

Parental Conceptions of Children and Child Rearing:
A Structural-Developmental Analysis

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Parental Conceptions of Children and Child Rearing:
A Structural-Developmental Analysis

Abstract

This study of parental conceptions applies a descriptive developmental analysis to the parent-child relationship. Drawing from empirical evidence and developmental-philosophical analysis, this research develops a theoretical framework and a measure to investigate concepts of children and child rearing which are thought to underlie the process of parenting.

Theoretical Foundation

The structural-developmental approaches to the genesis and organization of interpersonal understanding of Piaget, Kohlberg, and Selman give the theoretical foundation from which to develop a measure for analyzing parental understanding of children and child rearing.

The structural-developmental approach takes empirical conceptual data and finds within it an inherently logical system of sequential, hierarchically organized but qualitatively different developmental levels or stages which form the cognitive interface between experience and action.

Piaget describes how the process of coming to know the physical world for a child proceeds through successive stages, each stage being a mode for structuring information perceived about the world into organized systems for acting in the world. The operations by which an individual constructs his understanding of physical reality are thought to underlie his understanding of social reality as well. Piaget and Kohlberg demonstrate that children's concepts of social justice proceed through a sequence of stages, and Selman documents empirically the existence of a

developmental sequence of levels in how children come to understand other people's subjectivity, and the reciprocal nature of relationships.

Hypothesis

Implicit in the way people think of others in all interpersonal relationships is a structural sequence of social perspective-taking. A descriptive structural-developmental analysis which defines how people understand persons and relationships in each relationship context may be applied to the domains of interpersonal experience in the social developmental continuum. A hierarchy of four developmental levels into which parental conceptions may fall is hypothesized. These levels, called "egoistic" "conventional," "subjective-individualistic," and "analytic," describe increasingly comprehensive and flexible awareness of children and child rearing. The following is a brief description of thinking at each level.

Egoistic: child, relationship, and role a projection of parental experience; fulfillment of parental wants and needs.

Conventional: child, relationship, and role externally (culture, tradition) defined; fulfillment of parental role responsibilities.

Subjective-individualistic: child, relationship, and role individually defined; basis of reciprocal emotional exchange.

Analytic: systems orientation to child, relationship, and role; psychological self and relationship systems; autonomous interdependence.

Method

Fifty-five parents from a broad cross-section of social and family backgrounds are interviewed. The interview presents both direct questions and hypothetical dilemmas concerning a parent's view of the child, of his or her role as a parent, and of his or her reasoning about the meaning and

handling of various child rearing issues, such as discipline and authority, resolving conflict, meeting needs, and trust and affection. From this empirical data, a manual for scoring a parent's level of awareness for each issue is constructed.

Analysis

An analysis of individual interviews shows that parents' thinking tends to be organized at one level across the issues. In other words, parents who tend to conceptualize their children's subjective experience and motivation from a "conventional" perspective, also tend to think about other issues from the same perspective. A cross-sectional analysis of interviews of children at different ages shows parental awareness levels to be age related, suggesting that parental conceptions may form a developmental sequence. This is further supported by the finding that higher parental awareness levels in adults is associated with greater years of parental experience.

In order preliminarily to explore the relationship between parental awareness and parental behavior, a sample of parents with a recent history of having abused a child are compared with a matched sample of parents without such a history. Parents with the clinical history are found as a group to have significantly lower mean levels of parental awareness. These findings suggest that this is a useful method for identifying and analysing levels of social-cognitive process implicit in parental function and dysfunction. Implications of this research for clinical intervention and for further development of theory are discussed.

Introduction

The present study of parental conceptions of children and child rearing grew from clinical experiences with the problem of child abuse. The absence of an adequate theory base for this work was clear, and the static notion of parental functioning ("role reversal," "distorted expectations of children") led me to consider the possible theoretical and practical utility of an approach to parental functioning based on developmental theory. Descriptions of different stages in the development of children's reasoning about interpersonal relationships, as they have been described by cognitive-developmental investigators, also seemed to describe how different parents thought about their children and about child rearing. In particular, many of the parents with very disturbed relationships with their children did not appear to consider their children's perspectives as they talked about their relationship and about child rearing choices. How these parents thought about their children as people, and about their role as parents seemed to be related to how they were functioning as parents.

Although clinicians and researchers have described emotional and environmental factors which are associated with dysfunctions in the parent-child relationship, in the existing psychiatric literature, the relation of parental conceptions to parental functioning has been sparsely acknowledged, and has never been systematically studied.

In a review of the literature on studies of universal patterns of parenting in normal families presented in chapter 1, it is clear that

there is an important cognitive component in parental functioning. This research constructs a descriptive measure of that component. It builds from social perspective-taking theory a theory of parental conceptions, and a measure to investigate the organization and development of parents' awareness of their children as people, the parent-child relationship, and the parental role.

Fundamental theoretical antecedents of this work are the structural cognitive-developmental approaches to the genesis and organization of interpersonal understanding of Piaget (1952), Kohlberg (1969), and Selman (1971b). Structural-developmental researchers study the organization and development of children's understanding of the physical and social world. They find within empirical conceptual data an inherently logical sequence of hierarchically organized but qualitatively different developmental levels or stages; these stages represent a cognitive blueprint for interpreting experience and for organizing action.

The task of this research is to build from logical analysis and empirical interview data a set of developmental levels which represent the conceptual blueprint for parental functioning. Four increasingly comprehensive, psychologically-oriented, and reciprocal levels of parental awareness are constructed. These levels, called "egoistic," "conventional," "subjective-individualistic," and "analytic," describe increasingly comprehensive and flexible understanding of children and child rearing. The following description summarizes the parental awareness levels.

Level 1 - Egoistic Parental Conceptions: The basis for parental activity and the basis for understanding of the child is the child's actions in relation to the parent's needs. Child care tasks and parenting

are carried out in response to external cues which affect the parent's emotional or physical comfort and which offer approval to the parent. Intentions of the child are recognized but as a projection of parental feelings, and are not separated from actions. The organizing principle is achieving what the parent wants and the object of socialization of the child is maximum parental comfort. Reciprocity is conceived as equal exchange.

Level 2 - Conventional Parental Conceptions: The basis for parental activity and the basis for understanding the child is the child's actions and inferred intentions in relation to preconceived, externally derived expectations. The child is conceived as having internal states and needs which must be acknowledged, but the parent conceives of the child's subjective reality in a stereotypical way. The child is not seen as unique, but as a member of the class "children," and the parent uses tradition, "authority," or the conventional wisdom to inform expectations and practices. The parent and the child are understood to have well-defined roles which it is their obligation to fulfill. Reciprocity is conceived as fulfillment of role obligations.

Level 3 - Subjective-Individualistic Parental Conceptions: Each child is understood to have unique as well as universally shared qualities and must be understood in terms of his or her own subjective reality. The parent tries to understand the child's world from the child's own particular point of view, and understands reciprocity as exchange of feelings and sharing of perspectives, rather than as the fulfillment of role obligations.

Level 4 - Analytic Parental Conceptions: The parent can view the relationships between parent and child as a mutual and reciprocal system

and understands the child as a complex psychological self-system. The parent can conceive that motives underlying a child's actions may reflect simultaneous and conflicted feelings. (S)he can also understand that (s)he may have ambivalent feelings and actions as a parent, and still love and care for the child. Individuals and relationships are understood to be in a continual process of growth and change. Reciprocity is built not only on shared feelings, but also on shared acceptance of each other's faults and frailties as well as virtues, and each other's separateness, as well as closeness.

Fifty-five parents from a broad cross-section of social and family backgrounds were interviewed. The interview presented both direct questions and hypothetical dilemmas concerning a parent's view of the child, of his or her role as a parent, and of his or her reasoning about the meaning and handling of various child rearing issues, such as discipline and authority, resolving conflict, meeting needs, and trust and affection. From this empirical interview data, a manual was constructed which describes parental reasoning for each issue at each level of awareness.

An age-stratified sample of 16 children was also given the interview, in order to define in a preliminary way the natural development of concepts of parenting. A subsample of 8 parents with a recent history of having abused or severely neglected a child was ascertained and matched with a comparison group on ethnic status, socioeconomic status, and age of oldest child. This subsample was identified to provide a tentative estimate of the utility of this measure for understanding deviant parental behavior. An exploration of data from these studies have allowed some preliminary and tentative observations to be made about the organization

and development of parental awareness and its relation to child abuse. The findings partially support the validity of this method for identifying and analyzing levels of social-cognitive process implicit in parental functioning and implicated in parental dysfunction. Implications for clinical practice and for future research are discussed in a final chapter.

Chapter 1: The Study of Parenting: Review

A. Studies of Parental Behavior and Attitudes

1. Identifying Factors

Early studies of parenting in the child development literature sought to identify parental behaviors or characteristics which were descriptive of parents of delinquent or emotionally disturbed children (Burt, 1929; Glueck & Glueck, 1934, 1950; Healy & Bronner, 1926; Symonds, 1939; Martin, 1975). Initial efforts which attempted to relate specific child care practices, such as breast feeding or certain disciplinary techniques to particular behaviors in the child were not able to be substantiated, and led to the study of maternal attitudes as more sensitive indicators of significant environmental factors. (Blank, 1964). Scales of maternal behavior were developed to organize and measure complete maternal behaviors which were thought to reflect child care attitudes.

From detailed home observations of parents and children, Champney (1941) and his co-workers at the Fels Foundation constructed the Fels Parent-Behavior Rating scales, which evaluates parent behavior in terms of 30 variables which were hypothesized to discriminate among parents and to be related to child behavior. Sample variables are "Activeness of the home: Inactive-active; Intensity of contact: Inert-vigorous; Democracy of policy: Dictatorial-Democratic; Protectiveness: Exposing-sheltering; Affectionateness toward child: Hostile-affectionate."

Baldwin, Kalhorn and Breeze (1945), using data from the Fels study, intercorrelated the ratings of maternal behavior in order to identify

clusters of behavioral variables which would reflect more fundamental attitudes. Three central syndromes of parental behavior: democracy in the home, acceptance of the child, and indulgence; and five minor syndromes: severity, nagging, intellectuality, hustling, and personal adjustment were identified as patterns of variables about which behavior may be organized, and which reflect underlying emotional attitudes, philosophies, or personality traits.

A factor analysis of the original 30 variables made by Rolf (1949), found 7 factors adequate to account for the original correlations.

Shoben (1949), citing the need for a measure of parental attitudes which could be more quickly and economically obtained, and which could be used to investigate attitudes of parents of children with problems, who might be reluctant to admit observers to their homes, developed a self-inventory to assess parent attitudes. Parents were required to indicate strength of agreement or disagreement to a set of 148 statements about children and child rearing, which were classified into three categories: dominant, possessive, and ignoring. Comparing 50 parents of "problem children" and 50 parents of "non-problem children," the University of Southern California Parent Attitude Survey was found to discriminate between the two groups.

2. Formulating Theory

Nowlis (1951), in a presentation to the American Orthopsychiatric Association about the problem of finding significant concepts in the study of parent-child relationships, pointed out that the identification of variables in parent-child research to that time had been largely empirical, and stressed the importance of a solid theoretical base, so

that a concept relating to the parent-child relationship could be related to other concepts, and enter into a theory of laws which govern behavior. Using the explanatory framework of stimulus-response learning theory, Nowlis and his colleagues at the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station described how they constructed and analysed interviews of mothers of 40 preschool children in order to study interaction sequences around incidents concerning aggression and dependency in the child. In each interview, maternal aims, evaluations and justifications were elicited, as well as a description of overt practices concerning dependency and aggression. Rating scales for punishment, nurturance, responsiveness, encouragement and intrusion, and frustration were devised, with each mother rated and ranked on each scale. These measures, along with measures of childhood aggression and dependency, allowed the investigators to systematically study stimulus and response patterns in the parent-child relationship. Nowlis found that these maternal concepts serve to facilitate or inhibit the mother's response to aggression. The concepts which released or facilitated a punitive response to aggression fell into three classes: 1) the mother sees the child as to blame; 2) the mother values punishment as an effective teaching device, and feels it is her duty to punish the child; and 3) the mother blames herself because she is tired, cross, involved in other things, or cannot control herself. Concepts which appeared to inhibit a punitive response to aggression were: 1) the child is not to blame for his or her act; 2) punishment will not be effective; and 3) the mother feels an unemotional response is satisfactory. Although Nowlis did not develop a systematic analysis of

maternal conceptions, he concluded that maternal concepts need to be better understood in order to interpret the meaning of aggressive acts to the mother as well as the meaning of maternal responses to the child. He suggests that the development of a theory of the functions of maternal conceptions for both mother and child will lead to a broader understanding of the laws which determine behavior.

The direction of the research started at the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station was not to move toward a theory of cognitive inhibitors and facilitators of parental responses, however, but to continue to find patterns in parental practices which are associated with certain kinds of behavior in the child. Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957) moved from Iowa to Harvard, where they carried out a major study designed to discover what kinds of child rearing practices promote or inhibit aggression and dependency in the child, and are most conducive to the development of children's identification with their parents. The investigators were interested in parents' reports of child rearing behaviors and of behavioral outcomes in their children, in order to identify what maternal attitudes and practices shaped which kinds of child behaviors. From semi-structured interviews with 379 mothers, 188 scales were rated for each mother. They found that children of mothers rated low on the maternal warmth scale were more likely to have feeding problems, persistent bed-wetting, and high aggression. Punishing changeworthy behavior, in contrast to rewarding positive behavior, was found to be quite ineffectual over the long run as a technique for eliminating behavior. They found clear evidence that continuing punishment of undesirable behavior was

associated with a greater intensity of such behavior than was the case with a nonpunitive handling of the behavior. Punishment simply did not seem to work. Permissiveness, however, also appears to be associated with continuing aggressive behavior. Parents who combined high punishment with high permissiveness were most likely to have highly aggressive children, while parents who combined low punishment and low permissiveness were least likely to have aggressive children. This seeming contradiction (one does not normally expect permissiveness to be associated with punitiveness) is clarified by Milton's factor-analysis of the Sears, Maccoby, and Levin behavior rating scales. He found that two underlying factors, an atmosphere of warmth and affection, and parental attitudes of acceptance or rejection played a major part in determining what effects different techniques have. As with the Nowlis study, parental practices alone do not appear sufficient to account for the associations between parental practices and children's behavior. Underlying emotional qualities and attitudes appear to shape and to give meaning to the practices, and thus to influence their effects. The seemingly incongruous pairing of permissiveness and punitiveness becomes logical when one recognizes that they may both be expressions of underlying parental qualities of coldness and rejection. These underlying qualities, rather than the practices themselves, became the focus of new inquiry into parental processes and child behavior.

Schaefer and Bell (1958), in a review of the literature at the time, pointed to the need to study underlying attitudes which may influence a great variety of parental behaviors. Their approach was to construct a

questionnaire, the Parent Attitude Research Instrument (PARI), which they gave to parents of children differing in behavior. The PARI asks parents to indicate the degree of agreement or disagreement to statements about child rearing, such as "A child will be grateful later on for strict training," "As much as is reasonable, a parent should try to treat his child as an equal," and "Sex is one of the biggest problems to be contended with in children." Rather than to try and find relationships between behavior and attitudes in the parent and child behavior from maternal interviews as Sears and his colleagues had done, Schaefer and Bell looked for attitude differences in parents whose children were previously identified as behaving differently. They presented the PARI as a set of homogeneous measures of parent attitudes, in order to study the generalized atmosphere of the home (Bell, 1958). As with the Sears, Maccoby and Levin study, two main dimensions emerged which they named love-hostility and control-autonomy.

Thus the social learning theory approach to the study of parenting has yielded a model of parental characteristics in which the coordination of two independent dimensions identifies four basic types of parents. Other researchers defined other dimensions (Baldwin, et al., 1945; McCord, McCord, & Howard, 1961), but the dimensions of warmth-hostility, permissiveness-restrictiveness have continued to frame investigations of parent attitudes and behavior. Figure 1 is a hypothetical circumplex of maternal behavior concepts, developed by Schaefer from maternal behavior ratings.

B. Limitations and Implications of the Learning Theory Approach to Parental Measurement

1. Limited Predictability

An assumption of the learning theory approach to the study of parenting is that measurements of parental behavior and/or parental attitudes are related to predictable behavioral outcomes in the child. Sears, Maccoby and Levin described several such relationships, but when Radke-Yarrow, Campbell and Burton (1968) used the same techniques to study aggression, dependence, and conscience formation, they were unable to replicate the findings. Although mothers undoubtedly exert enormous influence on their children's development and behavior, the mother is but one factor in a complex environment with many interacting factors. Leton (1958) found no significant differences between attitude scores (using Shoben's Parent Attitude Survey, 1949) of parents whose children were rated "excellent adjustment" or "poor adjustment" by their teachers. He did find that there was wider disagreement between the scores of mothers and fathers of poorly adjusted children, suggesting that parental agreement may be more powerfully implicated in children's adjustment in school than the content of parental attitudes.

2. Historical and Cultural Issues

Although many studies described in the child development literature have shown that parental care variables can be defined and measured (Rheingold, 1960; Roe, 1963; Martin, 1975), attempts to measure parental attitudes are based on the assumption that there is a stable and correct way to raise children, and that the function of measurement is to assess

how closely a mother (or father) approaches that standard (Loevinger, 1962).

Because the standards have been defined by researchers primarily from white middle-class twentieth century backgrounds, the meaning of the measures for people from more diverse backgrounds has been difficult to determine. If one looks at child rearing in different cultures or historical times, one finds great differences in the beliefs and values about children and about adult functioning on which parental practices are based. Brim (1957) finds that differences in conceptions of the correct parental role among different cultural groups stem from different theories of human motivation, or from different conceptions of the goals of child rearing, i.e., what kind of adult parents wants to produce. He points out that historically, different theories of human behavior and different conceptions of an ideal adult outcome have produced dramatic differences in child rearing practices and attitudes.

Before childhood as a subject of study emerged during the past 60 years, prescriptions for practices of American parents varied with the predominant humanistic or religious conviction about the nature of the child; i.e., whether the child is a savage beast to be tamed, a small adult to be completed, or a bundle from heaven to be indulged (Baumrind, 1966). Stendler (1950) in a survey of child rearing practices promoted in the popular child rearing literature since the turn of the century, describes the marked changes that occurred even within that relatively short span of time. Around the turn of the century, articles on parenting in the women's magazines indicated that parents were interested in producing

adults with good moral character, who were courteous, honest, orderly, industrious, and generous. Because the theory of human behavior of the period was that children learned through imitation, the mother, who had responsibility for shaping the character of her children, was ideally courteous, honest, orderly, industrious, and generous in her relationship with her children. The introduction of Watsonian behaviorism in the 1920's led to an emphasis on training, rather than loving example. Mothers were advised not to pick up a crying baby, for example, lest the baby connect crying with being picked up, and the behavior would be reinforced.

The shift from a behavioral to a psychoanalytic conception of human behavior, prompted by the awareness and acceptance of Freud's theory that the gratification of early needs forms the foundation for secure and healthy adult personalities, led to more permissive and child regulated procedures, and to a concern with what was considered "normal" rather than what was "bad" (Baumrind, 1966; Stendler, 1950).

This review of the effects of historical changes in beliefs about children and child rearing on child rearing practices suggests that a parent raising a child according to the "best" standards and values of the 1850's might score very differently on measures of parental attitudes from a parent raising a child according to the "best" standards and values of the 1950's. Yet one could not infer the effect on the child of either parent's attitudes without an understanding of the values and standards in each culture at that time, or perhaps even without an understanding of each parent's personal values and standards. Similar problems are

encountered when applying a measure of parental attitudes to groups from different social or cultural backgrounds or with different demographic characteristics from those of the researcher or of the standardizing population.

Becker and Krug (1965), in a review of studies using the PARI, found that meaningful relationships between PARI scores and child behavior were found only in studies involving homogeneous upper middle-class families. PARI scores were discovered to parallel educational differences in the respondents, and they cited a study by Costin, who found changes toward the "autonomy-love" dimensions as a function of a college class in psychology. When education was controlled, Becker and Krug found few clear-cut relationships between PARI scores and child behavior.

Beckwith (1972) found that the measure of parental attitudes did correlate rather well with observations of maternal behavior when used with a restricted socioeconomic range of middle-class mothers and children. Although the meaning of these findings is not entirely clear, it is apparent that this particular instrument, which is widely used to study parental attitudes, may be measuring different things in different social class groups.

In a study of parental ideologies among mothers from various subcultures in Greater Chicago, Duvall (1946), found that different groups had different understandings of what "good mothers" and "good children" are. She found that mothers who are black, lower class, or who have older children tend to think of the parental role in terms of well-defined tasks and promoting specific behaviors in the child. Mothers who are upper-class, white, and whose children are younger were characterized by

expectations of the mother and child in terms of growth and development rather than specific behavioral conformities.

C. Parental Process

1. The Functional Approach

As the attitudes and practices of parents reflect the beliefs and emphases of the surrounding culture during a given historical period, and appear to be effected by various life circumstances, a measure of parenting which relies on a fixed standard against which a parent can be compared is at best only applicable to a subgroup of parents who share the culture, historical time, and circumstances of the measuring investigators or of the standardizing population. Brim (1957) suggests that a generally applicable analysis of parental functioning should identify three basic elements of the parental role, regardless of the specific prescriptions of that role: the motives of the parent, i.e., what kind of adult the parent hopes the child will become; the overt behavior of the parent; and the effects on the child of such behavior. Brim emphasizes that studies of the function and effects of parental behavior cannot be systemtically compared without considering the motivational framework within which they are enacted, and the effectiveness of parental role prescriptions and performance within that framework to achieve desired goals.

Drawing from Brim, Emmerich (1969) developed a measure for studying four cognitively mediated components of the parental role, which he feels are necessary to analyse parental functioning. The four parental role components are: a) Goal Values - the selection of positive and negative behavioral outcomes in the child, b) Means-Ends Beliefs - parental beliefs

in the effectiveness of various methods to effect desirable outcomes in the child; c) Means-Ends Capacities - the parent's evaluation of his or her capacities for implementing the Means-Ends Beliefs; and d) Goal Achievements - the extent to which the parent sees the child as fulfilling parental Goal Values. A Parental Role Questionnaire and scoring scales were constructed to measure each of these parental role components.

Emmerich investigated the interrelationships among role components, and the relationship between parental role components and attitude and personality as measured by the PARI. He was particularly interested to learn whether different kinds of goals are tied with different beliefs about child rearing, and with different beliefs about the capacity to realize those goals. He did not look at the different kinds of goals that different groups of parents might have. Rather, he took a highly homogeneous sample (middle-class parents of children enrolled at the Purdue University nursery school--most of the fathers were university professors or graduate students) and looked for differences in beliefs about the effectiveness of different child rearing techniques for different kinds of goals. He found that positive goals (e.g., promoting obedience, trustingness, independence) and negative goals (e.g., eliminating aggression, overfriendliness, dependence) are associated with different beliefs about the most effective child-rearing methods. For example, positive reinforcement techniques are seen as most effective to achieve goals defined as positive, where the parent's task is understood as promoting desirable behavior. Situational modification, on the other hand, is seen as more effective to reduce undesirable behavior.

Another of Emmerich's findings is the tendency for high authoritarian control scores on the PARI to be associated with low scores on the parental competence measures. Emmerich interprets this to mean that parents who do not believe themselves competent to effect change in the child are more likely to resort to authoritarian measures out of desperation.

Emmerich's findings that in individual parents different goals and beliefs may elicit different parental responses, lends support to the view that cognitive factors mediate parental functioning. Unfortunately, the limitations of his sample restrict the generalizations one can make about the relationships found. Parents from different backgrounds might advocate different child rearing methods for positive and negative goals, or might choose different goals for their children. His study does suggest the feasibility and the importance of analysing parental role performance and parental attitudes from the perspective of the respondent's goals and beliefs, rather than from the perspective of the examiner's standards.

2. Individual Variability

Although a study of the parental role which includes a motivational component allows the measurement of parental functioning from the yardstick of a parent, subculture, or culture's own goals and values, it does not provide a theoretical framework for analysing individual change over time or under various conditions. Medinnus (1959) notes that an underlying assumption of parental attitude questionnaires is a belief in the constancy of individual parental attitudes. In separate studies, Baldwin (1946) and Lasko (1954), using ratings of parental behavior on variables

from the Fels Parent Behavior Rating Scales, found that parental attitudes do not remain constant over time. Baldwin, in a study of parental behavior toward 3 and 9 year old children, found parents of 9 year olds to be colder, more restrictive, and less stimulating than parents of 3 year olds, and also found that the addition of a new child to the family tends to reduce the amount of warmth between parents and their children, and to increase the restrictiveness of the home. Lasko also found in his study of mothers with two children that attitudes were not consistent from child to child, although the mothers' policies and techniques for managing their two children remained consistent. In contrast to Baldwin, Lasko observed increased warmth in mothers with more children, combined with increased strictness. As cited above, Duvall (1946) found mothers of older children to be more traditional and rigid in their conceptions of "good" mothers and children than the more flexible and developmentally-oriented mothers of younger children. Although the behavioral conclusions of the three investigators are not entirely comparable, they do suggest that parental attitudes and behavior cannot be predicted from one child to another, and that static formulations cannot account for the variability of parental conceptions, attitudes, or behavior in varying circumstances, with different children, or across time.

D. Parental Development

The developmental approach to parental functioning offers a framework for identifying and assessing change, as well as for describing individual differences. The idea that development during parenthood occurs, both in terms of personality development of the parent, and in

terms of development in the parental role, has been offered by several thinkers in the field. From a psychoanalytic perspective, each phase in the libidinal development of the child requires new adaptations by the parents, and may touch on old and unresolved issues from the parent's own childhood (Lidz, 1976). These issues may impede parental role functioning, or through their reactivation in the parent-child relationship, achieve a resolution which permits a more mature integration of the parental personality. Benedek (1970) speaks of parenthood as "continuous adaptation to physiologic and psychologic changes within the self of the parent, parallel to, and in transaction with, changes in the child and to his expanding world" (p. 185).

Rossi (1968) builds upon the stage-task concepts of Erikson to construct a description of parental change. Erikson (1963) defines stages of psychosocial or ego development in terms of tasks which the individual encounters at age-specific points in his or her life. These tasks are experienced as crises which must be satisfactorily resolved in order for the subsequent task to be successfully mastered. Rossi reasons that, "If the total life span may be said to have a cycle, each stage with its unique tasks, then by analogy a role may be said to have a cycle and each stage in the role cycle, to have its unique tasks and problems of adjustment" (p. 29). She identifies four stages of a role cycle:

- 1) the anticipatory stage, 2) the honeymoon stage, 3) the plateau stage, and 4) the disengagement-termination stage.

As these are temporal, rather than functional or developmental stages, they serve to identify in a general sense the tasks with which the person is dealing, but they

age group of the oldest child. Five of the 8 pairs are able to be matched on age of the oldest child, 2 of the pairs have oldest children in adjacent age categories, and in only 1 case is the age of the oldest child neither matched nor in an adjacent age group.

All the case parents are mothers; one father is included in the comparison sample. Table 7 describes racial and socioeconomic characteristics of the matched pairs.

d. Adults without children: Three women and one man were interviewed. One was the aunt of a child being seen in the Orthopedic Clinic, 2 are employed at the Judge Baker Guidance Center, and 1 is an artist in the community. Three are white; one is black. One is assigned to social class level 2, 2 are assigned level 3, and 1 is assigned level 4.

2. The Children's Sample

Four boys and 12 girls whose ages ranged from 8:6 to 16:11 were interviewed. All are white and most are from professional class homes. Thirteen of the 16 children are from homes at level 1 on the Hollingshead Index (1965), 2 children are from homes assigned level 2, and 1 child is from a home assigned to level 3. The sample is stratified according to age, with 3 girls and a boy at each of ages 8, 10-11, 13-14, and 16.

Table 8 describes the characteristics of the total parent sample, from which the Parental Awareness Manual was constructed. Table 9 presents numbers and ages of children of individuals included in the exploration of parental experience and parental development.

C. Assessment Materials

The primary instrument for data collection is a semi-structured reflective interview which uses both direct personal questions and hypothetical dilemmas to probe reasoning about parental issues, following the dilemma approach used by Piaget (1932), Kohlberg (1969), and Selman (1976) (see Appendix I). The interview questions were constructed from a preliminary set of parental issues which generally correspond to the issues presented in Chapter 2. At least two questions are concerned with each issue. As one function of this interview has been to explore parents' concerns and to discover issues that parents might bring up spontaneously, several of the questions are relatively unstructured (e.g., WHAT DO YOU ENJOY MOST ABOUT YOUR CHILD? and WHAT DO YOU FIND HARDEST TO PUT UP WITH?). Questions are organized so as to be clinically comfortable and to flow naturally, rather than by issue. The first question, for example, CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR CHILDREN FOR ME?, is friendly and nonthreatening so that the parent can be put at ease, and the examiner can become acquainted with the respondent's children, as well as to being exploration of the parent's conceptions of personality. More sensitive questions, such as those involving discipline or a parent's evaluation of his or her performance, come later in the interview, and are interspersed with questions which are thought to be less sensitive.

The interview has two sections, a personal section and a dilemma section. In the first section, parents are asked directly about their children as people, disciplinary practices, influences on developmental

outcome, goals for and expectations of their children, how they have learned to be parents, and how someone knows if (s)he is a good parent. In the second section of the interview, hypothetical parent-child conflict situations are presented. These dilemmas deal with issues of authority, trust and communication, resolving conflict and conflicting needs, and the nature of the child's subjective experiences. A series of semi-standardized questions probes parental understanding and resolution of each dilemma situation, and moves from solutions and their justifications to an exploration of the parent's reasoning about the issues raised in each dilemma. A description of each dilemma is as follows:

In the Jimmy Fox Dilemma, the diary of a 15 year old boy who had maintained his innocence when arrested on a shoplifting charge is found accidentally by his concerned and doubting father. Should he read the diary? After several questions primarily probing the issue of trust and communication, the story resumes. The father did not read the diary, but on addressing the boy privately, the boy embarrassedly confessed to his crime. Several issues including the child's thoughts and feelings, the parent's socializing role, and personality are further explored.

The Working Mother Dilemma presents a conflict between a bored and frustrated housewife who needs the stimulation and self-esteem a job will give her, and a 10 year old who wants mother home. Resolving conflict and meeting needs are the main issues of this dilemma.

In the New Baby Dilemma, 3½ year old Sam insists he loves his baby brother, even though hugs turn frequently into hits. Questions probe parents' understanding of the subjective experience of the child.

Each parent was given at least one dilemma, and if time allowed, all three. When conducting the interviews, the interviewer stresses and probes each parent's reasons for his or her answers. This both clarifies a parent's responses, and brings out the deeper conceptions of the personhood of the child, and the nature of the parent-child relationship and of the parental role which may underlie the parent's presentation of his or her personal practices and philosophy. The interviewer is free to follow-up each response with questions which are not included in the interview, in order to clarify responses and to explore new issues.

Children receive the same interview as the adults, but the personal questions are revised to read, "If you were a parent. . ." (the personal questions on the children's interview are presented in Appendix II). The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, Form B, was also administered to each child.

D. Procedures

1. Interviewing

Interviews for the Orthopedic and Family Development Clinic samples were conducted in the clinic settings before a routine clinic visit. Parents were first contacted by clinic personnel to ask if they would participate in a study about child rearing. After the interviewer was introduced, the nature of the study and the procedures to be followed were described, and written informed consent was obtained (see Appendix III). Interviews were conducted in a separate office, were tape-recorded and transcribed. Each interview took approximately one hour to conduct. Demographic data was recorded on a separate identification sheet, and an

interview number was assigned. Only the number identified the tape and transcription, in order to protect the confidentiality of the interview material. The author and a second female interviewer trained by the author (a master's degree candidate in psychiatric nursing at Boston University) conducted the interviews. All parents from the Family Development Clinic were interviewed by the second interviewer, as well as 4 parents from the Orthopedic Clinic Sample and 3 of the 8 parents in the suburban sample. Subjects in the suburban sample were contacted personally and were interviewed in their homes. The author interviewed all 4 adults without children, 1 in the Orthopedic Clinic, 2 in their offices, and 1 in her home. The same procedures for obtaining informed consent, tape recording and transcribing interviews were followed. The ability to probe reasoning and to elicit scorable responses appears essentially the same for both interviewers.

Children's interviews were conducted in a one-to-one setting in either their own or the interviewers' homes. The author conducted 15, the second interviewer 1, of the interviews. The same procedures as for parents were followed, except that the informed consent document was rewritten in language a child could understand, and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test was administered directly prior to the interview.

2. Constructing the Parental Awareness Manual

In order to score the Parental Awareness Interview, a manual detailing parental conceptions for levels 1 through 4 for each parental issue was constructed. The construction of the issue-by-level analysis was a spiraling process of continually testing logical analysis against

empirical data, against a revised logic, reapplied to the empirical data. The starting point for the research was the logical construction of a hierarchy of levels which described how interpersonal perspective-taking stages might be expressed in parents' reasoning about children and about the tasks involved in raising children. By reflecting on personal clinical experience, talking with pediatric and mental health professionals who work with parents, and reading descriptions of parents in the literature on parenting, the preliminary logical construction of levels of parental awareness was refined, its potential validity suggested, and a set of issues charting much of the scope of the parent-child relationship was identified. At this point in the process, the interview was written, piloted and revised, and data was collected.

After interviewing of parents was completed, there were several steps in the construction of the manual. Each interview was first preliminarily scored using the logically constructed global level descriptions as a guide. This first reading of the interviews provided the empirical basis for the development of a more adequate set of global level descriptions, and identified which issues were most fully addressed in parental responses. These provided the final set of issues used in the manual. The next step was to break each interview up into issue segments so that a description of awareness at each structural level for each parental issue could begin to be constructed. Following the scoring system developed by Selman and Jaquette (1976), issue-concepts, which they define as a question, its response, and follow-up probes and responses, were identified and bracketed. Each issue was then rescored, issue-concept by issue-concept, using the revised global level descriptions as a guide. Interviews were next

xeroxed, cut up into individual issue-concept sections, and sorted into issue-by-level groups for issue, rather than interview, analysis. By carefully studying all the responses for a given issue at each level, issue-aspects, the level-characteristic properties for each issue, were identified, described, and illustrated. This was the final analysis of the empirical data felt to be necessary for construction of this draft of the manual. The manual offers a global description of each level of parental awareness of the child as a person, the parent-child relationship, and the parental role. It provides instructions for interviewing parents, and for scoring interviews (adapted from Selman & Jaquette, 1977a). It also describes and illustrates level-aspects of each issue, issue by issue (see Appendix IV). Following the manual construction process, a final interview scoring was done, and scores revised where necessary to conform to the more precise manual criteria.

3. Assigning and Computing Scores

The process of scoring individual interviews is adapted from Selman and Jaquette (1976) and is as follows. On each transcribed interview, issue-concepts are first bracketed and given an issue number. For example, a set of questions and responses discussing why Jimmy told his Father he shoplifted after maintaining his innocence, would be bracketed and assigned issue number II, because it deals with the issue of thinking and feeling in the child. Because an individual does not always use the highest level reasoning of which he or she is capable on first response to a question, probing questions "push" the respondent for clarifications and justifications in order to "test the limits" of his or her reasoning.

Each issue-concept which produced scorable utterances is given a single level score based on the highest level of reasoning found in the sequence. The level score is identified by comparing the interview responses with the level criteria and illustrations in the Parental Awareness manual. Sometimes a response will be vague or ambiguous, will provide sufficient information to be scored at a particular level, but with further probing might have yielded a level score above or below the score given. In such cases, a question mark is placed after the score given, and the level of reasoning the interviewer feels further probing might have produced is placed in parenthesis following the given score. Each pure level score is given a value of one, each questioned score is given a value of one-half.

An issue score is next calculated for each parental issue. For each issue, issue-concept scores are notated on a scoring sheet (Appendix IV), and the total value of responses at each level used in reasoning about that issue are calculated. When responses at one level of reasoning account for 75% or more of the value, the issue is assigned a pure level score at that level. A major/minor score (e.g., 2(1)) is assigned when greater than 50% but less than 75% of the value is attributable to responses at one level, and greater than 50% of the value of the remaining responses is at a second level, which is almost always a level adjacent to the major level.

Major and major/minor scores are next averaged together into an average issue score, computed to the nearest hundredths of a level. For example, individual issue scores of Influences 3, Subjectivity 3,

Personality 3(2), Communication and Trust 3, Discipline and Authority 3, Conflict Resolution 3, Meeting Needs 2, and Parental Learning and Evaluation 3(2) would be averaged into a quantitative individual score of 2.79. (When averaging major/minor scores, major scores receive a two-thirds weight and minor scores a one-third weight.) Additionally, this quantitative score is translated into a global Parental Awareness level score according to the following table of transformations (adapted from Selman & Jaquette, 1977b).

<u>Average Issue Score</u>	<u>Parental Awareness Level</u>
1.00 - 1.24	1
1.25 - 1.49	1(2)
1.50 - 1.74	2(1)
1.75 - 2.24	2
2.25 - 2.49	2(3)
etc.	etc.

The quantitative individual score of 2.79 described above would translate into a global Parental Awareness level score of 3. For this research, the average issue score is used because of its greater sensitivity.

In the next chapter, empirical characteristics of the measure and patterns suggested in the data will be described.

Chapter 4: Results

This research is a process of construction and exploration, rather than of validation and experimentation. The "results" of this research are the descriptive measure itself and the characteristics of the measure discovered in its preliminary exploration. This chapter might be more appropriately entitled, "Description and Discovery."

Characteristics of the interview, reliability issues, and a preliminary description of characteristics of the parental awareness measure are presented in this chapter. The characteristics described include the "scorability" of parental responses from the interview and the comparability of reasoning with personal and dilemma questions, as well as the reliability of scoring. Characteristics of the measure include structured wholeness of the levels, ability of the measure to discriminate among parents and the identification of a developmental sequence.

The description of these characteristics must be understood as tentative and not conclusive. This research is a first step toward the development of a valid and reliable measure of parental conceptions. Construct validation will not be appropriate until a new set of data, which is independent of the data from which the manual is constructed, can be collected. In the final section of the chapter, the results of the study comparing parents with a history of having abused a child with a matched comparison group are described.

A. Interview Characteristics

Ten randomly selected interviews from all segments of the adult sample were analyzed to determine the mean percentage of issue-concepts which were able to be assigned a level score. A mean of 84% of all issue-concepts in these interviews were able to be scored; 16% were too ambiguous or lacked sufficient information to be reliably scored.

B. Reliability Issues

Because the interview contains direct personal questions as well as questions about hypothetical dilemmas, it would be possible that the different types of questions might elicit different levels of awareness in the same person, and that the scores of subjects who received different numbers of dilemmas might be biased as a result. To test that possibility, 13 adult interviews were randomly selected from the different subpopulations and average issue scores for the personal and hypothetical questions were computed separately. The Pearson product-moment coefficient of correlation (Freund, 1969) between the two types of questions is .81.

In order to protect the confidentiality of the interview material and to minimize scoring bias, interviews are identified by number rather than by name. "Blind" scoring was not possible, however, because most of the interviews were obtained and scored by the same person, and the identity of some of the respondents was remembered from interview content.

In order to assess the reliability of interview scores, an inter-rater reliability was calculated. Ten adult interviews were scored by an independent rater following a two-hour introduction to the research and to the manual. The Pearson correlation between the two raters is .96.

A second reliability issue is that of scoring homogeneity. When scoring all issues in one interview, rather than one issue at a time in all interviews, there may be a tendency to score toward a subject's major level. Because issue-concepts were reanalysed issue-by-issue during the manual construction process, the percentage of agreement between interview-rated and issue-rated responses was able to be observed. The percentage of agreement between previous scores and the issue-by-issue rescoring was over 90%, and scores of only 9.5% of the issue-concepts were revised because they were misclassified. Because this analysis allowed for the construction of more precise issue-by-level definitions, some of those changes can be attributed to manual development, and others to interviewer bias or to a tendency to score toward pure level scores.

C. Characteristics of the Measure

1. Structured Wholeness

A central issue in structural developmental research is that of structured wholeness. If there are consistent and qualitatively distinct logical structures underlying the way people think about interpersonal relationships, and if developmental levels or stages capture the nature of those structures, then within-interview responses should tend to cluster around one level, and average-issue scores across interviews would tend toward pure level scores, rather than to randomly scatter among pure and major/minor level scores. Ten randomly chosen adult interviews were analysed to determine the mean distribution of issue-concept scores within an interview. A mean of 72% of the level scores are at a subject's pure or major level, 24% are at the minor level, and 4% are at other levels.

Figure II shows the distribution of Parental Awareness Level scores across interviews in the total adult sample. Sixty-seven percent of the interviews have major or pure level scores, and 33% of the interviews have major/minor scores.

2. Discrimination Among Parents

The measure does discriminate among parents. Of the total sample of parents ($n=51$), 18% are scored at pure or major/minor level 1; 49% are scored at pure or major/minor level 2; 35% are scored at pure or major/minor level 3; and 5% are scored at pure or major/minor level 4. An important question is whether there are different distributions for groups with different racial, social class or gender characteristics. In order to address that question, the relationships between race and parental awareness, between social class and parental awareness, and between sex of the parent and parental awareness are observed in the Orthopedic Clinic sample. These relationships should be regarded as tentative, because the sample, although heterogeneous, is small, and is not clearly representative of any larger population. The Family Development Clinic sample and the suburban sample are not included in this observation because these groups were specially selected and are probably atypical. Only the Orthopedic Clinic sample was examined. Table 10 shows the mean average issue scores and the mean qualitative level scores for different social class levels (Hollingshead, 1965). Although there is a slight trend toward an increase in mean average issue scores with higher social classes, the correlation between parental awareness and social class is found to be quite low ($r=-.085$).

