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ABSTRACT

The Conference on Ecological and Cultural Factors Related to Emotional Disturbance in Puerto Rican Children and Youth was the primary attempt to bring together a group of behavioral scientists, medical doctors, and educators, so that the scientific findings of the former--behavioral and medical scientists--may be used by the latter--educators--in the designing and implementation of a curriculum plan for the education of emotionally disturbed children in Puerto Rico. All participants at the Conference were Puerto Ricans actually engaged in dealing with emotionally disturbed children in Puerto Rico. Contents include the following papers: "Introduction," Roberto E. Moran; "Machismo versus Nomism in Puerto Rico," Efrain Sanchez Hidalgo; "The Puerto Rican Child with Emotional Disturbances," Nectar R. de Torregrosa; "The Emotionally Disturbed Child in the Classroom," Alba M. Lebron de Ayala; "Experiences with Emotionally Disturbed Children at the Day Care Center, Psychiatric Hospital, Puerto Rican School of Medicine," Cira V. Romera de Uriarte; "The Puerto Rican Family: Psychological Approach," Antonio Martinez-Monfort; "Social Structure and Child Development," Raul A. Munoz; "The Impact of the Family on the Child's Emotional Development," Estelia Munoz de Lopez de Victoria; "The Puerto Rican Community: Sociological Approach," Juan J. Mauney; "The Impact of Some Factors of the Puerto Rican Community on the Development of Our Children," Guillermo Santiago; and, "Summary of Group Reports," Aida S. Candelas. (Author/JM)

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONFERENCE ON ECOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS

RELATED TO EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCES IN

PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN AND YOUTH

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
 EDUCATION & WELFARE
 NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
 EDUCATION

December 8-10, 1971

Barranquitas, Puerto Rico

Roberto E. Morán
Editor

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- * Jointly organized and carried out by the Program: MENTAL RETARDATION, College of Education, University of Puerto Rico, and the Division of Education of Handicapped Children and Youth, Puerto Rican Department of Education.

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PREFACE

The Conference on Ecological and Cultural Factors Related to Emotional Disturbance in Puerto Rican Children and Youth is the fruit of thought and action of various persons concerned with educational problems and their solutions in Puerto Rico. The initial idea for such a Conference and its subsequent financial backing can be directly contributed to Dr. Bruce Balow and his staff at the Division of the Handicapped, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C.

In conversations with this writer and his staff, and with Mrs. Hilda Grana de Bonilla, Director of the Division of Education of Handicapped Children, Department of Education, Puerto Rico, and her staff, Dr. Balow expressed his concern for the future development and implementation of Teacher Preparation Programs in Puerto Rico, especially in the Area of Special Education.

It was suggested that since most key persons in Special Education receive their preparation in American Colleges or Universities, they might introduce inadvertently into the Puerto Rican education system, concepts and misconcepts borrowed from United States educators.

Puerto Rico is just beginning to carry out an Island-wide program covering all areas of special education; it is therefore in the unique position of being able to benefit from experiences gleaned from ungoing programs on the mainland. Many of these programs, undoubtedly, have provided impressive models for the education of exceptional children. Others are based in tenuous evidence and their contribution to special education is challenged. The majority of programs are undergoing constant refinement. All programs (innovative or traditional, experience-based or performance-based) are designed to meet the specific needs of North American children, and, are influenced by such variables as the history, culture, politics, sociology and psychology of the North American people. These variables, it would seem are unique, peculiar and applicable mainly to North American society.

Dr. Balow, thus, questioned the desirability of transplanting U. S. models to a Puerto Rican educational system, especially in the area of special education. Puerto Rican educators, he felt, should analyze their culture and ecology, and design their curricula to meet the specific needs of Puerto Rican children and youth.

The ideas of Dr. Balow and staff were converted into action, by convening a Conference, on Cultural and Ecological Factors Related to Emotional Disturbance in Puerto Rican Children and Youth. All participants at the Conference were Puerto Ricans actually engaged in idealizing with emotionally disturbed children in Puerto Rico. (The only exception was the outside observer Dr. Stanley Lichtenstein, Consultant).¹

The entire Conference was conducted, and all papers were read and later written in Spanish. The proceedings are, therefore, the English version of these papers. Admittedly some liberty has been taken in making these translations for which the editor bears full responsibility. He sincerely hopes that by so doing he has enhanced the understanding of Puerto Rican culture, by the English-speaking readers.

We, the Staff of the Program, Education of Handicapped Children, College of Education, University of Puerto Rico, are most grateful to Dr. Bruce Balow and his staff for their encouragement and financial support of the Conference.

The editor wishes to acknowledge his sincere and personal gratitude to those persons who contributed their time and efforts and their knowledge to make the Conference a possible

landmark in the education of Puerto Rico: Dr. José A. Cáceres, Dean, College of Education, University of Puerto Rico, who offered invaluable suggestions; Dr. Aida S. Candelas, Director, Department of Programs and Teaching, University of Puerto Rico, for her interest and support; Mrs. Hilda Grana de Bonilla, Director, Division of Education of the Handicapped, Puerto Rico Department of Education, and Co-Director of the Conference; Mrs. Migdalia Argote, translator; Dr. Margaret J. Shephard, Professor Special Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, for reading and reviewing several of the papers; and to Mrs. Alison Morán, my wife, for sharing the joys and tribulations of her husband-cum-editor.

I am also grateful to the speakers, group leaders and other participants at the Conference, and especially to the students Yolanda Martínez and Rafael Méndez, who worked voluntarily and unceasingly.

My special thanks to Professor Flor de Osiris Cruz de Nason, colleague and friend for her indefatigable efforts, her equanimity and her dedication which made this Conference a success.

Roberto E. Morán
Editor
October, 1972
University of Puerto Rico

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INTRODUCTION

Roberto E. Morán, Ph.D.

There is an increasingly urgent need for a teacher preparation program in the area of emotional disturbance, designed on the specific educational needs of disturbed Puerto Rican children. It is felt that teachers who on taking such a program would be better prepared to deal with the serious problem of emotional disturbance which is manifested in a wide range of deviate behavioral patterns observed in disturbed people in the Puerto Rican community. The concern for an immediate solution to the existing problem of the emotionally disturbed in Puerto Rico was heightened by the following factors:

1. From 1956 to 1965 the incidence of juvenile delinquency has steadily risen, with an average increase of 19.0% annually. According to Dr. Efraín Sánchez, Chief Psychologist for the Juvenile Court, "Undoubtedly 80% to 90% of cases who come before the courts manifest, in varying

degrees, clear signs of emotional disturbance".¹

"If an early diagnosis had been made, and proper treatment provided, many of these cases would not have come before the courts". (Ibid)

2. The incidence of admittance of adolescents and college students to the Puerto Rican State Psychiatric Hospital has also risen steadily.²
3. The most graphic and sobering data is the prevalence of drug (heroin) addiction, in all strata of Puerto Rican schools. Puerto Rico with a population of approximately 2,750,000 inhabitants has an estimated population of over 13,000 heroin addicts. (No attempt has been made to estimate the number of users of other drugs). These addicts, though proceeding from different walks of

1 Asuntos Juveniles de Puerto Rico, 1945-1965, Oficina del Gobernador, Coordinador de Asuntos Juveniles, San Juan, P.R.

2 Statistical Report Mental Health Program, Psychiatric Hospital, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, 1963-1965.

life, share a common trait--some degree or form of emotional disturbance.³

. A preliminary study was carried out by the Division of Special Education for the Handicapped, Department of Education, Puerto Rico, in order to determine the incidence and prevalence of emotionally disturbed children in the Puerto Rican school-age population. According to the results of this preliminary study there are an estimated 21,000 school children with some degree of emotional disturbance, who could benefit from a specialized educational program offered by specialist teachers of disturbed children.⁴

Indeed, as a consequence of the concern for the provision of special education for disturbed children, five special classes for these children have been organized in the San Juan Metropolitan area; and eleven classes located in elementary schools in the largest cities and towns of the Island.

3 Drug Addiction in Puerto Rico, Roberto E. Morán, Pedagogía, Colegio de Pedagogía, Universidad de Puerto Rico.

4 Preliminary Study of the Handicapped School Population in Puerto Rican Public Schools, 1969-70, Department of Education, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

During the past two years, the Program, Mental Retardation, College of Education, University of Puerto Rico, has offered two courses in the area of emotional disturbance: Nature and Needs of the Emotionally Disturbed, and Education and Curriculum for the Emotionally Disturbed. During the academic year 1971-72 students were able to carry out a practicum in this area. However, neither the Program in the public school system nor the courses offered by the University of Puerto Rico is based on the findings of a systematic study carried out on the Island designed to determine the specific nature of emotional disturbance, and the specific educational needs of disturbed children in Puerto Rico. Existing programs in the school and at the University are largely based on a North American model, and course content generally describes the nature of emotional disturbance in a North American or British environment, and reflects the psychoeducational needs of children residing in those countries.

The inner mechanism which may set off emotional disturbance, it seems, finds its origin in the basic biological and psychological needs of man: self-identity, recognition, peer-group acceptance and so forth. These needs are universal. However,

the external forces which spark off this reaction and the perception of subsequent behavior patterns as being "abnormal", and/or deviant, are culturally determined.

Obviously, curricula for teacher preparation programs in the area of emotional disturbance, and special programs for emotionally disturbed children in Puerto Rican schools should be based on the specific nature and needs of these children. Therefore, an attempt should be made to determine the precise nature of emotional disturbance in Puerto Rico, and to determine to what degree and extent the ecology and culture are etiological agents of the deviate behavior patterns observed in Puerto Rican children. To achieve this goal, information gleaned from studies carried out by specialists concerned with and dedicated to promoting mental health in Puerto Rico should be analyzed, collated and presented in a form readily accessible to the public in general and to educators and mental health specialists in particular.

That certain cultural factors peculiar to Puerto Rico may exist, has been shown in various studies. For example, in an anthropological study carried out in a "typical" rural Puerto Rican village, Landy found "that many Puerto Rican children grow up with aggressive and fearful fantasies about sex

because they may hear the sounds in the night but do not see the act and thus store up all manner of distortions".⁵ He also claims that "acculturation changes plus male dominance plus paucity of opportunity have made for relative disorganization of traditional family structure". (Ibid) This disorganization of the traditional Puerto Rican family structure may prove fertile ground from which the seeds of emotional instability may flourish into a full bloomed emotional disturbance. Although Landy's study was concerned primarily with culture and acculturation changes in Puerto Rico, his findings do indicate that the cultural variables are crucial determinants of human behavior.

In another anthropological study, this time carried out on an urban Puerto Rican population, Lewis provides a vivid, exhaustive and impressive picture of the crippling effects of poverty and its multiple facets on the emotional growth and development of Puerto Rican children.⁶

5 Landy, D., Tropical Childhood; University of North Carolina Press, N. C.

6 Lewis, Oscar, La Vida; Random House; New York, 1965.

The sociologists Hollingshead and Rogler, the latter being Puerto Rican born and educated, examined detailed life histories of a series of families who live in the slums and public housing projects (caserios) of San Juan, Puerto Rico. They attempted to identify the distinctive experiences of persons who are non-schizophrenic in comparison with those who are afflicted with schizophrenia, to determine the circumstances associated with the onset of that mental illness; and to assess the impact of mental illness on family life.⁷ They conclude ". . . at an identifiable period in the life of the schizophrenic person, however, a set of interwoven, mutually reinforcing problems produce an onrush of symptoms which overwhelm the victim and prevent him from fulfilling the obligations associated with his accustomed social roles." (Ibid) In all probability these interwoven, mutually reinforcing problems are a product of the schizophrenic's ecology and culture, and we can speculate as to the effects on the behavior of children born and reared in a "schizophrenic" social environment.

7 Hollingshead, August B., and Rogler, Lloyd H.; Trapped: Families and Schizophrenia; Wiley & Sons, Inc.; New York, 1965.

According to Hollingshead and Rogler, schizophrenia ". . . is the most frequently occurring psychosis in the public mental hospitals in Puerto Rico." (Ibid) Sociological studies of Puerto Rican communities have also been made by Tremin and Feldman,⁸ S. W. Mintz,⁹ and others.

The sociologist, Fitzpatrick and the psychiatrist, Gould, on studying a Puerto Rican population residing in New York, arrived at similar conclusions as Rogler and Hollingshead. They state, ". . . an abnormally high rate of schizophrenia has been observed among Puerto Ricans in New York. No satisfactory explanation has yet been found for this. Some scholars attribute it to features in the culture of Puerto Ricans which may leave them vulnerable to schizophrenia".¹⁰

With the exception of Rogler, all the forementioned writers and researchers were North Americans studying a Puerto Rican

8 Tremin and Feldman; Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico; Princeton University Press, 1961; Princeton.

9 Mintz, S. W.; Workers in the Cane: A Puerto Rican life History; Yale University Press; New Haven.

10 Fitzpatrick, J. P. and Gould, R. E.; Mental Illness Among Puerto Ricans in New York Cultural Conditions or Intercultural Misunderstanding?; Task Force Paper prepared for the Joint Commission on Mental Health; Maryland.

population. Their findings would be influenced by their perception which is a product of their North American background. Deeper and more subjective information might be gathered from studies of Puerto Rican society directed by native Puerto Ricans. Such studies have been carried out and published. For example, the Puerto Rican anthropologist, Dr. E. Seda Bonilla, now residing in New York, has carried out intensive studies on Puerto Rican communities. He has traced the changes in Puerto Rican society brought about by industrialization, and the nebulous political status of Puerto Rico. Dr. Seda Bonilla has analyzed the customs and folklore deeply ingrained in certain strata of the Puerto Rican society. He describes in detail the powerful influence of spiritualism, witchcraft and the unquestionable belief in the occult sciences on the working class Puerto Rican's attitude towards life in general. He shows how these determine the perceptions of what is abnormal behavior among the poor class, and who should be called upon to deal with it. Dr. Seda Bonilla writes "We can not help but agree with the interpretation of spiritualism as the 'psychiatry' of the poor class in Puerto Rico".¹¹ He adds, ". . . we should regard spiritualistic behavior, witchcraft and quackery as the result of learning cultural patterns whose origin one might

attribute to Africa, Europe or other places". (Translation from the original text in Spanish. See p. 108, Ibid.) Dr. Seda Bonilla concludes that though the persistent and increasing acceptance of witchcraft, and spiritualism among all strata of Puerto Rican society is of significant interest, of greater importance is the study of the functional origin of those impulses and needs which, in the structure of social interaction, remain atrophied, ignored or repressed and which find expression in spiritualism.

The Puerto Rican Institute of Psychology directed by Dr. Carlos Albizu Miranda has as its primary objective the scientific study of Puerto Rican behavior so as to provide a model or school of Puerto Rican psychology. The staff, including social scientists, has carried out several projects, and the results of these should throw light on etiologic variables related to emotional disturbance in Puerto Rico.

The Center of Social Research, College of Social Sciences, University of Puerto Rico, headed by Dr. Luis Nieves Falcón, has long been dedicated to the systematic analysis of Puerto Rican society, and of the social forces influential in molding the Puerto Rican personality.

The Center has an exhaustive list of publications, research projects, conferences and seminars which are designed to uncover

cultural, historical, economical, political and sociological factors which influence the attitudes and behaviors of Puerto Ricans in the various strata and dimensions of the Puerto Rican society. A cursory review of the results of studies carried out by this Center provides ample evidence of probable causative factors of behavioral patterns peculiar to Puerto Rican children, youth and adults. To mention just a few of them: Growth and Development of the Puerto Rican Child, Ethnography of Puerto Rican Culture, Poverty in Puerto Rico, Religion in Puerto Rico, Violence and Social Structure in Puerto Rico, Juvenile Delinquency in Puerto Rico, Socio-Cultural and Social-Legal Analysis, Modernization and Schooling¹¹

Undoubtedly, specialists of other disciplines are engaged in studying ecological and cultural variables and their relation to adaptive and maladaptive behavior in a Puerto Rican population. The results of these studies are widely dispersed, or may lie dormant in some university library. They are not known by, or readily accessible to specialist teachers. And certainly, these studies have not been used for education models.

