Abstract

The ideological battle fought between the United States and Cuba has been centrally located in Miami, Florida. The ninety miles of ocean separating the two nations serves as a type of no-mans land, the hypothetical battlefield separating Cuban-Americans from their homeland and families across the Florida straits. For decades, the Miami Cuban community was seen as possessing a single identity, one of vehement anti-Castro sentiment and an ever-present desire to return to the homeland of their memories and past. However, recent literature has suggested that fissures are becoming more apparent in the façade of absolute unity.

The break in ideological singularity has emerged along generational lines, invoking Karl Mannheim’s pioneering work on the sociological analysis of generations. This paper attempts to decipher the extent to which a Mannheimian generation is emerging among the youth of the Cuban-American population in Miami Florida. Using discourse analysis an analysis of print news media conducted on 16 articles from the *Miami Herald* and 11 articles from the *New York Times* was undertaken to gain an understanding of the coverage of two major events seen to have an impact on young Cubans in both Miami and Cuba (Juanes’ concert for peace and the Elian Gonzalez case). This analysis shed light on the extent to which an older generation of Cuban-Americans maintains control of resources.

As expected, the *Miami Herald* was far more likely to espouse ideology supportive of the exile ideology. It became clear that generational ruptures were recognized only when they did not conflict with the traditional rhetoric of anti-
Castroism and discourse of regime change in Cuba. Without this type of space for vocalizing dissent, it is difficult for a counter-movement along generational lines to form. Overall, this thesis demonstrates that the exile ideology maintains control over what is considered permissible dialogue in traditional media outlets such as the *Miami Herald*, pointing to the conclusion that not all voices and opinions are recognized within the Cuban-American community in Miami.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

On August 5, 2009 Columbian rock star Juanes announced he would be holding a second Paz Sin Fronteras (Peace without Borders) concert in Havana, Cuba on September 20, 2009 (Adams, 2009; Alarcon, 2009; Alsema, 2009; Echevarria, 2009; Miller, 2009; Saladrigas, 2009). Although Juanes made clear that there would be no government involvement on the part of Cuba, and there were no political motivations for the concert, a furor quickly erupted among the Cuban diaspora (Cave, 2009; Saladrigas, 2009). This was particularly felt in Miami, Florida an area known for being the American Cuba, or “Little Havana.”

Cuban-Americans that have settled in Miami have garnered a great deal of attention. In large part, this is due to the fact that they are viewed as ideal immigrants, heralded by the American government and media as an example of successful assimilation1 (Woltman and Newbold, 2008; Grenier and Stepick 1992; Grenier 2006). Although this understanding of the Cuban-American reality in Miami has been criticized in academic literature for being problematic, the image of the successful Cuban-American entrepreneur has been maintained (Grenier and Grenier, 2008; Woltman and Newbold, 2008; Alberts, 2005). Cuban exiles in the United States have historically benefitted from the American government's attempts

1 Although the term “assimilation” is notably problematic, it continues to appear in the literature relating to Cuban-Americans in Miami. Woltman and Newbold (2008: 72) state: “assimilation entails a process of becoming “alike” (in terms of language), of being incorporated (culturally, socially, and economically) into the institutions of the host country.”
to legitimize their hostile foreign policy toward Cuba. In the initial waves of immigration following the 1959 revolution headed by Fidel Castro, Cuban-American immigration was facilitated by direct intervention on the part of the United States government, whereby refugees\(^2\) were offered generous aid programs in exchange for their continued vocal opposition of the increasingly socialist plans of the new government in their homeland (Girard and Grenier, 2008; Grenier and Castro, 1999). Recent immigrants from Cuba were offered services such as provisions of food, housing, employment, medical services, as well as education programs to assist in learning English to help facilitate their adaptation to their new home (Alberts, 2009; Grenier and Castro, 1999; Eckstein, 2009a).

In the early years of post-revolutionary migration “the United States welcomed the exiles with open arms” (Alberts, 2009). Likewise, these waves of immigrants reciprocated by continuing to be the most ardent critics of anything to do with Castro’s Cuba, as well as aiding the American government militarily, intellectually, politically and socially in the legitimation of their open hostility to Cuba (Girard and Grenier, 2008; Garcia, 1998; Grenier and Castro, 1999). This reciprocal relationship has assisted in the formation of a façade of unity amongst all Cuban-American immigrants, painting them as a monolithic group – identical in belief.

\(^2\) Cuban migrants in the first waves of migration following the 1959 revolution considered themselves “refugees” rather than migrants. Similarly, the American government provided them with refugee status allowing them benefits that other migrant groups did not received. This was due to the fact that they were seen as being forcibly pushed out of their country rather than electing to leave (Heike, 2005).
However, close examination of the academic literature on Cuban-American migrants in Miami dictates that this homogenizing view of the Cuban-American community is largely based on these first waves of migrants, and ignores the realities of more recent arrivals (Eckstein, 2004a; Eckstein, 2009a; Eckstein and Krull, 2009; Girard and Grenier, 2008; Garcia, 1998; Grenier, 2002). Girard and Grenier (2008) argue that a particular ideology was created in the first years of Cuban-American settlement in Miami that has been maintained through rigid boundaries of an ethnic enclave, and social ostracism of any dissenters from the official image and ideology. Obviously no population is completely homogeneous, and dissent exists in even the most authoritarian regimes. For example, Garcia (1998) points to dissent among younger Cuban-Americans beginning as early as the 1960’s. However, these voices were largely silenced by the overriding rhetoric supported publicly and financially by the American government, which was one of fervent hatred for both Fidel Castro and communism in general. The time period coincided with the height of the Cold War, and anti-communist propaganda was strong enough to build up the fervor and overlook more moderate voices within the Cuban-American community (Garcia, 1998). “Émigrés who favored the normalization of relations generally kept silent because they feared being branded comunistas in the exile press or by some radio news commentator” (Garcia, 1998).

For decades this hard-line view has encapsulated the outward reputation of the Miami exile community. However, the counter-protests in response to the exile critiques of the Juanes concert provided evidence of a rupture in the stronghold that

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3 This will be further expanded upon in Chapter 3.
the older generations of Cuban migrants hold on public opinion in Miami. As younger Cuban-Americans rallied against their older counterparts in front of the Versailles Restaurant, a symbolic event unfolded. The youth materialized in large numbers, standing up for their right to an opinion, and for that opinion to be heard. In the past, when disagreement surfaced in the Miami community, the more hard-line voices were easily able to shut out any moderate opinions within the population (Girard and Grenier, 2008). This was accomplished through media ownership and monopolization of resources as well as the threat of social exclusion and public humiliation (Girard and Grenier, 2008; Garcia, 1998; Grenier, 2002). The fact that the counter-protest was able to take over the area where the exiles have historically voiced their political opinions and policy demands holds symbolic significance in a generational cleavage among Cuban-Americans.

A much larger media frenzy surrounded the case of Elian Gonzalez in 1999. Elian was one of only four survivors among a group of fifteen Cubans whose makeshift floatation device capsized on the journey from Cuba to Miami across the Florida straits (McLaren and Pinkney-Pastrana, 2001). His arrival in the United States spurred controversy; leading to claims that Elian was used as a pawn for both governments to fight over in the decades-old feud between Cuba and the United States (McLaren and Pinkney-Pastrana, 2001; Contreras, 2000; Bardach, 2003). Although the Elian saga did not produce visible ruptures in sentiment between generations, it did rouse passionate debate within the Cuban-American community (Bardach, 2003; Contreras, 2000; Dubinsky, 2007; 2010), and is noted for its use in rallying younger Cuban-Americans around the exile cause. It is also an example of
hard-line stances overpowering and shutting out more moderate voices, including violent physical attacks on Cuban-Americans that advocated returning the boy to his father (McLaren and Pinkney-Pastrana, 2001).

The Miami media received a great deal of outside criticism for their reporting on the issue in the wake of the crisis. Contreras (2000) notes that vital information reported in national news was left out of the Miami media reports, leading to the provision of false information as well as creating and maintaining the pretense of unified opposition to sending the boy back to Cuba. The key outcome from this occurrence was not the break in public opinion, but the refusal of the American government to side with the hard-line stance. They imposed the return of Elian to his father in Cuba, signaling a shift in the United States federal government’s willingness to appease the exile community, and subsequently a shift in tactics in their attempt to influence foreign policy.

Whereas the outcome of the Elian Gonzalez custody affair could easily be blamed on a democrat government, the events surrounding the Juanes’ concert stemmed directly from conflicting exile politics. Immediately following the culmination of a successful concert in Havana, members of the Vigilia Mambisa began to protest the event, smashing Juanes’s CDs and accusing anybody who did not agree with them of being communists (Miller 2009). This reaction was similar to past responses by exile groups at attempts for cultural exchange, such as protests

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4 Vigilia Mambisa is described by Miller (2009) as “the right-wing group that has been accused of intimidating opponents through scare tactics.” They are largely composed of hard-line exiles that support extremist measures in relation to Cuban foreign policy in the United States.
of a concert by Los Van Van\(^5\) (Levin, 2010) and the Latin Grammy Awards, which were moved from Miami to Los Angeles in 2001 to avoid exile protests (Gurza, 2001; VanHorn, 2001). The event was later held in 2003 in Miami. Notably there were no protests at the 2003 ceremonies, however, this was largely because there was nothing to protest since the American government denied the Cuban nominees entrance visas (Sokol, 2003).

As previously mentioned, most academic study on the Miami Cuban-American community has focused on their largely successful adaptation to the United States of America as well as their unified political sentiments towards their homeland. A number of authors have pointed to the necessity of studying the Cuban-American community in Miami as an example of an ethnic enclave as well as noting the lack of attention paid to theories of ethnic solidarity in analyzing this community (Girard and Grenier, 2008; Alberts, 2005; Alberts, 2009). Alberts (2009) views this as particularly problematic as authors have consistently used these concepts in very general terms and few have critically engaged with them or provided empirical data to prove or disprove their presence, rather merely accepting them as easily definable. Due to this apparent lack of theoretical framework in much of the literature, Alberts (2005, 2009) focuses much attention

\(^5\) Levin (2010) states of the event: “When famed Cuban dance band Los Van Van performed in Miami on Oct. 9, 1999, thousands of rock- and bottle-throwing demonstrators outside the now-demolished Miami Arena outnumbered the concertgoers inside. The incident capped months of controversy over the band’s appearance and reverberated in the national media, branding Miami -- almost as deeply as would the Elián González incident -- as a place where exile passions could turn violent.”
on the development and application of a theoretical framework for terms such as ethnic solidarity, ethnic attachment and ethnic resources in relation to the Cuban-American community in Miami. These works provide significant fodder for explaining the appearance of a monolithic Miami Cuban community, and will be used in the present study to aid in the interpretation of a generational rupture in exile ideology.

It should be noted that literature does exist depicting conflict within the Miami community. However, this has largely centered on racial conflicts rather than generational changes in ideological association. Similarly, much of this literature does not concentrate on racial divisions within the Cuban community, but rather racial conflicts between Cuban-American migrants and other ethnicities within the geographic location. For example, Grenier and Castro (1999) discuss racial discord between Cuban-Americans on one side, and Haitian migrants and African-Americans on the other in response to a clash of opinion on a visit by Nelson Mandela to Miami in 1990. Indeed, four separate incidents of race riots occurred in Miami in the 1980s, the highest number of racially-based riots in this time period across the United States (Grenier and Castro, 1999). Woltman and Newbold (2008) point to a disparity in assimilation and settlement patterns for black Cuban-Americans. As it has been largely agreed upon that newer waves of migration have included a more racially diverse population of Cuban-Americans it is imperative to consider racial differences in ideology and assimilation when analyzing the Miami Cuban-American population.
Karl Mannheim’s sociological analysis of “The Problem of Generations” marked one of the first major theoretical works on the sociological conception of generation as a social classification and motivator for social change. Mannheim (1952) made a distinction between the concept of a biological generation and a social generation. This work served to provide a theoretical basis to analyze generations as products of social phenomena and historical events rather than strictly biological classifications. He theorized that seismic events served as catalysts to bind and activate the potential inherent in a particular generation, turning a passive generation into an active generation (Edmunds and Turner, 2002).

Literature surrounding generations of Cuban-Americans in Miami have scant theorizing of generational rupture in ideology or sociological conceptions of generation. The majority of such research on the exile community focuses on Miami and on a cohort analysis of émigrés. “The Cuban migrations can be conceptualized as a ‘water faucet’ that has been turned on and off in response to political confrontations” (Rothe and Pumariega, 2009). Susan Eckstein has conducted the most rigorous study on this topic, using the Mannheimian tradition to separate two distinct generations of émigrés. In this, Eckstein (2009a) draws a distinction between the Exiles, or those who left because of the triumph of the revolution and the New Cubans, or the generation that has left for largely economic reasons since the collapse of the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and Cuba’s subsequent economic crisis. However, the investigation recognizes differences in generation based mostly on time of departure from Cuba. Although this proves beneficial, and provides considerable information on ideological differences between immigration
cohorts, it does not provide an in-depth analysis of the younger generation, encompassing both new arrivals and second or third generation Cuban-Americans who were born into exile-led households in the United States. Although occupying the same age location, these groups differ greatly in life experience. In discussing generational ruptures, the entire youth generation must be taken into account in order to form a complete picture of the inherent differences within and between generation units.

This thesis attempts to fill the gaps in this literature by examining the outlets available to a younger generation for vocalization of competing beliefs. The study uses Discourse analysis of two American newspapers, the *Miami Herald* and the *New York Times*. It is recognized that the choice of newspapers limits the analysis to an English speaking audience. This is notable due to the fact that many members of the Cuban-American community in Miami receive news in Spanish. The ramifications of this choice are further expanded upon in Chapter 4.

Articles from each newspaper were collected for the time periods surrounding both the Elian Gonzalez case as well as the Juanes concert because each of these events were significant in terms of highlighting differences of opinion within the Cuban-American community, especially along generational lines. The use of comparative analysis provides insight on the accessibility of media outlets to differing opinions. Through examining the coverage in both papers, a case can be made for the effect of the ethnic enclave on media reporting. With a monopoly on public opinion by an older generation, the necessary resources may not be available
for the creation of an active generation among younger Cuban-Americans in traditional media sources such as newspapers. Admittedly, the rapid expansion of social media and Internet resources have an ever increasing, and difficult to measure effect on political discourse and decision making in the United States, and globally. A limitation to this study is that it does not gauge or examine the effect that social media play in the Cuban American community in Miami. The analysis will attempt to minimize this limitation through including information about internet-based organizations catering to Cuban-American youth.

Research Questions:

The research questions that will be addressed by this thesis are as follows:

- How are Cuban-American youth framed in national and local media?
- Does the media portray an emergent generation of Cuban-Americans?
  How does this differ between the Miami Herald and the New York Times?
- Do young Cuban-Americans in Miami have the necessary resources to form an active generation?

Research Significance:

The present study will benefit the academic literature on both generational theory, as well as literature on ethnic solidarity and enclave politics in the Cuban-American community in Miami. As mentioned, current literature on generations in this population has largely focused on either second generation Cuban-Americans, or a cohort analysis of Cuban-Americans. In order to develop a complete
generational analysis of Cuban Miamians these previously distinctive groups must be studied as differing segments of a single generation. Similarly, limited research exists examining the effect that English language Miami news media has on the enclave ideology in Miami. The comparison between the Miami Herald and the New York Times provides significant data in determining the extent to which openings exist in the Miami media for dissent.

**Chapter Summaries:**

In Chapter 2, a historical overview will be given to decipher the various cohorts of immigration from Cuba to Miami. This section will address disagreements in the literature surrounding the chronology of these immigration waves, defining the usage that will be applied in the current study. A review of the literature on these cohorts will provide significant background information on demographics of each grouping as well as the political-economic situation propelling their departure, and the conditions of their arrival in Miami. This discussion will facilitate an understanding of the importance of Miami as a settling area for Cuban-Americans as well as discussion of differences in ideology amongst émigrés. Literature on ethnic enclaves and ethnic solidarity will be discussed in relation to each cohort, assisting in the understanding of inter and intra group dynamics in Miami.

Chapter 3 provides a comprehensive overview of the theoretical and conceptual framework that directs this thesis. Specifically, Karl Mannheim’s (1952) theory of social generations is used as a central analytical tool to decipher the extent
to which a generational rupture in exile ideology has emerged in recent years. This will incorporate Mannheim’s original theory as well as more recent works that have attempted to update his work in the context of an increasingly globalized world with a much higher degree of access to information than when the work originally was written. Similarly, theories pertaining to ethnic enclaves and ethnic solidarity will be discussed in relation to generational theory as well as the particular context of Miami.

Chapter 4 introduces the reader to the particular methods employed in this study. This chapter begins with an introduction to discourse analysis encompassing the theoretical underpinnings of the method. The study relies on media coverage of two particular events as reported in the New York Times and the Miami Herald. As such, an overview of these media outlets and their significance to the study as well as any inherent bias will be highlighted. Subsequent discussion will include particular details about the processes of data collection, coding and analysis.

Chapter 5 will present the findings and discussion of the present study. The chapter will overview the analysis from both newspapers, providing both a chronological comparison between the time period of 1999/2000 and 2009/2010 as well as comparison between the Miami Herald and the New York Times. A summary of the steps taken in the initial and secondary analysis will be offered. Following this, emergent themes found in the analysis will be identified and their significance will be discussed.
Finally, Chapter 6 attempts to connect the analysis presented in the previous chapter to the original research questions and existing literature. Conclusions will be analyzed in relation to the main theoretical underpinnings of the study. Furthermore, this chapter will discuss the limitations of this study as well as its contributions to the current empirical and theoretical literature. It will also provide suggestions for future research.

In order to adequately develop a framework for this thesis, an historical overview of Cuban-American migration patterns is vital. The historical literature review provided in the next chapter will attempt to facilitate this understanding.
Chapter 2

Historical Overview:

The Pre- and Post-Migration Experiences of Cuban-Americans

This chapter seeks to contextualize Cuban migration patterns, with particular focus on migration between Cuba and Miami, Florida. An estimated 89 percent of Cuban émigrés have settled in the United States, and by 1997 Miami-Dade County had become home to 63 percent of all Cuban-Americans in the United States (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). By 2000 over 1 million Americans self-identified as Cuban-American, with almost half of these being born in the United States (Eckstein, 2004a). Of those born in Cuba, half arrived before 1980 and half after (ibid). This massive concentration of a single immigrant group in one area has allowed the emergence and flourishing of an extensive ethnic enclave. The city of Miami was transformed by the influence of this highly concentrated ethnic group, while simultaneously the location of Miami and geo-political climate of the 1960s allowed for quick and successful adaptation of early post-revolution Cuban émigrés to the United States. Undeniably, Cuban-Americans have been valorized as an example of successful immigrant assimilation.7

Yet, it has recently become clear that differences exist within the Cuban-American population that are not highlighted in popular culture or public

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6 This is the county where the city of Miami is located.
7 Although a contestable term, “assimilation” continues to appear in the literature of immigration. In this context it is used to denote successful adaptation to dominant society, as seen by the government and general population of the receiving country.
understanding of this diaspora (Grenier, 2005; Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). Recent academic literature has suggested that many of these differences within the community, whether they are economic, social, ideological, or behavioral, seem to exist mostly between the migrants that arrived prior to 1980, and those that arrived afterwards (Alberts, 2005; Alberts, 2009; Eckstein, 2004a; Eckstein, 2009a; Girard and Grenier, 2008; Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). The pre-1980 migrants have high incidences of business ownership, financial success, political visibility and ideological stringency; they also have a firm grasp on the public voice of the Miami Cuban-American community.

The apparent reality of those that migrated post-1980 is very different, with a 28 percent poverty rate as compared to 12 percent of the earlier wave (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). Migrants since the 1980s have found economic adaptation and the attainment of the “American dream” far more difficult than previously. They also appear to possess opposing viewpoints on a variety of issues, specifically those pertaining to relations between the United States and Cuba (Eckstein and Krull, 2009). Although half of the Cuban-born Cuban-Americans in the United States have arrived since 1980, their voices remain muffled by the overpowering influence of the elder generation.

