

The cultural capital of the family in the social development of the child

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ABSTRACT

The socialization process of the autistic child is fundamental for his development as an individual. The purpose of the research was to analyze within this process, the relationship of the cultural capital incorporated in the families about different disorders that mark autism and the social development of the child. It is a triangular study where qualitative and quantitative techniques were used. The results indicate that the different dimensions of autism incorporated in the cultural capital of families are elements that intervene through appropriate actions in the positive development of the autistic child's socialization.

Keywords: Socialization; Dimensions; Autism; Action; Education; Socialization; Autism.

Introduction

This work responds to the need that exists in the social spaces where a child with autism lives, for a systemic organization that integrates the operative elements in social relations to be manifested. Likewise, a tangible influence is visible between the biological and psychological factors that condition a specific behavioral exposure; and the external stimuli self-organized in the social environment. It becomes necessary then, to undertake

an approach to the inter-influence of these dimensions of reality, which are concretized in the socialization process.

To a certain extent, it is in this context that the practices of inclusion, education, participation, etc., of everyday life operate. In a certain sense, these can cause considerable damage when the recipes, typifications, ethnomethods, symbols and signs present form a cultural capital without taking into account the characteristics of the autistic person, due to a misinterpretation of specific behavioral manifestations. Therefore, the social dimension in the socialization process of children with autism spectrum disorders (ASD) is of utmost importance.

From the pioneering contributions of Grunya Efimovna Sukhareva in the 1920s to current studies, the socialization process has never been directly or indirectly absent in research conducted in the field of autism. Angel Rivièri marks a turning point in the analysis of this component. He integrates the psychological dimension, recognizes the biological implications with the social and the frame of reference to be used; moreover, the human and value aspects are not exempted. This constructs a general prism to think and interpret autism from its complex operability and to be able to influence the development of the human, without losing sight of the fundamental contributions that preceded it.

The most widely used instrument for diagnosis in recent years is the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-V), 5th Ed. © 2014. But it has continued to have a considerable impact the work of Rivièri & Martos (1998) to confront the challenge imposed by the socialization process where the autistic child participates. New intervention methods have appeared and existing ones have continued to be improved, as is the case of the "ABA" (The Council of Autism Service Providers, 2021) DENVER (Jhuo and Chu, 2022) among others.

Development

The socialization process of the child with ASD becomes a social product, in which a set of regular actions are interwoven in order to enhance the child's social skills. Little success is obtained if these tendencies of actions are not organized by a scientific and technical guide.

When examining the environment where the child with ASD intervenes, a limitation operates, whose external sign is observed in the behavior of the autistic and the actors who interact by means of recipes, typifications and ethnomethods. A network of regular relationships is formed, which mark its complexity, due to the degree of development that the phenomenon demands from the cultural capital as a basic tool for a gradual development in the autistic child's development.

For the study of this phenomenon, a set of methodological actions was determined which implied that, in a first phase, a preliminary exploratory study was applied on the management of the autistic child in terms of his integral development. This first approach led to the concern about the impact of the cultural capital that the family possesses in terms of the development of the autistic child. There are families whose regular actions were conditioned by the child's behavior, deforming social relations and creating chaotic and irregular worlds for the child's development. However, in one case, one of the families used as a frame of reference, without a specific program, the contents of the twelve dimensions affected in autism; it interacted with the child in everyday life, taking these elements into account. This characteristic confirmed the importance of the cultural capital incorporated in the socialization agent, the family.

Documentary analysis was applied (Quintana, 2006), following these authors, five actions were established.

- The existing literature on the dimensions affected in autism used by the agents of socialization of autistic children in the city of Santiago de Cuba was traced and inventoried. Preferably parents and teachers. The literature had to meet the requirement of having been used in practical management applications with visible results.
- The documents were classified as classic works; books and current scientific articles.
- The "most relevant documents for the purposes of the research" (p. 66) were selected. The selection criterion was framed in that they had practical application and were used as a reference for the management of the socialization process of autistic children by some of the four families studied.
- The content of the selected documents was read "in depth, in order to extract elements of analysis and record them in (...) marginal notes that register the patterns, tendencies, convergences and contradictions that are discovered" (p. 66).

As we located the different lines of analysis, we grouped and compared them with each other, specifying the different aspects and the ways in which they could be integrated.