Table 11 describes scores of black and white parents. The mean

average issue scores, and the standard deviations for the black and white subjects in the Orthopedic sample are presented. As there are no white subjects at SES level 2 in this sample, average issue scores are also computed for the subjects only in SES levels 3, 4, and 5.

Eight fathers and 27 mothers were interviewed in the Orthopedic Clinic sample. Fathers are represented in SES levels 2-5 in proportions comparable to those of the mothers. Two are black and 6 are white. Table 12 presents the mean average issue scores and standard deviations for fathers and mothers.

3. Developmental Sequence

A primary requirement of a developmental measure is that it identify and define a developmental sequence. The hierarchical logic of the level structures suggests but cannot confirm invariant sequence. If each level incorporates the elements of the preceding level into its more comprehensive and flexible structure, then logically an individual must comprehend one level of awareness before (s)he is able to comprehend, and ultimately to conceptually integrate the next into his or her thought structure. Developmental sequence, however, is not logically but empirically demonstrated by studying change in individuals over time. A cross-sectional design cannot confirm development, but it can suggest a developmental pattern if a relationship is found between level structures and age or experience. Two empirical analyses have been performed in order to explore whether parental awareness levels might describe a developmental sequence. The first study looks at the relationship between parental awareness and age in children. The second study examines the relationship between parental awareness and years of parental experience.

a. The Development of Parental Awareness in Children--In an age-stratified sample of children the relationship between age and parental awareness level is studied. Table 13 presents the mean Average Issue Score and standard deviation, the lowest and highest parental awareness levels and the range between them, for all children in each of four age categories.

The mean score trends indicate an orderly progression of development of parental awareness with age. In order to determine the strength of that relationship, the Pearson product-moment coefficient of correlation has been calculated (Fruend, 1967). A value of $r=.76$, significant at the .005 level of confidence, has been obtained. This indicates a strong positive relationship between level of Parental Awareness and age in children. The range of scores within each age group demonstrates that level of Parental Awareness, while strongly related to age, cannot be predicted by age alone.

In order to address the possibility that Parental Awareness Level may be influenced by verbal intelligence, each child was administered the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) as well as the Parental Awareness interview. The Pearson product-moment coefficient of correlation showed that the relationship between Parental Awareness Level and PPVT I.Q. is not significant ($r=.20$), and when age is partialled out, the relationship is even weaker ($r=.16$). As the PPVT I.Q.'s of this sample are all over 105 (they range from 105-140), the inferences one can make are very limited. In children with above-average I.Q.'s, verbal intelligence does not appear to be a strong contributing factor to Parental Awareness.

b. The Development of Parental Awareness in Adults. Structural-developmental research traditionally studies the emergence with age of the organization of increasingly adequate understanding of the physical and interpersonal world. Because this is a measure which applies a developmental analysis to the study of interpersonal awareness in adults, the issue of adult development is raised. The question is whether the measure uses a metaphor from childhood development as a descriptive typology to study a fixed characteristic, or whether the measure describes a developmental process which goes on in adulthood as well as in childhood. In normal childhood development, the biomaturational processes are thought to push the structure-experience dialogue inevitably toward higher levels of structural organization. As biomaturation is not so obviously present in adulthood, experience is likely to be the primary facilitating factor in development.

In order to explore whether the experience of being a parent promotes the development of Parental Awareness, the relationship between years of parenthood (determined from the age of the oldest child) and parental understanding has been analysed. The Family Development Clinic and the Suburban samples as well as adults without children are not included in the analyses of parental development because they were specially selected and are probably atypical. Table 14 shows mean scores and standard deviations for Parental Awareness of adults without children, and parents whose oldest children are in different age groups. Age categories were selected to encompass developmental periods during which children present roughly the same developmental needs and demands to their parents. A

clear relationship between parental experience and parental understanding cannot be identified in this data ($r=.045$).

The relationship between number of children and parental awareness has also been studied, and a negative correlation is found which approaches, but does not reach significance ($r=-.30$). Table 15 presents the mean parental awareness scores and standard deviations for adults with different numbers of children. Although the numbers are small, and the relationship does not differ significantly from chance, this trend suggests the possibility that in large families, parents may not have an opportunity to get to know their children individually, or the stresses and burdens of large family size may interfere with the development or expression of parental awareness. One must also consider the possibility that the measure does not adequately discriminate differences in more surface attitudes about child rearing with parents of families of different sizes from deeper structures of awareness. Another possibility is that the family size data is confounded by social class, although the small social class differences found ($r=-.085$) make that appear unlikely.

If there is developmental growth with parental experience, the close relationship between greater numbers of children and greater years of parenthood ($r=.67$, $p<.005$) might possibly produce a masking of the relationship between parental awareness and parental experience. When the correlation between parental awareness and parental experience is calculated with number of children partialled out, the relationship is found to be statistically significant ($r=.35$, $p<.025$). In other words, when parents are compared with other parents with the same number of children, there is a significant increase in mean parental awareness levels with increased years of experience as a parent.

D. Parental Awareness and Behavior

A basic assumption of a developmental analysis is that the developmental level at which a person organizes his or her awareness of people, relationships, and roles will bear a relationship to behavior. In order to tentatively investigate that assumption, a sample of eight parents who have a history of having abused a child are matched and compared with a sample of eight parents without such a history. The two groups are compared in two ways. The Sign Test (Siegel, 1956) considers the direction of the differences for matched pairs. In seven of the eight matched pairs, the parents with a history of having abused a child have lower Parental Awareness scores than their matched counterparts. If the two groups are really equal, the probability of finding seven out of eight comparisons favoring one group by chance is .0351. This result is significant, then, at $p = .0351$.

As the Sign Test only measures the direction of the differences and not their magnitude, a t-test for correlated observations was performed (Winer, 1971). The t-test also indicates that the differences between the groups is highly significant ($t=5.20$, $p < .01$, two-tailed).

Chapter 5: Discussion

The purpose of this research has been to construct a structural-developmental measure for the study of parental awareness of children and child rearing, and from preliminary exploration of the measure to generate hypotheses about the organization of parental understanding, its use and development in adulthood, and its relation to parental experience and to parental functioning. In this chapter, some tentative implications and interpretations of the patterns found in the measure and in its exploration will be discussed, and the organization of the measure illustrated with examples of reasoning about each issue at each level of parental awareness.

A. The Interview

Even though the interview was developed and administered before the manual was developed, i.e., before a clear idea of the kinds of responses people make at different levels of awareness was obtained, the percentage of scorable issue-concepts (84%) after manual construction indicates that the interview provides a good array of accessible, scorable responses. The interview does have limitations, however, which should be corrected in order to facilitate ease and reliability of scoring. For the purpose of construct development, the interview was in part exploratory. That is, it was designed to elicit which issues are of concern to parents, as well as to provide concepts sufficiently explored so that reliable scores could be obtained once the critical issues and their level characteristics were identified. The penalty of this approach is that many questions

evoked responses concerning many different issues, or long responses which ramblingly addressed several issues within a thicket of personal problems and concerns. For those reasons, identifying discreet issue-concepts was at times a laborious task, and issue segments were not always as fully explored as when questions are directly issue-focussed and issue probes are supplied. In scoring, issue-segments which spontaneously emerged in response to less structured questions or to questions oriented toward a different issue were bracketed and scored if adequate reasoning was supplied. As these responses were not always fully probed, they may have somewhat lowered scores. A more structured interview with questions directed more uniformly toward specific issues would simplify the identification of issue-concepts, and might lead to a higher percentage of scorable issue-concepts and of fully probed responses. Structuring interviews with parents may prove to be a difficult task, however, as parents have many pressing concerns which they are anxious to discuss, and they frequently turn questions back to the issue or issues with which they are personally struggling. Adults also tend to give lengthy responses to personal questions which are difficult to unravel into the relevant issue material. Dilemma responses tended to be shorter and more issue-directed than responses to the personal questions, perhaps because of a psychological distance from the fictional lives as well as the more specific focus of the questions. Personal questions tended to elicit richer, more anecdotal responses, and provided a clearer picture of the application of conceptions to particular relationships.

When revising the interview, it will be important to provide sufficient flexibility within the more structured format for parents to express

their concerns, both because researchers have an ethical responsibility to respond to the human needs of their subjects within the limits of their competence and capabilities, and also so as to remain open to new ideas, issues and dimensions which too "tight" an interview might not allow.

The use of the personal and hypothetical dilemma question format appears to be a very useful interview procedure. Parents who are uncomfortable with personal questions can use the dilemma questions to move more comfortably from the hypothetical to the personal. For example, a parent who is uncomfortable discussing his or her own disciplinary practices, might move from a response concerning what Jimmy's father should do about Jimmy's stealing to a discussion of how (s)he handled a similar situation with his or her own child.

An important problem with interview methods for understanding interpersonal awareness is the reliance on language as the medium through which the structure of interpersonal awareness is identified. Not all people use language in the same way, or for the same realms of human experience. The quality and elaboration of language necessary for abstract reasoning and justification of experience or of beliefs may not be accessible or part of some people's linguistic repertory. Yet highly complex nonverbal modes of expression and interaction, not accessible to the more verbal style of the examiner, might be. On the other hand, one might argue that language serves a legitimate role in social-cognitive growth, and that language in some way affects the development of interpersonal awareness and mediates behavior in a profound way. In other words, behavior capable of being explained and justified is in some way qualitatively different from behavior which an individual cannot verbally organize. Yet not being

able to articulate a notion does not indicate the absence of it.

The administration of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test to the children interviewed permits a very preliminary exploration of the relationship between verbal intelligence and parental awareness. The relationship is found not to be significant in the children's study, but because all the children have verbal intelligence scores above 100, one can only infer that verbal intelligence is not significantly related given a minimal level of verbal competence. In the Orthopedic Clinic sample, social class is also found to bear little relationship to parental awareness scores. As social class is computed from education and occupation, which are more likely to be related to verbal ability than a social class computation based on income, the very minimal relationship suggests that verbal competence does not strongly influence the verbal expression of parental awareness as measured in this study. Indeed, in the Orthopedic Clinic sample, the highest parental awareness score is obtained by a high-school educated parent at the lowest social class level. The lowest score, however, is obtained by a Spanish-speaking woman whose difficulty expressing herself in English most likely did contribute to a depressed score.

The vocabulary for parenthood does appear to be accessible to most parents, and provides sufficient richness for a wide expression of insight and awareness. Reasoning at level 4, however, may be an exception. The complex reasoning required to understand people and relationships as dynamic systems may require a fairly high minimal level of education and/or intelligence. As only three parents in this sample reason at a major or minor level 4, it is difficult to generalize, but one of these

parents has two years of college, and the other two have master's degrees. On the other hand, other respondents with post graduate degrees, including one Ph.D., have scores as low as some subjects without high school educations. The issue of intelligence and this verbal interview measure of parental awareness remains to be more adequately investigated, but at present the minimal relationship found between children's parental awareness scores and the PPVT, and between scores of parents in the Orthopedic Clinic sample and the Hollingshead (1965) index of social class, indicates that parental reasoning at the first three levels may not be strongly influenced by verbal competence. Verbal sophistication and high intelligence may be necessary for reasoning at the analytic level, however, although the presence of variables associated with verbal and cognitive competence does not appear to ensure higher level reasoning about children and child rearing.

B. Characteristics of the Measure

1. Qualitative Differences and Structured Wholeness

The levels of parental awareness are thought to describe qualitative differences in the way parents organize their understanding of their children, of the relationship between themselves and their children, and of their role as parents. For example, the shift from a level 2 awareness of the child as a "type" of child who is understood from the perspective of the conventional wisdom about children, to a level 3 awareness of the child as a unique individual who is understood through personal sharing and communication is more than an adding of "unique individual" characteristics on to "character type" characteristics. It represents a qualitative reorientation in how children are known and understood. These qualitative differences are argued to be structural in nature, and

each level is expected to form a structured whole (Piaget, 1970), in which the organization and elements of the cognitive structure, or mental blueprint, shape and define the organization and elements of experience. Elements which are not included in the mental blueprint are not perceived, or are interpreted to conform to the mental structure of experience through which the individual perceives. For example, a parent who reasons at level 2 that (s)he expects his or her child to grow up to get married and find a respectable job, may not be able to consider that the child might want something different because the parent cannot conceive of the child as having a unique individual perspective. In a structural system, this mental structure is consistently applied across different aspects of experience in that system. If the parental awareness levels form a structured whole, i.e., if they represent deeper structures of awareness and understanding than more surface attitudes and beliefs, then the same orientation should be fairly consistently applied across child, relationship, and role issues. The high mean percentage of responses at subjects' major level (72%), and the finding that parents' reasoning is normally distributed between two adjacent levels across the range of parental issues in the interview supports the argument that levels of parental awareness represent an internal structuring of thinking about children and child rearing. The distribution of scores toward pure levels suggests further that the level descriptions represent the organization of equilibrated mental structures in the parental realm of interpersonal experience, although further confirmation requires the analysis of new data.

Structured wholeness can only be applied to thinking about parental issues. As yet there is no direct evidence that parents apply awareness

as consistently when faced with different kinds of parental issues in real-life circumstances.

2. Development

A structural-developmental measure is not simply a set of descriptions of different "world views." Each level (or stage) of awareness should be part of a developmental system where developmental change follows the sequence of levels, and each level is derived from and builds upon the preceding level. Logically, the levels are hierarchical integrations. With each level of awareness, the elements of the preceding level are reorganized into a structure which is more comprehensive and more flexible, and which may therefore be argued to be more adequate to deal with the tasks and problems of interpersonal experience than the previous level. In the parental awareness measure, the conceptions of children at each successive level move from a concern with and focus on overt behaviors and characteristics to a concern with the nature of covert thoughts and feelings. Awareness of the relationship moves from a focus on situation-specific actions of one upon the other to an orientation toward emotional and psychological interdependence between individuals. Conceptions of the parental role move from a concern with changing specific behavior to satisfy parental wishes, to a concern with enabling psychological growth and interpersonal awareness (see Table 3 and the Parental Awareness Manual for more detailed descriptions of the Parental Awareness Levels).

As each level incorporates the elements of the preceding level into its more comprehensive structure, and is in turn incorporated into the even more comprehensive structure of the level following, it logically

follows that in order for an individual to be able to comprehend one level, (s)he must have passed through the level preceding. This logical structure suggests that levels of parental awareness are empirically developmental; that each individual passes through one level in order to attain the next. As a pilot exploration of this assumption, the patterns of emergence of parental conceptions with age in children, and with years of parental experience with parents have been observed.

As children experience parenthood as the juvenile side of the relationship, conceptions of the parent-child relationship and of the parental role begin to be formed in childhood (conceptions of the child would be experienced as conceptions of self and peers). When parental awareness is examined in a small sample of children of different ages but from fairly homogeneous backgrounds (all are white, middle class, and of above-average intelligence), increasingly mature organization of parental awareness is found to be age-related, although not age-defined. This orderly progression of increasingly comprehensive awareness with age supports the expectation, derived from logical analysis, that levels of parental awareness, when studied longitudinally, will be found to represent an empirically observable developmental progression in children.

A developmental researcher might argue that if parental awareness develops in childhood, then all adults should be capable of mature parental conceptions. Why then, would any adult be functioning at a developmentally immature level? This question might best be addressed by reflecting on the view of the nature of human change presented by structural-developmental theory. Structural-developmental psychology offers an organismic-interactive model of human change. In other words, human

development is understood as deriving from neither biological development nor from environmental influences alone. Such a model assumes an active organism interacting with the social and physical environment (Havighurst, 1973). Experience must interact with a receptive organism in order for development to take place. A child who is not biologically ready to perform the mental operations necessary to understand another's psychological perspective will not do so, even if the other's feelings are carefully and patiently explained. A child who lives in a family where no one explains their feelings or their reasons for their action, might have more difficulty understanding other's subjective experience as different from his or her own than other children of the same age until (s)he is in a social environment where subjective experience is shared. Development, therefore, is described as age-related and not age-defined. In other words, normal development assumes that the biologically developing child will interact with an environment with adequate stimuli to facilitate the orderly progression of increasingly comprehensive mental structures in a variety of realms of physical and social experience. But variations both in the internal development of the child and in the experiences offered by the environment will produce different rates of development in different children. Different individuals may reach chronological maturity having achieved different levels of cognitive maturity, and a single individual may organize his or her thinking at different levels for different realms of social experience.

Kohlberg (1973) finds the development of moral judgment continues in adulthood, and Loevinger (1966) finds that levels of ego development, although developmental, also describe the qualitatively different ways

that adults organize their understanding and their action. Although children develop through a sequence of levels or stages, different individuals equilibrate in adulthood at different levels of cognitive or ego organization, depending on the level of maturity to which (s)he has progressed. Cognitive equilibration, however, at any point in the life cycle, need not suggest the end-point of development. New experiences which challenge the adequacy of existing structures should be able, at least hypothetically, to stimulate development at any age (or at any level. Although cognitive-developmental sequences have "highest levels," there is no reason to assume that no one can ever reach an even more comprehensive awareness. The limitations of our logic and of our observations do not necessarily mean that such limitations exist in nature.).

It is interesting to note that none of the 16 year olds in the children's sample achieve a pure or major/minor score of 4, even though they are all thoughtful and highly articulate people, and the highest level achieved by adults without children is 3. The experience of being parented and of observing parenting may allow for the development of parental awareness up to a certain level, but in order to achieve a more comprehensive awareness of persons, relationships, and roles in the parent-child interaction, direct experiences involved in being a parent may be necessary. In order to explore the question of development of parental awareness in adulthood, the relation between parental awareness and years of parental experience is observed. As noted in Chapter 4, a significant relationship is found, but only when the number of children is controlled. When parents with the same number of children are compared with each other, a relationship between increasingly mature parental conceptions and

increasing years of parenthood (determined by the age of the oldest child in the family) can be seen. In order to test the hypothesis of development of parental awareness during parenthood which is generated by these patterns in the data, a longitudinal study would be appropriate.

C. Parental Awareness and Behavior

A critical issue for social developmental theorists is the relation of measures of levels or stages of social conceptions to interpersonal behavior. Turiel and Rothman (1974) argue that "while most of the studies emanating from our 'structural-developmental' perspective have dealt with reasoning, it has been hypothesized that reasoning and action are interrelated." Grim, Kohlberg, and White (1968) find an inverse relationship between cheating and moral development stage based on Kohlberg's moral judgment scale. Kohlberg (1965) reports a relationship between high levels of moral reasoning and refusal to deliver electric shocks among a subsample of subjects who participated in Milgram's (1963) study of obedience to authority. Turiel and Rothman (1974) find that exposure to reasoning at a stage above their own effects the behavioral choice of 7th and 8th grade boys who are at a moral stage of at least IV.

The question of the relation of reasoning and action in parenthood is very preliminarily explored in the study comparing parental awareness of parents with a history of having abused a child with a matched group of parents without such a history. Child abuse is a crude and rather extreme index of parental behavior, but such a study design allows some tentative observations to be made.

Parents with a history of having abused their children have as a group, significantly lower levels of parental conceptions than their matched counterparts, suggesting a relationship between parental

awareness and parental behavior. A question of clinical interest, as well as of interest to researchers studying the relation between interpersonal awareness and interpersonal behavior, is whether lower interpersonal awareness scores in individuals with disturbed relationships occur because they are not capable of higher level understanding, or because they do not use their most mature reasoning as consistently as other people. To address this issue in the case-comparison study, performance (the parent's average issue score on interview) is compared with capacity (the parent's highest issue-concept response). In the case-comparison analysis 7 of the 8 parents with a history of having abused a child had lower average issue scores than their matched counterparts, yet in 4 of the 8 pairs, parents who have abused a child have the same highest level response as the comparison parent. This suggests that for some of the "case" parents, they are capable of higher level understanding, but for some reason fail to use it consistently in the interview. This pattern, however, may not differ from that of other people who score at the same levels. In order to explore that possibility, the five parents with a history of having abused a child whose average issue scores are below 2.00 are compared with the six parents from the Orthopedic Clinic Sample who have scores at the same levels. Two of the five "case" parents have level 3 responses, while none of the six parents from the Orthopedic Clinic sample has responses scored above level 2. Although these numbers are small, they suggest that "case" parents may be not only different from their matched counterparts in performance, but also less likely than either their matched counterparts or than other parents with comparable performance scores to consistently use their best level of awareness on the interview.

These findings suggest that factors other than parental awareness may

be interfering with a parent's reasoning about children and child rearing. Lower levels of parental awareness, although strongly associated with child abuse, may reflect depressed rather than undeveloped thinking. The further investigators get from the study of the nature of universal cognitive processes (such as social perspective-taking), and the closer to the study of the implications of cognitive organization for functioning in particular relationship contexts, the more social and psychological variables may intrude themselves between structure and reasoning, and between reasoning and action. A parent who may reason at a more mature level about persons and relationships in the abstract, may for example, reason very differently about the child who is stimulating in the parent the re-emergence of unresolved conflict from the parent's own childhood. Selman, et al. (1977) find that some children with emotional disabilities differ from their "normal" peers not so much in their capacity to understand social issues, as in their ability to maintain or to apply their understanding when stressed. Individual dynamics, environmental and demographic realities, reinforced habits, and modeling may share to a greater or lesser extent in the complex determinants of an individual's understanding of other persons, relationships, and roles. For parents who have abused their children who appear to have a higher capacity for understanding children and child rearing than their average issue scores indicate, factors in their lives other than parental awareness capacity may be implicated which overwhelmingly stress their relationships with their children.

Interviews of mothers whose children came to Children's Hospital, Boston, for treatment of inflicted injuries, when compared with a matched

sample whose children have organic illness, point to a higher prevalence of certain environmentally induced stresses among cases than controls, and other studies of factors associated with child abuse also point to the prevalence of overwhelming stress (Newberger, et al., 1977). Social and environmental stress, however, does not predict parental dysfunction, just as one could not make such a prediction from parental awareness level. Why some children are protected and nurtured adequately in many homes which share what seem to be predictive patterns of stress in a family, or why one child is singled out for abuse, are important issues for further study. Parental awareness may be an important factor, when considered in relation to environmental and psychological stresses, in the etiology of parental dysfunction. Parenting cannot be conceptualized as a unidimensional process. The stresses and strengths of the physical and psychological environment can erode or support an individual's ability to parent his or her offspring, or conversely, how (s)he conceptualizes his or her child's personhood and the parental role may effect the influence of the environment on his or her parental functioning.

Although one can only speculate from the very preliminary data obtained in this study, very low parental conceptions might be implicated in poor parenting behavior in general, not necessarily only child abuse, and parents who reason at a low level may be more vulnerable to the expression of behavior harmful to the child when experiencing stress. Conversely, higher levels of parental awareness may protect parents and their children from action harmful to the child when the family is experiencing stress.

D. Levels and Issues

The relationship found between child abuse and lower levels of parental awareness might lead to the conclusion that parents who reason at higher parental awareness levels are "better" parents who love their children more than parents who reason at lower levels. This is not necessarily true. Concerned, loving parents are found at all levels of awareness, coping as best they can with a variety of life experiences. Parents who reason at levels 3 and 4 may be more aware of their children as individuals and conceive of the parent-child interaction as more of a mutual emotional relationship than parents with a primarily egoistic or conventional orientation, but one cannot assume that these are "better" homes or "better" parents. One father described the pull of the streets which drew him into serious trouble, and with deep love for his sons, explained how he had to "lay down" very strict and unnegotiable rules, because the temptations are so great, and the price for following the temptations would be so high. One cannot say whether a more individualistic and psychologically oriented awareness would be better for this family, with their own particular realities, but this father displayed as much love and concern as any parent in the study.

A higher level of awareness, however, would not mean that strict rules could not be established where necessary. As each level incorporates into its structure the elements of the preceding levels, parents at higher levels have available a greater and more flexible range of choices, and can theoretically apply these choices appropriately. Not every situation requires an awareness of how the child is thinking and feeling as an individual. When a 6 year old steps into a busy street, the parental task is usually rescue and rules, not exploration and understanding. If the

behavior is symptomatic of an underlying emotional issue, on the other hand, level 3 awareness would be minimally necessary to probe the meaning of the symptom and to address its cause. The more comprehensive the awareness, the greater flexibility a parent has to address problems of parenting which (s)he may encounter, and the more adequate the awareness of each person's and each problem's complexity. Reasoning at lower levels does not imply lack of love or caring. The effects on the child, however, of different levels of understanding are not known, and would be an important question for further study.

In order to provide a sense of what parental reasoning is like, examples of parental responses taken from the manual follow for each issue at each level. The manual is organized by issues. For each level of parental awareness at each issue, issue aspects, or characteristics of thinking about the issue at a given level are described, followed by a discussion of each aspect and one or two examples of parental responses. This illustration of the parental awareness measure will follow the manual format, and will include issue aspects at each level, followed by an example of parental reasoning. Each example will illustrate at least one of the aspects for its level.

I. Influences on Development and Behavior

Level 1 - Concrete and Unilateral

1. Either/or: the child either passively repeats or is impervious to external influences.
2. Influences are concrete and observable.

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON THE WAY CHILDREN TURN OUT AS ADULTS?

What they see in the home.

WHY DO YOU THINK THAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT?

If they hear you swear they are going to repeat it and they reflect on their parents, they are a reflection on you.

Level 2 - Uncoordinated bilateral

1. The child processes experience
2. Influences effect values
3. Influences and outcomes can be emotional

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON THE WAY CHILDREN TURN OUT AS ADULTS?

I think their friends, their parents, people in general, the people they come in contact with.

WHY IS THAT?

Some kids I find, if they have a bad influence, a bad gang of children, like they go through this adolescent stage, I am big and tough and all this, and what do they do, they just look for trouble and if a parent does not show interest in a child, the child feels neglected, it feels that it wasn't wanted, it feels that it wasn't loved, so what does this child try to do, he tries to rebel against the parent, and he turns around and he gets himself into trouble and if he finds that his parents do care for him, or his parents do love him, he will be a decent child and respect his parents and he won't give them any trouble.

Level 3 - Interactional

1. The child contributes to his or her own development and behavior.
2. The interaction of the child and the environment influences development and behavior.
3. Individual children are variously sensitive to external influences.

WHAT ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCES ON HOW CHILDREN TURN OUT AS ADULTS?

To some degree, parenting is a molding process for the child, but I don't see myself as a mold. I think you've got to be a dynamic mold, and be willing to change your own ideas about how things operate as you get to know how your kids operate.

Level 4 - Systems

1. Influences are part of systems in continuing process.
2. Influences operate at different levels of the self-system.

THE POLICE OFFICER SAID MR. FOX WAS TO BLAME FOR JIMMY GETTING INTO TROUBLE. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THAT?

No, I don't think so. I think when a child reaches adolescence the circle of influence is widened to the point, while other people might not influence his philosophy of life, they can influence behavior in specific situations. How the child comes to understand himself and how he functions with others is more significant to his future than the specific acts along the way.

II. Subjectivity: Thinking and Feeling

Level 1 - Concrete

1. Subjective experience is undifferentiated from observed behavior.
2. Subjective experience is a projection of parental experience or parental wishes.
3. Thoughts and feelings are in response to specific events.

WHAT ARE YOUR CHILDREN'S FEELINGS ABOUT YOU AS A PARENT?

They are little, I can't say.

DO YOU THINK THEY HAVE FEELINGS ABOUT YOU AS A PARENT?

I think so, because when I leave them somewhere, you see, they just cry a lot, especially my other little one.

WHAT DOES THAT TELL YOU?

I think they love me.

Level 2 - Conventional

1. Intentions are separated from actions.
2. Defined by stage, age or type of child.
3. Parental omniscience.
4. Conflicting feelings are sequential.
5. Children's perspectives acknowledged.

HOW WOULD YOU EXPLAIN SAM KISSING THE BABY ONE MINUTE AND HITTING HIM THE NEXT?

He is only 3½ years old. Maybe if he was older. I don't think I could explain why he would be doing something like that. I definitely think I would expect it, because I have seen other children like that do that.

WHY DO YOU THINK THEY DO IT?

It goes into intent--is he doing it with the intent to hurt the baby or is he doing it playing around?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

I would hope he was just doing it playing around. I don't see how he could get the intent--maybe he could get the intent to hurt him if he is jealous--he was used to being the only one for 3½ years. If there was jealousy there, if he was a little bit jealous, I could see it--the kid finds someone else is coming in and trying to hurt him that way so he is jealous.

DO YOU THINK KNOWING WHY PEOPLE DO THINGS MAKES A DIFFERENCE?

I think it does. Everybody does things for a reason, regardless of whether it is the class clown or someone who is stealing. There has to be a reason why anyone does anything.

Level 3 - Individualistic

1. Individual psychology
2. Influence of relationships
3. "Mixed" feelings possible
4. The child's perspective is idiosyncratic

WHY DO YOU FEEL PRIVACY IS IMPORTANT TO A CHILD?

Because for their reasons they don't want to tell you something and that is why you have to try to constantly stay in touch. Usually if a child does withdraw or close in they are going to change and they probably do it because they are unhappy and they don't feel good and you have to try to find out. And if you try to find out and he says no, I am fine, take the kid to a doctor, a psychiatrist, I am not going to talk to you, but I am going to talk to somebody.

Level 4 - Self-system

1. Subjectivity involves a complex system of awareness and emotion.
2. Psychological self-analysis is acknowledged.

COULD SAM BE TELLING THE TRUTH?

Yes. You can love and you can want to hurt and you can not be aware that you want to hurt because it is so frightening a thought--that you had that kind of anger. It means that Sam has not accepted it yet--that his mother will help him understand that it is a legitimate feeling, it is not a legitimate action, where his kissing is a legitimate action, but that the mother's--the parent's role--I'll care.

III. Personality

Level 1 - Concrete and Physicalistic

A. Characteristics

1. Physical characteristics and concrete actions.
2. What effects the parent.

B. Ideal

1. Is what the parent wants.
2. Appreciates what is given.
3. Does good things.

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR CHILDREN FOR ME?

You mean if they are boy or girl, what do you mean?

WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE THEY ARE?

I think that they are a little difficult. Once they grow from a baby until about 15, they are one problem, but after they reach 16, growing up, they are different, they start wanting to do things that you don't want them to do and then you start getting into a problem with them. But going through the early years, from baby to 15 years, I had no problem with him.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

I think to grow up into the image of what you wanted to be, or what you wanted them to be, what you wanted to be yourself.

WHAT IS THAT? THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

To see them grow up and finish school and maybe go on to college. Have a good job. Be smart Do something.

Level 2 - Conventional Definitions

A. Characteristics

1. The child fits a type.
2. Normalcy of characteristics.
3. Covert as well as observable characteristics.

B. Ideal

1. Is normal.
2. Follows accepted standards or values.
3. Tries hard to achieve what parent values.

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR CHILDREN FOR ME?

I can describe my son, Edward. He is very active, he is a very smart boy and at times he is emotional. High strung, I should say. He likes studying at times. He is good at home, he is well mannered, from my observation. How he is outside, I don't know, I know he is active, and I have no complaints yet. He loves animals and he intends to become a veterinarian one day, and I guess he is an ordinary, average boy.

Level 3 - Personal Individuality

A. Characteristics

1. Emotional individuality.
2. Interpersonal functioning.
3. Stable distinguished from surface characteristics.

B. Ideal

1. Shapes and achieves personal standards.
2. The child accepts him or herself as well as others.
3. Maintains personal autonomy.
4. Maintains adequate social relationships.

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR CHILDREN FOR ME?

They are hard to describe because they are all individualists, there are no two children in the family that are alike.

WOULD YOU RUN DOWN THE LIST THEN?

Lynn is quite an active young lady and is in the 7th grade at this moment and she is participating in quite a few things. Billy is a boy of his own. He was emotionally disturbed at one time, and he goes back and forth into withdrawal at times and he is kind of a hard kid to get to know, but a pretty good kid if you talk to him on his own level. Andrew, he is quite a young man, too, thinks he is quite a big boy now. He is in the transitional first grade. Rhonda there is still not that much to tell about. She is still not talking and still not up to what a 4 year old should be. But then again, I don't go and measure my children by anything else, they are all individualists.

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT IN RAISING A CHILD FOR THEM TO BE HAPPY?

Because if you are happy, it is easier. I like to be happy and I try to be happy and it seems like things are better when you are happy. My mother wanted us to be happy, but our happiness was what she thought our happiness should be, the things that she thought would make you happy in life, and obviously they didn't. And I want Eric to be happy in whatever it is that he is going to do; that he wants to do; what he wants out of life. What is going to satisfy him, if he is going to feel good about it, then that's good, whatever it is. I will try to go along with that. Unless it was something I felt was really harmful.

Level 4 - Psychological self-system

A. Characteristics

1. Coordinated into a psychological self-system.
2. Self-awareness.
3. Not always seen or known.

B. Ideal

1. Capacity for self-analysis.
2. Understands human vulnerability.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

I think for me the goal is raising a child to be successful in the terms that the child sets for himself. If a child's goal is to have lots of friends, then the child has to begin to understand why he needs lots of friends, is it really what he wants, or is it substituting for something else. I think it is kind of an inner eye that you are looking at yourself through.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

I would like to raise a child to work independently of me and be able to cope with the world and with his own feelings, and to be able to identify what he wants from life.

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT IS SO IMPORTANT?

Because if a person can't cope with his own feelings, if he can't identify those feelings, they can't really work towards anything else. That is the starting point. I am hoping that Jennifer will learn from us a family set up how to express her feelings when she gets angry. There are constructive ways of expressing your feelings and that is how I feel, so that nobody is physically hurt. I want her to be able to get affection when she needs it. I feel if she can deal with that, if she can't cope with her own feelings, she is not going to be able to move anywhere. But if she can cope with herself and her feelings and can identify the kind of person she is and what she wants out of life, then she can move in a new direction, if she wants to.

IV. Communication and Trust

Level 1 - One-way Instrumental

1. In order to know what to believe.
2. Trust meaning permissiveness and license.
3. Communication to achieve desired actions.
4. One-way conception of communication and trust.

WHY DO YOU FEEL IT IS IMPORTANT FOR CHILDREN TO TELL THE TRUTH?

Because when kids tell the truth, if they do something wrong, let them come to you and tell you they have done it. And you know where you are situated at and how you are going to protect your side. I would rather hear if my children did anything from their own mouth before I heard a revised edition, from somebody else, I don't want to hear it, I want to hear it from my kids first and by telling the truth, that puts me in a better position to help them, because if I don't know what is going on, and somebody hits me with a story, I would stand there like a real dummy.

Level 2 - Two-way Mutual

1. Trust and communication as equal exchange.
2. Trust at fulfilling familial role obligations.
3. Communication as verbal sharing.

DO YOU FEEL THAT TRUST IS IMPORTANT IN A RELATIONSHIP, IS THAT WHAT IS SPECIAL ABOUT IT?

Yah, there is something there, you have to trust me and I trust you.

WHY IS THAT IMPORTANT?

Because trust should be important in anyone's family among one another. You got friends you don't want to trust, but your family should trust each other.

Level 3 - Reciprocal Understanding

1. The reciprocity of trust.
2. Communication and trust as embedded in relationships.
3. Communication as understanding.

WHAT ABOUT THE DIARY, SHOULD HE LOOK IN THE DIARY?

No. Trust that child. (WHY?) Because he is going to keep on looking and looking, he is going to keep on having doubts, everytime something comes up, he's going to keep on having doubts and that is no trust.

WHY IS TRUST SO IMPORTANT?

It is important for a child to know that his parents trust him. (WHY?) Because this way he knows that my mother, my father, cares. My mother and father knows, I can't do it, I can't hurt them. I don't want to disappoint them. They trust me enough to let me go here, to let me do this, then I don't think I will destroy that trust that they have for me.

Level 4 - Growth and Discovery

1. Communication as discovery of self and other.
2. Communicating and trusting as developmental processes.
3. Trust and communication as accepting and revealing human fallibility.

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO LET CHILDREN KNOW YOUR FEELINGS? TALK THINGS OUT?

I don't know, right now I think that it helps me to understand my own feelings. I am trying to raise them so that they are whole people, individuals.

WHY IS THAT SO IMPORTANT FOR PEOPLE?

I don't think that you can get along any other way. You have to really like yourself in order to like anyone else. And I think as I got older I realized it more, you have to accept yourself for what you are before you can judge anyone else. It took me a long time to realize this, and right now they are small and there are a lot of things that I don't like about myself and there are a lot of things that I do like about myself.

BUT YOU CAN STILL LOVE YOUR CHILDREN, YOU DON'T HAVE TO LIKE EVERYTHING ABOUT YOURSELF.

No, not everything. You have to like yourself as a person, which as a person I do like myself, I have to work it out like anyone else, and they more or less taught me how to like myself and how to be myself. They make me a better person because of themselves.

HOW IS THAT?

A lot of times I will hold back my feelings on something and not let it out and Chris will come along and if something makes her mad she will get mad and yet with her I can say, that's okay, you can get mad. That's fine. And I will sit back and say okay, she can explode, but now it is time for me to do it. I've become a little more outgoing, a little more talkative, too. I've seen things in them, that I couldn't do, that I don't feel I could ever be able to do. Yet in them and seeing that they are not shy, and seeing that they are not held back by anything and if they want to know something if somebody else is standing there and they see something, they will walk up and ask, what is going on or what is that and they are not shy at all. And I think by seeing them, I can learn their lesson and teach other people, which I have never been able to do.

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THAT?

I feel good, I really do. It is not just their learning from me, I am learning from them, also.

V. Resolving Conflict

Level 1 - Uncertainty and Power

1. Lack of mechanisms.
2. Single perspective.

SUSAN WANTS HER MOTHER HOME AND HER MOTHER DISAGREES. SHE FEELS SHE HAS A RIGHT TO BE HAPPY AND TO WORK, IF SHE WANTS TO, AND SUSAN SAYS I FEEL YOU SHOULD BE HOME. WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE BEST WAY TO SOLVE A DISAGREEMENT? DISAGREEMENTS IN GENERAL?

Susan, being 10 years old, there is just no way you can make an agreement. If the mother decides to keep on working then Susan will still be mad, she won't agree with the mother and if the mother decides to stay home, she - Susan, won't agree.

Level 2 - Fairness and Obligation

1. Equal distribution-fairness.
2. Fulfilling role responsibilities.
3. Deciding right and wrong.

WHAT SHOULD SAM'S MOTHER DO?

For one thing, if Sam is $3\frac{1}{2}$ years old and his mother has a 2 month old, she could be paying more attention to the baby than she is paying to Sam and she is not realizing it. If she wants Sam to love the baby, I feel, do things with them both, kiss him and kiss him, whatever you give him, give him, just don't put all your attention on one child. Share it.

Level 3 - Communication and Compromise

1. Maintaining individuality through compromise.
2. Recognizing effects on relationships of individual feelings.
3. Identifying and communicating feelings.

WHAT SHOULD PARENTS DO WHEN THEY ARE WRONG?

I admit it, I just admit it and apologize and I ask the children to apologize when they do something wrong. This is a switch from when I was a child because there were no apologies. Parents were right and that was it. I always felt sort of funny because if I was wrong I had to apologize and why shouldn't an adult apologize. If we are wrong, we're wrong and that is something I do.

DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN SHOULD EXPECT THE SAME FROM ADULTS AS YOU DO FROM CHILDREN?

My feeling of a family is everybody's got to give. It's hard living as a family. We are all individuals, even though I have taught my children and brought them up, they are still individuals, we are all cantankerous sometimes. We all feel the urge to yell, fight and argue and once in a while we do. We are normal, we are human, everything is not rosy all the time, we all fight and argue occasionally. But I try and teach them that if we can learn to control our anger sometimes we gain more by it, but everybody has to apologize because we have a responsibility to each other.

Level 4 - Analysis and Integration

1. Differentiating external and internal conflict.
2. Through understanding of self and other.

WHAT DO YOU THINK A GOOD MOTHER WOULD DO?

I think that Susan needs to hear why the mother needs to work, just to see it not in terms of a rejection, because what seems to be going on is Susan is saying, I want only you there. Now why does she want only the mother, she has the mother the other two days and she's got the mother the weekend, why is it that so important that at that particular time the mother has to be there between 2 and 5 on those three days a week. Is it that Susan is asking for a proof that the mother will give up everything for Susan, even the job. She only has the mother and Susan goes off to play with her friends, I imagine, for at least 3 hours at a time, so that it isn't really that the child wants the mother there every day when she comes home from school, but she is asking for something else. How the something else gets resolved depends again on how much the mother understands of her own feelings and her own needs for working how guilty she is feeling.

VI. Discipline and Authority

Level 1 - Instrumental

A. Reasons

1. Reducing parental discomfort
2. Controlling natural anarchy of child.
3. Authority as a given.

B. Methods

1. What works.
2. Giving up.
3. Discipline for the deed.

WHAT DO YOU RELY ON MOST TO GET YOUR CHILDREN TO MIND YOU?

Threatening them with a spoon. I have one of those spoons with the little holes, to strain peas and things, so I take that and I say if you don't be good, I am going to beat you with it. And they usually behave when they see it. I don't use it, but when they see it they usually behave.