In order to understand these differences, a contextualization of the lived experiences of each separate cohort must be constructed as best as possible. “Émigré adaptation may be shaped more by pre- and post- emigration historical and contextual experiences than by the number of generations (and years) a family has settled in a new country” (Eckstein and Barberia, 2009: 801). Further, due to the
control of discourse attributed to the elder generation, dimensions of power relations need to be incorporated into this contextualization for an adequate understanding of generational processes that play out on interpersonal and systemic levels in Miami (Eckstein, 2009a).

The historical trajectory of Cuban migration to the United States since 1959 cannot be separated from a political economic history of both countries. The circumstances surrounding migration from the vast majority of third world countries to first world countries centre on issues attributed to the global political economy, Cuba is no exception to this rule (Chavez, 1999). However, Grenier (2006) points out that in the Case of Cuban migration, vastly more academic attention has been placed on community development in Miami and socio-economic adjustment than the larger political situation surrounding these issues. This is perplexing, because the history of Cuban migration to the United States is inherently political (ibid).

I take the viewpoint that neither migratory motivation nor adaptation can be adequately understood without a full political-economic history of the tensions and relationship between Cuba and the United States, especially during the years of the Cold War. LeoGrande (1998) and Greenhill (2002) argue that migration policies on both sides of the Florida Straits were used as a political tool to exact negotiations from the other side. Lack of dialogue between the two countries allowed political

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8 Due to tense relations between Cuba and the United States relating to the globally felt “Cold War” political circumstances at this time dictated much of the American policy toward Cuba as Cuba’s close relationship with the U.S.S.R. was felt to be a security concern. (See Leogrande, 1998). Chavez (1999) also notes that during this time period, political concerns cannot be removed from migratory patterns.
tensions to rise to a point that a non-violent weapon needed to be played in order to spark dialogue on important bi-lateral issues. Due to the sensitive nature of migration on both sides, and the continual illegal immigration across the straits; migration policy has served as a key bargaining tool between the two countries.

The geo-political situation of the global Cold War and proximity of Cuba to the United States provided the American government with especially strong political motivations for depicting the Cuban revolution in as negative a light as possible to resist its spread (Alberts, 2005; Alberts, 2008; Eckstein and Barberia, 2001; Garcia, 1998). This led to the creation of a great deal of programs and policies aimed at aiding “victims of communism” fleeing what was depicted as an evil totalitarian dictatorship (Eckstein and Barberia, 2001). As historical processes made this less of an issue following the collapse of European socialism, it became increasingly difficult for Cubans to attain the same success as their predecessors.

The increasingly intertwined global economy in the second half of the 20th century meant that every country in the global system depended more than ever on the economies of other countries. This interplay of factors had a huge effect on the standard of living in Cuba, as well as the internal functioning of the country (Chavez, 1999). Unrest within the island caused by larger global events has historically spurred the larger instances of migration (ibid). Similarly, the demographic profile of Cubans opting to leave the island has changed with the shift in global political systems.

This chapter will provide a review of literature and a historical overview to develop an adequate understanding of the interplay of social, economic and political
circumstances that have influenced Cuban migration to the United States, and Miami in particular. These factors combine together to give the historically grounded analysis advocated by Eckstein (2004a), which may help delineate intra-generational variability otherwise undocumented and unexplained as well as allowing for greater specificity and explanation in modern generational conceptions. The combination of political economic factors in the newly established post-World War II global order cannot be separated from the lived experiences of individuals. These global concerns combine with specific demographic factors such as geographic location, class, race and gender to create the world that constructs the lived experiences of each inhabitant.

The pre-migration experience of Cuban-Americans requires a background in Cuban history in order to comprehend the different motivations for migration between waves. Post-migration experience requires an examination of the situation in the United States upon arrival including the resources and support available for rapid adjustment. The complex history of the relationship between the United States and Revolutionary Cuba, as well as between Cuban migrants and both the American and Cuban governments is lengthy and complex. This chapter will delineate the migratory waves as will be used in the remainder of this thesis. It will then attempt to provide sufficient Cuban history relating to each of these pre-determined waves to adequately explain pre-migration experiences. Finally, the adaptation of these waves will be examined in comparison to each other, building the case for distinctive social and political generations in the Cuban-American community. Although motivation and reality within each wave cannot be
considered uniform, distinct characteristics continually emerge throughout the literature.

**Migratory Waves:**

When speaking of the Cuban-American community in Miami, it must be taken into account that there has been an almost constant flow of migrants since 1959, however, migratory experience has varied depending on time of departure from Cuba (Alberts, 2005; Alberts, 2009; Chavez, 1999; Eckstein, 2004a; Eckstein, 2009a; Eckstein and Barberia, 2001; Eckstein and Krull, 2009; Garcia, 1998; Grenier, 2006). Similarily, a growing number of individuals in the Miami Cuban-American community were not born in Cuba, and thus have very different life experiences and ties to the homeland than those that personally emigrated.

Authors define generational cohorts of Cuban immigrants in a variety of ways. For the most part, each defined wave corresponds with a particular event that triggered increased migration from Cuba. Grenier (2006) provides the most in-depth divisions, settling on seven unique waves of migration since 1959. As this project revolves around the concept of social generations, I will divide these waves into two main categories, following the guidelines set out by Susan Eckstein (2004a, 2009a). The first wave will be referred to as the “Golden Exiles” and include those that emigrated prior to 1980. This label is commonly used to describe Cuban migrants of this time period, due largely to their perceived successful economic and social adaptation in the United States (Portes, 1995). Included in this wave is the extensive political exodus of children, referred to as Operation Peter Pan (de
Between December 1960 and October 1962 the United States government worked in tandem with Catholic Church groups in order to evacuate over 14,000 children from Cuba to Miami (Dubinsky, 2010). The airlifts of children were premised on fear tactics spread through propaganda warning the Cuban populace that their children would be taken by the state for indoctrination. Interestingly, this evacuation was kept so secret that many children evacuated from their home under this program are only recently finding out information on their departure from Cuba (de Haymes, 2004; Dubinsky, 2010).

The second wave are identified as “Economic Émigrés” and include those that emigrated post 1980, as well as referring to the changed impetus for migration. These labels correspond with self-definitions within the community as well as correspond to American law related to the acceptance of Cuban migrants. Prior to the Mariel boatlift Cuban-Americans entering the United States were considered political refugees, and given status as such. In the same vein as Susan Eckstein (2004a), the description of the exile generation will rely mostly on migrants that arrived in the United States between 1959 and 1964; and the émigré generation will be focused on post-Cold War migrants (those that emigrated in the 1990s).9

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9 This division is largely based on Eckstein’s explanation: “Since émigrés who arrived in the first five years of Castro’s rule lived almost their entire lives in pre-revolutionary Cuba and little at all in Cuba-transformed, my cohort analysis of pre-1980 émigrés will focus on them. Similarly, my analysis of post-1980 émigrés will focus mainly on islanders who emigrated since 1990, in the post-Soviet era. Émigrés of the 1990s, like those of the 1980s, lived the revolution. However, émigrés of the 1990s also experienced the revolution’s unraveling, once the Soviet Union were relegated to the dustbin of history” (Eckstein, 2004a).
The Migratory Experience of the Golden Exiles:

As it is well established that the first wave of migration was directly caused by the triumph of the Revolution, it is vital to paint a clear picture of the situation in Cuba prior to 1959, and thus the motivations for such a rapid and expansive overhaul of society that ensued thereafter. As this wave of migrants was composed of individuals with little to no experience under the revolution, their pre-migration experience was largely based on their memories of Cuban society prior to the Revolution (Bardach, 2003; Eckstein and Barberia, 2001; Eckstein and Krull, 2009; Eckstein, 2009; Forment, 1989; Garcia, 1996; Rothe and Pumarega, 2008).

Pre-Revolutionary Cuba: The Socialization of the Exiles:

Pre-Revolutionary Cuba was highly influenced by the United States. Alongside the economic and political authority inherent in the terms of the Platt Amendment\(^\text{10}\), Perez (2001) notes that developments in North American culture (specifically that emanating from the United States) created a crisis of nationality in

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\(^{10}\) The Platt Amendment was accepted following the successful independence war against Spain, however it enshrined the rights of the United States to intervene in Cuba politically, economically and militarily. It stipulated that Cuba would not transfer Cuban land to any power other than the United States, mandated that Cuba would contract no foreign debt without guarantees that the interest could be served from ordinary revenues, and ensured U.S. intervention in Cuban affairs when the United States deemed necessary. It also prevented Cuba from negotiating treaties with any country other than the United States that would either "impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba" or allow "any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes or otherwise, lodgment in or control over any portion", thus greatly reducing Cuba's power. It can be found in its entirety at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1901platt.html.
Cuba as developments in American identity immensely impacted Cuban consciousness.

Taylor (2009) points to a conflict between “economic classes” and “political classes” in Cuban society, creating great divisions in wealth and opportunity. The American-controlled business and government sectors favored the economic classes (the wealthy, mostly-white, elite) while disregarding the interests of the political class (the lower classes, and all non-whites). By 1902 80 percent of Cuban ore exports and the majority of tobacco and coffee production were owned by American interests, and tariff laws were set up to favor American business at the expense of Cuba (Cantón Navarro, 2000: 77). This served also to enrich those Cubans loyal to the Platt Amendment, while impoverishing the majority of the population (Gott, 2004; Green, 1985; Saney, 2004; del Aguila, 1984). Evidently, the capitalist class of pre-revolutionary Cuba had strong ties with the United States. Saney (2004: 10) contrasts this with the “more than one quarter of Cuba’s population who were landless peasants, dependent on unstable seasonal employment, who lived a precarious existence.”

Cuba was also used as a sort of lawless entertainment getaway for wealthy Americans. Gambling establishments controlled by American gangsters speckled the landscape, and it is estimated that between 1912 and 1931 the number of prostitutes working in Havana increased from 4000 to 7400 (Perez, 2001). “Cuba was the site of sex with women of the Other, exotic and mysterious, primitive and carnal, passionate and governed by libidinal impulses, and often articulated in
explicitly racist terms” (Perez, 2001: 189). Women were legally able to obtain employment only in certain professions, such as working in lingerie departments of stores and teaching (ibid). In many senses, women were used primarily at the discretion of American men, both sexually and for their labor (Perez, 2001).

Not only were severe inequalities evident between classes and genders, Cuba’s legacy of slavery had maintained deep divisions racially in the population. Gott (2004) notes that nearly a million Spanish settlers arrived in Cuba post-1898, creating a majority white population on the island. However, promises had been made to Afro-Cubans during the wars of independence in exchange for their help in battle (ibid). The unfullfillment of these promises and continuation of racial prejudice spurred unrest within the Afro-Cuban community. At this time period Afro-Cubans had little to lose in the struggle for greater freedoms and equality. Their sense of collective identity with their white counterparts was severely lacking. They also had the most to gain post-revolution (ibid). Their relatively low position in pre-revolutionary society aids in explaining their subsequent migration patterns after the revolution.

These frustrations, among others, combined to create a feeling of unrest that led to a constant flow of dictatorships and coups. After various smaller attempts at overthrowing the American-dominated political and economic system, historical and social conditions lined in favor of social change, and the revolution was born.
Over the course of the three-year period that the *rebeldes*\textsuperscript{11} fought their way from the Sierra Maestra to Havana, they developed a relationship with the *campesinos*\textsuperscript{12} in the countryside, for whom the Revolution was being fought. They explained the necessity of their cause, while recruiting followers. “Reform wasn’t presented as a gratuitous gift of the future government to the people. The urgency and national necessity of it was ceaselessly explained to them” (Sartre, 1961). This tactic served to turn the relatively small military operation into a national movement, with mass support across the island (Saney, 2004; Gott, 2004; Raby, 2006). Saney (2004) makes note that workers and students participated in the urban areas while seasonal agricultural workers and campesinos fought in the rural guerilla army. With a base support comprised of largely the lowest classes of society, the government had to ensure grand scale changes, and at a relatively quick speed in order to maintain support.

Almost immediately the Revolutionary government, under control of the leaders of the M-26 movement\textsuperscript{13}, passed a sweeping agrarian reform, which quickly became a land reform in a broader sense, covering not only agricultural land but also housing and roads (Gott, 2004). In addition to reforming land distribution and housing laws, pharmaceutical prices were dropped, minimum wages in certain sectors were raised, and taxes were lowered for the lower and middle classes while

\textsuperscript{11} “Rebeldes” is a popular Spanish term used to describe the guerilla fighters in the Cuban Revolution.
\textsuperscript{12} “Campesino” refers to the farmers and peasants who the revolution was largely fought for.
\textsuperscript{13} The M-26 Movement is the term used for Fidel Castro’s revolutionary movement. The name stems from the original attack on the Moncada Barracks. M-26 refers to the date of this attack, *Movimiento 26 Julio*.
raised for the upper class (Saney, 2004). These immediate measures helped to solidify the support granted the revolutionary government by the lower classes as well as other disenfranchised groups, however had the opposite effect on the upper and middle classes, eventually serving to rid the island of many of the revolution’s opponents through migration.

_Migration and Post-Migration Experience of the Golden Exiles:_

The Golden Exiles are composed of two separate but demographically similar sub-waves. These include the “True Exiles” and the “Freedom Flights.” The True Exiles fled Cuba immediately following the revolution (1959 – 1963), whereas the Freedom Flights fled after the Cuban Missile Crisis between 1965 and 1973.

_The ‘True’ Exiles:_

Migratory patterns from Cuba to Miami prior to 1959 were sparse. It wasn’t until the Revolution of 1959 that vast numbers of Cubans immigrated to Miami. This influx of Cuban migrants to a single area not only aided in their own adjustment to a new country, but also served to build Miami into a central trading hub of the Caribbean, further facilitating economic adjustment for these early waves of migrants (Eckstein, 2004a; Eckstein, 2009a; Garcia, 1996; Grenier and Stepick, 1992; Grenier, 2006). Similarly, their largely homogenous demographic profile helped to create and insulate an exile ideology that persists in dominating the community. The United States’ desire to maintain control over the area also facilitated special rules and conditions of migration for Cubans, creating a favorable environment for their adjustment. This allowed a sympathetic image of Cuban
migrants to be created in the United States, “a community of model immigrants who, in a very short time, accomplished the “American Dream” and were living in a “Golden Exile” (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008).

Conditions in Cuba were such immediately following the revolution that unsurprisingly the first people clamoring to leave were by and large the white elite. Largely members of the upper and middle classes of Cuban society, they were the least likely to adapt to communism (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008) and were the most likely to lose status and wealth under the new system (Eckstein, 2004a). Chavez (1999: 19) elaborates:

If it had not been for this particular situation, these sectors would have never been part of the migration potential, which is typical of the underdeveloped countries, because they were the owners of the main resources and fortunes, and the ones who economically and politically controlled the country.

The approximate 250,000 emigrants of 1959 – 1964 were typically conservative and Catholic; many also harbored racist and elitist ideological viewpoints stemming from pre-Revolutionary social values in Cuba (Alberts, 2005; Eckstein, 2004a; Grenier and Stepick, 1992; Grenier, 2006). Only 15 percent of émigrés during this time period were unskilled or semi-skilled workers (Eckstein and Barberia, 2001). This wave consisted mostly of highly-educated and bilingual migrants (Eckstein, 2004), including an over representation of professionals and managers (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008; Eckstein, 2004a). The class base of the revolution led to the class-based affinity among initial exiles. Thus, the first wave of
post-revolution migrants arrived with a demographic profile conducive to an easier transition than the majority of immigrant groups, including necessary social and human capital.

*The “Freedom Flights”:*

What has been deemed in most literature to be the second wave of migrants occurred between 1965 and 1973, and was popularly referred to as the “Freedom Flights.” Although this group differed slightly from the initial exiles, it was largely composed of family members of the first wave due to attempts by both the Cuban and American governments at family reunification (Eckstein and Barberia, 2004). They also aided in the creation of a viable ethnic enclave in South Florida (Grenier, 2006). Rothe and Pumareiga (2008) note that this group was largely composed of the petite bourgeoisie. Their demographic profile closely mirrored the “True Exiles”. If this second wave lost less in the Revolution, it was only because they had less to lose (Rothe and Pumareiga, 2008). They maintained the identity of political refugee, pushed from their homeland.

The “Freedom Flights” began following the Cuban missile crisis, when migration was temporarily halted completely (Rothe and Pumareiga, 2008; Grenier, 2006; Eckstein, 2004). This group consisted of approximately 250,000 refugees and marked the beginning of politically-motivated government intervention on migration patterns (Greenhill, 2002).

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14 Small merchants, small farmers, and employees
The Cuban government was politically motivated to rid itself of internal
dissidents that may work to overthrow the revolution and reverse its progress
(Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). In September of 1965 Fidel Castro announced that he
would allow any Cuban with relatives in the United States to leave the island via the
port of Camarioca (Greenhill, 2002). “In one clean sweep, he release(d) the internal
pressure of ‘close counterrevolutionaries who stood ready to undermine his regime”
(Greenhill, 2002: 47). Greenhill (2002) also notes that a second political motivator
for the Cuban government was to send a message to Washington that Havana
controlled Florida’s coastal borders.

Likewise, Leogrande (1998) argues that Washington’s policy towards Cuba
during this time was largely based on security concerns due to Cuba’s relationship
with Moscow and concern with Cuba’s influence on similar revolutionary
movements in Latin America and Africa. Principally, the American method of
dealing with Cuba was simply to not deal with them (Greenhill, 2002). However, the
opening of the port of Camarioca and subsequent influx of migrants forced the
American government, under President Lyndon B. Johnson to enter into secret
negotiations with the Cuban government. This resulted in a memorandum of
understanding of immigration procedures and culminated in two daily airlifts from
Havana to Miami for those desiring to leave from December 1965 – 1973 (Greenhill,
2002; Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). However this was the only diplomatic advance
made at this time, as relations remained “frozen in hostility” (Leogrande, 1998).
Prior to any normalization of diplomatic relations Washington required that Cuba
end all support of Latin American revolutionaries, as well as sever ties with The
U.S.S.R., both of which were non-negotiable to the Cubans (ibid). Similarly, Cuba required that the United States drop the economic embargo prior to their agreement to diplomatic discussions, leaving both sides without recourse for further negotiations (ibid).

Although the historical circumstances surrounding both the ‘True’ Exiles and the Camarioca migrants vary slightly, they maintain a similar demographic profile, ideological beliefs, and pre/post immigration experiences, referred to by Grenier (2006) as push and pull factors. Their demographic profile ensured a “rapid and successful assimilation to the American mainstream” due to their familiarity with the capitalist system and values that conformed nicely to those of the American middle class (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008).

Golden Exiles in Miami: The Creation of a Second Havana:

Eckstein (2004a) postulates that the first cohort of Cuban-Americans to arrive in Miami was economically successful in large part from being in the right place at the right time, and capitalizing on it. This is due to bilateral relations between the United States and Cuba at the time of immigration, as well as the global political tensions brought on by the Cold War. Cuban migrants were treated differently than other immigrant groups at the time, in large part due to the American government’s extreme distaste for a socialist revolution ninety miles from its border.

The American government aided in the transition of all Cuban migrants prior to 1980. A reciprocal relationship was established between the Federal government
and the exiles based on a mutual hatred of communism and desire to see a speedy end to the revolutionary regime. They “benefitted from an attitude of solidarity by the American people and by economic aid from the American government which shared with exiles a strong anti-communist political stance during the peak of the cold war” (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). By adapting well to their new home, they were prime propaganda tools to showcase the superiority of capitalism to communism (Garcia, 1996).

