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What is the Center for Neuropsychological Services?

The Miami Institute of Psychology offers several different services in clinical psychology, forensic psychology, neuropsychology, psychological testing and educational programs. The Center for Neuropsychological Services is a part of the Jesse Goodman Psychological Services Center of the Miami Institute of Psychology. The Center offers a variety of psychological services to our multiethnic community. As a part of their professional training, MIP graduate students work at the Center for Neuropsychological Services under the direction and supervision of professional neuropsychologists. Each patient receives quality care for his/her specific problem.

Objective

The Center for Neuropsychological Services of the Miami Institute of Psychology, is a private, non-profit bicultural institution devoted to the research, diagnosis, training and treatment of the cognitive and behavioral deficits resulting from brain damage and brain dysfunction. It trains professionals for the assessment and management of this particular type of problem.
The Neuropsychological Center Offers:

- Neuropsychological assessment for language deficits, memory impairment, spatial difficulties and the like observed after head injury, stroke and other similar conditions.

- Rehabilitation programs in cognitive areas (language, memory and so forth) for people who have suffered head traumas, strokes and other similar conditions.

- Professional consultations for institutions and social agencies.

- Family orientation for the management of patients with brain damage.

- Assessment of patients with cognitive changes associated with aging.

Location

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CARIBBEAN CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

Message from the President

My most sincere appreciation and congratulations to the faculty of the Caribbean Center for Advanced Studies, for their efforts and contributions in the preparation and publication of this journal which addresses an array of very important issues in the field of ethnopsychology.

This project is of important significance to historically Hispanic campuses like ours, where our efforts are not only to cultivate and diversify the field of psychology, but also to contribute to enhance the quality of services through the production of new knowledge in the area of psychology.

I would like to dedicate this issue of SCIENCE AND BEHAVIOR to the National Council of Schools of Professional Psychology for their efforts in drawing attention to the need of improving the accessibility of minority students to the field of psychology.

Salvador Santiago-Negron, Ph.D., M.P.H.
President
A Training Model for Minority Psychologists: 
The Puerto Rican Experience

Carlos Albizu-Miranda, Arthur N. Schwartz, and Cherie L. Snyder Caribbean Center for Advanced Studies

Abstract

A Training model for minority students sensitive to cultural differences is discussed. American psychologists are encouraged to study the socio-cultural environment in determining psychological patterns of behavior. The development and philosophy of the Caribbean Center for Advanced Studies School of Professional Psychology committed to the training of Hispanic psychologists is described. Academic training, clinical practice and research embedded in and responsible to a Hispanic sociocultural context and norms are exposed. Indeed, graduate program in psychology which focus upon culturally-specific and culturally-relevant training for different minority groups is emphasized.

This article has been adapted for publication due to its historical value by Evelyn Diaz, Chancellor of the Miami Institute of Psychology, Campus of the Caribbean Center for Advanced Studies.
Resumen

Se analiza un modelo de entrenamiento sensible a diferencias culturales, diseñado para estudiantes minoritarios. Se estimula a los psicólogos americanos a estudiar los ambientes socioculturales que determinan los patrones psicológicos del comportamiento. Se describe el desarrollo y la filosofía del Centro Caribeño de Estudios Postgraduados, una escuela de estudios profesionales en psicología, comprometida con el entrenamiento de psicólogos hispanos. El entrenamiento académico, la práctica clínica, y la investigación requerida, responden al contexto y a las normas de la cultura hispana. El programa de psicología a nivel graduado enfatiza los aspectos culturales específicos y relevantes para el entrenamiento de diferentes grupos minoritarios.

Embedded in and adapted to the American scene, contemporary psychology in the United States has become essentially an American, white middle-class discipline. This is not in itself cause for reproach. Insofar as its aim is to train psychologists to interact with and study an American population (whether it members be called "clienteles" or "research participants"), this phenomenon is natural and legitimate. To the extent, however, that psychology claims to pursue the scientific study of laws of human organism, this parochialism represents a severe limitation to its extension of scientific knowledge and its refinement of clinical practice.

The experience of the Puerto Rican psychology student trained in the United States who returns to the Island to pursue a professional career serves as a case in point to illustrate what happens as a consequence of this limitation. American instructors are not likely to pay this student or his
acculturation problems special attention. When special attention is paid, again it is not likely that these special problems are fully understood or even fully appreciated. Thus the flow of information between instructor and minority student tends to be in one direction: from professor to student. The desired full dialogue between student and instructor in such instance tends to be compressed and even inhibited.

In their articulate piece published in *The American Psychologist* (1978), Giorgis and Helms address their own foreign situation, making several points particularly relevant to the present discussion of the Puerto Rican experience.

In addition to the white, Western bias which pervades the social sciences, they indicate that the limited opportunities for exchange of scholars and students between countries seems to be unidirectional. That is to say, American departments of psychology have not opened their doors wide to minority and foreign students or faculty. Nor is there much prospect of that happening in the foreseeable future, if ever. In summary, Giorgis and Helms cite several sources to support the assertion that "Western perceptions and descriptions of other cultures have been characterized by marked ethnocentrism and a lack of respect for different cultures" (p. 945). Psychology, they say, as practiced and taught in the United States, is a unination discipline which neglects the training of students who come from developing and/or third-world nations.

While cultural, geopolitical and environmental variations and differences are paid lip service in traditional psychological training in the U.S., there is little evidence to indicate that these behavior-influencing factors as yet constitute dimensions of broad interest in American psychology. More importantly, the differential role of the socio-cultural environment in determining psychological
patterns of behavior has not received the degree of attention and systematic study in American psychology that is warranted (Feshbach, 1978).

This situation is aptly demonstrated by the following data. Hispanic representation in graduate schools of psychology at the student as well as at the faculty level is exceedingly low. This, despite the fact that the need for training Hispanic mental health professionals who can provide culturally relevant psychological services in the Spanish language, has been amply documented. Ruiz, Casas, and Padilla (1977), among a host of other investigators, have pointed to the fact that the underutilization of mental health services by Hispanics residing in the mainland can, to a significant extent, be attributed to the lack of mental health professionals who are fluent in Spanish and sensitive to Hispanic culture and values.

Such limiting factors implicated in the training of professional psychologists, plus the attendant difficulties of Puerto Rican access to graduate psychology programs in the U.S. which are relevant and responsive to their own personal and their constituents psychological needs, have led to the development of a graduate training program in psychology (masters and doctoral) based at the Caribbean Center for Advanced Studies in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

If we correctly assume that the status quo of psychological training will change little in the foreseeable future, as predicted, we can then examine the Puerto Rican experience as a practicable and replicable model for training Hispanic professional psychologists. We shall first describe the essence and "shape" of the Puerto Rican experience and then discuss how the model can be used to broaden and deepen the training of minority psychologists or of international students from developing and/or third-world nations.

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The origin of the Caribbean Center for Advanced Studies dates from 1966 when the Psychological Institute of Puerto Rico was founded with the specific objective of offering a master of science degree in Clinical Psychology. At that time, there were few professionals in the field of mental health on the Island, all of whom had received their professional education from institutions in the United States.

Upon returning to Puerto Rico to practice their profession, these professionals faced the necessity of shaping the knowledge and skills acquired in the U.S. in such a way as to make their expertise relevant to the Puerto Rican client within his own sociocultural reality. Responding to this situation, the Psychological Institute of Puerto Rico was designed to be an educational institution whose programs of study would be firmly grounded, both in theory and in practice, in the bicultural heritage of Puerto Rico.

The location of this educational center in Puerto Rico presumes an intercultural context, for the countries which border on the Caribbean include people of European, African, Asian and native American Indian descent. The region boasts comparable diversity in both economic and political development. Economically, the area spans the range of almost-fully-developed to almost-totally-undeveloped countries. Politically, it includes adherence to the Western World, to the Communist World, and to the "Third World". This is the catchment area from which we draw our students. All of these contacts make our institution a natural site to encounter persons of virtually every kind of world view.

At the time of the Institute's founding, the most pressing problem facing the profession of psychology in Puerto Rico was the acute shortage of clinical psychologists. Close to three million Puerto Ricans were being served by a dozen psychologists.
with master's degrees or better, along with a somewhat larger number of psychological assistants with minimal training (B.A. level or less) and with virtually no continuing supervision. The situation has improved slightly with the entrance of additional graduates into the field, but the lack of well-trained, culture-relevant psychologists is still sufficiently serious as to require a high priority both here on the Island as well as in the continental United States.

The logic of the Puerto Rican situation calls for local training of indigenous professionals. American psychologists are handicapped to the point of ineffectiveness by linguistic and cultural differences. Spanish-speaking foreign psychologists on the Island are scarce. Further, it is not practical to send Puerto Ricans to study abroad, both because of the high cost and because of the irrelevance of their foreign experience to the local situation, as already suggested. Therefore, as the Puerto Rico Institute, we began by offering graduate training in Clinical Psychology.

The development of a competent psychologist in the Puerto Rican context does not merely involve transmitting a standard set of skills and knowledge to the student. On the contrary, theories and techniques in psychology are constantly evaluated in the light of their utility for understanding and subsequently dealing with cultural determinants. Together with students, faculty must construct new psychological models if they are ever to describe the situation adequately. As a result, the Caribbean Center has been exploring the frontiers of present-day psychology and creating new, indigenous approaches to historical problems. The student participating in the process comes to see psychology as a series of dynamic questions rather than merely a set of pat answers. As we proceed to develop answers, we raise further questions. Our focus in training is designed to reflect this process; our guiding philosophy makes this explicit:
A) Training should take advantage of Puerto Rico's unique cultural situation. Puerto Ricans are able to draw their resources from the Spanish cultural heritage which they share with other Central and South Americans, yet are familiar with North American cultural patterns. This bicultural heritage gives them a significant advantage in discriminating between cultural and inherent attributes which is so characteristic of much psychological theory. Our situationally-derived sensitivity is heightened by training which focuses on the relationship between behavior patterns and cultural assumptions and influences.

B) Training should combine theory and practice, not only in the sense that the student is simultaneously practicing and studying theory, but in that the student is specifically expected to generate practice from theoretical propositions and in turn analyze his/her practical experience in terms of the theoretical models he/she studies.

C) Training should be integrated. The student is not taking a series of courses; he/she is actively engaged in a program. The faculty is selected to include persons with widely divergent points of view, so that the student is not exposed to merely one theoretical approach. At the same time, the courses are arranged to complement each other so that an integrated view of the field may emerge. In the last analysis, of course, each student makes his/her own integration. However, students need to be helped in the process and it must be made clear to them that such a personal integration is expected. The curriculum is designed to foster this process.

D) Training should stress service rather than experimental aspects. The researcher's primary
obligation is to the extension of general knowledge. Researchers operate in long-range terms to arrange situations so that they can accumulate enough evidence to confirm or reject their hypotheses. Professional psychologists, per contra, are primarily obligated to the immediate clients whom they serve. Researchers justify their results by the rigor of their methodology; professional psychologists justify their methods by the effectiveness of their service. While some combination of the two approaches is feasible and desirable, undue emphasis on the experimental approach tends to inhibit the professional's flexibility, creativeness and decisiveness in providing service.

E) Training should be designed to heighten the student's sensitivity not only to the dynamics of the personality, but also to salient features of the personal environment and life space of Hispanic clients. The effective functioning of a student as a professional psychologist requires an ability to understand people as they are, embedded in their sociocultural situation. The Puerto Rican experience requires that a student emerge not only a professional psychologist but also a social scientist.

F) Training should prepare the student to function as a professional psychologist in the modern world. This involves not only preparation for the traditional role of the psychologist, as one who deals with individual clients, but also preparation for more general work in the community. The psychologist's role has become increasingly oriented toward consultation, prevention, advocacy and cooperative efforts with other social scientists.

G) Training should be oriented toward the study of
normal people as well as pathological cases. Historically, the field of psychology has been remiss in that it has studied normal people only rarely and, even then, has done so in terms of concepts derived from the study of pathology. Students must be trained to understand people in the terms in which normal people act.

Simply stated, the goal of the Caribbean Center for Advanced Studies is to offer its students the best professional education possible at the graduate level— an education distinguished by its excellence and quality— and at the same time to offer to the people of Puerto Rico the most efficient program of psycho-educational and mental health services available. Our commitment is as much to our students as to the community in which we all live together.

In sum, the Center offers a distinctive approach to professional education. Its faculty is dedicated to offering an education which provides a solid foundation for the development of professional competency. At the same time, the faculty is concerned that each student grasp and maintain within his/her purview the relationship between knowledge of his/her own discipline and a broader understanding of human life as experienced in varied cultural contexts. An interdisciplinary approach is combined with concerns for establishing an intimate dialogue between theory and practices, hypothesis and experimentation, abstract theoretical principles and concrete realities of human life.

The Puerto Rican Experience

The Caribbean Center curriculum as presently constructed parallels the content of many masters and doctoral psychology programs in the United States. Two major features of the Caribbean Center
training program make it unique in psychology. One is the fact that well over 95 percent of the matriculating students are of Hispanic origin and thus exhibit virtually without exception a strong motivation to use their training ultimately in the interests of and service to Hispanic people. With rather few exceptions, the Caribbean Center students are somewhat older than their counterparts in the U.S. In many instances these students are employed in responsible positions in other Puerto Rican Universities, colleges and agencies which is why courses at the Center begin no earlier than 4:30 p.m. during the week and are also given on Saturdays. These students characteristically pursue their studies with a high degree of seriousness, goal-directedness and dedication.

A second feature is that all academic study, practice and research is deeply embedded in and responsive to the Hispanic sociocultural context and norms. The study of psychology in such an environment, therefore, requires no further adaptation or "translation" from one cultural context to another. Instructors and students alike work together within bounds familiar to both with respect to instructional styles and strategies, languages and student perspectives. Means and ends in training, therefore, remain consistently linked together in a matrix not evident and perhaps not even possible for minority students in traditional departments of psychology in the U.S. providing presumably similar training.

A major premise upon which the Caribbean Center's evolving structure and objectives are based anticipates that in due time a number of such graduate programs in psychology with focus upon culturally-specific and culturally-relevant training for different minority groups will be initiated and developed. The concept of such training centers offers the greatest potential for training as well as providing the most appropriate source of research.
participants among minority groups. Such training programs will also provide the most appropriate training for non-minority students whose goal it is to work with minority groups. The Caribbean Center, with its well-established program and its remarkable track record (more than 80% of heads of mental health clinics in Puerto Rico are Caribbean Center graduates), thus can well serve as a practicable and feasible model for training minority psychologists.

The aim of the Caribbean Center is to make the Puerto Rican experience readily available to traditional departments of psychology via collaborative arrangements with such institutions. Such collaborative arrangements will consist of faculty and student exchange for specific academic work, information exchange, collaborative cross-cultural research, and joint funding efforts where appropriate.

The Caribbean Center established the Institute for Scientific Research (ISR) in 1976 to stimulate and support faculty and student research and to foster collaborative research activities with outside investigators and institutions similarly interested in the study of Puerto Rican and other Hispanic sociocultural phenomena.

The ISR offers technical assistance to faculty and students within and outside the institution in the development of research designs, methodology, data collection procedures, and with statistical data analysis and interpretation. It provides assistance in the preparation of grant proposals and maintains active file information concerning procurement of available funds from granting agencies. The ISR serves as an information clearinghouse for sociodemographic and epidemiological data on the Puerto Rican population.

The Puerto Rican experience can establish a solid base upon which to build a dimension of psychological research which will enlarge, as it can, and
"internationalize", as it must, the scientific parameters of American psychology.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Educational Factors in Neuropsychological Assessment: Crosscultural Perspective

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Abstract

Research related to the influence of educational factors on neuropsychological assessment is reviewed. The performance of normal illiterate people on routine basic neuropsychological evaluation tests is presented; for all the tests considered (language, spatial, constructional, memory and praxic abilities) statistically significant differences are disclosed. Cross-cultural research related to differences in cognitive abilities in different cultural sets is analyzed. It is concluded that cognitive abilities usually measured in routine tests in neuropsychology represent highly trained abilities that can be wrongly taken for granted.

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Resumen

Se revisa la investigación relacionada con la incidencia de factores socioeducacionales en el diagnóstico neuropsicológico. Se presentan los resultados obtenidos por sujetos analfabetas en pruebas básicas utilizadas de rutina en la evaluación neuropsicológica: para todas las pruebas consideradas (lenguaje, memoria, habilidades espaciales, construccionales y práxicas), se encuentran diferencias estadísticamente significativas. Se analizan las habilidades cognoscitivas dentro del marco de la investigación transcultural. Se concluye que las habilidades cognoscitivas usualmente medidas en pruebas neuropsicológicas estandar, representan habilidades altamente entrenadas, que erróneamente pueden ser tomadas como habilidades naturales.

Introduction

Distinguishing the effects of brain damage from those resulting from the subject belonging to certain educational group is a central problem in neuropsychological evaluation. It has been shown that performance measures on psychological and neuropsychological tests can fall under the influence of what could be called external variables and internal variables (organic factors e.g., Warner et al., 1987).

An important correlation has been shown to exist between neuropsychological tests and intelligence measures on formal intelligence batteries such as the WAIS (Golstein, & Shelly, 1972; Reitan, 1956, 1985). Lecours et al. (1987, 1988) studied some relationships between brain damage and
schooling with regard to both aphasic alteration in language and unilateral neglect. The authors emphasize the need to consider educational factors in neuropsychological evaluation to avoid the risk of over or underestimating the frequency of aphasia and other neuropsychological syndromes arising from brain damage.

**Educational Level and Performance in Neuropsychological Tests**

Several studies have demonstrated a relationship between educational level and performance on various neuropsychological measures. Finlayson, Johnson and Reitan (1977) applied a series of neuropsychological tests to normal and brain damaged adults. Their results showed that educational level presents a significant effect in the performance of neuropsychological tasks, particularly in the normal population. Benton, Levin and Van Allen (1974) studied the influence of educational level on a geographical orientation task administered to patients with unilateral cerebral lesions. Educational background showed both an overall influence on performance level and an interaction with diagnostic category. The less educated patients with brain damage showed a larger difference from their controls than did patients with better education. It has been reported that right hemispatial neglect syndrome is more frequently found in low educational brain damage patients (Rosselli et al., 1985).

Cornelius and Caspi (1987) observed that educational level has a significant relationship with performance on verbal meaning tests, but is not systematically related to everyday problem-solving. Craik, Byrd and Swanson (1987) observed that differences in memory loss in aging are related to
socioeconomical status; low educational level subjects presented an earlier decline in memory abilities. Heaton, Grant and Matthews (1986) compared the performance in the Halstead-Reitan Neuropsychological Battery for three different educational levels (9, 13 and 17 years of schooling on average) and for three age ranges (<40, 40-59, >60 years); they found significant educational effects on all subtests; only some tests were related to age, particularly Psychomotor Speed, Conceptual Ability, Flexibility of Thinking, and Incidental Memory subtests. This relationship between educational level and neuropsychological performance has also been supported by Bornstein and Suga (1988).

Ostrosky et al. (1985, 1986) applied a neuropsychological diagnostic battery to 109 subjects from two different sociocultural levels in Mexico City. High sociocultural subjects performed better in all the sections of the battery than low sociocultural subjects. However, differences were particularly notable in some areas. Using a factorial analysis, they found that the items more sensitive to sociocultural level are those which involve the use of complex conceptual aspects of language, and the organization of motor sequences.

It has been proposed that brain organization of language can be different in literates and illiterates (Critchley, 1956; Matute, 1988). Lecours et al. (1988) administered an aphasia screening test, comprising naming, repetition, word-picture matching and sentence-picture matching tasks, to 188 unilateral stroke subjects. Subjects were either totally illiterate or they had received at least four years of education. Repetition and matching tasks showed no influence of the literacy factor. However, some degree of word-finding difficulty and a reduction in speech output, as well as a sizable production of phonemic paraphasias were observed more frequently in
the illiterate group. These findings suggest that cerebral representation of language is different in illiterates as it is in educated subjects. Matute (1988) analyzed aphasia in illiterates and concluded that the severity of aphasia is significantly less in illiterates than in literate control subjects. This would suggest that left hemispheric specialization for language is lesser in this group. This observation is supported by Lecours et al. (1988) in the sense that left dominance for language does not change with reading and writing acquisition; but asymmetry becomes more evident.

Neuropsychological Assessment of Illiterates

The research regarding cognitive functioning in illiterates might have important implications in our knowledge of cerebral organization and development of cognitive activity. Even though it is rare to find studies with completely illiterate populations, we should keep in mind that today about one third of the world population is illiterate, equivalent to more than one billion five hundred million people (Unicef, 1985). It was only a few centuries ago that reading and writing were dominated by the elite. The acquisition of reading and writing may have changed cognitive strategies. The study of illiteracy can help to explain the influence of learning variables in brain organization of cognitive activity.

Ardila and Rosselli (1988, in press) selected a set of basic tests used in routine neuropsychological evaluation and gave them to a sample of normal, completely illiterate subjects; their results were compared with those obtained by a sample of highly educated subjects. Two hundred normal right-hand subjects were divided into groups according
to three variables; 1) educational level (low: illiterates with no formal education and with illiterate parents; high: professionals -or university students- with professional parents), 2) age (16-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, and 56-65), and 3) sex (men and women). The groups were matched and a 2 x 5 x 2 design was obtained with ten subjects in each cell.

A battery comprising basic language, spatial, constructional, memory and praxic ability tasks used in neuropsychological routine evaluation was administered individually.

The results showed that all language subtests (commands comprehension, phonological discrimination, naming, repetition and verbal fluency) were sensitive to educational level. Phonological discrimination and naming of figures were also sensitive to age, although age interacted with educational level.