- We read "in a crossed and comparative way (...), no longer on the totality of the content of each one, but on the findings previously made, in order to build a total comprehensive synthesis, on the human reality analyzed" (p. 66). In this phase, the use of only a limited group of dimensions was determined, taking into account the complexity and breadth of the phenomenon.

In a second phase, empirical data were collected in a non-probabilistic sample of four children with autism, seven teachers from the William Soler School in Santiago de Cuba, Cuba and eight parents. The criteria for the selection of the children focused firstly on their full-time attendance at the William Soler School for autistic children in Santiago de Cuba. Secondly, in the case of three of them, the social behavior of the family was almost entirely oriented by the children's behaviors and the third selection criterion was focused on a child who lived in the family where the family had in its cultural capital knowledge of the 12 disorders that make up part of the autistic spectrum.

The interview was chosen because of its predominantly constructive, non-directive and open nature. As a second technique, content analysis (Pochintesta & Baglione, 2022) was also applied to the traveler's notebook. This is a kind of diary used as a tool for communication between the family and the school regarding the child's behavior and participant observation.

The theoretical data collected in the first phase were integrated with those that emerged from the empirical study by cross-checking the information.

The results show a complexity in the creation of adequate conditions for the autistic child to progress in the external manifestations of the human. It then appears that the ideal for the development of the autistic child's socialization process is the coexistence in a functional organization of coexistence groups. In addition, it is necessary to have procedures, rules, scientific codes that can be manifested in social interactions in a positive way, in function of the improvement of the socialization process. This generates uncertainty due to the specialization and degree of complexity of scientific meanings.

According to the development of the autistic child, a series of interpretative components are created, which Rivièri & Martos (1998) conceptualize in dimensions.

These twelve dimensions are divided into groups of three each, forming four main blocks: social development (social relationship disorder, joint reference disorder, intersubjective and mentalistic disorder), language and communication (disorder of communicative functions, expressive language disorder, receptive language disorder), mental flexibility and anticipation (anticipation disorder, mental and behavioral flexibility disorder, disorder of the sense of self-activity) and symbolization (fiction disorder, imitation disorder; suspension disorder) (León, 2020, p. 46).

These elements, not being developed in a typical way by the individual, truncates the interaction with his environment. For example, "difficulty in social interaction and verbal and nonverbal communication, (...) absence of spontaneous behaviors aimed at sharing pleasures, interests or achievements with other people, (...) lack of social or emotional reciprocity" (Lee, 2021, p. 205). These characteristics induce a transformation in the entire socialization system. Parents mobilize in the search for answers, explore specialized institutions, organize practices within the family context, in the community, in the circle of family and close friends with the aspiration that the individual improves his or her behavior and quality of life in general.

Of the four families studied in this research, family A denied the condition and sought various criteria. In the other three families there was denial, but acceptance was more rapid. Common to all was helplessness and suffering.

The communication in the network of social relationships, maintained a tense state within the family circle and with some social distancing at the beginning. When measuring the knowledge of the community about the existence of the four autistic children studied in this research, 100% of the people living in the neighborhood know about the children's condition.

Interaction and companionship are the basis of the socialization process and only from it alone is the individual able to develop. "And, if he is a human child he will only be able to develop in interaction and company, elaborating and internalizing human interactions in the form of intrapsychic mental functions" (Rivièri & Martos, 1998, p. 27).

Family A in our study established certain actions as a function of the child's sociability: a member of the family would sometimes buy small gifts and upon arriving home would say: surprise! hiding the present, the family would participate as in a game. In the first 43 days the child showed the characteristic of the disorder, not paying attention to the action

and moving away. He began to respond to the experience at 44 days. From that moment on, every time a family member arrived, he was happy and said "surprise", looking for the gift. He introduced in a third moment a prayer saying "mom you brought surprise?" The actions of the family ended up being significant for the autistic child, now it operates as a symbolic interaction and provokes chains of family reactions; the family is organized according to it.

When the gift did not arrive, he performed inappropriate actions. It manifested itself as a fixed idea. Through the interpretation of the behavior by the parents, it was concluded that its genesis came from one of the dimensions affected in autism, since "children diagnosed with ASD show great mental rigidity in the face of changes" (León, 2020, p. 45).

