due to unsanitary living conditions and a lack of access to life-sustaining resources remains unknown (Hernández & McGinley, 2018). One measurable consequence of Hurricane María is the influx of island Puerto Ricans on the mainland US. To illustrate, Florida, a state that was already home to a high number of Puerto Ricans, has received an influx of over 143,000 Puerto Ricans since the natural disaster (Florida Governor's Office, 2017), and it is expected that the state will receive between 40,000 and 82,000 Puerto Ricans annually between 2017 and 2019 (Meléndez & Hinojosa, 2017).

It remains to be seen what will become of the island of Puerto Rico and its residents in the wake of Hurricane María. While it is known that many island Puerto

Ricans remain without electricity, running water, stable shelter, and safe roads, it is what remains unknown about the future that brings about a chilling uncertainty for the island, its inhabitants, and those directly and indirectly impacted by this disaster. Streets remain filled with lines of individuals hoping to obtain employment, with the demand for employment greatly outweighing the need for hire. The US government's insufficient response to this natural disaster compared to its response to Texas in the wake of Hurricane Harvey demonstrates the lack of responsibility the administration feels to Puerto Ricans. In fact, President Donald Trump expressed his opinion on the U.S. Federal Government providing relief services to the Puerto Rico after Hurricane María, further demonstrating the disparaging gap that exists between Puerto Ricans and their non-Puerto Rican US counterparts.

> *"[Puerto Ricans] want everything to be done for them"* (Trump, D. J. [realDonaldTrump], September 26, 2017).

> *"…We cannot keep FEMA, the Military & the First Responders, who have been amazing (under the most difficult of circumstances) in P.R. forever!"* (Trump, D. J. [realDonaldTrump], October 12, 2017).

These racist and blaming statements while shocking to most, were for many Puerto Ricans, an unnerving echo of earlier colonization ideas, which blamed supposed Puerto Rican degeneration and laziness as the reasons why the island could not prosper after the devastation caused by Hurricane San Ciriaco in 1899 (Trujillo-Pagan, 2014). The statements also reflect the unwillingness of the US government to take any responsibility for being largely responsible for the disastrous economic situation that was already besieging the island much earlier than the arrival of Hurricane María.

Resilience in the face of adversity is not new to Puerto Ricans. While Hurricane María brought devastation to Puerto Rico, there are continued displays of Puerto Rican resilience and solidarity with each passing day. According to a New York Times report by James Wagner (April 2018), Puerto Ricans continue to demonstrate hope and resilience in various ways, even through sports. According to the report, despite not being able to play in their home field as it had been damaged during the storm, a Puerto Rican baseball team known as *Los Toritos de Cayey*, a team comprised of community members, came together to play in an effort to provide much needed distraction and a sense of normalcy to its community. While these individuals demonstrated resilience on the island in the face of continued devastation, this also serves as an example of how Puerto Ricans, be they on the island or the mainland, collectively harbor resilience within themselves.

Another example of solidarity and resilience can be found through the Puerto Rican Facebook group #PuertoRicoMariaUpdates, created by Arizona State University communications professor, Dr. Manuel Aviles Santiago, wherein Puerto Ricans are able to feed information from the island to friends and family on the mainland about their safety and well-being. Specifically, this public forum permitted individuals to contact relatives and loved ones who were unable to be reached due to the destruction of power lines, cell phone towers, and bridges and roads in

many towns for months after the storm. This service also united Puerto Ricans on the island and mainland, serving as a platform for communication regarding resources and safe ways to purify water. Furthermore, for Puerto Ricans who migrated to the mainland in the aftermath of the storm, opportunities for learning English and finding employment, and other resources were advertised to assist individuals in their migration to the mainland. This group further demonstrates the solidarity that mainland Puerto Ricans have for their island dwelling counterparts. Especially with the lack of resources, and ostensibly being ignored by the Trump Administration, the group continues to serve as a way to organize the transport of supplies to the island for those who are most in need.

Wilfredo Colón

In January of 2018, Wilfredo Colón and his family made the difficult decision to leave the island and settle in Texas. Although Wilfredo and his family tried to maintain their tattoo business open in a post-María Puerto Rico, 3 months without electricity and potable water made this an unsurmountable task. With nothing more than their suitcases, Wilfredo and his family started from zero but with dedication and effort, in March of 2018, Wilfredo met his goal of opening a new tattoo business in Texas. When asked about what he enjoys most of his new business, Wilfredo describes the joy and satisfaction he feels when meeting other Latinxs and how through his art he can help them connect to their homeland. *"Everyone misses their land and every time they ask me for a cultural symbol, I get creative and make it happen. There is nothing more gratifying than that"* ("Wilfredo Colón Latinos Tatto," 2018).

Al otro lado del charco[4]: The Post-migration Era

Puerto Rican migration, whether it be one-way, return, or circular, can pose several challenges for Puerto Ricans. Examples of these challenges are perceived downward social mobility, acculturative stress, and racial and ethnic discrimination. These challenges in turn have been associated with the use of maladaptive coping skills, such as alcohol use and denial that there is a problem (Capielo et al., 2015) and experiences with mental illness (Alcántara et al., 2014). On the other hand, adaptive coping (e.g., seeking emotional and instrumental support), retention of Puerto Rican cultural practices, and strong ethnic identity have been associated with better health outcomes among Puerto Ricans on the mainland.

[4] Al otro lado del charco [At the other side of the puddle]. In Puerto Rico, this expression is often used to describe individuals or families who have crossed an ocean and now live on the mainland. It is also used to describe the situations Puerto Ricans may experience on the mainland.

Social Mobility

Social mobility is the movement individuals or groups experience through a system of social hierarchy (Müller, 2001). When individuals experience a loss in social class, this is known as downward social mobility; when social class gains are made, upward social mobility takes place (Müller, 2001). Upon migration to the mainland, Puerto Ricans may find themselves unable to meet their pre-migration expectations. For example, difficulty to find a job commensurate to their preparation and experience, inability to fluently communicate in English, and obtain a well-paying job are among some of the experiences new Puerto Rican migrants identify as stressful post-migration experiences (Aranda & Riviera, 2016). Cross-sectional and longitudinal research findings also support the connection between downward social mobility and psychological distress among Puerto Rican migrants. For instance, an examination by Alcántara et al. (2014) found that perceived downward social mobility and loss of social status among Puerto Rican migrants predicted past-year major depressive episodes (MDE). In other words, Puerto Ricans who perceived they held a lower social status in the United States relative to their perceived social status on the island, had higher tendencies of having an MDE relative to those who did not perceive any differences in social status following migration.