HOW DOES THAT SEEM TO WORK?

They do mind, up to a certain point, and then they say, mommy is not going to spank me, so I will start all over again.

WHY DO YOU USE THAT METHOD?

It seems to be about the only method that works.

DO YOU THINK IT IS THE BEST WAY?

Well no, but I don't know of any other way that works as good.

Level 2 - Conventional value-orientation

A. Reasons

1. Preparation for the outside world.
2. Teaching standards and instilling values.

B. Methods

1. Fitting age or type of child.
2. Explanation and internalization.
3. Considering intentions.

WHAT DO YOU RELY ON MOST TO GET YOUR CHILDREN TO DO WHAT YOU WANT THEM TO DO AND NOT TO DO WHAT YOU DON'T WANT THEM TO?

We explain everything and explain what's good and what's not good and we tell them, we preface, this is good and go on to explain why, whatever, and he can make a decision as to whether he is going to go along with it or not and then we will explain and try to reinforce our ideas.

WHY IS EXPLAINING IMPORTANT?

So they will know themselves what is right and what is wrong.

Level 3 - Personal Value-Oriented Growth

A. Reasons

1. Developing personal awareness and values.
2. Developing social awareness.

B. Methods

1. Addressing causes.
2. The relationship as a method
3. Discriminating punishment and correction.

LET'S GET BACK TO THE SUBJECT OF DISCIPLINE. WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE BEST WAY TO GET A CHILD TO MIND YOU?

Talking. Because first of all, you ask questions and you find out why they did it and they tell you I broke it because you weren't paying any attention to me. So you find out, what attention did you want me to pay, I was busy, too. And it is more apt to after I finish this, then we will sit down and we will have this big long talk about anything you want to talk about, play any game you want to, and I am finding out, like if it is just I felt like breaking it, okay, I just feel like hitting you right now, so how about if I do that. No. Why not? Because if you hit me it will hurt. You hurt me by breaking my vase. A situation like that.

Level 4 - Reciprocal

A. Reasons

1. Responding to needs for flexible structure to allow for growth.

B. Methods

1. Considering a hierarchy of factors.
2. Negotiation.

WHAT DO YOU DO TO GET ED TO MIND YOU?

It depends on Ed. What he seems to be asking for at different times in his life. Right now, he's been testing me a lot. He seems to be asking for controls.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

Children test you to see how much they can get, how much freedom they can get, and to know their boundaries. Yet it is a pull both ways. Ed is trying to test me, plus he wants my comfort and attention and concern. I think if I do control him, he knows I am concerned. Deep down inside he knows that it is for his own good. He can still want something and know that it is dangerous, and be grateful at some level to a person for telling them it is for their own good not to do that.

VII. Meeting Needs

Level 1 - Parental Needs of the Child

1. To ensure desirable outcome.
2. Meeting needs as what the parent does.
3. Needing control.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST?

Children need love. Discipline is love. The parent should be easy-going, but they should put down the laws so that their child doesn't walk all over them. They have to do what we tell them to do. That shows them we care.

Level 2 - Conventional Needs

1. Emotional needs for their own sake.
2. Different needs for different ages and types of children.
3. Needing to have needs met.

WHAT DO YOU THINK CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Love.

HOW DO YOU EXPRESS IT, HOW DO THEY GET IT, HOW DO THEY KNOW WHAT IT IS?

It is not like giving them what they want. It is be there when they need you. If they call you and say, "mother, I did this at school," well sit down and listen, don't say I don't have time. And things they love to me I have to share with them, I have to share their problems and so all that, I feel there is love in there.

Level 3 - Individual Needs

1. Learned through the child.
2. Need for personal instrumentality.
3. Relationship needs.
4. Need to be understood.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Understanding. (EXPLAIN?) What their needs are, why are they crying, why are they asking these questions, why don't they like this person as opposed to that person, why do they like this toy as opposed to that toy. Things like that.

SO TRYING TO UNDERSTAND, A PARENT TRYING TO UNDERSTAND HOW THEY FEEL ABOUT THINGS. WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT THAT IS REALLY SO IMPORTANT? WHAT DOES THAT DO FOR THE CHILD?

I think that makes them feel as though they are understood, they can rely on someone, someone does want to help them, is listening, someone is there to help them in any way they need the help or the understanding, or whatever it is that they need, the love or whatever is needed at that point in time.

WHY IS THAT IMPORTANT?

To make them feel more self reliant, more self confident, know that they can do X, Y, and Z, and have X, Y, and Z backing them up, always falling back on something or someone.

Level 4 - Psychological Need Systems

1. Needs as processes.
2. Need for awareness of and acceptance of oneself and others.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Ego reinforcement. (EXPLAIN?) Positive reinforcement, you do this well, that was good, I like that. I don't know, if it isn't honest, it is not worth anything, it's got to be honest.

FIRST OF ALL, WHY IS THIS WHAT THEY NEED, AND SECONDLY, WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY HONESTY, AND WHY IS THAT SO IMPORTANT?

Well, it's only through honesty that all things can be accepted. Traits of the child as well as traits of the parent, because we all have weaknesses, we all have elements of doing and not doing, of positive and negative, of up's and down's. And then a child who is developing, who has so much to develop, can see his issues, his conflicts, his yeses and no's. His conflicts are part of all of life, I think, and he won't feel isolated from the whole life process that way.

VIII. Learning and Evaluating Parenting

Level 1 - Egoistic

A. Learning parenting

1. Avoiding repeating negative childhood experiences.
2. Taking things as they come.

B. A good parent

1. Has good children.
2. Acts better than other parents.
3. Makes an effort.

THE WAY YOU ACT AS A PARENT, HOW DID YOU LEARN THAT, DID YOU HAVE ANYBODY HELP YOU? BOOKS? WHAT DO YOU DO, WHAT DO YOU TURN TO WHEN YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT TO DO, THAT KIND OF THING?

I don't know, it just comes to me. I don't read books, I have nothing to go by, I just do the best that I can.

DO YOU HAVE RULES YOU FOLLOW AND THINGS YOU FEEL ARE IMPORTANT TO FOLLOW OR DO YOU TAKE THINGS AS THEY COME?

Take things as they come.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE GOOD PARENTS?

That I couldn't tell you. I guess you have less warfare. I would suspect that if they are really good, no back talk or anything like that. I put myself in the lower category, because I get a little.

Level 2 - Conventional

A. Learning Parenting

1. Outside sources teach the right way.
2. By evaluating parenting models.
3. By observing children.

B. A good parent

1. Raises children the right way.
2. Does the best (s)he can.
3. Has happy children.
4. Teaches right from wrong.

WHAT HAS BEEN THE MOST IMPORTANT THING FOR YOU AS A PARENT IN RAISING YOUR CHILDREN? WHEN YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT TO DO, DO YOU HAVE A BOOK YOU TURN TO, OR FAMILY? WHAT INFLUENCED YOU MOST AS A PARENT?

I think books. Jean, my husband is a French writer, I read many books about children. Friends help, too. Sometimes a friend of mine will tell me what I should be doing.

HAVE THEY HELPED YOU?

They help me to understand more. Sometimes I can ask Lucy for two months to do something, and maybe I was doing it when I was her age, when I was 4, and I look in the book and see maybe I am asking her to do something she is not able to do at her age. I wasn't supposed to expect her to do at her age. So the books help me to be more patient with her, to control myself.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT?

That is a toughie. I know I am not the best mother, but I am a good mother because I love my kid, I put her before me, I make sure she always has what she needs and what she wants. If she needs affection, I give it to her, if she needs a warm bed, food, clothing, teaching, stimulation. You just do the best you can.

Level 3 - Subjective

A. Learning parenting

1. Through the child.
2. By experiencing love.

B. A good parent

1. Has a good relationship with the child.
2. Facilitates the child's capacity to cope with problems.
3. Is defined differently for different people.
4. Understands the child.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT, WHAT HAS BEEN THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON YOU?

Having the baby taught me, just seeing him be born taught me, said okay, you are a parent now and that's it, that is how I learned to be a parent. I read a lot and did a lot and read Dr. Spock and listened to my mother and talked to everyone. And just being a parent for me and my husband is an everyday thing, we learn something new from the baby every day.

WHAT DOES HE TEACH YOU?

That baby? There are certain things that he can do that I don't think he should be doing, like he tries to hold his bottle and he does hold it very well, so I let him, and it was hard for me to say he wants to hold his bottle now, so you have to let him.

SO HE LET YOU KNOW?

Yes, he pushes my hand away when he wants to hold the bottle, or if he wants to help with the spoon and I think he is showing us, look, I am able to do these things now, let me do them.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT?

I like to talk about this and it is important to me. I would like to know as much about it as I can; after all, these are things that we are not all born with. There are a lot of things that we have to learn as we go along. I have learned a lot and there is still a lot to learn. But I know there are things I know are right now.

The parent does not attempt to pull together the various characteristics into a "personality." Each action or characteristic is simply added on in a string of discrete descriptions.

2. What effects the parent-- Children are described in terms of characteristics which effect parental needs, comfort or desires.

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR CHILDREN FOR ME?

You mean if they are boy or girl, what do you mean?

WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE THEY ARE?

I think that they are a little difficult. Once they grow from a baby until about 15, they are one problem, but after they reach 16, growing up, they are different, they start wanting to do things that you don't want them to do and then you start getting into a problem with them. But going through the early years, from baby to 15 years, I had no problem with him.

WHAT ARE YOUR CHILDREN LIKE?

They cry a lot, mostly Pam. I have a lot of problems with them. She always wants to be outside and I have to do my housework and I can't be chasing them outside, I have my mother in the store, so that makes it a little easier for me and I still send them over to my mother's house. So I can do my housework while I have the other two at my house.

In neither example is the child described as a personality. Rather, the parents seem to see the children through the lenses of their own needs, and not to notice aspects of the children which do not directly effect them.

B. Ideal

1. Is what the parent wants-- Parents at Level 1 hope for a child who fulfills their own expectations. Characteristics or preferences of the child are not considered.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

I think to grow up into the image of what you wanted to be, or what you wanted them to be, what you wanted to be yourself.

WHAT IS THAT? THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

To see them grow up and finish school and maybe go on to college. Have a good job. Be smart. Do something.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

When I was single I said when I would have some kids it would make me happy one way, seeing kids running around the house. But now they are all over my house, no, it is hard. I had my first one when I was 19 and I had them all right away.

WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OR OUTCOME OF BEING A PARENT, WHAT DO YOU WANT FOR YOUR CHILDREN?

I want them to learn and come up with something big and be that people know them when they grow up.

WHY IS THAT IMPORTANT?

When the kids grow up I would like other people to respect them, for what they are. I try to raise my first one so he learns, but this one is pretty smart, and she says everything the TV says. I put on shows and she learns right away and I wanted her to be a dancer, but I don't think that it will work with her feet. She's wearing braces.

The gratification of the parent is the primary consideration, what the child can do ("I wanted her to be a dancer, but . . . she's wearing braces") is secondary.

2. Appreciates what is given -- Because parents at Level 1 frequently look to their children for personal gratification, they want a return for any effort they make for the child. Appreciation for what they do is one way of being rewarded for parental effort.

WHAT DO YOU ENJOY MOST ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN?

I enjoyed them when they were small.

WHY WAS THAT THE BEST?

Because then you can do things for them, they cling to you more, they appreciate what you do more for them and they are more loving and everything. Now that they are grown, they are looking for their own way of life. So I think when they are smaller, they are the best.

WHY DO THEY APPRECIATE YOU WHEN THEY ARE SMALL?

In certain ways they show you because small kids hug you and Jackie was very affectionate and she would hold you and kiss you and if you went out and came back, she says I am glad you came back, things like that.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

Have them grow up to be decent human beings.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

Not grow up to be - I don't know how to word it. Just to grow up to appreciate things and learn that they have to earn what they get. Not just have it handed to them on a silver platter.

At Level 1, an ideal child is required to give in return for what he or she takes.

3. Does Good Things --The child is evaluated because of what he or she does.

The parent at Level 1 does not conceptualize motives or underlying standards or values, as at Level 2, but judges what he or she can observe, the child's actions.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

To grow up to be good, not a punk, to go to school and just be good.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN GOOD?

For him to grow up and go to school and be involved in schoolwork. Go to school, meet a nice girl, have his own family.

TELL ME ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN?

They are good children, I can't say that they are not, though sometimes they are fresh. But other than that, they are pretty good kids, I have no right to complain.

WHAT DO YOU THINK MAKES FOR A GOOD CHILD?

When they listen and when they behave themselves. When they do as they are told.

A good child obeys, does what he or she is told. Parents at Level 1 frequently do not see the child as having any internal mechanisms for making autonomous choices.

Level 2: Conventional Definitions

A. Characteristics

1. The child fits a type
2. Normalcy of characteristics
3. Covert as well as observable characteristics

B. Ideal

1. Is normal
2. Follows accepted standards or values
3. Tries hard and achieves what parent values

A. Characteristics

1. The child fits a type-- At Level 2, parents tend to place their children into general personality categories, and to describe characteristics which "fit" and which justify the category placement.

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR CHILDREN FOR ME?

Paul is very studious, he is in college. Mary will do work if it pleases her, but other than that, it is a tug of war to try to get her to do something. Robert, I consider him to be kind of lazy. He used to have a paper route, and it was a real tug of war to get him to go. Bobby, go make your collections, or go collect your money, but he just didn't seem to care. Now Christopher who has a paper route now, is a little bit different. He is a little bit more ambitious. You might say he is greedy for money. We don't have half the problems with him trying to go out and collect, though at times, if he has been to one house two or three times, and he says they are never home. If you are missing anything around the house, David, do you know where this is, and he will come up with it.

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR CHILDREN FOR ME?

Well, my daughter is a little taller than myself and she really likes the baby. She's a pretty good natured girl. My son, 16, takes all kinds of athletics. He's very good in gymnastics etc., so he teaches the baby and they get along really well.

(continue next page)

AND WHAT ABOUT THE BABY?

He's a good baby other than when he's not feeling well - when he'll scream. But he is a good baby, not a cry baby. He'll play, he is learning to say mommy and to wave bye, different little things. He'll try to say he wants something. All in all he is a good baby. He is on the braces now at night, to straighten out his legs and he's good about it. I put them on when he goes to sleep and it doesn't bother him until the next morning. I think that's pretty good. He is about 30 pounds and he loves clothes, if you bring something home in a bag, he will rip it open to see what it is. All in all he is a good baby.

Parents at Level 2 tend to focus on one or another aspect of the child's functioning, which may be a particularly strong characteristic, and to describe the child in terms of that characteristic ("athletic," "studious"). At Level 3, the parent attempts to include many characteristics and to integrate them into a more general description of the child.

2. Normalcy of characteristics--An important characteristic at Level 2 is the extent to which the child conforms to society's expectations for children.

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR CHILDREN FOR ME?

It is kind of hard to describe them. They are boys and they do normal things that other kids do. They don't usually get in much trouble. They enjoy eating, both of them, a lot. My oldest boy likes playing ball and that one likes eating and sleeping a lot. They have a normal life.

CAN YOU TELL ME WHAT YOUR CHILDREN ARE LIKE?

They are normal children, full of it. She is pretty good in school, normal, and he is picking up little by little now. He is in nursery school. He wasn't picking up at first because she would do all his talking for him and do everything for him, but now that he is in school on his own, he is picking up.

The parent focuses on how the child is like other children, rather than how the child differs as an individual from other children as in Level 3.

3. Covert as well as observable characteristics --At Level 2, responses may include descriptions of emotional qualities in addition to the more concrete actions and characteristics identified at Level 1.

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR SON FOR ME?

Tall, bright-eyed, very inquisitive, talks a lot, mischievous, a little and always will be I think, thin, very very active and very lovable.

WHAT DO YOU ENJOY MOST ABOUT HIM?

His inquisitiveness.

WHY DO YOU ENJOY THAT, WHAT DO YOU ENJOY ABOUT IT?

His interest in everything around him and he is interested and I am interested and so is everyone around him, so that would be the main thing that strikes people.

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR CHILDREN FOR ME?

I can describe my son, Edward. He is very active, he is a very smart boy and at times he is emotional. High strung, I should say. He likes studying at times. He is good at home, he is well mannered, from my observation. How he is outside, I don't know, I know he is active, and I have no complaints yet. He loves animals and he intends to become a veterinarian one day, and I guess he is an ordinary average boy.

The parent is able to observe and appreciate qualities and characteristics of the child which are not of direct concern to the parent, unlike Level 1 descriptions which describe aspects of the child which affect the parent. At Level 2 the child's independent identity is acknowledged and appreciated.

B. Ideal

1. Is normal-- Parents at Level 2 are able to accept behavior which is disagreeable or uncomfortable for the parent if it conforms to what the parent believes is normal behavior for children.

WHAT SHOULD PARENTS BE ABLE TO EXPECT FROM THEIR CHILDREN?

That is hard to answer. It depends on whether the parent brings the child up. What I expect of my children is to grow up and be a healthy child and just normal, be a normal child.

DO YOU FEEL WHAT SAM IS DOING IS SOMETHING THAT A GOOD CHILD WOULD DO?

It is what a normal child would do.

WHY IS IT NORMAL?

Because most all kids go through this stage, especially if they are the baby for a while and then a new baby comes up, they don't have no mother or father no more, they just have the new baby.

A "good" child is not simply defined by what he or she does, as in Level 1, but also by what can be expected.

2. Follows accepted standards or values-- At Level 2 parents reason that a good child develops personal standards which guide action. Different parents may identify quite different standards or values, but their common characteristic at Level 2 is that they are standards given by the culture or tradition which the parent accepts.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING YOUR CHILDREN?

Bring them up to be decent, law-abiding citizens, and not so much that they have to be geniuses, you can't expect that, they are all at different levels. Just to bring them up to be honest as best you can. The way you were sort of brought up yourself. Times have changed.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

I think you want to make them a good moral individual. I am very religious myself, as I say, a lot of the kids, it is very difficult when they get to a certain age, to get them to go to church and things like that, but I want them to have a good moral fear of god and I hope they get to heaven some day, I bring them up to someday get to heaven.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN, A GOOD MORAL INDIVIDUAL?

I mean somebody that wouldn't take anything that didn't belong to them, that wouldn't steal, wouldn't do anything - would help people. In other words, what you could do, go out of your way to help people, be nice to people, a nice person. Somebody who doesn't steal, lie, cheat, you know what I mean.

WHICH IS OF MORE CONCERN, THAT HE HAD STOLEN, OR THAT HE HAD LIED?
WHICH WAS MORE IMPORTANT?

He was afraid, that's why he lied. The worst thing was the fact he had stolen.

WHY DO YOU THINK THAT WAS WORSE THAN THE LYING?

It is more serious. It is a crime, then there is a white lie and a black lie so to speak, but the fact he knew he had done it and figured he might get away with it by lying, so he tried.

Parents at this level do not expect all children to be exactly the same, because they acknowledge differences in abilities, but they do expect them to embrace the parent's values as their own. The third example illustrates the Level 2 parent's focus on what the meaning of a behavior is for society, rather than the meaning of the behavior for the child.

3. Tries hard and achieves what parent values--Although differences in ability are acknowledged, effort and achievement recognized and valued as desirable personality characteristics.

WHAT SHOULD PARENTS EXPECT FROM THEIR CHILDREN?

Respect, love and trying to do the things that their parents ask them to do when they ask them to do it, if it's right.

WHY DO YOU THINK THOSE ARE THINGS EVERY PARENT SHOULD EXPECT?

Because as you watch a child grow up, it just makes me feel proud if I say to my kids I want you to try hard in school and do the best you can, and they come home and they bring me A's and B's. I say to myself they are trying their best, and it makes me feel good because someday they are going to be somebody.

WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

Academically, for example, some people want their children to be A students, we don't ask for that. If they achieve what we think in our minds is the best they can do, that is all we ask.

HOW DO YOU KNOW WHAT IS BEST?

I think a parent knows inside if a child is really trying and what he is capable and not capable of doing, by talking to the teachers. I believe if a parent is interested enough, they will know what makes their child tick, and this is why I said earlier, I am really interested in what makes people tick as well as children. I think I know my children well enough.

Effort is valued because it brings about a socially desirable outcome ("They are going to be somebody," "succeeding"). The parent, not the child, determines what the child is capable of achieving.

Level 3: Personal individuality

A. Characteristics

1. Emotional individuality
2. Interpersonal functioning
3. Stable distinguished from surface characteristics

B. Ideal

1. Shapes and achieves personal standards
2. The child accepts him or herself as well as others
3. Maintains personal autonomy
4. Maintains adequate social relationships

A. Characteristics

1. Emotional individuality--The important personality traits at Level 3 are personal characteristics which distinguish the child from other children. These characteristics include emotional qualities or traits which can only be identified by getting to know the individual child. They cannot be known from external sources, as with Level 2 descriptors. The parent may indicate that he or she sees the child as having an integrated personality, not as an aggregate of distinct traits, and that this personal style has always characterized the child.

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR CHILDREN FOR ME?

They are hard to describe because they are all individualists, there are no two children in the family that are alike.

WOULD YOU RUN DOWN THE LIST THEN?

Lynn is quite an active young lady and is in the seventh grade at this moment and she is participating in quite a few things. Billy is a boy of his own. He was emotionally disturbed at one time, and he goes back and forth into withdrawal at times and he is kind of a hard kid to get to know, but a pretty good kid if you talk to him on his own level. Andrew, he is quite a young man, too, thinks he is quite a big boy now. He is in the transitional first grade. Rhonda there is still not that much to tell about. She is still not talking and still not up to what a four year old should be. But then again, I don't go and measure my children by anything else, they are all individualists.

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR CHILDREN FOR ME?

Well, both my children are very different. My son, who is the older of the two children, I would describe as a bright, somewhat aggressive, yet sensitive child who sometimes has difficulty controlling his feelings, or articulating his feelings. And when that happens, he does what most kids his age do, strike out at what's around him. And I would say he is relatively inflexible, relative to our other child. And he can't tolerate change.

HAS THAT BEEN SINCE HE WAS BORN, OR SOMETHING NEW?

No, when you think about it Jay has been like this ever since he was born. This was demonstrated early on in patterns of sleep, eating, from the time he was very very young. However, I think we have been relatively successful in overcoming whatever problems are involved with that. Carol, on the other hand, is very easy going, can tolerate all different kinds of situations very well. In some respects, I wonder whether she is too passive and now that we socialize more with Jay I think she has developed more. She has developed a better ability to assert herself. She is also becoming increasingly somebody who is a person, in a way that wasn't clear to me when she was younger.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN A PERSON?

In the sense that she has an identifiable personality, that you can describe and she does things that are unique and I guess this is something that I experienced with Jay and I didn't really begin to sense him as a person until he got to be in the 4-5 month age range, which may be a function of how much contact I had with him. I went to work everyday, but until they began to interact a little, I didn't really have a sense of them as people.

2. Interpersonal functioning--Personality characteristics described at Level 3 go beyond stable and objective personal labels to include qualities of interpersonal relating between the child and others.

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR BABY?

He is very active, very small and very happy. He smiles a lot and he likes people. His father has a very good personality and I think he is like him. He is very responsive to people, when people smile at him and do cuddle with him, he cuddles back and smiles at everyone, he likes people, he is very good. He is teething now and becoming more difficult, but he is still very good.

CAN YOU DESCRIBE MARIA FOR ME?

She is a very open girl. Although shy at times, she gets to be a friend when she knows a person better. She has a very good sense of humor, she rarely gets upset easily, but she demands attention certain times. She is getting to be quite affectionate and loves to climb on me. With other children she is shy although she is aware of them when there are children playing. She is fairly at ease in the group situation. Sometimes she is shy at the beginning, as in any new situation. She was always shy even at birth.

The interpersonal qualities are understood to operate within interpersonal relationships, and to require certain conditions for them to emerge.

Personality characteristics then can be active and mobile processes, and not simply static descriptions.

3. Stable distinguished from surface characteristics--Parents at Level 3 may distinguish what they consider transient or superficial behavior or characteristics from those which are deeper and more enduring. How the child deals with and resolves conflicts between deeper values and qualities, and the ups and downs of his or her actions is considered more descriptive than particular actions.

WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT, THAT JOHNNY DID THE STEALING OR THAT HE TOLD THE TRUTH ABOUT IT LATER?

That he told the truth about it later. Because I see that stealing in this scenario is an acute incident, which probably doesn't represent a chronic pattern of behavior. I see the values which are inherent and implicit in not lying as representing a pattern of behavior that's got to follow this kid for the rest of his life and which is much more important.

WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT, THAT HE DID THE STEALING OR THAT HE TOLD THE TRUTH?

Told the truth. Stealing is really nothing. The most that is done wrong there is that he did something wrong; but if he held it in he might do something wrong again.

WHAT DOES THAT TELL YOU ABOUT THE CHILD?

That he is recognizing that he did something wrong. HE is honest with himself and he was looking to someone, his father, for help, for feeling. And I think his being honest is a lot more important than he did it.

The meaning of the child's behavior for him or herself is the basis for describing the child, not how others view the child and his or her behavior.

B. Ideal

1. Shapes and achieves personal standards-- At Level 3, goals tend to be conceived less as particular kinds of achievements, values, or characteristics, and more in terms of the child being able to achieve what (s)he wants for him or herself.

The concept of an ideal, then, is defined from the perspective of the child, and in reference to the child's sense of his or her own preferences and capabilities.

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT IN RAISING A CHILD FOR THEM TO BE HAPPY?

Because if you are happy, it is easier. I like to be happy and I try to be happy and it seems like things are better when you are happy. My mother wanted us to be happy, but our happiness was what she thought our happiness should be, the things that she thought would make you happy in life, and obviously they didn't. And I want Eric to be happy in whatever it is that he is going to do; that he wants to do; what he wants out of life. What is going to satisfy him, if he is going to feel good about it, then that's good, whatever it is. I will try to go along with that. Unless it was something I felt was really harmful.

WHAT DO YOU HOPE FOR YOUR CHILDREN AS ADULTS, WHAT DO YOU WANT FOR THEM AS PEOPLE?

Just to love and be loved, and if they grow up and get married, after my daughter finishes high school, if they want to finish high school and get married, if that is what you want to do, you have all the luck and happiness from you. Whatever you do, be happy you have done it, that's it. If you want to go to college, you go. If you don't want to go, think about it, work, and whatever you do be good at it. I am not going to make them do something that they may be unable to live up to.

Level 3 reasoning focuses on how the child feels about his or her choices and accomplishments, rather than on the nature of the accomplishments as at Level 2.

2. The child accepts him or herself as well as others-- The Level 3

conception of personal individuality is expressed in a conception of persons which can accept intra- and inter-individual variability and differences. The ideal child recognizes individual differences and variability and is tolerant and accepting of both him or herself and of others.

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

For him I think the goal is a certain amount of success in life. Not so much in a job, but in being open, not be prejudiced or hateful, but just someone who is happy with themselves.

DO YOU HAVE ANY SENSE OF WHAT MAKES FOR A GOOD CHILD?

I think if they can be happy, if they can trust, if a child can trust an adult, to be happy with that adult, to feel easy and they don't feel like they are always competing against adults, they don't feel like they have to compete for life or place or to be something. They can just be happy being themselves. If they feel what they are doing here, that is cool, just like that, and unless they are really bad, and you are not constantly trying to change them, saying you can be better or why don't you do this, so if you try to get them to be happy with themselves and content with themselves as a person, then a kid would feel pretty good about himself.

Being happy with oneself may be understood to be related to not only an acceptance of others, but also to an acceptance of each person's equal right to what life has to offer. Therefore, a child who can cooperate with others, have trusting relationships, and feel good about him or herself would be considered closer to the ideal at Level 3 than a child who is a successful competitor.

3. Maintains Personal Autonomy-- Being able to make their own choices and to cope with whatever life may bring their way, is considered an important characteristic at Level 3.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

When he is of age, say 18, or when he decides that he wants to go out on his own, that he feels that he can handle the situation, that he can--he feels he is a man, he feels that we have done everything that we could to make him handle any situation he might be able to face, or at least go into the situation, say I think I can handle it anyways. Be a man, be a person, be strong, be able to cope, that is important.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

What you want for the child may not be what he wants when he grows up. He may want to be this or that. I don't know, I wouldn't say I had a particular goal for each of my teenage children. Being on their own and being able to make up their own minds about what they would want to do without being dependent on anyone is good. The girl sings and if she continues which she talks about, and I think she will, this will be very good for both. I wouldn't be disappointed if she did not sing.

THE KIDS JIMMY RUNS AROUND WITH ARE TOUGH AND GET INTO TROUBLE, BUT JIMMY LIKES THEM A LOT. SHOULD MR. FOX INTERFERE, OR DOES JIMMY HAVE A RIGHT TO CHOOSE HIS OWN FRIENDS?

Jimmy has a right to choose his own friends. He has supposedly been brought up with a certain set of values and sometimes he is going to make friends with people who do not have the same values that he does. And he has to learn that he has to maintain his own values with people that have different values. Trying to break up the friendship wouldn't be a good thing to do. He will have to determine if he can maintain his own values in keeping the friendships, or if he is going to find other friends.

The child, rather than the parent or peers, ultimately sets his or her standards, and the parent's hope is that the child will have the skills and capabilities for achieving and maintaining standards.

4. Maintains good social relationships--People are understood as functioning within a social context, and the child's ability to get along with others is an important aspect of personality.

WHAT MAKES FOR A GOOD CHILD?

A good child is one who can handle himself in a group with other people, because we are essentially a social system. We try to teach our children how to get along with other people. Basically, children learn to become social. I wouldn't say it was a bad child if he had difficulty getting along with other people, but getting along would be a primary goal.

Level 4: Psychological Self-system

A. Characteristics

1. Coordinated into a psychological self-system
2. Self-awareness
3. Not always seen or known

B. Ideal

1. Capacity for self-analysis
2. Understands human vulnerability

A. Characteristics

1. Coordinated into a psychological self-system --Characteristics are integrated into a broader picture of the child as a psychological self system. An attempt is made at level 4 to coordinate perceived experience and characteristics into a system where the parts are involved in a dynamic process which makes up a psychological whole.

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

Give him a sense of being a person who has faith in himself so he can cope with life, giving him confidence in himself, a basic sense of trust in himself and the world.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY FAITH AND TRUST?

That the way he knows the world is the way the world is. That his perceptions are confirmed, so he knows that he can trust others, and trust himself.

WHY IS THAT IMPORTANT?

Because that is the core of them. That is the core of their being. I think.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY THAT?

That is their center, that is the center of the individual, their integrity, their ability to relate, to know themselves in relation, at all times, to the rest of the world and that center must be carefully tended at all times.

WHY DO YOU FEEL GROWING UP NOT BEING BIGOTED AND HATEFUL IS SO IMPORTANT.

I don't see how anybody can be happy being hateful. Everybody at times goes through hateful moments with somebody, but a bigot doesn't put someone aside and wall them in, he actually puts himself aside, and walls himself in. He imprisons himself more than I think he imprisons someone else, he closes

himself up a little bit and it is getting to be a smaller world. And this makes him a smaller person in every way, not just about blacks, or Jews, or Chinese or whatever. It makes him a person who shuts things out, who doesn't say, "Hey, this is how I feel," but who doesn't let himself look at how he feels. He keeps part of the world out, and this will be a part of everything he does. It'll be part of his personality.

Responses at level 4 may reflect differing conceptions or different aspects of psychological process, as the two illustrations demonstrate, but they will attempt to interpret the meaning of observations for the psychological functioning of the child by interpreting them into a larger system.

2. Self awareness --The conception of self observation emerges at level 4 as a collary to the level 4 conception of a complex self-system. The observing self may have greater or lesser knowledge of other levels or aspects of the self system, and the capacity of the self for self-analysis and self-knowledge is a central characteristic of individual personality.

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR DAUGHTER FOR ME?

R. is 11 1/2. She is a very steady, responsible child, she has had to pay the price for my growing with her, because much of my coming to terms with my becoming an adult has been through watching her develop and fighting my battles vicariously through what I see she is doing. And R. is very much in touch with her feelings, very intellectual, very introspective

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

I think for me the goal is raising a child to be successful in the terms that the child sets for himself. If a child's goal is to have lots of friends, then the child has to begin to understand why he needs lots of friends, is it really what he wants, or is it substituting for something else. I think it is kind of an inner eye that you are looking at yourself through.

3. Not always seen or known -- Parents at level 4 can recognize that there are aspects of personality which are not always accessible to the child or to other observers, and that what a parent knows of the child reflects in part what the child allows to be seen.

COULD SAM BE TELLING THE TRUTH, THAT HE LOVES HIS BABY BROTHER, EVEN THOUGH HE HITS HIM?

Of course. He's telling the truth as he knows it. Sometimes people can't be aware of how they feel, or they think they feel one way, when deep inside there's another feeling which may break through in what they do, but that the person may not realize is there. Even if Sam were 18, he could have the same experience that little Sam is. About something different, maybe, but not understanding why he's doing something because there are feelings he just doesn't understand.

CAN YOU TELL ME WHAT J. IS LIKE?

J. is spontaneous, imaginatively spontaneous, very creative, very reserved and very private. She will not let you see what she does not want you to see. And I have a feeling that there is three quarters of a child there that I don't know at all, that I can only touch when she allows me to touch her.

These responses are distinguished from level 3 because they acknowledge that there are aspects of personality that may be ultimately inaccessible, and which may be necessarily inaccessible because of the complexity of the individual, or because of the complexity of preserving the self in the intimacy of close relationships.

B. Ideal

1. Capacity for self-analysis --Coming to know and to understand oneself (and others) is reasoned to be the central processes and the basis for each individual's functioning. One sees the world and one's place in it through the lens with which one sees oneself, and coming to know and understand oneself is the basis for achieving personal satisfaction.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

I would like to raise a child to work independently of me and be able to cope with the world and with his own feelings, and to be able to identify what he wants from life.

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT IS SO IMPORTANT?

Because if a person can't cope with his own feelings, if he can't identify those feelings, they can't really work towards anything else. That is the starting point. I am hoping that Jennifer will learn from us a family set up how to express her feelings when she feels angry. There are constructive ways of expressing your feelings and that is how I feel, so that nobody is physically hurt. I want her to be able to get affection when she needs it. I feel if she can deal with that, if she can't cope with her own feelings, she is not going to be able to move anywhere. But if she can cope with herself and her feelings and can identify the kind of person she is and what she wants out of life, then she can move in a new direction, if she wants to.

WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOALS FOR YOUR CHILDREN?

Again, the consciousness of process, giving the child the feeling that he can fulfill himself if he has a way of looking at his goals and his wants that are consistent with his abilities. I would like my child to later accept himself or herself at whatever stage he is in and to know what the next phase is too, so that he could reach a little bit. I think I would like my child to be stretched a little, so they know the feeling that comes from hard work at something. I don't think of goals as getting through college or riding a bike, but the child may see that as small goals along the way, to self fulfillment, I would like my children to be reasonably happy, because I think it is very necessary to have happiness in order to accept yourself and to accept other people.

The ideal for the child is an ability not only to understand oneself at a given moment, but also to recognize that one is in process, that one can accept oneself, even if one can't always accept one's behavior, if one recognizes one's capacity to learn and to grow, and that there are layers of thinking, feeling, and doing that build from each other, that the individual is a system.

2. Understands human vulnerability --At level 4. the parent hopes the child will not only accept human differences, but will also understand that frailty is part of being human, and will respect his own and other's humanness. The idea acceptance, then, stems from an understanding of universals of the human experience; within which human differences can be understood and respected.

WHAT IS THE BASIS FOR PEOPLE'S KINDNESS TO OTHER PEOPLE?

The basis is a respect for the humanness, for the suffering, for the quality that makes another person human. And that capacity is very difficult. It is a very difficult capacity to have, because one has to protect oneself too. If I can give my child the capacity to understand another human being, and to understand the vulnerability of another human being, I would do it for the other human being and for my child as well.

HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE A GOOD CHILD?

A child who was responsible, who had a good sense of what's right and what's wrong, not by everyone else's standards, but in their own, and someone, a child who was respectful and understands that even though the parent might be wrong, that they are the parent and just to have some patience.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY RESPECT AND HAVING PATIENCE WITH THE PARENT?

The parent has the offspring and they want to impose themselves on the child, which they can't stop themselves from doing a lot of the time. And the child has to understand that sometimes the parent has no control over themselves, and they want to protect the child and they want the child to do what's right, and sometimes they are imposing things that aren't always quite fair.

Level 1: One-way instrumental

1. In order to know what to believe
2. Trust meaning permissiveness and license
3. Communication to achieve desired actions
4. One-way conception of communication and trust

At level 1, parents' reasoning focuses on concrete aspects of truth, trust and communication, such as the acts of lying or confessing, and the person with whom one talks, rather than the openness or quality of the verbal exchange.

1. In order to know what to believe -- The importance of trust and truth is to be able to believe in the child's statements or claims, or for the child to be believed by others. Responses frequently appear very selfish; i.e., the parent is concerned that if he or she doesn't know the truth, he or she will look foolish in other people's eyes.

WHY DO YOU FEEL IT IS IMPORTANT FOR CHILDREN TO TELL THE TRUTH?

Because sometimes if you keep telling a lie, something will really happen and won't nobody believe you and you will be in a lot of problems.

WHAT KIND OF PROBLEMS?

Like my daughter told so many lies I didn't know when to believe her, so I just stopped believing everything that she said. And even now I have doubts, because I don't know when to believe her, so that is what can happen when you keep lying all the time, making people hate you for lying, and folks just hardly believe in you.

WHY DO YOU FEEL IT IS IMPORTANT FOR CHILDREN TO TELL THE TRUTH?

Because when kids tell the truth, if they do something wrong, let them come to you and tell you they have done it. And you know where you are situated at and how you are going to protect your side. I would rather hear if my children did anything from their own mouth before I heard a revised edition, from somebody else, I don't want to hear it, I want to hear it from my kids first and by telling the truth, that puts me in a better position to help them, because if I don't know what is going on, and somebody hits me with a story, I would stand there like a real dummy.

2. Trust meaning permissiveness and license--Frequently parents reasoning at Level 1 interpret the child's understanding of trust as a removal of the parental controls which they feel keep a child from doing wrong. Children are expected to want to get away with what they can.

DO YOU FEEL IT IS MORE IMPORTANT TO KNOW WHETHER OR NOT HE DID IT, THAN TO SHOW TRUST IN HIM BY NOT READING IT?

If he doesn't look in the diary, then Jimmy will believe that his father trusts him and he will keep doing things he shouldn't do.

DO YOU FEEL SOMETIMES IF CHILDREN KNOW THEIR PARENTS TRUST THEM THAT THAT WILL HELP THEM TO DO THE RIGHT THING? OR IS IT USUALLY THEY THEN FEEL THEY CAN GET AWAY WITH IT?

They will think they can get away with it and they will think my mother trusts me, she won't say anything about me, that I am bad or nothing, she trusts me and then he will keep doing it, doing things he is not supposed to do. But if she talks to him a little stronger, maybe he won't do it. What he shouldn't do.

Parental reasoning does not recognize the possibility that the child may want to live up to parental trust and not transgress. The parent, therefore, cannot conceive of giving trust to the child.

3. Communication to achieve desired actions--Reasons for communicating, as well as reasons for not communicating are contingent on the behavioral outcomes of the child which affect the parent or the child.

IF HE READS THE DIARY, SHOULD HE TELL JIMMY HE READ IT?

I don't think he should unless there is something that is very bad that he has to come forward with. But I don't think he should tell him, because then he would try to hide it someplace else where he would not find it the next time, because he would figure he had no right to read his diary. So he wouldn't find it there the next time he is looking for it, so I don't think he should tell him as long as there is no problem. He didn't do no harm, right?

WHY DO YOU FEEL THEY SHOULD BE ABLE TO CONFIDE IN PARENTS?

It is important to be truthful with them. I could always tell my mother or father. I really could. I don't remember doing that much bad. People say to me, didn't you do something like this, but I was very respectful. I didn't do anything that bad.

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT THAT YOU COULD TELL THEM?

Who else is there, the most important ones to come to is your own mother and father. If you couldn't, you would have to go to the gang on the corner or something like that and you would get into more trouble.

IF SHE READ THE DIARY, SHOULD SHE TELL HIM THAT SHE READ IT?

It depends what Mr. Fox found out. If Jimmy wrote something, I would confront him with it, but otherwise, forget it.

4. One-way conception of communication and trust -- Communication and trust are conceived as one-way. The parent or child gives trust to the other, they do not exchange or share trust. Similarly, communication between parent and child is understood as the child being able to talk to the parent, not, as in level 2, parent and child being able to talk with each other.

WHY DO YOU FEEL IT IS IMPORTANT FOR PARENTS AND CHILDREN TO BE TRUTHFUL WITH EACH OTHER?

I want my children to be truthful with me because I don't want to feel how come you had to sneak and do it behind my back, why did you have to hurt me this way, when you know you can come and talk to me.

WHY DO YOU THINK IT IS IMPORTANT FOR A CHILD TO BE ABLE TO COME AND TALK TO A PARENT?

A father plays a big part, but as far as the child and the mother, I feel there is this closeness ever since they were in the womb of the mother, there is this close knit thing and I feel that a child should feel this is the only thing in my life that I can turn to is my mother.

In addition to a one-way conception, the second example also has an egocentric aspect which characterizes many level 1 responses. The parent wants something of the child (what it is may differ) only for him or herself, and does not conceive of other relationships where the child may give to someone else.

