

PARENTING FOR EMOTIONAL GROWTH

LINE OF DEVELOPMENT: INTELLIGENCE, COGNITION

Extracted from:

PARENTING FOR EMOTIONAL GROWTH: THE TEXTBOOK
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*Parenting (Education) for Emotional Growth: A Curriculum for Students in
Grades K Thru 12*. Registration Number: **TXu 680-613**

PEG - LINE OF DEVELOPMENT: INTELLIGENCE, COGNITION

INFANCY (0 to 12 MONTHS)

1.261 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: Exploratory and Locomotor Activities -- The Beginnings of Autonomy

We will talk here about the beginning of autonomy, of doing things oneself. This shows itself especially in two major aspects of behavior during the first year of life. One aspect of this behavior comes under the heading of sensorimotor activities, especially exploratory, and the second under the heading of locomotion or bodily movement. Although these are inter-related activities that serve the beginnings of autonomy, their functions are different and can usefully be described separately.

The body system that makes locomotion (movement) possible develops gradually although quite rapidly during the first year. In the first few months physical movement from one place to another is very limited; infants are not yet able to crawl, although by large movements of their bodies some will be found to move from one side of the crib to another. For the most part, the earliest efforts at what can be considered to be an effort at locomotion consists of seemingly uncoordinated movements of the legs, arms, torso, and head.

At the middle of the first year of life, many infants are able to roll over, some doing so earlier than others. Many infants are then also able to sit and some begin to show signs of crawling. Crawling, the first important mode of moving from one place to another, becomes especially evident from the middle to the later months of the first year of life. It gives the infant the ability for self-initiated movement, to go toward things that catch the infant's interest, distance himself or herself from them, giving the infant a very new and very young degree of autonomy. Although for the most part crawling tends to develop during the second part of the first year of life, again as with other developments, some infants do so earlier and some later than others. Occasionally one finds a normal infant who for one reason or another may not crawl at all.

Although crawling is a large achievement in the infant's ability to move from one place to another, no locomotor achievement, however, is as dramatic as the infant's being upright and learning to walk. If we take it from the infant's and the parent's reactions, upright locomotion seems to be an exciting and important event in the child's life. This is amply evident not only in the great efforts the child makes but also in the excitement and glee one often sees on the child's face when she or he begins to walk. During the middle of the first year of life, and often quite earlier, some infants convey to their mothers and fathers that they want to be held upright; they seem determined in this and become quite excited when they are so held, and show annoyance and frustration if they are not. Some infants may begin to walk from about 9 months of age on, but for the most part walking begins around the end of the first year to the beginning of the second year of life, again each infant according to his or her own schedule of development.

Somewhat troublesome for parents is the great push within the child which not only propels locomotion as well as exploratory activity we shall soon describe, but also seems to compel the child to climb onto things including chairs, and up the stairs. This activity commonly occurs in the later phases of crawling and in association with beginning to walk. For reasons we shall detail in a moment when we talk about exploration, infants seem to be driven from within

their own bodies to climb and will do so even -- without seeming aware of it -- at some risk to themselves; in this activity parents do need to keep an eye on the toddler and set reasonable limits. Climbing especially demonstrates the tremendous inner pressure, the energy and effort that are exerted by the six to twelve month old infant in learning to move about, in the use his or her legs, arms and body for the purpose of getting from one place to another and, eventually, in doing so in a manner that will allow freedom of his or her arms and hands. The large efforts to learn to control the body, to develop its capabilities, to master its functions, are easily observable in the six to twelve month old infant. Close observation of the less than one year old's face and body movements often will show how serious the infant is about this business, how persistent and how hard he or she is working at it.

Exploratory Activities

Much more complex than locomotor activities, is the cluster of activities we want to describe now, under the heading of exploration. Exploratory activity is a large sector of what Psychologist Jean Piaget called sensorimotor development. By this sensorimotor functioning he proposed is how the development of intelligence begins. Here we will focus on exploratory activity only because of its tie-up with locomotion and, because both are vital to the beginnings of autonomy and both produce the troublesome and salutary need for limit setting.

Exploration develops hand in hand with the development of locomotor skills, these skills enlarging dramatically the infant's sphere of exploration. One readily observes a strong pressure arising from within the child to explore the environment as well as his or her own body and the bodies of valued caregivers and members of the infant's immediate family. As with all other activities, exploration becomes more complex as development proceeds and the two week old infant will explore in a simpler manner than does the six month old and, of course, the 11 to 12 month old. Surprising as it may seem to some students, one can observe days old and weeks old infants already looking about themselves, beginning to explore, to learn about their world. Especially important is that the infant will begin to explore not just when awake, but especially when in a state of sufficient satiation, rest, and calm. We find that the infant whose needs for feeding, holding, or rest are frustrated too often and too long will exert most of his or her energies accommodating and reacting to distress and will in the process exhaust his or her limited energies to the task of feeding and undoing his or her distress. That infant will learn to clamor for food and to undo distress among other things, but will be robbed of the opportunity for beginning to explore and to learn about the world around her or him, early in life, in a state of sufficient calm and well-being. We do not mean that there is a need to rush the infant to explore but simply that reasonable gratification of an infant's needs will allow the infant the use her or his energies for developing needed skills, such as to begin to learn about the world around him or her. And it is most likely of great advantage to begin to learn when feeling in a positive and comfortable physical and emotional state which best sets the ground work for adapting to this world with the infant's full potential.

From about the third month of life on there is a gradual increase in exploratory activity. As the infant is awake for longer periods of time after being fed and made comfortable, he or she will spend more time visually exploring his or her own hands, and feet, the mother and other persons, will look about the crib, look at high contrast patterns such as lights, or a light-filled window. At this period one can also see the infant respond more alertly to sounds.

Hand in hand with beginning crawling skills the three to five month old infant is attracted

to things in the environment and drawn to them seemingly for the purpose of exploration. Close observation of exploratory activity shows several striking features. One, the exploratory activity is not an accidental activity but rather seems to result from a large inner pressure, and inner drivenness, which seems to push the infant into action. One can see the infant scan the environment, a function that serves a strong need to test, to learn, to master all kinds of things so as to know what they are and what they do.

Secondly, this exploratory activity of itself seems to be made possible by and, at the same time, demand that the child begin to organize his or her movements so that they are no longer just random movements but become purposeful. The infant's movements now begin to serve the functions of exploration as much as do the hands and the eyes. In addition, crawling becomes organized into efforts to move the self from a point distant from a particular object that has gotten the child's attention, to that object. If the student is skeptical of these statements, observe an infant before he or she is yet able to crawl, and look at the infant stare at an object several feet away which has caught his or her attention; then observe the infant's body as the infant tries to move to get hold of the thing that has drawn his or her attention. Some infants become frustrated and cry because they cannot reach the object which they are trying very hard to get hold of. During this developmental period, note the gradual integration of body movements that one day do, in fact, become crawling.

Again we note that the infant's exploration is not altogether willed activity. It is not based on "Now, I will explore this or that". Rather it seems to be driven from inside the infant. The infant is as much the victim of this inner pressure (inner drivenness) as is the parent who at times has to intervene to protect the infant against hurting herself or himself. One gains the impression that this inner drivenness which motivates and initiates the infant's explorations is in the service of the child's becoming acquainted with his or her own body, the bodies of the people valued by the infant, and the infant's external environment (see our further discussion under Aggression, Section 5.313).

In line with these thoughts about infantile exploration, we say that not only does this exploration organize locomotor and sensorimotor function and activity but it actually propels the development of new skills. Of course, new skills cannot develop until the body's maturation makes the relevant body parts and organs capable of putting the new skill into action. The interplay of two facts, the progressive maturation of the child's own body and the intriguing inner pressure to explore and master one's self and the environment, propel the development of specific new skills that make exploration and what grows out of it possible.

This is in line with what Piaget conceptualized as the development of intelligence which begins during the first year of life as "sensorimotor intelligence" (see Section 5.41). To make a point here briefly, consider how by means of explorations and the development of new skills the infant is beginning to learn that what he does causes certain results. We speak of this recognition of the effects of action as "causality". Close observation of a child shows that the infant at times tries to test what effect he or she can have on the environment. For instance an infant may take a toy and strike something with it and then look to see what happens. We have, at times, seen an infant less than one year old take a toy and strike another infant with it, seemingly not with the intention of harming the infant. Seeing the other child's reaction, the 10 month old will do this again, and then again, if not stopped.

When Jennifer was 11 months old she was a very busy child. She had started to be a very active explorer at 15 weeks. We know this date because we filmed her exploratory behavior then. At 15 weeks, after being fed, and taking a good nap, Jennifer, on the floor on her abdomen,

became preoccupied with a set of thin plastic rings joined together on a string like a necklace. She examined them, pulled on them, slammed them together, pulled them apart again, and brought them to her mouth to explore, pulled her head up as she stared at them, over and over for an uninterrupted period of 20 minutes. After a brief break, she went back to them for another 4 to 5 minutes. She looked like a hard working, patient and determined student of the world into which she was born.