Acculturative Stress

Although acculturation[5] is an important correlate of Latinx well-being (David et al., 2014), acculturation is not a consistent predictor of Puerto Rican psychological (Capielo et al., 2015; Cintrón, Carter, & Sbrocco, 2005) or physical health (see Lara, Gamboa, Kahramanian, Morales, & Hayes Bautista, 2005). On the other hand, acculturative stress may be a more significant than acculturation in explaining post-immigration psychological distress among Puerto Ricans.

When individual finds themselves unable to cope with new cultural demands such as having to learn a new language, acculturative stress emerges (Castillo et al., 2015). Among Latinxs, acculturative stress has been associated with psychological maladjustment (Torres, 2010). Various studies examining the relationship between acculturative stress among Puerto Ricans living in the northeast US have demonstrated the negative effect of acculturative stress on Puerto Rican psychological well-being. There is a historic pattern of the effects of acculturative stress for Puerto Ricans reported in numerous studies. For instance, Dressler and Bernal (1982) found that acculturative stress among Puerto Ricans living in northeast urban areas predicted higher levels of poorer health and behavioral problems. Similarly, Conway, Swendsen, Dierker, Canino, and Merikangas (2007) showed that acculturative stress was associated with co-occurring substance and psychiatric disorders

[5] Acculturation is bidimensional process of change across cultural domains (e.g., behaviors, values) that individuals may experience as they come in contact with a new dominant culture (Gibson, 2016).

among Puerto Ricans. While less is known about the effects of acculturative stress among Puerto Ricans in other areas of the United States, as previously mentioned, Capielo et al. (2015) found that individuals with moderate and severe depression symptoms were more likely to report increased acculturative stress than those with mild depression symptoms. Among important predictors of acculturative stress include loss of social networks and economic difficulties (Aranda & Riviera, 2016).

Racial and Ethnic Discrimination

Rejection from the dominant culture and perceived discrimination are other important correlates of post-migration stress experienced by mainland Puerto Ricans. Perceived discrimination is also associated with lower self-esteem and more depression symptomatology among Puerto Rican youth (Szalacha et al., 2003). Racism and discrimination also influence Puerto Rican circular migration (Aranda, 2009). The systematic discrimination Puerto Ricans experience in housing, employment, and contact with law enforcement have been associated with reasons to return to the island (Aranda, 2009).

Perceived ethnic and racial discrimination also appears to affect how Puerto Ricans navigate the acculturation process. For instance, in a recent study led by the first author of this chapter, results showed that Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans in Central Florida with darker skin color were less likely to engage in White American behaviors such as socializing with White Americans or speaking English. They were also less likely to endorse White American values such as individualism. The same study found that the more Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans experienced racial and ethnic discrimination the less likely they were to practice Latinx behaviors or values such as *familismo*. A majority of Puerto Ricans in Central Florida have settled in what were predominantly White neighborhoods, thus distancing from Latinx behaviors and values may be a mechanism Puerto Ricans in Central Florida utilize in order to avoid experiencing ethnic discrimination. On the other hand, among English-speaking Central Florida Puerto Ricans, more experiences of racial and ethnic discrimination predicted endorsing a stronger Puerto Rican identity (Capielo, Adames, Chavez-Dueñas, & Rentería, 2017). This study highlights the need to contextualize the migration and acculturation experience of Puerto Ricans on the mainland. Further investigations are needed to understand how the context of reception affects the acculturative experiences of mainland Puerto Ricans.

Cultural Values, **Patria***, and Identity*

Puerto Ricans demonstrate persistent resiliency, grit, and creativity despite the challenges associated with migration, the island's colonial status, and the recent natural disaster. Therefore, it is just as important to recognize what constitutes these challenges and their subsequent consequences. Moreover, it is imperative to examine

the strengths of the Puerto Rican community, including what helps individuals thrive in the face of colonialism, loss and change, and adversity.

Specifically, to be noted are cultural values which have been demonstrated to serve as positive coping strategies. Some examples include cultural values such as *familismo* (high value Latinx families place on their family; Marín & Gamba, 2003) and *personalismo* (describes the importance given to forming and maintaining personal connections; Delgado-Romero, Nevels, Capielo, Galván, & Torres, 2013), both of which have been associated with well-being (Gallo, Penedo, Espinosa de los Monteros, & Arguelles, 2009). In their examination of newly arrived Puerto Ricans in Florida, Aranda and Riviera (2016) also found that *personalismo* and social capital were the primary cultural assets Puerto Ricans in Florida used to help in their post-migration transition, for instance, in finding housing and employment. Talking to family and friends and seeking support are also associated with less acculturative stress among Puerto Ricans (Capielo et al., 2015).

Puerto Ricans healing practices like *espiritísmo* (reflects the belief in a spiritual and invisible world that influences human behavior and communication with deceased family members to ameliorate distress; Comas-Díaz, 1981) and *curanderismo* also manifest Puerto Rican resistance against perpetual colonization. During the period of forced medical interventions, these healing practices were a way for *jíbaros* (individuals who live in the mountains and rural areas of Puerto Rico) to preserve their way of living in the presence of the new colonizers. Today, *espiritísmo* is widely practiced and accepted in the island (Torres Rivera, 2005) and is associated with positive psychological outcomes (Torres Rivera, 2005).

Puerto Ricans are also characterized for the efforts to *hacer patria* (refers to actions that contribute to help maintain a connection to the heritage culture) while on the mainland. Puerto Ricans *hacen patria* on the mainland every time a student earns good grades or when a family attends *Las Fiestas de la Calle* in Orlando every January. Having a strong Puerto Rican ethnic identity can also be seen as one of these efforts. Among mainland Puerto Ricans, a strong ethnic identity is associated with having positive self-esteem (López, 2008) and is a protective factor against substance use (Brook, Whiteman, Balka, Win, & Gursen, 1998). As a result of Hurricane María, Puerto Ricans on the island and the mainland are also finding in their heritage culture a source of strength. As stated by University of Puerto Rico Caribbean history professor, Juan Guisti-Cordero in his recantation of post-Maria life in the island, "In Puerto Rico, we invented resilience" (Guisti-Cordero, 2012).