It is necessary for the socialization agents to carry out an interpretation exercise according to the greatest amount of the child's behavior, since the meaning and the elements that condition it are valued. This must be a familiar operation which must be accompanied by the different dimensions affected by autism.

Once this regular element of the interaction was determined, the family agents decided to perform the same action, but in a different way. That is, they would arrive and communicate to the child a logical justification as to why a surprise was not brought, using the term gift. They began to vary without a pattern the days that such action was performed, with the intention of making the interaction more flexible, influencing the affected dimension. In this particular family, the different dimensions contributed by Rivièri & Martos (1998), which influenced the forms of social relations, were present in the interactions and in the family manifestations, were incorporated in the form of meaningful codes. In the other three families, the predominant habits and actions were based on common sense. Therefore, lived experiences, social representations, codes and scientific postulates must operate in social relations.

A common world of actions is formed around the morning toilet, the different meals, formal education, the game in the doorway or on the sidewalk. In this framework, actions emerge in which the autistic actively participates, or coexists, not aligned in a significant way with the group or independent agents. The need arises to incorporate him/her as far as possible into the meaningful action.

In the autistic the rupture is constant and is commonly manifested in an unintentional way, due to the fact that the autistic operates with his constructed world through internalized experiences. These possess a set of codes, which guide the action. In this sense, this incorporated external world is configured towards the external through procedures, methods and practices that are totally limited, and operate within these limits, influencing the biological level, which further complicates the process. The present behavioral framework will accompany these limited experiences whose response of the socialization agents will be behavioral management, with its logic.

In observations made to the four families studied, in two of them, behavioral management not only implies a bad application of the techniques within the family, which is a competence to be developed, but also ignores the main part of the process, the incorporation by the autistic of operative social codes that allow him/her not only to develop his/her self, as a central component, but also to incorporate social recipes that make integration into society possible. Behavioral management aims at freeing the autistic from limiting behaviors that will allow him/her to better appropriate social codes. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze which are the first codes to be incorporated and how it will be done. The how implies a cultural and scientific symbolic capital that cannot be limited to the doctor or the therapist and his technique.

Men learn society in society (Santana, *et al.*, 2023), autistic people cannot learn society outside society. Therefore, it is essential to connect social codes in the form of significant symbols with lived experiences, in a dialectical development, in the sense of conceptual generalization at the interpretative level. This implies the participation of the agents of socialization in these common experiences, taking into account the form of interaction and the subjective information involved.

A model to follow is proposed: control of both biological and behavioral symptoms with social implication. At this level operates the medical technique, the psychological technique; start by identifying the affected dimensions that manifest themselves in the individual, both biological and psychological, behavior and management at an individual level. The second component is the social framework structured according to the autistic. At this level operates the sociological, anthropological, psychosocial, pedagogical technique; analyzing the network of relationships where the autistic lives, the influence of this network positive or negative on the dimensions affected in the autistic, the scientific symbolic capital incorporated in the agents of socialization, in correspondence

with the human development of the autistic. The interdependence and interactions, forms and types of knowledge learned and how to do it. The influence of one level on another in a circular way, and the creation of a social world at least at the family level, where the scientific codes can act limiting the autistic's manifestations, integrating him/her to the network of relationships, in function of a more competent socialization.

By studying the professional interaction, it was possible to verify a set of norms, procedures and codes that form a scientific cultural capital that influences a certain time (educational time and therapeutic time). This occupies 34%, generating opportunities for fruitful development only in this framework. Therefore, these components paralyze their development by being inadequately operated in the socialization agencies. In other words, the socialization process is self-organized with a series of elements in the framework of social interaction that can delay development. The above was refuted only by family A, which used adequate cultural capital in 66% of the remaining time. In this particular case not only the child has not stopped its development but also the family inwardly shows greater functionality and happiness. In this process, it is revealed that it is not the same to interact directly on some of the autistic characteristics as it is to interact on the development of the self, or the characteristics of the child as a human social being.

At the school for autistic children in Santiago de Cuba, excellent results have been obtained by directly managing limiting behaviors. For example, autistic children who admit only one type of food have been able to broaden their tolerance to a greater diversity, forcing them to ingest radically. Of course, this management has been accompanied by a series of specific biological and psychological evaluations according to each individual, which allowed to determine to a certain extent the application of such a procedure. One of the children studied had this protocol applied to him. These radical practices limit the socialization process and are only advisable under certain circumstances and reviewed by competent professionals. This does not mean that this logic is applicable to the dynamics that make the development of the human emerge, but rather that it limits it. It is explained by the imperative need for the development of the self that the individual has, to incorporate significant symbols. Without these, neither the theory of mind can be developed, nor will intersubjectivity take place. This causes a partial or total isolation according to the real affectations at the biological level and the social operations.