The American government granted Cuban immigrants immediate unconditional refugee status and a variety of public programs to ease their transition to dominant American society. The 1952 “McCarren-Walter Act” exempted “victims of communism” from national immigration quotas (Eckstein and Barberia, 2001). The American government also provided nearly one billion dollars in assistance to the Golden Exiles (Eckstein, 2004a), which came in the form of food, clothing, healthcare, financial aid, job and professional training, bilingual education and college tuition loans (Alberts, 2005; Alberts, 2009; Eckstein, 2004a; Rothe and Pumariega, 2008; Garcia, 1996; Garcia, 1998; Grenier, 2006). This wave of migrants had a relatively smooth and successful transition to life in America. It is largely agreed upon across the literature that the “archetypal well-to-do Cuban American is predominantly a first cohort phenomenon” (Eckstein, 2004a: 17).

The Migratory Experiences of Economic Émigrés:

The late 1970s marked the American government’s reversal of their policy to accept Cuban immigrants unconditionally as political refugees (Alberts, 2005). This
coincided with a switch from migration as politically motivated to migration out of economic necessity (Eckstein, 2004a; Eckstein and Barberia, 2001; Eckstein and Krull, 2009; Greenhill, 2002; Grenier, 2006; Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). The Economic Émigré cohort is largely composed of two populous waves of migration. Unlike the Golden Exiles, the Economic Émigrés in both sub-waves were far more heterogeneous in demographic characteristics and motivations for immigration, more accurately reflecting the demographics of Cuban society.

Two sub-waves are incorporated into the Economic Émigrés. Although they are similar in demographic and pre/post migration experiences, the situation in Cuba at the time of their departure differs significantly due to changes in the international political order brought on by the fall of the U.S.S.R. As such, Cuban history of the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s is necessary to understand the domestic impetus for migration.

Prelude to Mariel: Cuba in the 1970’s:

The majority of the 1970s was devoid of large-scale migratory patterns. This decade began with an economic and social blow to the Cuban public, the failure of the 10 million ton sugar harvest. Over a million citizens, out of a total population of 8.6 million, “were mobilized to work the sugar fields in order to compensate for the lack of capital and mechanical support for the sugar harvest” (Jatar-Hausmann, 1999: 19). Although sugar output did not reach the ten million ton goal, 1970 did mark a year of all-time high sugar output at 8.5 million tons (Eckstein, 2003). While this marked a significant increase in sugar production, the rest of the agricultural
sector suffered as the vast majority of manpower and priority was given to the sugar industry (Dumont, 1970; Eckstein, 2003; Gott, 2004; Green, 1985). It is noted that this failure struck a large blow to the Cuban consciousness, as it had been built up as a national goal and preyed on ideals of collectivism.

Indeed, the beginning of the 1970s is seen as a period distinct from the previous decade, as fissures in the socialist project began to emerge, and discontent with the political and labor demands of the revolution became more apparent among sectors of the population previously supportive of the project as a whole (Gott, 2004).

This disenfranchisement is witnessed through expanded participation in black market activities and worker unrest. Eckstein (2003) notes that in 1970 worker absenteeism reached 20-29 percent. These forms of “quiet resistance” were ways for the populace to rebel against authorities within the revolution, while maintaining a semblance of revolutionary rigidity. The discontent surfaced as Cubans realized that their participation in the workforce was not manifesting in increased material gains (Azicri, 1988; Green, 1985). The emphasis placed on moral incentives over material is listed as a main cause of this social disaffection (Eckstein, 2003; Azicri, 1988). The lack of material incentives provided little motivation for workers to uphold their end of the labor deal.

The solidification of the relationship between Cuba and the Soviets marked a turn away from the independent path Cuba had been favoring and a seeming embrace of Soviet-style principles. This coincided with Cuba’s addition to the
Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, granting the Cuban government access to increased trade and loans (Azicri, 1988; Green, 1985). This relationship proved fruitful as “during the 1970’s, Cuba’s GNP in constant prices rose by an average of six percent a year, or twice that of the previous decade. Investments during the ’70s grew by twelve percent a year, personal income by three percent, and real income, which includes social benefits in addition to wages, by five percent” (Green, 1985: 23). Thus, the close economic relationships developed between Cuba and the Soviet bloc aided in material development, which seemed necessary to squelch national dissent. However, it also served the unintended side effect of simultaneously promoting individualistic and materialist values that ran counter to the principles dictated by the Revolution.

In regards to racial and gender differentiation, the 1970’s provided a considerable increase in legal codes, which served to blur lines between gender and racial stigmatization. In regards to race, the 1970 census eliminated racial categories in a push towards removing racial prejudice from the public sphere (Fernandez, 1999). Similarly, gender equality was addressed with legislation aimed at providing proper maternity benefits to workers, as well as the institutionalization of the “family code” in 1975, declaring that housework and childcare were to be equally shared amongst both members of a married or common law partnership (Randall, 2003). These reforms sought to further integrate those groups that were highly disenfranchised prior to the revolution. The usefulness of legal solutions to problems of inequality is debatable, and although the social conditions of both women and non-white citizens of Cuba were drastically improved from pre-
Revolutionary society, it is still widely accepted that total equality was largely relegated to legal and political rhetoric rather than being apparent on an interpersonal level (Fernandez, 1999; Gott, 2004). Unfortunately, at this time sexuality was still subject to intense scrutiny, with homosexuality considered a crime until 1979 (Gott, 2004). However, it must be remembered that during this time period homosexuality was largely considered a crime across the broader spectrum of the world rather than being exclusive to revolutionary Cuban society.

The revolution was formally institutionalized in 1976 with the establishment of the National Assembly of People’s Power and a ratified constitution, openly claiming the continued socialist nature of the revolutionary process (Saney, 2004; Gott, 2004). The mid 1970s reforms, known as the Process of Institutionalization were geared towards further dispersing power amongst the population (Dilla and Nunez, 2007). The National Assembly of People’s Power was created in 1976, and serves as the highest legislative body on the federal level (Uriarte, 2008). The purpose of this body is to “enable more effective control from below over government and the people, and it enables more effective control from below over all branches of government” (Green, 1985: 38). These political moves were aimed at making the revolutionary process more inclusive of a greater proportion of the population.

The Marielitos:

The end of the ‘70s and beginning of the ‘80s were marked by the Mariel boatlift. The event was precipitated by a downturn in the economy and elements of
social unrest (Eckstein and Barberia, 2008). The “Marielitos” had diverse reasons for leaving Cuba, however the return of approximately 150,000 former migrants following Castro’s first allowance of exile return trips and a temporary thaw in relations under President Carter had a direct impact on many deciding to leave (Eckstein, 2009a; Eckstein, 2004b; Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). The displays of material grandeur and luxury aided in providing those left behind in Cuba with a biased picture of capitalism, one in which life was easy and material possessions were plentiful (ibid). “For the first time this new generation of “children of the revolution” were expressing their disappointment and dissent with the Cuban social experiment” (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008: 251).

The exodus began when a Cuban citizen ran a bus into the Peruvian embassy in order to claim asylum (Gott, 2004; Greenhill, 2002; Eckstein, 2009a; Leogrande, 1998). Castro had been threatening to again open a port to prospective migrants if the United States did not stop giving asylum to Cubans who hijacked boats to the United States, and eventually removed security forces surrounding the Peruvian embassy, prompting approximately 10,000 Cubans to congregate in this area (Greenhill, 2002). Peru agreed to accept one thousand of these would-be migrants, and Castro announced the opening of the Port of Mariel to any others that wished to leave the island. Over the next six months, an estimated 125,000 Cubans left from Mariel harbor, including almost 90,000 in May of 1980 alone (Greenhill, 2002).

The émigrés this time however did not represent the wealthy class that had left immediately following the triumph of the revolution. This cohort of émigrés
was largely working class, and far more racially-diverse than the exile generation (Eckstein, 2009a). They were overwhelmingly blue-collar (71 percent); and composed of members of the working class for which the Revolution had been fought (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). Taking advantage of the circumstances, Castro also emptied prisons and mental hospitals onto boatlifts from Mariel – sending social undesirables to the United States (Eckstein, 2004a; Eckstein and Barberia, 2008; Gott, 2004; Greenhill, 2002; Rothe and Pumariega, 2010). This led to fractures within the Miami exile community, where racial and class differences from pre-revolutionary Cuba began to re-emerge.

*The fall of Socialism: Cuba in the 1980s and 1990s:*

Again, following the Mariel crisis migration severely diminished throughout the 1980s. In a state of constant revision, the Cuban revolution adjusted many mechanisms of economics and politics in the 1980s. These changes occurred in almost all areas of the economy, providing increased access to the world market for both government and private industry (Eckstein, 2003; Saney, 2004; Gott, 2004; Green, 1985; Jatar-Hausmann, 1999). In the agricultural sector, farmers were encouraged to move from individual private farms to cooperatives. Similarly, private farmers markets were opened, thereby ceasing some of the previous black market activity and allowing farmers to sell their surplus production directly to the general population. Although this closer alignment and adoption of Soviet principles aided in the development of larger opportunities for consumption, by the mid-1980s the economy was facing another downturn (Morley and Petras, 1992).
Many authors point to the early / mid-80s as a “time of plenty,” however it should be noted that these memories might be tainted when based on the material scarcity of the following decade (Gordy, 2006; Azicri, 2000). The subsidies from the U.S.S.R. allowed average Cubans to consume more than their government could actually afford, creating a false sense of material security and an increase in expectations for further material gain (Domínguez García, 1997). Between the years of 1980 and 1985, Cuba’s economy grew consistently by 7 percent per year (Morley and Petras, 1992). This increase in material well-being based on subsidies created unrealistic expectations of citizens for increased consumption in the future (Domínguez García, 1997).

The second half of the 1980s proved to be difficult for all Socialist economies, and fractures began to deepen between the world socialist powers. Morley and Petras (1994: 16) make note that Fidel Castro argued “combining political openness with economic austerity could provoke serious political polarization and the consequent weakening of the revolutionary leadership.” Under his leadership, Cuba initiated the “Rectification of Errors Campaign” in which the Revolution reversed many of the openings in the market and loosening of economic control, taking an alternative route to many of the European socialist economies. While internally the political focus had returned to a more stringent form of socialism, externally the Cuban government attempted to garner further access to global markets, playing by the rules of global capitalism (Ritter, 1992). Indeed, this campaign marked one of the first major fissures apparent in the Soviet – Cuba relationship. As Gorbachev was launching measures through Perestroika to open Soviet markets and structures
both internally and externally, Castro was moving in the opposite direction, attempting to rectify the perceived errors of liberalizing the economy.

Perhaps the Cuban government suspected the upcoming break with the Soviets, which impelled them to make moves toward greater self-sufficiency in the late eighties. Regardless, as the U.S.S.R. slowly fell apart on the global stage, Cuba sat halfway around the world watching their entire economic survival collapse. In order to adequately grasp the magnitude of economic devastation, it is imperative to understand that with the collapse of the U.S.S.R. and CMEA Cuba almost instantaneously lost 85 percent of their total trade (Saney, 2004; Miller and Kenedi, 2003). By 1992, trade between Cuba and the CMEA countries had declined to a mere 7 percent of what it was in 1989 (Eckstein, 2003). Gordy (2006: 392) notes that:

Between 1989 and 1993, Cuba’s import bill decreased by 70 percent, the Soviet Union decided to stop automatically covering Cuba’s trade deficits, and Cuban national output fell by more than 50 percent. During the same period, the GDP fell by 35 percent, private consumption dropped by 30 percent, and gross investment decreased by 80 percent.

After the collapse of all things socialist in Europe, the world watched Cuba, anticipating the fall of Castro’s regime. However, although the extreme adversity brought disillusion, social unrest, frustration and anger – it did not produce, as expected, the demand for regime change or a return to capitalism (Taylor, 2009).
In response to the extreme devastation brought by the collapse of the Soviet Bloc, Castro announced in 1991 that the country was entering a *Periodo especial en tiempo de paz* (Special Period in Peacetime) - meaning that the government was to place the country under a state of emergency, as is the case during wartimes (Gott, 2004; Saney, 2004). Rations would become more stringent, gasoline would be scarce, blackouts would become a regular occurrence, and access to imported goods would be incredibly rare. The continued success of the revolution depended largely on the average Cuban citizen practicing extreme austerity for the survival of their nation. The vast majority of Cuban citizens found survival extremely difficult during this time period (Rothe and Pumariega, 2010). And once again, when public unrest got to a boiling point, the government offered those that disagreed the chance to leave.

*The Balseros:*

In 1994 Castro allowed any citizen to leave by sea, without US entry permits (Eckstein, 2009a). Whereas between 1982 and 1990 the US Coast Guard reported rescuing only 1000 Cuban rafters, this number increased dramatically to over 45,000 between 1991 and 1994 (Eckstein and Barberia, 2002). The so-called “balsero” crisis was precipitated by a protest in downtown Havana of approximately two thousand Cubans (Eckstein and Barberia, 2002), and an increasing number of embassy crashings and violent boat hijackings (Greenhill, 2002). Castro announced on August 5, 2004 that the rioting had been caused by a rumored US-led boatlift to Miami.
Following an announcement by American President Bill Clinton on August 20th that Cuban migrants would no longer be unconditionally accepted, and that remittances and exile visits would again be suspended, Castro announced the opening of borders. The policy of arresting those illegally leaving the island was reversed, stating: “either the US take serious measures to guard their coasts, or we will stop putting obstacles in the way of people in the US who want to come and look for their relatives here” (Greenhill, 2002: 40). Thus, this wave of migrants stood in stark contrast to the exiles, as their departure was condoned by the Cuban government and thus more easily maintained familial island ties. However, they were not received with the same hospitality in their new home as older exiles. This has served to maintain the newer migrants homeland ties, while providing them with less connection with their new home.

Over the course of the next month some 37,000 Cubans abandoned the island using boats, rafts, and any other makeshift floatation device (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). These migrants were similar in demographics to the Marielitos, and a stark contrast to the Golden Exiles. Almost half of this wave consisted of laborers and operators, with only 9 percent being managers, executives or administrators (Eckstein and Barberia, 2002). Their motives for leaving Cuba were almost entirely economic in nature, as emigration began to be seen as a method of family survival (Alberts, 2005; Eckstein, 2004a). These migrants were no longer classified as political refugees in the United States, instead as illegal immigrants under new laws enacted by President Clinton (Greenhill, 2002). As such, prospective migrants were not automatically accepted upon arrival in Miami, but were sent to the American
naval base at Guantanamo Bay as well as other refugee camps (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008).

Post-Migration Experiences: Economic Émigrés in Miami:

The Economic Émigrés arrived to a pre-established Cuban community in Miami. Due to their radically different demographic characteristics, and lack of pre-existing familial ties in the community, their adjustment to life in Miami took a starkly different path than their predecessors. The initial reception to the Marielitos was one of hostility, especially when it became known that criminals, mental health patients, and homosexuals were strategically placed amongst the immigrants (Eckstein and Barberia, 2002; Eckstein, 2004a; Gott, 2004; Grenier, 2006). The Golden Exiles were largely concerned that this new influx of less desirable immigrants would tarnish their image as ideal citizens (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). Similarly, the temporary placement of many Marielitos and Balseros in refugee camps did not provide the welcoming atmosphere afforded to earlier migrants (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008; Leogrande, 1998).

Although Cold War tensions remained high during the time period of the Mariel boatlift, the collapse of the Soviet Union by the Balsero crisis had greatly decreased the importance of Cuba in the sphere of American foreign policy. Similarly, the 1980s and 1990s brought immigration to the forefront of domestic political issues with the American populace becoming increasingly concerned about illegal immigration, which has persisted to the present (Grenier, 2006; Greenhill,
2002). This created a less accommodating atmosphere to the new Cuban immigrants, as well as the removal of all special benefits once afforded to them.

This chapter has attempted to contextualize the pre- and post- migration experiences of Cuban-Americans in Miami, Florida. Understanding the lived experiences of migrants both before and after the act of immigration allows for a more clear depiction of motivation, and adaptation strategies. The next chapter will provide the theoretical framework used to understand these discrepancies as generationally based.
Chapter Three

Theoretical Underpinnings

Taking the viewpoint that social change is often generationally based; an attempt will be made to understand the Cuban-American community in Miami in terms of the sociological conception of generations rather than cohort-based as is commonly done. This chapter will provide an overview of the theoretical work on the sociology of generations, as well as provide a literature review of work done on generations within the Miami Cuban-American community.

Conceptualizing “Generation”: The Mannheimian tradition:

Although ‘age’ is used as a common variable in sociological research, the concept of generation has received comparatively little attention in both theoretical and empirical literature. The concepts of generation and age are often muddled together and misunderstood as interchangeable. However, although both stem from one’s birth year; generational affinity is far more experiential than age, which is biologically determined. The concept of generation is referred to casually in daily language yet remains unclear with no definitive boundaries or classifications readily available. Although attempts have been made to define generations in biologically-determined mathematical terms, this quantitative mode of operationalization overlooks a large part of what binds certain individuals as distinct generations, as well as ignores the obvious fact that birth year does not in and of itself have the ability to form cohesive social units or dictate specific social locations.
Karl Mannheim recognized these issues in his seminal work on generational theory, “The Problem of Generations.” The foremost task in understanding Mannheim’s conception of generation is to distinguish between the idea of biological generations and social generations. Mannheim (1952: 278) asserts that a purely biological definition of generation attempts to “express the rhythm of historical development, based on the biological law of the limited life-span of man and the overlap of new and old generations”. However, the inevitability and predictability of biological factors are ill-equipped to explain the vast array of historical processes of social change. Birth year acts as an anchor, categorizing individuals into cohorts that progress through life stages at the same moments in time. This does provide a sort of obvious classification, but does not offer any explanation for the social relevance of this biological categorization. Mannheim (1952: 291) criticizes the biologically-determined view of generations and social change for minimizing the importance of social and historical actors, and asserts that

The sociological problem of generations therefore begins at that point where the sociological relevance of these biological factors is discovered. Starting with the elementary phenomenon itself, then, we must first of all try to understand the generation as a particular type of social location.

One’s place in the historical layout in relation to others provides the potentiality for a common bond, but not the necessity or inevitability of one. It also does not dictate a common consciousness or affinity amongst members. The category of generation exists as a social structure, but requires other social facts to
become a driving force of social change. Mannheim’s concepts of generation location, generation unit, generation as actuality and generation entelechies describe the various social implications of these socially-constructed forces, and the ways in which generations stimulate social change.

*Generational Location:*

Mannheim argues that similarity of location can be defined:

... only by specifying the structure within which and through which location groups emerge in historical-social reality. Class-position was based upon the existence of a changing economic and power structure in society, Generation location is based on the existence of biological rhythm in human existence – the factors of life and death, a limited span of life, and ageing. Individuals who belong to the same generation, who share the same year of birth, are endowed, to that extent, with a common location in the historical dimension of the social process (Mannheim, 1952: 290).

The meaning of location is almost fully defined by the fact that it is not a concrete group. According to Mannheim, a social location provides the potential for a group to form. This is completely distinct from groups that have distinct boundaries and permanence (such as the family) (Mannheim, 1952). The generation location is a metaphorical “place” that a person inhabits, providing them with the opportunity to form a more cohesive collective with fellow inhabitants, but not the surety or solidity of one. Therefore, a social generation location is the potential for a generation to form.
In attempting to explain a seemingly complex concept, Mannheim (1952) maintains that generational location can be likened to class location. Indeed, this allusion aids in interpreting the concept of generation because it conditions the experience of being as quite separate from a quantifiable definition. Class is a relevant social classification because it dictates certain life experiences; it provides a person with a greater or lesser probability of specific occurrences. Those in the working class will have less chance of attaining a university education than their upper class counterparts, not necessarily meaning it is impossible but simply that there is a proclivity against it (Arthur, Hutchings and Ross, 2003). It is a social location that provides a specific construct, in many ways like a geographic location. It is this aspect of location that likens the process and experience of generation to class.