¹¹ Annual Report, Social Research Center, 1969-70, University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, Puerto Rico

Therefore, this Conference is the primary attempt to bring together a group of behavioral scientists, medical doctors, and educators, so that the scientific findings of the former--behavioral and medical scientists--may be used by the latter--educators--in the designing and implementation of a curriculum plan for the education of emotionally disturbed children in Puerto Rico.

MACHISMO VERSUS MOMISM IN PUERTO RICO

Efraín Sánchez Hidalgo, Ph.D.

For historical and cultural reasons, the cult of machismo¹ has prevailed, for centuries, throughout Spanish-speaking countries, including Puerto Rico. Machismo is characterized as a male prerogative to have exceptionally strong sexual interests and the freedom to express these without restriction and interference of cultural taboos. The Latin male has a need for proving his virility to himself and to the world which he does through a series of sexual female conquests. The cult of machismo is primarily expressed through female seduction but it is also revealed in the belief that "to be a real man" a male must not retreat from any situation where he is challenged to prove at all costs his dominance and superiority. It is possible, therefore, to observe the close similarity between the cult of machismo as reflected in the behavior of the neighborhood bully, the tough guy of the street, and in that of other members of society who live by the code of machismo.

This cult of machismo is a contemporary cultural phenomenon although it is less prominent today than in earlier periods

¹ Machismo is the overconcern for proving one's masculinity.

in Puerto Rican history. The child-rearing process as carried out by many Puerto Rican parents is still oriented by the precept: "Boys must be tough. They must be real men". It is held in both belief and practice that the woman is born for the home and the man for the world. The man is born for adventure and to stride through life in his quest for seducing women and, thereby proving his masculine superiority. He further proves his prowess by responding to those challenging life situations which require physical strength, recklessness and a zeal for dominating others. This he attempts to achieve by using whatever means available.

From the time a son is born, the father may begin to encourage his offspring to become a prototype of manliness which is falsely defined as a combination of such boldness of thought and action as to make him reign supreme among mortals.

The cultural attitude in Puerto Rico toward girls is, however, quite different. Parents even today, speak disdainfully of "la chancleta", the baby girl, when referring to this gentle, helpless creature who has been born into the family. There is unjustifiable pride felt by the father when a son is born, since this confirms his virility. "It takes a man to make a man", is a common adage in Puerto Rico. Many women are grieved because they feel that they are victims of the uncontrollable design of genetics and are unable to bear a male child for their husbands.

In many cases machismo is nurtured in the cradle. When the son, confronted with his father's demands for masculinity, is unable to respond to these and fails to fulfill paternal aspiration, consequently feeling of disappointment and disillusion well up in the father's spirit. All too frequently, this disappointment is expressed as rejection by the father of the son and is the source of severely disturbed parent-child relationships and consequent emotional disturbance in the child. For example, in the face of the admonition by the father that "men do not cry and those who do cry are women", the son's feeling to the father's chagrin may irrupt into an explosion of tears.

It is commonly believed that the cult of machismo is more conspicuous in the lower socio-economic strata. In truth, no convincing study of this cultural phenomenon has been conducted in Puerto Rico. Casual observation encourages the conjecture that machismo is more prevalent among the lower socio-economic classes. It is, however, obviously a prevailing value in other levels of society. The difference between the distinct social and economic classes in regard to the influence of machismo may be only one of degree.

Juxtaposed with the cult of machismo, we have noted another cultural phenomenon in child-rearing practice in Puerto Rico which could be called momism and which expresses itself in the so-called mama's boy, the child psychologically nursed by his mother.

The late Philip Wylie coined the term momism and introduced it in his book, Generation of Vipers which was published in 1942. This work provoked the wrath of millions of American women when they were accused by Mr. Wylie of dominating their sons. Wylie pointed out that mothers were tyrannizing their male offspring by imposing upon them their own will and ideas. He indicated that a national psychology was developing which centered on worshiping the mother and hypothesized that the North American culture was losing its strength and maturity because its future leaders were being brought up tied to their mother's apron strings. Wylie said: "Mom is an American creation. Megaloid mom worship has gotten completely out of hand."

In discussing the problem of homosexuality in childhood, psychiatrist Warren J. Gadpaille has written that in families in the United States where this deviation exists, the mother is characteristically over-protective and encourages the child to be overly attached to her and the father is hostile and indifferent, maintaining a psychological distance from his son. He adds that the typical North American mother tends to discourage the development of masculine traits by diverse means. She worries excessively about her son's health, making him feel weak and constantly apprehensive about physical injury. She does not encourage him to participate actively in sports or other physical activities while encouraging and rewarding feminine behavior. These child-rearing practices turn the son into a lonely individual who often becomes the object of scorn and

ridicule from other boys. A boy reared in this fashion will also have a tendency to associate with girls and women. The mother can even go to the extreme of discouraging and shaming her son when he manifests any sexual interest in girls. Frequently in such families the relationship between the mother and father is strained. The mother may openly belittle the father and thereby deprive the son of the father as a masculine model with whom to identify and to admire. Frequently the mother converts the son into her ally in her struggle against the father.

Ursula Von Eckhardt, writing about women's liberation in Puerto Rico, has pointed out that in this country machismo or masculine chauvinism often co-exists with mother worship. She states that Mother's Day was actually an invention of the National Florists Association and that frequently the celebration of that holiday is carried to ridiculous extremes. Also she points out that the mother's disgust and disdain for the father's weaknesses may be a causative factor in homosexuality and in juvenile delinquency. She stresses that excessive love and maternal pampering may create serious emotional problems for male children.

In the first edition of our book, La psicología de la crianza published in 1962, we indicated that "we parents tend to over-protect our sons which causes us to suffer unnecessary tension and anxiety. Undoubtedly our sons need

protection but not in excess. Over-protection may be harmful to human growth and development." "Often affection is expressed by means of physical contact such as kissing, hugging, bouncing on the lap, rocking to sleep... All of these practices are considered healthy for the better development of the human being provided they are tempered by judgement and moderation. If kissing is done too frequently and too emotionally and if the son, old enough to sleep by himself, is still cradled in his mother's arms although he is too large for her to hold, these practices are excessive and cease to be effective for promoting mental health. In fact, such practices may become obstacles in the path of psychological weaning and emotional emancipation..."

In May, 1971, Professor Joan D. Kass, of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Puerto Rico, speaking on the topic of women's liberation in a panel discussion sponsored by the Instituto del Hogar, and carried out by the Colegio de Abogados de Puerto Rico, indicated that Puerto Rican men try to lessen their feelings of insecurity by means of sexual intercourse. She concluded that the Puerto Rican woman "compensates for the solitude of the home by pampering her son" and that "the Puerto Rican mother tends to protect the male child more than the female child, indicating that this causes the son to grow up totally dependent upon the mother".

Obviously, the aforementioned viewpoints expressed both in the United States and in Puerto Rico are only hypotheses. There is an urgent need to conduct extensive research on these problems. Allow me to add an additional conjecture to these already stated views.

The mother - we don't know to what point subconscious motives are operating - tries to encourage the son's attachment to her, using him as a shoulder to cry on, thereby satisfying all her emotional needs. When the relationship between the husband and wife becomes tense, the mother grasps on to her baby boy, and, in extreme cases, she obtains from him the satisfaction of her emotional need for intimate contact. A bond of reciprocal, excessive dependency is established. In some cases, the boy sleeps with the mother. The child may begin to identify himself with the role and feminine traits of the mother and thereby not acquire the proper traits of his sex. He is somatically masculine but psychologically feminine. On the other hand, if the mother is estranged from her husband, she may see the son as the life raft in the tumultuous sea of an unhappy marriage. As a consequence of all this, the father may become vengeful against both the mother and the son who are allied against him.

Let us juxtapose these two cultural phenomena in Puerto Rico, the cult of machismo, encouraged by the father, and momism, stimulated by the mother. What alternatives are offered to

the son? One might be that he elects machismo and is converted to a type of person who embodies all of the undesirable traits ascribed to this cult. Another alternative might be that the young male is inclined toward momism with all of the emotional problems and developmental deviations which derive from excessive dependency on the mother. There might be another alternative represented by the tragic and confused oscillation between one extreme and the other.

Child-rearing must be a task in which both parents participate in complete union and harmony. Undoubtedly, in many cultures the first important relationship of the child whether of one sex or the other, is with the mother. The psychological symbiosis which is established in this diad will have deep repercussions throughout the child's entire life. Such a relationship does not imply that the father is not a participant, a non-entity in the sociology of the home. Without entering into competition with the mother, the father can participate from early childhood in the task of child-rearing with the aim of also becoming a significant person in the life of his children. Child-rearing is a cooperative enterprise in which both husband and wife participate even before the child is born. Obviously both of them will need to continuously strive to reach agreements and maintain these because consistency is the essence of good child-rearing practices. A child, properly reared, will not show marked preference for either parent, but

rather an inclination for both, although there may be certain specific occasions when he prefers one to the other. Machismo as well as momism represents extreme deviations from the type of child-rearing practices leading to mental health that were pointed out in the preceding paragraph. All children, regardless of their sex, can learn as much from their father as from their mother.

When there is 'civil war' in the home, which may have multiple causes, the results of this struggle are reflected in the development of the children. For this reason, the peace which humanity is craving must begin with peace at the hearthside. Machismo and momism are indeed deplorable phenomena which work against the healthy development of the human personality.

THE PUERTO RICAN CHILD WITH EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCE

Néctar R. de Torregrosa, M.D.

When faced with the task of how I should present the topic "The Puerto Rican Child With Emotional Disturbance", I found myself debating between two or three alternatives. That is:

1. Should I speak to you on the concept of emotional illness?
2. Should I speak on the reasons why children become emotionally ill?, or
3. Should I speak on the topic of how emotionally ill children behave?

I felt the sensation of being entrapped by the theme "emotional illness". It seemed to me, however, that if I let myself be governed by this theme, much of what I might say would be material well known to you. I do not believe that the purpose of this Seminar is to retrace old steps. Therefore, I finally decided on the second alternative. May I ask you to forget emotional illness as such for a few minutes and permit me to share some ideas with you which I have been formulating during the past few years. These ideas are a

result of my close contact with children and their families at the Psychiatric Clinic for Children and Adolescents, Río Piedras, Puerto Rico.

I must admit that most of these ideas lack scientific proof. Some of these I have corroborated, on seeing them consistently repeated with the passing of time.

The statistical data presented here is based on the study of 787 medical records of new patients admitted to the Psychiatric Clinic for Children and Adolescents, Psychiatric Hospital, Río Piedras, Puerto Rico, during the months of January, February and March, 1971. Each of these records was carefully examined, so as to elicit the following information: chronological age; sex; home address; origin of referral and the final diagnosis. All of the patients included in the study were between one and a half and 18 years of age.

Results and Comments

1. Of the 787 patients studied, 509 or 65% are males and 278 or 34% are females. This same male-female proportion exists among the children referred from the Puerto Rican public schools during these months. That is, in a sample of 492 children, age group 4-18, the following sex distribution was present:

345 or 70% males and 147 or 30% females. During the years 1956-1964 Dr. Carlos Ortiz Espada, carried out a similar study in our Clinic with patients diagnosed as mentally retarded. He found the same relative proportion of males and females in that population: 65% males and 35% females.

It is interesting that the distribution of 2:1 (male-female) was not found in the group of new patients admitted to the Carolina Mental Health Center, Carolina, Puerto Rico, during the year 1970-1971. The age range of this group was from 1 - 66 years. There were more males than females in this population, but, the percentage ratio 58% male patients to 42% female ones was different from that seen in most populations. If this is the expected sex distribution for mental disorders among representative groups in our society, then we are faced with data of little importance. If, however, this data does not correspond with the prevalence estimates by sex for mental disorders in Puerto Rico, then we should raise the question of why males are referred to psychiatric clinics with greater frequency than females.

2. We have noticed a decrease in the number of patients diagnosed as mentally retarded who are referred to our Clinic

while, at the same time, we have observed a steady increase in the number of children who are referred for emotional problems or other causes.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF REFERRALS CHILD PSYCHIATRIC CLINIC, PUERTO RICAN SCHOOL OF MEDICINE RIO PIEDRAS, PUERTO RICO				
	1955-56	1956-64	1964-65	1971 (Jan. to Feb.)
Total number of Patients	136	2,302	2,526	787
Mental Retardates with Chronic Brain Syndrome	77%	47.5%	35%	24%
Emotionally disturbed or others	21.8%	52.8%	54%	48.5% others 28%

In my opinion, this trend in diagnosis reflects an awareness of emotional disorders in children in the Puerto Rican community. It is not rare to hear parents (frequently those from low socioeconomic areas) speak of the effect they exert on their children and, in turn, of how their children influence them in their role as parents. These same parents also speak of the influence other persons have on the development of

"nervous conditions" in their children and in themselves.

It is certain that parents still come to us searching for physical reasons (such as a blow on the head) as an explanation for these "nervous conditions". However, this occurs less frequently than formerly. Furthermore, we frequently find that this quest for a physical explanation is really a disguise for the guilt feelings which are held by parents, since they feel responsible for their child's illness. The recent increase in diagnostic and treatment services including special classes and rehabilitation programs for the mentally retarded also serves as a partial explanation for the decrease in the number of patients attending the Child Psychiatric Clinic.

I do, however, believe that despite the increased awareness of mental illness, there is not the same increased concern for mental health. The reasons for wanting a psychiatric or psychological evaluation have not changed.

3. The predominant reasons for referring patients to the Clinic for evaluation continue to be:

- a. Problems of learning disability in one or more school subjects.
- b. Behavioral problems such as aggressiveness.

c. A combination of learning and behavior problems.

The largest number of referrals are patients with reactive adjustment to childhood and/or adolescence. The second largest group consists of children with chronic brain syndrome associated with mental deficiency. In these cases the most prominent complaints are problems of learning disabilities or behavior problems or both. There is a slight difference between children and adolescents with reactive adjustment. Adolescents are referred predominantly because of behavior problems while children less than ten years of age are referred because of learning problems. We have observed that as chronological age advances, the reason for referral becomes more evident, changing from learning problems to behavior ones. The following table shows the distribution of referrals for learning and behavior problems from the Puerto Rican schools and agencies.

TABLE II

Agencies	#	%	Schools	#	%
Predominantly behavioral problems	133	17%		104	21%
Predominantly learning disorders	298	37%		173	35%
Combination of Pre-dominance both disorders	46	6%		27	5%

At this juncture we could ask to what point we limit our judgement of an individual's worth solely on the basis of whether he learns or does not learn? Or does a human being only become evident and brought to our attention when he shows aggressive behavior?

4. Studies reveal a significant increase in the number of school referrals as compared with referrals from other sources. In the year 1964-1965, only 18% of all referrals were from the schools. However, during the months of January and February, 1971, 63% of all referrals were from schools. Perhaps the source (the school) explains, in part, the reason for the referral. If this is true, we must question whether the school is the place where a child goes only to learn academic material. I think that we have come further than this in our thinking as regards the purpose of schools. This Seminar is part evidence of that fact.

We must question, however, whether the schools permit spontaneous expression on the part of children. At the same time, we must also question the degree and amount of spontaneous expressions which should be allowed in the classroom. Teachers, constantly ask me at what point should they interfere and try to eliminate certain undesirable childhood habits

especially when these seem to constitute behavior quite appropriate to the environment in which the child lives?

Table III presents the source of referrals during the months of January, February and part of March, 1971.

TABLE III

	#	%
1. School	492	63
2. Hospitals	118	15
3. Other government or private agencies	61	8
4. Member of the family	94	12
5. Private professional	22	3

The average age of child referrals has been steadily decreasing. This is shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV

1959	-	10-12 years		
1971	-	(a) general	-	7-8 years
		(b) school	-	8-9 years

During the months of July, August and September nearly 200 new patients were examined whose ages were between one and five years. I am quite sure that these data reflect an awareness of the need for programs leading to the prevention of mental disease and towards the promotion of mental health.

6. We observed a "preference" for clinic attendance during certain months of the year similar to the seasonal cycle of some mental illness. The following seasonal pattern was noted:

- a. Acute cases: depressive or psychotic during Holy Week.
- b. Cases with learning problems: during the end of the school semester predominantly in the second school term and at the beginning of the school year.
- c. School phobias: at the beginning of the school year.
- d. Psychometric evaluation: at the beginning of school year.