In the present study it was possible to verify that the agents of socialization in their daily interaction were shaping during a certain time a cultural capital. These elements work in two lines of action, the first is aimed at directly influencing the autistic and the second, with the same importance, refers to the manifestations of these in social life. They all act within the framework of socialization, taking into account its four main elements, i.e. organization of social actors according to the process, social interaction, internalization in the form of learning and externalization.

In accordance with this more external level, it is necessary to go deeper into the impact that some dimensions affected in the autistic person have on the general process through behavior. This does not mean that the other dimensions do not have an impact on the process. They are all interrelated in their behavioral manifestation. But analyzing them all is beyond the scope of this article.

The qualitative disorder of social relations in children with autism spectrum disorder, loneliness, inability or difficulty in relating, is considered the essential root of the disorder (...) this trait seems to refer to a limitation of internal complicity in relationships (a disorder of intersubjective competences) (Rivièri & Martos, 1998, p. 69). (Rivièri & Martos, 1998, p. 69).

The ability to relate is fundamental for the emergence and development of socialization in its broadest sense. Therefore, socialization actions take on greater importance, since the environment surrounding the autistic person influences his/her behavior and the way he/she perceives reality. But not every world has a positive influence on the autistic child. Some worlds where autistic children live are chaotic and traumatic for them, where their condition has provided important elements for their self-organization.

It is worth asking whether a dysfunctional family, with many contradictions, is a suitable world for the autistic child. The answer is obvious; the complicated thing in this situation would be how to make an operative world for the coexistence and development of the child if the process is organized with dysfunctional elements.

The lack of social interaction through meaningful symbols paralyzes the socialization process, which has an effect on the constant construction of actions, values and meanings that operate in the confluences of social actors as a function of the autistic's socialization.

The second dimension focuses on the "qualitative disorders of joint referential capacities (joint action, attention and concern)" (Rivièri & Martos, 1998, p. 73).

The individual actor as a subject within social relations shares with the agents of socialization the actions, attentions and concerns jointly, in order to incorporate the social meanings that compose the culture. If these manifestations included in the social interaction manifest themselves in an irregular manner we perceive a characteristic socialization process. These elements acting jointly is one of the fundamental features for the irregular manifestation of interpenetration.

This element structures a defective, irregular, poor interaction with poor quality. It is not as radical as the previous one that can stop socialization; this dimension shapes the socializing practices in the family, the community and the school, shaping in a peculiar way the process of internalization and externalization of knowledge, skills, values. It causes chaos in learning in all its forms, forcing parents and educators to constantly reinvent the forms of interaction. This will be determined according to the degree of complexity of the disorder.

The third dimension delves into the disorder of intersubjective and mentalistic abilities.

(...) we have preferred to use the notion of secondary intersubjectivity, which incorporates both an affective component (the motivation to affectively share experience) and a cognitive component (with someone conceived as the subject of experience), into the fundamental explanation of autism (Rivièri & Martos, 1998, p. 80). It is necessary to broaden this perspective, due to the fact that in reality it is not only the motivation to share experiences that operates. Rather, other elements of social characteristics influence, such as reciprocal understanding, mediated by the whole significant world, where the interpretative internalization is not only in the autistic, but also in the socialization agents. In this sense, from a phenomenological perspective "the social designates a relationship between two or more people who interact with each other and produce subjective motives that guide social action" (Sosa, 2021, p. 7). This position offers us the possibility of integrating both levels, forming a socio-psychological interpretation, which allows us to take into account both levels of reality.

These limitations cannot be seen separately from their practical interaction in the lived experience with other human beings, who form patterns, norms, actions, repetitive recipes. Limited joint attention operates in the insistence of the socialization agent who seeks its operability. Lack of interest in people manifests itself in the family's insistence on bringing the child into their significant world. The lack of interest in sharing experiences detracts from educational and care practices.