The generation location is a product of the specific social and historical context, which by virtue of the human life span limits individuals to a specific range of experiences. Mannheim explains that there are specific positive and negative delimitations attached to a generation location that both include and exclude varying “modes of thought, expression, experience, feeling and action and restricts the range of self-expression open to the individual to certain circumscribed possibilities” (Mannheim, 1952: 291). These dictate potential life experience and defining events, thus providing the potential for a generation to form around common experience.
Inherent in the idea of generation location is also the assumption that each generation follows the last in a nonlinear, and yet temporal fashion. Boundaries of generational locations may be blurred, and yet there is still a distinctive sequence of one generation following another, thereby allowing particularly useful elements of a culture and society to be transmitted; while discarding other less beneficial parts (Mannheim, 1952). The continual nature of this process of cultural and social transmission produces gradual change, as generations do not all at once die off and allow the next to take control. Similarly, transmission occurs through intermediary, or buffer generations. These generations exist in the space between older and younger generations, and act as mediator between the two, assuming elements of both locations. The oldest generation does not influence the youngest first; it is the intermediary generation of parents that does this. Thus, providing a bridge from old generation to new, and a gradual process of social change (Mannheim, 1952: 301).

Not only is historical location important in that it exposes people to specific events and cultural phenomena, but also the life stage a person is at when such exposure occurs. Thus different age cohorts are affected by specific events in different ways depending on when in the life cycle they occurred. Sharing experiences of significant events at a distinct life stage, can serve to build comraderie amongst generational locations. Mannheim (1952) notes that those events that occur during a person’s adolescence and early adulthood have a more significant impact than those that occur at any other point in the lifecycle. Even if the rest of one’s life is bombarded with messages that conflict with the worldview developed in adolescence and early adulthood, the influence of early impressions
remain central. “For even in negation our orientation is fundamentally centered upon that which is being negated and we are thus still unwittingly determined by it” (Mannheim, 1952: 298).

Thus, the generation location provides the conditions necessary for a generation to form, in much the same way that a class location forms. However, it remains unclear how some generations affect greater authority and social change than others. This is explained through Mannheim’s idea of the generation as actuality.

*Forming Bonds: The Generation as Actuality:*

Whereas a generational location “only contains potentialities which may materialize, or be suppressed, or become embedded in other social forces and manifest themselves in modified form” (Mannheim, 1952: 303), a generation as actuality requires human agency within the structure of a generation location. It requires those inhabiting similar locations to form a concrete bond, realizing both the common location they share and participating in the shared destiny of the group (Mannheim, 1952). Mannheim (1952: 303) maintains that the bond is especially cohesive when exposed to “the social and intellectual symptoms of a process of dynamic de-stabilization.” Thus, times of abrupt and vigorous change are more likely to bond members inhabiting the same generation location in a more concrete form.

On the occasion that a generation as actuality does form, it does not necessarily encompass all members of the specific location (Mannheim, 1952: 304).
This logic allows for individuals from various geographic and cultural conditions to share a generation location, while not being members of the same generation as actuality. They maintain similar location, because the possibility exists that they could be “sucked into the vortex of social change” but are only considered a generation as actuality if “they participate in the characteristic social and intellectual currents of their society and period, and insofar as they have an active or passive experience of the interactions of forces which made up the new situation” (Mannheim, 1952: 304). Thus, the generation as actuality is in essence the harnessing of the potentialities inherent in a generation location.

*Breaks in Generation Location: The Generation Unit:*

Although individuals within a generation may experience similar events, their specific experience of and response to these processes may vary due to differences in gender, race, class, geographic location, and sexuality. Generation units are the splintering of a generation as actuality into smaller, more cohesive factions. A generation unit has more similarity in beliefs and views of the world, as well as experiences of being. What constitutes these somewhat adversative generation units as a single totality is the fact that they are inherently oriented towards each other, even if only obvious through conflict (Mannheim, 1952). Opposed generational units are created in reaction to the same event, but react differently depending on a variety of other demographic factors.
Generational Entelechy:

The realization of the potentialities inherent in a generation location depends on the ability for a new generation style (or entelechy) to emerge. Mannheim (1952: 309) stresses that the development of a specific generation entelechy is dependent on the tempo of social and cultural change at a particular moment in temporal time. Mannheim theorizes that societies experiencing little social change will not develop new generation entelechies. “In such communities, the tempo of change is so gradual that new generations evolve away from their predecessors without any visible break, and all we can see is the purely biological differentiation and affinity based upon difference or identity of age” (Mannheim, 1952: 309).

However, Mannheim theorizes that the pace of social change is somewhat of a balancing act as he states “on the other hand, it is conceivable that too greatly accelerated a tempo might lead to mutual destruction of the embryo entelechies” (Mannheim, 1952: 310). Thus, it appears that an excessively sluggish tempo of social change may retard the establishment of distinct generational entelechies, while periods of exceptionally hastened social change may deny the developing entelechies from achieving full fruition. For those generations incapable of attaining their own generation entelechy due to the speed of social change, many members will attach themselves to a previous generation that has developed a strong identity,

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15 In describing the meaning of entelechy, Mannheim (1952: 311-315) uses both Pinder's conception as a generation's “inborn way of experiencing life and the world” and the concept of Zeitgeist (described as ‘a spirit of the age’). In this, it is understood that particularly cohesive generations as actuality develop entelechies that pervade society at large, imposing their own world-views on other, less powerful generation locations. Mannheim also states that entelechies are not simply the beliefs of one generation unit, but rather a mishmash of the beliefs of all generation units, superseding any particular generation unit's beliefs.
or a younger generation that appears to have more chance of developing a strong entelechy (Mannheim, 1952: 310). This displays the fluidity of generation, in that one can transcend generational boundaries if conditions are right.

**Mannheim Revisited**

Despite the deficit in sociological examinations of social generations, the influence of the “sixties generation” or “baby-boomers” on Western society has spurred an increase in this field (Best and Kellner, 2003; Eyerman and Turner, 1998). The speed and scope of social, technological and cultural change that occurred in the latter half of the twentieth century has facilitated increased academic interest in the role that generations play in social change. Mannheim’s conceptions of generation have been criticized and expanded to fit the historical trajectory of generational change. Pilcher (2004) critiques Mannheim for only offering a theoretical explanation of the problem, leaving empirical guidelines up to the imagination of the social researcher. Edmunds and Turner (2005) argue the need for a more comprehensive explanation of the creation of active generations; which are the catalysts of social change. Additions have also been made to Mannheim’s original conceptions to account for vast changes in the world, especially in areas like communications and technology (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009; Edmunds and Turner, 2005; Edmunds and Turner, 2002). Developments in globalization have significantly impacted the information that individuals are privy to, thereby requiring adjustments in Mannheim’s original theory (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009; Edmunds and Turner, 2005; Edmunds and Turner, 2002).
Generational Cohesiveness: Active, Passive and Strategic Generations:

Recent work has pointed to varying degrees of cohesiveness and sense of common destiny as defining features amongst ‘active’ generations (Edmunds and Turner, 2005; Edmunds and Turner, 2002; Eyerman and Turner, 1998; Turner, 2002). Edmunds and Turner (2005: 561) argue that the concept of “active generations”, and how they achieve social change can be best theorized using a combination of Mannheim and Bourdieu. The use of Bourdieu’s work displays the importance of culture in the formation of generation (Edmunds and Turner, 2005; Eyerman and Turner, 1998; Gillear and Higgs, 2009). Competition for scarce resources is seen as a major cause of social change. Inter- and intra-generational conflict manifests in a competition for economic, social, and cultural resources (Edmunds and Turner, 2002). The conflict caused by this competition for resources spurs social change.

Generations shift from being a passive cohort (‘generation in itself’) into a politically active and self-conscious cohort (‘generation for itself’) when they are able to exploit resources (political/educational/economic) to innovate in cultural, intellectual or political spheres (Edmunds and Turner, 2005: 362).

Building on Mannheim’s work and borrowing from Marxist conceptions of class, Edmunds and Turner (2005: 562) liken an active generation to a “class-for-itself” (generation-for-itself) and a passive generation to a “class-in-itself”.

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16 The term “class-for-itself” refers to a class that has developed a distinct class-consciousness, and is aware of their place in the class structure. Found in Marx’s “The Poverty of Philosophy” first published in 1847.
A passive generation, or generation-in-itself, merely exists in a generation location without achieving actuality. By developing a consciousness common to others in the location, the generation can achieve actuality, and become an active generation capable of social change (or, a generation-for-itself). Edmunds and Turner (2005: 562) theorize that an active generation that causes social change is often followed by a passive generation that merely inherits the changes of the more culturally dominant generation. In Mannheimian terms, the generation-for-itself develops new generational entelechies while a passive generation merely carries these forward. When a more dominant generation can maintain its stranglehold on resources, it can block the emergence of an otherwise cohesive generation unit.

The degree of power that an active generation carries forward crushes many opportunities for the upcoming generations (Edmunds and Turner, 2005). “In consuming existing resources and opportunities an active generation closes off potential advantages to successive generations” (Edmunds and Turner, 2005: 562). Edmunds and Turner (2005) further note that these particularly powerful active generations become strategic when their monopolization of resources “influence significantly the opportunities for collective action of future cohorts” (Edmunds and Turner, 2005: 562). Thereby, the generations that have the most influence on the existent social structures are those that withhold power from incoming generations. Social change is caused when there is a generational rupture in transmission of

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17 The term “class-in-itself” refers to a class that has not developed class-consciousness, yet constitutes a class location. Found in Marx’s “The Poverty of Philosophy” first published in 1847.
communal ideologies and beliefs, and when the availability of necessary resources exists (Turner, 2002).

*The Role of Collective Memory:*

In order to adequately change social structures through generational advancement, certain elements of the collective memory are carried forward, while other less integral ideals are forgotten. Eyerman and Turner (1998: 97) point out that a “generational cohort survives by maintaining a collective memory of its origins, its historic struggles, its primary historical and political events, and its leading characters and ideologists.” This is especially salient for migrants who maintain a memory of not only a past location, but also a past life. In order to accurately transmit societal norms, generations overlap in a way that places the youngest members of a society with older generations during the first stages of life; allowing them to absorb the transmitted messages of collective memory (Schwartz, 1996; Eyerman and Turner, 1998). Eyerman and Turner (1998: 93) claim that collective memory is the function of a cohort’s shared habitus, or the common:

- systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures
- predisposed to functioning as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them. (Bourdieu, 1990: 53).
That is, the unconscious beliefs and dispositions developed in response to determining structures encountered by individuals of a similar cohort.\textsuperscript{18} In order to maintain any sort of stability in a social system, each generation must overlap in order to properly transmit societal ideals, norms and beliefs.

While generations overlap, they also occupy distinct social locations characterized by the particular historical and social position inhabited. Although collective memory is transmitted from one generation to the next, it is interpreted based on the specific location occupied by the receiver (Schuman and Scott, 1989). Therefore, the newly interpreted memory serves to bind a generation both to its larger societal structures, as well as creating a distinct cultural character for the specific generation (Eyerman and Turner, 1998). It has thus been theorized that generations are best understood in the cultural context, as distinct groups characterized by specific cultural cues, such as art, fashion, music, emotions and beliefs (Penn, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984; Eyerman and Turner, 1998; Edmunds and Turner, 2002).

While collective memories of the past are transmitted to new members of a society, new generations are simultaneously creating their own collective memories that bind their generation as a distinct unit (Schuman and Scott, 1989). These shared memories and experiences partially serve to provide continuity in a society, however the process of transmission may in turn produce a rupture in ideology.

\textsuperscript{18} The term \textit{habitus} is an extremely complex concept, a proper explanation of which requires far more room than available or necessary in this paper. An in depth explanation can be found in: Bourdieu, P. 1990. \textit{The Logic of Practice}. Polity Press: Cambridge, U.K.
based on interpretation. This rift, or intergenerational conflict, may then begin a shift towards larger social change (Pilcher, 1994; Schuman and Scott, 1989).

Collective memory of an especially formative traumatic event is essential to the formation of a social generation (Edmunds and Turner, 2005; Eyerman and Turner, 1998; Pilcher, 1994; Schuman and Scott, 1989; Spitzer, 1973; Vincent, 2005; Wyatt, 1993). Although Mannheim originally postulated that events have the most effect if they take place during an individual’s formative years; Schuman and Scott (1989) point out that he neglected to quantitatively or theoretically define this. Their study of 1410 Americans concluded that events that occur in late adolescence and early adulthood have the most effect on the trajectory of an individual’s life (Schuman and Scott, 1989). Schuman and Scott (1989) do note however that it is possible for an event to have a significant impact on an individual even if experienced before this period, or not directly at all. Using the example of World War II they point out that 20 percent of respondents born in the years immediately following the War cited it as the most important event of the century (Schuman and Scott, 1989: 371). However, the way this event is interpreted may be entirely different based on age at time of occurrence (Schuman and Scott, 1989).

Global Generations:

It has been postulated that generations are no longer a nationally bound phenomenon; but that a globalized world has led to the creation of global generations (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009; Edmunds and Turner, 2005; Eyerman and Turner, 1998). Although individuals continue to experience the same
historic events in starkly different ways based on race, class, gender and geographic location – defining world events are now shared, as media and technology have dramatically increased the extent of available knowledge.

Eckstein (2004a) points to a post-modern turn in generational theory in which a generation is conceived of including people who share common experiences, regardless of geographic location. This is especially true in the current era of mass border crossings and migration. Glick-Schiller and Fouron (2001) redefine second generation to include the entire generation both in the homeland and in the new land. The internationalization of social networks and contact has expanded the sphere of inclusion in social generations.

Creation of a global generation is largely facilitated by a rapidly increasing information technology industry (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009; Edmunds and Turner, 2005). This technological advancement creates new mechanisms of communication by which generations can almost completely close geographic gaps; thus increasing opportunities for achieving actuality by magnifying the volume of potential participants. An increase in the scope and spread of information has also created an increased consciousness of world events (Edmunds and Turner, 2005; Edmunds and Turner, 2002). Both Edmunds and Turner (2005) and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2009) point to the ever-increasing reach of Western media for spreading Western ideals to the remotest corners of the globe. “Everywhere in the world more and more people look at their own lives through the optic of possible ways of life presented by the mass media in every conceivable way” (Beck and Beck-
Therefore, as these western ideals are being exported across the world, the resources that once made the desired lifestyle possible are disappearing (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009; Ruddick, 2003). Expectations of migration to wealthy countries are far from matching up with reality for most current migrants.

The globalization of media and information communications has facilitated greater expectations for equality (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009: 27). Inequality between various countries is no longer accepted as fate, but “emphatically called into question, even if only one-sidedly: by the people ‘outside’” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009: 27). Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2009: 26) argue that a new global generation is forming, and advocate the use of a cosmopolitan perspective in its analysis. Recognizing the naivety of assuming a similar generation is emerging everywhere; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2009: 26) state that deep divisions and conflicts are caused within the social generation by stark differences in “material resources, positions and opportunities of access.” Skewed images of western lifestyles through media and tourism provide second and third world youth with an imaginary ideal to aspire to (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009: 28). “A new order becomes discernible in them – no longer the order of homeland and place of origin, but the (imagined) order of the longed-for larger world” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009:28). However, as economic disaster has befallen many of the countries of the first world, increasingly exclusionary immigration practices are being incorporated to protect developed economies from undesirable unskilled labor (Beck and Beck-
Gernsheim, 2009; Ruddick, 2003). Thus opportunity to improve one’s position through migration is shrinking.

In the capitalist world, political participation has dramatically decreased since the mid-eighties (De Toledo, 2008; Best and Kellner, 2003; Hochschild, 2001; Jeffrey, 2008; Wyn and Woodman, 2006). Many scholars point to the increase in pace and scope of global capitalism; as well as a perceived decrease in political choice and influence for the heightened degree of apathy of the west’s youth. (De Toledo, 2008; Henn, Weinstein and Wring, 2002). It is noted that political participation may in fact be decreasing on a global scale in accordance with the spread of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism (Edmunds and Turner, 2005; Klein, 2007).

However, this decrease in political participation may not be a sign of apathy, but rather a rejection of formal political structures (Banaji, 2008). A study by Banaji (2008: 545) across six European countries showed a “trend for young people to be more suspicious of and unlikely to trust government and formal politics than some older people.” A seeming erosion of the ideals of citizenship has led to a decline in optimism, trust, and confidence in political systems amongst youth (Edmunds and Turner, 2005). Current youth generation units may merely express their resistance and participation in social systems through different mannerisms than previous generations (Banaji, 2008; Edmunds and Turner, 2005; Eyerman and Turner, 1998; Penn, 1977). The Internet and other technological developments have provided youth with new opportunities for civic engagement with a global society outside
traditional means (Banaji, 2008; Edmunds and Turner, 2005). Best and Kellner (2003) describe this characteristically apathetic generation as merely a singular faction of the larger generation as a whole.

The emergent generation in the first world is faced with a far less hospitable labor market than their generational predecessors (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009; Best and Kellner, 2003; Edmunds and Turner, 2005; Eyerman and Turner, 1998). Structural transformations in the global political economy of labor have disproportionately affected young people (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009; Eyerman and Turner, 2005). Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2009) cite a 2006 study conducted by Blossfeld confirming that across twelve OECD countries increasing insecurity among youth is a constant regardless of geographic location, leading to the conclusion that although differently affected across the globe, youth as a whole are “united in decline” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009: 33). This leads to potential conflict whereby youth in the west are leading more insecure and precarious existences, while non-western youth still look to these locales as destinations of choice (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009). Thus the expectations of both groups are likely left unfulfilled, as the generation unit located in the first world must accept declining material standards, and those with aspirations of gaining entry to the First World are faced with increasing obstacles to entry (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009; Ruddick, 2003).
Generational Differences in Cuban Adaptation: Literature Review

As recognized earlier, pre- and post-migration factors have the ability of shaping social generations of migrants (Eckstein, 2004b). Recent literature has identified varying generation locations and accompanying generation units within each location in the Cuban population remaining in Cuba (Krull and Kobayashi, 2009). Taking the recently theorized concepts of global generations into consideration, it seems likely that the Cuban-American community in Miami would mirror generational divides based on the continual migration of Cubans to the area. The remainder of this chapter will focus on providing a literature review of works conducted on the variation between generations in the Miami community.

The Formation of an Ethnic Enclave:

The Golden Exiles, including both the “true” exiles and the freedom flights were imperative in the creation of a viable ethnic enclave community in South Florida (Grenier, 2006; Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). They benefited from Miami’s rapid growth during this time period, while likewise largely contributing to the economic growth that occurred, again participating in a seemingly reciprocal relationship. When the first wave of migrants arrived in Miami, it was largely a seasonal economy dependent on the tourist industry of Miami Beach (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). The rapid economic transformation of Miami to a hub of regional trade, banking, multinational corporate activity and tourism is largely attributable to the influx of Cuban immigrants in the area (Portes, 1987; Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). However, “the economic activities of these exiles would not have amounted
to much more than a series of rags-to-riches stories had it not been for their interaction with the geographical position of the city and with the evolution of the surrounding Caribbean Basin economies” (Portes, 1987: 341).

Miami’s location adjacent to Cuba, as well as its vast Cuban population placed it perfectly as a hemispheric national security outpost (Eckstein, 2004a; Grenier and Stepick, 1992). As the Cuban exiles shared a common desire to uproot the Castro regime with the American government, Miami was the ideal location for such operations. Similarly, the American government feared regional contagion of the Cuban revolution, and Cuban exiles possessed the linguistic skills along with political ideology to aid in the defense of the continent from further socialist rebellion. It is estimated that the CIA employed approximately 12,000 Cuban exiles in the early 1960s (Grenier and Stepick, 1992), providing vast access to employment opportunities.