'Tato' habla'o?![6]: Conclusion

The unique migration experience of Puerto Ricans between the mainland and the island is best understood from an historical and transnational perspective. Given the relationship that Puerto Rico has with the United States, the acculturative

[6] Tato' habla'o [All is said]. Usually said at the end of a conversation right before each person goes their separate way.

experience of Puerto Ricans on the mainland differs from that of other Latinx communities. There are different migration reasons and patterns, but these are often a reflection of the island's colonial status. However, as illustrated by the migration testimonies and data on Puerto Rican post-migration experiences, Puerto Ricans are a resilient and hardworking community, and like many other migrant communities in the United States, they sacrifice in search of a better life. As the Puerto Rican mainland community continues to shift and grow, it is imperative for mental health professionals to explore and understand the complex experiences of Puerto Ricans and how their unique sociopolitical status may influence how they navigate living between two cultures and their well-being.

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The Growing Venezuelan Diaspora in the United States

Germán Cadenas

Historical Background and Perspectives

Venezuela was until recently considered one of the happiest countries in the world. For example, Venezuela was ranked highest along with Tanzania and El Salvador in their happiness means compared to 85 other countries (Margolis & Myrskylä, 2011). However, in recent years much has changed for Venezuelans. The World Happiness Report 2017 suggests that happiness in Venezuela has dropped the most of any country between 2005 and 2016, and now ranks 82nd for happiness worldwide (Helliwell, Layard, & Sachs, 2017). An unprecedented migration from the country characterizes much of Venezuela's recent history, resulting in a growing diaspora. Identifying as a low-income Venezuelan immigrant who is part of the diaspora, a psychologist, and social justice activist presents me a unique lens through which to explore the experiences of Venezuelan immigrants in this chapter. What follows is a brief historical background on Venezuela, details on migration and settlement patterns including a personal migration narrative, a summary of what is known about the migration journey, current demographics of Latinx Venezuelans in the United States, and an in-depth view of the post-migration era, including research studies on post-migration challenges, how Venezuelans maintain cultural values, and what has been effective. The chapter ends with a reflection on how this diaspora may continue to cope and move forward with resilience as individuals and groups in the United States in coming years.

Venezuela is located at the northern end of South America, with an area that is larger than France and Germany combined, and it is open to the Caribbean Sea to the north, bordering Guyana on the east, Brazil to the south, and Colombia to the west (McCoy, Lieuwen, Heckel, & Martz, 2018). Venezuela has many Caribbean

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islands and its diverse physiography includes Andean mountains, llanos (plains), the largest lake in South America (Lake Maracaíbo), and the world's highest waterfall (Angel Falls). Venezuela has very large petroleum reserves, and the exploitation of this natural resource catalyzed the urbanization of the country beginning in the 1930s (McCoy et al., 2018).

Venezuela can be considered a diverse country of immigrants, a melting pot of multicontinental DNA (Gómez-Carballa et al., 2012). An estimated population of 30,912,302 individuals reside in Venezuela, which has a population growth rate of 1.28%, net migration of −1.2 migrants/1000 population, and is made up of ethnic groups that include Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Arab, German, African, and indigenous peoples (Migration Policy Institute, 2016). Its population is 63.7% mestizo (mixed European and Indigenous), 20% White, 10% Black, and a small indigenous population. Spanish is the language spoken by the majority, and most of its inhabitants adhere to Roman Catholicism, although freedom of religion is a constitutional right (McCoy et al., 2018). Venezuela's economy shifted from agricultural to one that relies primarily on petroleum beginning in the 1940s, which attracted migration of agricultural and professional workers from many Latin American countries as well as European ones such as Spain, Italy, and Portugal, as the country went through a process of intersectoral change (Butzer, Larson, & Mundlak, 2002). In *Café Con Leche*, Wright (1993) offers an in-depth exploration of racial democracy, prejudice, and discrimination in this culturally diverse population. There, Wright argues that people of color of Venezuela did not enjoy the full benefits of a racial democracy and were seen as inferiors by elites that idealized Europeans.

Since its independence from Spanish rule in 1811, Venezuela's political and economic history has not been an uncomplicated one. Much has been written about the crisis of democracy throughout its history (Derham, 2002), and historians have brought attention to the way that racism is entangled in the politics and economics of the country (Salas, 2005). Academics also bring attention to how the current Venezuelan government and its opposition movement use social media to influence public opinion (Forelle, Howard, Monroy-Hernández, & Savage, 2015). In *Venezuela: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Salas, 2015), written in thoughtful depth by a native Venezuelan, a concise chronological view of Venezuela is offered, beginning with Spanish colonialism and focusing on oil and its impact on the country's politics, economy, and culture. In the very critical *Crude Nation: How Oil Riches Ruined Venezuela*, Gallegos (2016) analyzes how a century of mismanagement led to the decline of the oil-rich country and the consequential effects on its people.

Migration and Settlement Patterns in the United States, The Author's Narrative

Family-ties and employment sponsorship are major migration pathways for Venezuelans (Zong & Batalova, 2016), and the recent economic crisis and political turmoil are catalyzing a new exodus from the country (Páez, 2017). This

phenomenon is unpacked in *The Migration Journey*, the next section in this chapter. The migration and settlement patterns of Venezuelans in the United States suggest that they establish themselves in geographical proximity to the country of origin, toward the Southeast of the United States and positioned toward the Caribbean. Indeed, Venezuelans are concentrated in the South of the United States, according to data from the Census Bureau (López, 2015), with about 69% living there, while nearly 9% live in the West, 8% in the Midwest, and 14% have settled in the Northeast in cities such as New York City. A large percentage of Venezuelans live in two states in particular—42% in Florida and 13% in Texas.