This type of busy-ness became typical of Jennifer. At 11 months of age she made a new discovery. She happened to be near 11 month old Johnny whom she had known for months now. This time she became interested in Johnny with his trusty pacifier well planted in his mouth. She reached up to it and just brusquely pulled it out of his mouth. Johnny and those of us observing this were a bit surprised by this. Jennifer's mother too was surprised, took the pacifier from Jennifer who was just standing there with it in her hand, put it gently back in Johnny's mouth and told Jennifer "Don't do that; that's not nice. Don't take Johnny's pacifier." Jennifer did not seem at all troubled by what Mom just said. She paused for a moment, and with seeming simple curiosity, just reached up at Johnny's mouth and again plucked the pacifier from it. Now Johnny got a bit upset. Jennifer's mother was more surprised, a bit puzzled and annoyed, returned the pacifier to Johnny and said to Jennifer: "Heh, don't do that; that's not nice. That pacifier belongs to Johnny." Jennifer did this twice more, each time Johnny and Jennifer's mother getting more upset and annoyed with Jennifer.

The observers felt that Jennifer's behavior just did not seem to be motivated by ill intentions. She did not at all seem to be then, nor before, angry with Johnny or anyone else for that matter. We gained the impression that this was done to see and to learn what the effect of this action is going to be and if it continues to be the same. The infant, like Jennifer seemed to, learns from it. Whatever else she learned, she found that she could upset Johnny and her mother. Of course, one needs to sort out this kind of activity from hostile acts in which the child intentionally tries to hurt someone.

We cannot emphasize too much that that while all children have the same general patterns and the same general schedules of maturation of physical development, psychological and emotional development, that nevertheless within certain ranges each child has her or his own personal schedule of maturation. Certain functions will develop before others in different children. For example, some children will learn to speak earlier than others. Some children will learn to walk earlier than others. Of course, where parents are very worried about the rate of development in their children, consultation with their pediatrician or another child development specialist can benefit the parent and the child.

One of the inevitable results that comes from the just less than one year old explorer's activities is that this highly adaptive activity at times is rightly experienced by the parent as presenting a threat to the child. For example, climbing the stairs alone at ten months of age is a hazardous undertaking. Similarly, the young explorer who reaches for the hot cup of coffee that mother has left on the table is in danger of getting himself/herself burned, as unfortunately we all have seen from time to time. What inevitably happens where there is a danger is that the protecting parent intervenes and prohibits the infant from pursuing the exploration which the infant seems pressured to undertake. Understandably the infant then experiences frustration and may become angry with the parent for what the parent knows but not yet the child, to be a protecting prohibition. In time, this necessary intervention will lead to the development of conflictual feelings within the child toward the caring, protecting parent. On one hand, the infant is pressured from within to explore and, on the other hand, is prevented by the person he values

most in the world, namely his mother, from exploring. This sets up a conflict within the child, evidence of which will be apparent in the child's behavior. Before proceeding to describe this conflict let us take another commonly found puzzling phenomenon which occurs during the latter part of the first year of life.

Quite commonly at this time an infant explorer is drawn to many things in the environment that he or she finds attractive. We thought this was just what Jennifer did with Johnny and his pacifier. For reasons which are not clear to us, wanting what another person has, be it a toy another child is playing with or the cup of coffee mother is holding, the ten, eleven month old child seems to be more attracted to what the other person has than to other things around and available to him or her. One mother, who has twins, recognizing this as a source of conflict, attempted to deal with it by buying her twins identical toys. She discovered with some dismay that this did not solve the problem. Not uncommonly, one of the twins, her toy in one hand, would reach for the same toy which belonged to her twin with the other hand.

Why an infant wants something that the other person has remains unsatisfactorily explained. It probably has to do with the common painful experience that the "Grass is greener on the other side, or "Wanting what the Joneses have". This "Wanting what the other kid's got" seems to begin from the end of the first year of life, and continues to some degree throughout adulthood. Here again, in order to help an infant socialize in a reasonable way, the parent will have to intervene and prohibit the child from taking what belongs to someone else. We find that by helping a child know that something belongs to another person and cannot be taken from that person, the child becomes secure that the parent will not allow another person to take away what belongs to the child. The upshot, however, of the parent's prohibiting her own child from taking what another child has like Jennifer's mother did, can lead to a reaction of annoyance on the part of the child, and then anger toward the beloved parent. Therefore, again we have an instance of an internal pressure that is making the child act in a way which comes into conflict with the person the child loves most. This then sets up a conflict with which the child and mother (caregiver) has to cope.

In this section we have talked about the development of locomotor and sensorimotor activities, have found that these are pressured from within the infant, that they unfold gradually, and that they serve adaptation to the child's new world. We also found that these bring about two critical phenomena which arise particularly during the latter part of the first year of life and extend through the child's second and third years: (1) the need for the parent to set limits on her child's hazardous or unacceptable exploratory behaviors, and (2) the development of a conflict experienced by the child because of inner pressures to do, and external pressures by the beloved mother to not do. Let us talk about these, as we turn to Child Rearing considerations.

1.262 CHILD REARING: How to Optimize the Beginnings of Autonomy

Most parents enjoy helping their infants learn new things, develop new skills. And most know that once their infant begins to crawl they have to make home a safe place in which to crawl. Pediatrician-Psychoanalyst Ben Spock called this "baby proofing" the home. In addition, because exploring his or her universe is among the child's earliest learning experiences, it is important to not have to thwart explorations too much or it may thwart the inner pressure and desire to learn. Therefore, parents must make it possible to explore safely. Too many breakable

knick-knacks within an infant's reach will require too many "NO's". Too much use of a play pen will inhibit explorations and make many children feel caged in and cast aside.

Of course, parents are great helpers to learning new skills both by giving a hand at them, but especially by approving of them. Helping an 11 month old to walk is "appreciated" by the infant and mother's sharing of his or her excitement in doing so is enriching-- to both.

And similarly, the parent can be helpful to the child's development by fostering his interest in the world around him or her. Responding to signals that he or she wants to interact, and naming body parts and objects the infant looks at or picks up are among the many ways of doing this. Allow the infant to explore so long as conditions for it are safe. Important is this: that one allow the infant to do her or his own exploring and discovering as well as, at other moments, to be available to become involved with the infant in those explorations especially where the child brings something to mother or father.

It is well to add here, that the latter half of the first year of life is when becoming a student begins. Let us clarify. The exploring infant is experiencing interest in things the infant does not yet know; by that exploration, the infant is learning about that not yet known object. She or he is learning about herself or himself, is learning about others and about the environment in which the infant lives. In this sense the infant is not just being busy but also is learning as does a student. In this sense too, parents should make themselves available to their children as teachers. Where the learning and teaching experiences are pleasurable, parents can lay down the foundation for the child's enjoying learning at home and eventually in school. <NOP> Conversely, if for any reason, the child is too often restrained and discouraged from exploring, his inner motivation to learn may diminish or become conflicted.

It is well for parents to remember that children have their own schedules of maturation. Especially in the area of the child's developing locomotor and sensorimotor skills, parents tend to compare and become distressed when their child does something a bit later than another child may. We tend too often to equate more rapid development with greater intelligence; but that is not always the case. We cannot overstate the importance of recognizing that each child has his or her own schedule and also his or her own modes of developing which can be enhanced by parental support and reasonable encouragement.

Setting Limits:

We have suggested that to optimize the less than 1 year old child's beginning autonomy and making the earliest learning experiences (explorations) positive and safe, parents should "baby proof" the home, or at least the areas where the young child will be. There is another, much more complicated thing; parents would be well advised to learn to handle in growth promoting ways, that is limit-setting. Both the inner thrust to explore and the development of locomotion, first crawling and then walking, which are important parts of the beginning sense of autonomy bring much pleasure to both child and parents. But they also bring with them some hazards. For example, a 10 month old crawling or walking up the stairs is hazardous -- unless he or she is supervised. So are the child's reaching for a hot cup of coffee, or on top of the stove, etc. All of these present a threat to the child and elicit in parents the need to intervene to protect the child. That intervention is limit setting.

When 11 month old Jennifer experimented with 11 month old Johnny's pacifier she seemed to have discovered the principle of causality and wanted to test her ability to make things happen. But what she did upset Johnny (because he felt at least unpleasantly manipulated by

Jennifer), and it upset Jennifer's and Johnny's mothers (because what Jennifer did was not a proper or socially acceptable thing to do). To help her, Jennifer's Mom had to set limits. And so did the mother of the twins who, like most if not all children, wanted the toy the other one had even though she had one of her own.

Jennifer's mother automatically reacted to Jennifer's pulling Johnny's pacifier as to an undesirable act committed by her daughter. First she told Jennifer: "Don't do that; that's not nice". The second time, Mom was more annoyed and more emphatic: "Heh, don't do that; that's not nice. That pacifier belongs to Johnny!" The third time she did it, Mom got angry and told her "Jennifer, cut that out." And she again, put the pacifier back in Johnny's mouth. The fourth time, mother had all she would take. "Heh, you're being a bad girl"! Can't you see you're upsetting Johnny! Now you stay away from him!" Jennifer saw, it seemed that Mom meant it. She turned away and moved away from both Johnny and mother. Mother told us that on the way home she told Jennifer that what she had done was not be done again.

Setting limits plays an important part in promoting the healthy development of autonomy in the child. The ten and eleven month old child has not yet learned the range of his or her capabilities, nor has the child learned the risks that he or she may take; nor the full consequences of her or his explorations in terms of danger to the self, others and to things. The infant, in other words, cannot yet evaluate the consequences of her or his actions and until that is possible, needs the protecting parent to act in his or her behalf. Setting limits means that the parent acts on behalf of the child where the child cannot yet act appropriately himself or herself. This act may have to do with (1) protecting the child against danger to the self or another, or (2) protecting the child against breaking something that the parent or someone else values, or (3) it may have to do with helping the child learn social rules and reasonable behaviors. In other words, then, the parent is acting as a reasonable and more mature extension of the child's own adaptive capabilities.