Dr. Rubén Méndez, Child Psychiatrist in residence at the Clinic, reports that he has obtained similar data in a study which he is presently conducting.

7. It is easier to achieve the mother's cooperation in the evaluation and treatment of the child than that of the father. If both parents attend the clinic with the child at the initial interview, we usually find that the child's problems are of a temporary nature. I must add that these last two statements are merely clinical observations which I can not corroborate statistically.

Summary

You and I are engaged in the preparation of future teachers of emotionally disturbed children. I do not believe that the preparation of a special class teacher should be much different from that of a regular classroom teacher.

In reality in Puerto Rico the great majority of disturbed children and those with emotional problems will be students in the regular classroom. This is due primarily to the lack of properly trained personnel, limitation of physical facilities, and budgetary restrictions.

Secondly, for various reasons, I feel that the vast majority of disturbed children should remain in the regular classroom. These reasons are:

1. A regular group can exercise more control over a disturbed child than a group comprised of emotionally disturbed children as the latter

may lack cohesion and a feeling of belonging to the group.

2. In a regular group, a child who feels worthless may be stimulated to strive for academic achievement.
3. More adequate goals for achieving identification can be set in a regular classroom than in a special class.

A few years ago, on the initiative of the School Director and teachers we managed to start a special class for children with emotional problems in the Manuel A. Pérez Elementary School, Río Piedras, Puerto Rico. Ten children were identified who presented problems of such severity that they required a special class program. These ten children were chosen from among 300 children who had been referred by their teachers for evaluation as candidates for a special group.

Although many children with emotional problems should remain in regular classes, it is certain that a number of children require specialized instruction. What tools should we provide to the special class teacher? Once again I have the sensation of being entrapped. Many times professional specialization makes us skilled manipulators of only one

aspect of a situation. It seems school requires that children with normal or superior intelligence should learn certain materials organized in a specific form. However, I still hold that we should, in some respects, alter this practice.

Teachers should be prepared to understand all aspects of child development; to perceive the child as a whole; an organism which feels physically and emotionally; and, a being who thinks, loves, socializes, interacts with, elicits responses from and is influenced by others.

In the light of all this, may I suggest, in broad terms the following:

1. We must provide teachers with room for personal growth of such magnitude that they will feel sufficiently secure to develop and implement a plan of study with each of their children. In this regard we should think in terms of preparing an individual who is secure, who is creative; who has the capacity to understand children and adults; and, who is an instructional specialist.
2. In short, I believe that we must encourage the special teacher to be a multi-disciplinary specialist in a specific discipline.

THE EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED CHILD IN THE CLASSROOM

Alba N. Lebrón de Ayala, M.A.

The emotionally disturbed child in the classroom is susceptible to one or more of these patterns:¹

1. An inability to learn which cannot be adequately explained by the intellectual, sensory, neurophysiological, or general health factors. This inability can become manifested when the child is not able to master basic schoolwork as well as in his inability to benefit from other learning experiences. It is not important which symptoms make this inability evident. As educators we must seek the cause or causes of this. If we discard the intellectual, neurophysiological, or health factors we are left with emotional conflicts and a resistance to learn as the main causes of these learning disabilities.
2. Inability to establish and maintain satisfactory interpersonal relationships with teachers and school-mates.

¹ In-School Screening of Children with Emotional Handicaps, Bower & Lambert in Conflict in the Classroom, p. 128, Wadsworth, 1965, Belmont, California.

It is not just getting along with others that is important. Satisfactory interpersonal relationships involve the ability to show congeniality and affection for others; the ability to have close friendships; the ability to be constructively aggressive; the ability to work and play with others; as well as the ability to enjoy work and be able to play alone.

3. A tendency to present:
 - a. Inappropriate and immature behavior or feelings under normal conditions.
 - b. Infant behavior, such as responding to simple orders as "sit down", in an incongruent and aggressive manner.
4. A constant state of unhappiness and depression.
5. A tendency to develop physical symptoms such as speech problems, pains, fears, and so forth, in response to school and personal pressures.

Assuming that children spend a large part of their time in school, teachers are in the unique position to observe their behavior. Therefore, the teacher must bear a large part of the responsibility of pin-pointing emotional disturbances

which are manifested in children's behavior.

If these observations were part of the regular school program, perhaps, many of the adolescents who come before our courts, because of hostile or deviate behavior, would have received help in time.

The teacher should be concerned when his students show manifestations such as:

1. Excessive shyness.
2. Fear.
3. Hostility.
4. Aggressiveness.
5. Compulsive behavior.
 - a. Excessively obedient
 - b. Extremely neat
6. Immaturity.
7. A disturbed concept of reality (day-dreaming).
8. Distrust of adults.
9. Hyperactivity.
10. Frequent lying.
11. Use of excessive profanity (this may depend on his socioeconomic level).
12. An exaggerated dependency on the teacher.
13. Is easily distracted.
14. Low level of tolerance or frustration.

We know that there is a high incidence of children who manifest one or more of the forementioned abnormal behavioral patterns. But we have to be careful not to label a child prematurely, because in various studies carried out, it has been found that even "normal" children give evidence of abnormal behavior in certain aspects such as:

1. Biological functioning and control.
2. Motor manifestations (biting nails).
3. Social norms (lying, cursing).
4. Personality patterns (shyness).

This does not mean that certain behavior in children such as stealing, lying and others, would per se indicate emotional disturbances. Neither do I mean that those maladjustments that we label "normal" are not important or should be left alone to disappear by themselves. They should be alleviated since they affect the child and the adult who works with him.

Why do children develop these symptoms, these manifestations or this behavior which we categorize as abnormal?

In the Puerto Rican culture, children are exposed to common problems of development which may result in adaptive or maladaptive behaviors, depending on the specific child-rearing practices used.

Parents have a great impact on the common developmental problems and the type of personality which the child eventually develops. Let us see how parents can contribute to the adaptive or maladaptive development of their children.

Dependency

All children are born dependent. Dependency, therefore, seems to be a necessary condition leading to independence. Children can become independent only after they have learned to depend on the acceptance and support of their parents. The child manifests his dependency in various forms such as: seeking physical contact and proximity, and seeking parental approval. Parental overprotection as well as parental rejection or excessive punishment may lead to overdependency on the part of the child. This overdependency is brought about when overprotective parents are too permissive and consequently they fail to lead the child to become independent.

The rejecting parent causes dependency by stirring up in his or her children deep feelings of frustration and anxiety. What then is the final result of overdependency in the child?

Dependency adversely affects the child's social, emotional and intellectual growth and development. The dependent child

may well become passive, ineffective and submissive. These characteristics will always lead a child to shirk leadership, and become an inveterate follower. He will always await the approval of his parents, teachers or peers before acting. He will demand much attention especially that of the teacher. For these and other reasons which space does not permit me to enumerate, teachers should orient parents so that they may encourage dependency during the stage of development when it is necessary to the child. However, they should also point out the necessity of leading the child towards independence from the parents.

Conscience Development

Development of conscience refers to the internalization of standards and prohibitions which govern one's activity. Generally speaking the average "normal" child has acquired of sense of conscience by the time he has reached the age of four or five years.

At this age the child feels an internal guilt when he does something wrong even though he has not been scolded by his parents. It must be emphasized however that children are not born with a conscience. The development of the child's moral character is influenced by three factors:

1. His cognitive level.
2. Child-rearing practices.
3. The culture in which he develops.

Cognitive development depends on the child's level of intellectual maturity. The degree of his intellectual maturity will either facilitate or make difficult the child's ability to learn those things so necessary for life, such as, linguistic skills. Once the child has developed language skills, he can grasp the meaning of concepts such as "good and bad", and understand his parents and teachers admonitions. The child can also verbalize his feelings of anger, guilt and so forth, rather than use signs and gestures.

Research has shown that lower-class children are more aggressive and have less feelings of guilt than middle and upper middle-class children. Lower-class parents teach their children to fear authority. These children's actions are governed more by external rules than internal ones. The value system of the lower-class child as well as his models are quite different from those of the middle and upper-class child. These factors are influential in the development of a child's conscience.

Sex-Role Identity

In our culture, certain characteristics are ascribed to boys and other to girls. We take for granted that each child

will make the proper sex identification. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. What factors lead to correct sex identification? We may enumerate the most influential of these:

1. The satisfaction the child receives on being praised, accepted, and favorably perceived by his parents whenever his behavior is that expected of his sex.
2. The anxiety provoked in, and the rejection by the parents when the child manifests behavioral patterns of the opposite sex.
3. The identification with or the imitation of an adequate sex-image or model.

What happens when the child fails to make an adequate sex identification? Generally, he will be rejected by his close friends, and by other persons to whom he is emotionally attached. This may bring about excessive anxiety resulting in the child having problems in every aspect of his development, social, emotional and intellectual.

Anxiety

Children may manifest anxiety in a wide range of behavior such as: angry outbursts, nervous habits, abusive conduct,

excessive submission to adult authority, exaggerated fear of criticism, introversion or withdrawal as a means of escaping challenging or threatening situations and others.

Anxiety affects adversely the child's social and intellectual development. Research has shown that anxious children score lower in achievement, intelligence, and creative tests than non-anxious children matched for age and social background. Anxious children seem to be insecure in their relationship with their teachers. They are also not very popular with their classmates. Indeed, the anxious child is characterized as being one who is dependent, overcautious, indecisive, susceptible to propaganda and rigid. One might rightfully ask, what is the origin of this anxiety which causes so much damage to the child?

According to one authority, Cameron (1963) the child develops anxiety:

- a. When he has an anxious parent as a model.
- b. When he is taught to be alert to every possible danger which may occur in his daily living. For example, if the parents are divorced and the mother insists on telling the child that one day the father will take him away, he must always be on the alert.

- c. When he is used as a confidant to whom the parents confess their personal problems, even when he is not mature enough to understand the true significance of these.
- d. When his parents are perfectionists and demand of him achievements beyond his capacity.
- e. When his parents are overpermissive, and he is not sure of the boundaries of behavioral freedom. Consequently, predictability is lessened and anxiety heightened.

Aggressiveness

Aggression is born from frustrations, and is learned within the family circle. When the child is punished for every "wrong" deed and is continuously frustrated, he will turn aggressive. On the other hand, the child who is never punished, who is permitted free expression of his aggressive feelings, and who is not inhibited, may also turn into an aggressive one. A certain degree of aggressiveness, however, is a sign of a well-balanced personality. This we see in children who have productive aggression and a certain degree of a healthy competition.

Achievement Motivation

This is the desire on the part of the child to always attempt to do a task well. The child judges his performance in accordance with the pleasurable or unpleasurable experiences he derives from his actions. The desire for excellence appears early in childhood and is carried over into adulthood. It originates in the home. Parents who permit their children to use their initiative and who encourage independence, will produce success oriented children. I feel, however, that we are living in an age which places too great a value on academic success. We find parents who are encouraging their children to read and write, before they have entered school. Both the lack of parental interest in the achievement of their children as well as their excessive intervention in their children's lives, may prove to be detrimental to mental health. If the child is pushed beyond his capacity, he may develop a negative attitude towards school.

Frequently, this leads the child to open rebellion and he seeks companionship with other rebels who share his frustration. He rejects the teacher who represents the same authoritative figure as his parents, and he rebels against all agencies which he perceives as representing authority, including the

school. Parents would be well advised to attempt to establish a balance between the time devoted to work, play and love. This should result in productive achievement by their children.

We have briefly analyzed the developmental problems which most children undergo. The way in which parents deal with these problems will determine whether the child develops adaptive or maladaptive behavior.

Actually, the majority of children achieve adaptive behavior, nevertheless, there remain far too many children whose overall behavior is not in harmony with established norms. This will affect their social, emotional and intellectual development. The latter become children with deviate behavior and/or with emotional disturbance.

We may ask: Is this maladaptive behavior, permanent? Will emotionally disturbed children become mentally ill adults? The answer to these questions will depend largely on the school. As I pointed out, the school is in a unique position, and teachers have a great responsibility in the development of socially accepted behaviors in their children. Teachers must constantly observe children's behavior, and show concern for their welfare. On doing this, they may assist in some way, in the child's healthy emotional development, and thereby

reduce the incidence of juvenile delinquents and mentally ill adults in our society.

I firmly subscribe to the continuous organization of special classes in the Puerto Rican public schools, for children with deviant behavioral patterns. In this way we will be offering these children the type of education designed to meet their needs and to which they have a right.

EXPERIENCES WITH EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED CHILDREN
AT THE DAY CARE CENTER, PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL

Cira V. Romero de Uriarte, M.A.

Introduction

First, I would like to outline briefly the objectives and function of the Day Care Center, Puerto Rican Psychiatric Hospital, Río Piedras, Puerto Rico, and describe the type of children referred to and the treatment used at the Center. I shall also discuss some of our teaching techniques, especially those which have proved most successful with severely disturbed children.

Finally, I would like to share with you my 22 years of experience with exceptional children, five years of which were spent at the Day Care Center.

General Objective of the Center

The Day Care Center for Children provides services for severely emotionally disturbed children. It is housed in the¹

¹ Subsequent to this Conference, the Center moved to a Special School for exceptional children.

Psychiatric Hospital which is attached to the Puerto Rican School of Medicine.

The Center's main purpose was to offer opportunities for practice teaching, practical training and research in the field of Child Psychiatry. An important aspect of the Center is the provision of an educational program.

Objectives of the Educational Program

Initially, the primary objective of the Educational Program was to provide services for a limited group of 25-30 boys and girls, ages 2-16 years. Program offerings were limited because, at first, our purpose was to train personnel who would later render services to the community.

At present, the main objective of our Program is to assist in the children's emotional growth and development and in that of the members of their immediate family, so that the disturbed children may return to and function adequately in a regular classroom or in a special group for exceptional children.

The Program provides opportunities for future teachers of disturbed children to obtain first-hand experiences with this type of child.

However, the Center is not limited to providing services for future educators. Other professionals dedicated to the prevention and treatment of severe emotional disturbance in children may carry out their practica at the Center. The Center at present, is a mere skeleton of what it was initially, though it still provides observational and research facilities for undergraduate and graduate students of the University of Puerto Rico.

University Students Served

At present students from the following disciplines may carry out practica at the Center:

1. Medicine (Third and Fourth Year).
2. Social Work.
3. Sociology.
4. Psychology.
5. Education.
6. Speech Pathology.
7. Nursing.

Type of Children Treated

The children who are referred to our Program are those who because of their severe emotional condition are unable

to benefit from either regular classroom experiences or those offered in the special classes in the Puerto Rican Public Schools.

At this Center we have children with autistic, symbiotic and benign forms of psychosis; disturbed children who have difficulty in adapting socially; and children with severe psychosomatic disorders.

We try to place aggressive, unstable children with passive verbal or non verbal ones. We have also obtained greater success when children and adolescents are not placed in the same group.

Personnel

The Department of Education of Puerto Rico supplies teachers and lunchroom personnel. The Puerto Rican School of Medicine and the Department of Health provide the rest of the staff.

Treatment

The treatment children receive is:

1. Either individualized instruction, or instruction in small groups of no more than five, depending on each child's condition.
2. Individual or Group Psychotherapy.
3. Occupational Therapy.

4. Recreational Therapy.
5. Speech Therapy.
6. Group, Family or Individual Therapy.
7. Nursing Services.
8. School Lunchroom. (We consider the time spent here as part of the therapeutic process).

Personal Teaching Experience

I will try to summarize my experiences at this Center, where I have worked for five years. It has been my experience that when teaching these children it is the emotional and not the academic aspect which is most important. To improve their behavior is as important, or more important, than teaching them arithmetic and grammar.

There are so many ways in which disturbed children can express their thoughts. Therefore, writing them down is not necessary. The important thing is to understand these children and channel their thoughts in a positive way, so that in the future they can become a part of a special group or of a regular group either in a public or private school.

Many children from this Center have passed on to the regular schools and are quite capable of adapting perfectly.

Some have had ambulatory attention from the psychiatrist, psychologist, social worker and at times from the teacher. But the majority have not needed further treatment.

Among other things we have found that improving these children's attention span is of great importance. The majority of disturbed children have a short attention span cannot concentrate and are highly distractible. At times they cannot remain attentive for even a minute. Further on in this paper I shall offer suggestions on how to help children overcome their short attention span.