Author's Personal Narrative

My migration journey parallels in many ways the migration and settlement patterns of Venezuelans in the United States, and in many ways, they are also different. My parents did not have a college education, both grew up in lower socioeconomic neighborhoods, and they were not involved in politics in Venezuela. However, they were both entrepreneurial and resourceful. In the wake of growing economic disparities and lack of employment opportunities, my father immigrated to the United States in 2001. His intent was not to permanently become settled in the United States; rather, as many immigrants do, he intended to work temporarily in order to send remittances to support my mother, my younger brother, and I. After almost 2 years of being away from my father, my mother decided to make a trip to the United States for the holidays so that we could be reunited as a family.

The immigration journey was a risky one that December of 2002. We lived in a city named Mérida, located several hours southwest from the Capital (Caracas), in mountains of the Venezuelan Andes. At the time, my brother was 11 years old and I was 15. We had been out of school for several weeks as the entire country participated in a national strike protesting the government, and most industries and sectors were frozen, including education. We had to travel to the U.S. Embassy in Caracas, the capital, to attend an interview to seek tourist visas. We traveled by bus, against the advice of many, because it was very risky to travel as violent clashes between protesters and the government unfolded in the streets. I remember watching through the window of the bus as we passed by people demonstrating on the streets, tires burning in flames blocking roads, and a heavily militarized presence.

We made it to Caracas, which felt palpably tense. Parts of the city were desolate since people stayed home, refusing to go to work in order to participate in the strike. We made the interview at the Embassy, and it happened to be one of the last interviews before it closed its doors for several months due to the unrest. Luckily, our visas were approved; we could see our father again! My mother was able to put together the funds needed to travel, and we packed for a 1-month trip. I packed some of my most valued items, and said "good byes" to my grandparents, my dog, and friends. I had a feeling I would not see many of them again though we did not plan to stay in the United States past the month.

The trip by plane was exciting, and I got to practice some of my English along the way. We were reunited with our father by Christmas; he was living in Arizona, where he arrived because he had a friend there who could help him. Spending those holidays in 2002 together was one of the happiest moments for our family. To be reunited was invaluable for me as a 15-year-old, even if I was not fully conscious of it then. As January rolled around, the national strike in Venezuela would not let up. My dad enrolled my brother and I in local public schools so that we would not fall behind in our studies although being English language learners posed new challenges as well. The strike intensified and was still taking place when our date to return arrived. With an unknown future in Venezuela, fears of an eventual dictatorship, and hopes of keeping our family together, a decision was made that we would stay in the United States, even if that meant being an undocumented family.

I was fascinated with American pop-culture and was thrilled to stay and learn here. However, the transition was tough for our family. The adjustment was difficult for my brother, who no longer had many of the emotional supports and protective factors we had in Venezuela. He coped by turning to the arts and sports. For my parents, it was difficult to go from working as entrepreneurs and sales associates in Venezuela to working in housekeeping, maintenance, and at factories and restaurants. But they gracefully embraced the challenges of working multiple jobs, forgoing sufficient sleep, and not fully understanding the language and culture. For them it meant that my brother and I would not face even greater hardship as sociopolitical unrest became graver in Venezuela. Together, we faced formidable challenges as a family, as Arizona becoming ground zero in anti-immigrant policies. We faced discrimination, job losses, financial strain, and fears of being detained and deported to a country that was falling apart; but we were together.

The migration experience propelled me to develop a unique place in my family. Because I had some English language skills, I became a sort of ambassador for us, translating for my parents on a regular basis and helping them understand the information they needed to make daily decisions. Realizing the tremendous sacrifices that they made to remain in the United States fueled my motivation to accomplish more in the name of our family. Education was certainly a coping mechanism, protective factor, and strength for me. I knew it was my way out—out of poverty and social oppression. I graduated from high school and went on to the community college and eventually Arizona State University. There, I became involved in the immigrant rights movement, which helped me cope with much of the discrimination and injustices we faced as immigrants. Education and activism gave me a sense of agency for my future and that of others like me.

Through my community work I met my partner and fell in love. She is a US citizen and petitioned for me to become a legal permanent resident and eventually a US citizen. I was extremely lucky, as most undocumented immigrants may not be able to legalize their status under current policies, even if petitioned by a family member. And now, our family is a mixed-status one. My partner and I were able to help my parents become legal permanent residents, thanks to family-unity migration, which is dubbed by anti-immigrant folks as “chain migration.” My brother was too old to qualify for the petition, but he qualified for the Deferred Action for Childhood

Arrivals (DACA). My family is composed of hardworking, contributing members to the US society, culturally and economically. Our home country has deteriorated beyond our worst fears. We worry and are heartbroken for the many people we know there who face poverty, crime, hunger, lack of access to medicine, and intimidation in a waning democracy. My family and I continue to adjust, cope, survive, and move forward together. It is the only way.

The Migration Journey

Durand and Massey (2010) take a deep dive in explaining the past 30 years of Latin American migration, including Venezuela, toward the United States as well as new streams toward Europe, Canada, Australia, Japan, and other Latin American countries. Their report highlights Venezuela's history receiving immigrants from Spain, Italy, and Portugal from the 1940s to 1970s, being a receiver of professional migrants from 1950s to 1980s due to its oil boom, welcoming Cuban immigrants in recent decades, and how it is only until more recently that Venezuela has begun to "push out" citizens, primarily of middle and upper classes due to political and economic reasons.

To fully understand the migration journey of Venezuelans to the United States, it is crucial to understand the reasons for migrating in the first place. Based on data reported by Poushter and Cuddington (2015), most Venezuelans (52%) indicated the country should not follow policies established by the former president (Hugo Chávez); 68% have unfavorable views of the current government and most are also dissatisfied with opposition leaders. Overall, a whopping 85% are dissatisfied with the direction of the country. According to this 2015 report, lack of job opportunities and shortages of basic goods are concerning for 84–85% of Venezuelans. Interestingly, despite difficult diplomatic relationships, 62% of the public continues holding favorable views toward the United States (Devlin, 2014).

As Páez (2017) notes, Venezuela is experiencing its most serious crisis in recent years. Weakened purchasing power, scarcity of food and medicine, growing inflation, and widespread hunger and malnutrition, are all products of the crisis. The sources of the crisis are debatable, and many understand it as being the result of decades of economic mismanagement, low oil prices, growing crime, deterioration of democratic institutions and a move toward authoritarianism. In response to the crisis, about two million people (7% of the Venezuelan population) have left Venezuela since 1999.