We distinguish the concept of setting limits from that of discipline and punishment. In contrast to the way we have just defined limit-setting, we define discipline as a complementary process: 1) the development within the child of inner controls, and 2) as the parent's efforts to help the child develop such inner controls. It is exactly where the child lacks inner controls in dealing appropriately with a situation that the parent needs to set limits. There is a reciprocal relationship between parents setting limits and children developing inner controls. By the parent's setting limits appropriately, with explanations for these limits, with firmness and respect for the child, and with reasonable persistence, the child begins to internalize these limits and to develop inner controls which in effect will make the child able to eventually set limits upon herself or himself. Where limits are set well and reasonably -- which includes anger but not harshness or abuse -- the child tends to develop good inner controls. In this, the conflict we will discuss in a moment also plays a very important part.

Setting a limit, acting as an extension of the child's own adaptive capabilities, requires explaining to the child in a simple way what is desirable and what is not desirable, what is permitted and not permitted. Besides stating these, even with very young children, it is useful to say why it is not permitted. As we have said earlier, it is better to explain even where the child may not be able to understand fully what is said than to assume that "there is no point in explaining because my kid won't understand what I am saying". Setting limits requires that the parent use reasonable judgment about what is allowed and what is not allowed and that once the limit is stated to the child then, for the most part, the parent ought to stick to the limit imposed. We are not speaking of rigidity on the part of the parent. If a parent finds that the limit the parent

has initiated is really not necessary, the parent can change her or his mind, say to the child, "I've changed my mind, it is OK for you to do this or that", and discontinue the limit. If, however, the parent finds that the limit is reasonable and will be helpful to the child, then it is important to stick to it.

All parents know that when she or he sets a limit, often a 6, 8, 10 month old infant is going to be angry with the mother/father for setting that limit. It is not always so. For instance, Jennifer did not get angry with her mother when mother told her not to pull Johnny's pacifier from his mouth. Nor did the twins always get angry with mother when she told one not to take the other's toy. In these instances, it seemed as though the less than 1 year old already could appreciate that it is not reasonable to take what belongs to someone else. We also thought that perhaps Jennifer was not angry with her mother even though mother got pretty angry with her, because her mother had convinced her that to take Johnny's pacifier out of his mouth was to be a bad girl and that it somehow made sense to her. More commonly though, when a parent sets limits with a younger child, it elicits anger toward the limit setter. In part, then, anger toward the mother will come from the fact that the mother is saying "No, you cannot do what you want to do", and, of course, we all like to do what we want to do. This results not only from our inner sense of autonomy but also from our narcissism, a healthy normal inner feeling that one can do what one wants to do. We want to emphasize that, although such narcissism is healthy, it does not always have to be gratified by the parent.

Another factor makes the child angry with the parent when the parent sets limits. It is the conflict between the strong internal pressure a child feels to do something, and the frustration felt by the "No". At times the child is pressured from within as if driven like a machine without having yet the capability of either steering it or putting on the brakes. Pushed from within this way, when someone interferes with his grabbing mother's coffee, for example, the child may experience this interference as a frustration of the inner pressured wish he or she is feeling. The frustration of that inner pressured wish to a greater or lesser degree causes anger in all children. It is not uncommon for the child to go right back and do what the mother has just prohibited. The infant is driven from within and often, at this age especially, is just as much the victim of his own inner driven actions as is the mother or father. By the way, a note is warranted here. Although we all assume that father is the one who sets limits and punishes his children most in early years, the fact is that the responsibility of limit-setting more often falls to the mother who is with the young child much more. Therefore, the mother usually is the first disciplinarian although eventually the major job of disciplining, in most cultures, falls to the fathers.

Punishment, as we choose to define it, is the parent's acting upon the child with the withdrawal of a privilege or the inflicting of pain in retribution for the child's carrying out a repeatedly prohibited act. Limit setting has nothing to do with retaliation or retribution, or payment for an undesirable act; those have to do with punishment. Punishment is where the parent or the community acts as an external conscience, as a policing agency, in retaliation for misconduct. Setting limits is acting in behalf of the child where the child cannot yet act appropriately himself or herself. Of course, there is some overlap in acting as a punishing agency and acting as a protecting and adaptive agency. Acting as a punishing agency can, under desirable and optimal conditions, also help the child adapt more reasonably to our social universe. We want to say at this point, with much confidence, that there is no need for punishment during the first year or so of life. What is needed is limit-setting.

Explorer Meets Prohibitor (Protector), and a Vital Conflict Emerges

Again we say that the 11 month old child is not an explorer by choice but because a psychobiological internal pressure compels the infant to explore; we postulate this pressure serves the infant to learn about and master his or her environment as well as his or her own body and that of valued persons. The pressure that motivates the young explorer becomes especially visible, its intensity quite readily felt, when the protecting mother sets a limit on the activity which the parent feels is endangering the child. When the young child is stopped by the protecting parent who prohibits as is reasonably needed, he or she usually feels frustration of the pressured wish to explore. This often leads to the child's experiencing unpleasure which of itself directly causes annoyance and anger in the young child. In other words, simply the fact that an inner-driven act (or wish) is prohibited by an outside force (person) can generate anger toward the prohibitor.

What we shall discuss now will be more commonly found during and from the second year of life on; but it may occur earlier. Because it arises with limit-setting and limit-setting becomes necessary during the second half of year one, we believe it useful to understand the complex and important effects limit-setting has on the child.

Consider the all important complication in setting limits coming from the fact that the prohibitor is not simply anybody, but is the highly valued mother or father. Quite unavoidably then the feelings of anger aroused in the child are felt toward the persons she or he already values most in the world, his or her mother. This produces a conflict which we can best examine by looking at two different aspects of that conflict. First, it creates a conflict between the child and the mother, an inter-personal conflict. And second, it sets up a conflict within the child, that is, within the child's psyche (mind), namely a conflict of being angry with the person the infant values most in the world. Let us talk about both, one at a time.

The interpersonal conflict

When 11 month old Jennifer pulled Johnny's pacifier from his mouth <NOP> the third time, Jennifer's mother got angry with her, told her to "cut that out" and the fourth time, mother would take no more. Interestingly, as we noted, 11 month old Jennifer did not seem angry with her mother. This does not always occur. We felt that Jennifer was not angry because she somehow put it together that what she was doing was not desirable; or it seemed that her mother's protest made sense to her. In fact she half-smiled and walked away. This though did not happen when she insisted on going into the hall where, at 10 months of age, her mother felt she was too young to toddle by herself (without supervision).

Mother and Jennifer has already run into some limit setting when 9 month old Jennifer had tried to get hold of her cigarettes. They had recently gone back and forth on this when Jennifer was upset and angry with her mother for over one hour! But at 10 months, Jennifer's wanting to go into the hall (where there often was a cleaning cart) alone and her mother's prohibiting that led to a moderate struggle that lasted for 6 weeks. At 10 1/2 months Jennifer went to the doors to the hall about 15 times. After the 3rd time her mother pulled her back (quite gently but with determination), Jennifer had a mild tantrum. She screamed and resisted; she was clearly angry with her mother. Mother had already explained a number of times that she is not allowed into the hall alone, that there was a cleaning cart out there where she could get hurt, and

that's why the doors (which she could push open) were closed. Interestingly, although clearly angry with mother, she did not strike out at her. Jennifer's Mom had a pretty good feel of her daughter's hefty degree of determination; rightly, Mom valued that. So she dealt with it with firmness, without feeling she had a "bad" daughter. She just patiently told Jennifer that she cannot go out there alone.

It was remarkable to see how gradually, bit by bit, Jennifer's reaction to her mother fetching her before she reached the doors, repeating to her "You can't do that," or "No!", or "Don't do it!" (after she had explained a number of times why she was not allowed out there), how her reaction got less and less angry. We observed this struggle in our twice weekly observational research and found it to continue until Jennifer solved the problem. At 11 months, as she persisted in trying to go into the hall alone, and each time her mother fetched her, for the first time, she began to smile as she teased her mother. She went toward the doors, turned her head toward her mother, an impish smile on her face. Her mother, nicely attuned to Jennifer, went to her and in a playful way this time, swept her up in her arms, with a big smile on her own face, saying "Oh no, you don't!" And she plopped her into her lap as she sat down and they hugged warmly. Jennifer repeated this, now a game, several times. She played this game then for 2 more weeks, and then it disappeared; and so did this struggle with her mother.

As with Jennifer and her mother, most visible when observing parent and child in a limit setting encounter is the interpersonal conflict. As with the twins, one child wants something that another child has; the concerned and thoughtful mother says "No, I can't let you take Johnny's toy." The infant, propelled from within again reaches for what the other child has. Again, a thoughtful mother would say "No, I wouldn't let Johnny take your toy, and I can't let you take Johnny's." We find that the average healthy infant 10, 11, or 12 months of age, quite propelled by the pressured wish inside him or her, may again reach for the toy the other child has. Again the mother, persisting reasonably, will say "No, you can't do that!" As this occurs, the child often becomes more and more angry with mother, and also commonly, mother becomes more and more angry with the child she loves. It is important for the parent to recognize that the child is not being a "bratty kid", but very much the victim of the autonomy pressure within her or him. Nonetheless the mother is quite right to set the limit that will help the child socialize in a reasonable way. This inevitable interpersonal conflict leads many a parent, misunderstanding the child's actions, to feel that the child is bad, and she will not only become angry with the child but reject him or her creating a very unpleasant interaction between child and mother. This then, from near the end of the first year often leads to the second part of this conflict.