Teachers working with emotionally disturbed children should be familiar with the behavioral patterns of the normal child and how he functions in each developmental stage. They should also know the behavioral patterns of mentally retarded children and how they function in the various developmental stages. Teachers should be familiar with behavioral patterns of emotionally disturbed children and their function at various age-levels.

If teachers working with these severely disturbed children are familiar with behavioral patterns of normal, subnormal and abnormal children they will be better able to understand the behavior of those in the classroom. For example, they

will know that if a child has a daily temper tantrum it is not because he is a "bad child" or "spoiled", rather that this may be his way of attracting attention to himself so that the teacher will recognize him as a human being.

I recall a case in which the child had tantrums every day. If we had let him he would have destroyed everything in the classroom. For that was the means by which he attracted our attention. One day in the middle of a tantrum I told him, "Come J., I am going to tell you a story," I knew he liked very much to be read stories. He answered, "I don't love you." I replied, "I do love you. Come sit on my lap." Three minutes had gone by I had him quietly sitting on my knee.

What does this reaction mean? Perhaps he was testing me to see if I would reject him, but on seeing that I offered him kindness and understanding he came to me. This child needed to be controlled but more than anything he needed kindness.

With these children we must use both control and love. As Dr. Fernández Marina¹ so well brought out in his paper,

¹ Dr. Fernández Marina, Psychiatrist presented the first conference paper.

"authority should not be confused with tyranny."

We must also give children security. Sometimes they do not dare to act, even when they could. We have had children who are afraid to eat (being hungry), use the bathroom or finger paint, and so forth. We must assure such children that they will not be harmed if they attempt to carry out these activities. We might tell them, "Eating is not bad, nothing will happen to you if you eat." The same technique may be applied for pointing. We must assure the child that nothing will happen if he dirties his hands.

When a child is going to attempt a task and we see that he hesitates, the teacher knowing that he is definitely capable of accomplishing it, should reassure by saying: "I know you are capable of doing it," or words to that effect.

In this Center we perform with great flexibility. We use three approaches: Psychodynamic, Neurological and Educational (Behavior Modification). We use the approach which best suits the child's needs. We feel that the teacher should not restrict himself to one method or approach.

For the good of the child and the teacher it is necessary that the teacher be emotionally capable of working with disturbed children. The teacher cannot become so involved with

the child's problems and those of his parents to the extent that he cannot perceive the child's needs and appreciate his limitations. In the majority of cases, parents of emotionally disturbed children are in need of psychiatric treatment. Many times it is the mother who is most affected, other times both parents are involved and in some cases the entire family is an etiologic agent and will need therapy, if the child is to improve.

The child's improvement in the classroom is immediately noticed when his parents are counselled by the psychiatrist and social worker.

Many times we observe a wide range of bizarre behavioral patterns in the same child. He may become irritated, throw things, bite, kick, cry, and so forth. If the teacher has had experiences with these cases she will immediately understand that something is not functioning well in the child's home. When this occurs the psychiatrist's help may be needed.

The teacher should be consistent as regards the discipline of these children. But as I have already stated, a dose of discipline should be matched with a dose of kindness. A good parent or a good teacher is one who offers the child discipline and kindness in a firm and consistent manner; and in such a way that the child is aware that he is being disciplined because he is loved.

As I previously pointed out most severely disturbed children have a short attention span. In order to help them overcome this disability, we have practiced what we call the rotating class system. That is, the child rotates through the different classrooms. In this way he experiences different environments and comes in contact with various teachers. This practice has given us excellent results, especially when combined with occupational, recreational and play therapy activities.

In addition to occupational therapy, there should be classes which provide manual training in order that the child can release tensions, anger, aggressiveness, and so forth, and at the same time carry out tasks that stimulate creativity.

Another of my observations is that during the time I have been at this Center, the majority of cases have been boys. I am interested in knowing why this phenomenon occurs.

Summary and conclusions

I shall reiterate the points which I consider most important in my experiences:

1. Teachers of emotionally disturbed children, should know, and have had experiences with normal, mentally retarded and emotionally disturbed children.

2. Methods or approaches which best suits the child's needs should be used.
3. Teachers should realize that emotional development, and not academic subject matter, is the most important goal.
4. Teachers should not group children and adolescents together.
5. Occupational therapy and manual workshops should be provided.
6. Children should be given security.
7. There should be discipline with flexibility and love.
8. Hyperactive and passive children should be grouped together in the same classroom.
9. Children's activities and teachers should rotate.
10. Teachers should not become overly involved with the disturbed child's problem and those of their parents.
11. Therapy should be provided not only for the children but for the parents and entire family if necessary.

12. Periodic meetings of staff and parents should be held.

On answering the question: "Do you believe that there are specific factors peculiar to Puerto Rico which may cause or provoke emotional disturbance in our children?, and if so, would you name them and list them as well as tell what their influence is on the mental health of Puerto Rican children." - may I make the following comments:

According to my observations emotional disturbances are due primarily to the rapid socioeconomic development in Puerto Rico. This has brought about as a result:

1. The mother's desertion of the home in search of work, resulting in:
 - a. Her leaving the children in the hands of strangers.
 - b. The removing of children from the warmth of the home from a very early age.
 - c. That children spend more time in the hands of strangers than they do with their parents; and
 - d. The lack of communication within the family setting.

2. The exodus from rural to urban centers in search of better salaries with these consequences:

- a. Difficulty in finding housing.
- b. Overcrowded housing.
- c. The urban environment is more competitive than the rural areas.
- d. City goals are much higher.
- e. Young rural couples who have not had the opportunities for diversions awaken to the temptations of the city, in many cases, deserting the family.

THE PUERTO RICAN FAMILY: ITS IMPACT ON THE EMOTIONAL
DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Antonio Martínez-Monfort, Ph.D.

The school and the family are, without question, the socializing agencies through which a society transmits its cultural values thus assuring the continuation of the social system and, thereby providing the source of satisfaction of those basic human needs which lead to the development of mental health. Each agency fulfills a distinct function; however, in the various states of the child's development both the school and the family have very similar roles as socializing agents.

When considering the child's emotional development, our attention is immediately directed toward the home, the bosom of the family where the child's first emotional needs are satisfied and where the foundation of his personality is established. It is also in the home where the psychosocial characteristics of all children are formed. Psychology textbooks are replete with references to the fact that a child who is loved by his parents and who is reared in a home atmosphere characterized by love, affection and understanding in all probability will become a well-balanced and emotionally healthy adult. By contrast, the child who suffers abuse,

rejection or brutal treatment from either of his parents is possibly destined to develop marked behavioral traits of hostility, antagonism and rebellion. In later life, such a child will probably have serious difficulties establishing interpersonal relationships. This may be true even if parental rejection is in the form of subtle criticism or hostility masked behind a facade of love and affection. The home is the place where the personalities of both productive and non-productive citizens are formed.

The importance of the family in the emotional development of the child is indicated in various psychological theories designed to explain behavior disorders. For example, Dr. Ackerman states that the concept of emotional disturbance should be considered at three levels:

1. Those emotional disorders which originate psychologically within the individual.
2. Those emotional disorders which originate between the individual and his human environment.
3. Those emotional disorders which originate as a result of distortions in the social environment.

Dr. Ackerman, thus considers both internal and external factors in the origin of emotional illness. He indicates that

the source of all human relationships, healthy or disturbed, is determined by family interactions and that, for this reason, the family is the natural point of intervention when the principle of homodynamics is violated.

In psychoanalytic theory, the triad of the mother, father and child is specifically identified and designated as the possible source of future neurotic conflicts within the individual. Psychoanalytic theory postulates that all neurotic conflict is found in the inadequate solution of the so-called Oedipal Complex.

What are the consequences to the child when there is maladjustment in the family to the extent that it cannot provide for the psychosocial needs so essential to the child's emotional development? The consequences, though undoubtedly deleterious, are not necessarily identical for each child. Human beings, while sharing many traits in common, also have traits which differentiate them markedly one from the other. Differences among children in the same family are obvious despite the role which heredity places in determining personality. Even in the case of identical twins where genetic factors are so similar, marked personality differences are observable.

While we know of the emotional trauma which may be occasioned by divorce, death of a parent, emotional conflicts within the family and socioeconomic deprivation, we also know that every broken home or troubled family does not produce a problem child. Conversely, every intact family does not produce a psychologically healthy child. Exceptions are not, however, the rules. Many studies reveal a high correlation between families in conflict and delinquency, drug addiction, school failure and emotional maladjustment.

The family, along with other social institutions, presently is in a state of transition. In a contemporary world characterized by "hot pants", space travel, student unrest and urban guerrilla conflicts, it is quite understandable that the family as an institution would be in a transitional stage. Periods of transition foment doubt, uncertainty, ambivalence, confusion and emotional instability. Man's goals and the traditional means for achieving these have been lost in oblivion and only the feeling of confusion which such a situation engenders, remains. Puerto Rican society and, therefore, the Puerto Rican family, is not immune to these changes and to cultural transition. The increase in the number of divorces and suicides as well as an increase in the incidence of mental disease, delinquency and drug addiction are obvious symptoms of cultural change and transition.

In this context, it is not necessary to think only of such drastic situations as the effect of divorce on the child's emotional development. One may also think of family situations which are almost imperceptible but which have a marked effect on the child's personality. In order to illustrate this point, allow me to introduce data obtained from my clinical practice.

I frequently observe the phenomenon of the submissive father and aggressive mother. This situation generates confusion particularly for the male child and will be manifested in his poor sexual identity.

Another pattern which I have been able to discern is that of Puerto Rican parents who give themselves up so completely to the care of the children that they forget the significance of a satisfactory marital relationship to the emotional development of the child. This tendency is observed more frequently with the Puerto Rican mother than with the Puerto Rican father. When I am confronted with this situation, I think of the concept of the "super mother" and her fantasies of omnipotent powers which she utilizes only for the protection of her children forgetting that her husband exists and that such overprotection of her children can produce insecurity, immaturity and a marked dependency in the child. Some individuals, treated

in this manner during childhood, arrive at adolescence searching for their own identity and, when they are continuously faced with an overprotective mother they become antagonistic and rebellious. This rebellion is, unfortunately, accompanied by guilt feelings in the child which convert the mother-child relationship into a hellish situation.

I have also observed a situation which is characteristic of a consumer society and which involves the working mother who leaves her child in the care of another person. Such a circumstance at times occurs in response to the family's temporary economic need but more often than not it occurs in response to other perhaps unconscious needs such as the desire to get away from the tedious routine of the home; the desire to obtain recognition and gratification from professional activity or; simply, the desire to obtain more consumer goods so necessary to the function of the ideal home, such as the latest model automobile or a chic dress. Admittedly, many women are forced to leave home and to work for reasons which arouse our compassion and understanding. Whatever the reason, however, it is usually the child who is adversely affected. The care offered by a baby-sitter, a day care center or by another member of the family does not necessarily satisfy the child's emotional needs. It is important to remember that the child

in not reality oriented. His perception of life is simplistic and is limited to "Mom's not by my side." "I need her." "She's rejected me." The hostility and guilt feelings which such situations generate are not supportive of sound emotional development.

Modern technology has created mass communication systems which introduce into our culture the latest advancements, innovations and restlessness of people throughout the world. Such a system may generate both positive and negative changes. Disturbances that occurred in some remote corner of the earth, which we scarcely heard yesterday, now become roaring vibrating sounds provoking unimaginable tensions. Faced with this situation, the family unit, ill-prepared for radical change, is confronted by new social and psychological forces which cause confusion and a loss of purpose and perspective. As educators and a students of human behavior, we must not let this occur. Transition in our culture did not occur precipitously. Change, evolution, dynamism and innovation have existed in this culture for generations and are a part of our cultural heritage.

Cultural change in Puerto Rico has, however, been extraordinary during the past decades. From an agrarian society, we have become a highly industrialized society with a consumer mentality. This mentality directs us only to be content if we

can use our earning power to acquire consumer goods, particularly those goods pressed upon us by television. How has the family unit reacted when faced with this situation? On some occasions the reaction is one of bitterness and tension and at other times it is one of happiness and rejoicing.

In my personal experience, the problems with which the Puerto Rican family in transition are confronted arise from various factors:

1. A general reaction to political and economic instability and to the social unrest which affects the Western World.
2. The state of transition from an agrarian society to an industrial and consumer society.
3. Changes in religious and moral values.
4. Changes in the role functions of the various family members. Previously, the father was the only one responsible for the support of the family. Today we see that the role of provider is being shared by the mother. Let us not be fooled, in Puerto Rico the women are also being liberated, but strangely, our society is not prepared to assimilate this change.
5. Increased social mobility in part related to increased educational facilities.

All these factors which I have mentioned are intertwined and produce a climate which is not conducive to the development of mental health in the child. When all of these factors are present at the same time, situations are generated in which the school, as a socializing agent, is obliged to interfere in order to satisfy the child's need and provide the guidance and orientation which the family is not capable of offering. The school, therefore, has not only had to assume the task of teaching addition and subtraction, an arduous task in and of itself, but has also been given the task of creating a climate conducive to the development of mental health in the school population. At the present time, I have the good fortune to participate in an effort of this nature as a consultant to one of the guidance centers of the Department of Education in Puerto Rico. These Centers which are designed to foster mental health in a preventive manner, respond to a fundamental need in our educational system.

Finally, I would like to share with you my feelings about the problem which is presented to us today: Probable causes of emotional disturbance in our children. As persons concerned with the future of our society, we are disturbed by those adverse factors which endanger the promising future which awaits

us. But to be disturbed in and of itself is hardly sufficient. We must mobilize and direct our efforts toward solving those problems peculiar to our culture. The lack of research on the peculiarities of our problems is alarming. We must not allow ourselves to adapt, or should I say to translate to our culture, knowledge acquired from a culture different from ours. We must force ourselves to be introspective and to analyze our own problems.

FAMILY SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILD

Raúl A. Muñoz, M.A.

The topic which concerns us is the Puerto Rican child with emotional problems; the child who is part of a Puerto Rican family. We would like to study the development of this child carefully so that we can simultaneously reduce the incidence of emotional disorders and promote positive socialization practices. We would hope, as a result, to assure the development of sound mental health in Puerto Rican children.

Organized society has assigned the fundamental role in the socialization process of the child to the family. I intend to present you with a picture of the Puerto Rican family with respect to the process of socializing the child and, within the limits of available data, to give you an idea of the role of this process in the genesis of emotional disorders. In order to do this, I have relied heavily on the theoretical position of Eric Erikson. I prefer Erikson's theoretical views on children's psychosocial development because he effects a reconciliation of Freudian psychoanalytic theory with the functional and structural basis of social theory in an effort to understand the total process of child development in psychic,

social and cultural terms. Erikson goes a step further than Freud and attempts to systematically analyze the impact of societal and cultural demands on the psychosocial development of the child.¹ At the same time, he uses a psychoanalytic theory of human development to explain the genesis of neurosis, psychosis and emotional disorders. Erikson tries to demonstrate that human development progresses through significant stages during which crises must be survived and character traits must be developed. He also describes the obstacles which can interfere with this process and their consequences to human development.

Eriksonian theory maintains that the child as he progresses through these developmental stages is in need of certain supports so that he can survive the growth crises. In order to reach adolescence, the most turbulent of the developmental stages, he must successfully pass through four earlier stages. The first stage is characterized by the psychosocial crisis of confidence versus distrust and corresponds to the oral stage in Freudian theory. This occurs during the first year of the child's life. The crisis of the second stage, autonomy versus shame and doubt, corresponds to the anal stage in the Freudian design and is developed during the second and third years of life. The third stage, initiative versus guilt, corresponds

¹ Erickson, Eric. "Childhood and Society", Norton, 1950.

to the infant genital stage of Freudian theory and occurs during the fourth and fifth years of childhood. The fourth stage of development within the Eriksonian schema is industry versus inferiority and corresponds to the latency period in Freudian theory. It is the longest of the pre-adult stages and coincides with the years of formal primary education for the child. Pre-adult development culminates in adolescence and is defined in the Erikson schema as the stage of identity versus role diffusion.