Level 2: Two-way mutual

Level 2 responses conceptualize communication and trust as involving a two-way exchange, rather than the giving of one to the other, or the taking of one from the other that is conceptualized in level 1 reasoning.

1. Trust and communication as equal exchange
2. Trust as fulfilling familial role obligations
3. Communication as mutual verbal sharing

1. Trust and communication as equal exchange -- At level 2, parents recognize that trust and communication involve two sets of actions and of expectations. Communication and trust are between people, with each party giving as well as receiving.

IF HE READS THE DIARY, SHOULD HE TELL JIMMY HE READ IT?

Yes. Just to be truthful. If you expect your children to be truthful, you have to be truthful with them.

EVEN THOUGH JIMMY WOULD NOT HAVE KNOWN HE HAD READ IT?

Yes. I would tell him. He would probably get mad about the whole thing and get over it.

THAT SEEMS LIKE A DIFFICULT THING, THAT YOU WOULD TELL HIM SOMETHING THAT HE WOULD NOT OTHERWISE KNOW AND RISK HIS BEING ANGRY WITH YOU. WHY IS THAT SO IMPORTANT?

Just telling the truth and not being sneaky, you don't want them to be sneaky.

WHY WOULD YOU TELL HIM?

I would want to be honest with my kid and that way they would be honest with me, I would hope. I know a diary is a personal thing and I had no business to look in it, but since I did, I think that I should let him know.

IS IT IMPORTANT FOR A CHILD TO TELL THE TRUTH?

Yes. It is just as important for the child or the adult to tell the truth also, so the child can learn and say look, mother or father told me the truth, so I am going to tell them the truth. They learn from what you do.

Parents may not necessarily expect a direct return (as might be expected with peer relations, for example), but a developmental return. In other words, what a parent gives as trust or sharing to the child will contribute to the development of the child's capacity to give or share, and is expected to be expressed in the development of that capacity and those qualities. The parent acknowledges a responsibility to give if he or she expects to receive in kind, as well as an expectation to receive, if he or she gives.

2. Trust as fulfilling familial role obligations--Although trust is recognized as being between parent and child, it is not conceptualized as developing from qualities of the relationship, as at level 3, but as being an obligation of the relationship roles. Parent's and children should trust each other because that is part of how relationships between parents and children are defined.

DO YOU FEEL THAT TRUST IS IMPORTANT IN A RELATIONSHIP, IS THAT WHAT IS SPECIAL ABOUT IT?

Yah, there is something there, you have to trust me and I trust you.

WHY IS THAT IMPORTANT?

Because trust should be important in anyone's family among one another.

You got friends you don't want to trust, but your family should trust each other.

WHY IS TRUST IMPORTANT?

You have to trust and it is good to trust your parents. Because your parents brought you up and they are always there, I still can go home to my parents and it is good to have a good relationship with your parents. They know you. My mother knows me like a book, she knows what I am going to say before I say it.

3. Communication as mutual verbal sharing --Communication is conceptualized as two people sharing their thoughts or feelings with each other, rather than the one-way sharing expressed in level 1. Communication is presented as the act of a message, however, rather than how well the messages are understood, which is the focus at level 3.

IF HE READS THE DIARY,. SHOULD HE TELL JIMMY HE READ IT?

Yes, I would. Because I think that everyone has a right to privacy but I think I would first explain why I read it, that I really wanted to know, I was hoping you were right and you didn't shoplift, and then I would say that I had read it. Then he could tell me how he feels. I think if we can communicate like that, things will be all right.

Level 3: Reciprocal understanding

1. The reciprocity of trust
2. Communication and trust as embedded in relationships
3. Communication as understanding

1. The reciprocity of trust -- Trust at level 3 is conceptualized as greater than an exchange of actions and expectations. It is a commitment to a relationship. In order to be trusted, a person has to be able to trust, and in order to trust, you have to be trusted in a relationship. Trust is a reciprocal process. Because they conceptualize trust as reciprocal, many parents at level 3 feel that trusting a child will promote trustworthy behavior. The child will protect the relationship by honoring the trust which is part of the relationship. The parent may be similarly constrained.

WHAT ABOUT THE DIARY, SHOULD HE LOOK IN THE DIARY?

No. Trust that child. (WHY?) Because he is going to keep on looking and looking, he is going to keep on having doubts, everytime something comes up, he's going to keep on having doubts and that is no trust.

WHY IS TRUST SO IMPORTANT?

It is important for a child to know that his parents trust him. (WHY?) Because this way he knows that my mother, my father, cares. My mother and father knows, I can't do it, I can't hurt them. I don't want to disappoint them. They trust me enough to let me go here, to let me do this, then I don't think I will destroy that trust that they have for me.

HOW WOULD JIMMY FEEL IF HE FOUND OUT HIS FATHER READ HIS DIARY?

And his father didn't tell him? Jimmy should be really mad.

HOW WOULD IT AFFECT THEIR RELATIONSHIP?

It could affect their relationship the rest of their life. It would alienate the son and could make him very, very mad at his father and he could feel that he has no rights, he has no privacy, he is not a person; at 15 he still has somebody standing over his shoulder looking into him. He would feel that he wasn't trusted and in turn he would not trust his father and that would set up a really bad chain of events.

2. Communication and trust as embedded in relationships -- At level 3, parents understand trust and communication as reflecting more than familial role obligations, as is frequently expressed at level 2. In level 3 responses, the quality of the relationship is understood to be the basis for the quality of communication and trust within that relationship, and parent-child relationship, as with other relationships, must be nurtured and developed. Trust and communication are not necessarily expected, but are freely given by two people who share a close relationship.

DO YOU THINK IT WOULD AFFECT THEIR RELATIONSHIP IF MR. FOX TOLD JIMMY HE READ THE DIARY?

The relationship would differ because Jimmy would be watching his father and his father would be watching Jimmy. There wouldn't be that much of a communication, and trust and faith and everything that was built up is just going right down. It would have to be rebuilt and it takes a lot of doing to do that.

IN WHAT WAYS DO YOU THINK YOU COULD REBUILD TRUST?

I think it takes a lot of time and patience, a lot of caring, a lot of understanding on both their parts. In fact, I think it might take a whole lifetime to redo something that you already have done. But if you're tolerant enough to be a good family, you sort of go by that hoping that the child would understand why you did it, that you were trying to help, because you loved him and cared for him.

One thing I enjoy with my 17 year old and I hope to do with my 7 year old, is communication. My 17 year old will go on her date and when she comes in she runs up to the bathroom and comes in the den and tells me what the show was about, or where they went and this is what I want. And it is not that I ask for it, it is given to me. And I am very grateful that it is.

HOW DO YOU FEEL COMMUNICATION DEVELOPS BETWEEN A PARENT AND A CHILD?

I think it starts with love, and a sense of being needed, and of the parent's being there when the children need them. Being there, and being able to not only be a father or mother, but also a friend, someone to whom he can talk, not the friendliness, buddy-buddy bit, not that, but being a person who is easy to talk to. Not being an aloof, godlike figure who stands and says what do you want my child, but being a warm, close personal relationship.

Communication can be non-verbal as well as verbal.

WHAT DO YOU ENJOY MOST ABOUT JOHN?

I guess I reach a certain peak with him when we are alone. When he was about 5 weeks old and he would wake up and my wife was sleeping, I would take him and give him his bottle and I look back on those days and they were the happiest moments in the past three years I can think about. It was a very soothing moment and he was laying there taking his bottle and half asleep and I was very comfortable. I was finished working and it was a moment's communication, this is my son and I am just as much a part of this as his mother is. He is communicating.

HOW WAS HE COMMUNICATING?

He would press close sometimes and I would hold the bottle and he would open his eyes and look up. There was eye contact, there was body contact, and I felt very close.

3. Communication as understanding -- At level 2, responses tend to focus on communication as production. The act of explaining, for example, is conceptualized as the communicative act. At level 3, communication involves production and reception. The focus of reasoning about communication is understanding rather than explanation with the explanation assumed as the precursor to understanding.

WHAT DO YOU ENJOY THE MOST ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN?

I like to have them around. They are all I have. They are everything to me. I am satisfied, you know. I can rely on them practically as much as they can rely on me. We do for each other. Like I can sit down and explain things to Terry, like when he wants something and we can't afford to buy it, I sit down and explain and he will understand and he explains things to me and I understand and we complement each other.

SUPPOSE THAT JIMMY SAYS, I LIED BEFORE BECAUSE I WAS SCARED, HOW WOULD YOU TAKE IT FROM THERE?

Well he can discuss being scared, what does it mean. Maybe Mr. Fox had some situation that he might have been ashamed of or something like that many years ago and says look, this happened to me and it was a stressful situation and I can sort of understand and this is what I did.

People can talk to each other, but communication is understanding each other.

The parent at level 3 considers the experience of the child in order to find ways to reach his or her understanding.

Level 4: Growth and Discovery

1. Communication as discovery of self and other
2. Communicating and trusting as developmental processes
3. Trust and communication as accepting and revealing human fallibility

1. Communication as discovery of self and other --At level 4, communication is not simply two people coming to understand each other, it is a process of thinking and sharing in which each person comes better to understand him or herself as well as the other. Parent and child are clearly identified as separate and autonomous, although intimately related, and the limits of the relationship may also be defined. The value of psychological privacy as well as of intimacy and sharing, is acknowledged.

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO LET CHILDREN KNOW YOUR FEELINGS? TALK THINGS OUT?

I don't know, right now I think that it helps me to understand my own feelings. I am trying to raise them so that they are whole people, individuals.

WHY IS THAT SO IMPORTANT FOR PEOPLE?

I don't think that you can get along any other way. You have to really like yourself in order to like anyone else. And I think as I got older I realized it more, you have to accept yourself for what you are before you can judge anyone else. It took me a long time to realize this, and right now they are small and there are a lot of things that I don't like about myself and there are a lot of things that I do like about myself.

BUT YOU CAN STILL LOVE YOUR CHILDREN, YOU DON'T HAVE TO LIKE EVERYTHING ABOUT YOURSELF.

No, not everything. You have to like yourself as a person, which as a person I do like myself, I have to work it out like anyone else, and they more or less taught me how to like myself and how to be myself. They make me a better person because of themselves.

HOW IS THAT?

A lot of times I will hold back my feelings on something and not let it out and Chris will come along and if something makes her mad she will get mad and yet with her I can say, that's okay, you can get mad. That's fine. And I will sit back and say okay, she can explode, but now it is time for me to do it. I've become a little more outgoing, a little more talkative, too. I've seen things in them, that I couldn't do, that I don't feel I could ever be able to do. Yet in them and seeing that they are not shy, and seeing that they are not held back by anything and if they want to know something if somebody else is standing there and they see something, they will walk up and ask, what is going on or what is that and they are not shy at all. And I think by seeing them, I can learn their lesson and teach other people, which I have never been able to do.

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THAT?

I feel good, I really do. It is not just their learning from me, I am learning from them, also.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY CLOSER?

In the sense of being able to interact with them, in the sense of feeling that they are as I said earlier, people, really separate human beings and not just little kids and I think that every day that goes by, you learn more about them, who they are, and so that's really what I meant by getting closer.

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT THE PRIVACY OF THE DIARY IS IMPORTANT?

Because there are parts of each human being that they choose not to share with another human being and it is as true of a baby as it is true of an old person and even though a parent in a family may think that it is unimportant, he has no right to trespass on feelings, on emotions, on secret drawers, on experiences that the child does not choose to tell. If the child says I don't want to talk about it, then the parent has to listen to that, then they can come at it another way if it is very important, but they cannot trespass beyond what the child is willing to let go of. Everybody is very much alone inside and has to preserve his own territory first and then you can begin to share if you feel you have boundaries that are yours. It is also the difference between sharing because you have to and sharing because you choose to. It makes a difference between resenting what you do and resenting what you did and giving it generously and if you are allowed space around yourself, then I think you are freer to give space to other people and you don't have to clutter all over their lives. And you can give to people if you have privacy and privacy is a way of giving to yourself.

2. Communicating and trusting as developmental processes -- At level 4,

communication, understanding and trust are not considered simply to be products of relationships, but as processes which are central to the development of the child. Communicating and trusting are experiences which develop the child's capacity to know and to be comfortable with him or herself and the social world, and are also the processes which allow relationships to continue to grow.

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT TRUST IS SO IMPORTANT IN A PARENT/CHILD RELATIONSHIP?
BY READING THE DIARY WITHOUT PERMISSION, THAT WOULD BETRAY A TRUST.

Well, I would sooner that my child would tell me what his problem is, or his joys or whatever, sharing in that respect, then going out and saying well, this and this happened and I don't know what to do. I have nobody to turn to and this is going to be a terrible situation, whereas if there is a person or persons that you can go to and tell them what your problem is, or share a nice feeling with them, or situation, then you as a person, the child as a person, has grown so much more, he can relate, he can say gee, I have shared something and that was something nice and well, I feel better about it and I can do more now that I have spoken about this or that.

SO YOU FEEL THAT BY BEING ABLE TO TRUST SOMEONE - I AM NOT SURE I FOLLOW WHAT IT DOES FOR THE CHILD?

I think that it gives them a better feeling about themselves, they are able to express their needs, their wants, their concerns better and in that way they are growing and maturing.

YOU WOULD NOT BE PROUD OF LOOKING IN THE DIARY?

No, positively not. A parent should show trust first I think and then the child will naturally grasp this from the parent. A child is most like his parent, if the parent cares at all about the child.

WHAT DOES TRUST DO FOR CHILDREN AND THEIR RELATIONSHIPS, WHY IS THAT SO IMPORTANT?

I think it brings out their nature to the best of their abilities. If they trust, I don't know, I can't always answer. I know what I feel, but it is hard for me to come out with it. It helps create the character of that child. It helps them to learn that he can count on other individuals even as an adult when he is on his own, there is such a thing as trust.

WHY IS TRUST SO IMPORTANT?

For the parents and child to grow together and to understand each other, they have to be able to trust each other.

The concept of growth, both individually and interpersonally, is central at level 4.

3. Trust and communication as accepting and revealing human fallibility --

At level 4, trust is conceptualized as deep and enduring, and as remaining constant despite breaches and lapses. Indeed, deep communication and trust embraces sharing and acceptance of human vulnerability and fallibility.

SUPPOSE HE READS THE DIARY, SHOULD HE TELL JIMMY HE READ IT?

Absolutely. It is dishonest not to. You have violated some personal space of this child, of his son. It is just as bad for him not to tell his son that he has done that as it is for Jimmy to tell his father in the first place that he didn't steal it when in fact he did.

WOULDN'T THE RELATIONSHIP PERHAPS BE BETTER IF THE CHILD DIDN'T KNOW HIS FATHER VIOLATED HIS PRIVACY?

It would certainly be less complicated, but whether it would be better or not, I don't know. It would certainly be a lot better for the father to deal with, not to have to deal with the fact that he knew his son knew he read his diary, but that's the easy route to go and I think in that kind of case I would go to my son and say look, I did something that as my son, I hope you would do the same with me, I did something that was really stupid, and that I shouldn't have and here is what it was. I read your diary. And it is an interesting thing, I don't know if I would tell a story like that, but that is what I would tend to do.

WHEN YOU SAID, I WANT YOU TO KNOW BECAUSE, HOW WOULD YOU FINISH THAT?

I would want you to know that I had done it because I would want you to know that we as parents, older people are as capable of making mistakes as you are, and I don't want to not tell you and have this something that is not shared between us and I think potentially my kid could learn a lot, Jimmy Fox could learn a lot.

WHAT WOULD HE LEARN?

He might learn that people, even adults, even parents, are fallible and will also learn that they are consistent in their values, like trust, honesty and openness are going to be values that you instill in your child. I think that this kind of situation might reinforce it.

YOU MENTIONED THAT SOMETIMES YOU DO THINGS WRONG AND THE PART OF THE RELATIONSHIP YOU BREACH CAN WITHSTAND THAT.

I would think if the ground is firm, then the ground can tolerate little hills and deviations from it, but there has to be some very good soil and this soil has to be laid from the very beginning, when this child is extremely young, born, and then it won't matter if there is a small deviation along the way that is not very great, and of course one doesn't know which will be the great and which won't be the great. You have to assume that your child will be generous to you, too, if you stumble and fall, it is not just a case of parents being generous in forgiving the child and you can do that if you have put together a trustworthy foundation.

WHY IS TRUST SO IMPORTANT?

It shows the child or the other person that we can make a mistake. Everybody does make mistakes and making mistakes is sometimes a good thing, it helps you to know all the possibilities of yourself. And only by dealing with them will it really change, will it maintain the boy, the son's, only by the father coming to him directly, coming to the boy directly with it and discussing it and letting it be a fully recognized and accepted thing will he, the boy, have a chance to fully deal with it. And he needs this chance, he doesn't need to be preached to. In other words, he has to be able to examine what he did, why he did it, very fully.

Making mistakes at level 4 may not be seen as entirely negative, but as an opportunity for closeness with another, and for personal growth.

Level 1; Uncertainty and Power

1. Lack of mechanisms
2. Single perspective

1. Lack of mechanisms--Responses at Level 1 do not deal with mechanisms for resolving conflict. Rather, they project a sense of helplessness in the face of conflict. This helplessness may be expressed by an inability to think of ways to resolve conflict, by a passive and sometimes angry acquiescence to the child's demands or, in the case of sibling conflict, to the claims of the more powerful sibling.

SUSAN WANTS HER MOTHER HOME AND HER MOTHER DISAGREES. SHE FEELS SHE HAS A RIGHT TO BE HAPPY AND TO WORK, IF SHE WANTS TO, AND S. SAYS I FEEL YOU SHOULD BE HOME. WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE BEST WAY TO SOLVE A DISAGREEMENT? DISAGREEMENTS IN GENERAL?

Susan, being 10 years old, there is just no way you can make an agreement. If the mother decides to keep on working then Susan will still be mad, she won't agree with the mother and if the mother decides to stay home, she - Susan, won't agree.

WHAT DO YOU THINK A GOOD MOTHER WOULD DO?

A good mother would probably quit and go home to the brat.

WHY WOULD SHE DO THAT?

It would be better for the child probably and it wouldn't hurt the mother.

There is no "solution" in these responses. Either no one can be satisfied, or by satisfying one party to the conflict, the other is dissatisfied.

2. Single perspective--Level one reasoning does not maintain two perspectives, so one perspective, usually the parent's, is focused on to the exclusion of the other.

WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT, THAT S. HAVE HER MOTHER HOME WHEN SHE GETS HOME FROM SCHOOL, IF THAT IS WHAT SHE WANTS, OR THAT HER MOTHER HAVE A JOB?

Mother have a job, if that makes her happier.

WHY IS THAT MORE IMPORTANT?

It makes the mother happier, and it shows Susan that her mother has independence and her mother can't be around her all the time.

WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT, THAT S. HAVE HER MOTHER HOME WHEN SHE GETS HOME FROM SCHOOL IF THAT MAKES HER HAPPY, OR THAT HER MOTHER HAVE A JOB IF THAT MAKES HER MOTHER HAPPIER?

She likes her mother to be home when she gets home from school.

CAN YOU GIVE MORE REASONS WHY YOU THINK THAT IS MORE IMPORTANT?

That way when the kid comes home, they always expect the mother to be home. Sometimes they come home and they knock and they go in and where is ma, and if nobody is there, they will go next door and ask. I don't know where your mother is. I came home, I am hungry.

BUT THERE IS A BABY SITTER.

It is not the same as a mother - if the mother loves you she will come up right away and say what do you want.

Because only one perspective is conceptualized, conflict resolution is all for one and nothing for the other.

Level 2: Fairness and Obligation

1. Equal distribution-fairness
2. Fulfilling role responsibilities
3. Deciding right and wrong

1. Equal distribution-fairness--Conflict is reasoned to be caused by a perceived unequal distribution of emotional or physical supplies. The resolution of conflict, then, is achieved by redistributing supplies so that they are perceived as being equally shared, or by helping the other to understanding that a more equitable distribution is necessary.

WHAT SHOULD SAM'S MOTHER DO?

For one thing, if Sam is 3 1/2 years old and his mother has a 2 month old, she could be paying more attention to the baby than she is paying to Sam and she is not realizing it. If she wants Sam to love the baby, I feel, do things with them both, kiss him and kiss him, whatever you give him, give him, just don't put all your attention on one child. Share it.

WHAT SHOULD MRS. S. DO?

She has to try to sit down with her daughter and talk to her and explain that she wants to do it. Like the daughter wants to do things and she does them, so if the mother wants to do things, she should be able to do them, too. The mother has to have a little freedom too, and I can see how the mother would feel being in the house all the time, because I know how my wife feels and a lot of times it gets on her nerves, not being able to go out. I would get this point across to her daughter, that the mother has to have a little freedom too.

The central concept is fairness. Conflict between children is resolved by the parent distributing equal supplies. Conflict between parent and child is resolved by identifying what represents equal supplies in their different domains, and explaining to the child why this solution is fair. Some responses at Level 2 suggest compensation of the child by the parent in order to correct any perceived inequality or unfairness.

2. Fulfilling role responsibilities--Conflict between what a parent feels are his or her needs, and what the parent believes are the child's needs are frequently resolved at Level 2 in favor of the child's needs because it is the parent's role and responsibility to put the child's needs or wishes before his or her own.

WHAT DO YOU THINK A GOOD MOTHER WOULD DO?

She would quit and stay home.

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT?

A child's upbringing is most important. You are laying the ground rules for what that person is going to be later on in life. The way the parents should look at it, I think, is, we are supposedly adults, and we have lived 50% of our life. It is a down hill slide. The child is just beginning. The parent's time should be devoted to her because at that stage, 10 years old, she only has 7 more years, and it is not going to kill the mother to stay home or try to do typing at home or work at home or be home when her child comes home. The child could come home someday with a bad problem when she is 14 or 15 and the mother is not there and no one to talk to.

I imagine the girl would want to talk to her mother, and it's her mother's responsibility to be there.

WHAT ABOUT MRS. S. NEEDS, WHAT IF SHE IS UNHAPPY AT HOME?

Why is she unhappy?

SHE IS BORED.

She should try to find a hobby or something to be interested in, or try to regulate her work hours, so she is working while the child is in school. There are a million things you can do.

IS IT MORE IMPORTANT THAT S. HAS HER MOTHER HOME WHEN SHE GETS HOME, IF THAT MAKES SUSAN HAPPIER, OR THAT HER MOTHER HAVE THE JOB IF THE MOTHER IS HAPPIER?

It is important to have Susan be happier. (REASONS?) The mother only has a few more years to go before Susan will be in high school and out on her own. Then she won't have to be home in the afternoon. She can go to work and not get home till late herself. So the mother should sacrifice two more years. For the child's sake.

The parent has definable duties which must be executed. How the parent feels in that role and the effect of those feelings on the child is not considered.

3. Deciding right and wrong--At Level 2, parents reason that there are right and wrong opinions and actions, and correct and incorrect solutions. Resolutions are arrived at through identifying the correct side of the conflict.

WHEN PARENTS AND CHILDREN DISAGREE, WHAT IS THE BEST WAY TO SOLVE THAT?

Disagree - like in this situation - I think you would have to decide who's got the right side and in this case I think that the mother does. And I think the girl should have it pointed out, like I said, that this is the good that is going to be done. She should say to the girl, I realize how you feel about it, but this is also how I feel about it, she should say you go to Brownie meetings or whatever you do, Sunday School or whatever, and I deserve something.

WHAT DO YOU THINK SAM'S MOTHER SHOULD DO?

He should be told, and I am sure he has been, this is a little baby and he is helpless and he can't do anything on his own and he was once that way himself and he should be punished for doing it, because there is no need to do it.

I DON'T THINK HE DOES IT ALL THE TIME, BUT HE DOES IT. HE IS HUGGING HIM ONE MINUTE AND HITTING HIM THE NEXT.

It should be pointed out that he shouldn't do that, and if he continues to do it, then he should be punished for it.

Identifying and pointing out the rightness or wrongness of an action may be reasoned sufficient to resolve conflict between people. If the child does not respond by changing his or her behavior, then discipline is justified, and conflict is resolved with parental authority. The child's feelings and perspectives are secondary or are not considered.

Level 3: Communication and Compromise

1. Maintaining individuality through compromise
2. Recognizing effects on relationships of individual feelings
3. Identifying and communicating feelings

1. Maintaining individuality through compromise--

A fundamental aspect of Level 3 reasoning is that everyone is an individual whose individuality must be respected. When resolving conflict, no one's feelings should dominate another's and no one has an exclusive claim on another's life (even though people have responsibility to each other). People have aspects of themselves which go beyond each relationship which must be recognized and respected.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL A GOOD MOTHER WOULD DO?

In that situation, my feeling is that it is a 10 year old child. Your kids don't often tend to think of you as people, in the same way that we don't often tend to think of them as people, but as kids. I think you have to try to make it clear that as their mother, you are a person and you also have interests and they go outside of your relationships in the home. This gets back to some of the things we were talking about earlier, about privacy, about the sense of individuality. Part of the whole system of instilling values is teaching your kid the importance of acknowledging other people as individuals and what they do.

WHAT SHOULD PARENTS DO WHEN THEY ARE WRONG?

I admit it, I just admit it and apologize and I ask the children to apologize when they do something wrong. This is a switch from when I was a child

because there were no apologies. Parents were right and that was it. I always felt sort of funny because if I was wrong I had to apologize and why shouldn't an adult apologize. If we are wrong, we're wrong and that is something I do.

DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN SHOULD EXPECT THE SAME FROM ADULTS AS YOU DO FROM CHILDREN?

My feeling of a family is everybody's got to give. It's hard living as a family. We are all individuals, even though I have taught my children and brought them up, they are still individuals, we are all cantankerous sometimes. We all feel the urge to yell, fight and argue and once in a while we do. We are normal, we are human, everything is not rosy all the time, we all fight and argue occasionally. But I try and teach them that if we can learn to control our anger sometimes we gain more by it, but everybody has to apologize because we have a responsibility to each other.

At Level 3, a belief in parent's and children's equality as individuals is expressed (this is not inconsistent with a recognition that parents need practical authority to guide and protect their children). Conflict resolution is frequently a compromise or an exercise of mutual control which maintains respect for each person's separate individuality but also recognizes each person's responsibility to give to the other(s).

2. Recognizing effects on relationships of individual feelings--At Level 3, parents recognize that the feelings that underlie conflict must be the focus for aiming at a resolution. If the resolution doesn't alter the underlying individual feelings, problems will remain in the relationship.

WHAT DO YOU THINK A GOOD MOTHER WOULD DO?

I think she should keep her job. If she doesn't and if she feels that she is giving something up, that is going to work on the mind of the mother and the mother is going to be unhappy and the mother is going to start to have feelings that she was tied down by this kid. And one way or another, these feelings are going to work out towards the child and the child will feel them and that will make for a rotten situation. If the mother really feels strongly about it, that it is important to her happiness, if it is important for her to have her own thing, then she has got to do that, or she won't be able to be a good mother anyway.

IS THE DAUGHTER BEING A GOOD DAUGHTER WANTING HER MOTHER HOME EVERY AFTERNOON?

I think she is a good daughter, but she should realize that mom can't be here all the time constantly. If mom was that tense at home, if the tension's released at work, I think she would be more loving here towards her daughter.

Responses at Level 3 acknowledge that how an individual feels personally effects how he or she feels about others, and his or her capacity to maintain satisfactory functioning in relationships. Conflict resolutions which address and correct handicapping feelings are in the best interests of the ongoing relationships.

3. Identifying and communicating feelings--Underlying conflict are people's reasons why they feel as they do. Conflict may be eased by communicating feelings and enabling conflicting parties to understand each other's individual points of view.

WHEN PEOPLE DISAGREE IN YOUR FAMILY, HOW IS THAT RESOLVED?

I have a group session with my family, with the 4 of us every Wednesday night. We really sit down and talk about what we don't like going on in the house. If I yell at them and they don't like it, they really tell me, 'Ma, I don't like you yelling at me.' So we pretty much get a lot out. And let me tell you, sometimes I see myself differently and make some changes.

WHAT DO YOU THINK A GOOD MOTHER WOULD DO?

I think she should continue working, but she should find out what it was that was making Susan unhappy with the woman. Explain, even at 10 years old, I think a child can understand that mother has needs too, and she has a need to get out of the house. She could explain it to Susan and then she could ask Susan, 'when you come home from school what happens and what about this is making you unhappy so I can help you feel better?'

Not only does communication allow feelings to be expressed so that they can be addressed in order to enable conflict to be resolved, communication also strengthens relationships and leads to mutually agreed on change. By understanding how others view the situation, an individual may modify his or her own understanding and his or her own demands.

Level 4: Analysis and Integration

1. Differentiating external and internal conflict.
2. Through understanding of self and other

1. Differentiating external and internal conflict--At

Level 4, a parent may reason that conflict in one observable situation may reflect an unresolved and deeper conflict of which the child is unaware.

WHAT DO YOU FIND HARDEST TO PUT UP WITH?

I think the thing that is hardest now is that she tends to react a little strongly, inappropriately to some things. For instance, she got extremely negative towards Richard Nixon. I know it wasn't taken from me, because during the whole Watergate process, I wasn't belligerent or arrogant or strong minded, but with her it seemed to have been a personal vendetta as if he personally visited our house once and never brought her a present or something. I don't know where these strong feelings come from. I am not saying that her perception isn't appropriate, I am saying her feeling is. I think part of it is that she still has a need, as all our children do at some times, to have a strong position about something, particularly something in the adult world.

WHY DO YOU THINK CHILDREN HAVE THAT NEED?

Because they are surrounded by adults who are acting so damn pompous most of the time. People who are trying to give the appearance that they have control of their lives, even when they don't. And this is what childhood is developing, all kinds of controls and I think sometimes they just have to pretend that they have it, too.

WHY DO THEY HAVE TO PRETEND THAT?

Pretense is so easy. Perhaps because they learn this from adults, but also because I think it makes them feel more competent. By pretending, maybe they think they believe it.

WHAT DO YOU THINK SAM'S MOTHER SHOULD DO?

I would first make clear to Sam that however he feels, he can't hurt the baby. He needs to know I'll not let him act on those feelings because a child can be afraid of his angry feelings and not want to express them, and still at the same time want very badly to hit the baby. So I guess I would have to protect him from acting out feelings he can't control.

Both examples demonstrate a conception of the child as a psychological self-system with seemingly discrepant or contradictory behavior or wishes. Only when understood as expressing deeper psychological experience, or simultaneously conflicting wishes, does the anger at Nixon, or the contradiction between wanting to hit and wanting to be controlled make sense.

2. Through understanding of self and other--In order to be able to resolve parent-child conflict, the parent at Level 4 reasons that you have to understand yourself, your own feelings and needs, as well as the feelings and needs of others. In order to deal with conflict between children, the child must achieve a measure of self-understanding so that he or she can separate feelings from actions and establish control over the actions.

WHAT DO YOU THINK A GOOD MOTHER WOULD DO?

I think that S. needs to hear why the mother needs to work, just to see it not in terms of a rejection, because what seems to be going on is S. is saying, I want only you there. Now why does she want only the mother, she has the

mother the other two days and she's got the mother the weekend, why is it that so important that at that particular time the mother has to be there between 2 and 5 on those 3 days a week. IS it that S. is asking for a proof that the mother will give up everything for S., even the job. She only has the mother and S. goes off to play with her friends, I imagine, for at least 3 hours at a time, so that it isn't really that the child wants the mother there every day when she comes home from school, but she is asking for something else. How the something else gets resolved depends again on how much the mother understands of her own feelings and her own needs for working, how guilty she is feeling.

WHAT DO YOU THINK SAM'S MOTHER SHOULD DO?

Well, she's obviously got some talking to do and she's got some hugging to do. Loving, physical loving, I think it is very important, but especially for the little ones, to have a lot of physical contact with the mother and the father, with the parents. And she has to discuss the ambivalent feelings that the child is having. And that they are perfectly reasonable feelings and the thing that I stress over and over again is that any feeling is legitimate, not any actions. The more horrible the feeling, the more legitimate, because it is more scary and yet it is part of what makes you a human being. They are not all that bad, unless they are translated into actions where they can hurt either you or someone else, but you have to make a differentiation between what you think and what you do.

By validating and accepting feelings while controlling the child's action, the parent is able to address emotional needs (for confirmation and for love) while maintaining the safety of the children.

Level 1 - Instrumental

A. Reasons

1. Reducing parental discomfort
2. Controlling natural anarchy of child
3. Authority as a given

B. Methods

1. What works
2. Giving up
3. Discipline for the deed

A. Reasons

1. Reducing parental discomfort--Behavior that offends, annoys, or creates unpleasantness or trouble for the parent motivates the exercise of discipline or authority in an effort to stop that behavior.

WHY DO YOU THINK CHILDREN NEED TO BE DISCIPLINED?

I think they should. It can be embarrassing if you are out in a crowd or something or a child that has a tantrum over something small. But I don't think it is small. I think what Joe does, this is bad, is something that could lead really into trouble. Like I take him out shopping--if he goes into something, you know, that would be--I don't know what the store manager would say to me, but this is really bad, you know. I don't know what I am going to do but slap his hand--grab his hand and slap it. I do different things and he won't cry or nothing, you know.

WHAT DO YOU FIND HARDEST TO PUT UP WITH?

They don't clean their rooms. I can't get them to clean their rooms.

HOW DO YOU HANDLE THAT?

Well, I scream at them and once in awhile--lately it got to a point where I thought I was too harsh with them--my yelling at them all the time--so I finally went in the room with a plastic bag, gathered up everything and put it in the basement, out of sight, out of mind. It was hard picking up all their stuff, having it about, so I just put it in the basement and I just maybe left one or two toys for them to play with.

HOW DO YOU THINK THAT WILL WORK?

Now the room is still a mess. There are school papers all over the floor. (So I eliminated the toy situation--that they didn't pick them up -- and now I have a problem with papers.) It seems like they bring home 10 or 15 papers a day from school, and one minute they may have it bundled up and the next minute it is on the floor, all spread out. So you know what is going to happen with that--in the wastebasket--just throw away the papers, I suppose.

The parent at Level One is not concerned about changing or improving the child, he or she is concerned to eliminate the frustration. Teaching the child to be neat, for example, is not considered in the second example, only removing the toys or papers, which the parent cannot tolerate.

2. Controlling natural anarchy of child--Many parents at Level One believe that the child's natural tendency is to go wrong, and justify discipline and authority as necessary to control the child's natural anarchy.

IF YOU DIDN'T HAVE WAYS OF PUNISHING THEM, WHAT DO YOU THINK WOULD HAPPEN?

I think they would overrule us. First of all, I think that is what we would have done to our parents if our parents weren't strict with us--try to rule them. And

a lot of kids today do that, too. Like parents say I am going to do a lot for my kids that wasn't done for me. And what things do you get for that--nothing --because I will tell you now, I am grateful that my parents were the way they were.

WHY WERE YOU GRATEFUL?

Why? Because I think it made me grow up and I think it gave me responsibility, and I feel that this is something that they should have because why should they go through life wanting and having it handed to them--we never had it handed to us--it never hurt us by making us grow up, so I don't feel I would hurt them and let them grow up a little bit.

SO YOU FIND YOUR DIFFERENT CHILDREN NEED DIFFERENT WAYS OF DEALING WITH THAT?

Yes. Because whereas one may need a certain punishment the other one won't get that punishment. It might not work out, because he could care less. I have a large closet - with a light in it - and I will say go in the closet and sit in there and I tell them they have to read that book, but they have to be alone, they won't be able to talk to anybody. They don't like that. Especially B does not like that. Whereas the others, not watching a television program that I know they want to watch is better. I feel bad that I am not going to let them watch it, but I have to do it, and that's it.

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT IS SO IMPORTANT?

Because they will begin to think, she let me get away with this, so I think I can get away with it if I keep at it. And when children are very small, I find with my children, they will ease right on up till they get their way.

Parents may see themselves and their children as engaging in a struggle for control or for supplies and unless the parent exerts more powerful control, the child will take from him or her.

3. Authority as a given--Authority is not questioned, but is reasoned to be necessary because it is there, or because it is given by parenthood.

WHY IS THAT IMPORTANT?

Naturally they have to have someone in charge of them, they are growing themselves and they have to learn, and they have to mind someone and it has to be their mother or their father.

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO LEARN?

They will always have somebody over them. Even if they are president of their company, they will have somebody over them, so they have to learn to obey.

WHAT DO YOU FIND HARDEST TO PUT UP WITH?

Discipline, because in school they are taught as little individuals with their own minds, and to speak up what is on their minds and at home I don't like that. I tell them to do something, and oh, we don't have to, we don't have to do that.

HOW DO YOU HANDLE THAT?

I just tell them they are going to do what I tell them to do when they are at home and they mind me.

Parents at Level 1 often reason that parental authority is absolute, and that the child should be unquestionably obedient.

B. Methods

1. What works--Methods are chosen because they are successful in changing behavior the parents finds undesirable. The criterion for success is elimination of the behavior, not change in the child.

WHAT DO YOU RELY ON MOST TO GET YOUR CHILDREN TO MIND YOU?

Threatening them with a spoon. I have one of those spoons with the little holes, to strain peas and things, so I take that and I say if you don't be good, I am going to beat you with it. And they usually behave when they see it. I don't use it, but when they see it they usually behave.

HOW DOES THAT SEEM TO WORK?

They do mind, up to a certain point, and then they say, mommy is not going to spank me, so I will start all over again.

WHY DO YOU USE THAT METHOD?

It seems to be about the only method that works.

DO YOU THINK IT IS THE BEST WAY?

Well no, but I don't know of any other way that works as good.

WHAT DO YOU RELY ON MOST TO GET YOUR CHILDREN TO MIND YOU?

Reverse psychology.

HOW DOES THAT WORK?

Good. I say Kyle, do something and he says, I can't do it, and I say, you just can't do it, and he'll go to do it.

WHAT IDEAS DO YOU HAVE ABOUT WHY THAT WORKS?

Because I used to tell him to do something and he used to get aggravated and he would give me a hard time, so I change it around and I have no problem. I just agree with him that he can't do it. I say you're a little baby and can't do things like that. Okay, big boys can do it. He can do things like that, it is ridiculous.

DO YOU FEEL THAT IS THE BEST WAY?

For the time, yah, it is the only thing I know that is working.

NOW YOU DO SOMETHING DIFFERENT?

Yah, we punish them, we found that punishing them is a lot better.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY PUNISHING THEM?

Sending them to their room, take things away from them, just take their privileges away from them completely.

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT WORKS BETTER?

I really couldn't say, but they seem to listen because they know that things are going to be taken away from them.

WHY DO YOU THINK THIS WORKS BETTER THAN THE LICKINGS?

I don't know, just taking something away from them, what they really want, or sending them into their rooms to miss a program that they want to watch, this is the sort of punishment I think works because in general you are taking something away from them that they really want to do. Or if they want to play a game, and I refuse to play a game with them because they are not listening, this sort of aggravates them to think, I am not going to get away with not listening so she won't play with me, but if I still do it, she still won't play and she is going to send us in our rooms. I really couldn't explain why.

DO YOU FEEL THAT THIS IS THE BEST WAY TO GET YOUR KIDS TO MIND YOU?

Well, we tried everything, making them stand in a corner. We have never abused them; I would give them a licking in the leg or something else, we have had them standing in the corner or do errands more than they are supposed to do, something like that. And it went in one ear and out the other, it didn't faze them one way or the other. But by depriving them of things, I find this works more.

Different methods can be employed, as the examples illustrate, Although fear of painful consequences, such as physical pain, or the loss of something valued is usually reasoned to work best, parents at Level 1 may also describe using reward to change behavior.

2. Giving up--Because parents at Level 1 do not have a unified conception of what motivates child behavior, when the parent is not instrumental in changing behavior, he or she may simply be at a loss about what else to do. This can be expressed as giving up.

WHAT KINDS OF THINGS DO THEY WANT TO DO?

They want to go to parties and you wouldn't want them to go, or you wouldn't want them to do this and they figure they are old enough to do it, and they sometimes look at what someone else is doing and they want to do it too.

HOW DO YOU HANDLE THAT?

I just get myself down and say there is no sense fussing and fighting. I just let them go and try to be cool and calm because if I fuss and worry about it, it would just upset me more. If they want to do it, they are going to do it anyway, so I just leave them alone.

DO YOU THINK THAT IS THE BEST WAY?

Well, if you fuss and fight and you don't want them to go, and they would not go, then there will be this attitude in the house, because they will be always mad, because you won't let them do what they want to do, so you are always arguing in the house. But I say if they want to go, you know, let them go. I don't think it is the best way really, but that is the only way I can deal with it. If I tell them they can't go, they are fussing and fighting and they might try to go, or they might try to run off or something and cause a whole lot of problems, so I just let them go.

EVERY PARENT HAS TO FIND SOME WAY TO GET CHILDREN TO DO WHAT THEY WANT THEM TO DO. AND NOT TO DO WHAT THEY FEEL THEY SHOULDN'T DO. WHAT DO YOU RELY ON MOST TO MAKE YOUR CHILDREN MIND YOU? DO YOU WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE YOUNGEST?

This is the only young one I have really. Really I never had no problem when they were younger. It is now that they have reached - there is one 19, and I figure she can go out, because she is old enough, and the one

turned 16 in February, I figure she still has a little time, but she thinks because the one 19 can go, she wants to go too. And she is taller than the one that is 19 and she feels because the others go that she wants to go too and it is always a hassle when I don't want her to go. So there is a fight. So she tries to bring herself up to the others, because they all go so the only one that is there is the small one. She is different, she tries to bring herself up to the bigger ones so she can go out too, and she used to be mad when I don't want her to go and it is all a problem, so I just let her go.