The fourth dimension refers to "qualitative disorders of communicative functions" (Rivièri & Martos, 1998, p. 84). These characteristics, present in the children studied, became an obstacle in two of the families studied due to the degree of affectation of the minors, which led to the establishment of new vehicles that made it possible to establish socializing confluences. The family, the school and the community incorporated new vehicles or mediating structures, thus helping the socialization process.

The autistic characteristics present in the socialization process, like a vicious circle, continued to shape the social actors' concept of autism and its structural components. Undoubtedly, these disturbed the common practices present in the family, the community and the school. The concept incorporated by the socialization agents about the condition and the socialization process was an influential element. Of the four families studied, one of them showed the specificity described above, the family component only carried out care actions; the intentionality in the set of actions observed towards education, or increased socialization, was very reduced. In two families, educational and socializing actions prevailed constantly, even under constant failure due to the poor symbolic cultural capital incorporated. In family A described above, the tendencies of actions in function of education and socialization and independence were always maintained, having as a presupposition for decision making, the dimensions provided by Rivièri & Martos (1998), which have been dealt with in the article. Of utmost importance is the influence of this family on the neighboring group and the closest children. When comparing the acceptance of the child in the actions of the closest groups was in comparison with the others of 84% more. And even the child was able to have friends, who not only took care of him but also included him in certain games.

Significant symbols are important in communication. The limitation of accessing significant representations as quickly as possible, or the irregularity of incorporating significant symbols, conditions the limited behavioral manifestations of autistic children in the socialization process.

The failure to fully develop this component influences all aspects of socialization. That is, the relationship between individuals, the understanding of the meanings that make up the contents that reach the individual, the internalization of these in the form of ideas that make up knowledge, practices, skills and values. And, on the other hand, the access to it by a specific problem of the disorder that alludes to memory. Naoki, an autistic adolescent, gives us a description of how his memory operates:

It's quite a complicated process. First, I search my memory for an experience that is as close as possible to the current situation. When I find something that is a close match, the next step is to remember what I said on that occasion. If I'm lucky, I come up with an experience I can use and all is well. If I'm not lucky, I get that blocked feeling I had before, and then I can't answer the question. No matter how hard I try to stop it, that weird voice escapes me, and I get even more frustrated and discouraged, and it gets harder and harder to say anything. (Higashida, 2015, p. 4)

Deformation is revealed in the externalization of individuals in ways of acting and saying. This conditions the totality created and undermines the interpretation of them by the agents of socialization. Thus, a set of ideas is formed, in the form of prejudices, stigmas, operational knowledge in certain actors.

The next dimension to be taken into account in the analysis is the following:

Qualitative disorders of expressive language. They tend to develop a language that is not very functional and spontaneous, with peculiar alterations such as echolalia, inversion of deictic forms, extreme literalness of statements and forms of comprehension, laconism, massive presence of imperative forms and absence or limitation of declarative forms, emission of semantically empty verbalizations, irrelevant or poorly adapted to interactive situations and extreme limitation of conversational and discourse skills. (Rivièri & Martos, 1998, pp. 88-89).

One of the characteristics that are implicit in socialization is expressive language. The operations made possible by communications through language, in which the socializing properties, the actors of socialization, the means or factors of communication and the different realities (both material and ideal things) are symbolically generalized.

Limitations in expressive language at both the most complex and the most developed level cause rigidity in interactions and externalization, thus limiting the overall process. An example of impairments in this dimension is made explicit in the statements of Higashida (2015) autistic adolescent:

When I speak in a strange voice, I don't do it on purpose. It is true that there are times when I find the sound of my own voice comforting, when I use familiar words or easy-to-pronounce phrases. But the voice I can't control is something else. It comes out uncontrollably, but not because I want it to; it is more like a reflex (...) a

reflex in response to what? To what I have just seen, in some cases, or to some old memory. When I get that weird voice, I find it almost impossible to contain it. And if I manage to do so, it even hurts, almost as if I am strangling myself. (Higashida, 2015, p. 2).

In this study, not only the expression, but also the reception at the language level is presented, that is why it is analyzed:

Qualitative receptive language disorder. (...) difficulties, major or minor in understanding language. (...) For autistic people words can be heavy loaded with processing, (...) opaque and solid obstructions to communication (Rivièri & Martos, 1998, p. 93).