There are three stages in adult life: intimacy versus isolation; production versus stagnation; and integrity versus desperation. The importance of these stages to the child's development derives from the fact that the adults responsible for the child will be overcoming adult crises at the same time that they are helping the child overcome his own crises.

How may we interpret the traits of our own culture in the light of Ericsonian theory? Obvious in order to apply Eriksonian theory to Puerto Rico society, I must provide you with some background relative to this society's present status and immediate past history.

Contemporary Puerto Rican society is characterized by a process of accelerated change in contrast to the slow and

deliberate change which it experienced several decades ago. This has never been a truly static society although history reveals very little social change during the first three centuries. From the end of the nineteenth century, however, Puerto Rican society has been characterized by change of growing intensity.

Some studies of the Puerto Rican family have been conducted recently and in the past but these studies have not enjoyed wide distribution. This fact makes it difficult to clearly establish the gradual changes in the value structure and child-rearing patterns of the Puerto Rican family. In this context, it is important to realize that the Puerto Rican family has been faced with the impact of cultural conflict. That conflict is represented by the imposition of the United States cultural style on the tapestry of the Spanish heritage (with its African and Antillian influences) which prevailed in Puerto Rico at the time of the change in sovereignty. Puerto Ricans still have a tendency to adopt foreign models without much modification and when confronted with the powerful force of the educational, social and technological development of the North American culture, it has been very difficult for us to develop the capacity to select that which will be adopted, adapted or rejected.

The process of socializing children in the Puerto Rican family is, thus, definitely influenced by the fact that as rapid social changes occur, it becomes increasingly difficult for us to distinguish between and select from those traditional cultural values which we would like to imprint on our lives and those of our children and the value orientations which are continuously being imposed upon us by the North American culture. We have to face particularly the impact of the mass communication media of the North American culture which is diffuse and impersonal but is consistently transmitting a set of cultural values.

The first intensive study of the Puerto Rican culture was conducted around 1947 by Dr. Julian Stewart from Columbia University in collaboration with a group of Puerto Rican and American anthropologists.² These investigators, utilizing the methodology of cultural anthropology, lived for a period of time in four separate geographic areas representing four

² Stewart, Julian, et.al., The People of Puerto Rico, University of Illinois Press, 1956.

different subcultures in Puerto Rico. Their purpose was to understand and interpret the cultural patterns of these four groups of people.

When discussing the Puerto Rican family, we must establish from the very beginning the fact that a "typical" Puerto Rican family does not exist. It is true that uniform traits exist which define predominant traits of the Puerto Rican family in terms of aspirations and values, but once these uniform traits are established we are immediately faced with the reality that there are distinct types of Puerto Rican families, particularly with regard to child-rearing practices.

In order to document these statements, allow me to present a study which to the best of my knowledge has had relatively little circulation in Puerto Rico. This is a study, also conducted in 1947, by Dr. Kathleen Wolfe and her husband, the latter was one of the anthropologists who participated in the aforementioned Stewart study.³ The study describes the child-rearing process in Puerto Rico and the cost, in emotional terms,

³ Wolfe, Kathleen, Growing up and its Price in Three Puerto Rican Subcultures, Psychiatry, Vol. 15, 1952.

of these practices in each of the predominant subcultures in Puerto Rico at that time: the subculture of tobacco and coffee, typical of the rural center of the Island; the coastal subculture of the sugar cane plantations, that is the rural proletariat, and the subculture of the small-town middle class. Stanton, in another study which is little known to us, applies the concept of subcultures to the urban population and examines the urban subculture of the slums and of the middle class.

What are the characteristic traits of the process of socializing children in these subcultures? At this point, I must make it clear that none of the subcultures which I will try to describe exists in a pure state now, nor did so previously. It is true, however, that they are much less pure in form now than they were before. Each subculture is in a continuous process of change but, figuratively speaking, culture does not change from one day to another. The social structure indeed changes and the technology of a society can change rapidly depending upon the forces which impinge upon it. Human beings in their fundamental tendencies and in their psychological characteristics do not change so rapidly. People retain a cultural legacy which is difficult to change despite the continuous impact of a technological world in the process of rapid change. Although it may appear to you that I am

speaking about obsolete things, it must be remembered that your parents, as well as you yourself, were socialized within these subcultures. You, today, are rearing your children within the structure of a society which is subconsciously but determinedly changing values but which has its roots in and was nurtured by the subcultures in which you and your parents grew up. It is well to remember that the cycle of life determines that the generations socialize with one another and that the cultural base of one generation does not disappear just because some part of its force has disappeared with the course of time. Although old cultural patterns may be restricted structurally, technologically and economically by new cultural patterns, much of their original value persists.

What characterizes the subculture of the rural mountainous zone of the Island, the area most closely associated with the harvesting of tobacco and coffee? Basically, it is characterized by a strong patriarchal orientation. In these families, the image of a stern, kindly, proving father who is ruler of the destiny of all of the family, has been and still is omnipresent.

In this subculture and social system, the mother, the transcendental figure in the child-rearing process, was also very specifically prepared for her social role complementary to that of the father. She was assigned to the realm of the

home. She was responsible for child-rearing and for taking care of her home and husband and, if necessary, for helping her husband carry out his work in the fields.

The cultural patterns of this family were very clearly defined and these patterns were maintained and preserved throughout the years. In regard to the socialization of children, there were neither doubts nor conflicts. Conflict was not present because as soon as the couple began to plan for their first child, they anticipated his future productive role in the ecology of a coffee and tobacco subculture. This role centered around the cultivation of a small piece of land, farm or estate, whichever they might have had, and which required all of the available hands, especially for the field work. The child, from a very early age, was assigned tasks centered around the farm as an economic unit so that he very soon became socialized for specific roles.

The adult figures, responsible for the socialization process, were fulfilling very clearly defined roles and functions. The child could easily perceive these roles since he was not exposed to conflicting ones from the people in his immediate environment and since, fortunately, at that time

there was little social mobility, little exposure to the radio and no television. This clarity of roles made the socialization of the child relatively easy and successful and the child could, at the proper time, adopt the expected role. Thus the son, at an early age, began to imitate his father's life style. The daughter, also from early childhood began to assume some of the mother's tasks and to help the mother with her responsibilities.

In that subculture, the mother was prepared early for the tasks of child-rearing and of providing nutrition for the child. Provision was made so that, at the time of delivery, not only was a midwife available (although we note that other subcultures were already being instructed in the use of pre-natal, peri-natal and post-natal care techniques), but also other members of the family were available, especially the female members who came to assist the mother with household tasks. Thus, the mother was able to dedicate herself completely to the infant especially during the first forty days, forty days of happy memories. Under these conditions, the child started life under favorable conditions. He had a mother who was always at his disposal, a mother who breast fed him, and who would cuddle and fondle him. Indeed, he was given that which

is essential for a child to overcome the crisis of the first psychosocial stage, the stage for acquiring a feeling of security and a sense of trust.

During this first psychosocial stage the child needs to acquire trust, trust and faith in people and in his surroundings which are symbolized primarily by the mother. The first year of life, according to Erikson, is fundamental because the child, a continuously dependent being, has not developed definite psychomotor abilities. Nevertheless, he perceives the world in which he will later become involved and develops a favorable or unfavorable disposition which lasts throughout his life. The basic pattern of trust or distrust with which this child will confront all future crises will have been established by the end of this first developmental stage. The child socialized in the favorable conditions of that traditional subculture should have had some basic advantages in the solution of the crises in the subsequent stages of the developmental process.

It would be interesting to speculate about the effects of the rapid introduction and incorporation in Puerto Rico of the practice of bottle feeding, day nurseries and babysitters (especially in the other subcultures which we are going to

study: the middle class, the slum culture and the coastal culture) on the psychosocial development of the child during the first year of life. Undoubtedly, these new child-rearing practices present much for us to study. For example, bottle feeding may produce a child who, from a nutritional standpoint, is better fed but we do not know the effect of this on his psychic nutrition and the development of his basic sense of faith and trust which according to Erikson is the base on which the other stages are built. It would also be useful to study how child-rearing procedures in Puerto Rico have been affected by the rapid development of technology and new social demands upon the mother: the need to work, the need to compete socially and the time-honored right to personal enjoyment and recreation. It is obvious that the mother in the coffee and tobacco subculture did not desire and was not accorded these rights. Her primary, secondary and basic function was the care and socialization of the children.

In order to elaborate on the theme of various subcultures, I must move immediately to the coastal subculture where the sugar cane ecology was totally distinct from the subculture of the coffee and tobacco area. In the coastal subculture, we are dealing largely with a group of families who do not

possess land and who do not have any hope of ever possessing it. Their only source of income is salaried employment in a sugar mill, on a farm or, more recently, in construction and other day labor activities.

In this subculture the role of the father and the mother is symbolically the same as in the coffee and tobacco subculture and, reference is made to paternal authority. There is, however, a major and important difference between those subcultures in that the coastal subculture grants the power of direct action and intervention to women. There are two reasons for this difference in the woman's role. First, since the man is not the owner of the land, he cannot guarantee security of income. For subsistence in this economic unit, the woman has to contribute by becoming a servant, by making and selling confections, by taking in washing or by other ways in which the coastal woman can assume economic responsibilities. The woman from the center of the Island would never dream of taking on these same responsibilities.

Secondly, for coastal families the pattern for building settlements is different from the pattern of the families in the interior part of the Island. The families in the interior, following the Spanish pattern, settled at quite some distance

from each other and, thereby, minimized the possibility of conflict and aggression. This type of settlement tended to guarantee that friction would be kept at a minimum. Allow me to digress and point out that the early management and control of aggression is a typical trait of the four subcultures. In an earlier era, much more than now, the child was socialized to control aggression. It is apparent, however, that in the coastal subculture where the figure of paternal authority does not exist in the degree to which it exists in the subculture of the center of the Island, the child is socialized more freely as regards the control of aggression. The pattern of many families settling around the highway or a road in which there are stores, bars and much activity lead the child very early to a more communal socialization. The community as a socializing institution is a more potent force in the coastal subculture and in the slum culture as well because the little child, practically from the time he learns to walk, lives in the street.

Another definite characteristic of the coastal subculture derives from the woman's lack of confidence, based on experience, in the man's ability to be a good and consistent provider. The woman seeks measures for self against the possibility of desertion when the man leaves to work away from home during the slow season for sugar cane. In order to protect herself, in case of

desertion, the woman tends to maintain close ties with her original family. For this reason, anthropologists call this subculture one of strong matrilineal orientation; the subculture is oriented toward the mother and the mother's family. This matrifocal orientation has certain repercussions in that the mother, consciously or unconsciously, transmits a derogatory sense of the father's image to the child.⁴

The child who is socialized in the coastal subculture does not have the clear, well-defined image of the father which is held by the child in the coffee and tobacco region. Consequently, the life style that he is going to imitate is less precise. The most important thing that he will imitate is the working role of a day laborer. As soon as he becomes independent and marries, he in turn creates a family of day laborers. Perhaps the famous Puerto Rican expression which says "the son of a laborer becomes a laborer" emanates from the working class of the coastal region rather than from the working class of the interior. Socialization in the coastal subculture is directed

⁴ Stanton, Harold, "The Family Life of Working Mothers", (mimeographed report of research project), Office of Research, Department of Health, Puerto Rico, 1965.

primarily toward guaranteeing the capacity for becoming a good provider through the only means known: becoming a good, hard-working day laborer and achieving the recognition given by this subculture to a good sugar cane cutter. This was distinctly different from the situation in the coffee and tobacco region where people envisioned the possibility of, at some time, acquiring land and with the acquisition of land, the status of a landholder. Those in the coastal area did not harbor such aspirations for they knew they were destined to be members of the working class and the socialization of the child was directed toward reinforcing that probability.

In Puerto Rico the slum areas are the ones most similar to the coastal area in terms of subculture. In the slum cultures as well as in the coastal culture, common law marriages were previously more frequent occurrences than they are now. The need for insuring support for the home and for the children, but not necessarily for herself, made the coastal woman consider the possibility that at any moment her husband could let her down and therefore she should not become too dependent upon him. The community condoned pattern of behavior and did not criticize the woman. We should point out that this did not conflict with other cultural patterns in various Puerto Rican

subcultures. In each of the four subcultures, the woman who is unfaithful is rejected. The infidelity of the female partner is fully condemned in all of these subcultures. For a woman to substitute another man for a legal or common law husband who fails in his role is not equivalent to classic infidelity nor does it imply a weakening of the woman's moral fiber; such an act is an adaptation to a social and economic reality. Nevertheless, these adverse circumstances exact a high price from the Puerto Rican child growing up in the coastal subculture in terms of his psychosocial development. The price is high because the child, needing to overcome the crises of basic trust, autonomy, initiative and industriousness, lacks many of the necessary qualities for overcoming these crises successfully. The children from the slums and from the coastal regions are faced with more obstacles in developing autonomy, initiative and industriousness since they do not have an adult image which is as well defined as the image presented to the child from the interior region of the Island.

The socialization process as it applies to developing basic skills in the male child is more effectively accomplished with children in the center of the Island than with coastal

and slum children. This part of the socialization process is not, however, totally ineffective in the latter subcultures because the child becomes involved in secondary tasks such as taking food to the father on the farm, cleaning the yard and running errands. On the other hand, the girl's role is more clearly defined in all three subcultures: she helps with household chores and assists in the rearing of the other children. It is curious that child-rearing practices in all of the Puerto Rican subcultures tend to enhance the development of the girl's role more than the boy's role. This partially explains the growing influence of women in all aspects of Puerto Rican society. Women have recently entered into the political and economic activities of this country and are influential in virtually all of this society's activities except those in which a woman cannot participate by virtue of her physical stature.

Within the cultural context of early protection, of separation of the sexes, of maternal care and supervision and of a clear definition of roles within the home, the female child is socialized so that she may overcome with relative success the crises of the four fundamental stages prior to adolescence. The male child is not, however, offered equivalent experiences

with the same consistency. The socialization process varies among the four subcultures with the degree of socialization training highest in the subculture of the center of the Island. The cultures of the coast and slums and, finally, of the urban middle class, follow in descending order. The vital events experienced by the boy in the latter three subcultures during the process of development consistently restrict his ability to overcome the crises of childhood while the vital experiences provided for the girl in these subcultures consistently enhance her chances of overcoming the crises of childhood.

Partial evidence for this exists in the fact that there are an estimated ten to eighteen thousand drug addicts in Puerto Rico and the large majority of these are male.⁵ Drug addiction can be interpreted as an emotional disease which has its genesis in the inability of the child to overcome the primary crises of feelings of basic trust, autonomy, initiative and industry and to positively establish his identity as well as develop the capacity to face the demands of life and to compete with others. Consequently, many adolescents and young

5 Muñoz, Raúl A., et al "Evaluación de un Proyecto de Adicción a Drogas" (mimeografiado) Escuela de Salud Pública, Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1971.

adults select from among various possible escapes that which is most in keeping with the subculture in which they were reared in terms of forms of expression of feelings and control of aggression.

In my studies on the effectiveness of the programs for treating drug addicts, I have found that the majority of adults who are actually in treatment in the programs sponsored by the Department of Social Services and the Department of Health come from the lower middle class and slum areas. It is very rare to find drug addicts from the subculture of the center of the Island and the upper middle class. The majority of the addicts on the average have a ninth grade education.⁶ They are neither uneducated nor illiterate. They can perceive the world which surrounds them but they cannot deal with it, or become involved with it. Therefore, they escape by means of drugs to an unreal world where they simply create their own illusions. They must continue with the use of drugs in order to resist the tremendous anxieties which are created for them when trying to face a hostile, antagonistic, impossible world

6 Op.cit.

where they realize they are perceived as the most undesirable dregs of humanity.

This type of youth did not have an adequate opportunity in the period before adolescence to live successfully through the process of overcoming the crises of autonomy, initiative and industriousness and, consequently, his development culminated in a totally negative self-image. The inadequate self-image of this Puerto Rican child usually finds expression in two alternate patterns of behavior: the child is delinquent and strikes out or he becomes a drug addict and internalizes aggression. The Puerto Rican culture is one which by means of its subcultural manifestations forces children at an early age to repress aggression. The Puerto Rican mother and father utilize all available means to teach the child not to fight and to repress or sublimate aggressive feelings. Rarely, however, are the mechanisms utilized sufficient to enable the child to overcome aggressive tendencies and channel them into socially acceptable behavior.⁷ The fact that those of us attending this Seminar, who are part of the Puerto Rican culture, are examples of adequate control

⁷ Op.cit.

of aggression does not negate this fact since we constitute a minority.