Giving up is found most frequently when children are older, when the parent does not have the authority, age and superior strength to maintain control over the child.

3. Discipline for the deed--Motives, intentions, or values are not considered at Level 1. Punishments, then, are meted out for the crime, and not the intent.

SO THE FATHER FEELS JIMMY IS STILL WRONG, EVEN THOUGH HE FINALLY TOLD THE TRUTH. WHAT SHOULD THE FATHER DO?

If that was my situation, I would have to punish him. I would have to find a very severe punishment for just the idea of lying to me, because I think I have built up the kind of understanding with my kids, don't lie to me, let me know before somebody else tells me.

WHAT ABOUT HIS HAVING TOLD THE TRUTH?

The big thing is that he lied, and lying has to be punished.

WELL WHAT DO YOU FIND THE HARDEST TO PUT UP WITH?

Well, the fighting and bickering all the time.

WHY DO YOU THINK THAT IS SO HARD?

Like they seem to want to hurt each other, kick each other and pull each other's hair and bite each other.

HOW DO YOU HANDLE THAT?

Well, sometimes I slap them. Other times I take them and stick them in their room.

HOW DOES THAT SEEM TO WORK OUT?

Not too well, as soon as I go out of the room, they start all over.

Rather than trying to understand what is causing the fighting, this parent simply punishes it (with the same behavior the parent wants to stop). Promoting better feelings between the siblings is not considered.

Level 2: Conventional Value-orientation

A. Reasons

1. Preparation for the outside world
2. Teaching standards and instilling values

B. Methods

1. Fitting age or type of child
2. Explanation and internalization
3. Considering intentions

A. Reasons

1. Preparation for the outside world--At Level 2,

parents justify the use of discipline and authority as necessary to prepare the child for what he or she will encounter later in life. The parent is concerned for the child's well-being and uses his or her own experiences and knowledge of what one needs to survive to define what kinds of discipline and authority children need in order to be prepared for the world.

HOW DO YOU THINK YOU WILL GET YOUR CHILDREN TO MIND YOU, AND DO WHAT YOU FEEL IS RIGHT?

Well, I suppose punishment, reprimanding. I was brought up very strictly; my husband and I were both brought up very strictly and I think that is the best way. Of course, that is the only way I know.

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT IS THE BEST WAY?

Because I never regretted it. When I was growing up I thought my parents were too strict, but now that I am older and a parent myself, I can appreciate what they did for me, because I know a lot; I learned a lot from them, I experienced a lot and I can handle situations properly when I am faced with them.

WHAT WAS IT LIKE, WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY STRICTNESS?
WHAT WOULD YOU MEAN BY STRICTNESS AS A PARENT?

First of all respect. I want him to have respect for me. I don't expect to have him talk back to me. I know there will be occasions for that, but I hope to keep it down to a minimum, things like that. Doing the things that I say. If I say to be home at such and such time, then I expect it, unless there is - I don't mean right to the letter of the time, but unless there is a reason or an excuse, things like that. Overall general rules because I believe that when you are growing up you need rules and regulations to guide you so that when you are out on your own, you will learn how to conduct himself, I think that is important.

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAKE SURE A CHILD KNOWS HIS PARENTS ARE IN CHARGE?

My wife was brought up strict, and so was I, and really to survive I think you have to get the can's and cannot's down now. Rather than wait until he gets into something which would bring hurt on her and myself and also bring hurt upon himself also. I guess it is the way the world is.

IT IS A HARD WORLD?

Yes, it is, it is really hard now.

IF THE WORLD HE WAS GOING TO GROW UP IN WAS NOT SO HARD, ON THE STREET, THERE WERE NOT PROBLEMS THAT THERE ARE, THAT THE KIDS CAN GET INTO, DO YOU THINK YOU MIGHT BE LESS STRICT?

I don't think so. (W): Because like I said, it is the chance you have to take, for knowing what world you are going to be in, so let him come up the way you want him to be, and then when he gets older he will be part of it, and he will face life and how people really are. People are never going to change, you can't get nothing the easy way. You have to earn it for yourself.

Strictness is not seen as harsh, but as kind. It keeps the child from painful difficulties later in life. Unlike Level 1

reasoning, which concerns specific events and behaviors, Level 2 reasoning considers discipline and authority as preparing for the future functioning of the child.

2. Teaching right from wrong and instilling values--

Parents at Level 2 reason that discipline and authority are used to teach correct behavior and values. Methods are advocated on the basis of their power to impress this message on children.

SUPPOSE MR. F. DID NOT READ DIARY . . . SAT J. DOWN
. . . J SAID YES DAD, I DID. HOW WOULD MR. F. FEEL
THEN AND WHAT SHOULD HE DO?

First he should maybe ask him why he did it, explain to him he should have some punishment for what he did because it was wrong and decide on it when he goes to court. If he is not punished by the courts, he should be punished by his father.

WHY WOULD PUNISHMENT BE IMPORTANT?

He has to know the difference between right and wrong, if he is 15, he should know that he was wrong to do it, so it doesn't make sense to explain to a 15 year old child this is why you shouldn't do this or this is why you shouldn't do that and I think maybe a stronger punishment would be better.

WHAT DO YOU RELY ON MOST TO MAKE HER MIND YOU?

Religion, we are Orthodox Muslims, not Black Muslims and she believes in God and I tell her, what you are doing, do you think God would be pleased with it. I mean it is up to her to make up her own mind because she is aware of who God is and she wants to go to heaven and I say there are things you don't do and if you want to go to hell there are things you do do, so it is your choice. If she wants to continue doing it, she will have to pay the consequences for it and I explain to her that on this earth that is stealing or something you will get arrested, and in some countries they will cut your hand off, like in Arabia, and in

this country you will go to jail and you will die and God will talk to you and say why did you take something that was not yours. Depending on the situation and she is very intelligent, and if she stops or says she doesn't care, then she can go ahead and do it. But if she is hurting herself, then I will have to stop her by force. But other little things, whatever she might be doing, that is not detrimental to herself or another person's well being, then go ahead and do it. If she wants to tear up her homework paper or things like that. If you go to school tomorrow, the teacher is going to ask you what happened to your paper and if you get a D, don't come home crying because she wants to be a nurse and you are not going to be a nurse like that. If you tear up your paper and what not. So she comes back and she says I am sorry, will you help me do my homework.

HOW WELL DOES THAT SEEM TO WORK?

It works pretty well.

DO YOU FEEL THAT THAT IS THE BEST METHOD?

Yes. (WHY?) Because I believe in God.

Different parents may refer to different sets of values or standards, or their values may derive from differing sources. They all appeal either implicitly or explicitly to higher authority, whether it be society's code or God's rule. Children may be offered choices but the choices are to follow the rules and be correct, or not to follow the rules and suffer the punishment. Neither children nor parents participate in the formulation of standards and values.

B. Methods

1. Fitting age or type of child--

At Level 2 children are understood to respond to different

approaches. Some children need and respond to praise and rewards in order to change their behavior.

WHAT DO YOU RELY ON MOST TO GET YOUR CHILDREN TO MIND YOU?

With different ones it is different things. Some, praise works like a charm. I have a couple, all you have to do is say a few nice things to them and they will fall all over themselves to do something for you. Other ones, you have to do it, this is it. You get to know each person as an individual and you get to know what works with this one and that one, and you know your own kids, everyone knows their own kids and you know what will go and what won't go. Some kids are so easy to bring up and some kids are so hard. Some fight you the whole way; I say two of mine are harder than the rest.

WHAT HAVE YOU RELIED ON FOR THEM?

Really, with the oldest one and the younger one too, I find praise, they seem to say things and do things, I don't know, but it seems like you have to be a little more lavish with praise with them and as I say with both of them I find that being nice to them works. Now, with the oldest, the one that is 22, I find to get him to do what I want him to do, that I have to - I can never get angry, because angry you lose him completely, he is gone, but you can talk to him in a nice way and come around it in a nice way, what you want, and you will get it, but you have to come around it and work up to it in a nice way. You can't just say do it.

WHAT DO YOU RELY ON MOST TO MAKE CHILDREN MIND YOU?

My understanding and stuff, because she doesn't quite understand what I am saying yet, so I just have to show her like this you can do and this is no. So I slap her on the hand a little bit. I say no like five times and then I slap her on the hand, and then she realizes I am not supposed to do that, and if I do that, I get it. And if she does something good, I give her a kiss or something nice. Because at this age there has to be rewards for good and punishments for bad. You can't say I really don't want you to do that, because she doesn't understand. That is what you have to do right now, because she is at this age. Maybe in about 4 or 5 years I could try to reason with her instead of using that method.

The importance of using positive as well as negative methods for every child may also be expressed, both because the child may respond better to one or the other method in different situations or at different ages, but also because the parent is concerned about the child's feelings and needs.

2. Explanation and internalization--As the reason for discipline and authority at Level 2 is not just to change behavior, but to instill standards and values which will guide the child's action in the future, the child's understanding of the reasons for punishment are considered central. The parent explains why what the child is doing is wrong, in order to ensure the inclusion of the parent's standards into the child's developing value system.

WHAT METHOD DO YOU USE OR WHAT IS THE BEST WAY TO GET CHILDREN TO MIND PARENTS?

As far as my children and as far as my children in school - my children are teenagers, and they go to school since they were 4 1/2 or 5 years old. To me children are children, I don't care if they are young or if they are older. They still have to be handled at an age level where they understand. I get my children together, I talk with them. I try to make them understand why whatever situation came up, that they were doing wrong at, or that I did not like. I will explain to them the reason why they shouldn't do it and my explanation is always a reason why. You don't ever tell them you don't do that without a reason. There is a reason to everything. By them knowing your reason, maybe they will understand it more.

WHAT DO YOU RELY ON MOST TO GET YOUR CHILDREN TO DO WHAT YOU WANT THEM TO AND NOT TO DO WHAT YOU DON'T WANT THEM TO?

We explain everything and explain what's good and what's not good and we tell them, we preface, this is good and go on to explain why, whatever, and he can make a

decision as to whether he is going to go along with it or not and then we will explain and try to reinforce our ideas.

WHY IS EXPLAINING IMPORTANT?

So they will know themselves what is right and what is wrong.

At Level 2, parents understand values and standards as being absolute. What is right is universally right, has been passed on by the parent to his or her own child. Parents may recognize that different children need to be handled differently. (They still have to be handled at an age level where they understand).

3. Considering intentions--Parents at Level 2 recognize that there may be various intentions for behavior and these intentions may be considered when disciplining a child.

IS THAT THE BEST WAY TO DEAL WITH THINGS, OR ARE THERE OTHER THINGS THAT MIGHT BE BETTER, LIKE HITTING THEM? WHAT DO YOU THINK OF OTHER WAYS OF DEALING WITH THEM?

I do on occasion give them a shot, if it is something they know better and it's something they do.

IF IT IS SOMETHING THEY SHOULD KNOW, YOU GIVE THEM A SHOT.

Not something they should know, something they do know. They might need a little physical disciplining instead of talking to them. I go beyond the talking stage at that point.

WHY WOULD YOU FEEL THAT WAS BEYOND THE TALKING STAGE?

In some instances, if one was to throw a rock through a glass window in a house, they know it is wrong, altogether wrong, and they are taught that that is wrong, you don't do things like that. At the age they are at, with the upbringing I feel you have given them, they know the difference, and when they know they should not have done it, they deserve a whack.

SUPPOSE HE DID NOT READ DIARY, ASKED J. . . . J SAID I DID. HOW WOULD MR. F FEEL THEN AND WHAT SHOULD HE DO?

Then he should at least commend the child for his honesty and have a minor punishment, since the child did admit it and the child is honestly sorry for it. It should be a minor one and if the kid says yah, I did, what do you care, what do you want to make of it, then there should be a stricter punishment. But if the child is honest enough to tell you and squirms, and obviously tells you kind of guilty about it, that is good, you are bringing your child up the right way, he is honest enough to tell you.

How a child responds after the deed is also important. As the parent is concerned about the child's values, an indication on the child's part that he or she accepts the parent's values even though the behavior was value-discrepant, will elicit a different parental response than an unrepentant or unconcerned child.

Level 3: Personal Value-oriented Growth

A. Reasons

1. Developing personal awareness and values
2. Developing social awareness

B. Methods

1. Addressing causes
2. The relationship as a method
3. Discriminating punishment and correction

A. Reasons

1. Developing personal awareness and values--At Level 3,

parents are concerned about the internal processes by which children develop and judge standards and values. The reason for socialization is not just internalization of externally defined values, but the development of personal, internally defined values.

WHY DO YOU FEEL TALKING IS THE BEST WAY?

Let me give you an example. Two kids that I babysit for, they are good, they are 4 and 5 and I have permission to slap them or hit them, do whatever I have to do to correct them, but I feel that hey I have better luck with talking to them, find out why they are doing something, more than scolding. Hitting is more, you have to do what I say because I said so, not because you want to, which is more of what I want. I want them to behave as they want to.

I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT IF YOU WERE MR. FOX THE "WHAT SHOULD WE DO NOW" IS THAT YOU WOULD FEEL YOU HAD TO HELP THE CHILD, SUPPORT THE CHILD RATHER THAN PUNISH THE CHILD?

No, I think he should be punished in some way, what way, I really couldn't say. It would depend on a number of circumstances along the way, how it all evolved and if it was a long drawn out affair. If he constantly said no, no, no, I didn't shoplift or

whatever, I think the punishment might be a little bit greater, than if he just came out the next day and said I have been wrestling with this in my mind and I have something to tell you, and take it from there.

WHY WOULD THAT MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

I think the shorter interval would say to me that the child realized what he had done, and it was not the right thing and he confessed to it because he felt inside that he was big enough and man enough and had his pride or whatever and he had to just go on from that point and just go along making himself a little better person, if he just kept wrestling with it, yes, no, yes, no, he is not as strong as he actually thought he was, he had a little bit more to learn in the situation.

How a parent responds to the child is guided by how the child is dealing with himself, with how the child is using experience for the development of his or her own character and judgment.

2. Developing social awareness--Parents are concerned that children come to understand the consequences of their acts for others, as well as the consequences of others' acts for them.

LET'S GET BACK TO THE SUBJECT OF DISCIPLINE. WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE BEST WAY TO GET A CHILD TO MIND YOU?

Talking.

WHY IS THAT THE BEST WAY?

Because first of all, you ask questions and you find out why they did it and they tell you I broke it because you weren't paying any attention to me. So you find out, what attention did you want me to pay, I was busy too. And it is more apt to after I finish this, then we will sit down and we will have this big long talk about anything you want to talk about, play any game you want to, and I am finding out, like if it is just I felt like breaking it, okay, I just feel like hitting you right now, so how about if I do that. No. Why not? Because if you hit me it will hurt. You hurt me by breaking my vase. A situation like that.

Discipline and authority are part of a social process where the child develops social awareness through the socializing experience with a parent. The concept of the processes is developmental. Awareness evolves through experience, it is not directly taught.

B. Methods

1. Addressing causes--At Level 3, the parent reasons that behavior has a cause, and that in order to change behavior, its cause, rather than its manifestation, must be addressed. The "reason why" the parent addresses at Level 3 is less the parent's interpretation and more the child's clarification. It is more than direct intention or motivation. It is why the child intends or is motivated as he or she is.

CONTINUE STORY . . . YES DAD, I DID. HOW WOULD MR. FOX FEEL AND WHAT SHOULD HE DO?

He did in fact shoplift. I think he might ask his son why, why did you tell me no, in the first place, and now you are changing your mind, what has made you think twice about your first answer and now you are changing it. Have a discussion around that and see what he says and then take it from there.

WHERE WOULD YOU TAKE IT?

Well, that would depend on the boy's reasons. If he had been scared, we would talk about being scared, and I might bring up a time when I was scared, and how we can cope with it better, and why he was scared, was it something in our relationship.

THE QUESTION RELATES TO DISCIPLINE, WHAT YOU RELY ON, TO SET LIMITS AND WHAT YOU DO TO HAVE YOUR CHILD DO WHAT YOU FEEL IS ACCEPTABLE AND WHAT YOU FEEL IS NOT ACCEPTABLE?

Well, if you are getting at the physical discipline issue, at least part of it, that is part of it.

HOW DO YOU DEAL WITH THE TASK OF GUIDING YOUR CHILD?

I would say that neither S. or I use any physical discipline at all with the kids, although I have been tempted, to be honest. I was spanked with a hairbrush on 3 or 4 occasions as a child and my feeling is that in the case of a child like J. that would really be a mistake. (WHY?) Because I think that very often when he does things for which one would want to discipline him, as I say, he is very angry, he's got feelings inside that he is trying to deal with and my feeling is that invading his own person, offering insult to his own person, wouldn't do anything but simply make him more angry and more frustrated. I think the role with him is to try to get him to get his emotions out as best as possible and not to do anything to keep them inside. So I guess what we try to do with both kids, or at least try to do with him, is to teach by example. One of the things, you don't want to be telling him not to be hitting his sister and then hit him because he hits his sister, or that kind of thing. If it is around snacks between meals, or having cookies, we try to teach him, we try ourselves not to eat in between meals, or having cookies, we try to teach him, we try ourselves not to eat in between meals, so that at least he doesn't learn those kinds of behaviors.

Children as individuals with their own ways of feeling and responding are the focus of parental intervention and authority. The parent implies that he or she must know his or her own child as an emotional individual in order to deal effectively with the child.

2. The relationship as a method--Parents frequently understand children's behavior as reflecting qualities of the parent-child relationship. To address causes of undesirable behavior, qualities of the relationship must be examined and remediated.

MR. FOX SHOULD TELL HIM IF HE READS HIS DIARY?

No, he shouldn't. A child has his privacy you know. And he would hurt anyone if he were to take the diary

and read it and find that Jimmy and I and 7 more guys went to Zayre's and we shoplifted, and see what we could get away with. I don't think a parent has to say that I looked in your diary and you did this and that, but he can get involved and if he does read it, talk to Jimmy, and try to find first what caused it, and if he did do it and I feel if they get involved deep enough with the child, caring, sharing, doing this and that, kids are not hard, and they have needs. And if mom and pop get in there and have a little affection there, a little caring, sharing, I think he would get out of it as far as hanging out with those kids and getting into trouble.

EVERY PARENT HAS TO GET CHILDREN TO MIND. WHAT DO YOU DO, WHAT DO YOU RELY ON MOST TO GET YOUR OLDER BOY TO MIND YOU?

His father for one thing. Most of the time when he gets into real trouble, I always send him to his father. I feel a man can handle a little boy better, I feel he understands him more. He will try to listen to his father more than he will his mother, because he is more close to his father. I handle it that way, send him to his father.

Not only is the relationship an intervention, as in the first example, but discipline takes place within the context of a relationship, and the closer the relationship, the more meaningful and effective the discipline and authority.

3. Discriminating punishment and correction--At Level 3, parents may recognize that punishment and correction are not necessarily the same. An angry parent may strike a child, but that action does not necessarily correct the behavior; and teaching a better behavior to the child does not necessarily satisfy an angry parent's desire for the child to experience a negative consequence for a negative act.

DO YOU FEEL HITTING TEACHES CHILDREN TO MIND?

The question is whether the child will accept hitting as a method of correction. I don't believe that a child would. I believe that a child would accept it as a method of punishment, not as a method of changing something. It just shows who's bigger and stronger.

The emphasis, which is characteristic of Level 3 reasoning, is on how the child understands the experience, rather than on what the parent does.

Level 4: Systems-oriented Development

A. Reasons

1. Responding to needs for flexible structure to allow for growth.

B. Methods

1. Considering a hierarchy of factors
2. Negotiation

A. Reasons

1. Responding to needs for flexible structure to allow for growth--The child is conceptualized developmentally and certain physical and emotional needs and capabilities must be addressed when they are developmentally relevant in order for other kinds of growth to take place. The focus goes beyond causes and values to consider issues concerned with the larger developmental and relationship process in which the issue of discipline and authority is understood to be embedded.

WHAT DO YOU RELY ON MOST TO GET YOUR CHILDREN TO MIND YOU?

Well, we certainly have rules, but they are rules that we have come to together as a family. I have very reasonable expectations of the children, they know what they are. They know that the expectations are based not on arbitrariness on my part or my husband's, but on sensible precautions, precautions for their health or for their safety or for their emotional safety. When they were very small, I told them that I would smack them for 3 reasons only and I told them ahead of time it would be for standing up in the high chair, standing up in the bathtub or standing up in the moving car. And those were the only reasons I would smack them and let them know I would smack them. Then we added a fourth when they were a little older about crossing the street alone, but as soon as they were ready I said, I will no longer do it, smack them because this is not necessary anymore.

WHY DID YOU TELL THEM IT WASN'T NECESSARY ANYMORE, WHAT DID YOU MEAN IT WAS NOT NECESSARY?

I think rules are a guideline for a certain time in your life and there are times when you no longer need those rules and there are times to get off of the rules.

WHY, WHAT DOES THAT DO FOR THE CHILD, WHY DO YOU LET GO OF THE RULES?

Because rules are a means to an end and if the end has been achieved, then you let go of the rule, they are not necessary anymore.

WHAT DO YOU DO TO GET E. TO MIND YOU?

It depends on E. What he seems to be asking for at different times in his life. Right now, he's been testing me a lot. He seems to be asking for controls.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

Children test you to see how much they can get, how much freedom they can get, and to know their boundaries. Yet it is a pull both ways. E. is trying to test me, plus he wants my comfort and attention and concern. I think if I do control him, he knows I am concerned. Deep down inside he knows that it is for his own good. He can still want something and know that it is dangerous, and be grateful at some level to a person for telling them it is for their own good not to do that.

This parent recognizes that discipline and authority are not simply an imposition of parental will, but are part of a process of interaction between parent and child where the child and parent may elicit certain patterns of relating from each other in response to their perceptions of needs and capacities to provide and to respond. This is seen as a reciprocal process which is subject to change as the child and the relationship develops.

B. Methods

1. Considering a hierarchy of factors--At Level 4, parents may recognize that behavior represents the integration of several interacting factors. In order to identify how he or she would respond, causal factors are weighed and parental

choices are judged in reference to human values as well as developmental needs, societal standards, and instrumental effectiveness.

WHAT SHOULD MR. FOX DO?

Do about what?

JIMMY, THE DIARY?

First of all, one thing at a time, he should not look in the diary, because he has no permission to look in the diary. Secondly, I think that he should go off alone with Jimmy, with or without his wife, I don't know, and talk with him about what happened. And talk with him about the facts. I think he should probably ask him directly, did you do this. It is perfectly possible that J. was so intimidated by the police and so threatened by the way they handled the situation, that his first instinct was to lie and one lies when one is uncomfortable and scared. If he had a good relationship with his father, he might be able to talk about it. If Mr. Fox was very threatened by the lecture and threatened by his parenting, then he might approach J. in a different way than if he had a good relationship with J. Whether J. stole or didn't steal is not the central issue, it is how do you deal with the threat and can you cope with it or can't you and then you get on to why you stole, if he did steal, but first of all, can a parent and a child communicate, can the child go to the parent, can the parent go to the child and will anything real come out of it, or is it, or it is just another standoff.

AND YOU FEEL THAT THE FATHER'S FINDING OUT FROM THE DIARY AND NOT FROM THE CHILD WOULDN'T ALLOW HIM THAT?

Well, it could undermine it, put it that way.

HOW WOULD IT UNDERMINE IT? HOW WOULD THE CHILD FEEL, WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO THE CHILD?

He would feel that his father, again, was playing the authority. I don't know how the father would handle it. Maybe he would soft pedal it, maybe he wouldn't bring it up, but I don't think that the father deserves

that knowledge. In other words, I think he should go into a situation, into the situation, with the boy, the discussion, receiving only what the boy will tell him, when he will tell it to him.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN, HE DOESN'T DESERVE THAT, WHY NOT?
HE IS HIS FATHER.

That doesn't give him a right to pry or to take information underhandedly. It is like bugging, it is like the bugging situation with the CIA. It is dishonest. It is underhanded. It's not straight and direct and straight on.

SOME PEOPLE WOULD SAY THAT THE FATHER HAS THE RIGHT BECAUSE HE HAS THE AUTHORITY.

Well, I don't know about that word authority. I don't know what that means in terms of parents. So I would say that nobody has the authority to pry into somebody's diary. Unless it were a criminal situation, where people are investigating. I guess legally, if it were a lawyer and somebody was under an indictment, that would be different, but this is a private situation. The father shouldn't have access to that book because the boy didn't give it to him.

Parent and child are both understood as being fully human, with the same basic human rights and individual autonomy. These rights should not be violated by anyone, parent or child alike.

2. Negotiation--The child takes an active part in the process by which family conflict is resolved and family and individual behavioral rules established. Active negotiation is not only a method for dealing with problems, it is also a process which contributes to the development of the child.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN, THEY WOULD ARGUE BACK THE POINT?

If they disagreed with me, they would say look, we would like to explain our point of view and sometimes they have a point of view which I had never taken into consideration and then I would also argue what I expect or say I have listened to you and it doesn't

seem to affect me very much, I still want you to do such and such. I find it very important, when a child is beginning to say something, not to interrupt them. And I have learned that they will say to me, "but listen mommy," even if I know what they are saying. It is important for them to get the words out.

WHY?

Because I think they they feel that they have control over their environment, if they have said to me, if they have set out their sentence when I have heard what they wanted to say, from their point of view and they have been able to let me hear them. If I have cut them off in the beginning and said yes, I know you are going to say such and such, but it doesn't matter, I have found that that offends them very much.

WHAT DO YOU RELY ON MOST TO GET YOUR CHILD TO DO WHAT YOU WANT THEM TO DO?

Well, there has been such a change in this regard. I don't know. At this point I know I rely a great deal on what she can handle or how she feels about something.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

In other words, it isn't what I think about it, or how I feel about it, it's how she is going to receive it, receive the request, a request generally. So that I can begin to anticipate, project whether, how it will be executed. Now there are some areas in which I don't use enough forethought. This takes forethought on my part with her, on the parent's part and in the times where I don't, where I just make demands, the small household, day to day patterns in living, that things break down, that she doesn't do what I wish and that she is not doing it because she doesn't wish it, she is doing it because I wish it and because it's the way that I express the wish. Sometimes, it is not sometimes, for the most part, this approach works I think, between her and me; the fact that things can be discussed and established before, so that when I do make a request, it is something she has already agreed to do. I have already gotten positive feelings from, it is something she is comfortable with and able to agree to. She agrees with the need to do it, not to leave the toothbrush where the dog is going to get it, things like that, to take her dirty underwear out of the living room. But generally she is in agreement,

to close drawers. She leaves drawers open, rushing back to finish something. It is in these kinds of areas that we don't have as good a pattern as I think we will eventually. And I don't see in any other area that this is not working, it generally works.

WHY DO YOU THINK IT IS EFFECTIVE AND IMPORTANT THAT SHE COME TO AN UNDERSTANDING OR THAT SHE RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR SOMETHING?

Then she is giving willful assent to it, then she has a part in it, that whatever must be done, or being done, is based on her perception and her thought process, her ability to evaluate it too. This recognizes her mind, her being, and doesn't make her feel catered to. It keeps her active, it develops her actively, instead of making her passive.

The child may participate directly by actively debating family issues, and/or he or she may participate indirectly by the nature of his or her responses. A baby, for example, would be reasoned to participate actively in the discipline process by the nature of its responses and how it elicits parental responses in the on-going parent-child interaction system.

Level 1: Parental Needs of the Child

1. To ensure desirable outcome.
2. Meeting needs as what the parent does
3. Needing control

1. To ensure desirable outcome--Parents recognize that children have needs, but their reasoning is instrumental. They meet the needs they perceive in order to effect the behavior they desire in the child.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED FROM THEIR PARENTS?

They need to be complemented so they will stay home until they are old enough.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

You have to look out for them. Give them care and attention, so they won't do too much of what they shouldn't do, and don't get into mischief, and get a good start in life.

Although these responses acknowledge the need for non-material supplies, the conception of needs is vague and stereotyped.

2. Meeting needs as what the parent does--Meeting needs is described in terms of the parent's actions, which are considered duties of parenthood, and not the child's satisfaction. The parent sees the process of meeting needs only from the parent's, and not from the child's, perspective.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Well, they need love, I think children need love from both their parents.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY LOVE?

The parents are supposed to keep them well and take them places, and doing for them and buying for them and spending time with them, and like my husband doesn't have the time, he doesn't show his love for them, playing with them like he should or being with them because he is so wrapped up in business.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY THAT, HOW DO YOU SHOW CHILDREN THAT YOU LOVE THEM?

By paying attention to them.

WHY IS THAT WHAT YOU FEEL THEY NEED MOST?

Because you are their mother, that's why, they are depending on you until they become independent as they grow up, but right now they are depending on you and you had them for that reason, because you wanted a child so you take care of it.

Parents at Level 1 may focus on the effort they make as proof of their ability to respond to needs, rather than on the nature of what they do. Parents are "supposed" to perform certain duties. There is little sense in these responses of any conception of the nature of the child's needs.

3. Needing Control--Because many parents who reason at Level 1 conceive of the child as natively uncontrolled, a belief in the need for control may be expressed.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST?

Children need love. Discipline is love. The parent should be easy-going, but they should put down the laws so that their child doesn't walk all over them. They have to do what we tell them to do. That shows them we care.

YOU FEEL CHILDREN SHOULD NOT HAVE EVERYTHING THAT THEY WANT?

No.

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT IS BETTER?

To me it would make them a better person. (HOW COME?) If they grow up through life they are not going to get everything they want. If you start out with them, giving them everything that they want, they are going to keep on wanting everything.

WHY ISN'T THAT GOOD?

It is just not good because in some way it is going to come to the end and they will go ...

AND WHAT WILL HAPPEN?

If they didn't, they would be crying and if they were married they would be saying I wish I was back home and I feel it would be ...

The withholding of supplies, as well as the "giving" of discipline is understood as addressing a need, although the parent's need to control and the parent's conception of the child's need to be controlled are at times difficult to discriminate.

Level 2: Conventional Needs

1. Emotional needs for their own sake
2. Different needs for different ages and types of children
3. Needing to have needs met

1. Emotional needs for their own sake--At Level 2, parents do not have to justify meeting emotional needs as being instrumental to achieve a desired behavioral outcome. How children feel is sufficient justification for responding to emotional needs.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Love. (EXPLAIN?) Love, caring for them, doing things for them, getting them stuff, paying attention to them, not just ignoring them. Making them feel that they are needed more or less.

WHY IS THAT IMPORTANT?

It is an important thing in life. I can't see how a son or a daughter would be, if their parents did not love them very much and they were brought up in life, I think it would be very tough.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Love (EXPLAIN?) Just letting them know you love them, letting them know you care, and they - you are concerned about what they do and you just try to be the best parent you can.

WHY DO YOU THINK THAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT, WHAT IS THERE ABOUT CONVEYING THAT LOVE TO THE CHILDREN?

Because if children know they have love then they are secure.

WHAT DOES SECURITY DO FOR THEM?

Growing up with a feeling of security, it is hard for me to answer these questions, because I am alone. I haven't got a husband and a father, so this is why that is probably the most important thing to me, is love, because I had to be both mother and father all these years for them.

Needs are conceptualized as universal requirements, what all children need. Level 2 responses do not qualify or suggest how to qualify need conceptions so that they can address particular children's individual needs, although differences among different groups or types of children may be considered. Rather the children's experience of parental caring ("letting them know . . .," "making them feel . . .") is the necessary confirmation of the parent's effectiveness, not simply the parent's experience of having made an effort, as is expressed at Level 1.

2. Different needs for different ages or types of children--Developmental differences in how children understand the world and are able to deal with the world are considered when identifying needs. Children who are younger and whose experience is limited may have different needs from children who are older or more sophisticated.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL THAT CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

A lot of understanding and a lot of patience and love too. That is normal, of course the mother is going to love the kid. But a lot of

patience and understanding because you have to realize they don't know what they are doing, they just say gee, that looks like fun and they don't realize it could hurt them or that you are just not supposed to do that. That is understood, she don't know any better, you have to teach her.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

They need a lot of attention, that's for sure. A lot, especially the younger ones. The older ones want money. I need some money for this, I need some money for that, but the younger ones, they like to go with you, no matter where you are going, attention. They want you to pay attention to the moment.

WHY IS THAT IMPORTANT DO YOU THINK?

I think they are just building character or whatever it is. They want to know what is going on and they like to travel with you if you are going somewhere. I have taken them in the past on some of the jobs I have gone on, where I was able to do it, and they liked it and enjoyed it and just want to be with somebody and do things.

DO YOU THINK THEY WANT TO BE WITH SOMEBODY OR YOU IN PARTICULAR?

No, I think they just like to do things, I think all children like to do things, they are very inquisitive, and they want to just go around, travel, see things, do things, and it just sort of gives them something to do, I guess.

The parent's understanding of children's needs does not appear to come from individual children's particular characteristics and demands, but from an external definition which is applied to children and hence, to the parent's child or another particular child.

3. Needing to have needs met--Children have needs for parenting above and beyond the fulfilling of particular needs. They need to know that their needs will be attended to. This provides a sense of security and importance that parents at Level 2 reason that all children need.

WHAT DO YOU THINK CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Love.

HOW DO YOU EXPRESS IT, HOW DO THEY GET IT, HOW DO THEY KNOW WHAT IT IS?

It is not like giving them what they want. It is be there when they need you. If they call you and say, "Mother, I did this at school," well sit down and listen, don't say I don't have time. And things they love to me I have to share with them, I have to share their problems and so all that, I feel there is love in there.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Love and attention. (EXPLAIN?) My cousin's wife had a baby boy. It is a month old and she lets him cry. In the first year a baby needs to know it is loved. In the first year I never let him cry. But now at night I do, but in 10 minutes I go in. They have to know security.

WHAT ARE YOUR IDEAS ABOUT WHY THAT IS SO IMPORTANT?

Because I am his mother and he will depend on me for so many more years. He depends on me and I just want him to know if he needs me I am there.

The parent's reasons for meeting needs derive from his or her conception of parent role responsibility, but with a unified notion of what needs in children parental action is responding to, rather than the parent-focused notion of "duty" expressed in Level 1.

Level 3: Individual Needs

1. Learned through child
2. Need for personal instrumentality
3. Relationship needs
4. Need to be understood

1. Learned through child--At Level 3, the needs of the child as an individual are considered, and defining a child's needs requires attention to the individual child's characteristics, experiences, and/or communication. Different children may have different needs.

WHAT DO YOU THINK CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Love and time and they need to have their needs considered, that they can't be happy doing what we do and they can't be happy with the things that we want to make them happy. You have to look at them, and if they don't tell you you have to ask them, you have to try to find out, things you really have to keep asking and really trying to find out what they want and what is going on in their head. Talking too much is as bad as not saying enough. If I feel that I have lost touch with where he is at, I will sit down and talk and say what is happening and is everything alright and this and that. And if he wants to, he will tell me, and if I ask him if I am doing anything that he is mad at me for and if anything I am doing is upsetting him or making him angry, and if there is anything wrong, he lets me know and we just talk about it and we try to reach an opinion.

WHY DO YOU FEEL IT IS IMPORTANT FOR CHILDREN TO TELL THE TRUTH?

Because if they don't tell the truth, they won't let you know what is happening with them and if

you don't know you can't do the right thing for them. If you know what is happening, know how they feel and how they think, and where their priorities are, then you have a lot more advantage to make your decisions on concerning them and you would probably end up making better decisions for them and everyone is happier and you are all doing things to help each other. You might do something you think is really good for him, but you don't really even know your kid, because of some feelings you had or somebody else had. Do some things for your kid, take him to the circus or get him an animal. Like if you know your kid is honest and can talk to you and you know what is happening with him, you've got a better chance to know what he needs.

Because the parent's understanding comes from the child (as well as objective sources which may help inform his understanding), the quality of the parent-child relationship, and of parent-child communication, is inferred to be fundamental to an understanding of the child's needs.

2. Need for personal instrumentality--At Level 3, conceptions of needs may go beyond the framework of what the child needs from others for him or herself. They may also address needs of the child to be able to meet his or her own needs, or to be able to influence others so that they will be responsive to the child's needs.

WHY DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED TO PARTICIPATE
IN THE FAMILY?

Because if they don't participate, then they are not part of the family. If you always make the decisions for them, then they are separate, they don't have a hand in your decisions, or even a partial knowledge of what is going on around, then they are not part of the family. You can't

make all the plans for a vacation, my husband and myself, and then at the last minute when you are leaving go and tell the kids, we are going on vacation. Then they are just tagging along, they haven't had a part in it. Some of their ideas are terrific, I have to admit. Sometimes they have ideas I didn't think of, they didn't think of, and if they had not participated they are not really part of it. We haven't heard what they would like to see or do, or their ideas.

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO INCLUDE THOSE THINGS,
THEIR IDEAS?

I don't know.

WHAT DOES IT DO FOR THE CHILDREN?

It gives them a sense of I'm here, don't pass me over, don't think I haven't got something to contribute, I'm here, and like I said, sometimes their ideas are terrific. Sometimes they think of things that I would not think of.

HOW WOULD JIMMY'S FATHER FEEL WHEN HE TOLD HIM
HE HAD DONE IT?

Naturally he would be upset, but if it was me I would say 'alright, you did it,' and I would try to keep a cool head and then go from there and try to straighten the child out.

HOW WOULD YOU DO THAT?

By talking to him.

WHAT WOULD YOU SAY?

Why did you do that in the beginning. You lied the first time. I would sit down and say my heavens, you get along so well here, and there is nothing you are actually wanting for, so what is is, what are your needs, what do you want?

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO ASK HIM
WHAT ARE YOUR NEEDS?

They have to have these needs, they have to feel that they belong to the family, they have to feel,

no matter how old they are, they have to feel needed, they have to feel wanted, they have to feel that they can tell us their needs and we will listen, will respect them and try to do something about them.

By acknowledging the need for and facilitating the expression of instrumentality, the parent is recognizing the child's basic need to be recognized as a person who counts, who contributes to his or her own experience, and who has a right to be heard and responded to.

3. Relationship needs--The importance of relationships to the child is acknowledged at Level 3, and the experience of certain kinds and qualities of relationships is reasoned to fill a basic need for affiliation and emotional exchange.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Love and understanding. Definitely love. I think no matter what else happens, if you feel that you are loved, then I think that is something. There are so many people who feel so insecure and unloved. And I think that is important to feel the love and then I think that the rest of it will be right behind it.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY THE REST OF IT?

Understanding and respect and I think that as much as I want him to respect me, I should respect him as a little person.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY THAT?

He is a little person now and there are things that he likes to do, to be by himself, he likes to play and if he is in the bathtub, I put him in our big

bathtub and he splashes and he giggles and he loves it and he is having a lot of fun and I respect this and I let him stay in there until he is through playing and then when he is through I will dry him or do whatever else has to be done. I feel to let him splash and kick isn't going to hurt him at all and I have to respect his wishes. Even though he cannot say to me this is what I want to do, I can tell.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Love. What can I say - it all kind of revolves around the same thing. It starts with honesty from both parents. You say what can I give my children. I can give them myself, I can give them love, understanding, warmth, morals. My husband and I, he has his ways and I have mine, of getting across to the children. Of course, mothers get it across better sometimes because men are more removed, they spend more time away from the children and we are more involved . . . So that's what we give, and they give us their love and understanding and warmth, too. Perhaps it comes down to what we have as a family - we care about each other, and in that atmosphere, we can share ourselves.

Relationships are understood as an emotional need, and as the basis for allowing the meeting of other needs. The children are recognized as separate people whose separate reality is respected, even with very small children, as in the first example. Relationships are described affectively, in terms of feelings, closeness, warmth, respect, and not just in terms of fulfilled role obligations, or shared time and experiences.

4. Need to be understood--The child's knowing he or she is understood is reasoned at Level 3 to be as much a need as having needs responded to. This is more than taking the child's perspective, it is acknowledging the child's need to participate in the determination of their own needs and the manner in which the parents will respond to those needs.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Understanding. (EXPLAIN?) What their needs are, why are they crying, why are they asking these questions, why don't they like this person as opposed to that person, why do they like this toy as opposed to that toy. Things like that.

SO TRYING TO UNDERSTAND, A PARENT TRYING TO UNDERSTAND HOW THEY FEEL ABOUT THINGS. WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT THAT IS REALLY SO IMPORTANT? WHAT DOES THAT DO FOR THE CHILD?

I think that makes them feel as though they are understood, they can rely on someone, someone does want to help them, is listening, someone is there to help them in any way they need the help or the understanding, or whatever it is that they need, the love or whatever is needed at that point in time..

WHY IS THAT IMPORTANT?

To make them feel more self reliant, more self confident, know that they can do X, Y, and Z, and have X, Y, and Z backing them up, always falling back on something or someone.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL THAT CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Understanding. (EXPLAIN?) Try and see their point of view and their side of things, too, but just because I am a parent doesn't mean I am always right, but they will be parents someday too.

WHY IS UNDERSTANDING SO IMPORTANT?

You see their side of things, too and try to go along with what they think if it is within reason, your reason. You can't put them on the same equal plane as you, because you are a little advanced from them. But if you can see their point of view and understand a little of what they are talking about and they talk to the other kids and to you and you know a little bit of what they are saying.