The Intrapsychic Conflict

Becoming angry with the person the child most values in the world begins to create a conflict within the nearly one year old which will consolidate during the second year of life. We call this a conflict of ambivalence. This means that the child is experiencing feelings of anger and hostility toward someone the child highly values and to whom he or she is attached by deeply felt positive feelings. It is a fact of utmost importance, that from near the end of the first year of life on, under good, growth-promoting conditions of development, the average child begins to feel his first hostile destructive feelings toward the person or persons he most values in the world, his mother and father. In other words, most commonly the child's first hostile feelings are aroused unavoidably by the highly valued mother trying to protect the child. Let us look at the consequences to the child of the internal conflict created by this experience of ambivalence.

Observing infants closely one finds from the time the infant is 11 or so months of age, that infant is never indifferent to being angry with, to feeling hostile toward the mother she or he values (needs). Note that we have not yet said the mother or father the child loves or hates. That is because the ability to love and to hate does not develop until about the middle of the second year of life, from about 18 month of age on. Let us backtrack briefly.

Close observation shows that from the early months of life on, an infant will become very upset when conditions exist that cause the infant much pain. As we shall detail in Section 1.291, children are able to experience feelings of anger and hostility only from about 6 months of age on. Before that age, they can experience irritability, a more or less general state of painful distress. If the pain is felt as excessive, the infant will react with rage.

When angry with the mother, many a six month old infant becomes upset, begins to cry, and turns to that same mother for comforting. This behavior is often misunderstood by parents who, rather than comforting the infant, regrettably reject the infant's need for comforting on the assumption that the parent's limits will then not be understood or accepted by the infant. (We will discuss this issue in greater detail when we talk about the development of this conflict and setting limits in the sections pertinent to this issue in Unit 2, when we talk about the second and third years of life).

What we want to say here is that the need for comforting is triggered by the intense state of discomfort and conflict that is created by the infant's feeling angry with the valued and needed mother; the infant experiences this condition as a danger. Some child development specialists infer from the 10 to 12 month old and older child's behavior that the young child is troubled by having feelings of wanting to destroy the prohibiting but also highly valued primary caregiver. These wishes to destroy the prohibiting parent comes into direct conflict with the great feelings of valuing that person to whom the 11 month old child is now strongly and stably attached emotionally. Wanting to destroy the person on whom the child is so dependent and whom the child values so strongly, creates a condition of anxiety within the child, causes the child to feel helpless, and it is then that the child wants to be comforted by the mother. Comforting reassures the child that his or her angry feelings are not destroying the valued and needed mother or their relationship. As we will explain in Unit 2 comforting the child at this point is generally growth-promoting whereas rejecting the child's need for comforting at this point tends to be growth-disturbing.

Suffice it to say here, that this is the beginning of what will in year 2 become the child's experiencing ambivalence, namely feelings of love and hate toward the same person. The importance of understanding and handling ambivalence constructively is that this creates a conflict within a child's psyche that usually has significant consequences to the child's total personality development. The way in which this experience is dealt with by the parents, will have much to do with the way the child develops his or her conscience, the way the child will learn to feel about himself or herself, whether the child will experience the self as a bad self or a good self, whether the child will learn to experience persons as good persons or bad persons, and many other aspects of personality development which we cannot detail at this moment. We will pick up on the consequences of this internal conflict when we talk about it again in the second year of life at which time it becomes a much more prominent issue.

1.321 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: The Beginnings Of Intelligence

Jean Piaget, who to date has contributed most to our understanding of the development of human intelligence, emphasized that the development of intelligence occurs inter-dependently with emotional-psychological aspects of the child's development. This has long been ignored by too many parents. The development of intelligence (what Piaget called cognitive development) is influenced by and, in turn, influences the child's emotional development (which Piaget called affective development). The word affective in French is closer in meaning to the English word emotion than it is to the English word affect which means feeling or feeling tone. Piaget's uses of the word affective implies the broader range of human emotional experience.

The point we want to emphasize here is that in order for a child's innate intelligence to develop optimally, the parents need to provide their child with adequate opportunity for healthy emotional development. Our reason for emphasizing this point, is that numerous efforts have been made to help children develop cognitive and intellectual skills, without due attention being given to their emotional needs and the obstacles to their emotional development. As a result, some of us believe, even strong efforts as Head Start and Get Set programs which do help some have, however, fallen short of their goals. We believe that many children will be insufficiently prepared for school at the age of five years and later, so long as they are emotionally too deprived or abused during their earliest years of life. If we want to prevent the marked educational retardation that occurs in large segments of our society, we will have to be attentive not only to the development of cognitive skills in their young children, but also to their emotional needs, deprivations, and abuses.

Now to the development of intelligence itself. The development of intelligence, or cognitive development, begins in the child's earliest exploratory activities. The infant's earliest explorations are visual, auditory, and tactile, including both the use of their hands as well as their mouths. During the first three months of development, much of the infant's exploratory activity is of short duration, occurring during states of alert wakefulness, especially when the infant is sufficiently comfortable and gratified. The exploratory activities of the earliest weeks tend to be as if accidental, not yet organized into intentional activity. The earliest signs of some built-in cognitive organization may be the newborn's tendency to look at patterns of a face whereas they scan past such a pattern when it is fragmented and scattered. Also, newborns seem to already have learned to recognize their mothers' voices and soon learn to recognize their mothers' odors and typical movements associated with care-giving.

From about the third month of life on, the explorations of the infant begin to become organized in a new way, it becomes directed. By this we mean that now the activity seems to become purposeful, to begin to be intentional, the child tending to explore her or his own body and the body of those to whom the child is beginning to attach. From about the third to fifth month of life on, the exploratory activity gains more and more momentum. Especially at the middle of the first year of life the degree of directivity in exploration, the integration of movements using the eyes, the hand and the mouth, become further organized and integrated; and the inner pressure to explore, that magnificent inner force to which we have referred, begins to mount sharply. The duration of exploratory periods lengthens, the level of interest on the part

of the infant increases, and the span of concentration capability lengthens. In some infants, like in 15 weeks old Jennifer, her exploratory activity could already last more than 20 minutes at a stretch (see Section 1.291 under Non-destructive Aggression).

It is especially during the second half of the first year of life, that a marked increase occurs in the development of the skills that pertain to cognitive functioning. Responding to the children's explorations, parents engage in games such as naming parts of the body, a valuable activity we shall talk about in the section on child rearing. Little by little the infant begins to discover that when he or she pushes something it may move, when he or she strikes another child that other child will react in a certain manner which sometimes surprises the striker, and indeed sometimes pleases him or her sufficiently that the child will repeat the striking. To a degree, 11 month old Jennifer's pulling 11 month old Johnny's pacifier from his mouth repeatedly was this kind of discovering activity. She found that indeed it created quite an effect: Johnny got upset, people around were surprised, and her mother got angry and showed much disapproval of this behavior (see Section 1.261 and Section 1.292, under Setting Limits). Here what seems to be at play is the child's learning his or her first principles of physics and social behavior: that when you do something there is a reaction to it. With this discovery of causal effects (causality), comes also the consolidation of intentionality. Intentionality means to do something with a wish to do it; it is a pre-thought act.

Mental Representation:

Each of us becomes who we are by virtue of the actions of experience on our inborn givens, on the temperament and the dispositions with which we are born as these are programmed by our genes. How we record our experiences within our minds (and psyches [souls]) is very puzzling. How our experiences become inscribed in our brains and can be remembered more or less reliably is not fully known. We know that we remember information, events, etc. There would be no learning without remembering. Furthermore, without experiences being somehow inscribed in our brains, we would not become individuals with definite personality characteristics that would basically be the same from day to day, month to month, and year to year. New stages of development bring about evolving changes in each of us, always increasing the complexity of our personalities. So do experiences impact on each of us, some changing us dramatically. These changes nonetheless occur on and modify the core of our self that stabilizes gradually over time.

Mental health professionals and brain researchers propose that our experiences become somehow inscribed in the brain. We speak of these simply as "internal (or mental) representations." These are what makes it possible for us to remember things and events. We believe that mental representations become organized in the mind in several basic ways: (1) by certain experiences occurring regularly and frequently which then begin to be expected and even predictable. Thus an infant records an event of mother tending to the infant in some detail. As this type of event is repeated in a similar manner, that recording is repeated. If we assume that the same scene (or "schema" Piaget proposed) is repeated, it will become increasingly stable and predictable by the infant. (2) Events that are sufficiently different from what is expected, by the element of surprise, get particular attention and thereby become registered in the brain. And (3) events that elicit an intense reaction, whether the reaction is pleasurable or unpleasurable (painful), will also become recorded. The element of surprise may also play a part in recording

especially intensely unpleasurable experiences.