A first of its kind research project by Páez, Voice of the Diaspora (*La Voz de la Diáspora*), allowed Páez and colleagues to map the phenomenon and estimate that 90% of those who have emigrated possess university degrees, including 40% having master's and 10% doctorates. About 50% have children, 20% have ties to nationals of the host country, and they see themselves as entrepreneurs. Interviews for this study also suggest that many whose ancestors immigrated to Venezuela in the past are migrating back to their countries of origin (e.g., Spain), and that emigration will continue as the country continues to deteriorate.

It can also be helpful to contextualize migration from Venezuela relative to the risks associated with its geographic location, positioned on the north of South America and facing the Caribbean. Though little has been reported on this topic, it is important to note a research report funded by Ford Foundation and completed at the turn of the century (2000). The report made observations about how Venezuela's geographic location, economic situation, growing poverty, weaknesses in its legal system, and government corruption make it vulnerable to migration and trafficking of women to other countries, such as the United States (Raymond et al., 2002). These conditions can put Venezuelan migrants at risk of exploitation, particularly those who come from more disadvantaged backgrounds.

Family-Based Migration

As noted earlier in this chapter, family-based migration and employment sponsorships tend to be significant immigration pathways for Venezuelans to the United States (Zong & Batalova, 2016). However, as political and economic unrest continued to unfold in Venezuela, the number of US asylum applications filed by Venezuelans increased 168% in 2016, and the United States continues to be the top destination for Venezuelan immigrants, with Spain being the second most common destination (Krogstad & López, 2016). In 2017, more than 28,000 Venezuelans applied for asylum in the United States, and thousands more emigrated to neighboring South American countries, which have embraced Venezuelans with mostly welcoming responses, though also with growing anti-immigrant sentiment from right-wing politicians in some countries (Bolter, 2017). For example, new special work authorization visas have been created for Venezuelans migrating to Brazil, Colombia, and Peru; while Panama and Chile recently started requiring visas for Venezuelan to enter these two countries.

Migration Challenges to the United States

The hopes of escaping a rapidly decaying and chaotic set of circumstances at home in search for a better life in the United States may be frustrated for many Venezuelan immigrants. The current US administration tried to implement multiple travel bans in 2017, with its 3.0 version also targeting individuals from Venezuela along with North Koreans and six Muslim-majority countries. Law scholars have articulated why such methods of extreme vetting are discriminatory, unnecessary, and harmful (Panduranga, Patel, & Price, 2017). A federal district court judge temporarily restrained the ban, siding with the argument that it exceeds the president's authority under the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA; Margulies, 2017). Additionally, many have articulated that the inclusion of Venezuela in the travel ban is political as it serves to argue that the travel ban is not motivated by Islamophobia, but to increase

the heat on Venezuelan government officials (Camilleri & Raderstorf, 2017). Nevertheless, how the United States will continue to respond to the dire needs of Venezuelan immigrants remains to be seen, and it could impact the lives of thousands.

Current Demographics of Venezuelan Latinxs in the United States

The Pew Research Center provides updated statistical profiles on the largest Latinx groups in the United States, including Latinxs of Venezuelan origin, based on the Census Bureau's American Community Survey (López, 2015). In the report, Venezuelans are defined as those who indicated having Venezuelan origins, either by being immigrants themselves or tracing back their ancestry to the country. Venezuelans comprise 0.5% of the U.S. Latinx population, being the 13th largest Latinx group in the United States with a population of about 248,000 in 2013. Due to the recent crisis in Venezuela, the population of Venezuelans in the United States is now 321,000 (Flores, 2017). According to López (2015), the population of Venezuelan immigrants (i.e., foreign born) grew by 388% since 1990, to about 170,000. Based on this number, US-born Venezuelan-Americans make up a community of about 78,000 individuals. It is also important to consider demographics of Venezuelan Latinxs within the broader context of U.S. Latinxs, about 57 million and representing 17.6% of the US population, the nation's largest ethnic minority group.

While nearly 70% of Venezuelans in the United States are immigrants, about 23% of them have been in the United States for more than 20 years, and 39% are US citizens. About 70% of Venezuelans report speaking English proficiently, and 85% of them speak Spanish at home. The median age of Venezuelans in the United States is 34 (median age for all Latinx in the United States is 28), the median age of Venezuelan immigrants is 39, and median age of US-born Venezuelans is 15. About 54% of US Venezuelans, 18 years and older, report being married, compared to 57% of Venezuelan immigrants. US Venezuelans' education level is higher than the population of US-born Latinxs and the US population overall. About half of Venezuelans 25 and older have a bachelor's degree, and there seem to be no gaps in college attainment between US-born and immigrant Venezuelans. Almost 45,000 of Venezuelan children ages 5–18 are enrolled in K-12 schools. The median annual income for Venezuelans 16 and older is $28,000, which is above earnings for all U.S. Latinxs (i.e., $21,900) and below those of the overall US population (i.e., $30,000); about 49% are homeowners (López, 2015). There are also Venezuelans with economic struggles; about 18% live in poverty in the United States, and 26% do not have health insurance.

While it is appropriate to consider Venezuelans in the United States as part of the larger Latinx group, it can also be helpful to think of them as being part of the larger group of South American immigrants in the United States. As reported by the

Migration Policy Institute (Zong & Batalova, 2016), South American immigrants experienced the fastest growth among all Latinx groups since 1960. They now compose about 2.9 million of the US population, and 7% of the 42.4 million immigrants in the country. Venezuelan immigrants thus make up 7.6% of the South American immigrant population. They are also part of the 11.6 million South American immigrants scattered around the globe, with 25% of them choosing the United States as their primary destination.

Like Venezuelans, more South American immigrants choose Florida as a place to settle, with New York and New Jersey also being top destinations. Data show that the Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach Metro Area accounts for the largest concentration of South Americans (7.8%), including Venezuelans (Zong & Batalova, 2016); Miami is a gateway to Latin America. Venezuelans as most South American immigrants are more likely to be of working age, and they tend to be more educated as are those originating from Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. Relatedly, a large share of South American immigrants from these four countries is employed in management, business, science, and arts occupations. Venezuelan immigrants are also part of the group of South American immigrants with the highest median incomes, along with immigrants from Bolivia, Guyana, and Brazil, compared to other South American immigrants. Importantly, family-based immigration is a major vehicle for all South American immigrant groups, including 45% of immigrants from Venezuela. And about 31% of Venezuelan immigrants became green card holders via employment sponsorship.