By listening to the child, and trying to understand this child, the parent contributes to the development of the child's capacity to take care of him or herself.

Level 4: Psychological need systems

1. Needs as processes
2. Need for awareness and acceptance of oneself and others

1. Needs as processes--At Level 4, needs are defined as more than specific requirements of the child. Needs are processes which are part of development and/or part of the dynamic self-system of the child. Needs are spoken of in terms which imply continuing change and adjustment ("coping," "developing"), and which express a conception of the child as in a process of continual growth.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED THE MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

I think they need their time ... that is a big catch-all isn't it. In terms of how to deal with the world, they need to know how the parents deal with the world because that is how they are going to learn how to deal with it. Not necessarily about the world, but teaching them how to deal with the world.

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT IS SO IMPORTANT?

Because I think it is the only thing they don't pick up on their own, I suppose they do. But children when they first start having a social life, 2 or 3 years old, they don't have any method of coping most of the time, in situations around them. They don't have the emotional capability of dealing with it and coming out on top. I think they need to draw that from their parents training, how to deal with other children and how to deal with their feelings about the world.

And how to work their feelings into coping with the world so they can deal with their feelings and they shouldn't have to suppress their feelings. They should be able to work it in to what they have to cope with in the rest of the world.

WHY DO YOU FEEL IT'S IMPORTANT FOR CHILDREN TO
MAKE CHOICES FOR THEMSELVES?

I remember that there was a child once that R. played with and I really did not like. I wished that she wouldn't be friends with her and I didn't do very much about it except to keep it as separate as I felt wise without separating them. This was a child who was very arrogant and very rude to her parents, and R. was sometimes shy and withdrawn and very good. The goodness troubled me at that time; she was too good I thought. But this child was very rude and that bothered me too, and one day R. said to me, 'I have learned so much from her. I have learned that when you talk back to your parents the world does not collapse.' It is not a benefit that I would have expected and I was so grateful for that other child and for my child to be able to take what she needed. She didn't need to take what I thought she was taking, she took what she needed, and I realize that the friendships that children have fill their needs. They may not be what I think their needs are, but what their needs are, and if I leave them alone enough they will work out alright.

Processes are recognized as a continually developing system of interaction and active balancing between one's evolving concept of oneself and one's experience of others. How one understands and deals with one's own feelings is connected with how one copes with the world. The most fundamental needs are expressed as processes at Level 4, because processes (developing capacities and capabilities) are the tools for living a life which can work to achieve satisfaction and to meet physical and emotional needs. The second parent describes the personal tools her child mobilized to draw from a relationship what she needed, even though the child and her mother may not have been consciously

aware of either the need (permission to accept that she need not always be 'good' in order to be loved by her parents or herself) or of the child's capacity to meet that need, which contributed to her continued emotional development.

2. Need for awareness and acceptance of oneself and others--At Level 4, parents recognize the complexity of the self, and the need to be able to acknowledge, accept, and to integrate different aspects of oneself and of others in order to deal effectively with life.

WHY IS HONESTY BETWEEN PEOPLE SO IMPORTANT?

Well, I think that honesty is the most important thing that you can have inside of yourself, and what I am trying to do is train the children to look inside themselves, to be honest with themselves even when it hurts very badly, even when they have to face things that they don't like, or they wished that they didn't know. But if you can face something and give it a name, in whatever terms you choose to name it, then you can cope with it, then you know what it is, it is not a bogey man. Beyond, you may not know the limits or the boundaries, but you can say yes, it's this; and that is why going back even to the Bible, it is very significant that God named the animals, that he gave them a name, not a monster or a four legged this. The myth is that he named them, because of the importance of being able to face things, face it with a kind of security that it would more or less be the same the next time you come across it. That's why, it is important to be accurate and honest.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Ego reinforcement. (EXPLAIN.) Positive reinforcement, you do this well, that was good, I like that. I don't know, if it isn't honest, it is not worth anything, it's got to be honest.

FIRST OF ALL, WHY IS THIS WHAT THEY NEED,
AND SECONDLY, WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY HONESTY, AND
WHY IS THAT SO IMPORTANT?

Well, it's only through honesty that all things
can be accepted. Traits of the child as well as
traits of the parent, because we all have weaknesses,
we all have elements of doing and not doing,
of positive and negative, of up's and down's.
And then a child who is developing, who has so
much to develop, can see his issues, his conflicts,
his yeses and no's. His conflicts are part of
all of life, I think, and he won't feel isolated
from the whole life process that way.

Parents reason that awareness, even of painful aspects of
oneself and of experience, is the basis for coping.

Knowing the elements allows one to be in touch with the
process.

Level 1: Egoistic

A. Learning parenting

1. Avoiding repeating negative childhood experiences
2. Taking things as they come

B. A good parent

1. Has good children
2. Acts better than other parents
3. Makes an effort

A. Learning parenting.

1. Avoiding repeating negative childhood experiences--Many parents at Level 1 point to the traumatic nature of their own childhoods as providing parenting models they hope to avoid as parents.

HOW DO YOU HANDLE IT, THE PART THAT YOU FIND HARD TO PUT UP WITH, LIKE GOING TO BED AT NIGHT, WHAT DO YOU DO?

When I get really aggravated I go in the bathroom and scream, and it lets out all of my animosity, so I won't be uncool with her. I do when she disobeys, and stuff, I will slap her hand a little and that's it, but I don't spank her and I don't yell at her, I don't want her to grow up, mommy is yelling at me. I want her to be my friend, so she comes to me and not the yoyo down the corner.

HOW DOES IT WORK OUT FOR YOU, WHEN SHE IS STAYING UP CRYING AND YOU GO IN THE BATHROOM AND SCREAM, DOES IT HELP?

Yah, it lets out my frustrations and then I am cool with her, I don't yell at her or hit her like other people can. Like there is a battered child syndrome and like my mother was a battered child and I was a battered child and I am making sure that she isn't, because I know it is not preventable, but it is in a way. It's been done to you and you do it to them. But I don't with her because I know it is bad and I don't want to do it.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT, WHAT INFLUENCED THE WAY YOU ARE?

From my childhood, I had a little rough time with my parents. My father wasn't too good. After I started having children, I figured I wanted them to have certain things I didn't have in life, so I would try to help them achieve that, so after I got them, I just tried to help them the best way that I could. I know that a good education is good for them, so always I try to give them that and they never have too much clothes and things like that, good school, and the right thing to eat and things like that.

Parents frequently have little sense of how they are going to avoid a repetition of past experiences in the raising of their own children. In the first example, the parent protects her child from her anger by "letting it out" elsewhere, but offers little indication that she is able to understand or to deal with the origins of her anger. The alternative (to grandparent's treatment of parents) tend to be concrete ("good school, the right things to eat").

2. Taking things as they come --At Level 1, parents often cannot identify any particular influences, but report that they simply respond to things as they happen.

THE WAY YOU ACT AS A PARENT, HOW DID YOU LEARN THAT, DID YOU HAVE ANYBODY HELP YOU? BOOKS? WHAT DO YOU DO, WHAT DO YOU TURN TO WHEN YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT TO DO, THAT KIND OF THING?

I don't know, it just comes to me. I don't read books, I have nothing to go by, I just do the best that I can.

DO YOU HAVE RULES YOU FOLLOW AND THINGS YOU FEEL ARE IMPORTANT TO FOLLOW OR DO YOU TAKE THINGS AS THEY COME?

Take things as they come.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT?

I just fell into it naturally, I guess. Mark came along and we just took care of him.

The parent reveals little conception of how the child operates, and without a coherent conception of the child, is unable to anticipate the child's needs and actions or to develop patterns for parenting.

B. A good parent

1. Has good children-- A parent at Level 1 may reason that parents know they have done a good job because the children do what they want them to do.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE GOOD PARENTS?

That I couldn't tell you. I guess you have less warfare. I would suspect that if they are really good, no back talk or anything like that. I put myself in the lower category, because I get a little.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT?

By the way the kids act when they grow up, like they have respect for older people, so other people would say the mother taught them good and put respect on them when they were small. A lot of kids I have seen they go and smack their mother and that's not right. Mine tries and I try to stop her, she just raises her hand, but she won't put it down, she knows what she will get.

The child's behavior, which consists of concrete and observable actions- is considered a direct expression of parental input. The child is good because the parent taught the child well.

2. Acts better than other parents-- Parental competence may be evaluated by comparing how different parents treat their children. Parent A is a good parent because he or she treats his or her child better than parent B.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT?

Just look at the other parents around you and see how they treat their children and you can see if you are a good parent, judging by the way they treat their children. I know one parent has a five year old daughter watching a three year old son and that little girl is petrified if the boy gets out of sight and I have seen the parent knock her so hard across the face they knocked her glasses off. They don't watch them so good and the parents stay in bed till 12 in the afternoon and they don't get their breakfast until mommy and daddy are out of bed.

YOU TRY TO HAVE THINGS ORGANIZED FOR THE CHILDREN?

Right, they get their breakfast at breakfast time and they eat when they are supposed to and they have their chores to do, but they are not heavy responsibility. But a five year old child watching a three year old child is kind of a lot. Just by watching other people and seeing how other people raise their children.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY'RE DOING A GOOD JOB AS A PARENT?

By seeing how other parents treat their children.

WHAT DOES THAT TELL YOU?

Well, if you're doing better than anybody else, then you must be all right. For example, your children are well dressed, you take good care of them.

The parent does not have an abstract or ideal standard, but a concrete comparison of him or herself with other parents, usually whom he or she knows.

3. Makes an effort-- Responses at Level 1 tend to focus on the parent's rather than the child's experience, and evaluate their performance on the basis of their effort, rather than its outcome in the child.

THIS IS A PARENT NOW?

Yah, and if you try to bring your child up right and your child refuses to listen, I don't feel that any parent should feel what did I do wrong. As far as the parent, as far as self discipline themselves, I think the parent should be easy going, but they should put the laws down and put their foot down, so that their child doesn't walk all over them. I will not stand a child walking over me, because if I feel that I am doing my best and if this child thinks that he is going to come in and start hassling me and pushing me around, when I am the one trying to take full responsibility for him and trying to bring him up right, I won't tolerate it and I feel that the child should also have respect for its parent. I feel this way, if the parent can show respect for them, why can't a child show respect for the parent.

HOW DOES A PARENT SHOW RESPECT FOR THE CHILD?

In different ways, not materialwise, because a lot of parents feel that they can buy things, and buy their children's love. But this isn't true because you can be poor as a churchmouse and never have anything. As long as you show that you care for them, to do the best that you possibly can for them, you keep them as clean as you possibly can, it doesn't have to be the best, but as long as you are showing some effort in taking care of this child, it is just your duty. It is something that our mothers and fathers had to do and they didn't have that kind of money and I don't think the child should expect it. Just accept it the way it is. As long as the parents are making an effort to take care of him.

THE POLICE OFFICER SAID THAT MR. FOX WAS TO BLAME FOR JIMMY'S GETTING INTO TROUBLE. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THAT?

Like I said earlier, you try to teach your children right from wrong at the very beginning. My grandmother always said to me, when you have a tree, when it is first new, you don't break that tree as it is young, it will bend over as it gets older. Which is true, because if you don't teach your kids right from wrong, when they are young, as they get older, they are going to be worse. So I don't really feel in an incident like that, that this policeman should have embarrassed her. Number one, because this child, if you say "no" and he says "yah," he is going to do it. He is fifteen years old and he should know right from wrong. If he knows this boy has been known to do things before, the kind of children he has been hanging with, he is just as responsible as they are, because you have tried to lecture him and you have tried to tell him that it is wrong, and he is not going to listen to you. I don't feel that it is the parents' fault.

If the parent does what he or she feels is parental duty, or all he or she can, the responsibility for the child's behavior no longer rests with the parent but with the child. This is an either/or conception. Credit or responsibility for the child's action lies either with the parent or with the child. The parent at Level 1 does not conceive of an interaction between parent and child.

Level 2: Conventional

A. Learning Parenting

1. Outside sources teach the right way
2. By evaluating parenting models
3. By observing children

B. A good parent

1. Raises children the right way
2. Does the best (s)he can
3. Has happy children
4. Teaches right from wrong

A. Learning Parenting

1. Outside sources teach the right way-- Parenting is understood at

Level 2 to be a set of skills which one has to learn. The skills include knowledge about the child, and the appropriate practices for correct child rearing. These are thought to be acquired skills, which must be learned from outside sources.

WHAT HAS BEEN THE MOST IMPORTANT THING FOR YOU AS A PARENT IN RAISING YOUR CHILDREN? WHEN YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT TO DO, DO YOU HAVE A BOOK YOU TURN TO, OR FAMILY? WHAT INFLUENCED YOU MOST AS A PARENT?

I think books, Jean, my husband is a French writer, I read many books about children. Friends help, too. Sometimes a friend of mine will tell me what I should be doing.

HAVE THEY HELPED YOU?

They help me to understand more. Sometimes I can ask Lucy for two months to do something, and maybe I was doing it when I was her age, when I was four, and I look in the book and see maybe I am asking her to do something she is not able to do at her age. I wasn't supposed to expect her to do at her age. So the books help me to be more patient with her, to control myself.

AT TIMES YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT TO DO, IF ONE OF YOUR CHILDREN DOES SOMETHING AND YOU DON'T KNOW HOW TO HANDLE IT, HOW DO YOU MANAGE?

I call up one of my girlfriends and ask her opinion. Most times if something like that happens I might weigh the situation and say maybe I could be wrong handling it this way so I will get some opinions of some of my other girlfriends, who have boys around the same age.

YOU FIND THAT HELPFUL?

I find it very helpful to talk over situations and get someone else's opinion, because I could be wrong.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT, WHAT HAS BEEN THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE IN THE WAY YOU ARE?

I would have to say religion. I believe in God, that he expects certain things of a parent. That he entrusted me with another life and I have to do the best that I can to take care of that life that he gave me to take care of. And it is my child. I carried it for nine months, and each one of my chromosomes is in that baby. It is my responsibility to sacrifice and do what I must to make sure that the child is happy in life, because I say, he didn't ask to come here in the first place, and I didn't either, so while we are here, let's make the best of it. So religion, my parents, sisters, just watching other people. Some turned me off, and I said, I never want to be a mother like they are, really, or I could say that this could make me make up my mind that I do want to be like that, reading books and what not.

Knowledge may come from different sources for different parents, from friends, books, magazines, scriptures, movies, television, grandparents, and so on. The source of learning is not important for scoring, but the concept of parental knowledge as being exclusively acquired from sources external to the parent and the child.

2. By evaluating parenting models -- Other parents, especially a parent's own parents, provide models for child rearing. Parents at Level 2 can evaluate parenting models and adapt and select from them those aspects which they consider best (in contrast to Level 1, where parenting models are totally accepted or rejected).

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT, WHAT ARE THE IMPORTANT INFLUENCES ON YOU AS A PARENT?

I guess the way both my husband and I were brought up, different things that he says his mother did and his father did, different things that my mother and father did, in different ways. Well, this is what we did, and we kind of adopt that and then add our own little whatever we think is needed. I guess it is really family that has had an influence on our bringing up the child.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT?

I think really, when I came here, I lived on a farm and my parents were strict with me. There were four of us, and I had two brothers and a sister. My parents were very strict, really. I felt like it was too hard, but after I became of age, say 18, and I went into the service, I was so thankful and I look back and I tell them now, I was so glad you were strict on me, rather than me getting into trouble. I want to go through the same thing, follow that pattern for my son to grow up with.

WHY DO YOU FEEL IT IS IMPORTANT TO BE STRICT LIKE THAT?

I guess it is the environment. It's not that if he wants to get into something, that I would turn my back on him. I bring the strictness because I want my boy to grow up to be a beautiful man.

Two aspects of evaluating positive parenting models are how those practices "fit" a parent's own set of preferences or circumstances, and how those practices are seen to have effected the parent's own life adaptation. In both cases the value or helpfulness of the models are evaluated as the parent considers how he or she parents his or her own children.

3. By observing children-- Parents at Level 2 may learn by observing their own or other's children. What they learn from their observations is how to behave as parents.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT, WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON THE WAY YOU TURNED OUT AS A PARENT?

By observing my children and observing other children. Looking at the outside, looking at what is going on around you. Knowing I don't want to do that, but I would like to do this. With the children now today has helped me to be even stronger, in helping me to be more patient with my own two children.

HOW DO YOU LEARN TO BE PARENT BY OBSERVING CHILDREN?

It is just something in you, it is a feeling, love, instinct. Just something automatic.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT, WHAT HAS BEEN THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON YOU?

Watching them grow up.

THE CHILDREN HAVE. IN WHAT WAY?

Just watching them grow up I learned a lot on my own with them.

LIKE WHAT, CAN YOU LET ME KNOW A LITTLE BIT MORE?

How to take care of them and little things like that, that I didn't know before and I learned on my own and just seeing the way that they grow up.

The child's contribution to the parent's education is not really conceptualized as an active one. Rather, the parent views the child as an object of study, without really conceptualizing an interaction between the observer and the observed.

B. A good parent

1. Raises children the right way-- Underlying a parent's formulation of good parenting is an external standard against which parenting is measured. A good parent approaches or meets that standard when raising his or her children, a bad parent does not. Unlike level 1 responses responding to what the child wants is considered, as well as what the parent does.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT?

That is a toughie. I know I am not the best mother, but I am a good mother because I love my kid, I put her before me, I make sure she always has what she needs and what she wants. If she needs affection, I give it to her, if she needs a warm bed, food, clothing, teaching, stimulation. You just do the best you can.

WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

Raise them properly. Give them good morals, background and upbringing. See that they are educated properly, I think that means a lot. It is a struggle to get some of these kids to do their work, for example. They want to be their own boss, they don't want to do what mother and father would like them to do, even though mother and father try to say you've got to do this, if you want to get anywhere.

Although most parents at Level 2 have what could be described as an authoritarian standard ("not being strict enough"), the nature of the standard is not what makes a response Level 2. A "permissive" parent might also use Level 2 reasoning, if it is clear that the permissive standard, as with the authoritarian standards in the examples represents a unitary conception of a "right" way, and is external to the parent-child relationship.

2. Does the best (s)he can--Many parents speak of doing the best they can. This is more than a focus on specific parental behaviors, as in level 1. Rather, it is an acknowledgement of the value of effort, to the child as well as to the parent. This does not mean that different parent will have different ways, but that a good parent does as much as (s)he can.

HOW DO YOU THINK SOMEONE KNOWS IF THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT?

I think you should know, because you should know all that you are doing for your child. Like I think if a child is getting the opportunity to get the things she wants in life and her parents are trying to give it to her and you know that you are doing the best that you could, you can tell if you are a good parent or not, because a child doesn't need just food and that's it. And if you know you are trying to help them the best way you could, you should know. You should know if you are a good parent.

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

I would say that make sure when they grow up that they know a little about the world outside. I feel strongly that I can only protect my kids from so much. And the only thing that is important to me right now is to make sure that they are healthy, nothing wrong with them physically, and they have love and understanding in the home, where they can come to me with a problem, so when they do get out on their own, I helped them the best I could with them. So if anything ever comes up the only thing they can say is that my mother tried, she tried her best.

"Doing the best you can" is not understood only from the perspective of the parent, but also considers the child. The parent does his or her best to meet emotional ("attention," "understanding") as well as physical needs of the child.

3. Has happy children-- The children let the parent know if he or she has been successful, not only by what they do, as in Level 1, but also by how they feel ("I will be satisfied. . . to see my child be happy").

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

I guess to do my job as a parent. I want my child to be happy, but a lot of parents say where did I go wrong. I hope that I don't have to say that. I hope that I feel satisfied that I did the best that I could in raising my child. I will be satisfied as a parent to see my child be happy.

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT YOURSELF AS A PARENT?

Good. Because I look at my kids and then I compare myself with some of the other parents and I am not having some of the problems that some parents are really having with their kids, and my kids are happy, so I feel good about it.

At Level 2, how the child feels is observed, and is important to the parent. Positive feelings may be defined as happiness, as in the two examples, or in other terms, such as satisfaction or comfort.

4. Teaches Right from Wrong-- The parent hopes to develop in the child a set of standards or values which will motivate good behavior. These standards or values can come from many sources; e.g., religion, traditional beliefs, or community standards. They may be communicated by example, i.e., parent or other models; or by teaching.

HOW DO YOU KNOW YOU ARE BEING A GOOD PARENT?

You don't know in a way, but you might know - your children will let you know

HOW WILL THEY LET YOU KNOW?

By what they do, how they come on. How they are towards you. Is how they are, I would just say it is how they are towards you. Your child will let you know. Children, period, let you know.

HOW DO THEY LET YOU KNOW?

They appreciate different things you do. Showing things you do. Mommy this and mommy that. My mommy says that I can't do this. Different little things that you have done and you have told your child not to do, or you told your child different things, and you see them doing them, exactly as you asked them to do, you know they listened. And you know they understand. You know, not that I am a good parent, but I am trying.

YOU MENTIONED IN YOUR GOALS FOR RAISING CHILDREN MORAL VALUES. CAN YOU EXPLAIN THAT?

Not going into a store and saying I like that and just walking out. This is one of the things I would be against. But teaching your child right from wrong in moral values. Religion. We are Catholics. Make sure they go to church and make sure they know a little about their religion. That's what I mean by moral values. If you see something there and it's not yours you leave it there and that's it. You don't walk away with it if it is somebody else's.

HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE A GOOD PARENT?

I think a good parent sets a good example. You can't teach your kid right from wrong if you don't try to follow it yourself.

Parents at level 2 reason that the parental role involves more than telling the child what to do. It involves imparting a set of moral or behavioral standards which go beyond individual acts, and it involves a responsibility as a role model. The parent demonstrates that right and wrong are not just discreet acts but a set of values which the parent represents in his or her own behavior. The parent is concerned that the child has internalized parental practices or teachings so that they become part of the child's own set of values and standards.

Level 3: Subjective

A. Learning Parenting

1. Through the child
2. By experiencing love

B. A good parent

1. Has a good relationship with the child
2. Facilitates the child's capacity to cope with problems
3. Is defined differently for different people
4. Understands the child

A. Learning Parenting.

1. Through the child--At Level 3, the parent looks not only to sources around him or her for information about child rearing, but looks also to the child. Parenting is understood to be more than an acquisition and application of skills. It is understood to require sensitivity to the child. From the child and the relationship with the child, the parent learns how to parent this child in this relationship.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT, WHAT HAS BEEN THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON YOU AS A PARENT?

My son. The first time, never having had a son or a daughter before, and I wasn't sure quite what to expect, and it was just since he was born, since I first saw him in the hospital, that has been quite a big influence, your son. You grow to love him so much, it is quite an experience. If I had to do it all over again, I definitely would.

DO YOU HAVE DIFFERENT IDEAS NOW ABOUT CHILDREN NOW THAT YOU ARE A FATHER? DIFFERENT FEELINGS ABOUT CHILDREN BECAUSE YOU ARE A FATHER?

I think I do. Before with other kids, I never paid that much attention to them but now I find myself just from having Jason, being more playful with other kids, coming into where I work, playing with them and stuff like that. Now I think that I respect children more because I have my own and see how it is for them.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

I know a lot more now than I did before. I understand better how kids feel, what they need from their parents. And Jason kind of showed me how to be his father. Not just what to do for him, but he made me aware that he had feelings, and what they were. And because I love him so much, I just try to respect those feelings.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT, WHAT HAS BEEN THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON YOU.

Having the baby taught me, just seeing him be born taught me, said okay, you are a parent now and that's it, that is how I learned to be a parent. I read a lot and did a lot and read Dr. Spock and listened to my mother and talked to everyone. And just being a parent for me and my husband is an everyday thing, we learn something new from the baby every day.

WHAT DOES HE TEACH YOU?

That baby? There are certain things that he can do that I don't think he should be doing, like he tries to hold his bottle and he does hold it very well, so I let him, and it was hard for me to say he wants to hold his bottle now, so you have to let him.

SO HE LET YOU KNOW?

Yes, he pushes my hand away when he wants to hold the bottle, or if he wants to help with the spoon and I think he is showing us, look, I am able to do these things now, let me do them.

Not only does the child teach the parent about children and about him or herself by his or her responses, the child also evokes feelings (love, responsibility) in the parent which make the parent sensitive to the child. The child is clearly seen as a person in his or her own right who participates in his or her own development through his or her influence on the parent.

2. By experiencing love -- At Level 3, parents can separate parental practices from parental feelings, and reason that it is the feelings that matter to the child and that are retained and passed on to the child's own children. What the parent learns most importantly from his or her own upbringing are the emotional messages, not particular parental behaviors.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT, WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON YOU AS A PARENT?

Basically the way that I was raised. It was really a rough childhood, extremely so in the sense that my values, my way of thinking was probably more mature at a younger age than some of the other kids. You know how some children grow up a lot quicker because of what they have seen and what they have experienced. Well my dad and mom were very loving, but as it stood, we were farmers and money was hard to come by and when my dad was short on money, he used to blow up, and on occasion even went into a rage. And beating my mom and I had seen certain things that my children do not see, but on the other hand, they were so loving, that is why I didn't resent them, or particularly him, to this day, the love was there. It sounds crazy, I know. From all this I think that I learned and I have taken away the bad parts and I have tried very hard to retain the better parts of my childhood and try to raise our children the same.

HOW DO PEOPLE LEARN TO BE PARENTS?

I think the quality of our childhood homes is most important. My husband had a beautiful childhood. His mom and dad are lovely, the both of them. He teases them to this day, he says I wish you would have punished me a lot more when I was a kid. He never got a spanking, he was always so sensitive, they talked to him and he would do these things, because he loved them.

In both examples, the love, both of the parents and of the child was "learned," and in the first response, in spite of other aspects which were quite brutal, the implication is that this love (expressed indirectly in the second example) influenced the parent's awareness of and capacity to love in the parental role.

B. A good parent

1. Has a good relationship with the child--Parenting is reasoned to be a relationship, and its success can be evaluated in terms of the relationship. In order to be successful as a parent, a good relationship must exist between parent and child.

BUT HOW DO YOU KNOW YOU ARE A GOOD PARENT?

How do I know myself? I know I am because from the time I have seen my son grow up, the way he responds to me, I am a good parent.

HOW DO YOU KNOW, WHAT IS THERE ABOUT HIS RESPONSE, WHAT IS THERE ABOUT HIM THAT GIVES YOU THAT INFORMATION, THAT YOU ARE A GOOD PARENT?

He loves me, Would I like to fire a question back at you. I would answer it like I would answer it. I am a good parent because he responds, he is growing up well. The relationship that we have between us is enough to indicate to me that I am a good parent.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT?

I don't think you can know. There should be signs and there are probably signs to other people that would be less obvious to parents.

THE PARENT WOULDN'T KNOW HIMSELF?

I think if your children are open and communicative with the parents that would be a good indication, but if a kid doesn't feel he can come to you with his problems, if he doesn't need to tell you what is going on in his life, that would be a sign to me that something is quite wrong.

At level 3, the child's "letting you know" differs from level 2 in its emphasis on the relationship and on qualities of the relationship, such as trust and openness, rather than on actions.

2. Facilitates the child's capacity to cope with problems. The parent

at level 3 may reason that the purpose of parenting is not so much to teach the child how to behave or what standards to have so that he or she will know how to behave, but ^{provide the child with tools and experiences which will} enable the child to solve problems and to deal with whatever experiences life may bring in a way that is best for that child.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

I think probably it is to equip the child who will be an adult to deal with the craziness of the world as best as possible. And the way you do that I think is by instilling in the child a sense of values, equipping the child to be able to find solutions to dilemmas. The child is faced with moral dilemmas and other kinds of problem solving. Clearly giving the child the educational tools that the child needs, and that doesn't just involve formal schooling, I don't think. Exposing a child to all kinds of things he will see, so that when the child is old enough to be on his own in the world, he will encounter experiences which are not so surprising that he can't deal with them in some manner. That way the child will have internal mechanisms, internal ways of dealing with them, and won't be thrown for a loop.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW THAT THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT?

You know. By the actions of your children. If, for instance, someone outside of your family can tell you what two well-behaved children you have, you can't help but think that you must be doing something right. Especially if your children are well-rounded and happy. And if they can make choices for themselves, figure out what's best for them, like join in or not join in and be themselves, then I think you must be doing something right.

At level 3 values are instruments for solving problems, they are not answers to problems. Parents emphasize enabling the child to find personal standards and solutions which may or may not conform to external standards and beliefs. If the child can cope effectively with the world in a manner which is personally comfortable, then the parent reasons that he or she has been successful in this respect.

3. Is defined differently for different people--At Level 3, parental standards and practices are internally as well as externally defined, and so may differ for different people who experience differing realities.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT?

Just being one. I don't know if I had any thoughts, it just happened. But I don't think on it that I have to be a good mother. I think of it that I just want to be a good person and I think if you try to put yourself in a mold, that this is what a mother should be, it is too strict a set of rules, you are too confined and especially for somebody like me, in a single parent situation. It has to be more flexible. There are certain things that I see as important to us to survive, and certainly if I thought living in one home or one apartment as an important thing, I would have failed, because we move around a lot. Because we move around a lot I think it is more important for Eric and I to have a strong tie, and for wherever we are at that moment, for that to be our home. Because we are there, and it is our home and we are living it and we are doing it. That is where it is at. And if we can live within that kind of a structure, then everything will be good for us.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT?

I like to talk about this and it is important to me. I would like to know as much about it as I can; after all, these are things that we are not all born with. There are a lot of things that we have to learn as we go along. I have learned a lot and there is still a lot to learn. But I know there are things I know are right now.

LIKE WHAT?

Like I have to be firm. I have certain things I have to do to support my son. There might be certain rules that are set out by a child psychologist, but they might be set out for the ideal parenthood, and the mother is staying home and taking care of the child. I have to go every day because I have to go make a living for my son. So if I have to be at a certain place at a certain time, at a certain hour, and people are not cooperating, we have a serious problem. I have to make the machinery run. That is why I feel, the way you adapt to it, that is alright for you. It might not be right for somebody else.

Because these responses reason that people adapt to and cope with their own particular parenting circumstances, the value of flexibility to deal with changing circumstances may also be raised. Being a good parent cannot be arbitrarily defined.

4. Understands the child-- Understanding and respecting how the child thinks and feels is reasoned to be an important aspect of good parenting.

WHAT MAKES A GOOD PARENT?

Understanding. I was shocked at some of the things that my daughter said to me at six years old. Some of the things, just like I get disgusted and have to talk, so kids get the same way, they get disgusted. Especially her, she is the oldest, and she gets disgusted, and I just sit there and think about what she thinks for a while. If I want her to wear a red ribbon and she doesn't want a ribbon, why doesn't she want a ribbon, why can't she decide, and just not say 'I am your mother, so you put it on because I say so,' that is not fair for the child. So I have to let her think about what she feels about wearing ribbons today.

AS YOUR CHILDREN HAVE GROWN AND MADE DIFFERENT DEMANDS ON YOU, HAVE YOUR IDEAS CHANGED? FOR EXAMPLE, WITH THE SEVENTEEN YEAR OLD, AS SHE HAS GROWN UP, YOU SOUNDED MORE LIBERAL IN A WAY, MORE SO THAN YOUR MOTHER MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

I don't know. I was brought up very very strict. For some reason I just knew how to bring up my children, and as time has changed, as situations have changed, I just try to mold myself to the situation and work with it.

SO THE PART WITH SEX IS THAT THE WORLD IS CHANGING?

Yes. Even our church has changed. And you just mold yourself to the times and if the times change, you have to change.

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO CHANGE?

I would never imagine my daughter having sex before marriage, but I see it is discussed and as the times change, I have tried to go along, and I can't say change myself, but to have understanding of what is going on, so that I can still communicate with her.

DO YOU FIND YOU ACTUALLY CHANGE?

Through understanding things, I do. But not that it is a great change. It is an understanding and going along to a point and that's it. I am set in my ways and a boring person.

Understanding may involve an openness to the different values of the child's generation, or to other influences which have values or practices which are not those of the parent. Even though the parent may not agree with the child, Level 3 parents reason that the parent can try to understand the child's perspective and can maintain communication with the child.

Level 4:

A. Learning parenting

1. By experiencing the relationship
2. Through self-awareness and growth

B. A good parent

1. Shares a reciprocal relationship
2. Maintains autonomy of identities with interdependence

A. Learning parenting

1. By experiencing the relationship -- At Level 4 the parent-child relationship is reasoned to be a reciprocal process which has its own growth and development. Through the relationship process, the parent comes to understand him or herself, the child, and how they interact together. Parenting develops through this process.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT? WHAT HAS BEEN THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON YOU AS A PARENT?

I guess I started out with no background at all. You have an idea in your mind from seeing other people's children, when you have a child of your own, my child is going to do this and this, and I want this kind of child. You realize in the first year that all those things sort of fly out the window. Your child is what he is and it is not so important what your child does as what you do about what he does. And if you see a child who destroys everything, you say how did that child learn that? And you find out that all children go through tantrums and destroy things, so what is important is how you handle it. So it turns out how the single person focuses on the child and when you have children you focus back on yourself. Sometimes you find you are not the kind of parent you thought you were going to be. So you look at yourself and you look at your child and the way you are with each other, and you learn from there, and you keep on going. It doesn't stop, you keep on looking and you keep on learning.

HOW DO PEOPLE LEARN TO BE PARENTS?

Trial and error.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

No matter what anyone gives as advice, you don't know what a parent is until you become one, and then each stage that a child goes through is another learning process, and the adjustments that come with it and everything that goes with it, and we only learn by being a good parent with each child. But with each child, it is a totally different learning process. And you develop and you become a good parent as you raise the kids.

Parenting is not reasoned to have a fixed end point at which a parent has learned how to parent. It is thought to be a continuing process ("you keep on looking and you keep on learning").

2. Through self-awareness and growth-- The parent sees the process of personal psychological growth and awareness as the foundation for parenting, and for the development of self-awareness and insight in the child.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT, WHAT HAS BEEN THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON YOU AS A PARENT?

That's very difficult. It has to do with my own parents. I have learned from them what kind of parent to be and what kind of parent not to be. But I think I have learned more of what kind of a parent to be from just living my own life. Just from learning, from my own growing, I have learned how to nurture her growth, from my own perceiving, how to nurture her perception, from my own doing, the nature of her doing. It comes from within me, probably more than from anything else, or that has come to me. It is a very inner thing for me, I couldn't do it, and I haven't been able to do it well, when I am not really into me. In other words, when I am not in touch with my center.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT?

I have learned some from reading, a great deal from my husband, a great deal from internalizing and from writing out the kind of painful experiences that I have had growing up, trying to understand what is going on inside me in terms of my own growth and from watching the children. It is as though I have become finished being a child. I have finished my own childhood by watching the children and reliving in my own way the children's experiences. As a result, I have become a child, a parent, and then I can become an adult, when I am finished the process and the cycle again, of the children. I have a feeling that the adult doesn't come until the children themselves reach adulthood.

The parent at Level 4 does not isolate parenting from other aspects of life. Responses indicate an awareness of the interconnectedness of self and others and of various parts and periods of one's life.

B. A good parent

1. Shares a reciprocal relationship-- Responses at Level 4 may focus on how a child's capacity to relate to others reflects the parent's capacity to relate to the child. This deals with reciprocity; the process by which people influence each other, even when the influence of the relationship is revealed in the quality of the child's relationships with other people in his or her life.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT?

The child will let you know by the way he relates to you. They may take a month to prepare a Christmas present or something, but there are also spontaneous things. The way that they look at you, the way they come to you and stay by you. When they come to you and how they touch you. This is probably the most important thing: they will parent you if you are a good parent I think.

EXPLAIN THAT?

My daughter, if I am feeling down or feeling like I can't do something, or under some stress or pressure, she will encourage me. "Well, mommy, that was good, you are doing fine, you are doing that very well." And she will put her arm around me and she will hug me and kiss me and she will comfort me physically and she will smooth my life out for me. I have had nasty trouble with the car from time to time at the most inappropriate times and she is right there with solutions. Perhaps we should do this, or try that.

WHAT DOES THAT SHOW ABOUT YOU AS A PARENT?

It shows that she makes me a companion, that she has a regard for me and wants to assist me in life. That I have done that to her, that I show her.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT?

I think you know by your relationship; that you're both aware of each other and give to each other and take from each other. I know kids don't give the same way parents do, but they give in their own ways, even babies, by how they respond to you. And they insist in their own ways that you respond to them. And with older kids, I really feel you know you're a good parent by how they communicate with other people, not just you. You can't really separate these things from each other. My child as a person with others says something about our relationship, too.

The concept that underlies these responses is the unity of people and of the relationships. Whatever aspect of relationships or of the person a level 4 response focuses on, the response implies that this aspect is part of a larger system.

2. Maintains autonomy of identities with interdependence -- Although parents at Level 4 reason that parent and child are united in an interdependent relationship system, parents also recognize the autonomous identities of the members of the system. The child also bears responsibility for his or her personality, and is neither defined by the parent, nor is the parent defined by the child.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT?

I don't think that you ever know if you are a good parent. I think the needle test is am I enjoying what I am doing; if I am enjoying it, then I assume that the results will be satisfactory to me. If I am not enjoying it, parenting, then I don't enjoy the job. But I don't know what a good parent is. You cannot really live through the children. You can do just the best that you can in transmitting what your values are, but then some of it is up to the child. It is his ballgame, too, and if he carries what you have given, fine, and if he doesn't, it doesn't make you less of a parent. You have done your parenting but maybe the child's capacity is not to be a good human being and there is very little that you can do about it. But I do think that you must enjoy what you are doing and that must communicate itself to the child, not at every minute, but that fundamentally this makes you happy.

HOW DO YOU KNOW IF YOU ARE A GOOD PARENT?

That's a hard question, because there are two people involved. You don't parent all by yourself and then look at the product and say how good I was. You parent with a child. You're in it together. So we are both responsible, and yet neither are entirely responsible. And I have learned over the years, that Rose is not me. That the symptoms of the behavior may be the same, but they come from different backgrounds, because I am different from what she is, and my parents and my mother from her environment, so while the pattern of behavior may be the same, the moodiness stems from a different post and it is neither as severe as mine was, or exactly like mine was, or as light as mine was, it is different. So being a good parent is a difficult question because I am not the only one who has to answer it. The best I can do is tell you that I try to be continually aware that we are different people. I allow her that, and I expect her to allow me that, too.

The autonomy of identities may be expressed as limitations of individual responsibility ("It is his ballgame, too"), and as the difficulty deciding for the child that the parent has been successful in a role that is experienced by the child, who is a separate personality with sensitivities and experiences which can only be guessed at by the parent.

E. Sample Interviews and Scoring Sheets

I They cry a lot and mostly Pearl I have a lot of problems with them, she always wants to be outside and I have to do my housework and I cant be chasing them outside, I have my mother in the store, so that makes it a little easier for me and I still send them over my mother's house, so I can do my housework while I have the other two at my house and my other son goes to so that is a little easier, so when they all get together sometimes, whew. Sometimes I hit her, real hard, when she does something I hit her and I feel sorry for her, she was born with crippled feet and I have a hard time with her and I suffer a lot to bring her to the hospital for a brace.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN YOU SUFFERED A LOT?

Seeing how she walks in the hospital and seeing that she gets her feet better. I havent been here for 2 months because I just had a baby, and I had my tubes tied, too, and I had a section, so I couldnt come down.

YOU HAD YOUR SHARE OF PROBLEMS THESE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS. YOU MUST FEEL BETTER NOW WITH YOUR TUBES TIED.

Yah, my husband said I had enough, I could hardly manage with them 3. So I am glad I had the little girl, I have 2 boys and 2 girls.

II WHAT DO YOU ENJOY MOST ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN?

I cant say too much because they are small, they dont do too much at home.

WHAT DO YOU FIND HARDEST TO PUT UP WITH?

I Feeding them, and giving them a bath is hard.

WHY IS THAT?

I They act mad and every time I put them in the bathtub, they always want to come out and they wet the whole floor and I get mad, you know, and then if I take one to give them a bath, the other one starts crying and I have to wash my other little baby and they took the baby out of the crib and they took her downstairs and put her on the couch, my little one, the baby, and my house is in the project and the rooms are upstairs and the downstairs is the kitchen and parlor, so I have to carry all 4 of them upstairs to watch them.

HOW DO YOU HANDLE IT?

I dont know, I send the 2 big ones over my mother's house and sometimes my sister comes to help me, so I am doing pretty good, but whenever my mother moves, it will be hard on me.

IS SHE PLANNING TO MOVE?

Yes.

HOW DO YOU GET YOUR CHILDREN TO MIND YOU?

I try my best, but it doesnt work.

WHAT DO YOU TRY, HOW DO YOU TRY TO GET TEM TO MIND YOU?

I speak to them, mostly for eating, I say eat and she says no, and I have to shove it down her mouth and she throws it back out and then I have to hit her, but it doesn't work. I say I am going to get the belt, but it doesn't work.

WHY DOESN'T IT WORK?

I don't know, it just doesn't work. In the nighttime I feel like sitting down and relax while the baby is sleeping and the only one up is her, I have my big one at my mother's house mostly all the time, she likes it there, so that is not a problem, but the other kids, they other kids sit down and see TV with you, some like to play a lot, not her. she likes to be in the kitchen in the refrigerator and that gets me mad I have to be up all the time hitting her, and it drives me nuts sometimes sometimes I get nervous. My husband and I are trying to get back. I have no help in the house now, and the baby is a problem.