All visuo-spatial and constructional tasks (copying of figures, telling the time, recognition of superimposed figures, recognition of a map, and drawing a room plan) showed statistically significant differences between the two educational groups. The mistakes observed in figure copying refers to spatial disorganization and inadequate relationship among elements, omission and absence of tridimensionality. Differences were also found among age groups for the figure copyn test, recognizing a map, and drawing a room plan. Best performance was found in the younger groups but these differences interacted with educational level and differences were more evident among age groups of illiterates subjects. In figure copying and telling the time subtests, sex interacted with educational level; in the illiterate group, men consistently performed better than women; in the highly educated group there were no differences between men and women.

In memory subtests (digit retention, immediate memory for sentences, memory curve, logical
memory, delayed recall of words, sentences and paragraphs, visuo-spatial memory and sequential memory) all the subtests but immediate memory of sentences showed significant differences between educational groups. Age proved to be significant for digit retention, delayed memory of words, logical memory, delayed memory of paragraphs and sequential memory. Backward digit and memory curve, showed significant sex differences. Again, age and sex interacted with educational level.

All praxic ability subtests (buccofacial praxis, ideomotor and ideational praxis, finger altering movements, meaningless movements, cancellation test, coordinating movements with both hands, and motor impersistence) revealed statistically significant educational differences. Cancellation, hand coordinated movements and performance of buccofacial movement tests were sensitive to age. Only ideomotor praxis subtests were sensitive to sex. Age and sex interacted with educational level.

Cultural Factors in Cognitive Abilities

It is evident that literacy (or more exactly, training in some cognitive abilities) is reflected strongly in the performance of routine tasks used in neuropsychological evaluation. Some of these tasks are also used in intelligence batteries. Research has shown that education has very important implications in terms of perception, logical reasoning, remembering, and in formal operational thinking (Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition, 1983; Laurendeau-Bendanid, 1977).

Cross-cultural differences in perceptual abilities have been studied extensively (e.g. Brislin, 1983; Segall, 1986). Illiterate subjects display notable differences in tasks such as using tridimensionality in drawing, and in recognizing superimposed figures. It is important to note that the use of perspective to represent distances, has barely some five centuries
in the western history of painting. Recognizing schematized figures is an ability requiring training; an ability we take for granted. Modiano, Maldonado and Villasana (1986) showed in Mexican Indian children an average of error rate of 20% in identifying color paintings and photographs of everyday objects.

Hudson (1962) studied depth perception using pictures; it was reported that European children of approximately 12 years of age, perceived the pictures as tridimensional. This was not found with Bantu or Ghanian children. Nonliterate Bantu and European laborers responded to the picture as flat, not tridimensional. Deregowski (1980) has also highlighted the inability of African subjects to copy diagrams without rotating angles. Further, the difficulties Nigerian school children have in reproducing geometric patterns have been observed by Osuji (1982).

Berry (1971, 1979) proposed that hunters with specific ecological demands usually present good visual discrimination and spatial skills. For instance, the embedded figures test is better performed by cultural groups for whom hunting is important for survival. Berry emphasized that ecological demands and cultural practices are significantly related to the development of perceptual and cognitive skills. A good example of a specific culture-dependent cognitive skill was that reported by Gay and Cole (1967); when Kpelle farmers were contrasted with American working class subjects, the former were considerably more accurate in estimating the amount of rice in several bowls of different sizes containing different amounts of rice.

Memory abilities are cultural environment dependent. Bartlett (1932) proposed that illiterates more frequently use procedures of rote learning; literate people refer to more active information integration procedures. Cole, Frankel and Sharp (1971) did not find support for this point of view.
Comparing Liberian Kpelle children with American children, they found superior performance in the latter. Kpelle subjects according to Cole and Scribner (1974), on the other hand, recalled objects better than spoken words. Illiterate subjects tend to do better in visual memory tasks than in verbal ones (Ardila, Rosselli, and Rosas, in press). Klitch and Davidson (1983) found remembering visual experiences was better in aboriginal children than in rural white children.

Cole and Scribner (1974) observed that when memorizing information, literates and illiterates make use of their own groupings to structure the recall; for instance, high school subjects rely almost exclusively on taxonomic categories while illiterate bush farmers make little use of this principle. This would represent a basic reason for differences in performing memory tasks. Cole and Scribner argue that cultural differences in memorizing do not consist of the presence or absence of mnemonic techniques in general, but in the utilization of a specific technique — reorganization to-be-remembered material.

Conclusion

In this paper we have tried to emphasize that cognitive abilities as usually measured in psychological and neuropsychological tests are not "natural" abilities as we usually tend to think. On the contrary, they represent highly trained skills resulting from many years of learning. If we compare people with regard to cognitive abilities, those with many years of cognitive training in particular abilities, out-perform those without any formal training. This only means that cognitive abilities are learned. This should be a basic assumption in psychological and neuropsychological assessment, to avoid Type I errors of attributing abnormalities or brain pathology where we only have educational or learning differences.
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SHAME AND GUILT: PSYCHOPATHOLOGICAL AND CROSS-CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS

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Abstract

This paper reviews literature pertaining to two feelings that are very common but very little studied in psychopathology: shame and guilt. These concepts are reviewed according to psychoanalytical theory, including Erikson and Tomkin's theory of affect. The phenomenology of these feelings and the psychopathology that can arise from them are discussed. Finally, the distinctions which are made by anthropologists between cultures which emphasize shame versus those which emphasize guilt are presented. Emphasis is placed in the prevalence of shame in the psychogenesis of depression in Hispanic culture.
Resumen

Este artículo revisa la literatura a dos sentimientos muy comunes pero poco estudiados en psicopatología: vergüenza y culpa. Estos conceptos se revisan de acuerdo con la teoría psicoanalítica, incluyendo las teorías del afecto de Erikson y Tomkin. Se analiza la fenomenología de estos sentimientos y la psicopatología que puede surgir de ellos. Finalmente, se presentan la distinción propuesta por algunos antropólogos entre culturas que enfatizan la vergüenza y culturas que enfatizan la culpa. Se enfatiza la prevalencia de vergüenza en la cultura hispana como origen de la depresión.

Shame and guilt are familiar and commonly used words that have appeared in the literature of pathology since Genesis. They are frequently discussed topics in Theology, Philosophy and Law, but the feelings of shame and guilt, especially the former, have hardly received the full attention of clinical research. Most psychologists would agree that our understanding of these feelings is insufficient to explain certain types of experience and personalities.

Although there seems to be a large body of agreement regarding the concept of guilt, there is less clarity about the phenomena connected with shame. We consider that shame and guilt are in a sense antithetical, at opposite poles from each other. However, they often overlap and this is partly why the study of shame has been subsumed under, or neglected in, the study of guilt.

This paper is an attempt to present the major theoretical positions on this topic from the psychological and social points of view. The aim will be to discuss theories and personal experiences, emphasizing the importance of this topic in Hispanic culture and its relation to the
psychopathology of our population. Readers are encouraged to pursue more intensive study on this topic, to better understand themselves, their clients and their culture.

Concepts of Shame and Guilt

We encounter difficulties about the meaning of the term shame because it carries no clear or consistent meaning. Moreover, it is often coupled with guilt and the phrase "shame and guilt" is used as if it were one descriptive term. Shame differs from guilt, but frequently these two affects are confused and difficult to separate by patients in therapy.

In classical psychoanalytical theory, both shame and guilt have their genetic roots in the early stages of personality development. First to develop is the id, conceived largely as an innate set of impulses, instincts or drives. The ego emerges as the child develops the capacity to conceptually separate the self from others, to think and to cope with and act upon the environment (reality). The superego, popularly thought of as the conscience, develops as children internalize or accept as their own the standards and values of the parents and the culture. Unresolved conflicts between the ego and the superego are sources of psychopathology.

Piers (1971) presents an interesting elaboration of basic psychoanalytical theory and makes some distinctions between the dynamics of shame and guilt. He suggested that shame represents a tension between ego and ego ideal, rather than between the ego and superego. He distinguishes further in terms of differences in the kind of internalized norms violated and the kind of unconscious threat activated: unconscious guilt is aroused by impulses to transgress the internalized prohibition of punitive parents, and the unconscious threat is
mutilation (castration anxiety). Unconscious shame, on the other hand, is aroused by the failure to live up to the internalized ideals of loving parents, and the unconscious threat of abandonment. Thus, guilt accompanies transgression; shame is associated with failure. Benedict (1946) ascribed to a similar distinction. She contrasted guilt, a failure to live up to one's own picture of oneself (based on parental values), with shame, a reaction to criticism by other people.

Involved in the distinctions between guilt as response to standards that have been internalized and shame as response to criticism or ridicule by others are several assumptions. One, that shame is a more external experience than guilt, that it does not exist apart from the expressed scorn of other persons, if not in their actual presence. Two, that there is a basic separation between oneself and others; that others are related to oneself as audience.

Alexander (1938) made a similar distinction. Guilt, he believes, gives rise to the feeling "I am no good", in contrast to the feeling of shame "I am weak or inadequate". A sense of guilt arises from a feeling of wrongdoing, a sense of shame from a feeling of inferiority. Inferiority feelings in shame are rooted in a deeper conflict in the personality than the sense of wrongdoing found in guilt. Feelings of inferiority in this view are pre-social phenomena, whereas guilt feelings result from efforts for social adjustment.

Guilt feelings belong to a comparatively later stage of personality development than shame. Shame has much to do with body function and body performance and as such, is earlier to develop. Guilt, on the other hand, requires another object. Comparison with others and awareness of "inferiority" must occur before any guilt feelings can be developed.

Erikson (1963) in his ego development scheme also viewed the formation of shame as the conflict of
a previous stage followed by guilt. He sees the "danger point" for the formation of shame in the anal stage (second year of life). Shame, which Erikson links together with "doubt", is considered the specific obstacle in the task of first establishing what he terms "autonomy". This occurs prior to the genesis of guilt in the phallic stage with its Oedipal struggles. Shame is based on that particular form of anxiety that comes about when the original unit with the mother is first broken. Characteristically, this is when the child starts to walk away and to master the environment on its own. Erikson is, however, well aware that these basic conflicts and anxieties have genetic roots in even earlier (oral) phases of ego integration.

Although the distinctions of shame and guilt that Freud - Benedict - Alexander and Erikson made are still those most commonly accepted, there are some recent suggestions that take us beyond their points of view. These suggestions include distinctions between the content of the experience (what it is about which one feels shame or guilt) and the source of the disapproval (primarily oneself or primarily other persons); between the forbidding and the sanctioning and the sanctioning of goal-creating aspects of what Freud called superego. Distinctions need to be clarified between feelings of inferiority for not meeting standards set by the culture and feelings of inferiority in relation to values that are wider that these of a picture culture.

A new approach for the understanding of shame is seen in Tomkins' (1962) affect theory. In his theory, he basically posits that the affects comprise a biological system quite separate from the drives, and which may be the major motivational force in human development.

Tomkins postulated the existence of seven pairs of "innate affects" as operating from birth. Three of these innate affects are positive (interest-excitement, enjoyment-joy, surprise-startle) and the
Of the remaining four states, the rest are categorized as negative (distress-anguish, anger-rage, fear-terror and shame-humiliation).

While studying shame, Tomking addressed guilt as a similar emotion that, like shame, monitors and limits social behavior. He agrees with the other authors mentioned that guilt requires a series of cognitions only possible quite later in development. These feelings develop considerably later than the period in which innate shame develops and, with it, the elements from which adult shame is assembled.

Phenomenology of Shame and Guilt

The physical expression of shame is relatively easy to describe since one can see physical manifestations in the face and body movements of the person experiencing shame. Darwin considered shame to be a common feeling of humans and animals. However, one of the most mysterious physical attributes of shame, blushing is considered by him as an emotion that does not occur among non-humans. While each of us has experienced shame at some time, the psychological characteristics of shame...are difficult to ascribe.

Studies of the phenomenology of shame (Tomkins, 1962; Lewis, 1971; Lynd, 1961) have some common themes. Shame involves the self in a very unusual and particular way. There is a heightening of awareness in the shame experience that results in unusual and distinct self-perceptions. In shame, our whole consciousness is suddenly and for a moment filled with the self. The self is seen as small, helpless, frozen, emotionally hurt. At the same time, the person feels at a loss for words and actions. It is as though something we were hiding from everyone is suddenly under a burning light in public view (Izard, 1971). Think of how we become paralyzed and speechless in situations of embarrassment and later on realize the words or
actions that we would have liked to say or perform at that moment.

Izard (1971) constructed a profile of emotions in a "shyness situation" which provides support for our theoretical notions about shame and shame dynamics. Interestingly enough, his study reported that the profile of shame is accompanied closely by strong feelings of fear. He found that the emotion of shame is closely related to the core of the personality, and dynamically related to the emotion of fear (Izard, 1971). It is possible to hypothesize, hence, that shame serves as a reaction for covering or withdrawing the exposed self before more serious threats elicit the threatening emotion of fear. The experience of shame is itself isolating, alienating and incommunicable (Lynd, 1958).

In describing the phenomenology or subjective experience of guilt, one can relate it to the results from wrongdoing against the self. In this experience of guilt, the self is doing the judging. The experience is self-contained and self-propelled. Guilt is about something specific for which the self is critical, in contrast to shame, where criticisms or disapproval comes from others.

The behavior that evokes guilt violates a moral, ethical or religious code. Usually, people feel guilty when they become aware that they have broken a rule and violated their own standards or beliefs. Therefore, since guilt is associated with morality, ethics and religion, the causes of guilt vary from individual to individual and from one culture to another.

Guilt, like shame, has a similar dynamic with regard to the fear that usually precedes this phenomenon. However, guilt is more likely to arise when the individual specifies guilt for the self, exhibited in either obsessive or paranoid ideation.
Psychopathology of Shame and Guilt

There is a connection between feelings of shame and guilt and the symptoms they elicit. Shame has much to do with body functions and, as mentioned, appears quite early in life. One possible source of shame can be traced to early experiences with strangers. Tomkins (1963) hypothesizes that as soon as the infant learns to differentiate the face of the mother from the face of the stranger (at 4th month of life), the infant is vulnerable to shame.

People have experiences of shame throughout their lives. Multiple stimuli evoke shame. Who has not experienced disappointment, embarrassment, mortification, humiliation or dishonor? Anxieties connected with shame are likely to be diffuse and nonspecific, but one can always trace them to the state of self. When shame reaches such a degree that it appears as conscious anxiety, it implies a severe unconscious threat to the ego. Characteristically, shame is a painful affect and its characteristic defenses are denial, repression and self-affirmation.

The mechanism of denial occurs in shame when the individual turns away from the stimulus situation, postponing until later the likelihood of dealing effectively with the experience. Repression, on the contrary, creates more harm to the individual by preventing a working through of the situation at a more mature level. This defense can lead the individual to a sense of inadequacy and can interfere with self-identity (Lewis, 1971). The third ego defense, affirmation of the self, is a compensatory maneuver that can derive positive results and lead to personality growth.

According to Lewis (1971), the most radical ego defense against shame is the affective disorder of depression. In her theory, Lewis defends the notion that depression results from "undischarged shame".
When a person experiences intense shame or humiliation frequently and is incapable of responding effectively with the lost adaptable defense mechanisms (denial, self-affirmation), it is likely that the individual experiences distress, inner-directed hostility, fear and guilt, the emotional components of depression (Izard, 1972). Although there are external causes or precipitating events for depression, we see typically signs of damaged self and individual feelings that one is unworthy, incapable and inadequate. In depression, as in shame, fault is generally described as personal and self-related, resulting typically in self-blame.

The role of guilt in psychopathology has rarely been the subject of empirical study. A major reason for this may be that some theories of psychopathology do not treat guilt as separate and distinct motivational value. For Freud (1930), guilt is said to be a type of anxiety which is "moral or conscious anxiety". Other authors, i.e. Mandler (1972), do not differentiate anxiety and guilt as clearly. Lewis (1971) declares that while shame often plays and important part in depression, guilt can lead to obsessive-compulsive neurosis and paranoia. She also recognizes the lack of empirical research on the role of guilt in psychopathology, but defends the view that efforts in differentiating shame and guilt should help in clarifying the formation of neurotic symptoms.

The characteristic defenses against guilt result in the dissipation of painful cognitive effects pertaining to thoughts about the events in question. One has to bear in mind that guilt is considered a result of a moral transgression.

On the cognitive level, shame tends to evoke repression of ideas and so has relatively little cognitive content. Guilt tends to evoke loss of affect, leaving quite extensive cognitive content (Lewis, 1971). Thus, guilt is connected with defense mechanisms of isolation of affect and rationalization.
and, if a thought disorder were to develop, it would appear in the form of obsessions and paranoia.

This author's clinical experience with Hispanic groups has suggested an overwhelming presence of feelings of shame rather than of guilt. The psychopathology that this author has found most frequently in this population has been depression. The complaints of most of this author's patients have not been related to punishment for sinful deeds but to self-related issues accompanied by low self-esteem and a sense of inadequacy. This author has observed, as has Lewis (1971), that women are more prone to shame/depression than men.

There have been interesting findings on shame from cross-cultural research (Izard, 1971). However, there is a great deal of cultural difference in the experiencing and expression of shame remaining to be investigated.

This author subscribes to Nathanson's (1987) view of dividing the population of depressed patients into those whose complaints are primarily of shame and those whose complaints are primarily of guilt. Depressed patients with a strong component of shame afflictively tend to present hysterical features in their personality make-up. This can be attributed to a common use of denial and repression in both groups, and represents a hypothesis in need of further elaboration and research.

**Shame and Guilt Cultures**

Shame and guilt are both important cultural mechanisms of socialization of the individual. Shame is used to develop conformity to group norms. The greater the sense of conforming and belonging is, the more vulnerable the individual is to the censure of the group and to experiencing shame. Social conformity achieved through guilt is essentially a consequence of identification.
Anthropological studies have led to an important distinction between cultures that rely heavily on shame and those that rely heavily on guilt. Benedict (1946) reports that a society that inculcates absolute standards of morality and reliance on development of conscience is by definition a guilt culture. In a culture where shame is a major sanction, people are embarrassed about acts which they are expected to feel guilty about. Analyzing a hypothetical, anthropological continuum of cultures of shame and cultures of guilt, one can posit at one end the Japanese cultures and at the other end the Protestant cultures of Northern Europe.

For the Japanese, shame is the route to virtue (Benedict, 1946) and when there is an experience of a profound and inescapable feeling of shame they can resort to the commission of suicide. On the other hand, in a guilt culture, a person's response to transgression of an internalized norm results in a guilty conscience. Psychotherapists are well aware that patients of such cultures will have great trouble dealing with their guilt feelings.

Anthropologists base this distinction on the culture's emphasis on external and internal sanctions. As represented by Mead (1956), sanction is a "mechanism by which conformity is obtained, by which desired behavior is induced and undesired behavior prevented". If the individual internalizes the standards that will be obeyed in the absence of force exerted from the outside, a person is obeying internal sanctions. On the other hand, the individual who has not internalized the culture's standards, but responds only to forces set by others, is said to be responding to external sanctions. However, Piers and Singer (1971), have concluded that excessive reliance on the internal-external criterion leads to a number of confusions in our attempts to use shame and guilt as a basis for classifying cultural sanctions.
This author's position is against the emphasis on the external side of shame and of the internal side of guilt. Implicitly, they emphasize the notion of superiority of the cultures of guilt over cultures of shame, with political overtones. This author believes that the classification of cultures according to shame and guilt should not be dismissed, but that the emphasis should be refocused to a wider criteria. In other cultures, there are "inner" forms of shame paralleling almost exactly the forms of guilt.
References


Cognitive Distortion in a Sample of Puerto Rican Children With Suicidal Tendencies

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Abstract

This study explores the role of cognitive distortion in the death concepts of suicidal and nonsuicidal Puerto Rican children. Contrary to the Piagetian schema, Puerto Rican children were found to have an adult-like, formal concept of death. It is theorized that this may be due to cultural differences in death awareness and exposure rather than age of onset of formal operational thought. Suicidal children were found to anticipate violent, aggressive deaths to a greater extent than nonsuicidal children, and held discrepant views on personal and impersonal death constructs. None of the children who participated in the study mentioned suicide as possible cause of personal or impersonal death.
Resumen

Este estudio explora el papel de la distorsión cognoscitiva en los conceptos de muerte en niños puertorriqueños con y sin tendencias suicidas. Al contrario del esquema de Piaget, los niños puertorriqueños mostraron un concepto formal de muerte semejante al del adulto. Se propone que esto puede deberse más a las diferencias culturales en el conocimiento y exposición a la muerte que a la edad de inicio de la etapa del pensamiento formal. Se encontró que los niños con tendencias suicidas con mayor frecuencia anticipaban muertes violentas y agresivas, y mantenían puntos de vista discrepantes acerca de constructos de muerte personales y ajenas. Ninguno de los niños que participó en el estudio mencionó el suicidio como posible causa de muerte personal o ajena.

Suicide is a human behavior which has engendered a great deal of controversial literature through the centuries in such areas as: philosophy, theology, sociology, anthropology and psychology (Pretzel, 1972). Self-inflicted death in children constitutes one of the modes of self-destructive behavior which is of great complexity (Pfeffer, 1981), and has created much debate (Spitz and Wolf 1946). The investigation of childhood suicidal behavior presents various theoretical and methodological difficulties to investigators who desire to obtain data about its underlying causes (Pfeffer 1981).

Studies and observations conducted by authors such as Gesell and Ilg (1946), and Schilder and Wechsler (1934) suggest that the ideas and beliefs which children hold about death are the result of a
limited and unrealistic analysis of the phenomenon. This position is congruent with the developmental theories of Piaget (1952), which posit the necessity of passing through different qualitative cycles in the thought process before understanding abstract concepts. With the attainment of adolescence, "formal operations" are said to develop; from that time forward, the adolescent analyzes the world with adult logic. "Concrete operations" dominate the childhood cognitive stages before the individual overcomes difficulties in understanding abstract concepts such as life and death.