The Post-Migration Era Challenges

Not unlike many other groups of immigrants, and specifically Latinx immigrants, Venezuelans face a multitude of challenges in the United States. Dillon, De La Rosa, and Ibañez (2013) studied Latinx immigrants' acculturative stress during the first 2 years in the United States, noting that there is a negative relationship between this period of acculturative stress and family cohesion, with greater decline in family cohesion being experienced by those with undocumented immigration status, lower education levels, and without family in the United States. Thus, it is logical to infer that the period of acculturation may be marked with stress and impacts to the family dynamics of Venezuelan immigrants.

A qualitative study by Shumow (2010) explores how Venezuelans adjust to life in Florida, while remaining connected to their country of birth, and the role that media plays in their having a foot in both worlds. The study acknowledges the growth of multiple forms of media (i.e., newspapers, radio stations, websites, blogs, and internet groups) focused on the Spanish-speaking Venezuelan community in Florida. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a diverse sample of Venezuelan immigrants, who had been in the country between 2 and 17 years, and with an age range from 18 to 60 years. The findings describe a community that is in the early stages of adapting to the country that is coming to terms with the reality of

permanently settling in the United States. They see themselves as being in exile, and a community that is attached to the home country. While they are concerned about events unfolding there, the exile status fosters a sense that they may not return there and abets struggles to connect with one another and overcome divisions that are likely rooted in the home country.

When adjusting to the United States, new challenges that are not that central in the home country may become more salient for Venezuelan immigrants (Guanipa, Nolte, & Guanipa, 2002). These are sociocultural, familial, and intrapersonal challenges and may include the need to speak multiple languages in different environments, learning a new educational system, substituting family systems with institutional ones, and losing socioeconomic and professional status. Acculturation also introduces changing gender roles and family structure, adjustment to more individualistic values, less use of overt humor, more structured time management, adjustment of direct communication style (may be perceived as overconfident or aggressive), and racial issues becoming more concerning. If one is visibly different racially, there is a different response in the United States than one may have experienced in Venezuela.

The challenges that come with transitioning, adjusting, and the process of acculturation to the United States may uniquely affect Venezuelan immigrant children and children of immigrant families. As noted by Hernandez (2004), there is a need in the United States for new policies and programs that are responsive to the needs of immigrant-origin groups living in the country, including Venezuelans, to foster their health, educational success, and well-being. He suggests that nearly 50% of children of immigrant families experience one of four risk factors to well-being and development. These may include: (a) a mother without high school diploma, (b) living in economically depressed conditions, (c) living in linguistically isolated households, and (d) living in a one-parent family.

Venezuelan immigrants' new life in the United States may also be challenged by stereotypes sustained toward this group, as well as stereotypes about Latin Americans and immigrants more broadly. Fant (2012) conducted a study to examine the reciprocal stereotyping of executive employees that worked together for several years. Their findings yielded categorizations of Latin Americans as being bad organizers, socially skilled and easygoing, insufficiently educated, polite, unfocused, enjoyers of life, considerate, elegant, and having low efficiency and low respect for human rights. While the study did not take place in the United States, it is important to consider the stereotypes and broad categorizations that are often placed on Venezuelans and Latin Americans that may also permeate perceptions of these groups in the United States. Moreover, research findings point to generalizations made about Venezuelan females using a confrontational style when engaged in a disagreement and belonging to a positive politeness culture; these findings must be reconsidered, as these generalizations are not fully supported by science (Edstrom, 2004).

Analyses of the status of mental health research in 30 Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) countries, including Venezuela, highlight that burdensome conditions (i.e., violence, suicide, dementia, and childhood disorders) and vulnerable

populations (i.e., disabled individuals, the elderly, women, children, and people exposed to violence) are understudied (Razzouk et al., 2008). This poses challenges for mental health professionals intending to work with Venezuelan immigrants, since there is a lack of widely available scholarship about mental health challenges faced by Venezuelans and how to address them with effective interventions, policies, or mental health systems. However, it is known that depression is common among the increasing population aged 60 and over, and that a treatment gap exists in countries like Venezuela given weaknesses in primary care services and reliance on private providers (Guerra et al., 2009).

It is remarkable to note that more recent Venezuelan immigrants may find it challenging to transition from a country that faces rampant scarcity to one of overabundance and excess. They may arrive in the United States facing malnourishment, accustomed to rationing basic necessities such as toiletries, and experiencing symptoms of post-traumatic stress after living in an environment of high sociopolitical and socioeconomic pressure for a prolonged amount of time. There are major gaps in academic scholarship about this topic though popular media has documented how lack of access to medication has led to difficulties in managing symptoms of those with severe mental illness (Casey, 2016). These discrepancies between the country of origin and the receiving country may further complicate the sense of culture shock that accompanies the acculturation period.

Maintaining Cultural Values, Identity, and Sense of Belonging

Broad cultural generalizations about Venezuelan immigrant families may have little utility given that specific regional, generational, socioeconomic, educational, and idiosyncratic differences may be more relevant on an individual basis, as pointed out by Guanipa et al. (2002). They suggest that the macro-level analysis of values and beliefs needs to be reassessed at the micro-level. With this caution, the authors identify the following common attributes and values of Venezuelan immigrant families: familiarism or "*familismo*," strong emphasis on social responsibility and the family; family hierarchy, high degree of hierarchical organization and cohesion are normal; matricism and motherism, families are matriarchal and the family centers on the mother and children; humorism, humor is an essential part of the daily lives of Venezuelans, and its use may appear inappropriate or immature to the outsider; and spirituality, historically strong religious foundation and people of powerful faith.

Understanding Venezuelans' relationship with human rights provides a fuller view of who they are as immigrants, particularly with the contextual awareness of the sociopolitical and socioeconomic unrest that many have endured pre-migration. Recent research (Guédez & Mullet, 2014) concludes that Venezuelans consider that having one basic right (e.g., freedom of speech) is better than having no rights at all, that having a basic right at an intermediate level is not very different than not having the right at all, and that only having all basic rights constitutes having human rights.