YOU FEEL IF HE WERE BACK IT MIGHT HELP.

It might, he would have more power with the kids.

THEY DO HAVE MORE AUTHORITY SOMETIMES. WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

Attention. (EXPLAIN?) Because sometimes it helps them if you are listen to them. (HOW?) I don't know. My kids are so small, I don't know how to explain it. I think like sometimes when I sit with her, she sits still and I try to play with her, she stays still. Sometimes when I can't sit down and play with her or talk to her she is all over the house screaming and crying and all she wants to be is outside.

SO WHEN YOU DON'T GIVE HER ATTENTION, SHE ACTS WORSE. WHY IS THAT?

Sometimes I put on the TV and she likes to dance and she sees people dancing and I say look, people dancing and she starts dancing and she stays still around the TV for a while. But when the show is done, she acts up again.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

When I was single I said when I would have some kids, it would make me happy one way, seeing kids running around the house. But now they are all over my house, no, it is hard. I had my first one when I was 19 and I had them all right away.

WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OR OUTCOME OF BEING A PARENT, WHAT DO YOU WANT FOR YOUR CHILDREN?

I want them to learn and come up with something big and be that people know them when they grow up.

WHY IS THAT IMPORTANT?

When the kids grow up, I would like other people to respect them, for what they are. I try to raise my first one so he learns, but this one is pretty smart, she says everything the TV says, I put on shows and she

learns right away and I wanted her to be a dancer, but I dont think that it will work with her feet.

WHAT SHOULD PARENTS BE ABLE TO EXPECT FROM THEIR CHIDDERN DO YOU THINK.

What the parents should give them I cant tell now, but what you want your children to be when they grow up, they dont want to be, they dont want to be what you want them to be. (WHY NOT?) Sometimes they want to do their own thing, and the world is changing.

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THAT? ABOUT THE CHILDREN WANTING TO DO THEIR OWN THING AND NOT WANTING TO DO WHAT THEIR PARENTS WANT.

I dont like it. Because when they grow up other people say the mother didnt put no respect in teaching them, didnt teach them nothing, they dont respect other people and I dont like it. I like when they grow up they do what I want them to do, so other people would say she was a pretty good mother.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT?

By the way the kids act when they grow up, like they have respect for older people, so other people would say the mother taught them good and put respect on them when they were small. A lot of kids I have seen they go and smack their mother and that's not right. ... tries and I try to stop her, she just raises her hand, but she wont put it down, she knows what she will get.

WHAT SHOULD THE PARENT BE ABLE TO EXPECT FROM A CHILD IF THE PARENT FEELS UNHAPPY OR BLUE?

I have no idea.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT, WHAT HAS BEEN THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE FOR YOU?

Going through all I do, with the kids, it is tough on me, especially even my first one, my husband, he was from another father, you know, so I didnt raise my son, my mother did, he was born crippled too, and it is pretty hard with my other ones, because I didnt do my first one, I am trying to do the other ones.

SHE SLEEPS WITH HER NEXT DOOR. WHEN SHE MOVES AWAY IS SHE GOING TO TAKE HIM?

I think, because she is attached to him and she has been with him since he was so small, and I have been the rest of my life with my mother. Till I got married and have the other kids, and so she has been having him. He is 4 years old and I dont think she will give him up. When shedies I will be responsible for him.

WELL HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THAT?

Well not too good, we all love my mother and she has hard task and sometimes I take my son for rides and things and he wont respect me. The only one that he will respect is my mother because she has been with him so much. It will be hard on me when she gives him back to me.

W ABOUT ON HIM? HOW WILL IT BE FOR HIM?

He come and see me and calls him daddy and thinks he is his father and he comes over my house, looks in the refrigerator, goes back out but I think it will be hard on him when my mother go away. (WHY?) She is the only one who raised him you know. And I havent given my love the way I should.

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON THE WAY CHILDREN TURN OUT AS ADULTS?

I cant say nothing, about what they grow up to be.

WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE FOR YOU?

I hope they turn out to be nice kids, to respect everybody so they will respect them.

WHAT WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON YOUR GROWING UP?

Now that I cant have anymore kids, I will be attached to them mostly. It will be the same for me, growing up, taking care of them,

WHAT ARE YOUR CHILDREN'S FEELINGS ABOUT YOU AS A PARENT?

They are little, I cant say.

DO YOU THINK THEY HAVE FEELINGS ABOUT YOU AS A PARENT?

I think so, because when I leave them somewhere, you see, they just cry a lot, especially my other little one.

WHAT DOES THAT TELL YOU?

I think they love me.

DILEMMA VI:

WHAT DO YOU THINK MRS. F. SHOULD DO?

She should check in the diary, open it.

WHY SHOULD SHE DO THAT?

To find out if it is true that he has been stealing.

II { COULD SHE HAVE MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT READING THE DIARY?

I think so, because a diary is what kids keep to themselves, and nobody should go in their diary, but I think she should, so she can see for herself that he did it or not did it.

HOW WOULD YOU EXPLAIN HER MIXED FEELINGS? I cant tell you.

IF SHE READS THE DIARY, SHOULD SHE TELL J. SHE READ IT?

Yes. (WHY?) That way he will know his mother - maybe he will feel his mother didnt trust him. But she should tell him so he should know.

WHY SHOULD SHE TELL.

He will tell her she did not trust him.

IV { HE WOULD FEEL BAD. DO YOU FEEL IT IS MORE IMPORTANT TO KNOW WHETHER OR NOT HE DID IT, THAN TO SHOW TRUST IN HIM BY NOT READING IT?

I { If she doesnt look in the diary, then he will believe that his mother trusts him and he will keep doing things he shouldnt do. If his mother looks in the diary and finds out he steals anything, then she will talk to him, maybe talk to him a little more and he thinks a little more not to do what he did with the other kids, he will get ideas that what he did was wrong.

IF SHE DOESNT LOOK IN THE DIARY AND HE DID IT, HE WILL THINK SHE TRUST HIM, SO THAT MEANS HE WILL GO AHEAD AND DO THINGS BECAUSE IT MEANS HE WILL THINK HE CAN GET AWAY WITH THEM.

Yes.

I { AND THAT IS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY SHE SHOULD LOOK. DO YOU FEEL SOMETIME IF CHILDREN KNOW THEIR PARENTS TRUST THEM, THAT THAT WILL HELP THEM TO DO THE RIGHT THING? OR IS IT USALLY THEY THEN FEEL THEY CAN GET AWAY WITH IT.

They will think they can get away with it and they will think my mother trusts me, she wont say anything about me, that I am bad or nothing, she trusts me and then he will keep doing it, doing things he is not supposed to do. But if she talks to him a little stronger, maybe he wont do it. What he shouldnt do, I feel that way anyway.

DO YOU THINK IT WOULD CHANGE J'S RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS MOTHER IF HE FINDS OUT SHE READ HIS DIARY?

Yes.

HOW WOULD IT DO THAT? WHAT WOULD HAPPEN?

Maybe he will say, you didnt trust me, you had to look in my diary.

THEN WHAT WOULD SHE SAY?

That she was doing it for his benefit.

HOW WOULD HE FEEL ABOUT THAT?

Bad. (WHY?) I cant say.

DO YOU THINK IT IS IMPORTANT TO TRUST CHILDREN?

Not too often.

DO YOU FEEL IF CHILDREN WERE LEFT ON THEIR OWN THEY WOULD WANT TO GET INTO TROUBLE, OR DO YOU FEEL IF THEY ARE LEFT ON THEIR OWN, THEY DONT WANT TO GET INTO TROUBLE.

It works both ways, because if you let them get away with it, they will do it, and if you dont, if you get in between their way, they will still do it. Because they think they can get away with anything and that their mother trusts them and if they go away and come back in hours, the mother is going to say where have you been, and they will say nothing ma, I have been around.

SUPPOSE THAT MRS. F. READ THE DIARY AND FOUND OUT THAT J. LIED TO HER, WOULD SHE STILL FEEL SHE SHOULD HAVE DEFENDED HIM AT THE POLICE STATION

Yes. (WHY?) Because she is his mother, she will cover him.

WHY SHOULD A MOTHER COVER HER SON?

Because she loves him and she should do it mostly to cover. Every mother does that.

SHE READ IT AND FOUND OUT J. LIED TO HER, WHAT SHOULD SHE DO TO JIMMY?

When they get home, talk about what he did.

WHAT SHOULD SHE SAY, HOW SHOULD SHE APPROACH IT?

I cant say.

HOW WOULD SHE FEEL IF HE LIED TO HER AND DID SHOP LIFE?

Bad and she covered for him and she loved him and he did something he wasnt supposed to do.

IF SHE FOUND OUT J. DID IT, WHAT SHOULD SHE DO?

Try her best to help him, get him out of trouble.

DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN HAVE A RIGHT TO KEEP SOMETHING PRIVATE FROM THEIR PARENTS, OR DO PARENTS HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW WHAT THEIR CHILDREN ARE THINKING AND DOING?

I think it is better for them to come out with it and tell their parents and maybe the parents will help them. What they do.

SUPPOSE THEY DO NOT COME OUT WITH IT, DO YOU THINK CHILDREN HAVE A RIGHT TO KEEP SOMETHING PRIVATE?
OR SHOULD PARENTS KNOW IN GENERAL?

I think parents should know.

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT WAY?

Maybe it is something they can't handle and they talk to their parents and the parents have some ideas and they will tell the kids and then maybe the kids will learn from that.

SUPPOSE MRS. F. DID NOT READ THE DIARY, BUT ASKED J. AND HE SAID HE DID IT. HOW WOULD SHE FEEL THEN?

Guilty. (WHY?) Bad.

WHY SHOULD SHE FEEL GUILTY?

Because she thought he wouldn't do it, she trusted him. And now she knows what he did.

WHY IS IT SO IMPORTANT TO BE ABLE TO TRUST A CHILD?

Sometimes you can trust them and like they are outside and you think your mind will go away because you trust them but you still have some ideas they will do something wrong. I could ask my mother some of these questions, she still has 2 big kids at home and she is always worrying about them, what time they come home and what they could be doing outside. So much things can happen. She worries a lot, so I try to help her that way.

WHY WOULD J. TELL HIS MOTHER HE DID IT, WOULDN'T IT BE EASIER TO CONTINUE TO LIE?

I don't think so. (WHY NOT?) Because it will make it harder on him, him wanting to and he will feel guilty for that.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN GUILTY?

He will say, my mother trusted me and now I did something that I shouldn't do. He will keep feeling guilty and have it in the back of his mind, so he should come out and say it.

YOU THINK THAT IS WHY HE TOLD HER. WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT, THAT HE DID THE STEALING OR TOLD THE TRUTH ABOUT IT LATER?

That he told the truth.

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT WAY? I can't say.

DOES IT TELL YOU ANYTHING ABOUT WHAT KIND OF PERSON HE IS?

Yes, he told his mother that he did it and he knew that his mother trust

him and he did what he shouldnt do. He is strt of telling her the truth so she wont worry about him.

YOU FEEL THAT TELLS SOMETHING ABOUT WHAT KIND OF PERSON HE IS?
HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THAT PERSON, WHAT LITTLE YOU KNOW.

I am not too familar with him.

THE POLICE OFFICER SAID MRS. F. WAS TO BLAME FOR J'S GETTING INTO TROUBLE, HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THAT?

They thought it was her problem because she didnt put too much respect on him and didnt teach him too much, but it is not his mother's fault.

WHY NOT?

Because his mother tried her best and it is his fault for doing what he did.

THE KIDS J. RUNS AROUND WITH ARE TOUGH AND GET INTO TROUBLE, BUT J. LIKES THEM. SHOULD MRS. F. INTERFERE OR DOES J. HVE A RIGHT TO CHOOSE HIS OWN FRIENDS?

He has a right to shoosse his own friends, he could have friends who say go do this, but you dont have to, you dont have to go do it. So you could have all kinds of friends. If they want you to do something, the best thing you could do is just walk away from it, because you would know you would get in trouble if you do it.

SUPPOSE YOU HAVE A CHILD 15, WHO GOES AROUND WITH KIDS WHO DO GET HIM INTO TROUBLE, THEY CALL HIM A Sissy AND SAY YOU ARE NOT A MAN IF YOU DONT SHOP LIFT. IN THAT KIND OF SITUATION, SHOULD A MOTHER INTERFERE?

Yes. That way he can be home and she can keep him home and she can tell him not to hang around with kids like that. They are just going to get him in trouble and he dont want to be in trouble.

DO YOU FEEL THAT WOULD WORK?

Not all the kids it will work on, because you tell them today and tomorrow they will be back with the other kids.

DO YOU THINK THERE IS ANOTHER WAY TO HANDLE IT THAT WOULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE FROM KEEPING HIM FROM GOING AROUND WITH THOSE KIDS?

I dont think so.

HOW ABOUT IF YOU TALK WITH A CHILD, IF YOU SIT DOWN AND SAY, GIVE THEM YOUR REASONS WHY YOU DONT THINK IT IS A GOOD IDEA, DO YOU THINK A CHILD WILL LISTEN TO THAT?

If he is a childthat respects you,maybe he will, it would work.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN RESPECT?

Because some kids dont want their mothers to be hurt and they will do what their mother tells them to do.

e dont and say I dont care.

COULD J. SEE HIS FRINDS DIFFERENTLY FROM THE WAY MRS. F. SEES THEM?

Yes. (EXPLAIN?) It is his friends and the way he chooses them to be. I think he feels better with them.

HOW WOULD HE SEE HIS FRIENDS AND HOW WOULD SHE SEE THEM?

She will see them that they are troublemakers and they are not good to hang around with and maybe he will see them that they are good friends and he likes to be around them.

DILEMMA II: WORKING MOTHER

I (1) WHAT DO YOU THINK A GOOD MOTHER WOULD DO?

Stay home with the kid. (WHY?) That way the kid would feel much better with the mother and she could love her mother more. And know her mother more. Instead of coming home and not finding your mother there.

YOU THINK THAT WOULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN HOW SHE LOVES HER MOTHER?

Yes.

WHAT ABOUT THE MOTHER'S NEED TO BE AWAY FROM HOME AND ENJOY HERSELF AND MEET PEOPLE.

That is a problem for her, it happens to me, too. Sometimes it is good for the mother to go out and talk to other people, but if she doesnt, she will go nuts in the house. It happens to me.

WHAT IF THE CHILD DOES NOT WANT IT. HERE IS A MOTHER WHO WANTS TO WORK AND THE CHILD SAYS SHE DOESNT WANT HER TO, AND YOU SAID A GOOD MOTHER WOULD STAY HOME WITH HER CHILD, BUT YOU SAID SHE WOULD GO CRAZY SITTING HOME ALL THE TIME. WHAT DO YOU THINK A GOOD MOTHER WOULD DO?

I think it is better for her to stay with the child more. While she is in school the mother could go visit her friends and by the time the kid is out of school the mother could be home.

WHAT IF SHE DOESNT WANT TO VISIT HER FRIENDS, SHE WANTS TO WORK?

That's hard. I cant say.

I (1) DO YOU THINK S. IS BEING A GOOD DAUGHTER BY WANTING HER MOTHER HOME EVERY AFTERNOON?

Yah, but maybe she is spoiled. Spoiled with her mother. Some kids they want the mother to be right there add right there, in front of them, and some want the mother to have her fun, they just want to see the mother there, that is a spoiled kid.

DO YOU THINK THAT S. IS ACTING LIKE A SPOILED KID? I think so.

IF SHE IS ACTING LIKE A SPOILED KID, THEN SHOULD HER MOTHER BE THERE EVERY AFTERNOON?

No.

no, it is better too for the mother to get away a little bit from the child. That way she wont feel so much attached to her, because if she is spoiled, she wont want to stay with anybody else, just her mother. It would be hard on the mother, the mother is going to go in the house and think about the child and how they are treating her.

DO YOU THINK S. COULD SEE HER MOTHER'S WORKING DIFFERENTLY THAN HOW MRS. S. SEES HER WORKING?

I cant say.

DO YOU THINK MRS. S. MIGHT HAVE MIXED FEELINGS? I dont know.

HAVE DIFFERENT FEELINGS, SHE WANTS TO WORK AND SHE MIGHT NOW. SHE COULD FEEL MIXED, WANT SOMETHING AND NOT WANT SOMETHING AT THE SAME TIME. HOW WOULD YOU EXPLAIN THAT.

She wants to work and she wants to stay home and she doesnt know what to do..

DO YOU THINK S. MIGHT HAVE MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT HER MOTHER WORKING?

I think so, sometimes she wants her home, she wants her to stay home, and she dont want her to go to work. They both must be all mixed up.

WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT, THAT S. HAVE HER MOTHER HOME WHEN SHE GETS HOME FROM SHOOOL IF THAT MAKES HER HAPPY, OR THAT HER MOTHER HAVE A JOB IF THAT MAKES HER MOTHER HAPPIER?

She like her mother to be home when she gets home from school.

CAN YOU GIVE MORE REASONS WHY YOU THINK THAT IS MORE IMPORTANT?

That way when the kid comes home, they always expect the mother to be home. Sometimes they come home and they knock and they go in and where is ma, and if nobody is there, they will go next door and ask. I dont know where your mother is. I came home, I am hungry.

BUT THERE IS A BABY SITTER.

It is not the same as a mother - if the mother loves you she will come up right away and say what do you want and it brings more feeling when you come in and find your mother there instead of coming in to find a stranger.

WHAT KIND OF FEELING? I dont know..

DILEMMA III: NEW BABY

WHAT SHOULD SAM'S MOTHER DO?

Love both of them.

WHY SHOULD SHE DO THAT AND HOW SHOULD SHE DO IT?

When she laughs with the new born baby, she should laugh with the other

The older one will say she loves him more than she loves me, because sometimes I sit with my newborn and the little comes in and bumps him in the head and says..... so therefore love both, show feelings for both of them.

HOW WOULD YOU EXPLAIN SAM KISSING BABY ONE MINUTE AND HITTING HIM THE NEXT?

I think if he is so cute, they look like little dolls, toys for them, so he hugs and kisses him and sometimes they get feelings that the mother is more attached to the baby than them.

THAT IS WHY THEY HIT THEM. Yes.

IS WHAT SAM IS DOING SOMETHING A GOOD CHILD WOULD DO?

Yes. They all feel the same way. When I had my youngest one, she act the same, she was 2 weeks crying because I as more attached to the little one.

WERE YOU, OR DID SHE FEEL YOU WERE?

Feel feel I was.

HOW DID YOU HANDLE THAT?

It was hard sometimes because she was jealous. So while the baby was sleeping I had to put more attention to her than the baby than was required.

WHEN THE MOTHER TRIED TO TALK TO SAM ABOUT WHY HE WANTED TO HURT THE BABY HE SAID I DONT WANT TO HURT THE BABY , I LOVE MY BROTHER, COULD SAM BE TELLING THE TRUTH, THAT HE LOVED HIS BROTHER WHEN HE SEEMED TO WANT TO HURT HIM?

Yah, I think he is telling the truth, that he loves his brother. Sometimes they hit and they dont know why - they think they are playing withthe baby.

COULD THE CHILD HAVE MIXED FEELINGS AND NOT KNO W HOW HE FEELS?

Yes, sometimes they do.

HOW WOULD YOU EXPLAIN THAT?

Like I said, they are probably jealous, because there is somebody new in the house.

COULD A CHILD LOVE AND NOT LOVE A BABY BROTHER ALL AT THE SAME TIME?

It happens. (EXPLAIN?) My sister in law has twins and she just have them and one kid says I like the baby andthe other one says I dont like them, I dont want nobody but me in the house and sometimes kids change his mind right away, that he says I dont want them in my house. I just want me and my other brother in the house.

COULD YOU THINK THEY COU LD HAZE MIXED FEELINGS?

Yes. (EXPLAIN?) I really dont know.

COULD THEY LOVE THEM AND HATE THEM AT THE SAME TIME?

I think so, they look like a toy to them, how they hold a bear, they throw them aside the same way.

WHAT SHOULD SAM'S MOTHER BE ABLE TO EXPECT FROM SAM?"

If he is a nice kid, maybe he will chang and be spoiled, and jealous, and acting and doing things she thought he would never do.

SO SHE SHOULD EXPECT HE IS GOING TO HAVE THESE FEELINGS. SHOULD SHE EXPECT HIM TO BEHAVE BETTER WHEN SHE GIVES HIM MORE ATTENTION?

Yes, I think so, because my kids, sometimes when I am not taking care of the baby, they change a lot. Just because if the baby is there, they think they are there and seeing them they run

HOW DO YOU HANDLE THAT?

Mostly I take care of them when the baby is sleeping, I put her in the crib and I put more attention to them than the baby, because the baby is sleeping and I have to watch them more.

WHY IS THAT IMPORTANT?

Because then they think you dont love them, you dont want them, and you dont care for them that they are just another person.

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT FOR CHILDREN TO KNOW YOU LOVE THEM AND CARE FOR THEM AND THEY ARE NOT JUST ANOTHER PERSON?

I cant find the right words.

IF YOU WERE TO THINK ABOUT WHY IT IS IMPORTANT FOR CHILDREN TO FEEL LOVE AND WANTED, WHAT WOULD YOU SAY?

It is good that kids know you love them, it is important to them, because when they grow up they would say gee, I had a wonderful mother, she really loved me a lot and I can talk about my mother, she was the most wonderful mother to me.

PARENTAL AWARENESS SCORING SHEET

Subject Number: p 21

SES:
Race:
No. of Children:
Age of Oldest Child:

Issue	Individual Issue Concept Scores	Issue Score
I. Influences	<u>1, 1</u>	<u>1</u>
II. Subjectivity	<u>1?(2), 1, 2, 1, 1, 1, 1?(2), 1, 2?(3)</u>	<u>1</u>
III. Personality	<u>1, 1, 1, 2, 2?(3), 1?(2)</u>	<u>1</u>
IV. Communication and Trust	<u>1, 1, 2</u>	<u>1(2)</u>
V. Resolving Conflict	<u>2?(1), 1?(2)</u>	<u>—</u>
VI. Discipline and Authority	<u>1, 1</u>	<u>1</u>
VII. Meeting Needs	<u>1, 1?(2), 1?(2)</u>	<u>1</u>
VIII. Parental Role	<u>1, 2?(1), 2, 1</u>	<u>1(2)</u>

Summary data

Highest Reliable Score 2

Average Issue Score 1.10

Range 1-2

Global Score 1

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR CHILDREN FOR ME?

All of them?

WHY DONT YOU FOCUS ON THE THREE YOUNGER ONES, THE ONES AT HOME, WHATEVER YOU WANT?

I would say they are all outgoing, happy, each one in their own way and none of them have created any big problems. They reach certain ages, certain problems. Most things pass.

WHAT DO YOU ENJOY MOST ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN?

We are a large family and I enjoy each one as individuals more or less.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

You enjoy doing different things with, and that.

DO YOU FIND THEM VERY DIFFERENT AS PEOPLE?

Yes, completely different, each one is completely different.

WHAT DO YOU FIND HARDEST TO PUT UP WITH?

Fighting.

HOW DO YOU HANDLE IT, WHAT DO YOU DO ABOUT IT?

Well, the oldest kids I found after a while, I said, if you are going to kill yourself, go over to the park and do it. The other kids, you try to talk to them and more or less after a fashion, they will stop, the younger ones are going to sit around and do it or go up to their room if they don't stop, so they stop, but it never starts out as much of anything, mostly it is something they have to get out of their system, I don't know.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

I have found with my 4 oldest, they get along marvelously, they go everywhere together with their wives and girlfriends, but when they were young, close in age, they were always killing each other, punching each other, whacking each other, and one says something and I think it is an age, one will put his leg out, he kicked me, he did this, it is not over anything as far as personality, one just annoys the other and they got a bigger piece of cake than I did, you know, all the little things that don't amount to a row of pins really.

WHY DO THEY FIGHT DO YOU THINK?

I think it is just part of growing up, everybody that I talk to, they all say the same things, the kids fight. I worry about the 4 oldest fighting than I do about the youngest 4, because I see how close they are and how good they get along and how they go everywhere and do everything together, so I know that the fighting didn't hurt them any, they would laugh and kill themselves, one night ma and dad went out and they killed each other and I thought they were old enough not to fight and I say wow, the things that went on. I don't know, but as far as I can see, most kids that are in a family group do fight.

YOU DID TRY TO INTERVENE WHEN THEY DID.

Right, when they were young, but when they got up to 17, 18, then I would say go over to the park and kill each other.

WHY DIDNT YOU INTERVENE WHEN THEY WERE THAT AGE?

Because after an age, after they get past 16, I talk to them, and I figure that they are old enough to know, they have a mind of their own at that point and I only just tell them at that point. When they are younger, if they do something, I mean - if it is severe enough to get punished, I talked to them, but when they get older I think that they should know for themselves, they are on their own more or less, other than to guide them.

WHAT DO YOU RELY ON MOST TO GET YOUR CHILDREN TO MIND YOU?

With different ones it is different things. Some, praise works like a charm. I have a couple, all you have to do is say a few nice things to them and they will fall all over themselves to do something for you. Other ones, you have to do it, this is it and this is it, if you don't do it - it depends. You get to know each person as an individual and you get to know what works with this one and that one, and you know your own kids, everyone knows their own kids and you know what will go and what won't go. Some kids are so easy to bring up and some kids are so hard. Some fight you the whole way, I say two of mine are harder than the rest.

WHAT HAVE YOU RELIED ON FOR THEM."

Really, with the oldest one and the younger one, too, I find praise, they seem to say things and do things, I don't know, sometimes because they feel insecure or what, I don't know, but it seems like you have to be a little more lavish with praise with them and as I say with both of them I find that being nice to them works. Now, with the oldest, the one that is 22, I find to get him to do what I want him to do, that I have to - I can never get angry, because angry you lose him completely, he is gone, but you can talk to him in a nice way and come around it in a nice way, what you want, and you will get it, but you have to come around it and work up to it in a nice way. You can't just say do it.

WHY NOT?

Because for some reason he rebels at the do it, or he positively will rebel when he is told to do things, I don't know why, he has always been that way. It is his nature, he has been one of the harder ones. Fortunately, he hasn't got in any trouble or anything but he has always wanted to do what he wanted to do. Each one, their personality is so easy, the one I bring over here to Children's the one who is 16, he has been so easy he has never been a problem since the day he was born, he is just an easy going person does what he is told to do. That is one thing I have always said, that you can never judge anybody else's kids because you never know what your own will do. You bring the up, you do the best you can, you try and they are on their own. Hopefully, you don't run into problems, but you never know.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

I think you want to make them a good moral individual, with their own personalities, but I mean, that I am very religious myself, as I say, a lot of the kids, it is very difficult when they get to a certain age, to get them to go to church and things like that, but I want them to have a good moral fear of god and I hope they get to heaven some day, I bring them up to someday get to heaven.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN A GOOD MORAL INDIVIDUAL?

I mean somebody that wouldn't take anything that didn't belong to them, that wouldn't steal wouldn't do anything - would help people. In other words, what you could do, go out of

your way to help people, be nice to people, a nice person. Somebody who doesn't steal, lie, cheat, you know what I mean.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS? Love and understanding.

CAN YOU EXPLAIN WHAT YOU MEAN?

like sometimes the kids will say, you don't love me. I say you drive me whacky sometimes but I love you regardless of what you do. I always make it a point to say that, because sometimes, especially at 12 or 13, my 12 year old will say, do you really love me. But this seems to be something they really wonder and of course, in school now, there is a girl there and I think she is in a foster home and it is not working out too well, and I have met the girl, but I don't know the mother or anything like that, but she comes home and tells me what the social worker says and she said the other day, you know, if you really don't want me, something about the social worker, but she hears different things. From what I gather, this girl, the mother is not going to keep her, but she is going to keep the sister and she comes home, the girl is in her class at school, and she comes home with different things like that and she gets confused on the thing but basically I know she knows we love her. I feel bad for the girl.

YOUR DAUGHTER IS CONFUSED ABOUT HER OWN FAMILY, OR IS SHE CONFUSED ABOUT WHETHER YOU LOVE HER?

I think it is more or less, I think basically she knows that we love her, but I think kids blow up, she hears things and she likes it explained. She throws out things, if you could send me there, and I find a lot of times they just want to see what your reaction to it is. I find that a lot of times they say things that they don't really mean, just to see what your reaction is. As a matter of fact a few times she has said, we wanted to see what would happen.

DO YOU THINK THAT SOMETIMES CHILDREN CAN SAY SOMETHING AND NOT REALLY KNOW THAT THEY DON'T MEAN IT.

The oldest ones, we have talked about different things - I know especially the boys say let's shake me up a little bit, they tell me these wild things. They know they are doing it, the boys especially. The girls, I don't think they know, especially T. I don't think she knows, I think she is a little mixed up with what is going on with her friend. I think she is mixed up.

ABOUT HERSELF TOO?

I don't know, I think she knows, but she talked like a mother and she likes to know everything about everything and she will talk about most anything, so I think in her case it is a lot that she likes to talk about it, and she likes to know everything about everything.

WHEN YOU DISCIPLINE HER, WHEN SHE DOES THINGS THAT ARE WRONG, HOW DO YOU HANDLE HER?

Usually send her up to her room, she is a little more bossy and doesn't want to do what she is supposed to do. Or I will stand over her and make her do what she is supposed to do. Or ban her from the telephone, that is the worst. If you say to her one night she can't talk on the telephone, that to her is the worst punishment you can give.

WHAT ARE THE KINDS OF THINGS THAT ARE VERY IMPORTANT, ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT FOR CHILDREN TO LEARN AS FAR AS DISCIPLINE GOES, WHAT IS RIGHT AND WHAT IS WRONG. DO YOU HAVE ANY SPECIAL THING YOU FEEL IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT?

I like the kids to be all part of the family, to help as part of the family. I can do what is right, but I don't know.'

WHAT SHOULD PARENTS BE ABLE TO EXPECT FROM THEIR CHILDREN DO YOU THINK?

You mean in line of house work or in line of character, what do you mean?

I THINK MORE IN THE LINE OF CHARACTER IS WHAT I HAD IN MIND?

Be good reasonable human beings, and try to help each other, and see what they can do to contribute to the family and as far as housework, I think they can clean their rooms, help with the dishes, they help a little, you don't expect a tremendous amount, but should you be sick, you would expect them to try to do something around for you.

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON THE WAY THAT CHILDREN TURN OUT AS ADULTS?

I think if they are in a happy home and there is love and people talk to each other, I think communication is very important, and understanding each other. That is the same thing. I don't expect them - I don't care if they are rich or poor or what profession they go into, or what, I just want them to be good human beings.

CAN YOU EXPLAIN WHAT YOU MEAN A LITTLE MORE BY UNDERSTANDING?

Yeah, when they have a problem, you will listen to it, and when they are older, let them think about it, and the decision is theirs, but when they are younger, you tell them, you advise them, and if you have to say you can or cannot, that too, but depending on the age, you guide or say. But I like the kids to decide for themselves as much as possible. I give them a lot of - even my youngest kids, if it is cold out and they should wear a sweater and a jacket, I say if you want to freeze to death, go right ahead, but of course, my kids don't catch colds and get sick if they did maybe I would be a little stricter with them. If they don't wear something as heavy as I think they should, or they don't wear their boots - I don't really.

WHY DO YOU THINK IT IS IMPORTANT FOR CHILDREN TO MAKE AS MANY DECISIONS FOR THEMSELVES AS POSSIBLE?

I do believe in an independent person. I like to see people independent and I like to see people decide for themselves. I myself get annoyed because my husband will sometimes tell me do this or that, and I can't breathe for myself, I can't think for myself. I say don't tell me what to do and how to do it, I just don't like it, I suppose that it happens to be my nature, I like to see people do for themselves, everyone of my kids, the youngest, there is not one of them who could not make a meal.

WHY DO YOU FEEL YOU SHOULD BE INDEPENDENT AND HELP YOUR CHILDREN HAVE IT?

Like to
I guess because I have always valued it myself, and I see kids that are capable of taking care of themselves and doing for themselves and maybe helping people who need a little bit of help, I like to see that kind of person.

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT YOURSELF AS A PARENT?

Let me say I do the best that I can and then I don't feel guilty.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT, DO YOU THINK?

I think if you do the best that you are able, you do make mistakes, we all do, but you have to back and say I did the best you could, I don't see why you would feel

guilty or why you wouldn't feel like a good parent, even if things didn't turn out right. If you thought that you did the best you could, why should you feel guilty.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT, WHAT WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON YOU AS PARENT?

I don't really know, because my mother and father died when I was young. I can't think of anything - the religious way that I feel about things like that. My religious upbringing, which I tried to pass onto my children. Hard as it is at times, with the younger children, the younger generation.

WHAT ARE YOUR CHILDREN'S FEELINGS ABOUT YOU AS A PARENT, DO YOU THINK.

I don't hear them complain, from what I hear it is usually good. I think they are satisfied put it like that.

HAS HAVING CHILDREN CHANGED YOUR IDEAS ABOUT BEING A PARENT AT ALL?

Yah, I think all of us, before you had kids you said my kids wouldn't do this and my kid wouldn't do that, and that is when you laugh because when you haven't had kids, especially when I first had my kids, people who didn't have kids were telling me how to bring up my kids.

DILEMMA VI

WHAT DO YOU THINK THAT MRS. FOX SHOULD DO?

I know I shouldn't read it, but I know that I would be tempted. To be truthful. As I say, I don't read my kids letters and things, but in that situation, I am afraid that I would be tempted, but I think I would read it.

WHY WOULD YOU READ IT?

First of all, I really would like to know whether my child did or did not do it, I would be hoping that he didn't do it, but if he did do it, I would be glad he got caught at that soon a time, to keep him from going into other things than that, and I would have a talk with him, but I think I definitely would read it.

DO YOU THINK THAT MRS. F. WOULD HAVE MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT READING THE DIARY?

Yah, I myself, my kids have letters and things, which they leave all over the place, and my kids I know wouldn't object to it, but I wouldn't read it unless they gave it to me to read and things like that. And I don't believe in opening their things and looking at them. They are entitled to their own things, but under the circumstances, I think I would read it, because I really would want to know.

IF SHE READS THE DIARY, SHOULD SHE TELL J. SHE READ IT?

Yes. I would. (WHY?) Because I think that everyone has a right to privacy but I think I would first explain why I read it, that I really wanted to know, I was hoping you were right and you didn't, and then I would say that I had read it.

HOW WOULD J. FEEL IF HE FOUND OUT THAT HIS MOTHER READ THE DIARY, WOULD IT CHANGE THE RELATIONSHIP?

No. I think when she explains why and that, I think she would understand why - he would understand why she had read it. As I say, I would hope that I could talk to my son enough to tell me whether he really did it or not.

BEFORE YOU READ THE DIARY OR AFTER?

Any time, you hope you could sit down, but if a policeman, I don't take my child's word over that, and at the same time, I don't take my child's word under it, so I really wouldn't know in that, and I really - as a matter of fact, I had that happen to me once when a policeman came to the house and he wanted to know if my son was in a car with someone else, they had picked up another fellow that they thought had drugs, he didn't he was drunk, and I said he had been here, but I had company and I said I don't know whether he was there at that time, exactly, or whether he was in the car, I could have lied and said no, but I said I really don't know if he was in the car or he was not. If the occasion comes, I always tell the exact truth, I wouldn't lie for my kids, I don't believe in that. I worked in the school and you call up houses and people lie, they lie and say the kid is sick in bed and that is bad.

WHY IS THAT BAD?

Because I don't believe in lying to children, I don't believe in lying.

WHAT DOES IT DO FOR CHILDREN, WHY IS IT BAD TO LIE FOR CHILDREN?

I think it is a terrible thing that your mother would cover up. In other words, she is doing something wrong, right in front of you as far as I am concerned.

I dont believe in that. I believe in being honest - I say exactly what happened, and I always said exactly, the brutal truth.

SUPPOSE THAT SHE READ THE DIARY AND FOUND OUT THAT J. LIED AND DID SHOP LIFT, WHAT SHOULD SHE DO THEN?

(2) She should tell him she read it and found out and she should sit down and ask him why did you shop lift, what was the reason, did he feel he didnt have money, actually you wouldnt know so you have to find out his reason and just talk to him and impress on him how wrong it is.

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO FIND OUT HIS REASONS?

Because you want to know the reason why he did do it, so he wont do it again, there has to be a reason, he doesnt do it without reasons, so there must be a reason and you want to try to correct the reason. If it is the wrong reasoning, you are going to try to correct it and see why, maybe the kid wants to be in with the crowd or things like that.

IF SHE FINDS OUT J. IS INNOCENT, WHAT SHOULD SHE DO?

Knowing that he was innocent, she was going to have to go to court and prove it, if you could prove it. The point is how can you prove it. You can do what you can, but there is a certain amount of things that people say she is his mother, she is going to lie for him anyway. You do what you can and that's all, and you let him know you believe in him. I think it is more important that he knows you believe in him, than anything.

IF SHE READ THE DIARY AND FOUND OUT HE IS INNOCENT, SHOULD SHE TELL HIM SHE READ IT?

Yah I would still tell him.

COULDN'T SHE JUST SAY I BELIEVE YOU AND NOT TELL HIM, ISN'T THAT AN EXCUSE?

V
(1) It would be, but it all depends on your point of view. I would like to be honest about it that's all, it was there and I read it.

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO BE SO HONEST ABOUT IT, EVEN THOUGH IT IS EASIER NOT TO BE?

You bring up kids and there are a lot of easier ways of doing things. Sometimes it is a lot easier to let a lot of things pass and I have noticed as my older kids got older they say ma, when we were kids we didnt get away with that. I say it's true, mother getting old and I do let a lot of things pass that I didnt let pass before, but they are not too important, I let a lot of things pass, the older ones would have got called for and they call me for it now. I have my 4 judges now.

BUT BEING HONEST WITH JIMMY, IT WOULDN'T BE DISHONEST NOT TO SAY ANYTHING.

No, really it wouldnt be, no, but I just would feel better about it, for my own personal reasons.

WHY WOULD YOU FEEL BETTER?

Because I dont know, it seems like even when I was a kid, maybe because when I lied I always got caught because I was a very poor liar and for some reason it would come out so for some reason I always like to bring things out before rather than have them come out, I dont know why, if I lied I would get caught, or if I did something naughty, I would just say it because it was so.

STORY CONTINUES JIMMY SAID HE DID IT . . . HOW WOULD SHE FEEL AND WHAT SHOULD SHE DO?

I would be glad he told me the truth and say I am glad you are honest and you did tell me the truth and then I would say think about it and think why you did do it. And whatever it is, you are going to have to earn the money to repay it, and that, what a bad thing it is to do things like that. Mainly I would like to know the reason why, was it because you were with bad company or have you done it before, and we would just have to talk it over and decide from there.

DECIDE WHAT?

Decide what to do, is this going to continue, or why did he do it, the reason.

YOU EMPHASIZE FINDING OUT THE REASON AND YOU SAID FOR HIM TO THINK ABOUT WHY HE DID IT. WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT IS SO IMPORTANT, THE REASON?

I think the reason is the most important thing of it, because if he felt compelled to steal all the time, he is probably a kleptomaniac or something like that, if he just did it because of the crowd he was with, then you try to eliminate that crowd, if that is what they are doing. Or if he felt like having candy and he just took it, you have to talk and say just because you want it, there are a lot of things in this world that I want, but I cant have them, this or that, and talk about it. According to the reason of why he did it, help him.

WHY DO YOU THINK J. WOULD HAVE TOLD HIS MOTHER HE DID IT? WOULDNT IT BE EASIER IF HE DIDNT.

Sure, anything is easier, but he feels secure with his family and has a need to tell them when he does things wrong and together they can talk it over and work out a solution.

YOU THINK IT HAS TO DO WITH HIS FEELING UNCOMFORTABLE?

I think when you ask your kids what they do and hopefully he would feel guilty about doing it, he would tell me about it.

WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT, THAT HE DID THE STEALING OR HE TOLD THE TRUTH ABOUT IT LATER?

I am glad that he told the truth about it, I feel bad that he stole, but I am glad that he was caught.

WHY ARE YOU GLAD THAT HE WAS CAUGHT?

Because I think if he wasnt caught he would go on stealing to bigger and better things. That is why I think the police should do something about these kids that are caught, sure it is bad for their parents and bad for the kids, but you go do something like that and you are not as apt to do it again, and I think the same thing with auto theft, they get away with it and they go on and on, and it is not helping them in the least bit. The same thing with school, lying for them is not helping the kids any, it is only making them do more things. If they suffer the punishment, then I think we will make a little progress around here and the kids wont get away with so much. You read these things on auto theft and it goes on and on, and you dont believe what happens. My sister in law told me about a kid who has stolen about 10 cars, he has never been in jail, they let him off because he is young or this or that or the other thing, and you read in the paper all these cases, because they are young, there are so many things, and they get off scott free every time. They are in one day or something.

DO YOU THINK SOMETIMES A CHILD CAN DO SOMETHING LIKE THAT REPEATEDLY AND IN SOME WAY WANT TO GET CAUGHT EVEN THOUGH IN ANOTHER WAY HE DOESNT WANT TO GET CAUGHT?