Erikson points out that primordially there is a group of significant persons and institutions which enables the socialization of children to proceed successfully. I have already mentioned that during the stage of basic trust, the first stage, the most significant person is the mother. We can identify the structural supports available to the Puerto Rican mother which enable her to adequately fulfill her role especially during the first year of the child's life and assist in preventing emotional conflict in her children. When we speak of prevention, we generally have a vague idea of what we want to prevent. In my opinion, prevention of the structural level is the initial step. What weaknesses are there in the Puerto Rican social structure which adversely affect the development of the child? Let's look at the evidence. Approximately 60% of all Puerto Rican families live in relative poverty. In almost 20% of these families there is no male figure in the home. In discussing the sixth stage, the stage of social, emotional and sexual intimacy, Erickson claims that women need a sense of personal satisfaction in order to fulfill effectively the role of a nurturing mother. From the

above data, it seems that 20% of these women who represent about 50,000 families are not guaranteed the possibility of an intimate relationship which would satisfy their personal psychic needs and enable them to dedicate themselves, without social, mental or economic reservations, to the task of rearing children.

The large majority of women from the Puerto Rican lower class (we're speaking now of about 200,000 to 300,000 families) have five or more children. What implications does this situation have for these children who were born after the first child? Perhaps the first child had some chance of having the parent's total attention directed toward him but this would not have been true to the same extent for subsequent children. Children, in these families, are almost always born at one year intervals. The psychological implications of early weaning, of being forced to leave the mother's arms and of sibling rivalry are known to have an impact on the emotional development of the small child. These phenomena are present to an exaggerated degree in these families.

The family group, especially the mother and the father, is the second set of significant persons to help the child progress through the stage of autonomy and overcome the crisis

of shame and doubt. To digress for a moment, I recall that teachers have frequently called my attention to a phenomenon which I consider to be one of the harmful factors in the rearing of Puerto Rican children. This is the use of ~~ridicule~~ as a means of disciplining children. Ridicule and scorn are two of the most detrimental factors in the socialization process of the small child. Nevertheless, how often do we resort subconsciously or deliberately to ridicule and scorn believing that with this we achieve a constructive and educative effect.

Let us return to the discussion of significant factors in the child's development. The child develops a critical sense of autonomy at an early age which should not be subjected to ridicule. Rural families in the center of the Island as well as those on the initial stage. This is the stage during which the child learns to control sphincter muscles, and learns, to regulate bladder and bowel movements. The rural families permit the child to develop sphincter control flexibly and automatically, when he wishes and generally by imitation of the older siblings. In the middle class family with the overincorporation of the North American cultural values of cleanliness and asepsis, the rule is that "the child must be clean" and "he must have a pleasant odor". This practice of "toilet

training" has been incorporated into the Puerto Rican middle and upper classes. It is not necessary to expound on the negative consequences which derive from the excesses of this practice. This is only a small example of the difficulty which Puerto Ricans have in achieving a selective incorporation of North American values which seem scientifically sound but which are not necessarily correct for our children.

The extended family unit constitutes the third group of significant persons who aid the child during the third stage of psychosocial development: initiative versus a sense of guilt. With the interaction between siblings and the interaction within the family and among relatives, the child is developing his capacity for establishing interpersonal relations. It has been frequently mentioned that there is a need in Puerto Rico for sensitivity training groups which are laboratories for human relations. For in the past the extended family was a good mechanism for promoting human relations and for developing a sense of sharing and social involvement. As a result of social progress in Puerto Rico, we have increased the degree of protection we provide for the child especially during the first year of life. Consequently, we inhibit and restrict the child's opportunities for interpersonal confrontations.

Members of the Puerto Rican middle class send their children to private schools, transport them there by car, confine the children to the home at night with television and closely supervise their recreation during the day. Consequently, in our keen desire to offer the child physical and social protection, we are restricting his capacity to gain confidence in himself and to gain autonomy and develop initiative. This point must be taken seriously because it is you, the teachers, who deal with the product of this over-protection.

A recent study has revealed that Puerto Rican teachers hold a very low opinion of the slum child.⁸ According to the teachers in their study, the slum child is the one who uses the worst language, who has the worst manners, and is the most aggressive and, who comes from a very undesirable home. The teacher attributes to the slum child all of the characteristics and bad qualities which, in his ignorance, he believes are found in the slums because he neither visits nor knows the subculture of this area. The teacher believes that the slum is a jungle where people go around with drugs and knives waiting to attack each other and innocent bystanders. If this is the perception that the average teacher has of the

⁸ Bou, Ismael Rodríguez, "Estudio del Sistema Educativo de P.R.", Consejo Superior de Enseñanza, Universidad de P.R., 1960

area from which the child comes, then he is obviously going to condemn the child to this identity and stigmatize him from the time he arrives in the classroom. He firmly believes that: "You cannot deal with the slum child because anything you say to him is a waste of time."

In the slum and coastal sugar cane subcultures little effort is invested in controlling the child's verbal aggression. However, this is not true in the middle class. In fact in the coastal and slum subcultures the boy and girl are encouraged and stimulated to express a certain amount of aggressiveness because their parents know that they will have to struggle to earn a place in the sun. The parents aspire for the children to rise above the status of the proletarian class, and constantly stimulate and encourage the development of certain interpersonal skills. In the process of the continuous, intense personal contact which the slum and coastal child experiences, he incorporates into his own behavior the actions and manners which he sees in the adults. These children observe that the adults in the working class speak loudly; their vocabulary is tainted by words with sexual connotation and their language is sprinkled with aggressive epithets which repel the members of the traditional middle class. The fact that the children

emulate this behavior does not mean that they are basically bad or that they are perverted although this is the connotation which the middle class attributes to such behavior. The fact is that these children are reared in a social environment where behavior of this kind and the use of these expressions are acceptable.

Erikson's theory eventually leads us to the community as a significant group in the child-rearing process. The importance of the community on the socialization of the child necessarily coincides with the period in which the school has its greatest impact. The fourth stage, the stage of industry versus the crisis of a sense of guilt, is the stage where both the school and the community have the greatest influence. In Puerto Rico, however, the school has more influence on the child than does the community. The tendency in Puerto Rico, especially with the economic and social mobility of the lower classes toward the middle class and the lower class orientation toward the values of the middle class, is to exert more control over the child's movements in social-geographic terms and to lead children away from risky or dangerous acts and toward acts which the parents believe to be safe and secure.

Because the child's actions and interpersonal contacts are restricted, it becomes the task of the school to engage more actively in the socialization of the child. The fundamental task of the school is to recognize that the child is in the infant genital and latency stages and that he is ready to develop his potential, skill and competence. He basically needs two types of competence which are formed during these years: interpersonal social competence and academic and vocational competence. The latter type of competence is demanding and takes time and effort to achieve.

At this point, I must pose a question to you. Do you believe that the Puerto Rican school has been adequately fulfilling its social responsibility and providing Puerto Rican children with the social structure needed for achieving these competencies? The Puerto Rican school is characterized as being one of the most authoritarian in all of the American continent.⁹ A sense of authority permeates the entire structure of the school. Extreme authoritarianism works against democratic

⁹ Mellado, Ramón "Culture and Education in Puerto Rico", Thesis Doctoral.

interpersonal socialization. Dr. Ramón Mellado, former Secretary of Education, also points out that the Puerto Rican school has been characterized as being excessively bookish and predominantly geared to teaching academic skills especially at the elementary and intermediate levels. The teaching of manipulative vocational and technical skills has been considered a secondary function of the school.

The school receives children who are products of different social circumstances, who have had different experiences as they passed through the stages of trust, autonomy and initiative and who, consequently, have diverse emotional resources. The school is dedicated to cultivating and developing the child's sense of industry and competence, trusting that his previous socialization has been largely successful. The sketch which we have drawn of the socialization process shows that on the contrary, a significant proportion of children are not adequately socialized when they begin school and that these children will need special attention while in school in order to acquire a positive personal identity as adults.

The accelerated social changes which are characterizing Puerto Rican society have adversely affected the system of roles and social functions traditionally associated with each

subculture. The sudden rise in the level of aspirations of member of all strata of Puerto Rican society has not been accompanied by the necessary increase in the opportunities for achieving them. The frustration which results from a discrepancy between aspiration and attainment manifests itself in various forms of social deviation such as delinquency, drug addiction, alcoholism, mental and emotional illness and many forms of personal unrest and unhappiness.¹⁰

It is incumbent upon the Puerto Rican school to offer the first line of defense against this social pathology. This defense should take the form of the early identification and diagnosis of children with problems in their development and the formulation and implementation of an adequate plan of treatment which takes into account both personal and familiar factors and the social structure responsible for the observed situation. I am confident that the interpretive schema which I have presented to you will serve to assist in identifying those specific and common factors which provoke emotional disturbance in Puerto Rican children, in order to develop a systematic and forceful attack so as to remedy these problems and eliminate them from our midst.

10 Manuel Pérez de Jesús, "Desarrollo Económico, Crecimiento Poblacional y Bienestar Social en Puerto Rico", Revista Ciencias Sociales.

THE IMPACT OF THE FAMILY ON THE
EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILD

Estelia Muñoz de López de Victoria M.A.

Many authors have written about the importance of the family in the child's emotional development. Therefore, in all probability many of the concepts presented in my paper may seem repetitive to you.

For various reasons I am not concerned that during the Seminar, concepts related to the family will be repeated.

The first of these reasons is that I strongly believe that the family or immediate family environment affects the emotional development of the child, be it positively or negatively; that is to say, that the immediate environment is of utmost importance. Therefore, we cannot over-emphasize the importance of the family in the emotional development of the child.

A second reason is that in my 26 years of experience as a social worker, I have become convinced that in every community or society the family is a basic institution and that the quality of the community depends upon the quality of its families.

I have also concluded that the family, the home, and none other than these, provide children with the foundation for their subsequent psychological and emotional strengths which enable them to adjust to the home, school and the community in which they live.

I also realize that there is a need in the Puerto Rican society for strengthening family life so that the family can adequately fulfill its primary and traditional functions in order that we may develop a society of well adjusted children, adolescents and adults. The need for strengthening the Puerto Rican family structure has been brought to my attention not only by those who use the Department of Social Services, in the main families who are economically and socially deprived, but also by families from every stratum of our society.

What is the family?

Since primitive times, the family has existed as a group and continues to be the cornerstone of our society, the source of security for the individual.

Psychologically, the family is of paramount importance in the development of the human being. It is here that the individual is emotionally and spiritually formed and where the

foundation of his personality is laid. In the family unit man learns to live in groups. which prepares him for subsequent sharing and co-existence with others in the community, such as his friends, neighbors, schoolmates and later his co-workers.

When the family offers opportunities for its members (children) to relate positively with the father and mother figures, it is laying the foundation for the formation of an emotionally balanced individual.

The family is society's basic unit and a source of strength for its individuals. As I have previously stated, the quality of a community depends largely upon the strength, stability and emotional climate of its families.

An individual has emotional strength and security with which to face the vicissitudes of daily living when he knows that he forms part of a family with which he can share his problems and to which he can turn when in need of assistance. An emotionally strong and confident individual will be in a more favorable position to make a positive contribution to society.

The experience of being part of a family prepares the individual to live in society, to be part of other social groups, to work in keeping with his capacity. It also enables him to defer personal interests on behalf of the interests of the

oup.

The family has a great responsibility to society as well as to the individual. For it is the societal agent called upon to produce useful and productive citizens capable of living harmoniously with each other. The family must offer opportunities for preparing the child in such a manner that he will be capable of establishing his own family in adulthood. In order that this may be accomplished the child, as he develops physically and emotionally, must be integrated into and led to feel part of his community.

The family is also the institution which perpetuates society by transmitting its social inheritance, its values, ideals and traditions, from one generation to another.

The family is more than a collection of individuals living under one roof. It is a self-sufficient unit with its own characteristics which provide it with:

- a. Climate.
- b. Strength.
- c. Unity.
- d. Stability
- e. Structure or organization.
- f. Tolerance level.

Basic necessities of all individuals:

Every individual from birth till death must satisfy certain basic needs. These are common to all individuals and are classified as biological or psychosocial:

- a. Love and affection.
- b. Belonging and acceptance.
- c. Dependency.
- d. Physical and emotional security.
- e. Shelter.
- f. Food.

The way in which a human being reacts throughout his life, and his social psychological well-being will depend upon how he has been able to satisfy these biological and psychosocial needs.

This group of needs, operating as a whole, provide a strong force for motivating behavior.

The biological needs are essential for preserving life; while the psychosocial ones guarantee positive inter-personal relationships.

At the beginning we pointed out that these needs are common to all individuals. Nevertheless, there exist individual differences for their fulfillment. For a better understanding

of the behavior of family group members, it is necessary to realize that these individual differences exist, and that each member within the group has a role to perform.

The Mother's Role in the Home

- a. It is expected that the mother provide physical care, love and attention; transmit values, moral standards; and that she discipline and supervise her children's activities.
- b. As a wife she is expected to love her husband; attend to his physical needs; share with her husband, and satisfy her husband's emotional and sexual needs.
- c. As a housewife she is expected to create a pleasant home atmosphere; fix, clean, and keep order in the house; and be concerned with the feeding of her family.

Only parents, more specifically, and especially, the mother, can give children a feeling of security during childhood which will enable them to approach life confidently in adolescence and adulthood.

The Father's Role as Husband

The father plays an important role in the life of his children and his role in the family, to use an expression very much in style, is manifold: he must be husband, father, a member of the society, teacher, mentor, and heroe. Within the home environment the roles of husband, father and mentor pre-dominate.

The father, in his role as husband, is his wife's companion, and source of her inspiration offering her emotional support and strength so that she may perform her role of wife and mother satisfactorily.

Perhaps in this supportive role we do not perceive the father as having direct influence on his children's behavior. Nevertheless, the father by means of his intimate contacts with his wife transmits his strength and will to the children. He offers her security and mitigates her anxieties especially those produced by her preoccupation with providing the family with food, clothing and shelter.

Another way of lending the mother support is by the father showing a sincere interest in his wife's household activity, in her creativity, in her work and in her physical and emotional needs. With his love and affection the husband satisfies, stimulates, comforts and helps his wife to achieve self-realization as a woman.

The Father's Role as "Dad"

We have seen that a father indirectly transmits his strength and will by means of the mother of his children; but he must also perform his role directly to his children. He must be prepared to teach, form influence, inspire and develop his children in order that they may become good creative citizens, mentally healthy, and capable of loving and being loved, and of enjoying life.

Children, male and female, develop their first and decisive ideas about masculinity from their parents. It is essential that a father show interest and concern for his children in all stages of their growth and development. This interest will make the child feel important. It is necessary that both father and mother work together to create this feeling of importance in the child. Both mother and father should help with the children's small day-to-day problems such as dressing, keeping order, and so forth.

At this point I must emphasize that it is important that the father perform the same role in the life of his sons as in that of his daughters. For the father plays a decisive role in his daughters' emotional development. Daughters demand the same interest, attention and dedication from the father, as he may show his sons, so that in adulthood the

daughters will feel comfortable and be understanding in their relationships with men.

We all know that children learn to love from a very young age. Adult love and social harmony are developed only if both sexes are taught to love. Consequently, the father as well as the mother should participate in the physical and emotional development of their children.

If parents are not sure of their roles, do not understand them or do not perform them adequately, they generally cause difficulties in the emotional development of their children or provoke certain kinds of repression or immaturity.

The father, as mentor, has the responsibility of teaching and guiding his children. This he must do with honesty and sincerity.

It is his duty to develop in his children a healthy personality, preparing them for the responsibilities awaiting them in the outside world. He must also give them the necessary training so as to fulfill their vocational aspirations.

The Child's Role in the Home

The cultural, social and economic changes, which have occurred in Puerto Rico society, as a result of industrialization,

urbanism, technology and the prolongation of education, have brought about changes, not only in the role of the parents but also in that of the child in the home.