In other words, Venezuelans believe that human rights cannot be divided. No studies have explored how Venezuelans hold this aspirational belief as they migrate from a country that many have argued has a government that fractures human rights and democracy (Mijares Peña, 2014) and integrate into US society, where the plight for civil rights, immigrant rights, women's rights, and racial and economic equality is ongoing and continuing to evolve.

Another key element to consider in Venezuelan immigrant families is the importance of having a sense of community. García, Giuliani, and Wiesenfeld (1999) reviewed the literature on the concept of community and its application to community social psychology. In their study, they conducted interviews with residents of a Caracas "barrio," an overpopulated neighborhood inhabited by very low-income individuals. They observed that a sense of community is composed of emotional security, belonging and identity, personal investment, and a system of shared symbols. They also noted that the meaning of community was emphasized in terms of affective elements and values, and that consciousness about the history of the community is vital to forming and maintaining community. One may expect that Venezuelan immigrant families may strive to form new communities and join existing ones in the United States, and that the process of separating from their sense of belonging to a community in Venezuela may be challenging and produce grief.

As noted earlier in this chapter, Venezuelans have a history of strong faith and devotion to the Catholic religion. Research with a Venezuelan sample by Ponton and Gorsuch (1988) notes that extrinsic religiosity is correlated positively with prejudice, while intrinsic religiosity correlated negatively with prejudice, and that parents' nationality was a strong predictor of prejudice. These findings suggest that it is important to consider that Venezuelan immigrants hold their own set of prejudices, while they themselves may be experiencing new discrimination and be prejudiced against as immigrants in the United States. Furthermore, their family's national heritage and religiosity may play a role on Venezuelans' biases. This is particularly salient in the context of the long history of immigration and diversity in Venezuela, meaning that Venezuelans who come from families of immigrants and less religiosity may be less prejudiced than those who had resided in Venezuela for longer or are more religious.

Venezuelans and Mental Health

Some research has begun to illuminate cultural differences between Venezuelans and their US counterparts. For example, there is research supporting the notion that Venezuelan college students have less positive attitudes toward mental health compared to American students, with Venezuelan women reporting higher psychological openness than males (Nasser Anastas, 2010). Venezuelan children's temperament based on Jung's theory has also been compared to that of US-born children (León, Oakland, Wei, & Berrios, 2009). Findings suggest that Venezuelan children prefer extroverted, practical, thinking, and organized styles; and there are gender differences on thinking-feeling styles and age differences on organized-flexible styles.

Considering Venezuelans' values and beliefs toward the helping professions, particularly psychology, might be helpful for those providing services to this population. Sanchez (1999) provides an overview of what psychology as a field looks like in Venezuela, based on perceptions and opinions of research psychologists. It is possible that Venezuelans' experiences with the field of psychology in their home country may transfer and inform their views and expectations of the field in the United States. Indeed, from research we have examples of how psychological knowledge has been used in Venezuelan politics as well as in projects to improve cognitive functioning (Salazar, 1984). Venezuela has also been a place of focus on community psychology (Montero, 2008; Wiesenfeld, 1998), indigenous psychology (Adair & Díaz-Loving, 1999), and liberation psychology (Montero & Sonn, 2009). Likewise, school psychology has been in practice there for a couple of decades (Oakland, Feldman, & De Viloriac, 1995). Venezuela's national psychological organization is the Federation of Venezuelan Psychologists (http://www.fpv.org.ve/), which has existed since 1957.

Vera (2011) concisely highlights that counseling has existed for a long time in Venezuela, beginning in the 1930s, and it has evolved as a profession over the years. Current trends in counseling include legislative efforts granting counselors the ability for independent professional practice, the creation of the Venezuelan Counseling System, and the growing need for counselor training programs to be created by universities in response to the Counseling National System requiring large numbers of trained counselor over the next 10 years. Other concerns relate to certification, supervision, and continuing education. Recent Venezuelan immigrants may have been exposed to some of these trends depending on the access they had to counseling in the home country. This may have implications for how they respond to counseling services in the United States.

Effective Strategies in Working with Venezuelan Immigrants

Guanipa et al. (2002) outlined important considerations to keep in mind when counseling immigrant Venezuelan families, noting that behavioral, cognitive, and solution-focused approaches seem to be most effective approaches. While direct approaches that center on skills building and psycho-education are effective, using integrated, flexible, and multi-modal approaches that look at these families from an ecological-systemic-contextual perspective may also be beneficial. Cultural responsiveness must be foremost. They recommend several questions to consider when assessing Venezuelan immigrants in counseling, cautioning against relying on stereotypes and advocating for a flexible and multicultural paradigm in counseling. Some of the assessment questions suggested by Guanipa et al. (2002) include: "what is the reason for migration and how was the decision made?" "what is the degree of connectedness to the culture and family of origin?" and "what is the role of humor in the family interaction?" Moreover, recent research found art therapy to be effective in enhancing cognitive performance in Latinx older adults from

multiple countries of origin, including Venezuela (Alders & Levine-Madori, 2010). The researchers found that the Therapeutic Thematic Arts Programming (TTAP) method provided a structure for the provider to facilitate person-centered interventions and encourage rapport building, which led to a pattern of emotional disclosures among older adults, particularly among those who did not create art on their own.

Briggs and Mantini-Briggs (2009) studied the effects of Misión Barrio Adentro (MBA), "Inside the Neighborhood Mission," in providing health services to low income Venezuelans making the use of a "horizontal" process characterized by creative collaborations (i.e., between policymakers, clinicians, community workers, and residents), egalitarian relationships, and involvement in local health committees. Professionals aiming to provide holistic health services to underserved communities of low-income Venezuelan immigrants may find the MBA model to be inspiring, particularly in its focus on "horizontal" collaborations over top-down and bottom-up efforts.