A consensus of findings from various studies exists, focusing on variations of life and death by the chronological age of the subject (Koocher, 1974; Nagy, 1959). During the ages of 1 to 3 years, death signifies "going away". In this stage of development, death is visualized as existence under other conditions. In the interval between 5 and 9 years, death is personified. The child imagines it as an antity or external force which can be tricked or escaped. By 10 years of age, the child begins to analyze death as a natural process; an irreversible disintegration of the body. When children reach this conclusion, their sense of death is at one with that of adults.

Studies conducted with high risk populations of children exhibiting self-destructive behavior indicate that these subjects have numerous thoughts related to death and to suicide (Puig-Antich, Blau, Marx, Greenhill and Chambers, 1978). McIntire, Angle and Struempler (1972), Orbach and Glaubman (1979), Schilder and Wechsler (1934), and Zeligs (1974) indicate that children who present with suicidal ideation or behaviors, have a strong tendency to distort the concept of death into a different form, unlike their peers of the same age.

Koocher (1974) hypothesizes that if a distortion in the concept of death exists at an early age, it is a product of the immature thought processes of the
child. Changes in the logic about the concept of death ought therefore to negatively correlate with the age of the subject. Rochlin (1967) considers that a disbelief in the finality of death is a strong defensive reaction against the fear which that idea engenders.

Pfeffer, Conte, Plutchik and Jerret (1979), and Orbach and Glaubman (1979) found among some children of high suicidal risk during the latency stage, that they visualize death as an agreeable and reversible event. Similar findings were reported by McIntire, et al (1972) for adolescents analyzing a group of subjects from the ages of 13 to 16 from Catholic, Jewish and Protestant backgrounds. They found that the majority of the subjects displaying high self-destructive tendencies believed that suicide was not an event that had the power to terminate their lives.

Orbach and Glaubman (1978) indicate that the child who contemplates suicide must achieve resolution through accepting the terror and irreversibility of death or toleration of the difficulties of life. A possible solution to this dilemma consists in developing a distorted cognitive state which facilitates the self-destructive act. This change in belief can be obtained by imagining physical and emotional satisfactions, or by attributing the qualities of life to death. These authors conducted a study in 1978 with children between the ages of 10 to 12 using normal, aggressive and high risk suicidal populations. They hypothesized that: (1) when thoughts which lead to self-destructive behavior exist they produce psychological defenses, generating cognitive alterations and distorting the significance of death; (2) the emotional pressure of the child who experiments with suicidal wishes may affect the normal mental process, generating a kind of "magical thinking". They concluded that high risk
children in their study (1) mention the act of suicide as a personal cause of death more frequently than the other two groups; (2) attribute the qualities of life to death; (3) believe firmly in the possibility of the return to life after death; (4) make no mention of the physical deterioration of the body; and (5) have a vision of an impersonal death more real than their own demise. In a later investigation by Orbach and Glaubman (1979), high risk children did not demonstrate cognitive alterations about ideas concerning life. The distortions surrounding death, on the other hand, exist independently of the intellectual quotient (I.Q.) of the child. The authors conclude that distortion of the death concept is independent of general cognitive functioning, and that ideas concerning life and death are regulated by independent mechanisms of defense (McIntire, and Struempler, 1972).

Personal and impersonal concepts of death may be different. Koocher (1974), for his parts, suggests that further systematic studies be carried out with highrisk populations to address these themes. Additional research is needed to clarify personal and impersonal ideas of death and their impact on childhood suicidal ideation.

Schilder and Wechsler (1934) opined that distorted beliefs about dying in children could function as strong motivating force in suicidal intention. Rochlin (1967) considers that irrational ideas about death are a reflection of a defensive process. The fear of death selectively affects the cognitive functioning of the child. This change in cognitive functioning generates irrational distortions and beliefs about self-destructive behavior, and augments the suicidal tendencies of the subject.

Ackerly (1967), and Mattson, Hawkins, and Seese (1969), indicate that one of the child's motives in committing suicide is the desire to reunite with a lost or dead parent or friend. Death provides, in this case, an alternative which eliminates the feelings of
isolation that the child experiences. Ackerly (1967), and Orback and Glaubman (1979), observe, on the other hand, that children at high suicidal risk believe that death is a reversible process. These children also create the fantasy that death will provide them with a pleasant, sheltered and peaceful environment. This concept permits them to obtain, through imagination, the narcissistic satisfactions denied them in reality. The view of death as a pleasant experience functions as a motive for self-destructive action; in that part of the population which is experiencing psychopathology or stress. Orbach and Glaubman (1979) suggest that a meticulous study of the child's concept of death should be the first step in a psychotherapeutic intervention with children with suicidal tendencies.

Subjects

The present study was designed to test the notion of cognitive distortion in the personal and impersonal concepts of death in suicidal Puerto Rican children. A total of 17 children participate in the present study. Of these, 10 were between the ages of 7 and 10 and had threatened or intended to commit suicide. These children were receiving medical, psychological or psychiatric services due to their self-destructive behavior. None of these children had a psychological or psychiatric diagnosis prior to the presentation of suicidal behavior. The control group was composed of 7 participants. They were between the ages of 7 and 10 and had never threatened or intended to commit suicide. None of them had a previous psychological or psychiatrist history. These children were brothers or sisters of an individual, of any age, who had intended or threatened to commit suicide in the past.
Procedure

The clinical subjects were drawn from patients who received or were receiving treatment from the clinic for Children and Adolescents of the University Hospital of Puerto Rico; and from The Community Mental Health Clinic from the Caribbean Center for Advanced Studies in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Assessment Instruments and Measure

The "Questionnaire About Death" (Koocher, 1974) and its modifications by Orback and Glaubman (1978) was administered to both the clinical and control children. The approximate administration time of the test was 6 minutes.

Results

Table I represents the percentage of responses offered by the clinical and control children to the items of the "Death Questionnaire" (Koocher, 1974).
Table I

Summary Distribution of % Responses to Koocher's (1974) Concepts of Death Scales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of Death</th>
<th>Clinical Impersonal Children</th>
<th>Control Impersonal</th>
<th>Children Personal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natural Events</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Destruction</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggression/Violence</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequences of Death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burial</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cessation of Life</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deterioration</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuation of Activities</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return to Life</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54
To the question "How do you think you will die", 20% of the clinical group and 71% of the control group indicated that they thought that they will die of natural causes. On the other hand, 50% of the clinical group and 29% of the control group mentioned that they believed their death could be the result of a violent act. It should be noted that there was no significant difference in response percentages between the groups in regard to their concepts of impersonal death. Interestingly, none of the children who participated in the study offered suicide as an explanation for how death occurs.

Discussion

An analysis of the present study yields findings which corroborate the hypothesis that potentially suicidal children display a greater tendency toward distortion of their personal concepts about death than children who have no suicidal tendencies. To the question "How do you think you will die", 20% of the clinical group and 71% of the control group offered answers which could be classified as natural causes. Significantly, 50% of the experimental group and 29% of the control group visualized their death as a result of an aggressive and/or a violent act. This study's premise regarding cognitive distortion for personal death concepts in high-risk children was supported.

In addition, it was found that contrary to studies by Orbach and Glaubman (1978), that none of the children composing the clinical group mentioned suicide as a possible cause of death. Self-destructive behavior was not chosen a response to the test stimuli presented.

Overall, the recent study found that a high percentage of the clinical and control group children considered death in the personal as well as
impersonal spheres to be irreversible. In reference to the questions "What happens to things when you die" and "What happens to things when they die" both groups responded with answers associated with natural death processes: burial, the end of life and deterioration of the body. Unlike their control counterparts, suicidal children viewed their death to be a consequence of external events happening to them, rather than as a consequence of self-induced activity. The results of this study are not congruent with Piaget's (1952) stages of cognitive development. Piaget postulated that before adolescence formal operations cannot develop. In the concrete operational stage experienced by the study's subjects, children were not expected to possess a realistic perception of death. This position supports the findings of Koocher (1974) and Nagy (1959) that there exists a relationship between the concept of death and the chronological age of the subject. It is only after the child reaches 10 years of age that perception of death as an irreversible disintegration of the body is realized. The idea that death is a reversible phenomenon was observed by Pfeffer, Conte, Plutchik and Jerret (1979), and Orback and Glaubman (1979), when they analyzed the beliefs held by potentially suicidal children.

The results of this study suggest that there exists a tendency in Puerto Rican children to acquire an adult-like concept of death at an earlier age than is suggested in some literature.

This phenomenon could reflect the fact that Puerto Rican children have closer contact with the processes of illness, death and burial in early life than children of other societies (Steward, 1972). Kubler-Ross (1969) considered the possibility of this occurrence when she mentioned that the child who has the opportunity to experience different stages of death can acquire a more realistic and complete vision of the end of existence earlier in their life.
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Social and Cognitive Reasoning Among Cubans: A Historical Perspective

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Abstract

The intragroup variability of social and cognitive reasoning was tested among four groups of Cubans, according to their ages (20-29 and 30-50) and their dates of migration (Pre-and Post-1980). Young native Cuban-Americans, representing the children of early arrivals, were included as one of the four cohorts. The instrument used in this study was the Defining Issue Test, which is based on Kohlberg's Paradigm of Moral Development. Eighty college students volunteered to participated, but only 72 whose protocols were valid were used in the data analysis. A three-way analysis of variance (age by acculturation by moral reasoning) indicated that the main effect of acculturation and age was not significant; however, the level of moral reasoning was significant (F=252.77, df=136, p<.001). The interaction of moral reasoning by
age by acculturation was also significant (F= 5.24, df=136, p<.005). These results indicate a market preference for the Conventional Level of Moral Reasoning, reflecting the lineal and traditional parental values typical of Cuban families. The young Post-1980 Cubans, the only cohort who was born and raised in a setting that valued the social power structure over the family unit, showed extreme adherence to issues regarding law and order, at the expense of the issues postulated by the Post-Conventional Level of Moral Reasoning.

Resumen

Se estudió el razonamiento social y cognoscitivo en cuatro grupos de cubanos, divididos según su edad (20-29 y 30-50 años) y su fecha de migración (antes y después de 1980). Se incluyeron los cubanos-americanos hijos de los primeros inmigrantes como uno de los grupos. Se aplicó el Defining Issue Test basado en el Paradigma de Desarrollo Moral de Kohlberg. Participaron 80 estudiantes voluntarios, pero sólo se analizaron 72 cuestionarios. Un análisis de varianza de tres factores (edad, aculturación y razonamiento moral) mostró que los efectos principales para las variables edad y aculturación, no fueron significativos; sin embargo, el efecto del razonamiento moral fue significativo. (F=252.77; df.=136; p<.001). La interacción entre las tres variables fue también significativa (F=5.24; df.=136; p<.005). Estos resultados indican una marcada preferencia por el nivel convencional de razonamiento moral, que refleja los valores tradicionales de los padres, típicos de las familias cubanas. Los jóvenes cubanos llegados después de 1980, el único grupo nacido y criado en un ambiente que valora la estructura de poder social por encima de la unidad familiar, mostró una
This study sought to examine the cultural influences on the social and intelectual reasoning of the Cubans who migrated to the United States over the past quarter of the century, as well as on the first generation of native Cuban-Americans.

In the field of psychology, social and intelectual reasoning has been widely researched by Lawrence Kohlberg ('1963', 1964, 1966, 1969a, 1966b, 1970, 1971a, 1971b, and 1976) who was guided by a cognitive developmental perspective having its historical roots in the theories of Baldwin (1906), Dewey (1909), and Piaget (1932). The Kohlbergian paradigm is formally called the "Cognitive Developmental Theory of Moral Development" (Kohlberg, 1971a).

The paradigm proposes that only the liberal democracy of the West (Kohlberg, 1978) fosters an environmental milieu adequate to promote and develop higher stages of moral reasoning. The cross-cultural and geopolitical variations studied by Garbarino and Brofenbrenner (1976) also emphasize the role of the basic socio-psychological ecology of an individual, his family, and his community on the subsequent moral reasoning.

Considering that cultural relativism plays a role in moral reasoning, it is important to identify the similarities and differences within the Cuban migration. For instance, Fagan, Brody and O'Leary (1968) indicated that the early waves of Cubans were over-represented by whites, females, and older middle and lower middle class, whereas the last wave (Lasaga, 1980) over-represented the working class.
Szapocnik (1981) has also indicated that the pre-1980 Cuban immigrants were traditionally lineal and had considerable alliance to family and authority; however, the post-1980 immigrants tend to prefer collateral or peer-oriented relations. Moreover the young generation of post-1980 Cubans had been exposed to the educational system representing the values of the socio-economic structure prevalent in Cuba, while the young native Cuban-Americans who were born and raised in a bicultural community are exposed to a complex cognitive experience. This can be a source of pride, but also a source of frustration and friction as the result of conflicting values. These differences suggest that the moral reasoning of the Cubans could have been influenced by the cultural environment that can be traced over a quarter of a century, in a historical continuum. This study explored the intragroup variability of moral reasoning among Cubans according to their migration dates and birth places as they relate to different patterns of acculturation.

Method

The statistical design used to test the influence of acculturation among Cubans was a three-factor mixed design with repeated measure on the factor of moral reasoning. The first between-participant variable was age, corresponding to whether the participant was young (20 to 29 years of age) or middle age (30 to 50 years of age). The second between-participant variable was acculturation, corresponding to whether the participants were born in the United States, or in Cuba and migrated to the United States before or after 1980. The within-participant factor represented the three levels of moral reasoning. Eighty participants volunteered to take part in the study. Seventy-two participants, whose protocols
were valid were employed in the data analysis. All of them were students enrolled in local colleges and universities. Moral reasoning was operationalized using the Defining Issue Test (D.I.T.) developed by Rest (1976, 1979a, 1979b) at the University of Minnesota. The D.I.T. is based on Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development.

**Results**

The results were analyzed by a three-way analysis of variance (age by acculturation and by moral reasoning).

The main effect of acculturation and age was not significant; however, the level of moral reasoning was significant ($F=252.77$, df=136, $p < .001$).

The interaction of moral reasoning by acculturation, and acculturation by age was not significant, but the age and the level of moral reasoning came out to be significant; moreover, the second order interaction of moral reasoning by age by acculturation was also significant ($F=5.24$, df=136, $p < .05$). These results are shown in Table I.

The results of this study indicate that the majority of the participants are Conventional reasoners, while just a few are post-Conventional reasoners, and none of them are pre-Conventional reasoners. The first order interaction of moral reasoning by age was significant, meaning that the participants in each age, level group, the young, and the middle aged, have different trends of performance over the three levels of moral reasoning. This significant interaction indicates that the increase or decrease in mean performance across the three levels varies according to the age of the participant. This interaction is shown in figure 1.

The second order interaction of age by
acculturation across the three levels of moral reasoning is shown in figure II.

Discussion

The preference for Conventional reasoning among Cubans seems to reflect the attachment to the traditional parental values, which coincides with Hoffman studies (1976, 1977, 1984) on the internalization of family values. The internalization theory indicates that the primary unit influences the interpretation and acquisition of the child belief system. In the Cuban family, children are loved and protected during the first years of their lives; however, as they grow older they are demanded to show deference and respect to authority figures. This respect is shown to the nuclear and extended family. The process only allows minimal levels of discrepancy and tension during the formative years, which leads to a high degree of loyalty and duty characteristics of the Conventional reasoner. The sense of loyalty embedded in the family is also attributed to the wide network of structures that comprise the community at large. In other words, the sense of interpersonal cooperation shared with the family during the formative years is extended to the social system that in turn protects the family unit.
Table I

Use of Multiple Comparison to Investigate a Significant Main Effect Among the Level of Moral Reasoning

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\[ \chi^2 = 3, \quad c = 16.95, \quad df = 136 \]

*p < .01
Figure 1

First Order Interaction Between Moral Reasoning and Age

Levels of Moral Reasoning

- Young Participants
- Middle Age Participants
Figure 2

Second Order Interaction of Moral Reasoning by Age, by Acculturation

Young N.C.A.
Young Post 1980 C.A.I.
Middle-Age Pre 1980 C.A.I.
Middle-Age Post 1980 C.A.I.
The findings of this study also concur with previous research by Colby and Kohlberg (1984), indicating that moral reasoning continues to increase beyond adolescence and young adulthood, reaching its highest plateau during the mature years. However, it is important to note that the younger cohort that scored lower than their middle-age counterpart, also had a lower educational level.

This suggests that the progression of the developmental track is also the product of the stimulating environment found in programs of higher, education.

The effect of the psycho-social milieu could also be associated with the total adherence to the issues of law and order endorsed by the young post-1980 Cuban-Americans, which resulted in an extremely low endorsement of post-Conventional items. The pattern of responses of this group clearly departed from the pattern of the three other groups, both young and middle aged. The fact that this group was the only one acculturated since birth under a non-pluralistic system, in which total adherence to the power structure replaces the values of the primary unit, appears to confirm Kohlberg's claim that such type of societies do not foster higher stages of moral reasoning.
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The Immigrant Cuban Woman in Dade County:
Major Psychological Stressors and Implications of Acculturation and Assimilation

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Abstract

This is a study of the immigrant Cuban woman living in Dade County. Its purpose is to compile facts about the Cuban woman exile in Miami who arrived in the United States from 1959 to the present. The age bracket of the population in question is between the ages of 18 to 60. This specific group experienced the process of the Cuban Revolution during a long or short period of time, left their roots, and came to a culture which for the most part was alien to them. The process of acculturation and assimilation brought about cultural, economic and religious issues and conflicts placing high levels of psychological stress on the individual. Sometimes there has been limited or no support to help them deal with the adjustment.
Resumen

Este artículo presenta un estudio sobre las mujeres cubanas inmigrantes, residentes en el Condado de Dade. Se recogieron algunos datos sobre las mujeres cubanas en el exilio de Miami, que llegaron a Estados Unidos entre 1959 y 1987. El rango de edad de esta población fue de 18 a 60 años. Este grupo vivió el proceso de la revolución cubana durante algún lapso de tiempo, dejó sus raíces, y vino a una cultura extraña. El proceso de aculturación y asimilación trajo conflictos culturales, económicos y religiosos desarrollando niveles altos de ansiedad en este grupo de mujeres.

Hispanics are placed in a group as one ethnic category. In reality, however, the group labelled Hispanics contains many subgroups, e.g., Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Cubans, etc., each of which has different characteristics. The differences across groups are striking. Statistical analyses of all Hispanics as a single group can produce little useful information—the groups are too diverse and hence the data too heterogenous. It is important to separate these models by ethnic subpopulations.

Cuban immigrants differ from other groups within the Hispanic population in that they are closer to the total United States population means on income, birth, rate, labor force and other areas.

Moving from one social system to another requires that the refugee be socialized into a new set of groups and norms. Entry into a new economic system is often accompanied by considerable downward mobility. Having little choice, refugees are pressed to accept jobs at a lower status level than those they had been trained for. Downward mobility produces frustration and slows down other aspects
of the adjustment process. This is a form of deprivation from which the refugee suffers.

Confusion, ambivalence and emotional stress are created in trying to reconcile the differences between the woman's role in society and her search for personal satisfaction and assertiveness. In the case of the Cuban woman, these stressors are compounded by the process of uprooting and acculturation.

This paper presents the hypothesis that there are a series of psychological stressors intrinsic to the Cuban woman's experience as a result of the process of acculturation. The author has identified these stressors as:

1. Acculturation differences
2. Responsibility for the family unit
3. Responsibility for contributing to the family income
4. Pressures to succeed in the dual role of mother and career worker
5. Diminished support system
6. Sex role conflict
7. Multiple losses
8. Religious conflict in the areas of birth control and divorce
9. Decline in self-esteem and self-worth
10. Perception on aging and the future

The situation can be summarized in numbers and demographic descriptions by using data from the 1970 and 1980 U.S. Census and studies conducted by the Spanish Family Guidance Center, Florida International University, and the University of Miami.

The term psychological stressor will be used according to the definition given by Kaplan, Freedman, and Sadock (1980): "A significant factor that contributes to develop or precipitate a psychiatric condition. Among the examples, there
are such as matrimony, death of spouse, illness, employment problems, relocation of living quarters and natural disasters" (p. 3351).

Schutz (1964) also referred to the stress that results from the stranger's lack of knowledge of the implicit structure of the society of the rules of role behavior. He described the foreigner as lost "in a labyrinth in which he has lost all sense of his bearing and lacks adequate matter of course recipes for actions" (p. 37).

Acculturation Differences

The acculturational patterns of Cuban immigrants have been studied extensively at the Spanish Family Guidance Center in Miami (Szapocznick, Scopetta, Kurtines & Aranalde, 1978B; Szapocnik, Scopetta & Tillman, 1979; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; Szapocnik, Santiesteban, Kurtines, Perez-Vidal & Hervis, 1980).

Results substantiated several characteristics of the acculturation process. First, acculturation progresses in direct proportion to the length of time of the individual's exposure to the host culture. Second, acculturation rates are correlated to the person's age. In other words, the earlier in life the person is exposed to the host culture, the greater the speed at which the acculturation rates differ in according to sex, with Cuban males acculturating more rapidly than their female counterparts. Fourth, there is behavioral acculturation and value acculturation. The first is more overt, while the latter is less so, involving the adoption of a new value orientation, that of the host culture.

Scopetta and Alegre (1975) claimed that more rapid acculturation occurs in the youngsters than in their parents. Therefore the acculturation difference intensifies the intergeneration gap.