Many years ago children were not allowed to participate in family conversations. Children were spoken to with gestures, facial grimaces, clearing the throat, and other non verbal expressions. They were not allowed any participation in family affairs. This pattern has changed noticeably.

Today, the child is permitted the greatest amount of participation possible in family life, and he is dealt with in a more democratic fashion.

The role a child plays in the home will depend on the adult family group which surrounds him. Adults are the ones who give the child the opportunity to carry out his role according to his age and capabilities.

Let us examine the child in his role as 'son'.

If all his emotional needs have been fulfilled the child should:

1. Be able to share affection.
2. Be tolerant and understanding.
3. Develop confidence in his parents.
4. Behave well.
5. Be obedient.

6. Respect himself.
7. Respect others.
8. Attend church.
9. Share the values of his family.
10. Be responsible for his homework.
11. Be able to profit from the educational opportunities offered him.
12. Participate in recreational activities offered by the home, school and community.

In the role of 'brother' he should:

1. Love his brothers and sisters and be able to solve the differences between them in a positive manner.
2. Be a good playmate - develop a sense of cooperation.
3. Be tolerant.
4. Be able to share.
5. Trust others.

In the extended family (father, mother, children and other relatives) the child's role may be that of grandchild, nephew, cousin, etc. In these roles he will apply the principles taught him by his parents.

The amount of harmony within the home depends, in part, on how the family members carry out their roles.

In order to deal effectively with family problems it is very important to understand the interaction and relationship of the different roles within the family and the precise function of each role. This interaction is a complex process.

On speaking of specific family roles we must take into consideration that human relationships though essential are rarely, if ever, entirely satisfactory. In human relationships innumerable shades of sweetness and bitterness occur, which comprise the pattern of day-to-day living.

The concepts discussed in this paper have revolved around the basic characteristics of a 'good' home and the way in which a family can contribute to the sound physical and emotional development of the child.

I have also pointed out the functions of a family and the roles of its members, and have tried to highlight each member's contribution to family harmony.

We cannot over-emphasize the fact that it is not merely the physical presence of the parents in home but rather the quality of the relationship and the means they use to share

responsibility of the child-rearing process. The kind of relationships established will determine whether the emotional environment at home is a healthy or destructive one.

It is from the family experience that a child emulates his models so that as an adult he can fulfill his roles as spouse, parent or citizen.

The Areas of Family Functions

The essential functions of the family as a social institution may be studied from various approaches.

According to the anthropological approach the family's three essential functions are:

1. To have children and provide them with moral support and affection.
2. Guide children from infancy in accordance with the norms and values of society.
3. Provide them with their initial identity with the community.

From an anthropological point of view, we may conclude that the family's three basic functions are to foment love, education and identification.

The sociological approach delineates the functions of the family as follows:

1. Provides its members with love and affection, fulfilling the needs for dependency and sharing.
2. Provides physical and emotional security.
3. Provides an environment conducive to integral development and socialization.
4. Provides for satisfactory adult relationships.
5. Assists in transmitting the culture to the new generation.

Factors that Affect Familiar Harmony

Family life may be compared with the strings of a guitar. Each string has its own tone and is independent of the others, yet each string contributes its tone, so that ultimately the music that emerges is harmonious.

This also occurs in family life. The family is made up of a group of persons, each with his own personality and distinctive needs. Each member makes his unique contribution and in this fashion provides the home with a harmonious environment.

Where individual differences exist, but with understanding and tolerance among its members, a harmonious family unit can be achieved.

Some factors that might affect adversely the harmony and smooth functioning of a home are:

1. Lack of Maturity - between husband and wife.

This may result in insecurity for each, unsatisfactory marital relations, incorrect handling of the children, inability to resolve problems, and irresponsibility. Many times this lack of maturity does not permit the husband and wife to relate effectively or develop independently.

2. Noticeable Differences between Husband and Wife,

in age, race, intelligence, education, nationality, ambitions, life values, and physical characteristics. Very noticeable differences in any of these aspects may result in one person becoming a threat to the other. It may cause suspicion, over-sensitiveness, and differences in criteria or ways of thinking. It may develop in either one of the spouses feelings of superiority or inferiority. Consequently it can result in insecurity, irritability and lack of understanding.

3. Economic problems - Severe problems may result due to economic limitations, whereby the family may not be able to maintain its accustomed standard of living. Contrary to this too much money can result in its mishandling, bringing about another series of problems. A husband-wife relationship can be affected when the wife is the provider, or receives a higher salary than her husband.
4. In-Laws - When grandparents do not allow parents to assume their responsibilities, the parents may take out their anger on each other which may be reflected in their relationships with the children. Many times such parents are either over-protective or too severe.
5. Problems in the Parent's Intimate Relationships - When intimate relationships are unsatisfactory, there is usually uneasiness, irritation, friction, and dissatisfaction. This is often reflected in the parent's relationship with the children.
6. Mental Illness of one of the Family Members - This can cause jealousy, cruelty, aggression

with little provocation, daughter seduction by mentally ill fathers, alcoholism, addiction, and so forth.

7. Incompetence in Parenthood - When children are born to parents who are not emotionally prepared, the result is unwanted and unaccepted children, The parents are unprepared to make the sacrifices demanded by parenthood. This rejection brings about well known noxious effects on a child.
8. Lack of Mutual Interests - When husband and wife do not share common interests, alienation results and interests wanes.
9. Children from Previous Marriages - Problems may result when children from previous marriages are not accepted or when they reject their step-parents.
10. Breaking up of a Marriage - This may be caused by: divorce, separation, desertion or death. The effect on children and remaining parent will depend on their emotional strength and the support given by relatives.

I feel that in spite of the socioeconomic and sociocultural changes which have occurred in Puerto Rico during the last

decades, we professionals, working with the child and his family, have the responsibility of exhausting all means necessary and using the available resources in the community to prevent the deterioration of family life and the subsequent increase of emotionally disturbed children in Puerto Rico. One may rightfully ask: "What can I do?" I feel we can contribute to our children's mental health by giving them the best each one of us has to offer and making every effort to be a good model for children and adolescents who are in the formative process of their development.

Each one of us in his job setting should encourage the revision of programs and existing legislation to bring these up to date and in harmony with the demands and needs of our rapidly changing world. We must not permit family life to lose its vital significance and importance in Puerto Rican society. For, indeed, the family is the cornerstone of this and every society.

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THE PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY: ITS IMPACT
ON THE EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH

J. J. Mauney, Ed.D.

It is my pleasure to speak with you about the Puerto Rican community and its impact on the emotional development of children and youth. You should know that the concept of community as I use it in this text is synonymous with the concept of society. On referring to Fairchild's Dictionary of Sociology,¹ we find that he establishes a distinction between the two terms. Fairchild defines "society" as a group of human beings co-operating in the pursuit of several major interests, invariably including self-maintenance and self-perpetuation.

He then defines "community" as a subgroup which has many of the same characteristics as "society" but on a smaller scale and with narrower and less well-co-ordinated interests. In keeping with Fairchild's line of thought, we may refer to Puerto Rico as the Puerto Rican society and reserve the word "community" for cities, towns and villages. Now the distinction

¹ Fairchild, Henry Pratt (Ed.), Dictionary of Sociology. New York: Philosophical Library, 1944, pp. 300.

has been made, let us proceed to analyze some of the fundamental socioeconomic changes operating in contemporary Puerto Rico for it is in this milieu that Puerto Rican children and adolescents are developing.

1. The Transformation of an Agrarian Economy to an Increasingly Industrialized One

Since the fiscal year 1954-1955 the revenue derived from industry in Puerto Rico was greater than that produced by agriculture. This trend toward industrialization has introduced into Puerto Rican society many of the positive and negative characteristics found in virtually all industrialized societies.

On the positive side, one can point out the increase in the net per capita income. This rose from \$121.00 in 1944 to more than \$1,500.00 in the present fiscal year. (1971) Also industrialization has contributed to an improvement in living conditions in each social strata. This is evidenced in two vital statistics: life expectancy and mortality rate. Mortality rate has shown a marked decline during the last thirty years. In 1940, the rate was 18.4 per 1000; in 1950, it was 9.9 per 1000; in 1960, it was 6.7 per 1000; in 1969, it was 6.2 per 1000; and, at present, it is 6.00 per 1000. It must be noted that this last rate is lower than the corresponding

one for the continental United States which is 7.0 per 1000. Life expectancy has followed an ascending course. In 1940, life expectancy in Puerto Rico was 46 years; in 1950, 61 years; and in 1960, 69 years. In 1969, life expectancy was 70 years and in 1970, 70.2 years. It must be noted, again, that this last rate is higher than that of continental United States which is 70.1 years.

It is obvious, therefore, that Puerto Rican children and youth live in an environment which is conducive to sound emotional development since the high life expectancy and low mortality rate can be explained on the basis of progress in sanitation and medical science. Progress in medical science is particularly apparent in the diagnosis and treatment of infant, childhood and adolescent diseases.

On the negative side, industrialization has contributed to environmental pollution and to a tendency to place an over-emphasis on the material aspects of life with a resultant lag in the cultivation of spiritual, moral and ethical values. This materialistic emphasis is evidenced in a conspicuous consumption of goods which exceeds individual income levels. Industrialization has contributed indirectly to a reduction in agricultural production with a subsequent high level of unemployment. Unemployment figures remain high despite the fact

that thousands of jobs exist for skilled workers who are not available in the job market. This paradoxical situation exists because industrial changes have generated a demand for skilled and specialized workers. The educational system has not had the necessary funds to train these workers within the public school system.

In the report entitled Youth: Their Skills and the Future of Puerto Rico (Juventud: Sus Destrezas y el Futuro de Puerto Rico) submitted to the Governor of Puerto Rico by the Advisory Board for the Development of Government Programs (Consejo Asesor del Gobernador para el Desarrollo de Programas), stress was placed on the serious problem of unemployment in the age group 14 to 24. The rate of unemployment among adolescents and young adults reaches 20,5% and constitutes about one-half of the total unemployment on the Island. The Board points out that this "Idleness is particularly demoralizing." The report contains a statement to the following effect: "The members of the Board foresee a gap between the adult working force which is committed to economic activity and a youth accustomed to excessive idleness. This value conflict contributes to the problem of drugs and delinquency. It threatens to create a new generation of children born of unemployed parents and deprived of the

financial resources which could permit them to develop into productive citizens."

The question must be raised: Why has it been necessary to place such emphasis on industrialization in Puerto Rico? A part answer to this question is that the revenue received from agriculture is insufficient to provide an adequate standard of living for a growing population. This socio-economic reality necessitates curriculum reforms which would facilitate the development of the human resources required by industry.

Fortunately in the last three years major emphasis has been placed on vocational and technical education in the Puerto Rican educational system. (Last Tuesday I had the gratifying experience of attending the opening of the Multi-Skill Vocational Center for Disadvantaged Youth and Adults in San Juan. On Friday, December 3, I participated in the orientation sessions for a group of 260 unemployed school dropouts who reside in the various sections of the metropolitan area and who aspire to study in the first Municipal Technological College which will open its doors in January, 1972.)

2. Population Explosion

A study of population increase in Puerto Rico between 1899 and 1940 reveals that the population grew at a steadily

increasing rate. This was due to a highly significant reduction in mortality rate with only a slight decline in the birth rate. Between 1900 and 1940, the death rate was reduced by almost 50 per cent while the birth rate dropped only 8 per cent. Emigration was insignificant during this period.

The deceleration in the rate of population growth during the period 1940-1960 but especially during the decade 1950-1960, was due to the en masse emigration of Puerto Ricans. At present the population has grown to 2,700,000 inhabitants which means a population density of 811 per square mile.

A country, such as Puerto Rico, which has a scarcity of natural resources and a high population density will suffer from the unfavorable effect of this demographic reality in its collective lifestyle. The negative implications of this imbalance extend to the family and to government; to health standards, schools and recreational facilities; to the general standard of living; and, to virtually all economic and social aspects of Puerto Rican life.

3. The Population Movement from the Rural Area to the Urban Area

We may refer to this sociological phenomenon i.e. population movement from rural to urban areas, as urbanism. Urbanism

is not to be understood as the mere residence in towns and cities, rather as a way of thought and behavior which leads to a series of attitudes and value judgements.

The population movement from country to town has occurred at an accelerated rate in Puerto Rico. The first population census carried out in 1899 under the auspices of the North American government revealed that 85% of the people lived in rural areas while only 15% resided in the urban areas. This proportion has been steadily modified during the intervening years until, according to the 1970 census, it has reached a point where for the first time in Puerto Rican history, the percentage of persons living in the urban areas is higher than that of persons living in the rural areas. This census revealed that 58.1% of the population resided in the cities while 41.9% resided in the country.

People move from the rural areas to the cities in search of better employment opportunities and the chance to raise their standard of living. Statistics reveal that the age group 15-44 is the one which most frequently migrates. The educational level of the members of this group is very low and they are inadequately prepared for the urban job market.

Urbanism as a cultural force is characterized by transiency, superficiality and anomie. Puerto Ricans from the rural area, coming from a social environment characterized by permanency and intimate human contacts and by close family relationships, will have to make multiple adjustments in order to survive the challenge of city life. Too often the transition from rural to urban living produces anti-social behavior and a breakdown of moral codes. It is an undeniable fact that children and youth are very vulnerable to the negative impact of this change of residence.

4. The Rapid Growth of the Educational System

Puerto Ricans have great faith in education as the vehicle for the development of human potential and talent. This attitude is held by all age groups and constitutes, in my opinion, an influence on the emotional development of children and youth. Statistics reveal that more than 93% of the population between the ages of 6 and 12 and more than 68% of the population between the ages of 13 and 18 are enrolled in public or private schools. Furthermore, 22 out of every 1000 people in Puerto Rico attend institutions of higher education.

Our major educational problem is, as I indicated previously, that we have insufficient funds to adequately attend to

the diverse needs of the school population. In Puerto Rico, \$380 is invested per pupil at the elementary and secondary levels while in the United States, the average investment per pupil is \$858. One of the most neglected educational programs due to this insufficiency of funds is, in my opinion special education including the education of emotionally disturbed children and youth.

5. Modifications in the Institution of the Family

Family systems throughout the world have been undergoing structural functional changes. These transformations are frequently a response to other changes which have occurred in the general social order. As the family "adjusts" to these general social changes, it undergoes modifications in family behavior especially in the relationships between the various members of the family and in the relationships between family members and persons outside the family.

Drs. Noel P. Gist and Sylvia Fleis Fava in their book, Urban Society, identify seven changes in family organization, commonly associated with urbanization which, in my opinion, can be applied to a greater or lesser degree to the Puerto Rican family:

- a. Changes in the power structure of the family which generally indicate a decline in the authority of parents over their children and husbands or their wives. This usually results in an increase in independence and freedom of action on the part of both children and wives.
- b. Changes in the interpersonal relationships between the sexes which results in greater freedom for both men and women to meet outside the home and to choose their own friends and select the person they would like to marry.
- c. Changes in the social functions of family members within and outside the home tend to produce individualized behavior patterns in family members. This individualization of lifestyle and purpose frequently disrupts function of the family. The separation of labor functions performed by family members outside the home generally means a diversification of interests which can result in a decline in family solidarity.

- d. Changes in the number of unmarried, divorced or separated persons in the total population: unmarried or separated persons may not suffer an appreciable loss of status and may, at the same time, enjoy certain economic advantages because they are gainfully employed, but do not have the responsibility for supporting anyone.
- e. Changes in family structure, especially that change which is involved in the transition from the "extended family" to a smaller "nuclear family". This smaller family unit may take a variety of structural and functional forms.
- f. Changes in the interpersonal contacts outside the home with the result that private friendships are made which tend to complement, and in some cases, to substitute for intra-family associations.
- g. Changes in the ceremonial basis of family life.²

² Gist, Noel P. y Sylvia Fleis Fava, La Sociedad Urbana. Ediciones Omega, South America, 1968.

It cannot be denied that this transformation in the structure and function of the family generates tensions which affect the emotional development of children and youth. Dr. Ramón Mellado in his book, Puerto Rico y Occidente, points out that the contemporary Puerto Rican family feels the impact of numerous tensions produced by the social forces of our environment. He classifies these forces as those which are negative and those which are positive.