II
3 Yes. (EXPLAIN?) I think there is something in them that tells them it is wrong, and think they are looking for help myself, I think they really need help. Usually when someone does something and leaves marks, they are looking for help, it is kind of a cry for help. These people had had a psychologist suggested to them and they turned it down, there is nothing the matter with our boy, Because a lot of people say my god you are nuts and the way I see it they are helping. It is neither here nor there. But this is what happens so many times and it works both ways, it is terrible on the community, all the cars being stolen and look at the tragedy of the other one. The kid needs help. They should try to help him first, I think the parents should first, and really try and if they cant, try to get someone else to help him. But just getting him off every time, that father goes down and pays money, pays somebody off, get the off and I just cant see paying for getting the kid off, because even if you get them off free, you are doing them a big injustice. This is what I cant see, and so I see so many people doing it, buying this and that for that, for the kids, to get them out of jail, get this or that, I cant see it.

WHY IS IT SUCH AN INJUSTICE?

I
3 I dont think they are doing the kid any favor. I really think if you give a child too much you are not doing them any favors. I have a friend whose son was killed with a motor cycle, like she said, I gave and gave to him, it was the biggest mistake. What I should have done was give the kid enough money to carry him, I dont know. I just believe that they should do a lot for themselves, give them a lot of help and understanding and give them a certain amount, but I think the rest they can do for themselves. Make a life for the child, like that. I hate to see people so that their kid wont get into trouble, they just cover up for them and they will pay any kind of money or anything or pay off somebody or something so they wont go to court. It is good for them to go to court. Sure it is embarrassing for the parents, because it comes out in the papers and all that, but it is your child.

WHY IS IT GOOD FOR THEM?

Because they are standing up for what they did. They are taking the responsibility for what they did, their own actions. When they get to be a certain age they should be responsible for their own actions. You could be there to help, but the whole thing is theirs, and their lives. And you should go on the sidelines.

WHY IS IT SO IMPORTANT FOR A CHILD TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITIES FOR HIS OWN ACTIONS?

Because he is going to be the adult of the future. He is the one who will guide this nation and he is the one who is going to be responsible for the future of all of us.

KIDS J. RUNS AROUND WITH ARE TOUGH, AND GET INTO TROUBLE, BUT J. LIKES THEM A LOT. SHOULD MRS. F. INTERFERE OR DOES J. HAVE A RIGHT TO CHOOSE HIS OWN FRIENDS?

V
2 At a certain point they have a right to choose their own friends, but I would definitely try to guide him in another path because where those kids do get into trouble, I would try to talk about these kids. He hangs around with these kids and that. At 15 you cant say no, you cant go with them anymore, you can try to guide him and find other things for him to do, get him involved in hockey or sports, find out - you should know by this point what he likes. Maybe even if you had to pay for a course in something somewhere, try to interest him elsewhere, which usually you could do.

COULD J. SEE HIS FRIENDS DIFFERENTLY FROM THE WAY MRS. F. SEES THEM?

very definitely at 15 years of age. (EXPLAIN?) I talked about different things to kids and what they see in a person a lot of times is different from what I would see in a person, but they do have a right to choose their own friends. All you can do is think about each one and what is going on with the person and that.

DILEMMA II

WHAT DO YOU THINK A GOOD MOTHER WOULD DO?

I think she should continue working, but she should find out what it was that was making Susan unhappy with the woman. Explain, even at 10 years old, I think a child can understand that mother has needs too, and she has a need to get out of the house, she could explain it to Susan and then she could ask Susan when you come home from school what happens and what about this is making you unhappy, and on the days she is home she could say let's back this and do that, and make these fun days and she will look forward to these days and these will be happier days and if she makes those other days happier, I think that Susan will adjust and it does take a little bit of time for them to adjust, but I think if she wasn't in good hands, or if there was a clash of personality, she could get somebody else, and find out why the little girl doesn't like her, most 10 year olds are happy with that and maybe she could just have some of her friends come in.

YOU THINK SHE SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT HER MOTHER HAS NEEDS? right.

DO YOU THINK S. IS BEING A GOOD DAUGHTER BY WANTING HER MOTHER HOME EVERY AFTERNOON?

I think at that age she just feels that she wants her mother home, but if her mother talked to her and explains it to her, I think they can reach a happy, mutual understanding. In other words she will do something for her to make things happy another

COULD S. SEE HER MOTHER WORKING DIFFERENTLY THAN HER MOTHER SEES IT?

Until her mother explains it, she probably thinks her mother wants to get away from her. Kids sometimes pick up the strangest notions and you talk to them and you are really surprised, that is why I like to talk to them and see what they think about it. Because a lot of times they have very strange notions and you wonder where in heavens name they got them. But if you talk about it, let me know, I just think that it takes a little bit of talking.

DO YOU THINK THAT MRS. S. MIGHT HAVE MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT WORKING?

No. I can understand her working - I was looking for a part time job, and I have been finding a hard time finding a part time job myself, so I understand. You love your kids but somehow you need to get out with people and I think every woman has needs. It is nice to be out with people and that is a thing you can explain to your child, they understand. When I have company and they come and sit, I say, when you go out with your girlfriends, how would you like me to tag on, we are talking, I feel the same way when I have company, it is the same thing, I like to have company. I think that you have to explain things on their level. To different ones you tell different things. To me that isn't any problem.

IF YOUR CHILDREN WERE UNHAPPY, WOULD YOU HAVE MIXED FEELINGS?

My kids wouldn't be. I would solve the problem. I am sure I could solve the problem way or another, she could have different girlfriends in, which I am sure would delight her or I could think of enough things that would make her happy to solve the problem.

SUPPOSE YOU COULD NOT MAKE HER ENTIRELY HAPPY AND SUPPOSE THAT S. JUST WANTED HER MOTHER

HOM AND NOTHING WAS GOING TO SUBSTITUTE FOR THAT, SHE WANTED HER HOME ALL THE TIME.

No, I don't think it is good for a child to be that reliant on their mother anyway. I can see when they are babies and they hang, I had kids that hung and I didn't do anything about that, but when they get a little older, they should develop self reliance. I don't think it would be good for her, to put your feelings for her, I don't think that would be good, unless there was a good reason.

DO YOU THINK THAT S. MIGHT HAVE MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT HER MOTHER'S WORKING?

This is it, until her mother explains it to her, she probably thinks that her mother trying to get away from her, something like that, or she thinks she doesn't want to be home with me. Different things that kids will think of. When the mother explains it to her there shouldn't be any problems.

THE MOTHER CAN EXPLAIN IT AND THINKING HER MOTHER WANTS TO WORK AND WANTS TO GET AWAY FROM HER I DON'T THINK OF AS MIXED FEELINGS, BUT IF HER MOTHER EXPLAINS THAT I HAVE NEEDS SUSAN AND I HAVE TO HAVE TIME WITH OTHER PEOPLE, COULD SHE THEN HAVE MIXED FEELINGS?

I would think most kids would understand it. I don't think they would. I don't think they would be fully happy, it isn't just what they want, but life isn't always just what you want and most kids, growing up they don't want to make their beds and things, but you make your bed. That is part of life, the things we have to do. Making a bed is something you have to do.

DILEMMA III

The best thing to do, it is their baby and when I came home from the hospital I put the new baby in their laps. If you send him to get the diaper for the baby, he is your baby, you have to help me take care of it, you can let him powder the baby, little things to do for the baby. The baby is little, it can't do for itself, you do for the baby and that seems to work charms, it did with all my kids.

WHY DOES THAT WORK?

I 2) Because the baby is theirs and the baby is helpless and they help with the baby and they are doing for the baby. It did work with every one of mine, if I was feeding the baby one of the kids would crawl up and the baby might be uncomfortable, but I think the older one needed it more than the baby. I think the oldest kids really need you more than the baby. I would say here hold the baby and give the bottle, but I would be holding the bottle and they would be kissing and crawling up and around and over, but I think you have to make more of the older child than you do of the baby.

WHY IS THAT?

Because the older child has the needs, you can pick up the baby another time when they are doing something else, I don't think the baby - I wouldn't want anybody to hurt it, but I don't think that they require as much. It needs attention and taking care of, but not as much.

DO YOU THINK CHILDREN NEED EXTRA ATTENTION AT THAT TIME?

Until they get used to the idea that there is a new baby and I had four under 4. When I brought home the fourth one, the oldest one was not 4, so I would send number 2 or 3 in to watch the baby and I think that was good now that I think of it, a 2 or 3 year old would rock the crib and do something for the baby, because they were helping and needed, this is why I didn't find the jealousy. As I say, when the baby

first came in, as soon as they were doing for the baby themselves, I didn't have any problems with jealousy.

HOW WOULD YOU EXPLAIN S. KISSING THE BABY ONE MINUTE AND HITTING THE NEXT?

(3) I guess that is all part of it - he loves the baby - he has mixed feelings, he loves the baby very much and then he thinks again, and he thinks the baby has my mother, and my mother would do things with me and now my mother isn't doing things, that they have the baby, kids think one way and the other way back. It is that love/hate thing

WHEN S' MOTHER TRIED TO TALK WITH S. WHY HE WANTS TO HURT BABY, S. SAYS I DON'T WANT TO HURT HIM, I LOVE MY BABY BROTHER, COULDS. BE TELLING THE TRUTH?

Sure. (EXPLAIN?) Because basically he loves the baby and everything and just the other thoughts come in his mind, he loves it, but his mother is holding the baby and doing for the baby and he just decides he will help.

PARENTAL AWARENESS SCORING SHEET

Subject Number: p 27

SES:

Race:

No. of Children:

Age of Oldest Child:

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Individual Issue Concept Scores</u>	<u>Issue Score</u>
I. Influences	<u>3, 3</u>	<u>3</u>
II. Subjectivity	<u>3, 3, 2, 3?(2), 3?(2), 3?(2), 2?(3)</u>	<u>3</u>
III. Personality	<u>2?(3), 2, 2</u>	<u>2</u>
IV. Communication and Trust	<u>2?(3) 2, 2?(1)</u>	<u>2</u>
V. Resolving Conflict	<u>3, 2?(3)</u>	<u>3(2)</u>
VI. Discipline and Authority	<u>2, 2, 3, 2, 2</u>	<u>2</u>
VII. Meeting Needs	<u>3?(2), 3?(2)</u>	<u>3</u>
VIII. Parental Role	<u>2, 2?(1), 3</u>	<u>2(3)</u>

Summary data

Highest Reliable Score 3

Average Issue Score 2.50

Range 2-3

Global Score 3(2)

CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR CHILDREN FOR ME?

I have 3 children, they are all girls, the oldest is 11½, and the second is practically 10, and the third is 2½. The oldest, R., is a very steady, responsible child, she has had to pay the price for my growing with her, because much of my coming to terms with my becoming an adult has been through watching her develop and fighting my battles vicariously through what I see she is doing. And R. is very much in touch with her feelings, very intellectual, very ~~intuitive~~ *intuitive*. And J. is much more spontaneous in ways, imaginatively spontaneous, very ~~creative~~ *creative*, very reserved and very private, she will not let you see what she does not want you to see. And I have a feeling that there is three quarters of a child there that I don't know at all, that I can only touch when she allows me to touch her. The baby is very loved and she knows it, very aware, she has had very little separation anxiety and goes easily to strangers, she is very verbal and very content.

WHAT DO YOU ENJOY MOST ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN?

I enjoy their company. (EXPLAIN?) They are very interesting people to me, they are responsive, their ways of looking at the world are very imaginative and they each provide me with a different set of lenses for seeing how people see the world. One reason we read novels is to see other lives and I think here I have 3 very different children and each one opens the world for me in a different way.

WHAT DO YOU FIND HARDEST?

I think the hardest thing is the fragmentation, that when I am with them, I will see them together or if one or the other has a very strong need for my attention, I have to juggle at the same time giving each one the feeling that they are separate from each other and I am not classifying them and lumping them together, but being able to keep them separate when they all want me for different reasons on different levels at the same time, the fragmentation inside my head is awful.

WHAT DO YOU RELY ON MOST TO GET YOUR CHILDREN TO MIND YOU?

Well, we certainly have rules, but they are rules that we have come to together as a family. I have very reasonable expectations of the children, they know what they are. They know that the expectations are based not on arbitrariness on my part or my husband's, but on sensible precautions, precautions for their health or for their safety or for their emotional safety. When they were very small, I told them that I would smack them for 3 reasons only and I told them ahead of time it would be for standing up in the high chair, standing up in the bathtub or standing up in the moving car. And those were the only reasons I would smack them and let them know I would smack them, then we added a fourth when they were a little older about crossing the street alone, but as soon as they were ready I said, I will no longer do it, smack them because this is not necessary anymore.

WHY DID YOU TELL THEM IT WASN'T NECESSARY ANYMORE, WHAT DID YOU MEAN IT WAS NOT NECESSARY?

I think rules are a guideline for a certain time in your life and there are times when you no longer need those rules and there are times to let go of the rules.

WHY, WHAT DOES THAT DO FOR THE CHILD, WHY DO YOU LET GO OF THE RULES?

Because rules are a means to an end and if the end has been achieved, then you let go of the rule, they are not necessary anymore.

WHAT ABOUT NOW, WHEN YOUR CHILDREN DO THINGS THAT YOU REALLY DONT APPROVE OF, HOW DO YOU HANDLE IT NOW, NOT THINGS LIKE CROSSING STREETS,, BUT OTHER THINGS?

Well, they dont do very much that I dont approve of, because I have come, through watching R. particularly, to realize that there are differences in what I expect of them. There are things that I dont approve of because they are bad for their health or emotional security, but then there are things that I dont approve of that are a matter of taste, and a matter of the differentness of them and me and those things I would say look, I dont like the way you are dressing, I dont like this particular choice of a friend, but really that is not my business to interfere with, they know where I stand, but whether they will do anything about it, is up to them, it maybe an inconvenience to me, it may be much easier to say look, cut it out, but I dont think that that is the way to help them make choices later on in life. Things that infringe on my sense of aesthetics, such as the way that they eat at the table, or the tones of voice that they use, I will tell them for precisely that particular reason and no greater or lesser, I find it either Offensive or ugly. I have also made it very clear to them that there are different levels of disapproval, there are some things that are very important and some things that are a question of convenience, and some things that are very important may be moral values that I have, and I feel that those are in one category and my feelings about taste and aesthetics are another, and they are not equal, so that I will talk to them about what is going on. If they really dont like it, I will simply stop it for the following reasons, say stop it for the following reasons, and they generally will. If I feel that they feel it is an infringement on their rights, they would argue back the point and then we would come to terms on it. There is very little that I would say this far and no further you may go.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN, THEY WOULD ARGUE BACK THE POINT?

If they disagreed with me, they would say look, we would like to explain our point of view and sometimes they have a point of view which I had never taken into consideration and then I would also argue what I expect or say I have listened to you and it doesnt seem to affect me very much, I still want you to do such and such. I find it very important, when a child is beginning to say something, not to interrupt them, and I have learned that they will say to me, but listen mommy, even if I know what they are saying, it is important for them to get the words out.

WHY?

Because I think then they feel that they have control over their environment, if they have said to me, if they have set out their sentence, then I have heard what they wanted to say, from their point of view and they have been able to let me hear them. If I have cut them off in the beginning and said yes, I know you are going to say such and such, but it doesnt matter, I have found that that offends them very much.

WHY IS A CHILD'S FEELINGS OF BEING ABLE TO HAVE SOME CONTROL OVER HIS ENVIRONMENT, IMPORTANT?

Well, I think it is the essence of the whole sense of democracy that we have, and that an individual has a right to direct his life and he has a right to think the thoughts that he wants to think and it - in a larger sense people will feel very frustrated and helpless in a democracy if they cannot control their environment and I think that has to translate itself on the smaller, family level, that they are part of a family which means that they are not subordinate, they are equals of different degrees and they have a right to affect the tone of the family's style, and they have to - and I think it gives them a feeling of control, that they can manage their lives for themselves, they may stumble and they may fall, but I think that it must do very important things to their ego too, to make them feel strong inside, which they can manage, that they are not the helpless victims of circumstances.

That it is beyond their control, and if circumstances are beyond their control, that at least they can say, I can go this far, but I can go no further, and they can differentiate, it is not that the world is too much, for me.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL CHILDREN NEED MOST FROM THEIR PARENTS?

I will say love and you will say to me, what do you mean by love, and I will say I think it is an acceptance, unqualified for what that person is in time. I may not love my child at a particular stage, but the feeling that that child is loved regardless of anything else, just for what he is, or she is, is what I am here for, to give, and when I say I, I really mean we, we are talking one to one, M. and I give as best we can the feeling that that child is loved regardless, it has nothing to do with grades or cleanliness, I would like her to be clean and tidy, but it has nothing to do with love. I will be very angry, but it has nothing to do with love and the feeling that someplace in his world you are loved for what you are, by the people who know you best and the people who can see inside as much as anybody will ever see you inside, and nevertheless love you. I think that is something that will help the child begin to love itself.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN, BEGIN TO LOVE ITSELF?

Well, I think that people can be so harsh on themselves and so cruel to themselves, their expectations are often so unreasonably, and I hear it in terms of people's vocabulary, oh I'm dumb, oh, I'm stupid, I am just a pig at this, very derogatory words, which tear down instead of build up and I think one way to achieve a kind of serenity about the way you are and the way you see the world, even if life is difficult, is to give yourself every possible chance. The world has very rough spots, but if you can be gentle with your errors and with your failures and see them as part of a process, then I think you have a kind of stability and mental health that is a legacy from parents who will love you unqualified.

YOU TALK ABOUT PART OF A PROCESS, WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY THAT?

I think that people are always, in every stage, in the process of becoming something else, they are never finished and they are never there, it would be very comfortable to feel that we are here and could just stay put for a little while, but we never are and we are always responding to new situations and new stresses and new happinesses and new successes and new worries and whatever we are up to a point, we bring to cope with the next and there is never a time in life when things are steady. You are either up or down. It reminds me somewhat of standing on a balance beam, you are always shifting the weight very slightly, you never are at rest and that is what I think I mean by becoming, you are always going someplace else, not frantically, but it's a kind of inner growth, the way I think a snake keeps shedding its skin time after time as it grows, it gets smaller and you get richer inside and more experience and then you go on because of what you are, you are not static and you grow.

WHAT DO YOU FEEL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

I think for me the goal is raising a child to be successful in the terms that the child sets for himself. If it is very important for a child to play Little League baseball, and the child has reasonable capacities for it and that is what the child wants, then the child has to know that it takes discipline and it takes work and it takes some skill and he can achieve it if he wants to. If a child's goal is to have lots of friends, then the child has to begin to understand why he needs lots of friends, is it really what it wants, or is it substituting for something else. I think it is kind of an inner eye that you are looking at yourself through. I am getting mixed up. But I do think that the child has to develop a kind of happiness about himself and if I can give

...that child as much as I can - it isn't coming out right - ask the question again.

WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF RAISING A CHILD?

Goal means end for me and I think that is why I am struggling with it.

YOU DON'T HAVE TO MEAN IT AS END.

Again, the consciousness of process, giving the child the feeling that he can fulfill himself if he has a way of looking at his goals and his wants that are consistent with his abilities. I would like my child to later accept himself or herself at whatever stage he is in and to know what the next phase is too, so that he could reach a little bit. I think I would like my child to be stretched a little, so they know the feeling that comes from hard work at something. I don't think of goals as getting through college or riding a bike, but the child may see that as small goals along the way, to self fulfillment, I would like my children to be reasonably happy, because I think it is very necessary to have happiness in order to accept yourself and to accept other people and to do it for the right reasons, to accept other people for the right reasons

WHAT ARE THE RIGHT REASONS

Well, I have found that there are many people who are terribly kind, but kind of a weakness, because they are afraid not to be kind. They are not kind or tolerant or liberal in a self-regarding way, they are doing it because they are afraid and I think that's what I would like my children not to be afraid of. I am not talking about the legitimate fears of driving too fast or ruining your body because of excessive smoking but I would like them -

THE QUESTION AS DOING THINGS FOR THE RIGHT REASONS?

Yes, if you are going to be accepting of someone else, then you do it not because you are afraid not to be, if you believe in something it is because of a positive value rather than a negative one. That's what I mean by the right reasons.

WHAT DO YOU MEAN WHAT YOU MEAN BY THE RIGHT REASONS?

WHAT IS THE BASIS FOR PEOPLE'S KINDNESS TO OTHER PEOPLE?

The basis is a respect for the humanness, for the suffering, for the quality that makes another person human. And that capacity is very difficult. It is a very difficult capacity to have, because one has to protect oneself too. If I can give my child the capacity to understand another human being, and to understand the vulnerability of another human being, I would do it for the other human being, rather than for - I hate to say the word neurotic - but it is a catch word for me - for the neurotic reasons of not being kind for neurotic reasons, but being kind for human reasons. That's what I want.

WHAT SHOULD PARENTS BE ABLE TO EXPECT FROM THEIR CHILDREN DO YOU THINK?

Expect from their children? It depends on the stage at which the children are, obviously. I am assuming that you are not asking about the physical development, but I think it has been important to have that whole body of knowledge of physical development, because then one can translate it into emotional development. . . . I expect from my children the realization that parents have rights and that they have rights and that the family has rights vis a vis the society and other people have rights vis a vis the family, and that translates into good manners, into thoughtfulness, into anticipating people's wants sometimes before they are asked, into understanding themselves. I expect at this stage a kind of realization that they don't have to be told what the right way is for this particular family, because they already know, according to their age, that there are things that we expect from them, to make the family living smoother, and to make the

family and society smoother and to make them as individuals smoother within the family.

HOW HAVE YOU LEARNED TO BE A PARENT?

I have learned some from reading, a great deal from my husband, a great deal from internalizing and from writing out the kind of painful experiences that I have had growing up, trying to understand what is going on inside of me in terms of my own growth and from watching the children. It is as though I have become finished being a child. I have finished my own childhood by watching the children and reliving in my own way, the children's experiences, as a result, I have become a child, a parent, and then I can become an adult, when I am finished the process and the cycle again, of the children. I have a feeling that the adult doesn't come until the children themselves reach adulthood.

EXPLAIN THAT A LITTLE MORE?

When the children become adults, then we are all adults in this family, with different ages, but the adulthood is steady and I can only become an adult, I think as my children become adults. Now you want to know why. Because I have lived my childhood up to the point of their adulthood. I have lived through their preschool years and I have sort of filled in the gaps of my own childhood by watching myself as a parent beginning to understand what my parents did for me, seeing what I did as a child, in relation to them and I have filled in little gaps, then I have done the same thing between 6 and 12 I hope to be able to do the same thing in adolescence, which is much more difficult, because I remember that as being a very critical time for me. I have learned over the years, that R. is not me. That the symptoms of the behavior may be the same, but they come from different backgrounds, because I am different from what she is, and my parents and my mother from her environment, so while the pattern of behavior may be the same, the moodiness stems from a different post and it is neither as severe as mine was, or exactly like mine was, or as light as mine was, it is different. When you get through the whole process of going through a phase, then I have sort of settled my own childhood in myself through parenting.

YOU HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PERCEIVE YOUR CHILDHOOD IN A NEW WAY?

Yes, from a parent's point of view, and I have understood my parents in a way, and my childhood and it has somehow all become fused together and it is only then that I can get on with being an adult, which is funny, it is interesting I have thought that as soon as a baby is born, you suddenly take on the role of parent, as though we are suddenly parents, we know everything, and we don't, we are still children and we have children and then we have to live through again, a childhood and that is what I find very fulfilling because it has enabled me to settle unfinished business, it will be interesting to watch what happens when they get to be adults. I think I will be much lighter and much freer because I will have taken care of so many years of great puzzlement to me and I think that one of the essences of childhood is that the world is so big and so crushing and I remember when I got to be in my early 20's that suddenly everything came together, the houses were not so big and my feet reached the floor, nothing was bigger than I was really. I had come up to size and I have a feeling that that will float as my kids grow older and things will shift into gear and I will see more clearly.

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON THE WAY THAT CHILDREN TURN OUT AS ADULTS?

I don't know, I would tend to say family, because that has been the way that I have done it, they bring a great deal to themselves and I don't think that we really know how much they get from the outside world, their fears or their problems or their reactions to teachers or friends and how much living goes on because it is the learning that they first of all, cannot express and we cannot see because we are not there.

And I remember that there was a child once that R. played with and I really did not like I wished that she wouldn't be friends with her and I didn't do very much about it except to keep it as separate as I felt wise without separating them and this was a child who was very arrogant and very rude to her parents and R. was somewhat shy and withdrawn and very good and the goodness troubled me at that time, she was too good I thought. But this child was very rude and that bothered me too and one day R. said to me, I have learned so much from her, I have learned that when you talk back to your parents the world does not collapse, it is not a that I would have expected and I was so grateful for that other child and for my child to be able to take what she needed, she didn't need to take what I thought she was taking, she took what she needed and I realize that the friendships that children have fill their needs, they may not be what I think their needs are, but what their needs are and if I leave them alone, enough they will work out alright.

HOW DOES SOMEONE KNOW IF THEY ARE A GOOD PARENT?

I don't think that you ever know if you are a good parent. I think the needle test is am I enjoying what I am doing, if I am enjoying it, then I am assuming that the results will be satisfactory to me, if I am not enjoying it, parenting, then I don't enjoy the job. But I don't know what a good parent is I suppose, is what I am really saying, because one doesn't know at any point whether this will be forever, so say you value honesty and your child is honest, you say ahaha, I am a good parent because my child is honest, I don't think that you can do that. First of all, it takes on enormous responsibility to yourself and what if you are a good parent and your child turns out to be not honest, you cannot really live through the children, you can do just the best that you can in transmitting what your values are, but then some of it is up to the child, it is his ballgame too and if he carries what you have given, fine, and if he doesn't, it doesn't make you less of a parent, you have done your parenting but maybe the child's capacity is not to be a good human being and there is very little that you can do about it. But I do think that you must enjoy what you are doing and that must communicate itself to the child, not at every minute, but that fundamentally this makes you happy.

WHAT IS THAT IMPORTANT TO COMMUNICATE TO THE CHILD? WHY IS IT IMPORTANT FOR THE CHILD TO KNOW THAT YOU FIND BEING HIS PARENT IS PLEASURABLE.

I would think that it would make them feel very good about themselves, it is another way of feeling a self regard and a self worth that people like your company and like being with you, and like what they have undertaken to do and I think it is more fun to be with someone who likes you and whom you like in return, I don't think it is a one way street, I don't think that you can like your child very much unless it is reciprocal, it is like going on a date, it is not that one person has a good time, either both have a lousy time or both have a good time. I think it is another feeling that I have too, if I am sad I expect to tell them or to have them communicate it, and if I am enjoying them, I expect to communicate that, too, it is another process of honesty that goes on.

IT FLOWS?

Yes, and you cannot really control it because children perceive things that you are not aware that you are sending, they receive messages that you are not aware of sending about - of having sent and so it really isn't something that filters through the mind, it has to be and the children will get the message and if you say you are enjoying them and you are not, they will get that message too and then they will begin to distrust perhaps their instincts about what they are capable of receiving and I think it is very important for children to believe in themselves and if they are perceiving one thing and their parents tell them something else, then they begin to distrust themselves.

at first. Later they may distrust their parents, but much - while their parents are much of the space in their life, they would tend to distrust themselves and I think that is harmful to their own ego development, but if the parent is saying yes, I am angry and the child perceives that the parent is angry and the child perceives that the parent is angry, then there is a harmony between what the child sees and what the child hears, but if the parent says I am having a wonderful time with you, the child knows. There are preverbal levels of communication and beyond verbalness and you must be very honest with yourself before you can start being honest with other people, especially children, because I think they are more in tuned with the instinct. Than adults are, I think adults have too many words. If I take the children to the zoo I go generally because I want to go, not because I am doing them any big favors. There are times I will say I dont want to go but I am going because I am doing you a favor and that's alright, too, they are getting an accurate message.

WHY IS THAT ACCURATE MESSAGE SO IMPORTANT?

Well, I think that honesty is the most important thing that you can have inside of yourself and what I am trying to do is train the children to look inside themselves to be honest with themselves even when it hurts very badly, even when they have to face things that they dont like, or they wished that they didnt know, but if you can face something and give it a name, in whatever terms you choose to name it, then you can cope with it, then you know what it is, it is not a bogey man, beyond, you may not know the limits or the boundaries, but you can say yes, it's this and that is why going back even to the Bible, it is very significant that God named the animals, that he gave them a name, not a monster or a four legged this, the myth is that he named them, because of the importance of being able to face things, face it with a kind of security that it would more or less be the same the next time you come across it. That's why, IT IS important to be accurate and honest.

DILEMMA - JIMMY FOX

WHAT SHOULD MR. FOX DO?

Do about what?

JIMMY, THE DIARY?

First of all, one thing at a time, he should not look in the diary, because he has no permission to look in the diary. Secondly, I think that he should go off alone with Jimmy, with or without his wife, I dont know, and talk with him about what happened. And talk with him about the facts. I think he should probably ask him directly, did you do this. It is perfectly possible that J. was so intimidated by the police and so threatened by the way they handled the situation, that his first instinct was to lie and one lies when one is uncomfortable and scared. If he had a good relationship with his father, he might be able to talk about it. If Mr. Fox was very threatened by the lecture and threatened by his parenting, then he might approach J. in a different way than if he had a good relationship with J. Whether J. stole or didnt steal is not the central issue, it is how do you deal with the threat and can you cope with it or cant it and then you get on to why you stole, if he did steal, but first of all, can a parent and a child communicate, can the child go to the parent, can the parent go to the child and will anything real come out of it, or is it just another standoff.

WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT THE PRIVACY OF THE DIARY IS IMPORTANT?

Because there are parts of each human being that they choose not to share with another human being and it is as true of a baby as it is true of an old person and even though a parent in a family may think that it is unimportant, he has no right

to trespass on feelings, on emotions, on secret drawers, on experiences that the child does not choose to tell. IF the child says I dont want to talk about it, then the parent has to listen to that, then they can come at it another way if it is very important, but they cannot trespass beyond what the child is willing to let go of. Everybody is very much alone inside and has to preserve his own territory first and then you can you can begin to share if you feel you have boundaries that are yours. It is also the difference between sharing because you have to and sharing because you choose to, it makes a difference between resenting what you do and resenting what you did and giving it generously and if you are allowed space around yourself, then I think you are freer to give space to other people and you dont have to clutter all over their lives. And you can give to people if you have privacy and privacy is a way of giving to yourself.

SUPPOSE MR. F. READ THE DIARY, SHOULD HE TELL J. HE READ THE DIARY?

He might very well say look what I found in your diary, I dont think he read it, but assuming he did, he should. (WHY?) Because I would assume that the assumption between them, the unwritten contract between the two is that the diary has not been read, that is why J. is leaving it in an unlocked drawer, he knows that it is not going to be read. His father has broken the contract between them, I think it is his responsibility then to let the child know that he has unilaterally done something wrong, it is not a position for a parent to be envied in.

BUT IF HE DID NOT TELL J. THEN J. WOULD NOT KNOW HE HAD UNILATERALLY DONE SOMETHING WRONG.

It would come out eventually, if not in the matter of the diary, then it would come out that J. in some way or other could no longer trust his father, because once the father does that, he will trespass in other areas. You dont just do it once and then never do it again, but it becomes an attitude of your relationship to the other person. J. may never know whether the diary has been read, but the father will again later on do something else.

WHY IS TRUST SO IMPORTANT?

I remember when I had talked with the kids, sometimes we have talked about whether they would choose to tell me whether they have done something wrong or not and they said well, you may find out, and it is very likely that I wouldnt find out, but eventually something happens between the two people, so that if I eventually find that they have been doing something wrong, I assume that it is not the first time, or that there has been some kind of history of, there has been something going on before that, things are not isolated in themselves, they are mosaics, events are mosaics.

I THINK WHAT YOU ARE GETTING AT IS YOU LOSE TRUST AND THAT UNTRUSTING THING BECOME A POSSIBILITY IN A RELATIONSHIP AND THAT IS HARMFUL TO THE RELATIONSHIP AND I AM EXTENDING WHAT YOU ARE SAYING AND ASKING WHY THAT TRUST IS SO IMPORTANT?

I never thought about it, but it seems to me that you have to be able to depend on people in a society, whether it is the small society of the family, or the larger society. And if people say that they will do something, then you have to go to on the assumption that they will do it, and then you can get on with other business. You can be creative if the baseline is taken care of and if people are constantly un- or nondependable in your life you cant count on them for things and you have to go back and keep checking and then you cant get on with other forms of the relationship. I never thought about it. It is so elemental, it is saying why do you breathe, you have to trust, you just have to and you have to be able to count on certain people, sometimes they let you down and you have to understand that in a larger context, perhaps it was

cause they were fragile that particular day, but fundamentally the line has to be steady. It is almost like a rope, sometimes a strand can break, but the rope has to be strong. It doesn't matter if a strand breaks, or if it is one time that a child does not trust you, if fundamentally they do trust you.

YOU MENTIONED THAT SOMETIMES YOU DO THINGS WRONG AND THE PART OF THE RELATIONSHIP YOU BREACH CAN WITHSTAND THAT.

I would think if the ground is firm, then the ground can tolerate little and deviations from it, but there has to be some very good soil and this soil has to be laid from the very beginning, when this child is extremely young, born, and then it won't matter if there is a small deviation along the way that is not very great, and of course one doesn't know which will be the great and which won't be the great. You have to assume that your child will be generous to you, too, if you stumble and fall, it is not just a case of parents being generous in forgiving the child and you can do that if you have put together a trustworthy foundation.

SUPPOSE HE DIDN'T READ DIARY... CONTINUE.... YES DAD, I DID.... WHY DID J. TELL HIS FATHER HE DID IT, WOULDN'T IT HAVE BEEN EASIER TO CONTINUE TO LIE?

Sure it would have been easier in the short run to lie, but J. then probably would have then had to deal with an uncomfortable conscience, and he is uncomfortable anyway, I think lying is an easy way out but it is not a safe way, it just makes the bookkeeping so much harder in spite of you because you can't remember what it is you have done and what it is that you haven't and whom you have told what to, so that it makes you freer to tell the truth because then you know where you stand with yourself and I think it is just something for J's relationship with his father that on a one to one basis, even though J. is uncomfortable, he could trust his father enough to know that he may have to pay the price of having stolen, but he can still count on his father, to listen. Unless he did it in great terror, I don't know, sometimes the child can be so afraid of the father that he would say yes, but I would tend to think not, I would tend to think that in that case, he would have just lied.

WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT, THAT J. DID THE STEALING OR THAT HE TOLD THE TRUTH LATER?

That he told the truth about it. I think that all through our lives we fall and we stumble and we deviate from our pattern of expectations, how we deal with that is what is important, not the fact that we do it.

POLICE OFFICER SAID MR. F. WAS TO BLAME. . . . HOW DO YOU FEEL?

He may have been, I don't know. The responsibility is ultimately J's, but maybe the father in some way contributed to it and it depends on the family circumstance and the relationship.

KIDS J. RUNS WITH ARE TAUGHT... MR. F. INTERFERES, DOES J. HAVE RIGHT TO CHOOSE OWN FRIENDS?

I think J. has a right to choose his own friends and the father has a right to protect his son's interests as he sees them, but the question is the balance between them. He might discourage them, he might let J. know that he disapproves but nevertheless let J. go around with them, and I think it is very important for children to know where their parents stand, even as a kind of wall, even if they choose to ram against the wall, it is something definite and they know a limit or they know where the firmness is and their rebellion takes a specific form, it is not just amorphous, so they are rebelling against the father's choice of a friend, okay, but at least the father cares enough to say, this is how I feel.

WILEAMMA- WORKING MOTHER

WHAT DO YOU THINK A GOOD MOTHER WOULD DO?

There isnt an easy answer. First of all, I would discount the argument that Susan makes about all the other children come home to a mother, I wouldnt discount it, but I would minimize it, that doesnt hold much water here about what all the other parents are doing, I dont use it and I dont want it to be used. I wouldnt do that, Obviously S. is unhappy and I would assume that her school day ends at 2, so dont tell me that the mother cant adjust her schedule. I think that S. needs to hear why the mother needs to work, just to see it, not in terms of a rejection, because what seems to be going on is S. is saying, I want only you there. Now why does she want only the mother, she has the mother the other two days and she's got the mother the weekend, why is it that so important that at that particular time the mother has to be there between 2 and 5 on those 3 days a week. IS it that S. is asking for a proof that the mother will give up everything for S. Even the job, she only has the mother and S. goes off to play with her friends I imagine for at least 3 hours at a time, so that it isnt really that the mother wants the child there every day when she comes home from school, but she is asking for something else. How the something else gets resolved depends again on how much the mother understands of her own feelings and her own needs for working, how guilty she is feeling. IF it were me, I would not give up working. But I would try to understand what it was, I might have S. come to my office between 2 and 5 if that were possible. I Might arrange to spend specifically on the other two days, full time with S. and do no housework and no errands, but it is very rare that any mother of any 10 year old is spending 3 unqualified hours with her children at any one time playing or doing what the child wants to do. It is really a question of touching base and the child goes off and the child knows where the mother ought to be, or the child thinks the mother ought to be. The child doesnt have the only right to determine where the mother ought to be. The mother has to decide her own life. It needs to be very clear as to the message she is getting across and she must see very clearly what S's needs are.

WHAT DO YOU THINK S. MIGHT BE ASKING?

For proof of love, she might be saying tell me I am more important than your job, she might be saying let me feel that I can control you, she might be saying I love you more than you love me and I want to be loved as much, she might be saying on a scale, she might be saying, from you working 3 days does it suddenly mean you are going to be working 5 days next year, just a little and then more later. She might be saying I want to control my environment. IF they dont need the money, that I think is more threatening to a child than if they do, because then the child can see that the money goes for tangible reasons, tangible purchases, then it is manageable, they like to be concrete about things. Mother is working to satisfy some inner needs of hers, it is much more difficult for the child to understand.

SO YOU FEEL THAT THE MOTHER SHOULD TALK TO HER?

Yes, and it is obviously not anything that can be settled with one talk, it has to be a continuum. I think she should go on with the job until the resolution has been reached, whatever the resolution is. I dont think that she should give it up in the meantime.

THE PROCESS AND THE TALKS, WHAT WOULD YOU HOPE TO ACCOMPLISH BY THE TALKS?

Communication, I would want my child to understand more of why it was important for me to work. I think before you go to work you say to your family, I need to work, then when you actually get the job and it makes specific demands on you and you change

because of it, then you have to again discuss with them what is going on, because they see one thing and you from your vantage see another and you must tell them what it is that you see.

DILEMMA- NEW BABY

WHAT DO YOU THINK SAM'S MOTHER SHOULD DO?

Well, she's obviously got some talking to do and she's got some hugging to do. Loving, physical loving, I think it is very important, but especially for the little ones, to have a lot of physical contact with the mother and the father, with the parents. And she has to discuss the ambivalent feelings that the child is having. And that they are perfectly reasonable feelings and the thing that I stress over and over again is that any feeling is legitimate, not any actions, the more horrible is necessary, the more legitimate, because it is more scary and yet it is part of what makes you a human being, they are not all that bad, unless they are translated into actions where they can hurt either you or someone else, but you have to make a differentiation between what you think and what you do.

HOW WOULD YOU EXPLAIN SAM KISSING BABY ONE MINUTE AND HITTING THE NEXT?

I think they are both valid and I don't think that one is a pretense, I think at times he feels love and at times he feels anger and he cannot feel just one emotion to any human being and because he is obviously only 3 years old, he can't talk about it, he would have to express it directly, so he is expressing what a 7 year old might express in words.

CONTINUE STORY.... COULD SAM BE TELLING THE TRUTH?

Yes. You can love and you can want to hurt and you can not be aware that you want to hurt because it is so frightening a thought, that you had that kind of anger. It means that S. has not accepted it yet, that his mother will help him understand that it is a legitimate feeling, it is not a legitimate action, where his kissing is a legitimate action, but that's the mother's the parent's role, I'll care.

WHAT SHOULD SAM'S MOTHER BE ABLE TO EXPECT OF SAM DO YOU THINK?

Some self control, not great self control, but some self control and some awareness of what is going on, but only after he helped him. If he can deal with his anger with words or with substitute actions, she can help him do that and depending on how mature he is, then she has a right to expect certain kinds of behavior from him afterwards.

WHAT CAN SAM EXPECT OF HIS MOTHER?

Being there, supporting him even when he is angry and not saying you should love your baby brother, and telling him how he should feel, but helping him understand what it is in fact, that he does feel, whenever you feel you should feel something, then you have to be suspicious and check it out. But if you can say this is how I do feel, then you can go from there. Legislate - you cannot legislate how you feel.

PARENTAL AWARENESS SCORING SHEET

Subject Number:

SES:

Race:

No. of Children:

Age of Oldest Child:

Issue	Individual Issue Concept Scores	Issue Score
I. Influences	<u>4, 4, 4</u>	<u>4</u>
II. Subjectivity	<u>4, 4, 3?(4), 3, 4</u>	<u>4(3)</u>
III. Personality	<u>4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 3?(4), 4</u>	<u>4</u>
IV. Communication and Trust	<u>4, 4, 4, 4, 4?(3), 4, 4</u>	<u>4</u>
V. Resolving Conflict	<u>4, 4</u>	<u>4</u>
VI. Discipline and Authority	<u>4, 4, 4, 4, 4</u>	<u>4</u>
VII. Meeting Needs	<u>4, 4</u>	<u>4</u>
VIII. Parental Role	<u>4, 4, 4, 4, 4</u>	<u>4</u>

Summary data

Highest Reliable Score

4

Average Issue Score

3.96

Range

3-4

Global Score

4

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