Acculturation patterns of youngsters were studied by Szapocznik, Kurtines and Fernandez.
In the process of giving up their roots, there is rejection of the parents and the culture of origin. This creates family and intrapersonal identity conflicts.

The adolescent children of Hispanic immigrant families have the difficulty of adapting to the host culture's values as well as adolescent culture values. Therefore the problems encountered by mothers in dealing with their adolescent children are compounded in the case of the Cuban mother.

In Latin cultures, as a general rule the responsibility for the preservation of the family unit falls on the mother (Padilla & Ruiz, 1973). Cubans are no exception. Therefore when the mother experiences a high level of stress as result of migration and changes in the mother's role within the family, disruptive family patterns will most likely emerge. It is also true that as Cuban families become disrupted, Cuban mothers are likely to experience stress.

Child rearing patterns among Cuban families are geared toward protection of the female until marriage. There are still some families today who follow the traditional practice of the chaperone during engagement (Bernal & Flores-Ortiz, 1982). A chaperone is usually a parent or older relative who accompanies the unmarried couple on a date.

The young woman may act out in the form of rebellion. This may be an indication of value conflict between the older and younger generations. Because adhering to new patterns of conduct means to cut off the culture of origin, the family may hold on tenaciously to support their Cuban identity even though these patterns are considered maladaptive by the host culture.

Some families hold onto their ethnic identity and become clannish or prejudiced as a response to a perceived threat to their integrity. "They use ethnic identification as a pull for family loyalty" (Goldrick, Pearce & Giordano, 1982, p. 16).
Cuban traditions have promoted considerable conflicts between Cuban-American parents and children, but these customs are changing. Although chaperones are still part of the social scene for a majority of younger teenagers, many parents now allow older teenagers and young adults to go on dates alone. Going out in groups and double dating are strongly encouraged. However, unmarried females are still expected to remain at home until marriage, even when they work and can afford to move to a house or apartment.

There are double standards for males and females, and fostering of dependency for women versus independence for men. Dorschner (1977) concluded that a higher percentage of Cuban-American female college students attend classes in or near their hometown than their male counterparts.

This finding might partially explain the results of the U.S. Census (1980), cited in Perez, (1984), Cubans at 78% have the highest percentage of all persons under 18 living with two parents, followed by total U.S. population (74.8%), other Spanish (72.0%), and Puerto Ricans (50.9%).

According to Llanes (1982), of the Cuban-Americans' achievements, one of the most surprising is the accomplishment made at the University of Miami. During 1963 to 1968, Cuban-American students consistently scored higher grades than any other group, including American-born whites of European extraction. (The survey was discontinued in 1968). These are dedicated, striving people with high goals. Education has traditionally been important to most United States immigrants and to the Cuban culture. "Even though only 30 percent of all Cuban exiles graduated from twelfth grade, over 70 percent of their daughter finish high school and 80 percent of those go on to college" (Llanes, 1982, p. 133). This data is comparable to those of the first group of Eastern
European Jews who immigrated to the United States.

Based on a study published by the Heritage Foundation, Lazaga (1980) pointed out a significant fact: While the Federal Government invested $1.5 billion in the Cuban Refugee Program in 20 years, the Cuban exiles in South Florida paid about $1.2 billion in three years to the Internal Revenue Service.

Casal (1979) commented that Cubans are closer to the average total United States population in income. The United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (1972, cited in Casal, 1979, p. 116) indicated that over 21% of Cuban families were represented in the 415,000 and above annual income, in comparison to 5% of Puerto Rican and 9% of Mexican-American families. There were also considerably fewer Cuban families classified in the low income category than Puerto Ricans or Mexican-American families.

The same income and labor force patterns reappear in data from the U.S. Department of Labor 1980 (cited in Perez, 1985, p. 15). The lowest median family income is found among Puerto Ricans with $10,739, followed by Mexicans with 414,765, and other Spanish with $16,230. Cuban's total of $18,245 comes closer to that of the total United States population, $19,917. This is possible because the Cuban woman, with an income of $5,307, surpasses the income for women in all Hispanic groups, and even in the total United States group $5,263.

In terms of participation in the labor force, the distribution is as follows. According to the 1980 United States Census (cited in Perez, 1984, p. 18), the Puerto Rican woman has the lowest percentage of participation with 40.1%, followed by Mexicans with 49.0%, and total United States population with 49.9%. In fourth place are other Spanish with 53.4%. Cuban women have the highest participation with a total of 55.4%. Cubans also have the highest percentage of all families with three or more workers per
household. Three or more family workers were found in 18.6% of Cuban families; Puerto Ricans have the least, with multiple workers found in only 7.9% of households.

Although Cubans as individuals do not reach high income levels, as a family unit they make enough to provide adequate housing. According to Moncarz-Percal (1980), 60% of Cubans own their home or live in a home owned by their family. From the viewpoint of income mobility, evidence has shown that home ownership is possible because of the great percentage of Cuban women in the labor force, which increases the family income.

Pressures to Succeed in the Dual Role of Mother and Career Worker

There has been a tremendous change in the role of the woman who, in addition to being a homemaker, has also become a breadwinner. The change in roles also places tremendous pressure on the man. The woman, sensing this, assumes a major burden in the relationship. The male-female roles are shredded to pieces, but cultural expectations continue concurrent with tradition. The woman, then, is caught in the middle of this conflict and must find the strength to fulfill the roles of both worker and housewife as expected.

If the woman chooses to remain in her traditional role, the disruption and psychological stress diminish. However, greater exposure to the new culture or role disruption entail stresses that the more traditional women in their limited circle of functioning do not suffer. It is no wonder that the death rate from heart attacks of women who attempt the double role is double that of women who are able to stay at home and retain the traditional role (Llanes, 1982).

Alvarez (1976) found that for the Cuban women
worker, there is little leisure time left for recreational activities with her spouse or family. The study showed that a total of 60% of respondents reported never going to the movies, 50% never going to a restaurant, 33% never going to the beach, and 77% never going to house parties.

The extended family includes several generations including cousins. It also reaches beyond blood kin to include the godparents of the family's children. *Compadrazgo* is a tie between natural parents and godparents which goes beyond baptism—it is a moral and economic pledge to provide assistance in times of need (Moore & Pachon, 1985; Boswell & Curtis, 1983).

There are depressive manifestations among newly arrived immigrants. The manifestations are usually temporary and can be overcome through supportive measures, especially through the rich extended family network that Cubans possess (Rumbaut & Rumbaut, 1976).

The Cuban relies on close friends or relatives in times of crisis. There is less reliance on impersonal relationships or large institutions.

Cubans have traditionally preferred an extended, very involved, highly inclusive family style. This preference contrasts with the highly individualized, nuclear family style preferred by Anglo-americans (Marina, 1978). Success carries a price, however. As families become more nuclear because of financial benefits for those in the family nuclei, the rewards of the extended family support system are lost.

**Sex Role Conflict**

The Cuban culture perceives the role of the female to be traditional, conservative, and her attributes: passivity and dependency. These findings by Santiesteban (1975) were also consistent with those of Gibboney (1967) within the Cuban community, and of Padilla and Ruiz (1973) and Diaz-
Guerrero (1967) within the parameters of the Hispanic culture as a whole.

The woman's responsibility within the tradicional Cuban culture is to care for the home and keep the family together. The husband is not expected to perform household tasks or be involved with child rearing.

According to Ruiz (1981, p. 81), Cuban males often perceive American males as being less masculine than themselves. Cuban women, in their turn, perceive American women as being generally more independent and liberated. Although these qualities are better tolerated by younger Cuban women, they produce intrafamiliar friction on those older. This is especially true in the case of woman who are forced to work and become self-sufficient due to socioeconomic pressures. This experience provokes feelings of anger and fear as well as guilt.

Machismo is a desirable combination of virtue, courage, romanticism and fearlessness (Abad, Ramos & Boyce, 1974). For Sluzki (1979), machismo mandates that a man should cue his readiness for sex. A flirtatious behavior is expected of him in his interactions with women outside of his family circle. The great paradox is virginity is still important in the Cuban culture. Women were taught repression and sublimation to deal with libidinal drives. Marianismo or emulation of the Virgin Mary is still fostered in traditional Catholic Cuban families, though modernity and acculturation have lessened the strength of this traditional concept.

Conflict in the marital relationship is likely to surface when traditionally accepted sex roles are reversed. When the wife becomes the breadwinner, she tends to gain increased self-confidence. The husband in turn tends to feel inadequate and emasculated, developing panic and confusion. Even if he regains full employment, the woman develops contempt for her spouse (Mixio, 1974).

The most profound change has occurred among
the women. They changed their passive, traditional role of staying home to the active role of breadwinner and homemaker. Sometimes they are the only ones in the family to speak English. As a result, men have difficulty in dealing with the sometimes intolerable pressures of change in roles. In summary, the traditional male and female roles are shattered.

Jaffe, Cullen and Bowell (1980) found that 46% of second generation Cubans, American-born women, married non-Spanish husbands. This is considerably higher than 33% for Puerto Ricans and 16% for Mexican descendants.

Multiple Losses

Szapocznik (1981) discussed how everyone develops a "niche" in life, and what it is like to lose that "niche" and have to begin all over again.

Llanes (1982) drew a parallel between a refugee and someone undergoing removal of a limb. He perceived the refugee as a "national amputee" (p. 109). The body adjusts to the loss but the mind never does. Questions about the lost other life-and what would life have been "if"—linger in the mind.

Handlin (1973) talked about the impacts of broken homes, interruption of a familiar life, separation from known surroundings, the process of becoming a foreigner and ceasing to belong.

The loss of culture, family and country is significant for any family that migrates. In the case of the immigrant Cuban woman, the losses are compounded. In the Spanish culture, the woman keeps her last name and adds the husband's name, whereas, in American culture she loses her family name to take her husband's.
Religious Conflict in the Areas of Birth Control and Divorce

According to Ventura (1983), in 1978 the Mexican-American population had the highest fertility rate. Their birth rate was 27.8 per 1,000. This was 28% higher than the rate for Puerto Ricans (21.7 per 1,000), and nearly 2.5 times that of Cubans (11.6 per 1,000). The fertility rate considers percentage in terms of births per 1,000 in women aged 15 to 44, years in which the woman is more likely to conceive. For Mexican Americans it was 114.1, 40% greater than for Puerto Rican women (81.3), and more than twice the rate for Cuban women (53.9). Cubans have the lowest fertility rate even when compared with all origins (62.2) and non-Hispanics (60.5). Researchers in the United States (cited in Perez, 1984, p. 16) studied the low incidence of birth rates that is also reflected when analyzing the percentage of families with children under six years of age. Cubans had the lowest number of families with children under six, 17.0%. This is less than the total for the United States population (22.2%). In third place was other Spanish (31.4), followed by Puerto Ricans (37.4), and Mexicans (39.7). These figures again reflect the fertility rate patterns, with Cubans on the lower rate of the spectrum and Mexicans at the highest.

Jaffe, Cullen and Boswell (1980) conducted an in-depth analysis of the fertility rates of Cuban-Americans, who presented an exceptionally low birth rate of 16 per every 1,000. For the white population the rate was 17, followed by Mexican-Americans with 27, and Puerto Ricans residing in the United States with 30.

In reference to divorce, there has been a tremendous change in attitudes. Perez (1984) reported that divorce, which traditionally was considered taboo, has become more popular. Mexican-Americans had the lowest incidence of
divorce in females 15 and over with a total of 6.5. Other Spanish followed the Mexicans with 8.3%. Total United States was third in order with 7.3%. Puerto Ricans are in second place with 9.0%, and in first place are Cuban women with 9.3%. The high divorce rate among Cuban women can probably be explained by looking at all the stressors they are subjected to, and the shattering of the family a structure.

Queralt (1984) found similar results. Among the Cubans who arrived in the United States between 1960 and 1970, there was divorce rate of 6.2% compared to 5.3% for the total United States population and 2.9% for other immigrants in the same period.

The cultural conflict increases when a bicultural person is forced to choose between the two cultures in terms of role performance, values or identity. Problems occur when strong negative emotions such as shame, guilt or fear weigh more for one set than the other.

The majority of Cubans are Catholics. Consequently, their family values have remained different from those prevailing in the predominantly Protestant host society. The Catholic Church and the values of feudal Spain, in particular those concerned with sin, punishment of sin, and absolution of sin, play a powerful and positive role (Llanes, 1982).

Culture-produced stress can set in motion a chain reaction in which anxiety produces problems which produce renewed anxiety. In other words, the anxiety stimulus produces a behavior and the evoked behavior becomes an anxiety-provoking stimulus per se. For example, some Christians, over the course of generations, accumulated feelings that sex was sinful, and eternal punishments for out-of-wedlock relations and masturbation terrifying. Sex without marriage is perceived as wrong since it is justified only as a means of procreation. Taft (1977)
identified the resulting feelings of anxiety, self-depreciation, low self-worth and resistance of integration.

Lack of clarification in one's role and role expectations could lead to questioning of one's values and self-identity. This confusion could become the focus of neurotic mechanisms leading to phobias, somatizations and depression as per Coelho (1972) and Brady (1970).

The disruptions brought about by life in exile are innumerable. There is a lowering of the self-esteem, and self-concept suffers tremendously. The Cuban woman arrived to face an environment strange to her. Things that were known to her had to be relearned, like how to go from one place to another, get assistance, solve different problems. The situation is further complicated in the case of professionals who had to become blue-collar workers and suffered the considerable injury to the self-concept that stepping down in the social ladder implies.

In a research study with 255 women, Wenk (1980) verified the difference in occupational status. The major decline in status occurred in the professional category. Out of 40 professional Cuban women in this group, only 10 were able to regain the same status in the United States. In contrast, the number of unskilled laborers rose significantly in the United States from 8 to 55. These findings are consistent with the downward mobility suffered by Cuban women as a result of uprooting.

The skills of the Cuban refugee were not readily transferable because of lack of knowledge of English.

Differences in life style have also had a significant impact concerning the treatment of the elderly in regard to placement in a boarding or nursing home. Results of the United States Census (1980), cited by Perez, (1984), showed that Cubans have the lowest percentage of persons 65 and over

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who live in group quarters (1.3%) compared to 5.9% in the total United States. Conversely, Cubans have the highest number of persons 65 and over in the household with 30.7%, while the total United States population has the least with 5.9%.

In cultures like the Asian, where the elderly are venerated, the anxiety caused by advancing in age is minimal. But there are cultural attitudes that are stress producing which are based on realistic circumstances. In today's United States there is an admiration for youth and beauty, and a tendency to put down the elderly. American culture fosters intense anxiety about aging. The adult Cuban woman fears that the noted trends in Cubans might not be repeat, and that her children might not respond to her in the same way that she responded to her parents.

**Conclusion and Implications**

Dade County's Cuban women have overcome many pressures and obstacles during their 28 years of adaptation to the United States. In doing so, they have laid out the ground work on how the challenges of the future should be addressed. Their past performance is a promising indicator for younger and more acculturated women.

The past 28 years have challenged Cuban women. There have been many obstacles and difficulties, but the Cuban immigrant woman can be proud of her advances and accomplishments.

Among the psychological stressors encountered by this group are:

1. **Acculturation differences:** Women acculturate more slowly than men, and older people more slowly than younger. Intergenerational gaps are widened by acculturational gap.
2. **Responsibility for the family unit:** There is
conflict between traditional Cuban cultural values, which stress overprotection of unmarried women, and American values which tend to stress independence.

3. Responsibility for contributing to the family income: The Cuban woman has a higher rate of participation in the labor force than any other group of Hispanic women or the total population of women in the U.S.

4. Pressure to succeed in the dual role of mother and career worker: The Cuban woman works to maintain middle class socioeconomic values along with traditional cultural patterns of family rearing and home management.

5. Diminished support system: The traditional extended family system of Cubans has changed into a nuclear family.

6. Sex role conflict: The Cuban culture has a double-standard, machismo versus Marianismo. In the United States the Cuban man feels threatened by the woman's independence and autonomy.

7. Multiple losses: Losing one's land, friends, family, the loss of the other life, thoughts of what would life have been "if"...

8. Religious conflict over birth control and divorce: Cubans have the lowest birth rate and the highest divorce rate. Since most Cubans are Catholic and the Catholic Church strongly opposes birth control, abortion and divorce, the result is a tremendous dissonance for the woman.

9. Low self-esteem: Decline in status seriously damages self-esteem. Professional Cuban women had to work at jobs below their level of education.

10. Perception of aging and the future: Cubans have the lowest percentage of elderly in boarding and nursing homes. The Cuban woman fears that this trend may not be repeated by her children.
Because the Cuban client is usually mobilized to seek treatment by the onset of a crisis, she expects the therapist to provide immediate problem-oriented solutions to the crisis situation. A therapist who is an active leader, willing to intervene directly in social and environmental problems, with the focus on concrete, obtainable goals geared to overcome present pressing needs, may be more acceptable to Cubans. Services can best meet the needs of the client population with trained bilingual staff familiar with their values and problems.

It is important that the client progress in the process of assimilation. At the same time, it is also important to be sensitive to those clients who encounter problems in becoming assimilated into the American model of life.

The Cuban family shows a tendency towards overprotection and fostering of overdependency. This is what Minuchin (1974) has called "enmeshment". Cohenb (1974) suggested focusing on transcultural influences that affect the potential for success and the need to:

1. Identify sociocultural factors that influence and modify the professional-patient relationship.
2. Reconceptualize the dynamic chylothorax theory in the context of a diversity of cultural and social factors.
3. Underline the development of therapeutic intervention skills incorporating findings from sociology and anthropology.

In other words, one needs to focus on the intrapsychic, intrafamiliar, and environmental levels where the patient lives and works.

This author agrees with Rodriguez (1980), who postulated that the Cuban woman needs to (1) strengthen her feelings of positive self-esteem by
associating with and seeking support from other successful women who can serve as competent role models; (2) identify and delineate goals for herself in career areas which she expects to enter; (3) acquire an adequate pool of resources and support systems; (4) become aware of the need to utilize the resources and support systems; and (5) use them adequately and timely.

By following these steps, the Cuban women will find it possible to integrate her roles vis-a-vis her family, career, community and self. In this way, she will be able to achieve the sense of equilibrium and stability required for successful and healthy living.

There is a lack of programs directed toward the Cuban woman. It is necessary to develop a sufficiently large number of professionals, enhance understanding of the Cuban woman, and expand research services.

This study did not systematically examine the possibility of explaining integration into the host culture through individual psychological traits.

This is a preliminary work in this area. Each of the psychological stressors enumerated could be studied systematically and in depth. There are still many unanswered questions and areas to be further examined.

Future research could be done on the personality qualities of the Cuban woman, such as ambition-apathy, introversion-extroversion, assertiveness-shyness, aggressiveness-passivity. Some of the questions that could be answered through research are: What are the differences in self-esteem between Cuban and Anglo women? Are Cubans really as outgoing and extroverted as they appear? Is the Cuban woman striving because of inner drives or because of pressures from the social group?
References


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stays the same and what affects acculturative change? In J. Szapocznik & M. C. Herrera (Eds.), Cuban Americans: Acculturation, adjustment and the family (pp. 37-49). Washington, D. C.: COSSHO.


Mood Disorder Response Patterns on the Luria Nebraska Neuropsychological Battery

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Abstract

This study compared the response profile patterns of a group of ten normals and ten depressives on the Luria Nebraska Neuropsychological Battery (LNNB). One way analysis of variances demonstrated that each of the clinical (C1-C11) and Summary (S1-S5) scales are sensitive to the effects of depression. Profile comparisons revealed a significant relationship between depression and impaired test performance results.

Resumen

En este estudio se comparan los perfiles obtenidos por un grupo de diez sujetos normales y diez pacientes depresivos en la Bateria Neuropsicológica del Luria-Nebraska. Se muestra a través de un análisis de varianza que cada una de las escalas clínicas (C1-C11) y la escala de Resumen (S1-S5) son sensibles a los efectos de la depresión. La comparación de los perfiles señala una relación significativa entre la depresión y los puntajes obtenidos en las pruebas alteradas.
Recently, Moses and Maruisch (1987) published a comprehensive review of neuropsychological research conducted with the LNNB. Many of the studies they cited dealt with the utilization of the LNNB as an aid in differential diagnosis. Since its standardization and introduction into the United States by Golden, Hammeke and Purisch (1978), the test has demonstrated its ability to discriminate normal from brain impaired subjects. Research which has examined a number of neuropsychological and psychiatric disorders has begun to do well in demonstrating the test's discriminate abilities with areas such as schizophrenia and multiple sclerosis. While the test itself has proven to be a valid, reliable, and popular instrument, it does have its shortcomings. Recent attempts to extend the test's discriminate ability to the primary affective disorders have proven to be less than satisfactory (Newman, 1985). When applied with certain types of psychiatric patients, particularly depressives with no known organic etiology or organic indicators, the test's discriminate ability becomes questionable.