Dr. Mellado includes the following among the positive forces on Puerto Rican families: The intense desire of parents to provide their children with the education which they themselves did not acquire; the struggle for upward social mobility; the effort to raise the standard of living; the desire to rationalize behavior in keeping with the spirit of scientific inquiry of the world in which we live and, finally, the yearning to democratize the home and other social institutions so that they will be more attune to the new concepts of freedom.

As examples of negative forces on the Puerto Rican family, Dr. Mellado mentions: The desperate struggle of many parents to offer their children academic degrees which are beyond their natural capabilities for learning, and the obsession of parents and children to live in luxury and comfort

beyond their economic means. Dr. Mellado contends that the traditional Puerto Rican concept of human dignity which encourages men to value themselves for their personal merits and for their integrity of character is in conflict with the modern tendency to judge the worth of man by his material possessions.³

6. Symptoms of Social Disorganization

Puerto Rican society, despite extraordinary efforts to improve the standard of living and obvious achievements in that regard, still shows various symptoms of social disorganization. Social disorganization is reflected in the following problems: divorce, crime and delinquency, mental disease, alcoholism and drug addiction, problems of health and education, children born out of wedlock, prostitution and unemployment. Unfortunately, it is the children and youth who feel the demoralizing effects of this problem with the greatest intensity. This sociological syndrome is a fertile ground for breeding emotional disturbance in children and youth.

3 Mellado, Ramón, Puerto Rico y Occidente, Editorial Cultura México, D. F., 1963, pp. 113-114.

I conclude this paper by making two recommendations which I consider fundamental for the design of a teacher preparation program in the area of emotional disturbance in children and youth:

- a. The program should include the study of educational techniques directed toward preventing the development of emotional disturbance in children.
- b. The program should prepare teachers for the scientific study of communities so they can effectively utilize the available resources in the Puerto Rican community for the education of emotionally disturbed children.

THE IMPACT OF SOME FACTORS OF THE PUERTO RICAN
COMMUNITY ON CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT

Guillermo Santiago, M.D.

I came to this Conference with a paper that has as a background the Eriksonian concepts and results from the Stanton studies. However, after having heard the speakers Prof. Raúl Muñoz and Psychologist Antonio Martínez, I would only be repeating their words if I read you my original paper. So after having given the matter much thought I decided to base my paper on concepts derived from my own theoretical background. These concepts though not less in value, do not adhere to the classical socio-psychological model. On making this change my presentation will now be more precise than my original paper.

Since the subject is the impact of the Puerto Rican community on the child's development, I should point out that many authors have written about the community's influence on human growth and development. This influence, it seems, is exerted from the moment the child is capable of becoming physically independent by learning to walk.

Furthermore, it is generally believed that parents exert the primary influences on the child's formation by providing him with stimulating experiences during the first stages of his development. I state this concept merely to differ from it. For, if it is really true that parents are a strong influence on the child's development, they exert this influence according to their social position in the community in which they have developed. Thus, parents, to a large extent, have been formed and even guided by the so-called community.

I think it important to clarify, at this moment, that I use the word "community" in its broadest sense. In spite of the fact that the immediate community, in time and space, is exerting an influence on the development of its children, we can not deny the historical and cultural impact on this development. Who can deny the influence of historical figures such as Christ, Napoleon, Hitler, Ghandi and others in our children's development?

Moreover, these influences do not cease to be sources of conflict. How can one reconcile the figures of Hitler and Ghandi or Stalin and Pope John XXIII who existed in the same time and space?

Permit me to digress for a moment in order to make the following observation. Once the child has more or less identified himself with his parents, he must decide what type of personality he will aspire to become. The child must pass through three important stages which will influence his decisions. The first is the ambulatory stage by means of which the child broadens his field of action. The second stage involves the acquisition of language skills to the point where he can continually ask innumerable questions. In this stage very often the child may only understand enough to misinterpret or misunderstand numerous concepts and situations.

The third stage is the perfecting of language and movement per se which adds the dimension of a broaden imagination extending to many unknown areas. This may cause the child to become frightened by the very things he is now capable of thinking and imagining.

After this slight digression may I return to my original statement, that is, that I disagree with those authors who claim that the community's influence on the child's development begins between the ages of two and three. I would like to elucidate this point.

It seems quite obvious to me that the expectations one has for a child born in a slum or public housing are not the

same as those one has for a child born into an upper middle class community. I consider the expectations one has for a child an important factor, perhaps the most important factor affecting his overall growth and development. Frequently the child's rearing is based on a preconceived pattern without taking into consideration his individual potential. This commonly produces such rebellion in the child that, in his eagerness to escape from this lifestyle, he falls into pathological patterns of behavior. This in turn evokes parental frustration. Parents may react by rejecting the child establishing a vicious circle which too often terminates by placing the child in irreversible pathological situations.

Teachers, as well as parents, are influential in the emotional growth of the child. Therefore, the teacher should know his students and the community they live in so that his expectations for them correspond to the reality of the students' sociocultural and economic environment. A teacher who is not aware of the child's sociocultural background may frustrate both the child and himself and, as I have already pointed out, may create for the child an irreversible pathological situation.'

In commenting on the level of expectations for children I must mention the results of studies which I feel reflect class prejudice. That is, according to research studies carried out in Puerto Rico more than 75% of the children who are classified as mentally deficient belong to the lowest socioeconomic classes. When analyzing and interpreting these studies I hold that the limitations the environment imposes on these children should be taken into account. Needless to say, it would be dangerous to arrive at any conclusions, regarding expectations, using this type of study as a background.

It is true that the gap between a child's capacity and his parent's expectations may produce serious problems in our children, I think it proper to mention another factor of Puerto Rican life in my opinion also results in preventible emotional problems.

Whatever may be the influences that the community exerts on children's development, it does so from a basis of crises, of vertiginous changes which frequently engender social instability of a magnitude beyond our imagination. It is generally accepted that the concepts of education and health, and even the very concept of community, are in crisis.

To illustrate this point I would like to refer to a personal experience I had about six months ago with some of my students. When asking them what changes they would make in the actual educational system, they answered that the first thing they would do would be to eliminate the words "teacher" and "teach". This was suggested because the word "teacher" has the connotation of an active person stuffing information into a passive one. These students added that they preferred the word "facilitator" to "teacher". (Education facilitates the development of the individual to his maximum potential).

Although these suggestions are basically semantical in nature, they illustrate very well our students' concern for education. They sense a need for a change to the kind of education that would be relevant and would meet the present-day needs of the Puerto Rican community.

May I make a personal further comment on the concept of health in modern society. We all know that this is actually a concept of illness. The custodians of health in the community profit more when the incidence of illness is greater.

In Ancient China the physician was paid only when the people in his community were healthy. Money was deducted

from his salary in proportion to the ratio of sick and healthy persons in his community.

The Nixon Administration is presently trying to design a model for the Health Maintenance Organization, based on a similar concept.

Elaborating on the concept of sickness, may I comment on the behavior of many Puerto Rican parents when a child becomes ill. Frequently these parents spoil the sick child by lavishing many favors on him and indulging him with gifts so that he often pretends to be sick just to attract their attention.

This presentation would be incomplete if I did not mention, in only in passing, the sexual taboos which exist in our society.

A situation a co-worker mentioned, at the opening of the Seminar, comes to mind. He referred to his concern with managing the child who presents sexual behavior in the classroom. My co-worker said that some of these children come from an environment where parental sexual practices are carried out openly in front of the children. It seems to me that if the teacher approaches the situation, using as a frame of reference the value system held in the child's environment, he will be able to deal with the problem much more effectively than if he tried to impose his own values on the child. This illustrates

the importance of teachers being familiar with their children's sociocultural background.

When dealing with sexuality, in the broad sense of the word, we must consider the fact that the concepts of masculinity and feminity in Puerto Rico have undergone considerable changes, particularly during the last 10-15 years. We are all aware of the "Women's Liberation Movement" and its impact on traditional concepts of the female role. The role of the sexes, the very structure of the family, the generation gap, are all reflected in new attitudes and ideals. And, with industrialization, the women ceases to be passive and dependent.

On referring to industrialization, the process which virtually all social scientists hold responsible for bringing about upheaval in the Puerto Rican child's development, I wish to mention a study that was published in the Annual Progress in Child Psychiatry and Child Development, 1970. This study was carried out in Puerto Rico by Paul Mussen and Luz A. Maldonado in four Puerto Rican school districts, with the cooperation of the Puerto Rican Department of Education. The study evaluates the child-rearing practices and subsequent development of these children, as this is influenced by the process of industrialization. Briefly, Mussen and Maldonado conclude:

"The data of this study does not support the hypothesis that industrialization causes or precipitates psychological disorganization or maladjustment. On the contrary, the industrialized parents and their children, presented a picture of strong psychological health, stability, and optimism." (Translated from original).

Another factor which supposedly has brought about social upheaval is television. Undoubtedly T.V. has taken over some of the mother's functions. Cases are known in which an infant's first words were not the usual "mamma" or "dada", rather he attempts to imitate and repeat words taken from commercial announcements.

On the positive side television can frequently facilitate readiness for the school subjects.

A frequent pattern which I have observed in many homes is that all communication with the father is carried out through the mother, who retransmits his messages to the family group.

On further considering specific Puerto Rican factors we find that the organizational patterns of a community reflect to a certain degree its ideals. That is traditionally in Puerto Rico the community was organized around a public square, in which was conspicuously situated the Catholic Church, City Hall, a few houses that belonged to the traditionally middle-class, a café, the casino and other landmarks. (This I am sure brings many warm memories to the majority of us).

With the advent of depersonalized housing settlements, the public square a model which symbolized the aspirations and goals of the community is, for better or for worse, destroyed.

You have probably read about the concept of industriousness versus the feeling of inferiority which is manifested during one of the crucial stages of child development. This concept may be related to a socioeconomic phenomenon in present day Puerto Rico. I refer to the high rate of unemployment in our society. We know that 65% of the unemployed live in culturally deprived areas. We might ask: Is the feeling of inferiority more predominant among children raised in these areas? Based on my clinical experience, I have found this to be true. Children born and reared in these areas are destined to become failure oriented in adulthood.

Due to the emphasis placed by the Puerto Rican government and community on problems such as drug addiction and juvenile delinquency, a recent movement among anthropologists and sociologists has been developed. This movement is dedicated to studying the subculture of youth.

Communes are a relatively new in the Puerto Rican community, and are undergoing radical transformations. This new way of life is attracting some of our children who have become

members of this subculture. It would be very interesting to know the impact such a lifestyle has on the development of children reared in this subculture. Also, we should analyze the impact of these communes on the larger community. In all probability many of the youth of the larger community adopt behavioral patterns and attitudes similar to those practiced in the communes.

As a possible outcome of radical changes in the community, the subculture of "protest" has emerged. This is found in communities and/or in other youth subcultures of the pseudo-intellectual type. An effort should be made to understand the significance of these rebellious non-conforming attitudes of our youth, and not brand them as misfits on the basis of superficial analyses.

Finally, I would like to mention at least two observations strictly related to psychiatrists. In our role as teachers concerned with development and leaders in this field of mental health, I feel that we have rendered a poor service to the Puerto Rican community.

In the last 15 years we have adopted and adapted models and patterns of development which are typical of and more applicable to the North American or the Euro-Spanish child.

Yet we know that the Puerto Rican child, although he shares developmental patterns commonly observed in all children of the world, he differs in various specific modes of development. For developmental norms are influenced by cultural, ethnic, geographical and historical variables. Therefore, the expectations in terms of the development of the Puerto Rican child must be determined in the light of his cultural and historical background.

I would also like to mention briefly the influence of psychodynamics theories on the child's emotional development. Psychoanalysts tend to search into the child's past history and focus the responsibility of guilt on one of the parents. It is very difficult for a guilt-ridden parent to deal effectively with his child's problems. Mental health specialists should direct their efforts to dealing with the child's immediate problems and with some knowledge of the child's past, design a plan of action for solving these.

In conclusion, it seems obvious to me that the professional who works with emotionally disturbed children must be flexible in order to take in consideration the innumerable isolated factors which on coming together may bring about a pathological

situation. In order to keep abreast of the times, we must broaden our horizon considerably and integrate such fields of studies as anthropology and sociology in the curriculum to be used for preparing teachers of emotionally disturbed children in Puerto Rico.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS MADE BY THE
VARIOUS STUDY GROUPS ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE ON ECOLOGICAL
AND CULTURAL FACTORS RELATED TO EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCE IN
PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Aida S. Candelas, Ed.D.

- A. Problems identified in relation to causes of our children's emotional disturbance stemming mostly from home environment.
1. Overprotective parents.
 2. Changes of authority figure in the family.
 3. Inconsistencies in child-bearing practice.
 4. Overpermissive parents.
 5. Lack of identification with father and mother.
 6. Distortion of family roles.
 7. Instability within the family.
 8. "Machismo" (the male overconcern of his masculinity role in the family)
 9. Inconsistency between teacher and school as to children's level of expectancy.
 10. A lesser degree of teacher tolerance toward male student.
 11. Parents' neglect of children's problems.
 12. Mobility (migration from rural areas to urban areas)

13. Submissive father versus aggressive mother.
14. Changes in religious and moral values.
15. Conflict in values between generations (generation gap).
16. Absence of mother or father from the home with no adequate substitute.
17. Lack of affection.
18. More emphasis given to academic training as opposed to vocational training.

B. Curricular content recommended for a program for teachers of emotionally disturbed children.

1. Knowledge of the child presenting emotional disturbance.
 - a. His personality.
 - b. His psychopathology.
 - c. His nature, needs interests.
2. Professional knowledge of teaching strategies and techniques for the teaching of the emotionally disturbed.
 - a. Planning.
 - b. Teaching by levels.

- c. Involvement in laboratory experiences in different geographic areas previous to actual teaching practice so that student teachers be exposed to both theory and direct field observation.
 - d. Practice on interviewing techniques and group dynamic along with observation techniques, role playing and group work.
 - e. Practicum in "normal" group settings prior to practice teaching of the emotionally disturbed.
3. Study of those changes affecting the structure of the Puerto Rican family and the effect of these changes on the emotionally disturbed child.
- a. Various types of family structures and the various stages of children's development.
4. Study of the effect of socioeconomic, political and cultural changes occurring in Puerto Rico that affect the emotionally disturbed child.

5. Knowledge and involvement with the Puerto Rican community through collaboration and cooperation with different state agencies and resources in the community which interact and influence the behavior of the emotionally disturbed child.
 6. Study of the results of research carried out in Puerto Rico and the participation of student teachers in some aspects of research.
 7. Use of art, music and physical education as means for the fulfillment of these children's needs.
 8. Need for evaluation of the academic achievement of these children as well as for diagnosing and remediation of learning disabilities.
 9. Use and preparation of adequate didactic materials and audiovisual equipment.
- C. Qualifications and selection of teachers for the emotionally disturbed child.
1. Personality, intelligence and attitudes relevant to the teaching disturbed children should be taken into consideration when selecting teachers for these students.

2. Selection should be made after
 - a. Interviews with prospective teacher candidates.
 - b. An introductory course which would permit the student teacher's auto or self-evaluation.
 - c. Personality tests be used for the selection of these teachers.

3. Some qualifications for the teacher of the emotionally disturbed should be:
 - a. Self assurance.
 - b. A wide margin for creativity.
 - c. Understanding of children and adults.
 - d. Sensitivity toward the problems and symptoms shown by the emotionally disturbed child so that treatment of children be more on the preventive aspect.
 - e. Awareness of the use of special education as a mean of returning the emotionally disturbed child to the regular classroom as soon as possible.

D. Final recommendations concerning the program in general

1. The curriculum should be adapted to all Puerto Rican schools regardless of their location.
2. Follow up of graduates from the Program should be maintained so that they may offer their recommendations.
3. The Program should be continuously evaluated in order to determine its effectiveness.
4. Establish a Diagnostic, Evaluation and Teaching Center to serve as demonstration center at the University of Puerto Rico.
5. In order to mitigate the causes of emotional disturbances a program of orientation should be continually offered to the general public.
6. Vocational teachers and regular teachers should be familiarized with different methods used in working with exceptional children since many of these teachers will be working with handicapped children and in vocational rehabilitation programs.