Exiles who arrived with capital were able to establish their own businesses that largely hired co-ethnics (Grenier, 2006). Indeed, by 1977 over 30,000 Cuban-owned firms existed in the United States (Portes, 1987). The creation of these businesses facilitated employment in the region, but also facilitated the creation of more ethnic businesses, spurring the formation of an ethnic economy. Even for those members of this wave who were not able to bring their wealth with them access to capital was slightly easier than for other immigrant groups due to the

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19 The term “ethnic economy” refers to an economy inclusive of the ethnic community it serves. Members can work, go to school, and conduct daily business transactions within the confines of the ethnic community. (Grenier, 2006).
dominance of co-ethnics in the area. For example, Cuban bankers were able to start small baking institutions, as well as secure jobs in local Miami banks, and were quickly promoted to managerial positions (Portes, 1987). Their presence in top banking positions proved to be a benefit to others, as they were able to establish a process of “character loans” (Alberts, 2005; Alberts, 2009; Portes, 1987; Portes and Stepick, 1993).

They inaugurated the practice of lending start-up business capital with little or no collateral, on the basis of the business reputation and credit history of the applicant in Cuba. In essence, these bankers transported personal knowledge and business networks from Cuba to Miami and proceeded to apply them in the new economic context” (Portes, 1987: 363).

Cuban-Americans also benefitted greatly from Small Business Association (SBA) Loans. “Cuban émigrés of the first cohort managed to receive nearly half the loans the SBA awarded in Miami between 1968 and 1980” (Portes and Stepick, 1993: 46). However, émigrés have been far less likely to receive this type of assistance.

The influx of Cuban-owned businesses in Miami aided immensely in the creation of an ethnic enclave economy, “an economy both for and by Cubans” (Eckstein, 2004a). Girard and Grenier (2008) suggest that the creation of an ethnic enclave supports cultural and ideological insulation through “institutional completeness.”

This institutional completeness becomes possible when an entrepreneurial class, generally arriving in the first wave of émigrés, is transplanted into the
host society. This entrepreneurial class creates small and medium-sized enterprises sufficiently diverse to provide both employment and a full range of consumer goods and services. Thus, unlike the more pervasive ethnic neighbourhood, the ethnic enclave enjoys an extensive division of labour that allows consumption and employment to take place within the enclave. (Girard and Grenier, 2008: 532).

This ethnic enclave creates an environment where members can quite literally live their whole lives within the confines of the enclave (Perez, 1992). Although this can provide benefits to members, as it eases the transition to a new culture – it can also enmesh hegemonic ideologies.

Discrepancies exist in the literature regarding the benefit that more recent émigrés have obtained from arriving in Miami to a pre-established ethnic enclave. Quite obviously, this serves to ease their transition as it provides an inclusive environment whereby language was not a barrier to employment or settlement. However, it has been argued that more recent migrants are not automatically accepted socially into the enclave due to ideological differences as well as pre-existing racial and class stereotypes held by the Golden Exiles. Similarly, the benefits provided to the Golden Exiles by the American government simply did not exist for newer migrants who arrived when Cold War tensions had largely diminished (Grenier, 2006; Eckstein, 2004a).

In comparing career trajectories of both waves of Cuban Americans, it must first be noted that the Golden Exiles were far more likely to arrive in the United
States with capital, whereas by the time the Economic Émigrés arrived there had been little opportunity to amass large amounts of financial savings, as the revolution had successfully eliminated the existence of large discrepancies between social classes. As their name dictates, these immigrants were primarily leaving Cuba to expand their economic opportunities. Economic Émigrés of the 1980s and 1990s were also not afforded the immense benefits provided to their predecessors by the American government that had tapered off considerably in the 1970s (Eckstein, 2004a: 22). Thus, although those exiles that arrived with little financial capital were afforded a leg up by government aid programs; the later migrants were not given this same benefit.

New Cuban immigrants enter the job market through the large number of Cuban owned businesses in Miami. This not only facilitates their entry into the labour market based on shared language and culture, but also allows for a constant influx of lower entry labour that provides opportunity for the upward mobility of the Golden Exiles (Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). However, Eckstein (2004a: 22) counters that by the 1990s, Miami had become a top choice for immigrants of various ethnic backgrounds, consequently the vast number of immigrants (mainly from Latin America) “flooded the local labor market, both taking jobs that incoming Cubans otherwise might have secured and driving wages down.” They were also less likely to secure jobs with intelligence agencies due to the influx of Spanish-speaking migrants to the area, as well as a shift in regional security concerns, especially post- September 11 (2001) (Eckstein, 2004a: 22).
Similarly, the job market that current migrants encounter is far from healthy. Well-paid manufacturing jobs have long since left the Miami area. Recent émigrés are entering the American labour market at a time when human capital requirements have increased and blue-collar work has moved overseas for cheaper labour (Eckstein, 2004a). The garment industry, which employed large numbers of Cuban women from the exile generation have vanished, and factory workers in Miami-Dade have plunged from 34 percent to 19 percent over the course of the 1990s alone (ibid). The imaginary ideal of the American Dream discussed by Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2009) does not translate to the actual experiences of most members of the economic émigré wave.

*Exile Ideology:*

In order to understand generations, particularly of a specific immigrant group, dimensions of power relations need to be incorporated into the analysis. Powerful people and groups may impose their beliefs and interpretive frames on others through media, schools and organizations and through intimidation and repressive means (Alberts, 2005; Garcia, 1996; Garcia, 1998; Krull and Kobayashi 2009). Although the dominated can find covert ways to resist domination, the dominant voice of a community creates a hegemonic ideology that is difficult to publicly decry.

Grenier and Girard (2008) point to a lack of empirical work on the Cuban-American enclave in Miami’s effect on the “distinct political ideology of South
Florida’s Cubans.” “This distinctive ideology\textsuperscript{20}, epitomized by support for the U.S. embargo against Cuba, entails unremitting hostility toward the Cuban government. Significantly, as an “exile” ideology, it renders Cuba central to the concerns of Cuban-Americans” (Grenier and Girard, 2008: 530). The literature suggests that the ethnic enclave created has been paramount in maintaining the exile ideology that has persisted as dominant discourse in the Cuban-American community in Miami for decades. As such, an understanding of this hegemonic belief system must be deconstructed to further our ability to distinguish between political generations.

The exile ideology is identified by Perez (1992) by four dimensions:

1) A continuing focus on Cuba by Cuban-Americans

2) Immutable opposition to the Cuban government

3) Affiliation with the Republican Party

4) Opposition to the conciliatory views toward the Cuban regime.

Although many authors recognize that the viewpoints of individual migrants have varied considerably in all waves, the publicly conveyed ideology is the exile ideology due to the homogenous nature of the first cohorts to arrive in Miami. Although new influxes of migrants have brought greater heterogeneity to the community, the exile ideology has become entrenched in the community discourse and thus persists over

\begin{footnote}
Grenier and Girard (2008: 531) define ideology as “a system of ideas that legitimates claims to propriety, power, or privilege. As such, ideologies are indispensable and ubiquitous, underlying and guiding all aspects of human endeavor”
\end{footnote}
time (Grenier, 2006). Cuban-Americans can easily live their entire lives within the confines of the ethnic enclave, which aids in the insulation and dominance of the exile ideology (Portes and Back, 1985). This is especially salient given the exile community's influence on local Miami media.

The Miami media is seen to play a key role in the maintenance and proliferation of the exile ideology. The hard-line exile community has strong connections to Miami media in all forms: print, radio, and television (Grenier and Grenier, 2008). This connection between the dominant ideology and dissemination of information via media aids in the silencing of dissent as it creates the façade that the exile ideology is the only acceptable opinion in the community. The media has consistently enforced the view that those who oppose this ideology or have differing opinions are “communists.” Grenier (2006) expands this open scorn in the media to include not only citizens of the community, but also Liberals, the Liberal press, most Democrats, pacifists, leftists, academics, intellectuals, those who support dialogue with Cuba, and socialists.

Although Grenier and Grenier (2008) conclude that this is most common in Spanish language media and that receiving news in English seems to counteract the enclave effect, other authors have found that even English language Miami media are replete with examples of the exile ideology. Unfortunately, Grenier and Grenier (2008) do not mention whether they are referring to Miami English media, or national coverage of English news. However, Eckstein and Barberia (2002) note that members of the exile community have continually held top administrative
positions at the *Miami Herald*. This is especially troublesome, as individuals espousing varying beliefs fear voicing their opinions to the media, and have “generally kept silent because they feared being branded communistas in the exile press or by some radio news commentator” (Garcia, 1998: 8). Thus, not all opinions can be heard in Miami media.

The opinions extolled in the media are largely representative of the interpersonal pressures within the community to maintain the pretense of a unified Cuban-American worldview. To put the immense pressure of the community in perspective, 75 percent of the 800 Miami-Dade residents that participated in a *Miami Herald* poll believed that not all opinions are heard in Miami and that public discourse is dominated by first wave migrants and their children (Alberts, 2005; Eckstein, 2004a; Grenier, 2006). What becomes especially problematic to the promotion of any dialogue is that opinions aren’t merely blocked out of public discourse - they are publicly shunned. Forment (1989) refers to this as characteristic of an “authoritarian enclave.21”

This public denunciation of anyone exalting diverse viewpoints creates ostracism from the dominant group. As the community is tightly knit, and provides significant economic and social benefits to its members the prospect of social alienation is extremely troublesome. “Failure to conform to the exile ideology does

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21 Forment (1989) distinguishes the Cuban ethnic enclave from other similar ethnic enclaves in the United States. He notes that this is because of the specific political formation of the community whereby politics and profits were interconnected. It is “a type of formation that fuses economic entrepreneurship, social communalism, and authoritarian politics.” See Forment, 1989.
not simply lead to social ostracism but could lead to separation from essential business markets and inputs” (Grenier and Grenier, 2008). Dissent is essentially stifled through fear tactics and consequences including social isolation and discrimination at work (Eckstein, 2004b; Rothe and Pumariega, 2008; Alberts, 2009). The following quotations by two Cuban-Americans highlight this discord:

If you don’t comply with the politically correct way, they’ll hurt your business. They will call your customers and pester you on the phone (Eckstein, 2004b: 810).

There is not much tolerance here. They call you names and chastise you. They accuse you of being a communist if you don’t say what’s mainstream. You can get fired if they don’t like what you say about Cuba (Eckstein, 2004b: 810).

A key point in understanding the mechanisms that maintain this hard-line stance lies in the emotional basis of the ideology. “A key element of any exile consciousness is the fact that the members of the community were forced out of their country; emigration was not a choice […] seen in this light, emigration is part of an enduring conflict” (Grenier, 2006: 214, see also Rothe and Pumariega, 2008). In exile, they have lived with idealized memories of the past and fabricated memories of the revolution. As most of this generation did not experience Cuba under revolutionary rule, they have no personal experience with Castro’s Cuba. This has made their conception of current conditions on the island “largely a construct of their imagination, a very negative construct at that” (Eckstein, 2004a: 13). It is this
emotional basis to the ideology that makes many of their beliefs and opinions not objective, and seen as irrational to outsiders (Grenier, 2006; Grenier and Grenier, 2008).

The monopolization of public discourse has been highly effective in the elimination of public dissent in the Cuban American community in Miami. The assumption is that the exile experience shaped a collective identity during the preliminary years of the formation of the ethnic enclave in Miami and has continued to shape the political identity of Cuban Americans through tactics of repression ever since (Grenier, 2006). The intense adherence to the collective memory of the Golden Exiles seems to mute the availability of alternative dialogues. Economic Émigrés differ from Golden Exiles in their opinions on a variety of things relating to Cuba due to their differing experiences of the revolution prior to emigration. Whereas, the Golden Exiles have largely imagined their conceptions of daily realities in Cuba, the Economic Émigrés lived a large portion of their lives in revolutionary Cuba and thus have personal memories and connections basing their opinions of Cuba in their own lived experiences and the lived experiences of friends and family still residing on the island. However, in large part their voices are silenced through the overbearing nature of the exile ideology.

Due to the fact that motivations for emigration shifted from political to economic factors, the Émigrés do not harbor the same anti-Castro or anti-socialist sentiments that occupy the collective identity of the Golden Exiles (Chavez, 1999; Eckstein and Krull, 2009; Eckstein, 2009a). Because of this, the Economic Émigrés
are more likely to be empathetic in their criticisms of their homeland, maintaining the belief that the embargo is largely at fault for the dire economic situation of most Cubans (Eckstein, 2009a). They remain “deeply Cuban” and hold strong ties with friends and family on the island, providing them with a human face when faced with questions of American policy toward Cuba. They are more likely to agree with the sale of medical supplies and food, unrestricted travel, and open dialogue between Cuba and the United States than their older counterparts (Eckstein, 2009a; Eckstein, 2004a; Eckstein and Barberia, 2008; Eckstein and Krull, 2009; Rothe and Pumariéga, 2008; Grenier, 2006). Rothe and Pumariéga (2009: 262-263) note that the Émigrés are more likely to favor a “moderate policy (of reconciliation) and a peaceful transition to the Cuban problem, in contrast with a more conservative line on the part of exiles that arrived before 1980.”

Similarly, Economic Émigrés are more likely to possess collectivist values and beliefs due to their socialization in Cuba, as is evidenced through their remittance patterns. Eckstein (2004b: 340) also attributes this to the appearance of “new transnationally rooted norms “which “induce remittance-sending, cross-border income sharing, transmitted to homeland kin on visits or through wire and informal courier services.” The amount of remittance dollars being sent to Cuba went from $50 million in 1990 to over $1 billion by the new millennium (Eckstein and Krull, 2009: 335). “FIU surveys report that two and one half times as many post-Soviet era as 1959 to 1964 émigrés had sent remittances as of 2007” (Eckstein and Krull, 2009: 336). Although the overpowering exile voice dictates publicly a
personal embargo, this is one way that the younger generation has found a way to circumvent popular opinion in their daily lives.

Economic émigrés are also more likely to favour homeland visits, as well as cultural exchange. Whereas the Golden Exiles advocated a travel ban to avoid communist contamination or tourist dollars going to Fidel Castro, the Economic Émigrés maintained strong kinship ties to Cuba which involved homeland trips (Grenier, 2006; Eckstein, 2009; Eckstein and Krull, 2009). Over two thirds of newer arrivals supported unrestricted travel compared to less than a quarter of the exiles (Eckstein, 2009).

Although half the Cuban-American population arrived in this second cohort, their views have largely been blocked from mainstream discourse. Eckstein goes so far as to state that the Golden Exiles maintain a “hegemonic media influence.” Interviews revealed that:

recent émigrés who tried publicly to take issue with the dominant early émigré viewpoint faced repression, rejection, and resistance. Much of the silencing occurred removed from public viewing, for example, when recent émigrés submitted editorials to the news media and when they tried to voice their opinion on popular Miami call-in radio shows. (Eckstein, 2004a: 37).

This became especially apparent during the Elian Gonzalez saga, when the Exile view of keeping Elian in Miami garnered the majority of the media support. This spectacle also has been reported to have soured the general public’s opinion of the emotional volatility of the Cuban American community (Contreras, 2000).
Effect on Politics:

The appearance of a unified Cuban-American ideology is further propagated by the exaggerated influence of the exiles on all levels of politics in South Florida. Cuban-Americans have transformed the political landscape of the area (Garcia, 1998). Not only have they had a profound effect on politics on the local level, but have also disproportionally to their actual percentage of population garnered significant influence on both State and Federal level political systems and decisions.

The large base of Cuban-Americans in Miami-Dade County has obviously allowed them the opportunity to have an exacting influence on the local political systems. By the early 1990’s Cuban-Americans dominated Miami’s city commission, with all representatives being from the first waves of Cuban immigration, and by the year 2000 Cuban-Americans held one third of the top elected and appointed positions in Miami-Dade County (Eckstein and Barberia, 2002). Similarly, neighboring Hialeah has had a Cuban-American mayor since the early 1980s (Eckstein, 2004b). Eckstein (2004b) further notes that Cubans who dominate politically are almost solely of the exile cohort or their American-born children, thus further promoting the exile ideology amongst local politics. The participation of Cuban-Americans at the county or local level demonstrates their over-representation in the political field as they comprise only 29 percent of the population but hold a great deal of political power at this level (Alberts, 2005; Grenier, 2006). Although Cubans have a large influence on the political systems of
the United States in relation to their size as a percentage of the population, it is only
the exile ideology that is being represented.

Cubans comprise less than 1 percent of the total United States population, but they have become one of the most influential ethnic groups in Washington (Grenier, 2006). Their high concentration in Florida has propelled the state to a
top priority for candidates running for national office, as Florida commands the
fourth largest number of Electoral College votes and is a “swing state.” In contrast
to the majority of other Hispanic immigrant groups, Cubans are far more likely to
vote Republican than Democrat (Grenier and Grenier, 2008). This is, again, due to a
reciprocal relationship that the exiles appear to maintain with the Republican Party
at the Federal level. In exchange for votes, influential Cuban-Americans of the exile
generation are given top positions in the Federal government. For example, 85
percent of Cuban-Americans report voting for George W. Bush in 2000. Their
loyalty was rewarded by appointing several members of the community to senior
posts in the National Security Council, State Department, and Department of
Housing and Urban Development (Eckstein, 2004a). This allowed for the
dissemination of exile ideology throughout federal politics, while simultaneously
encouraging the view of a distinct Cuban-American political view.

Economic Émigrés are less likely to voice their political opinions, and less
likely to vote in elections (Garcia-Pedrosa, 2011). As of 2007, only 24 percent of
those who emigrated between 1985 and 2004 had achieved U.S. citizenship
compared to 97 percent of 1959 – 1964 émigrés (Eckstein, 2009b: 126). According
to the 1966 Cuban Adjustment Act émigrés are entitled to citizenship after four years of U.S. resident status. Therefore, it can be concluded that Cuban émigrés of the second wave remain non-citizens largely by choice. Without citizenship, these individuals are ineligible to vote in American elections, and thus the Exiles easily maintain a political stranglehold.

**Youth in Revolt: Generational Ruptures in Miami**

Although the Exiles have long held political and economic power amongst the Cuban community in Miami, the literature shows that a generational rupture is beginning to emerge. Events surrounding the concert held in Havana in September 2009 displayed this generational cleavage considerably (Adams, 2009; Alarcon, 2009; Alsema, 2009; Echevarria, 2009; “Juanes concert in Havana created small opening for youth”; “Miami Freedom concert planned parallel to Juanes show in Havana”; Miller, 2009; Saladrigas, 2009). Juan Esteban Aristizabal Vasquez (known as Juanes to fans) announced on August 5, 2009 that he intended to hold the second *Paz Sin Fronteras* (Peace without Borders) concert in Havana on September 20, 2009 (Ratner-Arias, 2009). Although it was made explicitly clear by Juanes that the concert had no political undertones, his announcement was met with a great deal of criticism on the part of the Exiles in Miami (Cave, 2009; Saladrigas, 2009). Immediately following the culmination of a successful concert in Havana, members of the Vigilia Mambisa\(^{22}\) began to protest the event, smashing Juanes’s CDs and “accusing anybody who does not agree with them of being communists” (Miller

\(^{22}\) Vigilia Mambisa is described by Miller (2009) as “the right-wing group that has been accused of intimidating opponents through scare tactics.” They are largely composed of hard-line exiles that support extremist measures in relation to Cuban foreign policy in the United States.
2009). This reaction was similar to past responses by Exile groups at attempts for cultural exchange, such as protests of a concert by Los Van Van\(^{23}\) (Levin, 2010) and the Latin Grammy Awards, which were moved from Miami to Los Angeles in 2001 to avoid exile protests (Gurza, 2001; vanHorn, 2001). The event was later held in 2003 in Miami.