Specifically, depressives have been depicted in the psychological literature as having impaired functional abilities pertaining to their intellectual processes, communication skills, psychomotor retardation, poor memory and concentrational abilities, and tactile sensory reduction (Caine, 1986). These are the very abilities measured by neuropsychological assessment instruments such as the LNNB. Consequently, it can be hypothesized that patients suffering from depression would display impairment on the LNNB in these areas. Perhaps one of the single greatest challenges faced by neuro-psychological researchers is the differential diagnosis of depression, pseudo-dementia, and dementia (Strub & Black, 1985). Data obtained on the LNNB performance of depressives can be utilized as a potential aid to differential diagnosis in such cases.
Method

Subjects and Procedures

The subjects were twenty right handed individuals with no known neurologic impairments. Ten were normal volunteers, and ten were depressives obtained from south Florida Community Mental Health Center's caseload. Both groups were administered the LNNB and Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) in a single testing session. The subjects were comparable in terms of their backgrounds, age and socioeconomic status. Data on the demographic characteristics of the subjects is summarized in Table 1. Normals reported no depressive history and had a mean BDI of 4.4, while depressives met DSM-III-R diagnostic criteria and had a mean BDI of 18.7.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statistical Sumary Description of Subjects</th>
<th>OVERALL</th>
<th>NORMALS</th>
<th>DEPRESSIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>35.25</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>21-56</td>
<td>28-42</td>
<td>21-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.0343</td>
<td>11.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>4-18</td>
<td>12-18</td>
<td>4-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.9692</td>
<td>2.0867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BECK DEPRESSION INVENTORY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>0-46</td>
<td>0-9</td>
<td>0-46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.6545</td>
<td>18.3002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results and Discussion

Each subject's LNNB score was transformed to a
standard score, and means and standard deviations for each of the clinical and summary scales were computed. The results were then plotted.

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and F values for Comparison of Depressives and Normals on the LNNB Scales, *p<.05.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LNNB Scale Subtest</th>
<th>Depressives</th>
<th>Normals</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CI-Motor</td>
<td>44.40</td>
<td>15.19</td>
<td>33.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2-Rhythm</td>
<td>51.50</td>
<td>21.65</td>
<td>35.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3-Tactile</td>
<td>54.30</td>
<td>13.38</td>
<td>43.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4-Visual</td>
<td>45.90</td>
<td>10.99</td>
<td>39.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5-Receptive Speech</td>
<td>40.20</td>
<td>8.55</td>
<td>37.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C6-Expressive Speech</td>
<td>44.30</td>
<td>13.93</td>
<td>31.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C7-Writing</td>
<td>53.60</td>
<td>13.31</td>
<td>45.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C8-Reading</td>
<td>48.80</td>
<td>13.71</td>
<td>39.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C9-Arithmetic</td>
<td>53.70</td>
<td>16.81</td>
<td>44.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C10-Memory</td>
<td>48.30</td>
<td>17.81</td>
<td>42.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C11-Intellectual Process</td>
<td>53.50</td>
<td>17.14</td>
<td>37.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1-Pathognomic</td>
<td>52.20</td>
<td>15.82</td>
<td>36.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2-Left Hemisphere</td>
<td>51.10</td>
<td>15.41</td>
<td>42.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3-Right Hemisphere</td>
<td>49.90</td>
<td>13.08</td>
<td>37.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4-Profile Elevation</td>
<td>52.20</td>
<td>21.02</td>
<td>40.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S5-Impairment</td>
<td>58.30</td>
<td>15.38</td>
<td>43.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A one way analysis of variance comparing the performances of normals and depressives revealed significant differences (p<.05) between the two groups on nine of the sixteen scales (see Table 2). While none of the normals could be classified impaired by the LNNB's three scale diagnostic inclusion criteria, fully forty percent of the depressives met the diagnostic impairment criteria. This is a high level of false positive, Type I error.

The present findings have indicated that each of the clinical and summary scales of the LNNB are
sensitive to depression. In particular, depressives were shown to score significantly higher than normals on nine scales (C1-Motor, C2-Rythm, C3-Tactile, C6-Expressive Speech, C8-Reading, C11-Intellectual Processes, S1-Pathognomic, S3-Right Hemisphere, and S5-Impairment). This is consistent with widespread literature reports on selective attention, expressive impairment, and psychomotor retardation. The response pattern of depressives was evident throughout the range of scales, indicating the bilateral nature and diffuse extent of their neurologic performance impairment.
There is a need to interpret LNNB scale elevations with caution when assessing a potentially dual diagnosed patient (affective disorder and neurological impairment). There is a need for
future research to empirically derive a correction factor for scale interpretation with this specialized population. The LNNB is not free from the confounding effects of depression.

Given the prevalence of depression in the general population, test administrators need to continue to attend equally to the qualitative as well as quantitative measures of their patient's performance. Time to respond (power) when dealing with depressive populations.
REFERENCES


The Effectiveness of Relaxation Training in Reducing the Disruptive Classroom Behavior of Severely Emotionally Disturbed Adolescents

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Abstract

The effectiveness of audio-taped brief progressive relaxation training in reducing the disruptive and aggressive classroom behavior of severely emotionally disturbed adolescents was examined. Research participants consisted of 27 adolescents attending a day treatment program for students who have been identified as meeting the diagnostic requirements for SED (Severely Emotionally Disturbed). Subjects were randomly assigned to either relaxation training or placebo music. Data collection involved behavior event recording of the variables under investigation for all subjects involved. Pre-test, treatment and post-test mean scores of the two dependent variables served as dependent measures of the study. Data was analyzed via the application of descriptive techniques and inferential statistical...
procedures comprising a Two-factorial Analysis of Variance for Repeated Measures on one factor. Results strongly supported rejection of the null hypothesis, as data clearly revealed significant differences between the two groups in their responses to treatment on both dependent variables. Findings revealed that relaxation treatment subjects experienced a significant reduction in both disruptive and aggressive classroom behavior as compared to subjects who did not receive treatment. It was concluded that relaxation training may serve as a viable and efficacious tool that special education teachers can use to help emotionally disturbed students to function more effectively in their classrooms and thus maximize their learning potential.

Resumen

Se examina la efectividad de un programa de relajación breve en la reducción de conductas escolares disruptivas y agresivas, en adolescentes gravemente alterados emocionalmente. En esta investigación participaron 27 adolescentes, quienes atendían a un programa diurno de tratamiento, dirigido a estudiantes con un diagnóstico de Alteración Emocional Grave. Los sujetos se distribuyeron aleatoriamente en una de dos condiciones: entrenamiento de relajación y música placebo. Se registraron los eventos de conducta incluidos en las variables investigadas. Como medidas dependientes en el estudio, se utilizaron los puntajes anteriores, durante el entrenamiento y posteriores al entrenamiento. Se utilizaron técnicas descriptivas y estadísticas inferenciales en el análisis de los resultados: análisis de varianza con dos factores para medidas repetidas de un solo factor. Los resultados permiten rechazar la hipótesis de
nulidad, ya que aparecen diferencias significativas en las respuestas al tratamiento en las dos variables dependientes. Los hallazgos revelan que los sujetos sometidos al tratamiento de relajación experimentaron una reducción significativa en conductas escolares disruptivas y agresivas, en comparación con los sujetos que no recibieron tratamiento. Se concluye que el entrenamiento de relajación puede ser una herramienta adecuada y eficiente, para el tratamiento de estudiantes emocionalmente alterados, con el objeto de que funcionen más eficientemente en sus aulas y así maximizar su potencial de aprendizaje.

**Introduction**

Adolescents with severe emotional disturbance present with a multiplicity and wide spectrum of disruptive behavior problems in school and classroom settings. Their behavior deficits typically violate the rights of others or interfere with their own desires to succeed. Some youngsters are disruptive by explosive, aggressive actions, some display withdrawal or extreme passivity, and others retard their own learning through right avoidance of tasks, which arouses strong feelings of inadequacy (Fagen, Long, & Stevens, 1976). It is apparent that a primary problem in the education of severely emotionally disturbed students entails the reduction of their disruptive, and often aggressive, classroom behavior.

A diversity of therapeutic interventions and techniques have been suggested to help emotionally disturbed youngsters control their behavioral deficits in classroom settings. Included among these are behavior modification (Kubaney, Weiss & Sloggett, 1977); cognitive training programs such as
problem-solving (Shure & Spivak, 1972) and self-instruction (Meichenbaum, 1977); structured environment (Hewett, 1968); modeling (Csapo, 1972); and psychopharmacological therapies, particularly involving the Phenothiazines, Butyrophenones and Lithium Carbonate. Although various of these techniques have been used effectively in controlling a variety of classroom behavior, a number of limitations have also emerged. Some of these limitations have included failure of the program to show generalization (Nardone, 1982); a return to pretreatment levels after termination of the treatment (O'Leary & O'Leary, 1972); and failure to shift the youngster's internal locus of control by focusing the youngster into compliance with external rewards (Omizo, 1980). There is a need, hence, for an effective, yet simple and easily learned therapeutic method that would teach emotionally disturbed students to develop better control over their psychological responses in a variety of settings. Progressive relaxation training may very well serve as an effective therapeutic tool for teaching severely emotionally disturbed students to gain acquisition of control over their maladaptive classroom behavior manifestations.

Progressive relaxation training, a technique originated by Edmund Jacobson (1938), has an extensive history of successful application in the treatment of a wide variety of stress-related physiological and emotional disorders. Recent literature has indicated considerable advancement in the therapeutic utility and application of progressive relaxation techniques on a variety of populations. Contemporary applications have embodied diverse populations of adults as well as youths in a number of clinical educational settings.

A review of the literature involving progressive relaxation procedures with child and adolescent subjects indicates that the technique has been
successfully applied to the treatment of childhood anxiety and fears (Miller, 1972); insomnia and other sleep disturbances (Weil & Goldfried, 1973); asthmatic attacks (Knapp & Wells, 1978); acting-out behavioral problems (Bergland & Chal, 1972; Elitzur, 1976); and quality of handwriting in children diagnosed as minimally brain damaged has been improved through audio-taped relaxation training (Carter & Synolds, 1974). A variety of successful applications have also been made in reducing the symptoms of hyperactive children to function more effectively in classroom settings (Klein & Deffenbacher, 1977); Lupin, Braud, Braud, & Duer, 1976). Additionally, relaxation training procedures have been found to be effective in the treatment of maladaptive disruptive patterns of youngsters who present with emotional and/or behavioral handicapping conditions (Brennan, 1984; 1985; Vacc & Greeleaf, 1980; Wells, 1981). Progressive relaxation training would also appear to hold similar promise for treating the disruptive and aggressive behaviors exhibited by severely emotionally disturbed youngsters within school and classroom settings. This would result in more effective and efficient classroom functioning, and thus maximize the learning process of these students.

The present study examined the effectiveness of audio-taped brief progressive relaxation training in reducing the disruptive and aggressive classroom behavior of severely emotionally disturbed adolescents.

Method

Research participants consisted of 27 adolescents (22 males, 5 females) attending the Family and Adolescent Development Center, a day treatment program for students within the age range of 13 through 19 and who have been identified by Dade
County Public Schools as meeting the diagnostic requirements for SED (Several Emotionally Disturbed). Subjects were randomly assigned to either relaxation training or placebo music. The experimental group \((n = 13, M_{\text{age}} = 16.8, M_{\text{grade}} = 9.8)\) received seven sessions of audio-taped placebo music.

Data collection involved behavior event recording of the variables under investigation for all subjects involved. Pre-test, treatment, and post-test mean scores of the two dependent variables (disruptive and aggressive behavior) served as dependent measures of the study. Data were analyzed via the application of descriptive techniques and inferential statistical procedures comprising a Two-factorial Analysis of Variance for Repeated Measures on one factor.

**Results**

The results of the various descriptive and inferential analyses of variance applied in this investigation strongly supported rejection of the null hypotheses, as significant differences between the experimental and control group were found in their responses to the treatment. Findings clearly provided statistical evidence that the subjects who received audio-taped brief progressive relaxation training experienced a significant reduction in both disruptive and aggressive classroom behavior, as compared to subjects who did not receive relaxation training.

Group comparisons between the experimental group versus the control group on the effects of treatment yielded some information relevant to the research investigation. On examination of the relative distribution of the sexes, ages and grade levels within the two groups, statistical analysis strongly.
suggested that the treatment groups were relatively equal in regards to sex, age and grade level. For determination of any differences in age and grade level between groups, an Unpaired T-Test was employed. No significant differences between groups were found on the variable of age \( t(25) = 0.40 \ P = 0.69 \) or grade \( t(25) = 65, \ P = 0.52 \). As a means of analyzing the relative distribution of the sexes within the two groups, a Chi-Square statistical test was applied and results yielded a Chi-Square \( (1) \) of \( 0.34 \ P = 0.55 \), suggesting that no significant discrepancies as to assignment in group via sex was present. An overall examination of yielded findings indicated that the treatment groups were relatively equal and such variables as age, sex, and grade did not present as confounding factors and could not be accounted for group differences in their responses to the treatment.

A Two-factorial Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) for Repeated Measures on one factor was applied to all dependent measures in order to investigate pre-test, treatment, and post-test differences between groups. On the independent variable of disruptive classroom behavior, results showed significant differences across time \( F(2,50) = 16.93, \ P = 0.0001 \), and interaction effect \( F(2,50) = 16.93, \ P = 0.0001 \). Analysis of the means and standard errors of the treatment groups with respect to disruptive scores indicated that the experimental group showed a significant reduction \( (P < 0.001) \) in disruptiveness (pre-test \( M = 13.36 \); post-test \( M = 13.30 \)). A breakdown of group differences across treatment time phases revealed that on both, pre-test vs. post-test repeated measures and pre-test vs. treatment, the experimental subjects reduced significantly the amount of disruptive classroom behavior as compared to the control subjects who maintained relative stability. On treatment vs. post-test, the experimental group, although still less than the control group, did show some loss of gains made
upon removal of the treatment. Based on these findings, the importance of continuous treatment on reduction of disruptive classroom behavior may be worthy of future investigation, as it appears that in a follow-up, those subjects exposed to relaxation training may become more and more like their non-exposed partners, unless relaxation training was reinforced.

On the independent variable of aggressive classroom behavior, an ANOVA for Repeated Measures on one factor was applied and results indicated significant differences in the interaction effect between treatment group and time ($F(2,50) = 8.20, P < .001$). Analysis of the means and standard errors of the treatment groups revealed that the experimental group showed a significant reduction ($P < .001$) in aggressiveness (pre-test $M = .88$; treatment $M = .33$; post-test $M = .27$) while the control group remained relatively stable, even increasing slightly in rate of aggressive behavior (pre-test $M = 1.67$; treatment $M = 1.88$; post-test $M = 1.80$). A breakdown of group differences across treatment time phases revealed that on both, pre-test vs. post-test repeated measures and pre-test vs. treatment, there was clearly an improvement (i.e., reduction in aggressive behavior) in the experimental group exposed to relaxation training, but not so for the control group exposed to placebo music. On treatment vs. post-test, results indicated that even though the experimental subjects had shown improvement during treatment, the improvement made after removal of treatment (post-test phase) was not significant. Improvement was maintained without increasing it, however, after treatment was stopped.

Results of the various analyses employed furnished statistical evidence that the experimental group receiving audio-taped brief progressive relaxation training was more effective than the
control group receiving placebo music in reducing both disruptive and aggressive classroom behavior in severely emotionally disturbed adolescents.

**Discussion**

The findings yielded in this investigation have contributed to the existing body of knowledge encompassing the applicability of relaxation training procedures in the treatment of behavior problems in youngsters that present with emotional/behavioral handicapping conditions. The efficacy of progressive relaxation training was supported in this investigation, as the results of this study are commensurate with those noted in the review of the literature which have indicated positive and successful applications of relaxation training procedures.

For purposes of this research, the results strongly suggested that audio-taped brief progressive relaxation training was effective in reducing the disruptive and aggressive classroom behavior of severely emotionally disturbed adolescents. Based on these findings, practical implications, both in the clinical and educational sectors, have emerged. At the clinical level, especially in the area of behavior therapy, relaxation training appears to offer potential implications in the treatment of diverse maladaptive behavioral and emotional manifestations which impede effective functioning in severely emotionally disturbed individuals. Either as a primary treatment program, or as an adjunct therapeutic measure, the simplicity yet efficacy of the technique holds promise in the treatment of a wide range of stress-related conditions.

Within the educational realm, relaxation training procedures appear to afford some promise for assisting special education teachers in developing classroom strategies that facilitate the learning
process of severely emotionally disturbed students. The rationale for using relaxation training is to teach these students acquisition of control over their maladaptive classroom manifestations. Presumably, once a student has learned ways of dealing with his own stress-related emotional/behavioral states, and achieves self-control, he/she is less likely to display behaviors that interfere with the learning process and classroom functioning. This may consequently help educators to be more effective in their instructional methods and to be more successful in their attempts to create a classroom environment conducive to optimum learning and educational advancement.

Ultimately, contemporary researchers need to give serious consideration to the wide range of possible uses and innovative applications of relaxation training with severely emotionally disturbed populations. Research in this area is warranted, for relaxation training can be an efficacious tool that special education teachers can use to help emotionally disturbed students to function more effectively in their classrooms and thus maximize their learning potential.

Suggestions for future research in areas that merit further investigation to improve generalization of findings are to include: (1) Examination of the role of medication as a factor in response to relaxation treatment; (2) Follow-up studies that assess the differential effects of brief vs. long-term or continuous relaxation training in relation to frequency of treatment and treatment effects; and (3) The differential applications of relaxation training procedures on other subpopulations of emotionally disturbed youths presenting varying behavioral deficits may prove valuable in offering further clarification as to the effectiveness and/or inherent stability of the technique with diverse handicapped populations.
REFERENCES


A Comparison Study of Manifest Anxiety Among Juvenile Offenders

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Abstract

This study explores a multiplicity of factors involved in criminal behavior from a minority cultural perspective in the hope that the reader will have a better understanding of the problems associated with juvenile delinquency.

Resumen

Este estudio explora una multiplicidad de factores implicados en la conducta criminal desde una perspectiva cultural con el propósito que el lector logre una mejor comprensión de los problemas asociados a la delinquencia juvenil.

Juvenile delinquency is a severe and challenging social problem. In Dade County, the high rate of juvenile crime is statistically dominated by black youth. Current studies generally fail to explain or respond to the disproportionate representation of black adolescent males in the criminal justice system. The literature is sparse on research of ethnominority factors which may
predispose black youth to an excess of early offenses and subsequent repeat criminal activity.

Anxiety is often thought of as a central explanatory concept in most theories of personality and psychopathology. It has played a prominent role in the origin and development of behavioral disturbances. Conduct disorder diagnoses have been associated with low levels of trait anxiety (Archer, 1980). Recent studies have indicated that in order for an individual to change it may be necessary to inculcate some fear and guilt (Yochelson & Samenow, 1976). In other words, some anxiety is needed to generate motivation.

The study compared anxiety levels among black and white juvenile offenders. The author examined cultural norms of black lower class males who are often disenfranchised by their own normative behavior. It has been suggested that lower class black youth may be arrested more frequently for minor offenses both because inner city neighborhoods are patrolled more intensively and because police overreact to the negative attitudes and anti-authority demeanor of some black youth (Robbins, 1974).

A review of the literature was undertaken to explore studies regarding delinquency, ethno-minority culture, and anxiety, and the relationship which exists between them. The present study suggests that the graduated exposure to anxiety-provoking situations that lower class black males often find themselves in contributes to a decrease in anxiety and a desensitization toward societal values. The focus of the study explores the relationship of subject variables such as race, frequency of arrest and initial disposition of two groups of youthful offenders with factors of anxiety as measured by the Revised Children's Manifest Anxiety Inventory.

The study proposes that there is a difference in levels of anxiety between black and white juvenile offenders and that factors of a more public and
harsh life style contribute to a systematic desensitization in lower class black adolescent offenders causing a decrease in motivation toward socially acceptable behaviors. The author suggests an inverse relationship exists between frequency of offense and levels of anxiety and that as arrest rates increase anxiety levels decrease.

Methodology

The subjects were 45 juvenile delinquents N = 30 black, N = 15 white. The children were selected on the basis of sex: only males were included in the study, race: racially homogeneous parents were identified as either black or white, age: children were nine to fourteen, and ages were rounded out to the nearest date of birth, and frequency of arrest rate: (1 - 3 = low frequency), > 3 = high frequency. All subjects in the study were referred to the Juvenile Mental Health Clinic for psychological evaluation while awaiting adjudication. Each child was administered a Clinical Interview, a Bender Gestalt, a reading subtest of the Wide Range Achievement Test, a House - Tree - Person, and a Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children. Dependent variables were reading level, grade level, I.Q. range, disposition and frequency of arrest, and five factors of anxiety of the revised Children's Manifest Anxiety Inventory. The RCMAS is a 37 item self-report inventory subtitled "What I Think and Feel". It was designated to assess the level and nature of anxiety in children and adolescents from 6 to 19 years of age. Using Kuder Richardson formula 20, a .83 reliability coefficient was obtained for the Total Anxiety score. Cross-ethnic comparisons yielded coefficients of congruence across ethnicity. An investigation (Reynolds, 1980a) of the construct validity of the scales with the State Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children (Spielberger, 1973), yielded
a magnitude of correlation which suggests that the two scales may be used as alternate form measures.

A 2 x 2 x 2 research design with a three way analysis of variance was calculated for each dependent variable. The mean age for black youth was 12.9 and the mean age for white youth was 13.3. Grade level means were, 6.47 for black males and 6.47 for white males. On reading levels, black youth had a mean of 3.8 and a standard deviation of 1.9, while white youth had a mean of 5.4 with a standard deviation of 1.6. This was significant at the P < .001 level in an analysis of variance of variance levels. I.Q. scores were ranged from 5 = high average to 1 = mild mental retardation. Both groups scored in the low average range of I.Q., with a mean of 3.3 for black youth and a mean of 3.6 for white youth.