Either as a second type, or more likely, as a component piece of scenes that are recorded, key pieces or units of experience become recorded and can be retrieved by remembering in varying combinations. For instance, when the 2 month old's social smiling first elicits a loving, cooing, smiling response from the mother, we may assume that the memory of smiling at this person who smiles and coos lovingly is recorded. As this interaction occurs again and again, by 5 months, the representation of this piece of experience will be well programmed in the mind. And it will readily be remembered when the infant sees the face that belongs to this unit (piece) of experience. Similarly, if a 2 month old's social smiling response does not elicit a smiling response but rather elicits a frown or no response at all (say in a disturbed mother, or an indifferent caregiver), this frowning response will feel opposite to the smiling infant's feeling and will dampen or extinguish the infant's smiling response and feeling. So will the non response of the indifferent caregiver. When this experience repeats itself, this is the unit of experience that will be recorded in the mind. So too, smaller pieces of experience will be recorded such as the milk bottle or the breast as a source of gratification.

These respective mental representations of interactions with mother and father accumulate and organize into the infant's progressive mental, emotional attachment to his or her caregivers. The first infant (of the paragraph above) is more likely to form a secure emotional attachment. The second is more likely to form a negatively experienced attachment. It is the cumulative factor, the repetition of experience that becomes re-recorded (or re-enforced) in the mind (and brain) that gives to the child's attachment its predominant emotional quality. Research suggests that the infant records experience from birth on. By 5 months or so the infant has developed the capability to record stably enough in his or her mind the representation of his or her primary caregivers so that the infant can distinguish them from other persons.

We believe, as many psychoanalysts and attachment theorists do, that infants are born with the need for form attachments, to become emotionally engaged with reciprocally emotionally engaged caregivers (usually the parents engage to this degree with infants). This need and tendency to attach is powerful. This is why when the mother leaves her 6 month old infant even if for only 1 hour or less, that the infant will experience separation anxiety, the dread that the person to whom the infant is attached will be lost. We believe that what makes the 6 month old feel the dread of loss is, as we shall explain in a moment (under the development of memory), that the infant cannot yet retrieve from his or her stored memories of mother the mental representation of mother on his or her own.

So too, the 6 month old, who at this time is accumulating and stabilizing, in his or her brain the mental representation of his or her primary caregivers (those to whom he is attaching emotionally) will at times be jarred when he or she looks at someone who is not one of these caregivers. What is jarring, we believe, is the experience of looking at a person, expecting to see the face of mother or father or a well known substitute caregiver, and "recognizing" that this person is not the one expected. That this is not one of the faces expected seems to make the infant feel threatened that the expected one is lost. In this way, the stranger response (a response of anxiety) bears a resemblance to separation anxiety. Also, the stranger response is the infant's social reaction to an unknown face whereas the smiling response is the infant's social response to a known and emotionally invested face. So too positive reunion response is elicited by the re-finding of the mentally represented face which has been temporarily lost. In all of these experiences, the mental representation is a key player. But when can the infant retrieve mental representations? That is, when can the infant begin to remember?

The Beginnings Of The Development Of Memory:

Piaget and his students have taught us that the beginnings of memory seem to occur in at least two steps. First, to appear is recognitive memory; the second is evocative memory. Recognitive memory, as the word suggests, means that the infant recognizes a person, an object or an event he or she has seen or experienced before. This is most readily observable in relation to the person to whom the child is attached; for example, when that person appears, the 6 or 7 month old will react with a social smiling response, typical of a positive reunion reaction. This smiling response tells us that the infant has in his or her mind, some form of stable memory which includes at least a visual component as well as an emotional component of the mother. On seeing her, or on hearing the mother's voice, the child's specific social smiling response tells us that the child recognizes it is his or her particular mother.

This recognitive reaction should be distinguished from the earlier social smiling responses which are nonspecific, and which, as we described in Section 1.251, are an inborn reactivity to a facial pattern. It should also be distinguished from the even earlier fragmentary smiling responses of the one to three week old infant to the human voice or to the touch to which the infant has been conditioned. Piaget was able to show that the infant develops recognitive memory by experiments we will not describe here, but which can be discussed and repeated by high school students.

Whereas recognitive memory seems to become evident from about the fifth to sixth month of life on and, of course, continues to consolidate, evocative memory seems to develop gradually from about 14 to 18 months of life on. Studies of some of Piaget's students, however, show that a certain specific type of evocative memory (person permanence, which is remembering a person rather than a "thing" or object) can already begin to appear from about 11 months on. Evocative memory means the ability to retain an image of something which one has seen before and which at the moment of recollection is not in one visual field. Because of this capability, a child can search for a particular object and can pursue looking for it until he or she finds it, even when that object is not visible at the start of the search. Being able to record in memory the image of something that one has seen before and to retain that image in the mind without having to see it is a highly important development. When we speak of this phenomenon and its further developments during the second year of life, we will use the terms proposed by Piaget which are person permanence and object permanence.

Remembering a past object, a past event, or a past experience, that is not visible or in the present, is vital to the development of intelligence.

1.322 CHILD REARING: Optimizing the Child's Developing Intelligence

Many parents recognize that they are their child's first teachers. Many parents realize that their less than one year old is developing intelligence: parents often comment about how really smart their 6 month old is, or they worry that their infant is "slow". Nonetheless many parents do not see that the beginnings of true learning do not wait until the child goes to school, but become visible from the first months of life on. Most parents rightly know they can and many wisely enjoy and try to facilitate and promote the development of intelligence in their less than

one year old children. Here are some of the major areas where and ways in which they can do so.

The Beginnings of Communication, of the Dialogue Between Child and Parent

The normal infant comes into the world ready to react and even to initiate interaction with his or her caregivers. Even in the first days after birth the infant signals by sounds of complaint and crying that she or he needs to be cared for and reacts according to whether or not the caregiver succeeds in meeting sufficiently the infant's needs. From these earliest days, patterns of communicating and responding to each other begin to be set. The infant can be conditioned (a simple learning process) to the way his or her primary caregiver(s) meet his or her needs, responds to his or her signals, and soon begins to "know" what to expect. Parents can already convey to the infant: "You can count on me (us) to help you meet your needs as best I (we) can, because you are very important to me (us)". Unfortunately, the weeks old infants can also be conditioned to the message: "Are you fussing again! You really are a greedy, bad baby. Don't expect me to come running when you cry, you spoiled brat!" The quality of the dialogue will be very different in these two instances; one will lead to a loving dialogue and the development by 6 months or so of basic trust (see Section 1.271); the other is likely to lead by age 6 months to an emotional dialogue that is heavy with hostile feelings, resentment, and basic mistrust.

All our illustrations come from live children and families with whom we have carried out research or a few come from clinical situations. We have modified some facts to protect their identities. But here we want to use an illustration that comes from a TV commercial that has been played for several years now which unusually sensitively illustrates the developing emotional dialogue between an infant and parent. A father sitting in a rocking chair in night clothes is holding and bottle feeding his probably 3 month old daughter. He is softly singing a lullaby to her. As he gently sings to her, at one moment, nipple in her mouth, the infant hums too as she is looking into her father's face, for about one second. The moment of togetherness, the communication between father and infant daughter, is tender -- and this becomes part of the dialogue between them.

From these simple but enormously important beginnings, parents can secure the development of an emotional dialogue that will become typical for them. Jennifer and her mother, Diane and her mother and father, Johnny and his parents, Doug and his mother and substitute caregiver, all had quite good, quite positive beginnings to their emotional dialogues. For Bernie and his mother, their emotional dialogue started very well but became abruptly distressed when he began to have his milk allergy. Fortunately for them, mother could read his feelings pretty well and, we believe, made this problem as minimally disruptive of their interaction as could have been done. This was even further complicated by the unpleasant atmosphere in the home between Bernie's parents who separated when he was 6 months old. For Suzy and her mother and father, their beginning emotional dialogue was very difficult. All mother and father's efforts to help Suzy feel good were defeated by her large difficulty to be calmed and made to feel comfortable. Suzy's mother especially earned her daughter's trust, and our admiration, by her wonderful efforts to make her feel as best she could. Mother also did well to select and work with Mrs. Sander, Suzy's substitute caregiver when mother went back to work, to insure as positive as possible an emotional dialogue between them. Suzy's emotional dialogue with her father was much more limited because of his lesser involvement with her, but

seemed on the whole to improve as time passed. For Ritchie, his emotional dialogue started out very well. Picture of him at 5 months revealed this clearly as his look into the camera showed him to be comfortable, broadly smiling, pleasantly interactive and communicative. This changed dramatically and by 14 months he interacted very poorly. He was then sad, angry, even explosive in interaction and very mistrusting. To regain a better emotional dialogue, his great-aunt and their neighbor had to be patient, try to sympathize (which they did) with his awful pain, and draw out his communications in ways that would make him feel he now was safe again. The recovery of trust was slow and incomplete by the time they stopped coming to work with us.

Victor developed 4 meaningful relationships, with his parents and paternal grandparents. The emotional dialogue with his mother and grandfather was especially tender and trusting. The one with his grandmother was solid and trusting as well but did not have the notable warmth he seemed to experience with his mother and grandfather. With his father there was trust but more distance during the first year, in large part because father's work hours were very long and their contact and communications quite less than with the others.

Again, we emphasize the need for a good-enough emotional interaction and dialogue to optimize the development of communication, of talking, and the ability to interact, to expect help and learn from others. Needless to say, the quality of the emotional dialogue between child and parent(s) will be part and parcel of the type of attachments the infant makes and therewith, the ways in which experience influences the development of the child's inborn personality dispositions.