What made this protest markedly different was the unexpected reaction by the younger generation residing in Miami. It is estimated that four times more pro-Juanes Cubans showed up than anti-Juanes protesters (Fletcher, 2009; Miller, 2009; Saladrigas, 2009). The confrontation occurred in front of the Versailles Restaurant, with the Émigrés eventually holding the area. This location provided symbolic context, as the Versailles Restaurant had historically been the locale for rallying anti-Castro Exiles (Fletcher, 2009; Miller, 2009; Saladrigas, 2009). “Experts say this reflects a generational shift in the Cuban exile community, after years of unflinching anti-communist opposition, towards a more moderate stance” (Fletcher 2009). This trend was also seen through polls conducted in Miami whereby the younger generation of Cuban-Americans were more likely to be in favor of the concert, while those of the Exile generation were largely opposed (Cave, 2009; Echevarria, 2009).

The literature points to the conclusion that the Cuban-American community in Miami harbors vast differences along generational lines based on their pre- and

\(^{23}\) Levin (2010) states of the event: “When famed Cuban dance band Los Van Van performed in Miami on Oct. 9, 1999, thousands of rock- and bottle-throwing demonstrators outside the now-demolished Miami Arena outnumbered the concertgoers inside. The incident capped months of controversy over the band’s appearance and reverberated in the national media, branding Miami -- almost as deeply as would the Elián González incident -- as a place where exile passions could turn violent.”
post-migration experiences. However, the exile ideology that dominates discourse in Miami serves to amplify the views of the Golden Exiles while simultaneously muting the voices of the Economic Émigrés. This provides an inaccurate view of the beliefs of Cuban-Americans, painting them all with the same brush. Although evidence exists for a generational rupture in ideology, there does not appear to be adequate means by which the Economic Émigrés can fully contribute to dialogue within the Miami community. The following chapter will discuss the methods and rationale for the present study, including a discussion of both organizational and media facets of ideological expression for opposing viewpoints in Miami.
Chapter Four

Methods and Primary Analysis

Overview of Methods:

This chapter will provide detail on the methods and methodological considerations of the present study. This includes an introduction to discourse analysis as a methodological approach, as well as the methods with which the study is conducted. The methodology chosen examines the way that the media constructs opinion of the younger generation, and particularly the existence of a generation gap amongst Cuban-Americans in Miami. As Edmunds and Turner (2005) pointed out, in order for a generation to reach actuality and thus become active they must have access to resources adequate in the creation of a cohesive unit. It is assumed that a generational rupture, complete with new generational entelechy cannot be fully cultivated if there is no public space for it to flourish. As theorized by Edmunds and Turner (2005) particularly powerful generations may hold onto power, denying the activation of a subsequent generational cohort.

A sample of newspaper articles from the *Miami Herald*, as well as the *New York Times* was isolated for comparison purposes. The date range for all articles was narrowed down to January 1999 – December 2000 as well as January 2009 – November 2010. These two time frames coincide with two periods of heightened media attention on differences in the Cuban-American community. The first, January 1999 – December 2000 envelopes the period surrounding the Elian Gonzalez story. The second, January 2009 – November 2010 corresponds to the
controversy surrounding the Juanes Concert for Peace in Havana. These choices will be discussed further in the Research Design section.

The timeframes of articles were chosen based on the preliminary literature review conducted for this project. The period surrounding the Juanes concert was decided upon first, as it is recent and was widely accepted in the media as an obvious break in generational ideology within the Cuban-American Miami community. This is the event that piqued my own interest in this topic, and thus was used as a “jumping-off” point for further investigation.

To strengthen the findings, a second event was chosen, the Elian Gonzalez case. Having two events to examine also provided a historical benchmark from which to examine changes within the particular news sources over time. The battle over Elian caused a media sensation internationally, making it particularly suitable to a discourse analysis of newspaper articles. It has been reported to have galvanized an apathetic youth, caused a public relations shift, and re-ignited faith in the Miami Herald. The timeframe is important as it marks the beginning and the end of the first decade of the new millennium; a particularly relevant time given events such as the further consolidation in the global shift to neoliberal principles, September 11 (2001), the retirement of Fidel Castro, significant advancement in communications technology, and the global economic crisis. The choice of time periods allows for a ten-year comparison of media coverage, and an indicator of the availability of space for dialogue between generations.

The newspaper articles are analyzed using discourse analysis, which allowed for each article to be critically assessed in terms of language, truth claims and
themes. The themes that emerged from the data were then analyzed using generational theory to provide conclusions and discussion surrounding the central research questions. The qualitative approach allowed information to emerge from the data rather than prescribing pre-conceptualized terms to the study. This allows flexibility in analysis to account for any unforeseen data or thematic structures to emerge.

**Method of Analysis:**

Discourse analysis is well-suited to projects that seek to project meaning onto written and verbal communications, and to “answering the classic question of communication research: Who says what, to whom, why, how and with what effect?” (Babbie, 2010: 333). Discourse analysis is a rather open process, with little in the way of strict guidelines. In general, it is the study of any form of communication through language. Ruiz (2009) defines discourse as “any practice by which individuals imbue reality with meaning.” Discourse is never neutral; it is only created for a specific purpose – to disseminate a particular meaning or worldview in contrast to competing views (Bryman and Teevan, 2005). As such, Bryman and Teevan (2005) advocate asking the following questions when conducting a discourse analysis: “What is this discourse doing? How is this discourse constructed to make this happen? What resources are available to perform this activity?” Discourse analysis is well suited to investigating communication within media (Bryman, 2004).

However, media itself is a complex topic of study due to its political and social consequences. The media, and newspapers in particular are a primary mode
of the dissemination of information to members of a society. It serves to narrow the focus of information we are privy to, as well as shape our opinions through tone and reporting style of the particular article (Wodak and Kryzanowski, 2008). Wodak and Krzyzanowski (2008) advise, “Analysis of print media must be accompanied by an understanding of how the print medium is produced and consumed.” The choice of newspapers for this study, as well as the process of analysis is reflective of an understanding of this dynamic.

Any analysis of media must take the concept of media bias into account, particularly the fact that media is often used to spread opinion, and can possess partiality based on ownership, reporter personal bias, etc. Richardson (2006) states that journalism and media are separate from propaganda, although propagandists may shape the content of media. Similarly, Goffman (1981) states that the "author" of a text differentiates from the "principal" - these may be the same person, but also may differ. The author writes the text, but the principal is whose message is being relayed. The power dynamic of media is a complex mix of author bias and corporate ownership in many cases (Richardson, 2006). This must be taken into account upon any analysis of media discourse as it provides details into the ways that public discourse is shaped by a variety of interests. Thus, it is important to incorporate an in-depth knowledge of the source of text into the analysis.
Research Design:

Choice of Population:

It was decided that a comparison would be made between a national newspaper and a Miami-local news source. This is to compare a news source that may be affected by the enclave effect of the Cuban-American community in South Florida with a news source that has a more national/international focus and circulation. This also provides the ability to compare a local view of the Cuban-American community, with an outsider view.

The Miami Herald was chosen as the local newspaper. This was an easy, and somewhat obvious choice from the academic literature on the Cuban American community in Miami. The Miami Herald has the third largest circulation number in Florida, behind the St. Petersburg Times and the Orlando Sentinel, both removed from the Miami community (See Table 1). The main rival to the Miami Herald in the Miami community is its Spanish language sister publication, El Nuevo Herald which is known to be more hard-line and vocal in its stance on Cuba. However, as it is published in Spanish only the Miami Herald was used to avoid any errors in translation. This is also a choice on a methodological level, as the younger generation in Miami is known to prefer to communicate in English, and thus is more likely to read news in English.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper Name</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Circulation</th>
<th>Owner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Petersburg Times</td>
<td>Tampa / St Petersburg</td>
<td>239,684</td>
<td>The Poynter Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orlando Sentinel</td>
<td>Orlando</td>
<td>172,271</td>
<td>Tribune Publishing</td>
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<td>Miami Herald</td>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>151,612</td>
<td>The McClatchy Company</td>
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<td>South Florida Sun-Sentinel</td>
<td>Fort Lauderdale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Florida Catholic</td>
<td>Orlando</td>
<td>138,000</td>
<td>The Florida Catholic, Inc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Florida Times-Union</td>
<td>Jacksonville</td>
<td>108,926</td>
<td>Morris Communication Company LLC</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palm Beach Post</td>
<td>West Palm Beach</td>
<td>100,830</td>
<td>Cox Media Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami New Times</td>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Village Voice Media, Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Sentinel Orlando</td>
<td>Orlando</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Tribune Publishing</td>
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Table 1: Florida Newspapers by Circulation within Florida. Data obtained from the Audit Bureau of Circulations June 2010.

The Miami Herald:

Although Rothe and Pumariage (2008) found empirical evidence that exposure to English language media lowered the incidence of the enclave effect, the Miami Herald has notably been associated with the Exile community, and been important in disseminating Exile ideology. In fact, it is noted by Fitzgerald (2000) that readership in the Cuban-American community of the Miami Herald has
increased since the Elian Gonzalez saga. McEnteer (1999) traces the *Miami Herald*'s relationship with the Cuban-American community, noting that the *Miami Herald* had continuously evolved along with the Cuban-American community's predominance in the area. The paper began hiring more editors and journalists from the Cuban-American community in the 1980s, which coincided with a political shift to the right, culminating in the official support of the paper being shifted from Democrat to Republican in the 1998 endorsement of Jeb Bush (McEnteer, 1999). Contreras (2000) also notes extreme bias in the availability of information regarding the Elian Gonzalez case, stating that the *Miami Herald* neglected to attend news conferences with those in support of Elian’s return to his father. It is noted that national papers including the *New York Times* were present.

It was found in 2006 that journalists from the *Miami Herald* were also on government payroll for programs on Radio and Television Marti (Goodnough, 2010; Craig, 2008; Olson, 2006). These media outlets are operated by the United States government and broadcast to Cuba. Cuba has scramblers set up so that they are not received, with few Cuban’s attempting to gain access through illegal means, as many do with other American channels (Goodnough, 2006b). In 2006 the United States government spent $37 million on Radio and Television Marti alone (Goodnough, 2006b). Journalistic and political ethical issues aside, this association with both Radio and TV Marti and the *Miami Herald* provides significant information on the probable direction of journalist bias.
The New York Times:

Although The New York Times has only the third largest circulation number in the United States (See Table 2), it was chosen as a source of comparison instead of the USA Today or Wall Street Journal, which take first and second place (both nationally and within Florida). This was mostly due to the fact that a preliminary Google News archive search of various news outlets produced more results for the New York Times, thus providing a larger and richer sample for comparison. The New York Times has also won the most Pulitzer Prizes among any other news organization in the United States, providing at least industry acceptance of its journalistic integrity (Perez-Pina, 2009).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Circulation</th>
<th>Owner</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA Today</td>
<td>Fairfax County</td>
<td>159,171</td>
<td>Gannett Company</td>
</tr>
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<td>Wall St. Journal</td>
<td>New York</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: National Newspapers by Circulation within Florida. Data obtained from the Audit Bureau of Circulations. June 2010.

Data Collection and Sample Characteristics:

After the news sources to be used were identified, a Google news search was conducted to isolate articles within the chosen time frames. The search terms “generation” and “Cuban-American” were used. This search produced the following breakdown of articles:
This produced a total of 113 articles for examination. A preliminary analysis was conducted whereby the articles were read once to determine suitability. Relevance to the research questions was determined by reading through the articles for topic as well as how the key terms were contextualized and used within each article. Many of the articles initially returned mentioned the term *generation* in passing, such as in interviewing a playwright of the younger generation about his work, but provided negligible information relevant to the current study. Other articles mentioned generation within Miami with no relevance to the Cuban-American community. Only articles that also mentioned political or social generations within the Cuban-American community were used. This reduced the total sample size to 27 articles, with the following breakdown:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th><em>Miami Herald</em></th>
<th><em>The New York Times</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 1999 – December 2000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 2009 – December 2010</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4:* Breakdown of final sample by date range and publication. June 2010.

The initial breakdown provides interesting information, such as the fact that the Elian Gonzalez case produced more articles related to the search terms than the Juanes case. This is of particular interest because the Juanes controversy was more
openly a generational shift. Also interesting is the fact that the *New York Times* had similar numbers of articles on generational ruptures in Miami during the Elian Gonzalez case as the *Miami Herald*, but fewer during the Juanes saga.

A Google news search was used for issues of convenience, accessibility and finances. The *New York Times* provided its articles free, however an online account for their website had to be created. The *Miami Herald* charged users to access their news archives. These articles were priced at $2.95USD per article. Both sets of articles were obtained directly from the websites of each publication.

**Data Analysis and Interpretation:**

Bryman and Teevan (2005) note that Discourse Analysis should not be thought of as a method in the same sense that surveys or interviews are. Stemming from an anti-realist stance, analysts of discourse rarely assume they can arrive at a conclusive result in research because such a singular conclusion cannot exist in a world built on a multiplicity of constructed realities. Therefore, practitioners often see DA as an analytic craft rather than merely a tool (ibid).

As this study is concerned with obtaining latent content in the newspaper articles chosen, a qualitative approach to analysis is required. Following many Discourse Analysts, it is assumed that the creation of a coding scheme or pre-set categories for analysis is impossible and would prove unproductive as it would miss much of the underlying messages being conveyed. I also aim to employ the hermeneutical tradition of Heidegger whereby text cannot be removed from its specific context. As such, the analysis will aim to ground each article in the specific
context that it was produced. This coincides with Eckstein’s (2004a) belief that immigrant generations must be understood in the socio-historical context of their migration.

Each of the 27 articles was read, and notes of first reactions were noted in the margins. The type of article (Editorial, Reader Response, News Report) was also recorded as well as the date. Following this initial reading, the notations were recorded and the articles were separated into four groups: 1) Miami Herald 1999-2000; 2) Miami Herald 2009 – 2010; 3) New York Times 1999 – 2000; 4) New York Times 2009-2010. Each cluster of articles within individual groups was organized chronologically. The articles were read again by grouping in order to contextualize each notation and allow themes to emerge within clusters. Further notes were taken on subject matter of the article, as well as any mentions of generation or youth in the Cuban-American community. Articles were also coded for level of Exile ideology (overt exile ideology, moderate exile ideology, low exile ideology). These notes were then transcribed via Microsoft Word, and then re-read by group. Following this reading, observations for each section were noted.

Separating the sample into these groups allows for two important comparisons. The first is the obvious comparison between the New York Times and the Miami Herald, which sheds light on the degree to which a new generation is being recognized within the enclave community versus on a national level. In essence, this comparison provides a glimpse at the degree to which the enclave ideology, as presented in the Miami Herald, differs from the national discourse.
Does the *Miami Herald* aid in the insulation and perpetration of the exile ideology? And if so, does it also block the formation of new active generations?

However, the separation by date range allows for a chronological comparison within each news source. Although this was a secondary thought in the sampling process, it proves to be a fruitful source of information on the variation in presence of exile ideology over the course of time and in reference to individual events. It also allows a longitudinal look at the trajectory of discourse about Cuban-American youth and generational differences within the mainstream media. Bryman and Teevan (2005) note that the change in coverage overtime of an issue is particularly useful using discourse analysis.

Of course, newspapers are not the only method of disseminating news among a population, and it is noted that youth especially are more inclined to use the Internet (social media in particular) for identity development and group cohesion (Burwell, 2010). However, social media is a relatively new tool (Facebook was founded in 2004; and Twitter in 2006), and the ways it is used by youth to create and consume information, as well as form identities and communities are not fully understood (Collin, 2008). Burwell (2010: 383) suggests that “youth culture is becoming synonymous with digital technology and mediated practices like texting, tagging, blogging, social networking and remixing.” As such, it is recognized that this research cannot speak to the availability in all realms of space for active generation units to form, but merely within the publications specified.
Due to a complete void of information on the ways in which Cuban-American youth use social media, it was far above the ability of this thesis to also analyze the use of these. Therefore, the current study cannot provide conclusive findings on the existence and beliefs of a new social generation within the Cuban-American community in Miami. However, the examination of newspapers traditionally espousing Cuban-American views, such as the *Miami Herald*, can provide information on the degree to which the older generation is willing to engage in dialogue with younger voices and differing opinions. Future research will need to incorporate the use of social media to produce a more complete depiction of the phenomenon of generational change in Miami, Florida.

**Preliminary Findings:**


Articles in this group range in date from January 24, 1999 to July 2, 2000. The articles cover the Elian Gonzalez case, as well as a controversial Los Van Van concert and news pieces with focus on the Marielitos and the city of Hialeah. Amid the eight articles in this group, there is specific mention of generational differences in all articles, although notably none of them have this as their main focus.

The articles in this group follow a fairly interesting trajectory in regards to the degree of exile ideology present in each article. The early articles prior to the Elian Gonzalez crisis are less aggressive in their delivery of exile ideology. They speak of a younger generation being interested in memorabilia from their homeland's past, and provide a mostly balanced account of both sides of the debate.
on the Los Van Van concert in 1999. However, each article during the Elian Gonzalez crisis vehemently espouses the exile ideology, while simultaneously attempting to rally young Cuban-Americans to this cause. This is a constant in the articles during the crisis. However, immediately after the widely covered resolution of Elian being forcibly taken from his Miami family's home, and the subsequent protests and strikes held within the Miami Cuban-American community, the articles begin to liberalize again, speaking of the need to improve public relations, and the disaster that the case had been for their image on a national level. The tone swiftly switches to one of damage control beginning with the article on June 29, 2000.

2) Group 2: Miami Herald (January 2009 – December 2010):

The articles in this grouping range from April 3, 2009 to November 21, 2010. These cover a range of events, including the Juanes concert as well as things such as the American mid-term elections (2010) and articles on the organization Roots of Hope (Raices de Esperanza).

Although the first few articles espouse a higher degree of exile ideology, the majority of the articles are categorized as low, in that although they maintain some of the central principles (most notably the need for regime change in Cuba) they are far more subtle and refrain from basing the full article around ideology. They also appear to be more balanced in their coverage of different opinions. However, this is still maintained within the confines of anti-Castro and pro-change discourse. There
is no room for dialogue in opposition to these key exile motivators, but merely differences in opinion on how to tactically achieve these ends.

The group *Raices de Esperanza* (Roots of Hope) is mentioned specifically in three articles. This is significant because this organization is comprised of young Cuban-Americans and professes to be the voice of the new generation of Cuban-Americans. There is also specific mention of change within the community, and instances of articles that criticize the hold of exile ideology on local politics. This date range is much more neutral than that during the Elian Gonzalez crisis.


The articles in this grouping contain little to no espousal of exile ideology. This was for the most part, expected in the *New York Times*. Interestingly, this group focuses a great deal on changes within the Miami Cuban-American community based on generation. Four articles had generational changes within Miami as a main focus of the article.

The articles also openly call the exile ideology into question on numerous occasions. The more international audience and geographic removal of the newspaper from the enclave, likely make this type of content more acceptable. The widely accepted liberal slant of the *New York Times* allows for this difference of opinion to occur, as readers are less likely to hold onto conservative anti-communist ideologies. During the Elian Gonzalez crisis the *New York Times* provided an overview of the scenario in Miami, while supporting the dominant outside viewpoint that the emotionally based behavior of the Cuban-Americans was
irrational. They also discuss the failure of the embargo and other foreign policies in Cuba, and provide room for a far more open debate.


Again, this group of articles from the New York Times does not have any incidences of exile ideology. In fact, these articles contain discussion surrounding the death of the exile ideology and change within the Cuban-American community. Interestingly, when Cuban-American youth or generational change is discussed, no particular groups or organizations are mentioned (such as Roots of Hope). This is significant as it appears so often in the Miami Herald during this same time period.

These articles also speak to changes made under the Obama administration in regard to foreign policy with Cuba. The tone in these articles is one of support, usually mentioning a shift in the Cuban-American community away from hard-line policies as well. There appears to be a more open acceptance of the failings of the past half-century of relations between the countries, and a desire to move to a more open and productive relationship.