Results

On variables age, grade, disposition, and frequency of arrest rate, an analysis of variance failed to yield any significant differences on levels of anxiety among the groups. An analysis of variance on the scale Social Concerns/Concentration yielded a significant difference by race. (F race = (1.37) = 7.54), significance at P .01. Based on prior findings of significance on reading and race and the fact that the groups were not balanced by race and reading level, the author questioned the correlation of Social Concerns/Concentration by race and an analysis of covariance was calculated with reading level as the covariate. A Pearson Product Moment correlation was computed (r = -.43 (df = 43 P .005). When the reading level was statistically removed as a component of the Social Concerns/Concentration score, there was no difference in race on anxiety level. Any differences between the groups were as a result of reading level difficulties and not because of anxiety differences.
Conclusion

The present study does not confirm the hypothesis that there is a difference in anxiety levels in black levels in black and white juveniles offenders. Hypothesis 2 and 3 yielded no significant results. There is no correlation or interaction effect among factors of disposition and frequency of arrest on measures of the RCMAS. The extent to which social life is public or private seems to have no effect on factors of race or anxiety. There is no indication that black youth are more likely to be detained in secure detention than white youth or that locational disposition is correlated with anxiety.

The most important finding of the study seems to be the fact that all of the children had average levels of anxiety. It was striking that these children displayed average levels of physiological arousal, Worry/Oversensitivity and awareness of social responsiveness. The author suggests that children who have average levels of anxiety are treatable and can be motivated toward socially proscribed behavior. Factors related to individual personality should be taken into account in the study of juvenile delinquency. There is a need to assess behavior in relation to development that is normal and adaptive within the child's own culture. The problems of juvenile delinquency may better be addressed by providing alternate forms of schooling, smaller classrooms and teachers who are sensitive to ethno-minority cultures and differences. Housing juveniles in detention centers is costly and does not deter juvenile crime. Children who turn to a life of crime often cannot see any advantages to any other lifestyle. They continue in their self-defeating behaviors because they see no way out.

There is a strong need for diversionary programs to provide education, care and structure to those children whose lives are so harsh that they
have been abused, have been allowed to be truant from school, who are drug-involved, illiterate, and who sometimes are mentally retarded. These are children who continue to commit crimes.

Some of the limitations of the study may be that the two groups were too homogeneous with regard to race, age, disposition and frequency of arrest rate, and therefore measured so alike on levels of anxiety. Another limitation of the study is the lack of data to adequately equalize the groups in terms of socio-economic status, number of parents actively at home, and other factors which might account for differences between the groups. Finally, the RCMAS may not be sensitive enough in terms of its construction for children with very low reading levels. Future research should be directed at comparing different age levels to determine if there is a decrease in anxiety in older adolescent offenders between the ages of 16 and 18 years of age, comparing their levels of anxiety with the present age groups studied.
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Fairy Tales: The Use of Fantasy in the Service of the Ego

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Abstract

The present study describes the therapeutic value of listening to fairy folk tales. It is hypothesized that children who hear fairy tales repeatedly are more likely to integrate the disparate parts of their personality than those who listen to realistic stories. To investigate this process of the reconciliation of oppositional tendencies, tales incorporating the mechanism of splitting, the device of archetypal characterization and the design of positive resolution are examined. The investigative situation consists of the classical unexpurgated version of fairy tales handed down through the ages by the oral tradition. Analysis comparing the identification and projection processes of the child in tales that represent sexual and aggressive motives and in those that gloss over them reveal that a lessening of anxiety is more likely to occur when Id drives are symbolized in images.
Resumen

El presente artículo describe el valor terapéutico de los cuentos de hadas. Se propone que los niños que oyen repetidamente cuentos de hadas presentan una mejor integración de su personalidad, con relación a los niños que oyen historias realistas. Para estudiar este proceso de reconciliación de tendencias opuestas, se examinaron cuentos de hadas que incluyen el mecanismo de escisión, el instrumento de caracterización arquetípica, y el diseño de resolución positiva. La situación experimental consistió en la versión clásica de cuentos de hadas transmitidos a través de los años por medio de una tradición oral. Un análisis comparativo de los procesos de identificación y proyección utilizados en cuentos que incluyen motivos sexuales y agresivos con aquellos que los pasan por alto, reveló una disminución de la ansiedad cuando las pulsiones del Id se simbolizan en imágenes.

"Once upon a time ..." and so begins the willing suspension of disbelief that transcends the governance of reality and speaks directly to the listener's heart.

A great deal of attention has been paid in recent years to how the fairy folk tale provides a place, one step removed from the here-and-now, for the safe working through of instinctual conflicts (Collier and Gaier, 1958; Briggs, 1970; Bettleheim, 1977). A fairy tale addresses the awareness of the listener on all levels - the unconscious, the preconscious and the conscious. It acknowledges the human condition and satisfies the press of Id desires in keeping with the demands of the ego and the superego. The fairy
tale provides a framework of fantasy, boundaries freed of time and space, allowing for imaginative play. The child may freely associate along lines which are normally immature province. By using a device unrealistic in nature the fairy tale informs the child not about the external world, but about internal processes.

Bruno Bettelheim (1977) in his study on the meaning and importance of fairy tales describes how they demonstrate the consequences of fixation with the use of imagery: regression to an earlier level of functioning. The story meets children on the level where they may be stuck. The universality of the characterization makes it the perfect medium for psychological identification. Flat and unadorned, the characters often lack even the simple definition of a name. Because of this simple delineation, their quality is easily discerned: they are good or they are evil; they are poor or they are rich; they are beautiful or they are ugly. Strikingly, each character functions as a conceit whose role is to juxtapose each contradictory trait and to allow young listeners to explore the parts of themselves which are at war.

Thus, the literary device of simplification of character aids the defense mechanism of splitting. In this way, the child preserves the good part of the parent while attacking that part of the parent which forces separation, to objectify, to wait. Splitting is a great nostrum for guilt: it allows the child to safely vent rage and frustration at caregivers; and yet, to preserve them unharmed. Splitting provides children with the rudiments of handling contradictory emotions with which a more mature ego will deal later through integration. (Bettelheim, 1977). Ambivalence need not become paralyzing.

The great literary critic Lewis (1939), in his Allegory of love discusses the meaning of symbols of transformation within the fairy tale; images of good
disappearing or being consumed to reappear at the story's end unharmed and benevolent. They represent a change in the attitude of the child in whom learning has taken place through the denouement of the story. The imposter, portrayed by wicked witches, rampant dragons, vile step-mothers and evil giants and magicians, takes the place of the bad part of the parent and is overcome and destroyed in the story (Bettleheim, 1977). In the tale of "The Three Little Pigs", Briggs (1970) shows that all we really know about them is that the younger two prefer to play than to provide for a rainy day. Like the young listener of the story, the two less mature pigs err in their pursuit of the pleasure principle at the expense of the other; while the more mature sibling follows the reality principle (Bettleheim, 1977). So, the youngest fall prey to the unbridled orality of the wolf and are gobbled up. But the fairy tale, while giving credence to the child's defect, does not generalize an early act of self-indulgence into a lifetime of impulsivity. The child and the pig can learn and redeem themselves; and there can be a happy outcome. Fairy tales offer consolation and hope (Lewis, 1939).

Contemporary children's literature is filled with realistic stories or bowlerized versions of fairy folk tales with the teeth taken out of them. They more closely match parental associations to unresolved conflicts than the child's inner experience (Bettleheim, 1977). Suffering from a weak ego, the child feels on the point of being overwhelmed by wishes, desires and conflicts. Listening to a fairy tale can serve as a creative time out from which the child can emerge readier to meet life's tasks (Collier and Gaier, 1958).

The oral tradition through which fairy tales have been handed down serves as a distillation process. Again and again elements are refined
through the crucible of the story-teller's imagination. Dipping into the well of the collective and personal unconscious, drawing up a detail here and omitting one there, story tellers feature the components most relevant for themselves and for their young listeners (Storr, 1983). Telling the tale is a process of becoming: a model of human interaction sensitive to non-verbal cues and unconscious messages (Bettleheim, 1977). Small terrors and delights mold the story's form until it is written down as a classic tale.

Bettleheim (1977), expanding on the work of Collier and Gaier (1958), points out that modern stories seem psychologically hypocritical to children. They find true-to-life stories confusing: there are wish-fulfilling elements without a strategy for handling them with a positive outcome; there are ordinary people treated like royalty. Modern stories represent a view of life which is sugar-coated, rosy-tinctured and irrational from the perspective of readying the child for life's tasks. They deny the dark side of man, the primitive and raw emotions which are represented truly in the jealousy of a step-mother, the revenge of a jinn, the voraciousness of a wolf. Unlike realistic stories which alienate unconscious processes.

Children experience the world subjectively according to their cognitive preparedness. They may be developmentally unprepared to comprehend reversibility of process of the permanence of quantity according to the theories of Piaget (Flavell, 1963). Concepts of death, as well, approximate the process of metamorphosis: the hero leaves one plane to return at a higher level. Snow White awakens from the sleep of death that separates her latency from full womanhood, signified by the kiss of the prince (Bettleheim, 1977).

Paradoxically, by experiencing inner reality through the fantasy of the fairy tale, children are better able to cope with the day-to-day life
Bettleheim, 1977). They employ a kind of role-playing or imaginary rehearsed technique which instills the conviction that the challenges of adult life can be met, come what may.

Accepting scientific information as a rationalization for the workings of the world makes less psychological sense that the workings of primary process logic in fairy tales. Facts can exacerbate a child's anxiety. There exists good psychological reasons for children planting themselves squarely on Mother-Earth; and like Ptolemy, at the center of their cosmos. The current scientific explanation of a universe in which celestial bodies go whirling through limitless space held on course by some mysterious force field is enough to overwhelm the child's credulity (Bettleheim, 1977). What is holding us up: not even an invisible thread.

A child's vision of the world is inspirited. Anything that moves must have intelligence to guide it. Rocks crack, wind sings, water gurgles. It is no more far-fetched for a child to imagine a frog becoming a prince than a prince becoming a frog. To quote Bruno Bettleheim:

... to the child, there is no clear line separating objects from things; and whatever has life has life very much like our own. If we do not understand what rocks and trees and animals have to tell us, the reason is that we are not sufficiently attuned to them...

And, Piaget has shown the child's animistic thinking remains until puberty (Flavell, 1963). Fairy tales provide a way of working through the child's feelings of inferiority and of compensation for physical defects-real or imagined- by identifying with a hero who performs miraculous feats. Through imagination, a child can climb up to the sky or possess supernatural beauty or
supernatural strength, change into a raven and change back again, or become a rescuer and trick a witch or kill a giant (Bettleheim, 1977).

By the simple act of telling the story, the parent grants permission to the child to retaliate in fantasy for adult domination: each child a jack with the temerity to destroy a giant. The hero regains human abilities and everyone lives happily ever after (Bettleheim, 1977).

The comedic resolution of the fairy tale follows the natural course of the child’s Oedipal conflict. The animal groom (wife) cycle of stories portrays true love as the deliverer from brutishness. The consequences of evil or rash wishes or of being swept away by impulsivity in fairy tales often results in the corruption of the human body (Lewis, 1939). The sorceress, that symbol of maternal inhibition of animalistic behavior, is usually the vehicle responsible for the magical change. Most often, it is the heroine who must recover from an attitude of sexual disgust before the groom may be disenchanted.

On another level says Bettleheim (1977), the hero must overcome childhood sexual anxiety and repugnance and heal suppressed feelings in the marital bed. Bride and groom come to realize that their best chance for happiness lies not in possessions or in achievements, but in intimacy: a positive transfer of the primitive sexual desires toward the parent to a proper love objects. Healing occurs in the magical transformation of animal to man with the mature acceptance of sex and the consecration and celebration of love in marriage.

In this analysis of the story of "Little Red Riding Hood", for example, the motives of sex and aggression are treated with psychological reality and fantastic license. The story places the mature female figure, the Grandmother, beside the wolf in bed. She is first casualty to his voraciousness. The child senses his own oral greed, the earliest,
unadulterated form of sensual gratification, and projects it onto the character of the wolf where he may deal with it harmlessly. In the unexpurgated version, the wolf swallows Little Red as well. The local hunter appears, slits open the belly of the wolf and extracts Grandma and the little girl. And so they are reborn: through the positive outcome of the story the listener may infer that one may give way to an occasional impulse and still come out alright in the end.

Freud discusses the child's desire to know adult secrets and the problem of the origin of babies in his famous Wolf Man case study. He proposes two hypotheses for the child's conception of birth: the first is an expulsion; and the second is the idea portrayed in "Little Red Riding Hood," delivery by cesarean section. The bearing of a child is not, therefore, a strictly feminine province, but reflects the undifferentiated sexual immaturity of the pre-genital child. At this stage, children are often seen playing with their baby-dolls or stuffed toys or caring for live animals as if they were real infants. This play is an acting out of the Oedipal situation until such time as sublimation or a more socially acceptable compromise may be reached.

The wolf, moreover, does not escape a child's concept of justice; his belly is filled with stones and sewn shut. Likewise, in "The Three Little Pigs," the wolf becomes food for the remaining pig. This punishment exactly fits the crime. While this view might offend the sensibilities of the parent, it fits perfectly with the Id demands of the child. Mercy is the province of the superego. Revenge is the child's.

In summary, we have seen that the fairy folk tale deals with such conflicts as unbridled passion, oral greed and Oedipal covetousness in a way which is non-threatening to the child. Fairy tales are not didactic, they suggest and provide through their underpinnings of fantasy for the working through of such themes as devotion to the pleasure principle,
the search for individuation and the domination of children by adults. The hero and the child prevail: a story is not a fairy folk tale unless there is a comedic resolution.

Unlike the stories of today, fairy tales are congruent with the psychological age of the listener. Characterization is pure and simple and lends itself to the mechanism of splitting, the psychic remedy for ambivalence in children. The meaning is plastic: it matches the needs of the child from moment to moment and changes over time. The child does not know why the tale is so enchanting or why it becomes a special favorite requested over and over again.

A fairy folk tale follows the sequence of unconscious psychological reality using primary process thought. It starts from humble beginnings and takes the more fantastic route through the forest of the child's imagination—the uncertainties, the insecurities, the conflicts—so that the child may attain mastery of events in everyday life. The tale makes it clear from the start that the listener is about to embark on a wondrous journey; there and back again. And through the device of the externalization of unconscious material the child may safely experience the most primitive and threatening drives; and come to some accommodation in dealing with them. And so, a fairy folk tale may function in the service of the ego solving psychosocial age tasks through the use of imagination.
Footnotes

1. A similar device is used in the morality plays of the Latin Middle Ages so that everyman might distinguish clearly and identify with the moral attribute being held up by the character onstage.

2. The mechanism of splitting can nowhere be seen as well as in William Blake's lyrical Songs of Innocence and Songs of Experience. Blake gives breath to the doctrine of the Manichean Heresy, dividing God, the Tyrant, and Christ, the Child. He asks the most profound eschatological questions with child-like simplicity and naiveté (who made thee) much in the same way that the child inquires into his own first cause.

3. Myths and fables undergo a similar process. They are more caught up than fairy tales in doom, mutilation and dire outcomes that man is helpless to ameliorate. They are, in short, in the service of the superego.
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The Development of Personality: A Synopsis

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Abstract

The ontogenic and phylogenetic manifestations of human behavior are discussed. Theorists from different schools of thought have developed varying views as to how these processes affect personality. There are two underlying variables that are considered: that personality develops as a combination of influences, and that the way an individual perceives a given situation will inadvertently affect his or her overt behavior.

Resumen

Se analizan las manifestaciones onto y filogenéticas de la conducta humana. Teorías de distintas escuelas han propuesto diferentes puntos de vista acerca de cómo estos procesos afectan la personalidad. Se consideran dos posiciones: que existen una serie de factores que influyen en el desarrollo de la personalidad, y que la forma en que una persona percibe una situación dada afectará inadvertidamente su comportamiento.
There are several approaches to viewing human development. All the schools of thought: biogenetical, sociocultural, behaviors and psychoanalytical, have offered valid explanations for the antecedent conditions that lead to an individual's behavior. One can view personality development as a synthesis of hypotheses offered by these different approaches. It should be noted that in terms of research, nature and nurture topics are divided but, in actual human development they do not act separately.

A child's life does not truly begin when he/she is born. A person begins to develop before that and so does the influence on behavior. In some cultures, a person is considered to be one year old at birth (Conner, 1944). The child's genetic endowment will influence many of his or her overt and covert behavior manifestations. Genetic make-up effects everything from sex to eye-colour. These predispositions will inadvertently affect the rest of the child's development. For instance, temperament, a largely innate trait, can effect a child's coping strategies throughout his or her life. There are at least nine dimensions of temperament that can be identified in infants and which continue to be reflected in behavior as the child grows older (Thomas, 1970). Likewise, if a child is unfortunately born with a genetic deficit involving an extra 21st chromosome (Down's Syndrome), he or she must face life with mental and physical anomalies. Thus, a mongoloid child and a relatively average child, given the same environment, would develop quite differently.

Presuming the child has an adequate genetic makeup, the prenatal environment the mother provides also becomes an important issue. Poor diet, substance abuse, exposure to radiation, maternal stress and RH incompatibility will all affect the
normal development of the fetus. Depending on the teratology and their degree of seriousness, these factors can affect the fetus by resulting in low birth-weight, malformations and various other anomalies (Carmichael, 1970).

Should the child experience an optimal prenatal environment, the onus of responsibility is then on perinatal conditions. For instance perinatal abnormalities such as anoxia may result in lower I.Q. scores, learning disability and hyperactivity (Gottfried, 1973). This would again result in the child having to face the world in a different light.

Assuming all goes well in the birth process, we now have a tiny individual who is ready to grow in a world full of stimulation an influence. In infancy, the child is a bundle of needs which the child is unable to fulfill for itself. At this time, interactions with the caretaker are thought to be of utmost importance. Erikson (1963) refers to this as a time of basic trust versus mistrust. It seems that the mother's readiness to respond to the infant, to engage in social interaction, is important. Minimal interaction could result in deviant and anti-social behavior (Harlow, 1966).

A young infant is forced to remain in a relatively restricted environment because of its physical constraints. Therefore, his/her understanding of the world need only involve the simple aspects poleax world we know. According to Piaget (1952), the infant is at this time in a sensorimotor period. He or she experiences the world through inherited reflexes and innate perceptual abilities.

The next stage of an individual's life is marked by the development of language. Skinner (1957) believed that language was learned like other behaviors, through operant conditioning. Parents and others reinforce certain sounds and ignore others. Chomsky (1957), a linguist, violently opposed Skinner's view. In a tirade, he made clear
that a Language Acquisition System was innate and that every child comes basically equipped to speak. Language becomes a tool for the child; it enables his/her to interact more effectively in a primarily communication oriented world. Most of the influences on the preschool child come from the immediate family. At this time, a child learns much from observing her or his parents. According to Bandura (1977), most behavior is learned through observational learning.

The home environment plays an important role in personality development. The optimal type of parenting is thought to be authoritative (Baumrind, 1972). These parents demonstrated high control and positive encouragement of the child's independent strivings. Socioeconomic factors play a crucial role in child development. Children from lower socioeconomic status homes may be subject to many disadvantages and tend to score lower in scholastic achievement tests.

As the child enters school, there is a shift of influence from family to the teachers and peers. The teacher is likely to be the first adult outside the immediate family to play a major role in the child's life. Teachers continue to have significant influences on development throughout the school years. Many of the best teachers are described as authoritative-but not authoritarian (Baumrind, 1972). The school-age child also begins to develop peer relationships. These can influence many aspects of personality. Acceptance by peers is one of the strongest needs of children (Kandel, 1969). Development of moral conscience also begins to take shape at this time. Kohlberg (1963) refers to several stages of moral development which an individual progresses through. These stages include the preconventional, conventional and principled levels.
As an individual progresses into adolescence, he or she is faced with the dilemma of finding one's identity. Erikson (1968) referred to this time as one of identity versus ego confusion. Sex role typing is encountered for the second time in the person's life. The first time occurs when an individual resolves his or her Oedipus or Electra complexes and begins identifying with the same sexed parent (Freud, 1976). The sex stereotypes that are adopted in adolescence usually conform to social demands. However, there are some predispositions (environmental and genetics) that would make one more feminine or more masculine (Mussen, 1962).

With maturation, both physical and mental, comes added responsibility. By the legal age of 18, many people are forced to make many long-term decisions such as career choices and marriage. An example of one of the important decisions an individual faces is the dilemma of intimacy versus isolation (Erickson, 1963). Another crucial event is deciding to become parents (LeMasters, 1957). In one survey, fully 83 percent of middle-class couples interviewed were willing to call the arrival of their first child a severe crisis. These and other normative life crisis-changes that occur in the lives of most people (Daton and Ginsberg, 1975), will affect personality depending on how each event is dealt with.

Most would assume that personality has been fully developed by early adulthood. However, there are many mitigating factors which continue to influence behavior and personality. Individuals do not stop changing as they grow older. On the contrary, the added responsibilities of career and family require flexibility on the part of the individual in order to alleviate some of the dangers of stress (Anisman, 1979). It has been thought that older people who now seem rigid were rigid all their lives (Schaie, 1974).
The manner in which adults deal with the mid-life crisis will also affect their personality. This time has been referred to as the "deadline decade" (Sheehy, 1976). The person has to come to terms with the fact that some of his dreams may never come to light.

As individuals grow older, they continue to be faced with situations and dilemmas. Naturally, concerns about health and death are increased (Riegel, 1972). They must also come to terms with ever-decreasing intellectual ability (Weschier, 1972).

As the individual creeps up on old age, previous concerns about health and death are magnified. Erikson (1963) describes this period as one of integrity versus despair. Some individuals adopt a realistic and healthy outlook, while others become increasingly rigid, bitter and remorseful. The aged are accredited with the personality trait of wisdom by most cultures (Erikson, 1964). How well the aged prepared for their retirement in a financial sense will certainly be reflected in their behavior.

Comfortable, secure individuals will generally express an overall more satisfied and happy personality, whereas persons who are suffering will likely be bitter and depressed. Kubler-Ross (1969) identified five stages people go through when they are experiencing death. These stages include denial, anger, bargaining, depression and finally, acceptance.