Those interested in working with Venezuelan families with young children may find the work of Daniels, Strom, and Escobar (1986) to be helpful. They developed a parent attitude instrument to assess expectations, interactions, and responses to behaviors by Venezuelan parents of preschoolers. In more recent research, Slipp (2006) studied art therapy services available to children in Caracas via public, private, and non-profit mental health services. The analysis revealed that concerns about ADHD and learning difficulties were strongly represented across mental health service sectors. Other emergent themes reported by Venezuelan service delivery organizations in this study state that many of them focus on post-traumatic stress in response to violence, poverty, and political tension; alcohol abuse, and tackling increased rates of homicide, suicide, and overall mortality. Consequently, US mental health practitioners serving Venezuelans may find it beneficial to obtain training and develop competencies in these emergent concern areas. As has been discussed, US immigrants are experiencing similar tensions as are their peers who remain in Venezuela, thus learning about effective culture-specific interventions would be very useful.

Venezuelan Immigrants' Contributions to the United States

Research also shows that Venezuelan immigrants are highly entrepreneurial, and this can serve as a protective factor. Indeed, Venezuelans comprise 8% of US immigrant groups founding engineering and technology companies in Florida (Wadhwa, Saxenian, Rissing, & Gereffi, 2007). Educational and workforce development programs that support and nourish this entrepreneurial spirit may be of tremendous benefit in Venezuelan immigrant communities. In addition, Tolbert and McLean (1995) report on the development of a Venezuelan culture assimilator (VCA), designed for US professionals interested in traveling to Venezuela for business. The VCA cross-cultural training contains 20 episodes addressing major cultural norms in Venezuela.

Individuals and organizations interested in career development with Venezuelans in the United States may consider building on the structure of the VCA to develop cultural sensitive training offered to those who provide services or employment to Venezuelans in the United States.

Indeed, notable Venezuelan immigrants and Venezuelan Americans include: Dr. L. Rafael Reif, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT); Gustavo Dudamel, Director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic; Maria Cristina Anzola, Director of New York City Ballet; William Watkins, CEO of Seagate Technology; Barbara Palacios, TV host, writer, and motivational speaker; Vanessa Neumann, business owner and political theorist; Adriana Cisneros, CEO of Grupo Cisneros; Carolina Herrera, fashion designer; Tina Ramirez, founder of Ballet Hispanico; Joanna Hausmann, social media comedian; Luigi Boria, Mayor of Doral, Florida; Alberto Santos, Mayor of Kearny, New Jersey; Moises Naim, Distinguished Fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Nancy Navarro, social activist and appointed by President Obama to the Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence of Hispanics; actor Wilmer Valderrama and innumerable professional sports players, musicians, models, and entertainers.

Closing Thoughts: Maintaining Identity and Integrity During the Next 50 Years

It is my hope that this chapter provided a comprehensive, data-grounded, brief introduction to Venezuelan immigrant families in the United States. A cultural group that was once considered one of the happiest in the planet, Venezuelans are currently facing one of the worst crises in their history. The Caribbean Latin American diverse country of immigrants has endured years of a political tension, mismanagement, and the effects of its economy's overdependence on oil. The current Venezuelan government has continued the practices of the Chavez era, excluding opposition voices. The heart of the country is one of sadness and distress and these sentiments cross the ocean and borders.

This chapter highlighted reports stating that Venezuelans are deeply dissatisfied with the direction of their country and concerned about limited employment opportunities and scarcity of basic goods and healthcare. Those in the United States with family remaining in Venezuela have additional stressors to manage in the post-migration phase. Counselors can consider the loss and grief as a result of immigration model (Arredondo-Dowd, 1981) as they engage with Venezuelan immigrants, recognizing that symptoms of depression are reasonable with the multiple losses they are experiencing.

The research reviewed in this chapter states that as is the case for immigrants in general, the first 2 years post-migration can be very stressful and impactful on family cohesion. Venezuelan immigrants may face new challenges that they are not accustomed to, including language demands, changing of socioeconomic status, communication style differences, and discrimination (e.g., racial, stereotypes).

These challenges can be even more difficult for children, which 50% of Venezuelan immigrants tend to have. Recent immigrants may also experience culture shock and signs of post-traumatic stress.

The lack of scholarship on Venezuelan mental health may make it difficult for professionals to tailor their services. However, it is known that depression is common among elderly Venezuelans, and this likely extends to other age groups given the current situation in the country. There are also noted differences between United States and Venezuelan children and young adults, with children having different temperament preferences, and young Venezuelans having less positive attitudes toward mental health. Nonetheless, Venezuela has been an important location for community and liberation psychology, and the Federation of Venezuelan Psychologists is the official entity of psychologists there. Community psychology and liberation psychology have strong thought pillars in Venezuela, perhaps in response to and a consequence of the decades of racial and economic disparities in the country and region.

Considerations for providing mental health counseling to immigrant Venezuelan families are in existence in the United States (Guanipa et al., 2002), and these include assessment questions to further understand individual experiences. Specifically, Guanipa et al. (2002) recommend a solution-focused, flexible, multicultural, and collaborative approach in working with this group of immigrants. Importantly, research notes emergent areas of concern for Venezuelans, including violence, poverty, political tension, alcohol abuse, and death/grief in the face of increased mortality rates. It is imperative that U.S. Latinx and non-Latinx mental health professionals work together to develop culture-specific competencies in these areas in order to guide and support the ethical delivery of services to Venezuelan immigrant families.

Research reviewed in this chapter also emphasizes just how important it is for Venezuelans to feel a sense of community and belonging. Undoubtedly, it will be important for Venezuelan immigrant families in the United States to continue to work through their divisions in order to form a strong community that ensures the preservation of its values and its integrity as they remain settled in the United States. Perhaps Venezuelans can reclaim a high sense of happiness by contributing their unique identity, values, and education to the large and diverse US population, a country that is enriched by communities of immigrants.

Venezuela's late Simón Dias, a Grammy Award-winning singer of "*musica llanera*," composed the folk song *Caballo Viejo*. Part of its lyrics say "*Caballo le dan sabana porque está viejo y cansao, pero no se dan de cuenta que un corazón amarrao cuando le sueltan la rienda es caballo desbocao*." In essence, this portion of the lyrics mean that even an old and tired horse is boundless, when unchained and freed in the plains. These lyrics may very well capture the spirit of the recent Venezuelan immigrant, which can indeed be boundless when liberated to pursue its aspirations elsewhere, even after the tiresome distress it has faced historically. As mental health and human service providers, it is up to us to promote the healing and liberation of Venezuelan immigrants in the United States, so that this diaspora can once again be happiness bound.

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