The next chapter will provide a more thorough analysis of the data, including relevant examples from the articles, contextualized both theoretically and empirically using academic literature. The analysis will again be divided by newspaper and timeframe, with connections and comparisons drawn between newspapers and time periods.
Chapter Five

Analysis

This chapter will provide an in-depth analysis of the articles separated into four groups based on time period and media outlet. The analysis will first discuss the articles in relation to prevalence of the Exile Ideology in each grouping. This is important, as the degree to which each group of articles espouses these beliefs sheds light on the availability for alternate discourse within each time period and publication. Second, each group of articles will be analyzed according to its mention of a new generation among Cuban-Americans in Miami. This will help in arriving at conclusions on the degree to which a new generation is recognized as emerging in the population. Excerpts from articles within each grouping will be offered to highlight the analysis.

*The Miami Herald 1999 - 2000:*

*Exile Ideology:*

The articles in this group had various degrees of exile ideology dependent on the time period the article was printed. This proved extremely interesting when taken into the context of the events as they unfolded in Miami.

Although four articles contained moderate or low influence of exile ideology, they still adhere to a dominant belief in the main exile tenets of intense hatred of Fidel Castro, and the ultimate goal of overthrowing his regime. In the article titled “the Cuba craze: Havana’s golden era is rich in opportunity” (January 24, 1999) the
writer describes one informant as someone whose “life was cast asunder when her family went into exile shortly after Fidel Castro came to power January 1, 1959.” Similarly, the article “Heresy or heritage? Younger Cubans say the issue is freedom” states:

People shouldn’t struggle against [Cuban] music but against the [Cuban] government.

This coincides with the four central beliefs of the exile ideology as identified by Perez (1992)24. In articles where dissent against hard-line policies was expressed, there was an underlying assumption that the main debate was tactical rather than ideological. However, this is not surprising because the official rhetoric of the United States has long stressed the same central tenants. It however does show that the exile ideology underlies seemingly neutral stories in the Miami Herald.

All articles during the time period of the Elian Gonzalez crisis exhibit strong influence by the exile ideology. The Miami Herald depicts this period as one of increased solidarity and a retreat to the enclave. Many articles during this period (individual articles spanning the date range April 23, 2000 – May 12, 2000) focused on ethnic differences within Miami, producing a mentality of “us” vs. “them.” Noticeably, this follows a ranking whereby Cuban-Americans stand on their own; with their closest ally being other Hispanics followed by the more adversarial Anglos and finally the African-Americans. The article titled “Strikers not only ones to show discontent: Many non-Cubans concerned about basic inconveniences”

24 As listed on page 67.
specifically points out that African-Americans were not sympathetic to their position over Elian. The isolation of Cuban-Americans on this issue makes them more likely to retreat into the safety of the enclave. In the immediate aftermath of the situation, one article states:

Make note: the determination of the Cuban-American community to lead the struggle for change in Cuba has not been diminished. We will not abdicate this responsibility. On the contrary, recent events have made us realize that we have a moral and historical duty to lead the way and show the Cuban nation the path to freedom and prosperity.

The remainder of the articles in this time period projects a moderate or low incidence of the exile ideology, but coincide directly with a realization by the Cuban-American community that they were losing the public relations battle over their cause with the outside media and American population. Again, these articles focus on opening discussion on tactics rather than an end to hostilities.

Generations:

Somewhat surprisingly there were numerous mentions of an emergent generation unit in this group of articles; however, there were no instances of a new generational entelechy forming. Generational references seem to consistently deal with the motivation of youth to join the anti-Castro cause, or to connect with their Cuban roots. An article about pre-Revolutionary Cuban memorabilia references the desire of young Cuban-Americans to connect with their parent’s visions of Cuba, even mentioning the possible imaginary nature of this remembered world.
Again, all references to new sensibilities among a younger generation are tactical in nature. In relation to the Los Van Van concert in 1999, a generational divide regarding whether the band should be allowed to play in Miami is referenced overtly, however the generational disagreement focuses on cultural exchange, and freedom of speech rather than any major ideological difference. The youth merely want to see a band play, and are depicted as void of any political stance.

I think it forces them to realize there are a lot of Cuban music fans out there, who include their own children and grandchildren, and that it’s another generation that doesn't think exactly the way they do. I think they are ignoring a whole section of the Cuban population that was raised with this band in Cuba. Not everyone came here in 1959 (September 16 1999).

It is very important to express Cuban culture here, and culture has nothing to do with politics (Sept 20 1999).

In all cases it is noted that this new generation “understands” the exile viewpoint or shares similar sentiments.

People’s passions haven’t changed, but on the issue of freedom of speech for artists and for all sides we’ve made important progress. But we go backward when elected officials or the media exert undue pressure (September 16 1999).

No one has the right to tell us what we can see and not see – that’s how I was brought up. I think older exiles are holding onto a grudge because they lost a
lot, and I can understand that. But that doesn’t give them the right to impose their resentments on someone else’s rights (September 20 1999).

The focus on generation during the Elian Gonzalez saga has a strong central theme of the mobilization of the younger generation, as well as the re-absorption of them into the enclave. This is interesting, as the Elian Gonzalez case has been reported to have galvanized the Cuban American community, strengthening internal bonds, as well as re-established the Miami Herald as a credible news source within the exile community. The strong incidence of exile ideology combined with messages that in some ways resemble a “call-to-arms” aimed at younger Cuban-Americans provide an interesting contextualization to the circumstances erupting in Miami during this particular time period.

An article on April 23, 2000 touts the benefit of the enclave for young people, stating that it insulates children against prejudice. The Miami Herald also attempts to draw the Cuban-American community to its paper by declaring that the national media is against their cause. These articles focus on the negative portrayal of them by non-Cubans both in Miami and around the nation. This creates an atmosphere of “us” versus “them” in which the Cuban-Americans are the moral superiors, willing to fight what they perceive as a great injustice and an attempt to rally the younger generation around the exile cause by showing their isolation as Cuban-Americans in the United States.

Then came the Elian saga – and a massive split of opinion between non-Hispanics and Cuban-Americans about what should happen to the boy. As
the five-month drama has dragged on, the national rhetoric has escalated against the entire Miami Cuban community (April 23 2000).

Many younger and more moderate members who had felt completely Americanized are now hearing comments by non-Hispanics that make them believe they are still outsiders. They are feeling drawn back to what Portes calls "the protection of the enclave. (April 23 2010).

These articles appear to serve two purposes. The first is to report to the Miami Cuban community that no one does or can understand their plight; that they are unique and must stick together. It then tells young people that many are returning to the enclave, thereby suggesting that others do the same.

Similarly, all quotes from individual Cuban-American youth are reflective of this renewed enthusiasm for the Cuban cause:

He's a kid just like we are. We can relate. It's put more light on the issue. We've learned they have to cut cane to graduate from high school, to make a pledge to the communist party (April 23 2000).

We're getting invigorated by this. A lot of us are young. We didn't know that much. Now we're learning a lot more about Castro and the political cause. It's a spark that ignited our Cuban spirit. To fight for our rights (April 23 2000).
She [Janet Reno] has awakened in my children and in their US-born generation a fresh realization of their Cuban American identity and a marvelous commitment to strengthen it (May 12 2000).

Thousands of our children came back and stood with their fathers. Cuban-Americans who could hardly speak Spanish were standing there and feeling pride in their community. And that unification is a miracle (June 29 2000).

In contrast to articles about the protests surrounding the Los Van Van concert in which Cuban-American youth were stripped of any political motivation, the return of Cuban-American youth to the community is infused with political motivation. The difference here seems ideological in nature. The Miami Herald will allow for generational dissent; however, it is entirely stripped of any relations to politics or rebellion against the central tenets of the exile ideology. Instead it is entirely focused on cultural desires. The youth merely want to hear music; the debate loses any political contextualization and the exile ideology is never called into question. However, the articles dealing with the Elian Gonzalez case are rife with political motivations, and clearly in support of the maintenance of the exile ideology.

As the articles shift in an attempt to repair the reputational damage done to the Miami community in the aftermath of the Elian saga, a more conciliatory tone is taken to the difference in tactics popular amongst the younger generation.
We must realize that by focusing our attention on Castro, we anchor ourselves with the past, because Castro and his revolution are irrelevant to Cuba’s future (May 12, 2000).

A younger Cuban American wave is poised on the brink of influence, with strong passions but a style less abrasive and disagreeable to others (June 29 2000).

The more laid-back approach of the younger generation is seen as a bridging mechanism between the Cuban-American community and those who exist outside of the enclave.

**Group 2: Miami Herald (2009 – 2010):**

*Exile Ideology:*

Other than mentioning alleged human rights abuses occurring in Cuba, this set of articles is not explicitly supportive of the exile ideology.

Giselle Palacios, the daughter of a prominent dissident family in Cuba, recounted Friday how the island regime’s henchmen deflated her school grades, threw stones at her Havana home and jailed her parents (April 4, 2009).

Remarkably, during the Juanes controversy the *Miami Herald* remained fairly neutral throughout each article, except the first. There is much more open discussion of differing opinions within the community on how best to bring democracy to Cuba and a number of reader responses in favour of the concert were
published. Although exile ideology is still present, it is less blatant and more evened out by opposing views, even though they are not equally portrayed at all times.

Differences in methods continue to be the main contention in permitted dialogue. However, although outright support for the exiles is tamed, there remains a more sympathetic tone to the exile belief. Alternative views are reported, but are conveyed to the reader with a tone that does not threaten the exile beliefs. Statements in support of the exiles outnumber those of accommodation to the concert.

For some, a star like Juanes playing in Cuba lends credibility to a dictatorial government and ignores the plight of political prisoners and dissidents (August 26, 2009).

He is playing the game of those assassins,” says Ana Margarita Martinez, well-known locally for unwittingly marrying a Cuban spy who infiltrated the exile group Brothers to the Rescue. “He is going to a place where there are no human rights … I’m insulted (August 26, 2009).

Juan Carlos Espinosa, an associate dean of the Honors College at Florida International University, says Juanes has every right to perform in Cuba, but “what I object to is that he says his performing in Cuba is not a political act. Choosing to perform in Cuba, where everything is politicized and a military regime has ruled for 50 years, is in and of itself a political decision (August 26, 2009).
The preceding statements in support of the exile opinion are countered with a single statement in opposition:

I believe in Juanes’ honesty,” says Miami musician, writer and teacher Alfredo Triff. “I don’t think he should have to make any statements. All he has to do is play. I’m sure a bunch of people are dying to hear him. This concert can be a force for good (August 26, 2009).

Although it does not become entirely balanced in reporting, the Herald appears to be less influenced by the exile generation than previously.

Significantly, of all the letters to the editor returned in the sample in the Miami Herald, they all occurred in this grouping. This shows some improvement from the examples in the previous time period. The academic literature has also documented consistent complaints about the accessibility of Miami media for Cuban-Americans who do not subscribe to the official doctrine.

Protests over Juanes’ concert among some in the Cuban-exile community are absolutely ridiculous. I could understand hurt feelings if this artist were Cuban, but he is not (September 22, 2009).

The aftermath of the concert reveals it again as a “turning point” in the exile community. Not only because of physical clashes, but also because of the intense emotional reaction many exiles purportedly had at the sight of a “sea of young Cuban faces” enjoying the Juanes concert, reportedly giving them “the chance to feel happy for one day” (October 22, 2009). This language uses the pain of exiles to both
excuse their behavior as well as change their emotional response to one of dialogue rather than hatred. Instead of the usual hard-line stance, their emotions were translated to indicate the empathy of the exiles with regular Cubans in Cuba. The pain usually associated with anger and emotional outbursts against the Cuban government was transferred to acceptance based on sight of Cuban faces.

In relation to politics, an overt statement against the combination of exile ideology and American politics is made on November 3, 2009, which shows a significant step towards open dialogue in the pages of the *Miami Herald*:. This article is focused on the 2009 Miami municipal elections, and the mayoral race in particular. The article is written by a member of the Cuban-American community, who argues that exile politics should be left out of campaigning in Miami.

The place we came from is an integral part of who we are. But the argument is not valid in a campaign, because when we elect a public servant we are measuring his competence and his values, not his identity.

It is also noted that the demographics of voters have not changed even though the population has. This is echoed in academic literature, pointing to the conclusion that the exiles maintain a stranglehold on politics because they are the only ones participating.

*Generations:*

The general dialogue around generations in these articles is a veritable coming out party for the organization *Raices de Esperanza*. Until the Juanes concert,
the only articles returned from this grouping were seemingly written solely for the introduction of this organization. The majority began with a short report or anecdote of the horrors of daily life in Cuba, and then moved into an introduction of Raices. The placement of this organization as a central feature in articles about the young generation denotes its claim to be recognized as the voice of that generation. The language used in introducing the group confirms this:

Just a few hundred miles away, 300 young people will kick off the GenerAccion conference at the University of Miami on Friday. The past six years, the 2,500-member Raices de Esperanza, or Roots of Hope, has held conferences at Duke, Princeton, Georgetown, Harvard, looking to build links with young people on the island (April 3, 2009).

In it’s sixth year, the 2,500 member Raices de Esperanza, or Roots of Hope, aims to bolster ties between the 5 million Cuban youths estimated to be on the island and their U.S. counterparts. The nonprofit’s genesis stems from the founder’s belief that many Americans misunderstand Cuban American’s strong feelings about Cuba issues (April 4, 2009).

Raices de Esperanza (Roots of Hope), a U.S. network of young people who aim to help empower the younger generation in Cuba, recently kicked off a campaign to collect cellphones to send to the island (August 23, 2009).

These descriptions provide little in the way of organizational principles or bias, but merely plug the group as being prestigious through numerous mentions of
associated Ivey league schools, as well as their membership numbers and exile-acceptable celebrity speakers such as Gloria Estefan and Andy Garcia.

The discourse that is used in relation to Roots of Hope also prioritizes the idea of open dialogue and non-threatening or aggressive tactics.

The beauty of Raices is people have very different views and work together for one cause – that is, empowering Cuban youth for change,” said Veronica Nur Valdes, a recent graduate born in Miami of Cuban parents. “I’ve learned how much hope there is on the island, how much these young people are sacrificing day to day for change (April 3, 2009).

On Friday, more than 100 college students from across the nation filled the UM auditorium to learn more about their peers on the opposite side of the Florida Straits. Topics ranged from the apparent apathy among island youth to the role they must play in securing a democratic, post-Castro Cuba (April 4, 2009).

In her first time to participate, a recent Cornell graduate said she enjoyed encountering a range of thoughts on Cuba. “I can appreciate there’s more diversity of opinion,” said Katy Sastre, 25, of New Jersey. “It’s nice to get a different opinion (April 4, 2009).

Garcia also spoke of the need for audience members, many of them in their 20s, to stay involved in the Cuban cause. “Both Castro brothers are not going
to be around forever,” he said. “The dismantling of that regime will eventually happen (April 4 2009).

Cubans have already created their own slang and acronyms for texting. We believe that bolstering their connectivity is good for everyone,” says Raices chair Felice Gorordo, 26, of Miami. “What they do with the phones is their prerogative. But we want young people speaking to one another. Ultimately, they should be the authors of their own futures (August 23, 2009).

However, much like acceptance in the earlier grouping of Miami Herald of some dissenting opinions, these statements are largely compatible with the basic tenants of the exile ideology. The articles make it seem as though dissent is permitted, so long as the ultimate goal remains achieving a “post-Castro Cuba.”


**Exile Ideology:**

The New York Times, even on first reading, has an entirely different tone than the Miami Herald. The exile ideology is noticeably absent from these articles. Instead of reporting from the viewpoint or with sympathy towards the exile ideology, the New York Times instead points out its stranglehold on discourse within the Miami community.

The mayors of the city and county of Miami, the county police and the county state attorney are all Cuban-born or of Cuban descent. So are the president of the largest bank, the owner of the largest real estate developer,
the managing partner of the largest law firm, nearly half of the county’s 27 state legislators and two of its six members of congress (February 11, 1999).

Miami’s political discourse and much of the media coverage is still largely defined by hard-edge conservatism (February 11, 1999).

The strident Miami voices – The P.T. Barnums of media manipulation, the high-powered lawyers, the organizers of demonstrations – have been filling the nation’s airwaves and front pages, celebrating what they see as the martyrdom of a mother for her child’s freedom (January 16, 2000).

One of the many exiles in South Florida whose hatred for President Fidel Castro of Cuba defines his past, present, and future, Mr. Ramos said he was ready to give his life to stop the federal government from taking Elian away (April 1, 2000).

For 40 years, he said, the exiles have been viewed not so much as immigrants as fighters of communism (April 1, 2000).

For decades, it has been a truism that anyone aspiring to national office will cater to the most extreme and fanatical elements in the Cuban exile community rather than stand on principle (April 20, 2000).

Miami has once more demonstrated its excessive influence over United States national politics; it remains, in political terms, an out-of-control banana republic within the American body politic. That is bad for the city and bad for the United States (April 20, 2000).
It’s very difficult to voice your opinion in Dade County because you will be branded (April 28, 2000).

Dr. Perez of the Cuban Research Center, noted that violence and threats have been directed at those who called for easing the sanctions against Cuba, notably in the 1970s when a series of bombings and killings shook Miami. But he said that these days those who took a less hard-line stance against Mr. Castro feared the consequences at their workplace, a very real possibility in a city where Cuban-Americans have broad influence (April 28, 2000).

Whereas the *Miami Herald* during this time period took on a hard-line stance in response to the Elian Gonzalez story, the *New York Times* maintains an outsider status – looking in at the ethnic enclave and its emotional reaction to the Elian case. While the *Miami Herald* proclaimed that the outside media didn’t understand them, the *New York Times* provides evidence for this claim – but only if one assumes that not showing sympathy with the exile cause or behavior indicates lack of understanding of it.

*Generations:*

The *New York Times* focus on generations is largely based on time of migration. The *New York Times* is also much more likely to recognize a split within the community in this time period.

With each batch of immigrants who win the annual visa lottery, each of the smuggled boatloads of Cubans that land almost daily in South Florida, Cuban
Miami becomes less cohesive, encompassing a people who differ in social class, race, generation and politics, who increasingly come from different worlds (February 11, 1999).

Among the younger generations, the conservative message has become less strident (February 11, 1999).

But tune out the racket and what emerges from the feud over Elian is a split over American trade and immigration policies; fatigue with both the old guards myths of the pre-revolutionary Cuba and its plots to rout Mr. Castro (January 16, 2000).

But the prevailing concern for newer immigrants of the 1980s and 1990s is not so much Mr. Castro and communism as economic opportunity (January 16, 2000).

The kind of overheated politics referred to in Miami as la causa, or the cause, finds many fewer adherents in Cuban communities today than it did even a decade ago (April 20, 2000).

Although there is a more open dialogue about changes within the Miami Cuban-American community in the New York Times, it is largely based around the same themes found in the Miami Herald:

For the larger Cuban-American community here, most differences with the old guard are more in emphasis and priorities than in the substance of policy. “It’s not so much a difference of opinion as a difference in agenda,” said
Lisandro Perez, director of the Cuba Research Institute at Florida International University (January 16, 2000).


*Exile Ideology / Generations:*

The exile ideology is practically non-existent in this group of articles. In the majority of cases it is only mentioned in reference to the changes occurring among the mentality of the Cuban-American community in regards to Cuba policy, therefore these themes will be discussed together.

The articles in this section deal with political changes enacted under Obama in regards to foreign policy with Cuba. The Juanes concert is also discussed. These articles appear to support further engagement with Cuba, and the articles make note of a younger, less aggressive generation emerging in Miami.

There has been increasing support for such changes in the United States and across Latin America. A new generation of Cuban-American leaders has rejected hard-line positions in favour of greater engagement (March 5, 2009).

In Miami, reaction to the Obama administrations plan reflected both the decades-old approach to Cuba policy and its evolution more recently as younger Cubans have diluted the hard-line stance of their elders (April 5, 2009).
There is a change in the mentality of the Cuban-American community,” he said. “At the same time, the Cuban-American community doesn’t want to give up everything for nothing in return (April 5, 2009).

Only in Miami would a Latin artist who has sold about as many albums as Taylor Swift inspire a protest with smashed CDs, as well as a poll suggesting that three quarters of Cuban-Americans thought the rally hurt their image (September 19, 2009).