Conclusion

As we have seen, from before birth until death, a person's personality undergoes changes and is affected in many ways. This issue can be seen from the views of many different approaches; biogenetical, environmental, behavioral, psychoanalytical or holistic. It is usually assumed that an
individual develops as a result of a combination of these influences.

It should be noted that each person is an individual. Theories have been developed pertaining to the norms of developmental characteristics. However, no person fits completely and neatly into any frame of reference. Individual differences tend to prevail. Indeed, each individual also has his or her own way of coping with that situation. These individual differences are demonstrated in overt displays of behavior and differential personality manifestations. Physical restrictions and rates of maturation may also account for deviations from the norms of development.
References


Implementing values

Implementing research: Putting our values to work

Irma Serrano-García, PhD

Abstract

Community psychology as a bourgeoning field has been deeply concerned about research issues. How and where research is done, by whom and for whom are questions that have pervaded its discussions. In search for answers to these questions, as well as in the quest for empowering solutions to social injustice, a model entitled intervention within research was developed. It is a product of critiques leveled at positivism and is heavily influenced by participatory research. Its overriding premise is that reality is socially constructed. Intervention within research considers and action inseparable and simultaneous processes thus making it equally important to acknowledge and plan both the research and intervention components of any study. Another basic premise of the model is the need for an horizontal relationship between all participants of the research process. This article presents the

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steps that must be taken at each stage -entry, continuation, ending- so as to foster participation of all those involved in the inquiry. In this manner joint control of science is fostered. The article concludes the control of science must be shared so as to increase peoples' commitment to society's transformation.

Compendio

La Psicología de Comunidad como disciplina naciente se ha preocupado siempre por la investigación. Dónde y cuándo se realiza, por quién y para quién, son preguntas que permean sus discusiones. En búsqueda de respuestas a las mismas, y tratando de identificar soluciones a las condiciones de justicia social se ha desarrollado un modelo titulado intervención en la investigación. Este es el producto de las críticas al positivismo y está fuertemente influenciado por la investigación participativa. Su premisa básica es que la realidad se construye socialmente. El modelo de intervención en la investigación considera estos dos procesos como inseparables y simultáneos requiriendo que se le atribuya igual importancia a la planificación de los componentes de investigación e intervención de cualquier estudio. Otra premisa fundamental del modelo es la necesidad de establecer una relación horizontal entre todas las personas participantes en el proceso investigativo. Este artículo presenta los pasos que deben tomarse en cada etapa -entrada, continuación, terminación- para fomentar la participación de todas las personas involucradas en la investigación. En esta forma se fomenta el control conjunto de la ciencia. El artículo concluye que el control de cualquier ciencia debe ser compartido para aumentar el compromiso de las personas con la transformación de la sociedad actual.
Research is one of the main endeavors of any science. It is the activity upon which knowledge is built. It is the core on which disciplines are founded or destroyed. Its undertaking and its results have been central issues for philosophers and scientists throughout the ages. How and where research is done, by whom and for whom, are questions that have pervaded their discussions.

Community psychology as a bourgeoning field has also been deeply concerned about these questions since the very origins of the discipline. It makes sense. They are unsolved and unending issues, vital to a group that sees itself as creating a new discipline, a new look at reality.

This paper will focus on implementation issues (how, where, by whom and for whom). It will also answer questions such as Why do we carry out research? According to what values? What context ought to be focused? What particular research techniques are being used, or should be used, to implement our values? Who should control the process and content of research?

Congruent with the espoused value of placing actions and beliefs within particular contexts (D'Aunno & Price, 1984), it is necessary that we become aware of the social, political and structural factors that shape our views toward research and action. I live in Puerto Rico, a Third World nation beleaguered by poverty and colonization. It is a country where United States "minorities" are the majority. It is a country where capitalism has failed and democracy is weak. Our culture, composed mainly of Taíno Indian, African and Hispanic roots, is being continuously bludgeoned by U.S. values and customs. Our language is still Spanish despite every effort, intitutionalized or not, to destroy it. Ours is an unstable country. The roots of radical change are easy to envision and the hope for total transformation of our social and political structure is ever present.
Community psychology in Puerto Rico is different from its U.S. version. Its origins were separate from Swampscott (Rappaport, 1977). It arose from a critique of traditional social psychology. Thus training of the Puerto Rican initiators of the discipline is not in the clinical area as was that of the founders of community psychology in the United States. Although the influence of the North American model of community psychology is pervasive in Puerto Rico, the influence of interdisciplinary thought particularly as refers to economics, sociology, social work and political science, is equally strong. We are continually questioning influences from the U.S. and seeking links with Latin America and other Third World nations. Marxism, structural phenomenology, anti and neopositivism and social constructionism are a strong and highly valued part of our scientific everyday life.

The majority of the faculty members of the community psychology program are and have always been feminist women. This is a setting where feelings and hard driven competition merge. The University of Puerto Rico is still mainly an institution where teaching and promotion depend on your excellence in the classroom to a higher degree than excellence (however defined) in research. One is given "brownie points" in the promotion process for both published and unpublished work.

Thus my professional context in Puerto Rico is one where the quest for change and empowerment is essential. Influence from Latin America and other Third World regions is continuous. Interdisciplinary "radical" thought is characteristic. Feminism is a strong value and research is of less importance than teaching. All these elements will and must be present in this paper, since the alternatives I propose arise from this social construction of reality.
Community Psychology's Values and Research

In a recent analysis of the historical development of community psychology in the United States and in Latin America\(^1\), Serrano & Alvarez (1985) identified two main periods of development for the discipline in the United States. One is framed in the years from 1965-1977 and the other from 1977 to the present. The first period was characterized by a departure from traditional clinical psychology and an effort to identify a coherent and unifying set of values. These included: (a) the importance of evaluating the social impact of our interventions (Bloom, 1973; Sarason, 1973); (b) a commitment to the underserved, to their definition of their needs and resources and to their capacity for change (Adelson, 1974; Bloom, 1973; Jason, 1977; Newbrough, 1973); (c) the partial abandonment of the expert role and the training of para-professionals (Bloom, 1973; Penn & Baker, 1976); (d) the development of a multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary focus (Catalano & Monahan, 1975; Sarason, 1973) with historical analysis as its basis (Repucci & Saunders, 1977), (e) the search for social justice and the equitable distribution of social and psychological resources (Iscoe, 1977; Rappaport, 1977; Reiff, 1975), (f) an interest in prevention as a value base and as a core concept (Catalano & Monahan, 1975; Kelly, 1975), (g) the centrality of cultural relativity and diversity (Moore, 1977; Rappaport, 1977) and (h) the search for alternatives to the medical model (Bloom, 1973).

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\(^1\) Community psychology is a developing field in Canada, Europe, Africa and the Pacific. However, I know of no systematic analysis of the development of the discipline in these areas so I will limit my discussion to information from the U.S. and Latin America.
The second period was characterized by the development of different "schools of thought" or models. Serrano & Alvarez (1985) identified five: Community mental health/prevention, Organizational, Social action/enpowerment, Ecological and Behavioral. Whether we agree with these labels or not is unimportant. The focus should be on the fact that these frameworks arose because their exponents defend different central values and their concommitant concepts and strategies. Serrano and Alvarez (1985) mentioned that when a comparison of these models was made only the following values were found to be shared by all models: (a) a basic premise that individual behavior can only be conceptualized as a result of person-environment transactions, (b) the importance of making values explicit, (c) and the centrality of prevention and change as basic concepts for the field.

In Latin America, community psychology has been characterized by the importance given to the practical solution of social problems and by the discipline's commitment to social and political change (Newbrough, 1985; Serrano & Alvarez, 1985). It has also been strongly influenced by developments in sociology, philosophy and education. Stemming from the critiques to traditional social psychology five conceptual frameworks were identified by Serrano & Alvarez (1985); Applied social psychology; Social technology; Psychology for social and economic development; Social-Community psychology; Transcultural psychology and Dialectical psychology. These vary mainly in their level of development and in the adaptation they have made of their values and concepts to their particular socio-political reality. Overall, the development of the discipline in Latin America is similar to that of the United States during the first period.

Table 1 presents a summary of these common values of community psychology both in the U.S.
Table 1

Summary of values that emerge as common ground for community psychology in the U.S. and in Latin American

**United States**

Individual behavior must be understood as a result of person-environment transactions.

It is important for community psychologists to make their values explicit.

Change and prevention are basic concepts of the discipline.

**Latin America**

Community psychology should be geared toward the practical solution of social problems.

Community psychology should be committed to social and political change.

Community psychology should have an inter-disciplinary focus.
and Latin America. The table shows that no common value is expressed in terms of research methodology. Although various authors both in the U.S. (Kelly, 1975; Newbrough, 1973; Susskind & Klein, 1985; Trickett, Kelly & Vincent, 1985) and in Latin America (Ander-Egg, 1980, Escobar, 1980; Fals-Borda, 1977; Serrano-García, In Process) have stressed the need for research in naturalistic settings, for an interactional causal model, and for an ecological paradigm, these do not emerge as the rule but are more certainly the exception. Indeed, as we review below the standards used to evaluate the methodological soundness of community psychology research in the U.S. we shall see that it is the traditional research paradigm which prevails.

Has our research responded to these values? Various authors in the U.S. have faced the challenge of answering this question. Novaco & Monahan (1980) and Lounsby, Leader, Meares & Cook (1980) carried out content analyses of the first six years of publication of the American Journal of Community Psychology (AJCP) and the Journal of Community Psychology (JCP). Novaco & Monahan (1980) found that the majority of the articles concentrated on program descriptions and individual characteristics and only a scant number dealt with primary prevention. Lunsby et al (1980) found similar results but reported an increase in articles dealing with public policy, program evaluation, and sociological and organizational issues. Both studies concluded that our research production was not with our es-

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1 The purpose of presenting this list of values jointly is not to insinuate that community psychology are one and the same in both geographical, and socio-political contexts. However, similarities are enough so as to lead us to believe that there is one emerging body of common thought and beliefs that encompasses both areas. I also wish to foster greater influence of Latin American ideas on North American community psychology.
poused values. Furthermore the research was not characterized by methodological sophistication according to traditional standards.

A more recent examination of community psychology's scholarship in the U.S. shows that the situation has not changed much. Lounsbury, Cook, Leader & Meares (1985) carried out a revision and update of the previously mentioned article analysing the research undertaken and published in AJCP and JCP between 1973-1982. They found that (a) there was a strong emphasis on applied research with little concern for theory development, (b) that the vast majority of subjects included in the research were affiliated to some type of institution, program or agency, (c) that very few researchers used a level of analysis other than the individual, (d) that most implications were drawn to a program or a specific problem and very few to a community or to society at large, and (e) that the vast majority did not indicate any deliberate intervention for modification of the environment. They analyzed their results to see if they could identify changes in these practices when looked at during two time periods, one from 1973 to 1977 and another from 1978-1982. They found more emphasis during the second period on specific problems and atheoretical research. During this same period there were more studies that use subjects from the community at large, and more implications were drawn to programs and problems than to the community as whole. Thus there is evidence of a continued gap between the espoused values of the field and the research content that is reported in its major journals.

The gap widens as we look at the relationship between the methodological values and community psychology's published research in the field. Lounsbury et al (1985) also analyzed the rigor and sophistication of the published research with criteria such as external and internal validity, correlational versus experimental tendencies, naturalistic
versus controlled settings and statistical analysis. Novaco and Monahan (1980) also looked at the empirical versus conceptual nature of community psychology's research. They found an emphasis on empirical studies and Lounsbury et al (1985) report that the research designs employed have not met the technical standards of sound experiments. Few studies used control or comparison groups, most studies used one single measurement strategy, sample sizes were small, and mostly nonrepresentative, and the vast majority used statistics mainly of a descriptive nature with lenient levels of statistical significance.

If further proof were needed to show the prevalence of the traditional research model, a look at the evolution of the research relationship in community psychology research would suffice. Walsh (1987) found that the typical study maintained the researched individuals in a passive position, without providing feedback and circumscribing the relationship to a unidirectional, non-collaborative one. Upon examining AJCP, JCP and publications in a Canadian journal, Walsh (1987) found that most studies used the term "subject" to refer to people that were researched, that active citizen participation and provision of feedback had been minimal, that authors did not provide explicit information about voluntary of informed consent and that no mention was made of citizen contributions to the data or to the research process. Although some distinguished

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1 As usual when paradigmatic changes are taking place, language can become our greatest ally or our greatest enemy. Most of our research uses the term subject to refer to the people that participate in our research but are not the researcher or part of the research team. This language stems from a vertical model for research relationships. Others have developed the term participant maintaining the vertical relationship model and thus referring to the researchers (who control the process) and the participants (who react to the process). I will use the term participants to refer to both researcher and researched since a horizontal relationship considers them both as contributing equally to the social construction of knowledge.
community psychologist that were interviewed mentioned the need for a new relationship between researcher and researched, few regarded a paradigm shift as essential to the development of this new type of relationship. We must conclude therefore that the values espoused within the discipline, both in terms of its content and its methods, have not found expression in its published research in the U.S.

In Latin America, there are no similar empirical studies regarding published research within the field of community psychology. It is my impression that there is less of a gap between values and research in Latin America in the application of research to community wide problems and in terms of the commitment to social and political transformation. However, traditional methodological values are emphasized greatly (Serrano & Alvarez, 1985). Latin American social scientists have assumed an emphasis on traditional methods and have devoted much of their effort to the development of alternative research models under the rubric of participatory research (de Schutter, 1983; Fals-Borda, 1985; Sangiwaiti, 1981). One such model will be presented in this paper as a means to bridge the gap between the discipline's espoused values and the methodologies that were used. However, bridging the gap requires the presentation of the values upon which this model was based. Most of these values presented previously were included. Other values, particularly those that impact on a methodological paradigm were altered suggesting a radical shift.
Social Constructionism and Empowerment: Guidelines for Intervention-within-Research

Positivism and Social Constructionism

During the past ten years a number of colleagues and I have developed a model we have termed *intervention within research* (Alvarez, 1980; Irizarry & Serrano, 1979; Martí, 1980; Martí & Serrano, 1983; Rosario, 1984; Santiago & Perfecto, 1983; Serrano, López & Rivera, 1987; Suárez, 1985). The model is a product of critiques leveled at positivism, and its inadequacy to achieve the objectives we sought. *Intervention within research* was also heavily influenced by recent developments in participatory research (Brown & Tandon, 1983); Convergence, 1975; 1981; Fals-Borda-1985.

The values of traditional research have been explicitly stated by a number of authors (Ander-Egg, 1973; Argyris 1980; Comité Organizador del Simposio de Cartagena, 1977; Myrdal, 1969; Ortiz, 1985; Sanguinetti, 1981). The basic notion that underlies positivism as the belief that reality exists outside and independent of human captation and that it can be "discovered" through observation and experimentation, is a fundamental value. This belief allows research and action to be seen as separable processes whereby one can study reality and then act upon it (D'Aunno, Klein & Susskind, 1985). This basic notion also assumes the creation of dichotomies such as "pure" vs. "applied" and "analysis vs. action" (D'Aunno & Price, 1984a). The use of research for the discovery of knowledge *per se* is thus legitimized without requiring that the impact of the study, or the possible implications of its results, go any further than a research report. Since it is assumed that the researchers have the skills and knowledge to
create the categories and parameters needed to describe and evaluate "the" reality, the traditional approach fosters the use of models and technologies alien to the researched population. From this process categories that are often contemplative, ahistorical and abstract that seek to discover a universal, generalizable reality, arise. These assumptions also lead to an emphasis on fragmented and quantifiable analyses, within rigid and limited theoretical frameworks. This frequently creates artificial situations and removes the object of study from its social context.

Positivism is also grounded on the belief that the researcher can and should be neutral; presumably the open expression or recognition of his or her values will make objectivity and validity impossible to achieve (Myrdal, 1969; Rubín de Celis, 1981). The researcher's main commitment to science and to the scientific community, overrides the commitment to the people who "provide us with our data".

This framework results in the development and strengthening of vertical relationships between the researcher and the researched. Moreover it leads to the depersonalization of the researched and keeps them in a passive and anonymous position that allows the researcher to totally control the research process. This reifies the value of science and "the expert role". Prevalence is given to intellectual over manual work, and to scientific knowledge over popular knowledge. Such research relationships also lead to the development of prescriptions whereby researchers tell the researched what they need, why they need it and how these needs can be satisfied.

When faced with these basic epistemological beliefs, those of intervention within research had to be explicitly stated. The overriding premise of the intervention within research model is that reality is socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; D'Aunno, Susskind & Klein, 1985; Gergen, 1985; Pol-
kinghorne, 1983; Susskind, 1985). Hare-Mustin & Marecek (1988) present this idea as follows:

Constructivism asserts that we do not discover reality, we invent it. Our experience does not directly reflect what is "out there" but is an ordering and organizing of it... Rather than possessively observing reality, we actively construct the meanings that frame and organize our perceptions and experience. Thus, our understanding of reality is... a representation, not a replica of what is "out there" (p. 455).

The understanding of reality will vary according to particular historical moments and places. Reality will not depend on observation and experimentation, but instead will be based on social exchanges undertaken so as to construct, understand and transform it (Gergen, 1985).

The models and methods that we create must allow for the free expression of the participant's social constructions. We must develop ways in which they can express the categories with which they interpret and give meaning to their world and which lead to individual and collective understanding of reality (von Eckartsberg, 1985). A new vision of totality, a multilevel approach, that incorporates as many aspects of human life as possible in an integrated fashion, is required. The proposed model calls for information provided by many disciplines and by popular knowledge itself. We cannot excluded historical analysis if we are to understand the way that the phenomena of interest has varied across times and cultures.

Intervention within research, rejects the false dichotomy between research and action and considers them inseparable and simultaneous processes (Irizarry & Serrano, 1979; Serrano-García, In Process; Trickett, Kelly & Vincent, 1985). All action requires research since human beings while acting...
construct and change their contexts as well as carry out informal kinds of investigation (interviews, social histories; Palau, 1977). Research is impossible without action because from the very moment we start uncovering social constructions of reality we have an impact on them. When a researcher administers a test, carries out a formal interview, or a community needs assessment, s/he has an impact upon the people involved. Planned it not, actions are set into motion at the first moment of the research contact. This means that it is equally important to acknowledge and plan both the research and the intervention components of any study taking into account their simultaneity and inseparability.

We believe that human beings cannot be neutral (Howard, 1985). Not stating our values, or saying that we do not have a position regarding an issue, is another way of supporting the status quo. When someone expresses the values that guide his or her work s/he facilitates the evaluation of that work. This open expression of values also allows the researcher to see how values influence endeavors, thus increasing objectivity. Informing people of our values is one of our main ethical principles.

It is also indispensable to establish a horizontal relationship, a relationship of partners in change (D'Aunno & Price, 1984; Keys, & Frank, 1987; Ortiz, 1985; Rappaport, 1977; Trickett, Kelly & Vincent, 1985). Acknowledging that the researched have habits, ideas and values which are different from but not worse than ours, that allow us to learn from each other, is an important step toward a collaborative relationship. The relationship that emerges should allow participants to share control of the research process as an instrument of their own development (Trickett, Kelly & Vincent, 1985). A recognition of the communities' potential to identify their own problems, needs and resources as well as their capacity for social, political and ideological development, is critical.
The developers of intervention within research believe that the primary commitment of researchers is to those people that make up the communities being investigated. This should not require eliminating other commitments to science or to the professional community. However, if conflict exists, our priorities should be clear.

One final clarification is necessary. Intervention within research is not action research. It is one version of participatory research. Although both models have much in common, they developed from different traditions and require different epistemological bases (Brown & Tandon, 1983). Action-research has been nurtured within positivism while intervention within research grows from social constructionism. Their commonalities include an interest in the solution of social problems, in the generation of scientific and practical knowledge and the commitment to the use of research results for concrete action steps Ketterer, Price & Politser, 1980. They differ most markedly in the relationship envisioned between research and action, in divergent commitments to the scientific versus the researched community and in the way they portray the role of the participants in the research process. Action-research presents the relationship between these two concepts as occurring in a cycle where research is begun, then followed by an intervention, which is then evaluated (Lewin, 1946; Schein & Bennis, 1965; Weiss, 1972). Intervention within research posits that these processes are simultaneous. Action-research stresses a commitment to the scientific community while participatory research places its emphasis on all participants, and where there is conflict, on those investigated.

Empowerment

Many of the previously mentioned premises are based not only on a social constructionist view of
science, but also on the certainty that a more equitable distribution of psychological and social (economic, cultural, political) resources is imperative (Joffe & Albee, 1981). This is one of the basic notions of empowerment.

An empowerment ideology views power as a relationship which expands as more people have access to it (Katz, 1984; López & Serrano-García, 1986; Swift & Levin, 1987). The perception of people in continuous transactions with their environments (Rappaport, 1981; Trickett, 19; Wolff, 1987), the belief that people have many competencies and resources (Freire, 1970; Rappaport, 1981), the idea of change as constant, the perception of the observer and intervener roles as characterized by subjectivity and relativity (Swift & Levin, 1987), the need for a differentiation of diverse levels of intervention Rappaport, 1977; Serrano-García, López & Rivera-Medina, 1987; Wolff, 1987) and a dialectic approach to the analysis of situations, are all premises central to an ideology of empowerment.

Empowerment is a process whereby people gain control over their lives individually and collectively (Gesten & Jason, 1987; Gruber & Trickett, 1987; Keiffer, 1982; Rappaport, 1981, 1987; Serrano-García, Suárez, Alvarez & Rosario, 1980). Contributions through research to the goal of empowerment have to develop a different set of guidelines than those which have underlied traditional research, which have led it to become an agent of control within an oppressive and unfair system. It is toward the elimination of this oppression and inequality that our efforts are directed.