Exploratory Activity:

From the first weeks of life on, it is easy to see in normal infants who are well-enough cared for, that they begin to explore the environment in which they live by means of their eyes and their ears. When awake and sufficiently fed and rested, from the first weeks of life the infant looks about, responds to sounds, and thus we see that he or she begins to pay attention to, to explore her or his environment. Then by 3 to 4 months, the baby also gradually reaches to touch things and mother's face with his or her hands. As weeks go by one finds that he or she explores not only the external environment, including mother or father's face and things within reach, but also explores the self including especially the hands and feet. By 5 to 6 months when things can be reached and grasped, the infant will bring them to his or her mouth for closer exploration (see Section 1.281).

The infant who is sufficiently fed, nurtured and comfortable during states of wakefulness will have time and the energy available to explore his or her environment and will do so with visible interest and a positive degree of feeling and well-being. The infant whose needs are not tended to in reasonable ways, whether he is hungry or feels neglected -- as we saw in Ritchie -- will be compelled to respond to the internal stresses and pain he or she is experiencing, and will do so with negative feelings and ill-being. This child will not be able to be positively attentive to the external environment and will focus his or her interest and energies in having his or her needs met. The infant who is crying is predominantly attentive to the source of the crying, to the pain and to its stopping. For the child to learn about his or her external environment other than that part of it that cares for his or her needs, and experience this learning in a positive way, it is important that the infant be free enough from the clamor of inner needs for enough of the time. In this of course the parent plays the central part. Here too it is well to remember that the infant has needs not only for food, fluids and to be properly clothed, but also has emotional needs for

being held, being interacted with and be comforted.

This early exploratory activity is the first evidence of the infant's being a student of his or her own body and of the world in which the infant lives. The parent who recognizes this tends to automatically assume the function of teacher and help the infant learn about the environment. Very common in the first year of life are the parent's efforts to teach the child names of parts of his or her own body. Games of this kind are virtually classroom games. The important thing is that they are the beginning of learning and it is highly desirable that they occur under conditions of pleasure in the child's interaction with the mother (and father).

The Infant's Level of Interest:

Closely observing parents will also recognize that the infant does not have an equal interest in everything that comes into the child's visual field or to his or her ears. For instance, the mother's voice seems to get the young infant's attention and interest more readily than others. Sounds of trains passing by, crashing sounds of things falling quickly catch the infant's interest. Sounds that are too sharp can be frightening, though. An environment that is pleasantly colorful may draw an infant's looking activity more than an environment that is drab and dark. Therefore, providing an environment that is reasonably well lit (too much light is also troublesome) and that is pleasantly colorful will probably enhance looking activity and interest. Especially engaging and eliciting of interest, is the parent's interaction with the baby in some of these exploratory activities. Again, the parent's playfully teaching the infant names of parts of the body heightens the infant's interest in himself or herself, in parts of his or her body, and in the very important development of language.

Causal Relationships:

Whether they know it or not, parents can be their children's first teachers of physics and logic. Principles of physics and of logic help human beings organize their thinking, understand better the world in which they live, and adapt more easily. At the very beginning we assume that children do not know that if they push something it will move. One finds that the infant gradually makes this discovery. The parent has ample opportunities to make this discovery easier for the infant, thereby helping the infant learn causal relationships between the child's own actions and the occurrence of the resultant event. For example, when a 10 or 11 month old child begins to toddle, it is well to point out that when the child bumped into a table it was not because the table hit the infant, but rather because the infant walked into the table. We are all acquainted with the distortion and misinformation parents convey to their children when they blame the table for the infant's walking into it. This kind of lesson distorts facts and can confuse children. It is more useful to help a child learn to watch where he or she is going rather than expect that a table will magically move and strike an innocent child. The parent can understand the implications of this lesson for the child's own caretaking functions. When a year or two later the child decides whether or not to cross a street it is important that the child knows that what makes the child cross the street is the child himself, and not the street.

Magical Thinking:

Child developmentalists believe that very early in life children can more easily be made

to believe things that are false. It is well known that young children can be made to believe that things can disappear magically or that by wishing it, things can magically happen. Much of this is due to the young child's inability to know what is possible and what is not possible. This function of "testing reality", by which we mean to know what is real and what is not, actually develops fairly slowly over time. Some elementary school age children still show evidence of being uncertain whether or not things can be made to disappear or magically appear. This is why they are so fascinated by "magicians" and why magicians are so entertaining to them. But no one is more unable to test reality well than the less than one year child. This is why we discourage mothers from sneaking out while their infant is not looking -- because he or she may become anxious and believe that mother has disappeared. Some mothers want to protect their infants from feeling separation anxiety and crying when mother has to go out, and feel they will help their child if they quietly sneak out. Not true. The harm it can cause is far greater than the hurt of separation anxiety. This is because a mother's sneaking out is like a disappearing act and re-enforces the infant's belief that "Poof! mother can disappear." It makes the infant more vigilant, more clinging, more ready to experience separation anxiety and it undermines the child's trust in his or her caregivers and, therewith, in himself or herself. When a mother or father has to leave the infant for a while, tell the baby, make sure the substitute caregiver is ready to help the crying baby, say when you'll be back, kiss the baby, and go.

The Development of Memory:

Of importance here with regard to child rearing is not so much the ways in which parents can help their children's memory develop better, but rather that there is much evidence that the development of memory begins from the first months of life on and that the implications of this finding are of large consequence to the child's development. Contrary to what many people have believed for a long time, infants do record in their memory the quality of experiences they have from the beginnings of life, from the first weeks and months of life. Knowing that children remember from early on in life, will help parents to reasonably protect them against traumatic experiences. It is a serious matter that many parents convince themselves that infants will not understand what occurs around them, and therefore allow for all kinds of traumatizing events to occur in the presence of children, wrongly assuming that these will have no impact on them. Sounds of angry fights, of terrifying noises, handling that is especially pain producing, all of these may have an impact, be recorded in memory by the infant, and remain with the infant to produce pain for many years later.

THE TODDLER YEARS (1 TO 3 YEARS)

2.2141 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: Intelligence, Memory, and Exploratory Activity

The child's learning behavior became very visible in the upsurge of exploratory activity around the middle of their first year of life. Now, in the second and third years, this exploratory activity continues to be driven by a large push from within the child which is evident on the child's face and body and in his or her persisting efforts. As would be expected, the one to three year old child's exploratory activity becomes better and better organized. By 18 months of age exploratory activity continues to be spontaneous but it also seems to be pre-thought, more planned, and seems to have some strategy. The child's exploration of a particular item will be more rapid (because the child already knows much) more detailed, and may extend over a longer period of time. Also, exploration may become combined with developing skills such as piling up graduated sized wooden or plastic donuts on a peg, as 18 month old Jennifer could do, or building with blocks. Preparation for exploration seems at times to be more deliberate. Certain toys seem to be targeted with interest, suggesting intention on the part of the child to deal with the blocks, the peg and donut toy, climbing the stairs, getting over a barrier, etc.

In these explorations, one can see each child's particular increasing capability for paying attention to what the child is doing, increase in concentration, the stabilizing of patterns of persistence in effort, increase in frustration tolerance, all essential for learning and therefore of much importance.

A crucial development originally described by Piaget and further researched by his students, is the development in the function of remembering, in memory, of the brain activity which makes evocative memory possible. Evocative memory means the ability to recall (remember) at will what something or someone looks like without seeing it actually, within one's visual field, at the moment of remembering. This development was described by Piaget as due to the capability for object permanence. Object permanence means the ability to retain in one's mind what something looks like when it is not there to be seen, when it is not within one's visual field. Piaget's research led him to say that the ability to retain in one's brain and to retrieve at will the representation of an item (a person or a thing) tends to develop from about 14 to 18 months of age. More research has revealed that in children who are well cared for, who have good enough relationships during the first year of life, this ability for object permanence occurs earlier for persons who are valued by the child than for things. This, of course, most applies to the child's parents, siblings, and other persistent caregivers. This specific ability, the function of person permanence, has been found to begin from about 11 months of age on and gradually stabilizes by the early part of the second year of life into evocative memory for persons well known to the child.

Person permanence and object permanence are essential for the function of evocative memory. Let us repeat here (also see Unit 1, Section 1.321), that recognitive memory, the earlier of the two major forms of memory, is the ability to recognize upon seeing a thing or person with which/whom the child is already familiar; children show evidence of this capability from five to

six months of age on. Evocative memory, on the other hand, does not require the actual presence of a person or a thing for its recollection.

Intentionality, the intention to do something, and causality, the recognition that an action will have a particular effect, stabilize further during the second and third years of life which also contribute to the child's increasingly more complex discovery and understanding of the world into which the child was born.

It was no minor accomplishment, when at 18 months of age, Jennifer managed to pile the size-graduated plastic donuts on a peg in nearly the right order. Her mother was pleasantly surprised by it, told Jennifer, "Hey, that's great; you got them right!" Reading her mother's pleasure, Jennifer cheerfully applauded herself (actually clapped her hands) even though mother had not done so.

The same can be said for all the children's increasing skills in body movements during the second year, including walking more and more stably, turning quickly without falling, going up stairs, coming down backward or on their bellies, or during the third year when holding on to mother or the banister, as well as the manipulation of things with increasing ease. Depressed Vicki developed these skills, even though her activity was dramatically slowed down. That is, all her movements were as if in slow motion during the last quarter of the first year and the early part of the second year. We saw that Vicki may have had an inborn gift of body movement and control that was striking. From the end of the second year on, when her activity regained a seemingly normal speed, when she walked across the room, she glided like a dancer, her movement was remarkably different from the other children; indeed, it was beautiful.