Miami and Havana are in transition, on both sides of the 90 mile strait, Cubans are becoming somewhat apathetic about how the politics have been handled (September 19, 2009).

The grouping of articles by source and date range allows for comparison both chronologically and by news outlet. This chapter has outlined the various ways that exile ideology and generation were constructed in each grouping. The next chapter will attempt to discuss the relevance of the analysis by comparing each grouping in relation to the research questions and theoretical framework. Finally, the next chapter will provide conclusions to the present study as well as suggestions for further research.
Chapter Six

Discussion and Conclusions

Discussion:

The articles, as separated into four distinct groups, provided a wealth of information on the Miami Cuban-American community through distinct snapshots in time. Although each group contained some degree of internal variation, they maintained similar characteristics, which allowed for a rich analysis. The chronological comparison provides information on how the projected opinion of the Miami Herald has changed over time. This allows for observations regarding the extent of control the exile generation maintains over the media. Filtered through an examination of how main tenants of the exile ideology are portrayed in articles, further evidence is deduced from the extent to which dissenting opinions are incorporated into the dialogue.

Similarly, the work on theories of social generations shows that each generation is comprised of different generation units, holding varying viewpoints and beliefs. Therefore, it is interesting to note not only whether these media sources allow for a simple generational break in dialogue, but also whether they provide space for conflicting opinions within a younger social generation. Academic literature on even the earliest cohort of Exiles shows the existence of varying generation units within what was largely viewed as a homogeneous cohort (Garcia, 1998). With the Economic Émigrés maintaining a far more heterogeneous
demographic profile, it is reasonable to assume that a large variance of opinion would similarly exist, breaking this younger social generation into numerous generational units with contrasting values and opinions. This is especially true considering the younger generation is comprised of both American raised children of Exiles and more recent Cuban raised Émigrés.

The *New York Times* articles are used as anchors in a way, providing a comparison between perspectives within the enclave and those far removed from its influences. The readership of the *New York Times* is far more geographically dispersed, and thus takes on an outsider view of happenings in Miami. This outsider view can be seen as more impartial due to the absence of emotional connection to the issue. However, the previously discussed liberal viewpoint of the *New York Times* provides it with a different set of biases. This allows for a comparison between insider and outsider viewpoints, thus constructing evidence for the extent of exile influence on public discourse beyond south Florida.

The rest of the discussion will be split up by date range, combining both newspapers for each time period. Within each date range, a comparison will be made between the *Miami Herald* and the *New York Times* as discussed in the previous chapter. Group #1 (*Miami Herald* 1999-2000) and Group #3 (*New York Times* 1999 – 2000) will be first discussed using the evidence found in the Chapter 5, and subsequently Group #2 (*Miami Herald* 2009-2010) and Group #4 (*New York Times* 2009 – 2010) will also be discussed in relation to each other as well as the
previous time period. Each of these comparisons will serve to inform a final longitudinal comparison.

**The Elian Gonzalez Saga: January 1999 – December 2000:**

Both Group #1 (*Miami Herald* 1999 – 2000) and Group #3 (*New York Times* 1999 – 2000) provided extremely rich information on the dissemination of exile ideology within and beyond the Miami community. The *Miami Herald* and the *New York Times* had significant difference in coverage of Cuban-American issues. This allowed for the contrast of media within the community to media from outside the community. In general, the *Miami Herald* was more likely to espouse ideological viewpoints consistent with the exile ideology and less likely to talk about generation-based ideological changes within the Miami Cuban-American community, maintaining the dominant discourse of ideological unity. The *Miami Herald* also strengthened its official stance during the crisis, allowing for little debate in an apparent attempt to rally the entire community together again creating the image of ideological unity amongst the Cuban-American community. The *New York Times* was eager to point out the stranglehold that exiles have on official Miami discourse, whereas the *Miami Herald* adapted an “us” versus “them” mentality of Cubans vs. non-Cubans. The reporting style and content of the Miami Times articles largely served to validate the criticisms the *New York Times* made of this media manipulation.

When differences of opinion within the Cuban-American community were discussed, it was almost always in conjunction with the concept of generation. This
occurred in both the *New York Times* and the *Miami Herald*, however the *Miami Herald* also noted ethnic differences within the community. This supports the supposition within recent academic literature that a distinct rupture does exist along generational fault lines. The discussion of generation differed within as well as between publications.

Edmunds and Turner (2005) postulated that excessively powerful generations might retain power at the expense of upcoming generations. Presence of exile ideology as well as acceptance of diverse viewpoints provides an indication of the extent of control that the exile generation maintains over public discourse and opinion in Miami. As this generation has notably been in power for over fifty years, their grasp on public and private power systems within the community are vast. The *Miami Herald*, as an English newspaper, is reported to be less extreme than its Spanish language counterparts. However, the presence of exile ideology on its pages signifies a strong influence from the enclave. Similarly, the level of acceptance displayed towards a new generation, and the space allowed for them to voice their opinions within public and private discourse, indicates the degree to which the exiles have been willing to relinquish space for the formation of a new generational entelechy.

As expected, the *Miami Herald* exhibited a much stronger influence by the exile ideology. The exile ideology became heightened during the Elian Gonzalez case, which also coincided with reporting on the return of Cuban-American youth to the enclave, and thus a retreat to the exile ideology. Articles that fall in the time
period preceding Elian Gonzales’ arrival in Miami displayed cracks that allowed for some discussion of generational differences in opinion, as evidenced in the articles surrounding the Los Van Van concert\textsuperscript{25}. As the analysis showed, these differences were largely based on apolitical motives, with reassurance given that the youth understood the Exile cause.

However, the heightened emotions surrounding the Elian Gonzalez spectacle seem to have been used to deny the emergence of dissent, and channel anger and frustration back towards the exile cause. The articles consistently reflected on Cuban-Americans status as outsiders to the larger American population, while also commenting on the return and re-invigoration of youth to the enclave and exile cause. The message that seems to be relayed is to tell any wayward youth that the only place they will be accepted fully is within the confines of the enclave community. Any differences of opinion among youth during this time period were covered up to project a united front\textsuperscript{26}.

However, a transition seems to begin immediately following the return of Elian to his father a significant exile loss. As the \textit{New York Times} articles show, broader public opinion of the Cuban-American exiles’ cause had shifted following the collapse of the Soviet Union, and subsequent downgrading of Cuba’s importance to national security. As the analysis of Group 3 in the previous chapter showed, the \textit{New York Times} vividly portrayed the viewpoints of the general public of the Miami Cuban-American community as “emotional” and “irrational.” The NYT analysis

\textsuperscript{25} As discussed in Chapter 5, on page 98-99.
\textsuperscript{26} Evidence from articles can be found in Chapter 5 on page 99-101.
displayed a backlash against what was portrayed as an overreaction by the Cuban-American community as a whole.

Although allowable dissent re-emerges in the *Miami Herald* following the crisis, it maintains its ideological slant. Dissent becomes more accepted, provided that it doesn’t stray from a staunchly anti-Castro stance. The failure of the exiles is not represented as a failure of their ideology, but a tactical error. Their central ideological principles remain unchanged, while they adapt to the new geo-political climate in which their cause is not a strong concern among the majority of Americans. As one letter to the editor on May 12 2000 states “We don’t need to swing the bat every time Fidel Castro pitches a ball. We must know which fights to pick. We must learn to be strategically offensive rather than tactically reactive.”

This analysis also supports the arguments within academic literature that leaving the enclave, or obtaining media from outside, would coincide with a departure from the strict official dogma. The *New York Times* made numerous references to the intense influence of exile ideology on both Miami media and politics. Similarly, the *New York Times* was more likely to candidly discuss the emergence of a new generation of Cuban-Americans, and their ideological differences from their predecessors.

*The Juanes Controversy: January 2009 – December 2010:*

The articles written a decade later were generally more accepting to differing opinions in Miami. Across both papers the reported disagreements still maintained significance only on tactical decisions, such as opening up trade barriers and
allowing cultural exchange and personal visits. The New York Times rarely linked the concert and controversy to ideological principles, such as the embargo or regime change. It primarily mentioned the generational rupture in terms of rejecting the hard-line positions “in favour of greater engagement.” This coincides with the apparent shift in public relations towards the end of the previous time period, whereby the Elian Gonzalez incident opened the eyes of the exile generation to the need to tame what was seen as extremism by most outsiders, in order to achieve support for their larger political goals. These articles seem to fall in line with public debates about United States – Cuba relations during this time period.

The Miami Herald again made an overt attempt to channel youth dissent into official channels that ultimately serve the purpose of maintaining the principles of the exile ideology. The group Raices de Esperanza (Roots of Hope) was mentioned on numerous occasions when youth or generations were discussed openly in the Miami Herald. Notably, the New York Times did not mention this group a single time. It is primarily depicted by the Miami Herald as an organization for Cuban-American youth desirous of a change in the dialogue about Cuba. Closer examination of the organization shows that it maintains the ultimate goal of regime change in Cuba and uses the discourse of spreading democracy and opened dialogue to appear different from its organizational predecessors. The organization provides the appearance of acceptance of dissent, while reining diversity of opinion in at acceptable levels in exile-dominated public discourse.
The mission statement of the organization reads: “To empower youth to become the authors of their own futures.” Although this sounds harmless, a closer examination of the work of Roots of Hope makes it clear that the true meaning of this mission statement is to empower Cuban youth to dispel the Castro regime from power, and other goals in line with the Exile ideology. The main difference between this group and organizations stemming from the Exile generation is the emphasis on including island Cubans in the process of transition, as well as emphasis on engaging with the non-Cuban American population to achieve these ends. The website for Roots of Hope continually uses key terms such as freedom and democracy, as well as stories of human rights abuses in Cuba. This supports the findings that media outlets traditionally used by the Exiles to diffuse exile ideology through the community maintain rigidity in relation to ideological openness.

Both the *Miami Herald* articles and the Roots of Hope website mention the celebrity speakers at their conferences, who have included Andy Garcia, Gloria Estefan and Cuban blogger Yoani Sanchez. All of these figures are publically supportive of the core beliefs of the exile ideology. Thus, the only organization reported on by the *Miami Herald* for Cuban-American youth maintains the core principles of the exile ideology. Although Roots of Hope is positioned as an example of generational rupture in the Miami Cuban-American community by the *Miami Herald*, closer inspection dictates that only a certain element of dissent is permissible within its pages.
Although the greater emphasis on dialogue provides some evidence of generational rupture, it seems as though the media and political structures in Miami are silencing generation units that oppose anything more than tactical change. Much of the discussion uncovered in the articles and through the available information on Roots of Hope showed generational change based on acceptance of cultural exchange, or travel as well as greater emphasis on increased dialogue between Cuba and the United States. However, they all maintained a somewhat strict adherence to the exile ideology, with little dialogue regarding core ideological principles and instead a focus on how best to achieve their goals since the last fifty years of embargo and non-contact have not proved fruitful.

The *Miami Herald* articles during this time period were less overt in their support of the exile ideology than the previous time period. The trend following the Elian Gonzalez crisis of downplaying the extreme emotional intensity of the Cuban-American argument was obvious. It is also of interest that the *Miami Herald*, long criticized for not publishing dissenting opinions from readers, published a letter calling the extreme exiles “ridiculous.” This shows a liberalization of content in the *Miami Herald*, however the articles still maintained at the very least sympathy with the exile cause. Although the coverage of the Juanes concert did not strictly present the viewpoints of the exile community, the *Miami Herald* was more likely to sympathize with the exile's plight than the *New York Times*.

The *New York Times* provided considerably more favorable coverage to trade and travel liberalizations made by the Obama administration, presenting it as
uncontroversial except for the usual denouncement by Republicans from Florida. This again displays an outsider view of the Exile ideology, positioning it as extreme and somewhat fanatical. The New York Times was also far more likely to mention an increase in debate on the futility of the decades old policies on Cuba both nationally and internationally.

It should also be noted that the Miami Herald published an article decrying the use of exile ideology in local and national politics. The author states that voting for the mayor of Miami based on ethnic roots was a “sign of immaturity,” however, these types of statements were made justifiable by contextualizing within the on-going war against Socialism or Castro:

The day the dictatorship ends, it won’t make any difference whether the mayor of Miami is Cuban or Chinese. Rather, what will be important is for Miami to be prepared when that great moment comes. Unfortunately it isn’t ready (Shoer Roth, November 3 2009).

Conclusions:

Although it is recognized that findings from a study such as this cannot be understood as definitive or as giving a full picture of the reality in Miami, some deductions can be made. The analysis of newspaper articles provides only a tiny glimpse at the larger picture of generational cleavage with the Cuban-American community in Miami, and further investigation is necessary to provide any sort of accurate conclusions.
The academic literature provides a sound basis for the belief that, indeed, a new generation with its own entelechy exists, or is in the process of becoming existent. However, the ability of this emergent generation to freely express their opinions and beliefs is blocked by a dominant generation, maintaining tight control of traditional forms of public discourse. Although it is recognized that a new generation exists in both newspapers, the younger generation is only permitted to express political opinions in these sources when they can work in tandem with the exile ideology. Rather than allowing new generation units to arise organically, only those that are easily folded into the existing structures are being recognized in traditional media outlets. This conclusion is especially significant when the entire younger generation is taken into account, encompassing both recent migrants to Miami and those that were born in the United States to Exile parents. The Miami Herald is willing to accept the existence of what appears to be a singular generation unit, one that is largely comprised of second or third generation Cuban-Americans, the vast majority being offspring of the exile generation.

It became quite apparent that American-born Cuban-Americans are more likely to subscribe ideologically to the exile mindset, while maintaining more liberal tactical beliefs (Alberts, 2009; Grenier, 2006; Woltman and Newbold, 2008). These differences include an openness to dialogue with the Cuban government and island Cuban citizens, as well as cultural exchange, and to a lesser degree, a lightening of the embargo (Alberts, 2009, Eckstein, 2009a; Eckstein and Krull, 2008; Grenier, 2006; Woltman and Newbold, 2008). However, the majority of sources indicate that those Cubans who migrated after 1980, and especially during the 1990s and 2000s,
hold a wider variation of political ideologies. For example, one such migrant states “I didn’t have and do not have any problems with Castro’s regime or the Revolution. I fought for the Revolution ... Cuba was very, very poor .... My choices were to leave with my children or starve” (Eckstein and Barberia, 2008:807). This statement seems to encompass the main ideological difference between a younger generation, who were socialized in Cuba, versus those socialized in the exile community. These voices, which espouse ideological difference as well as tactical difference, remain muffled by the exile ideology. Thus, it appears that the younger generation is falling victim to the same fate as their older counterparts, where only one generation unit is permitted to publicly disseminate its opinions.

In relation to the question of whether a new generation with any influence on public discourse is emerging in Miami the analysis points toward a cautious yes. The fact that concessions are being made in the media for any dissent at all is a positive step in the emergence of any divergent opinions. The media and public voice of the community has been falsely unified for so long that any cracks in official doctrine are a welcome step toward opening dialogue in a historically closed community. However, more research is required into the informal means of communication between the youth in order to acquire a greater understanding of these processes.

This conclusion is tentative because the range of dialogue available does not appear to be infinite or inclusive. To a certain extent, any opening in the Miami community appears to be in conjunction with either issues of culture over politics or
the organization Roots of Hope. Thus, it appears that debate is acceptable only if it can be channeled into an exile-related cause (such as Roots of Hope) or if politics is entirely removed from culture. Cuban-American youth can listen to Cuban music, but there is no room for dissent on the main principles of anti-Castroism and desire for regime change in Cuba. Notably, this is also absent from any discussion of generational change within the *New York Times*. As this remains the official discourse of the United States government, it is not surprising.

The *Miami Herald* most definitely provides different coverage of generational change in the Miami Cuban-American community than the *New York Times*. This is largely based on the insider point-of-view provided by the *Miami Herald*, versus the outsider view of the *New York Times*. Logically due to its geographic location in the Miami community, the *Miami Herald* is far more focused on Cuban-American issues in general than the *New York Times*, which is geographically removed and focuses on more national and international issues. The local media frame almost every article within the context of the exiles’ flight from Cuba and their identity as exiles; this corresponds with Perez’s definition of the exile ideology (1992). Ideas of collective memory, and imagined memory are also regularly present. In contrast, the *New York Times* does not provide similar anti-Castroism or emotionally charged arguments. This provides a somewhat more balanced view of the issues, which in turn paints the Cuban exile community as illogical on most issues related to Cuba.

Chronologically, the *Miami Herald* has become more accepting of tactical dissent and divergent opinions on topics such as cultural exchange, travel, and to a
lesser degree, the embargo. As these things were previously not open to debate within the pages of the *Miami Herald*, this represents a slight shift in acceptance, but also coincides with recognition that the exile cause lost a large amount of its national influence during the Elian Gonzalez fiasco. Ganz (2003: 285) suggests that “social movements unfold as actors predictably respond to new political opportunities, newly available resources, or changes in cultural frames.” In this view, the adoption of a more moderate view associated with the younger generation can be seen as a tactical move on the part of the exile generation, allowing enough dissent of opinion to remove any real political threat.

This thesis presumes that an examination of the media can aid in gauging public opinion through the caliber of news media available. It also presumes that resources and public recognition are vital for the formation of any social movement, including generational succession. The findings point to an understanding of a distinct generation location, but not necessarily the emergence of an active generation or an acceptance of the variation of generation units that exist. The remnants of a dominant ideology remain entrenched in the local media. Although the younger generation has notably had the effect of calming official discourse it is still unlikely that all opinions are being heard.

The analysis also clearly shows that the *Miami Herald* operates to insulate the exile ideology within the enclave community. This was particularly apparent during the 1999–2000 period; however, it was still subtly present in the later period as well. The insulation of hegemonic discourse in a tightly-knit community allows it
to survive through collective memories that are proliferated amongst members and to new generations.

**Limitations of the Research and Suggestions for Future Research:**

Quite obviously a main limitation of this study is the lack of voice afforded to actual youth within the community of study. Therefore, no conclusions can be made about the actual existence or trajectory of a new generation in the Miami Cuban-American community, but only its representation in the media. Rather than prove or disprove the existence of an emergent generational entelechy, this study can merely shed light on the strength of influence the exile generation maintains, as well as the existence of space for different opinions to emerge. To further understanding of generational dynamics within this community, individual stories need to be told and personal opinions of those enmeshed in the daily life of the community must have their voices heard.

In addition, the dataset proved too narrow to allow for complexities within generations based on such demographic factors as gender, class, race and sexuality. As these themes were not discussed within the articles in either the *Miami Herald* or the *New York Times* differences in life experience and belief systems based on these qualities were largely ignored. However this lack of attention to differences within the younger generation supports the conclusion that only one very distinct opinion within the younger generation is permissible in exile dominated media.

The lack of examination of Spanish language media is a further limitation. As it is largely noted in the academic literature that many Cuban-Americans in Miami
receive their news in Spanish, which also is correlated with a more stringent reliance on the exile ideology. Due to time constraints, as well as an inefficient knowledge in Spanish, this was left out. It is noted that further examination of a Spanish language news source, such as *El Nuevo Herald*, would provide further information.

Finally, an analysis of two newspapers does not shed light on the other ways in which social generations and subsequent generation units can manifest. With the advance of Internet and social networking technologies (particularly among the younger generations), further analysis of these emergent forms of media and communication is required to fully comprehend the ways in which the younger generation obtain power within the discourse of the Miami enclave community. The analysis of newspapers informs a discussion based upon whether the older generation recognizes the existence of differing opinions amongst youth, however does not provide any conclusive evidence on the true range of opinions existing within a younger generation of Cuban-Americans. An analysis of blogs and social networking sites would provide a more in-depth depiction of the various generation units that may exist within the Cuban-American community. Future research must take this into account in order to adequately gauge the extent of activity amongst Cuban-American youth.
References:


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