Table 2 summarizes the values we have presented as a basis for an alternative research paradigm within community psychology; grounded on social constructionism and empowerment. The major differences between these values and those summarized in Table 1 lie in the explicitness of methodological premises that depart radically from positivism.
Tabla 2

Summary of values for intervention-within-research

Social constructionism

Reality is socially constructed.

An integrated multilevel vision of totality must be achieved.

An interdisciplinary focus that allows for the integration of scientific and popular knowledge is necessary.

Research and action are simultaneous processes. They are inseparable.

Neutrality is not a human possibility thus values should be made explicit to the researched and in our writings.

It is necessary to establish a horizontal relationship, one of partners in change, among research participants.

Our main commitment is to the researched.

Empowerment

We live in a society were psychological and social resources are unequally distributed. We must contribute to a change in this situation by facilitating the developing of processes and conditions whereby people gain control over their lives individually and collectively.

Power is an expanding commodity.

People are in continuous transactions with their environment.

People have many competencies and resources.

Change is a constant process.

A dialectic approach is needed to the analysis of situations.
We will now examine concrete ways in which to carry out research based on these values.

**Implementing our Values in Intervention within Research**

The horizontal relationship and participation

Participation is a central concept in the proposed alternative, as the means to a horizontal relationship among all research participants. This relationship is itself an essential premise to the possibilities of implementing our values within a framework of intervention-within-research. We must begin by defining participation, especially in contrast to a more frequently used term: collaboration.

The New Websters Dictionary of the English Language (1981) defines collaboration as "working together with others" (p. 197) while participation speaks "to taking part in, or sharing with another or others" (p. 691). The difference focuses on the fact that in participation decision making processes imply power and influence relationships (Wandersman, 1984). Collaboration denotes engaging the researched in executing the research while participation means entails their involvement both in planning, decision-making and execution of tasks in the research process. Thus collaboration is a part of participation but can also exist without it. When it exists by itself it can become just one more way to make the research relationship look more participative without it being truly so.

Awareness of the need for a more collaborative relationship between all research participants has been present for quite some time in our field. D'Aunno, Susskind & Klein (1985) present many examples of the initiation of these efforts since the 1940's, and more recently Chavis, Stucky & Wan-
dersman (1983), Chavis & Wandersman (1986), Rap-
paport (1985), Shinn & Rosario (1985) and Wanders-
man (1984), have initiated steps in this direction. Indeed there is a great concern among the leaders of our field regarding the continued development of collaborative relationships and for reports of their existence in our publications (Walsh, 1987). All these efforts are laudable and contribute to move our discipline in the direction of changes I believe are necessary.

However, they are not enough. The afore-men-
tioned studies develop this "different" relationship within the traditional paradigm and most of them have the scientists' concern in mind. One of example of this is found in the following excerpt:

"...returning and applying research may reduce citizens feelings of skepticism and mistrust, reduce refusal rates and improve research. The scientist may be keeping the door open for the next researcher who wishes to work in that sys-

Most of these works, including many of mine and my colleagues, involve community residents in the execution of a research process that was previously defined by the expert. This is certainly an improve-
ment over research processes which keep the rese-
arched totally isolated in a subservient role. How-
ver, if we really believe in newly formed relations-
ships, we ought to emphasize the need for resear-
chers to become participants, and share their con-
trol with people in the communities. Participation is not merely achieved by allowing people to execute particular portions of our research, or by convin-
cing them of its usefulness, or by having them react to its results. Participation requires that we iden-
tify prevailing social constructions of reality and in the process of doing so create new ones. For this to happen participants in research must decide what is
to be studied and why, and how it is to be done. Figure 1 presents a way to envision the levels of

**Figure 1**

Levels of participation in the research process

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evaluate</th>
<th>Execute</th>
<th>Plan action</th>
<th>Choose alt</th>
<th>Evaluate alt</th>
<th>Generate alternative</th>
<th>Obtain info</th>
<th>Define</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decide</td>
<td>Method</td>
<td>Define</td>
<td>Measurement</td>
<td>Data</td>
<td>Collection</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>Inter-pretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESEARCH PHASES</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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participation that participants can have in the research process. The horizontal axis presents the usual phases of any investigation. The vertical axis portrays the basic steps of the decision making process (Brim, Glass, Lavin & Goodman, 1962; Elliot, 1975; Schein, 1973). Ideally, have both the researcher/s and the researched should participate in all phases of both axes. However, this is probably utopic.

The degree of participation needed to define the object of study and decide the data collection methods depends on a variety of factors. First, factors that focus on the researchers, include his or her: (a) paradigmatic position regarding research, (b) the commitment to participation and to shared control of the research process, (c) skills and knowledge in concretizing these values, and (d) institutional affiliation and the constraints it generates. Secondly, factors that concern the researched more directly are their (a) prevailing attitudes and concepts about scientific inquiry, (b) their levels of literacy and other "academic" skills and (c) the social-political climate regarding participation in the community. A third set of important factors that have an impact on participation include: (a) the social-political climate towards participation in the society at large, and (b) whether the researchers' entry was requested by the community or solicited by the researchers themselves.

Additionally total participation in all phases on both axes is highly improbable because research has shown that most people when making decisions delete various steps in the process, usually those that relate to generating and evaluating alternatives (Brim, Glass, Lavin & Goodman, 1962). There is no reason to believe, that despite our training, and with the many pressures of a political and social nature present in community research, participants in this kind of endeavor will not do the same.
Allowing for all these factors, Figure 2 signals out those areas which seem to be the essential minimum of participation in order to achieve an-

**Figure 2**

Minimum levels of shared participation
equitable relationship which fosters that all participants share control of the research process. It seems to me that only through this minimum can all the values in Table 2 be fully realized and implemented.

Entry, Continuation and Ending

In order to specify how the values in Table 2 can be implemented the research process is divided in three separate phases. During entry, the first phase, definition and methodological decisions are made. Secondly continuation includes those steps for the development of measures and for data collection. Finally, during the ending phase the data is analyzed, interpreted and disseminated.

Entry - For a long time many authors have expressed concerns about the entry process (Ander-Egg, 1973; Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, Spradley, 1979; Serrano-García, 1984). It is the phase in which the basis for the research relationship is formed. It can make or break a project. Entry is also the moment when many of your values will "show through". There is debate about how much information ought to be provided to the researched community1 concerning the purposes and methods of the study (Gorden, 1980; Selltiz, Wrightman & Cook, 1976), about whether the researcher should reveal his/her identity or not (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; D'Aunno, Susskind & Klein, 1985), and about the different roles that both parties should play. Assuming that a participatory relationship is sought, the debate is not of great concern. What we need are ways to share as much information as possible, to reveal our identity and purposes honestly and to clarify all participants's roles.

1 I will be referring during this section to a large community. The processes and the structure or research will be simplified if the intervention within research takes place within a smaller community.
Revealing information is a two way process. Researchers have as much to learn about the community as community members have to learn about the researchers: How we go about disclosing information depends on who initiated the contact. If the community invited the researchers to work with them, they will tend to have much more influence on determining the object of study and the methodology to be used than if it is the other way around. Clearly, if they have invited the researcher, the community groups is likely to have spent some time garnering information about us, just as we obtain information about them if we contact them first.

Whoever has initiated the contact should promptly share with the other intended research participants the information gathered during this initial period. Sources should be revealed and data should be summarized in meetings, in written form or however else it may seem appropriate. In order to be consistent with the values of an integrated, multilevel, historical vision with an interdisciplinary focus, information should be obtained from archival data, from old-timers in the community, and from demographical, sociological and anthropological studies (Trickett, Kelly & Vincent, 1985). If this has not been collected at the time of the initial contact, it should be gathered jointly.

During this period all participants should discuss how the setting has previously coped with and adapted to outsiders, how the local culture defines scientific inquiry, and how according to current norms and practices people participate in community affairs. They should also share their values concerning all these issues. The dissemination of information should be spread out as widely as possible to incorporate groups representing different segments of the community (Brown, 1983), such as
community informants, community leaders, and people on the streets as researchers interact in the daily lives of the community and become familiar faces. The research effort should identify a place in the community, either rented or provided by a community resident, to serve as a center for all meetings and communications. It should preferably be a place where people have customarily met before (Trickett, Kelly & Vincent, 1985). The social construction of reality that is to be studied must be newly created since the researchers were not previously a part of it.

During the entry phase it will be necessary to establish a decision-making team for the project. It could include members of the groups or organizations initially contacted, or people elected from forums and assemblies or both (Bernal, Serrano, Alvarez & Ribera, In process). The research project will then consist of three layers: the decision-making team (*Core-group*), the organizations, groups or assemblies from which its members emerged (*Intermediate group*) and the other members of the community (*Community members*). Depending on the methods selected for data collection, this third group may be classified in two categories: data providers and non-data providers (Bernal *et al.* In process; Santiago & Perfecto, 1983). The intermediate group must be informed and should be consulted about project decisions in order to widen the community's influence on the project. Clear guidelines should be developed regarding the nature of decisions entrusted to the core group and those which will require consultation with the intermediate group. Clearly, the need for an organizational structure which allows for meeting and mobilizing the intermediate group or for other ways to consult them (referendums, loose-leaf information) that do not require their meeting is evident.
The core group, in consultation with the intermediate team, and if possible with the entire community (Santiago & Perfecto, 1983) should decide what problem to study and how to go about it. They should negotiate the purposes sought, and share their commitments to sponsoring or funding institutions, or to specific interests groups within and outside of the community. In fact, there are individual commitments to external groups or organizations everyone should explicitly make clear whether they are negotiable, and to what degree. Finally, the core group should define clear and tangible goals and objectives.

It is important to establish a relationship of trust and honesty where the commitment to an equal distribution of resources within the research process is clear. The resources that the researchers can provide such as time, consultative or teaching skills, communication to outside resources, contributions to the maintenance of already available community resources and creation of structures to facilitate participation (D, Aunno & Price, 1984; Santiago & Perfecto, 1983; Trickett, Kelly & Vincent, 1985) need to be specified. Similarly, the researched should be clear about the resources this kind of effort will require such as time, energy, insight about community processes, communication efforts with different segments of the community and willingness to learn new skills and concepts. In my experience, often clearer definitions of the roles of all participants, different from the traditional roles of expert versus subject emerge in this process.

Continuation

The belief in the social construction of reality acquires utmost importance during the process of measurement design and construction. The use of predefined concepts measured by predefined categories as a first step, is totally inconsistent with this
value. It presupposes that there is one reality that
the researchers or the researcher may discover.
Thus, the first task in constructivist measurement
design must be the search for meanings and catego-
ries attributed by the participants to the object of
study. Such categories can be obtained in the com-
munity through unstructured or focalized inter-
views (Alvarez, 1980; Colón, 1982; Rosario, 1984;
Spradley, 1979; Wepner, 1977), community forums
(Solano, 1979), nominal groups (Martí, 1980), open-
ended questionnaires (Vergara, In process), life
histories (Runyan, 1984) or any other format which
allows for unadulterated input from the community.
The data gathered in this process can then be used
as the end result of this process if it fulfills the esta-
blished objectives, or it may then be categorized by
the research participants (Bernal et al. In Process)
so as to allow for the construction of structured ins-
truments (attitude scales, structured interviews and
questionnaires). Final decisions regarding measu-
rement construction should be the result of a pro-
cess of negotiation. If the participants agree to use
predefined categories or instruments, evaluations
and opinions regarding such measures are in order.

Researchers should also participate in this
"meaning search" to secure input form all partici-
pants. It is at this point that the use of traditional
literature reviews is called for, as well as team dis-
cussions or individual "thought" papers regarding
the object of study (Bernal et al. In process). These
suggestions may include the use of valid positivistic
techniques. A priori exclusion of any techniques, or
the validation of only the meanings ascribed by the
researchers, would result in inadequate "populist
research" and the sacrifice of considerable expert-
tise available from the researchers. This model, far
from rejecting traditional scientific knowledge,
purports to enrich it through its integration to po-
pular knowledge.

The "meaning search" that has just been descri-
bed constitutes one first step in the data collection process. It may be followed by a more traditional data collection phase with community participation\(^1\). Regardless of the magnitude of the entry process, in most cases large segments of the community will remain unaware of the research effort until the measurement and data collection phases begin. Often another type of entry will be necessary to maximize the inclusion of people as data providers in the study.

It is important for data providers to be informed about the identity of the research participants, their institutional affiliations and their bases of support. Furthermore, they should be aware of the purposes of the research effort, the potential use of the data and the process that has already taken place. They should be asked whether they wish to provide the data requested and should be informed of what this implies in terms of their time, energy and knowledge. Furthermore they ought to be informed of any potential risks involved in providing the information and be allowed to refuse to continue providing it at any point during the process. The confidentiality of the information they provide should be guaranteed in as many ways as possible and they should be consulted as to whether the reports that emerge from this study may be published\(^1\) and as to

\(^1\)I will avoid the use of the term sample since it implies a belief in the concepts of generalizability and representativeness. The underlying belief in these concepts is that people characterized by a set of qualities can represent others with similar ones. That assumes that these qualities have the same influence across human beings on their perceptions of "the" reality. It also assumes a similarity in the social processes that these people have engaged in. These premises are not part of those that make up the epistemological basis of constructionism.

\(^1\)It is necessary to decide what number of people must reject the possibility of publication before the participants are willing to forego this goal. It is also necessary to ascertain what portions of the study could be omitted from publication so as to make the final output acceptable to those who reject the possibility of publication of the data.
whether they wish their community to be identified. Finally, data providers should be informed of the means to provide them with feedback about the information gathered and to involve them in the development of future action plans (Alvarez, 1980; Carrasquillo, 1984; Castañeda, Domenech & Figueroa, 1987; Colón, 1982; López, 1984; Rosario, 1984; Suárez, 1985). This process of continuation contributes to give all the participants control over the information that is gathered and over the socially constructed reality that is to be portrayed. Data providers can confront the core and intermediate groups at various points with the need to change the established object of study and to revise established procedures and formats. These changes provide unique opportunities for the research participants and the community at large to explore responses to the research process and to generate creative interventions.

**Ending**

The final phases of the research process include the analysis and interpretation of data and its process of dissemination. There is a strong tendency in most research to make data analysis the exclusive purview of the "experts" because it can require special skills or particular technologies. If the previous phases of entry and continuation have developed as previously described, there should be a sizeable

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1 Publicizing the information obtained in a community study can have unexpected political consequences. For example, powerful segments of society may act to remedy a specific situation to discourage widespread inconformity or dissent, or they may act immediately before the community can organize or mobilize its own resources thus obstructing its internal empowerment. The participants should be aware of these possible side-effects and decide accordingly if the community should be identified in the publications that emerge from the study.
number of participants and data providers that understand the nature of the data that is obtained and can be trained; if required, to analyze the results (Santiago & Perfecto, 1983). If computers are necessary a terminal can be rented or purchased for use in the community facilities (D'Aunno, Susskind & Dlein, 1985) and the appropriate training be provided. Lack of knowledge should not be a hindrance to participation in this process since it should be a priority for the community to be able to share control of the whole research process. Interpretation, future implications and action plans which may stem from the data will be limited to a few if all participants are not involved in some degree in the analysis.

Interpretation of the data should be done as collectively as possible. For example, the data should be disseminated in various ways. A written summary should be prepared and distributed in the community (Alvarez, 1980, Irizarry, 1979; Rosario, 1980). Community forums, workshops or assemblies should be organized (Castañeda, Domenech & Figueroa, 1987; Chavis, Stucky & Wandersman, 1983; Santiago & Perfecto, 1983) starting with the data providers, and spreading out to other segments of the community. People should be asked about their reactions to the data and a special emphasis should be placed on the contradictions that the data elicits. Questions like the following should be asked: Is the data consistent with their social construction of reality? Is it surprising and why? What does the data mean in terms of their social situation? Are there contradictions within the results? What have they learned about the object of study? About themselves? About their community? What changes should take place according to the results?

Once this is done community members should discuss future action plans. At this point, the researchers should clarify their commitments. Are they continuing in the process and accompanying the
residents in future interventions? Are they providing ideas and suggestions and leaving the community to handle its own fate? Are they available for further consultation if they leave? The researchers should provide ideas for the creation of community structures and mechanisms that foster the continuation of community action. It is always difficult to judge when to leave because one is caught between the struggle to minimized dependency on expert skills, the difficulty of cutting loose from the personal relationships and commitments that may have developed and the reality of a process which should only be transitory for the researchers. In my opinion however, a permanent commitment is unrealistic and unfeasible and thus must not be stated or even insinuated. This process must be negotiated from the beginning making it the issue where entry and ending become one.

Table 3 presents a summary of the strategies that I have discussed so far. The relationship between these strategies and the values that were presented in Table 2 should become apparent. Tabla No. 3 (Pág. 80)

Unsolved issues

I do not wish to give the impression that once we have decided upon the set of values presented before, and have implemented the above suggestions mentioned above, the road is clear. There are many unsolved issues to be tackled. These include:

1) The research process described above consumes much more time than the traditional research process. Efforts invested in maintaining the horizontal relationship between research participants and the "meaning search" that is necessary for measurement design, are extremely time consuming.

2) There is greater stress on community resources than in the traditional model creating resistance from community members.

3) Community participants are imbued with the
traditional ideology and initially and sometimes permanently resist the degree of involvement that this method requires. In some situations the resistance is such that requiring their participation may become another form of oppression.

4) Researchers are not trained in the use of this model. Although they may believe in it they probably do not have many of the social, organizational and political skills it requires.

5) Institutions where researchers are employed do not generally support this type of research effort. Thus, the researcher may be risking his or her employment and status by engaging in participatory research.

6) When one is invited to the community by one particular group, can one be certain that this group is minimally representative of community concerns, that it will allow participation, and will not constitute a divisive force? If one is not invited to the community, should one enter at all?

7) How sure can we be of the choice of members for both the core and intermediate groups? What mechanisms will allow the creation of groups that are committed to community well-being and empowerment?

8) Most of the data analysis methods that are known to social scientists take an inordinate amount of time particularly in light of the community's demands for prompt feedback and solutions. To compound this issue we are taught not to use results until analysis is complete and thorough. Can methods be designed to yield accurate results in a shorter period of time? If not, what is the minimum of precision that we would be willing to compromise for?

9) Should we require that community psychologists incorporate these values and strategies as a whole or is there a minimum that would be an improvement over the current state of traditional research even if a paradigmatic change does not occur?
In my concluding remarks I will turn to this last issue, that of a minimum set of standards and criteria, which according to the premises and strategies of constructionism and empowerment should be used to evaluate research executed and published in community psychology.

The Minimum: Collaboration

Just as I previously stated that having participation at all levels and in all phases seemed utopic, it would be illusory to believe that a discipline that is now characterized by positivism and prevention will radically shift its posture to constructionism and empowerment. There are already some indications of movement in this alternative direction (Klein, 1985; Rappaport, 1981; 1987; Swift & Levin, 1987, Trickett, Kelly & Vincent, 1985; Wolff, 1987) which are encouraging and lead me to believe that requiring collaboration as a minimum for all community research would not be unrealistic.

Our definition of collaboration requires "working with others". It means that participants in the research project should jointly carry out the tasks, and make some of the decisions that the task requires. This minimum balance of task performance and decision-making was portrayed in Figure 2. Thus in terms of the researcher-researched relationship I would ask that all community research that is to be carried out follow, and report in publications, procedures whereby the researchers;

a) inform the community of their identity, affiliation, object of study and methodology to be used.

\[1\] I do not have the space to empirically support the emphasis of prevention in community psychology. It seems to me that when Division 27 of the American Psychological Association considered the possibility of changing its name to preventive psychology the message could not have been more explicit.
b) obtain informed consent from the community where the research project is to take place
c) guarantee confidentiality of information
d) obtain the community's authorization for the publication of final reports
e) involve community members in data collection, and
f) disseminate the data to the community when the research ends.

Other minimums should be achieved so as to implement adequately the values we mentioned earlier. Community research should (a) take place in the community, not in the laboratory or the classroom; (b) report its implications (intended or not) considering its impact at multiple levels of analysis; (c) use techniques that foster community action and empowerment over techniques that foster individual action and atomization of communities (Martí & Serrano-García, 1983); (d) not depend exclusively on the scientific literature for the determination of its object of study or on the psychological literature for its justification. Evidence of other disciplines' contributions as well as that of the members of the researched community should be required.

If these minimums are obtained, I am sure that other levels of participation will gradually follow. I have confidence in community members who will not carry out many of the tasks required without being allowed, or guaranteed, some level of decision-making. The struggle for equality within the research relationship will continue whether we're open to it or not. It is happening in the third world, slowly but surely, because in many countries the oppression exerted by those whose control the scientific enterprise is more overt and deliberate that it is in the United States. If we wish to contribute to profound changes in our societies, we must foster joint control of science. Knowledge produced by scientists is not the objective description of an outside reality but the subjective creation of a social
phenomenon. We must control science because the creation and understanding of this social phenomenon will enhance our commitment to its transformation.

Table 3

Values, Strategies and Moments in the Research Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Moments in Research</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socially constructed reality; People in continuous transaction with environment; Dialectic approach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vision of totality</td>
<td>Information search from multiple sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific &amp; Popular Knowledge People's resources</td>
<td>Discussions with different segments of the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research and action as inseparable; Change as constant</td>
<td>Continuous revision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal relationship Power is expanding commodity &amp; is inequally distributed</td>
<td>Equal influence en decision making processes at all moments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing pre-entry information and sources</td>
<td>Local within community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main commitment to the researched</td>
<td>Negotiation of purposes, resources</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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