During year two, Richie's activity at first was markedly inhibited, and generally slow, except when he would suddenly throw a toy or flail in a reaction of rage. He gradually was able to become less inhibited, at first manipulating toys while sitting near his great-aunt to then moving about cautiously, more due to fear of how others would react to him rather than due to instability of his walking (even though he gave the impression at 14 months to be about eight months old in physical growth). As he gradually improved, by the end of his second year, his movements, explorations, and manipulations of things increased quite satisfactorily though not yet up to his age level. Because we no longer had the opportunity to see him after his second year, we cannot report on his further progress and growth.

Language and Fantasy:

Many a child begins to develop language during the second year, a factor toward which memory makes a major contribution. First, words are used which progress more or less rapidly depending on the child into phrases and eventually sentences and, in some, even questions. During the third year, language continues to develop at a virtually explosive rate. Now questions are frequently asked, in some cases to the point of mother feeling tired of answering "all those questions".

Of enormous consequence to adaptation, the capacity for fantasy, the imaging of an event, a scene and its unfolding action, seems to begin from the middle of the second year to be used with intention as is readily observable in children's behaviors. For instance, Diane's father (a keen observer of his children's behavior) told us that Diane brought what became one of her favorite books, conveying to him equally with signs and with her "Daddy, read", that indeed she wanted him to read it to her. What struck him though was that as he sat with her, showing her the pictures as he read, at one moment, 18 month old Diane touched a picture with her thumb and

index finger, brought her hand up to her father's nose, a sweet smile on her face. In the instant, father understood that she wanted him to smell the flower she pretended to have picked from the book. Father was right to be surprised at this early ability to pretend. Pretend, that important play activity, requires the ability to fantasize.

It is possible that fantasy formation may begin even earlier than 18 months of age, an assumption for which there is good evidence. For instance although other explanations would do equal if not better justice to what the infant experiences, infant observers have proposed that very young infants show what seems to be "hallucinatory" wish fulfillment behavior. They have proposed that the four month old infant quieting after a period of crying may have stopped crying because he or she imagined or "hallucinated" the feeding to occur before it actually took place. (Of course, since no feeding has yet taken place, the infant will soon cry again.) Or one can see a ten month old become pensive for a moment during an anxiety episode associated with mother's leaving. What is he thinking or imagining? Or what about a ten month old dreaming (see Section 2.2111)? All of these suggest that some imagining or fantasy formation occurs prior to 18 months of age. We also assume that acquiring the capability for person permanence during the early part of the second year means that the child can have the mental representation (image) of a person, not just as a photograph but as in a movie, in some brief action context at this age, like the good mother nurturing or soothing, or the angry mother scolding, etc; this of course now becomes an integral part of fantasy. Fantasy, the imagined unfolding of some action, becomes clearly evident in play and in certain interactions. That 18 month old Diane picked a flower from the book and asked her father to smell it suggests a substantial beginning of this enormously important adaptive function.

During the third year, fantasy formation increases dramatically and the capacity to make a brief story, with a theme, becomes evident in children's play as well as in some of their interactions with those in their environment (see Section 2.23 below).

2.2142 CHILD REARING: Optimizing the Development of Intelligence

The developments described in this Section which originate from within the child, like so much of the child's development, can be enhanced by the parents. For instance, we believe that parents may not be able to directly enhance the development of object permanence because it results from brain maturation primarily; but they can enhance the development of person permanence which seems to be more influenced by experience. Person permanence is best achieved by making the parent child relationship sufficiently gratifying. This, in turn, is best achieved by parents behaving toward their children with love, thoughtfulness, considerateness, trying to understand the child's experiencing, not being intimidated by the child's feelings of anger and hostility toward the parent, by setting limits constructively, etc. In essence, this is the aim of all that is contained in these pages, that is, to optimize the parent-child relationship and therewith the development of intelligence and good emotional health in the child.

First, with regard to the development of intelligence, it is important that parents realize that their child learns, that is, becomes a student not in first grade but from the first year of life on. The rich exploratory activity which one sees from about the middle of the first year of life on, made so evident by its remarkable upsurge at that time, make of the child an explorer, a discoverer, a student of the universe into which he or she was born. The parents' facilitating

these exploratory activities, supporting them to the extent that it is safe for the child, will protect the child's being a student, the child's interest in things around her or him and will facilitate the learning process. One could see the strong encouraging influence on 18 month old Jennifer of her mother complimenting her for the way, probably the order in which she stacked the donuts on the peg; Jennifer clapped her hands! This very naturally makes the child want to do things in ways that will bring the mother's (and father's) approval. It adds to, reinforces, the pleasure of doing something well. Good attention, concentration, persistence in effort, patience in the face of frustration, all so essential for learning, can be enhanced by the parents within the context of their children's exploratory activities. The parent can do this by (1) first allowing the child to make efforts, and when needed by encouraging and supporting those efforts; (2) deriving and expressing pleasure at the child's growing skills as they become evident in the child's behavior; and (3) facilitating learning by teaching. For instance, although a child spilling a cup of water on the kitchen floor is an unpleasant event given that someone will have to wipe it up, it is nonetheless an opportunity for teaching the child that cups need to be held upright, that fluid flows out of cups unless they are held upright, which we might point out, is a lesson in physics.

All of the above can, of course, also be facilitated by creating an environment which is conducive for exploratory and skill developing activities. Many years ago, Dr. Ben Spock spoke of "babyproofing" the house for children in the second and third years of life. Of course, this needs to be done for crawlers during the first year of life as well. In circumstances where infants are repeatedly prohibited from touching this nic-nac or that television knob, or that too reachable toaster or ash tray, where too many prohibitions are needed, these will lead to insufficient opportunity for exploration. These will also create too much frustration for the child which will generate large doses of hostility toward the parent which will then, in turn, make the learning experience one contaminated with hostility. Equally important to intensifying hostility in the child-parent relationship, such repeated interferences with exploratory activity may discourage interest in the world around and in learning altogether. The task for parents is difficult. Growth-promoting parenting requires limit-setting; but limit-setting becomes growth-disturbing when it occurs too frequently (see Section 2.2151). Setting limits should be done when truly needed; but this should be kept to a reasonable minimum especially in areas of learning activity. Therefore, babyproofing the house, putting things that can too easily be broken out of reach, putting items the parent values which she or he does not want the child to touch, placing things that can cause injury such as hot cups of coffee, ash trays, all out of reach can be enormously conducive to safe and unconflicted exploration. Obviously, one cannot move electrical outlets out of the reach of children. Nor, we emphasize, do we mean that setting limits should be avoided where they are needed; quite the contrary (see Section 2.2152). We mean only that excessive limit setting in the domain of learning can interfere with pleasure in learning and a feeling of freedom to learn.

Parents can also enhance and even increase their child's interest in learning, in explorations. This is best done by:

(1) Following the child's lead in what catches the child's interest. That is to say, we have at times seen an interested mother or father unaware of the child's exploration of a particular item, try to change the child's focus of interest and turn the child to what the parent is interested in. One young mother, trying hard to engage in activity with her child, would pick up one thing after another to present to her child in an effort to gain the child's interest in each item; but in the process she seemed to not recognize the child's rich self-generated interest in things the child was exploring. Unless it is the parent's intention to change the child's focus of interest, such as from an electrical outlet to something that is safe, like 18 month old Diane's father did, it is usually

better to follow the child's pursuits, recognize what the child is interested in and share in that interest. Of course, a parent can also introduce things to explore which the parent finds interesting. The point simply is: find out what your child is interested in and, if it is safe, facilitate that.

(2) Sharing in the child's excitement about a new discovery, an item or a phenomenon like 18 month old Jennifer's mother did is most conducive for learning. "That's stupid!", or showing a lack of interest in what the child is attempting to do or to show a parent may well discourage the child's interest and learning.

(3) Exploration requires motor activity (crawling, walking, swinging things, pushing and pulling things). The beginnings of intelligence emerge in sensorimotor activity. Some parents are more comfortable when their child is quiet, like in a play pen, and not physically (motorically) active. Sometimes they will encourage their child to not move around so much, to not reach for things, etc. when the child is only moderately active. Of course, some children who are too driven need help in slowing down a bit, in calming a bit. But some moderately active children whose active motor behavior is disapproved of by mother or father may inhibit that activity and with it, inhibit learning. Such early inhibition may be carried into the learning process for many years to come.

(4) Also, it is important to answer your child's questions as best as you can, any question. Children often express interest they have in things by asking questions. Many bright two year olds seem to be full of questions; they may, in fact, ask questions so frequently, sometimes asking the same question over and over, that parents tend to become tired of their questions. True, there are times when children ask questions for the purpose of irritating their parents. But most of the time, children ask questions because they want to learn, they want to have answers. Parents who take the time to answer their children's questions do many things at once; they acknowledge that interest is important, that learning is important, that what their child feels, thinks and says is important, etc., which ultimately leads to the sense that the child is an important and valued human being.