Receptive language is central to the comprehension and internalization of meaning. It is the access to mediating structures; without it, it is impossible for an individual to actively participate in the socialization process. This component influences the whole process, but its greatest impact is on internalization within the phenomenon itself.

In the four children studied, the manifestations of communication possessed the traditional characteristics, both in receptive and expressive language. In the case of one child there was total mutism.

If the reception of information that comes in the form of meanings and symbols within the language cannot be adequately processed by the subjects, lack of control by one or more interacting actors emerges as a result, in this sense the phenomenon limits the reception and externalization of information.

The socialization of autistic children is shaped by social actors in interaction, in which educational, therapeutic, medical and social actions are linked, taking into account the elements affected in the autistic. This dynamic manufactures a series of recurrent structured practices that constrain the child and the actors who move on this external level. Through a process of directive learning, not incidental, they internalize these practices in the form of meaningful codes and ideas, allowing them to act in the network of relationships in a more efficient way.

The processes of internalization and externalization are manifested. In the operations of these two components coexist irregularities that affect development, for example: stereotypies, autistic rituals, strange forms of interaction, the elements that make up the twelve dimensions that are altered in autism spectrum disorders. These cause serious limitations in the learning of meanings that must be internalized. To these are added

elements such as the social representations present in the socialization agents that contain in the dimension information, pity, rejection; and all those subjective and objective components that diminish to a certain extent human interaction with the autistic person.

In another sense, we find the conformation of the autistic child's life, ordered by the minor's behavior. Therefore, his or her real surrounding world must be taken into account.

In principle, it is not proposed that therapeutic management should be removed from the field, but that socialization itself should be encouraged from the social components, taking into account the sciences and their discoveries. It is being discerned as a dynamic of life, where social actors in interaction combine certain types of practices that manage to access the autistic opacity. In other words, scientific codes must be incorporated in the network of social relations that is manifested.

This position shifts to spontaneous social practices and interactions a weight in the development of the autistic child. This is not denying the challenge imposed by specific cases, whose limitations force the application of the intervention only in therapeutic spaces.

By means of the participant observation carried out during 3 years to the child of family A, in Santiago de Cuba. This child has managed to speak, communicate, have an intersubjectivity with a considerable development, as well as what concerns the theory of mind. This has promoted the development of socialization within real groups and the system of interactions that make up everyday life.

The family prioritized social interactions in the community, and within the family, making him participate in games with other children, analyzing the activity, assessing how he responded to his limitations according to each dimension affected.

At first he was in the group, but he did not participate in the game, in 84% of his interactions he used echolalia, 43% of them were functional, the rest had some degree of dysfunctionality. Only 16% of his interactions had some degree of flexibility, which could not be classified as echolalia. This period was marked by social isolation and isolation in the pandemic situation. This did not limit the family in the corresponding actions.

In a second moment, the family participated in an inadequate way, causing the group to maintain attitudes of rejection and mistreatment, and the parents intervened, explaining the condition and the way it was handled. It was observed a decrease in the use of expressive language and an improvement in the quality of the communication logic, using

non-echolalic interactions, although with gags, stopping for a while in the expression repeating: - *I don't remember eee, what's his name*. In such interactions the intention to remember was evident. Consequently, he increased the volume of voice.

In a fourth moment he began to be accepted, but with manifestations of rejection. These moments were traumatic for the parents, but productive for the child. The possibilities of interaction in real spaces were constantly created, being rejected at first by the child, but as time went by, he became more interested in participating more frequently.

It is necessary to take into account that the interaction with the autistic child sets a rhythm of interaction, which cannot go faster or slower than necessary. Also, it is necessary to observe the intensity of the inter-influences. These characteristics alone limit the socialization process. This was one of the major factors that restricted internalization throughout the research process.

Conclusions

The poor cultural capital incorporated in the agents of socialization, regarding the particularities of autism and the representational elements that make up the ideal in the joy of having a child and raising him/her, face a marked irregularity when the meaning of autism (with all that it implies) appears in the system. This provokes continuous improvisations in the family, achieving poor results in the social development of the autistic child.

This element implies that in the socialization process, learning should not only be directed towards the autistic child, but also towards the socialization agents, in order to create a cultural capital where the different disorders of the spectrum are present. The actors face a process of deconstruction of what they have learned to care for and educate their children, transmitted by generations, and of reelaboration of new forms of upbringing and education.