Interference With The Development of Intelligence:

Interferences with the development of intelligence can occur through interference with exploratory activity. One we already noted is by making it too difficult for a one to three year old to explore safely and without too frequent prohibitions. We observed very little exploratory activity in Vicki during the end of her first year and her second year. We knew this to be due to her being depressed. It was when Vicki and her depressed mother's treatment began to make them feel less depressed, that Vicki's locomotion (walking) and exploratory activity increased. The same occurred with Richie who, when we saw him at 14 months, would just sit where he was placed on the carpet and, at first, not reach for anything or move. Only gradually, with the lifting of his depression and the increase in his feeling safe, did he cautiously move and begin to explore things around him and handle toys.

THE PRESCHOOL YEARS (3 to 6 YEARS)

3.2131 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: Cognitive Activity, Play and Fantasy Activity

Locomotor and Fine Movement Activity:

What has been achieved so far in the development of locomotor capability is further developed by the child. We see greater mastery and facility in running, in coordination as in tree climbing and acrobatic movements, in efforts to jump rope, to ride tricycles, to move four-wheeled toys; all are much evidence of further developing large movement skills. A number of children during this period move can even learn to ride a two-wheeled bicycle, some even without training wheels. Some talented children add an athletic and artistic bend to large body movements in gymnastics and dancing. Some learn to swim, and some learn to swing a bat or a golf club and can do well (for their age) throwing and catching a ball.

Fine movement coordination (like using the fingers) is well underway as well. Many children begin to learn to write, some develop skills in drawing, in fascinating constructions with building toys as tinker toys, Legos, etc. Some begin to learn how to play musical instruments.

Speech Development:

Enormous growth in speech is evident during the years from 3 to 6. Vocabulary enlarges enormously, as does the more complicated use of phrases and sentences. The whole range of speech goes from fragmentary phrases and one sentence communication to extensive dialogues that facilitate and greatly enrich communication. Indeed, the course of the day, many a mother of the three to five year old is frequently wearied by many "Why" questions.

The use of books, reading to children:

During this period, many a child is eager to learn the alphabet and many begin to learn to read, some achieving the ability to read and write (their names and more) by age 6. In families where reading books is valued, many children enjoy being read to; some use books themselves in the pursuit of trying to learn to read, of exploring pictures and identifying their contents. In many cases, the child makes large efforts to imitate the adult or older child reader, some with success in actually learning to read. The use of books at this age furthermore, is especially enjoyed by children in the stimulation of their fantasy life and in the gratification of some of their own fantasies as these are described in stories read to them. Most child development specialists believe that the average child, under optimal conditions, can be helped to learn to read during this age period. Interestingly too, many children's stories, including Fairy Tales, concern themselves in direct or disguised forms with 3 to 6 year old children's wishes, fantasies and conflicts -- which we shall detail in Section 3.2311.

Many a child will come to especially value one or several books which he/she will want read to him or her over and over. The child will even know every word in the story. The request

that it be read again and again indicates its value to the child which probably comes from the pleasure associated with the parent's reading this book's contents. A particular book may reflect a special time of good feeling or the particular story may resonate meaningfully with some of the child's fantasies (see Section 3.23). Some books resonate with the child's fantasies about love relationships⁸, or about morality issues⁹, or about experiences that were or are frightening or hurtful, like books about moving to a new house, or about a visit to the doctor's or a stay at the hospital, etc. Books that appeal to children 3 to 6 years obviously do so because they deal with issues that are part and parcel of these children's actual or fantasy life.

⁸ See Section 3.23.

⁹ See Section 3.26.

Play with toys and games, alone and with others:

The child's ability to play with toys increases and becomes a vehicle for learning how to manipulate physical things, how to make certain toys function whether by some activity the toy performs or is not intended to perform, all of which contribute to the child's continuing mastery of the environment in which he/she lives. Much of the child's playing with toys, some very simple, some quite complex, is a step to learning how to use tools for the purpose of adaptation. At this age, play with toys continues from earlier play to be carried out individually, but there is a large increase now in the use of toys in collaboration with, or in competition with, a peer, an older sibling, and even an adult. Individual play, peer play, or group play can be readily enjoyed by the child. It is also well known and readily observed, however, that in such play many a child suffers disappointment, anger, and pain. During these years, games begin to be introduced, table games as well as movement games. At this time in the playing of games which can be enjoyed individually or with another, actual rules are usually not understood or grasped when first encountered by the average 4 to 5 year old child. During the introduction to games, children at this age often give the impression they are playing according to rules of their own creation. These rules are often quite flexible and changeable, the child seeming not yet able to grasp the definiteness of established rules for specific games. Learning to play satisfactorily according to established rules, such as with checkers or cards is usually achieved during the years from six to ten (see Unit 4). Because feelings that are difficult to tolerate enter into the ability to play games, such as feelings of being too little, of not being as "good" as others; because it is difficult to learn to lose without feeling too hurt or inferior, and because of important fantasies children have associated with winning and losing, playing games at this age seems often a difficult activity. Children often end up very frustrated and disappointed in their own performance and by the conduct of others who win. This often makes playing with toys and games hard work for many a child, a matter of serious effort, of failure and achievement, and of the development of capabilities.

Fantasy play, alone and with others:

Fantasy play prior to 3 years of age is quite primitive in comparison with the increasingly elaborate and story telling, situation or event-enacting fantasy play that becomes evident during the 3 to 6 years of age period. Fantasy play enriches the child's experiencing. It is also an excellent way of learning about what is going on in his or her mind during this age period. As during the preceding years, fantasy play on an individual basis continues in all children. But

especially enriching at this time is the development of fantasy play in conjunction with one or two or more peers, or fantasy play with a parent or an older sibling. Also, whereas earlier fantasy seems to consist of single thoughts or wishes, such as "smell the flower", or "I wish mommy or daddy would come back", now stories can be made up, played out to remarkable length, in many variations, with many details. It can be rich, exciting, and frightening.

The increasing complexity of the fantasy play is, of course, at least in part due to the greater development in the child's thinking (cognitive) capabilities. During these years, the ways in which fantasy play contrasts with the fantasy play of the second and third years of life can be described in terms of 1) its greater situational or event unfolding content, 2) its greater specificity and richness of detail, 3) its much longer duration in time, 4) its common and frequent use in play, 5) the enactment of meaningful experience events rather than of a fragment of event as might have occurred during the 2nd year, and 6) the greater adaptive and problem solving capability inherent in the 3 to 6 year old's fantasy play. In addition of course, fantasy play is often carried out, by all of us in a way that is not apparent to the onlooker; that is, a child may be physically inactive while in a daydream be very busy in some problem solving or wish-fulfilling fantasy activity. Because of the problem-producing wishes the child now experiences the 3 to 6 year old child is often engaged in this kind of activity (see Section 3.23).

3.2132 CHILD REARING: How to Optimize the Development of Cognitive Activity, Play and Fantasy Activity

Locomotor, Fine Movement Activity, Speech, Books and Reading:

Parents quite naturally help their children in the development of skills and capabilities in locomotion, in riding tricycles and bicycles; many help also in the giving of dancing lessons, music lessons, gymnastics and swimming lessons, etc. Parents also, by the time their child is this age, have been making many efforts to help their children learn to speak; many also help their children to draw, to recite the alphabet and count; many even teach their children to read. Many children request having books read to them, a request which when sufficiently gratified may set the stage for the enjoyment of reading on the part of the child and, of course, establish a positive influence in the child to wish to read and learn from books in the future. The same can be said of all the instructions the parents give to the child including swimming, catching a ball or swinging a bat or golf club, dancing, music lessons, etc.

All of these efforts, doubly so because they are made by the parents, are of enormous importance to their children. Consider that the 3 to 6 year old child is a student. Indeed, every child is a student from birth on since most of what we eventually know and the skills we acquire have essentially all been learned. Of course children have various inborn talents and limitations; but, most of what we know and can do, we have learned. The parents, then, are the child's first teachers. The efforts parents make to teach them help their children in a number of ways. First, they facilitate the child's learning -- of everything. Consider a child trying to learn to ride a two-wheeler bicycle without help from his/her parents; or learning to speak, or read, or play an instrument. Consider also learning the rules of games. Rules are difficult for young children to accept as well as to learn. Peers help children learn rules. But they are often not so generous or

sensitive about it. As a rule, no one will be as patient, concerned and eager to help the child as her/his own parents. Surely, some things are more easily learned without help than are others. But some things would take much longer to learn without the invaluable help parents can give their children when that help is needed.

In selecting what to help the child learn more about, it is well to take the child's interests and natural inclinations into account. Coercing a 4 or 5 year old child to swim or ride a bike, in a child who is afraid of deep water or the bike may produce more tension and conflict than learning. It is not easy to separate out the difference between encouraging, demanding, and coercing a child to learn to do something the child finds difficult. By encouraging we mean to suggest supportively that a child try to do what the child feels intimidated by or afraid of; here the parent lets the child know he or she can count on the parent's help if needed, or the child can put off doing it to another time, or refuse to do it altogether. To demand we mean that the child is told he has no choice; he has to do what he or she is expected to do. This can be done while acknowledging the child's not wanting to do it, explaining (again if necessary) why he or she must do it, saying again that in this he or she has no choice. It is important to convey to the child that he or she has responsibilities too to himself or herself and to the family. By coercing we mean that the child's feeling of self, feelings of anxiety or fear, are put aside or even discredited ("You're not afraid!"), and the will of the parent(s) is the only thing that counts.

Notice that the difference between "demanding" and "coercing" as we use them has to do with how we view the child. In demanding, the child is acknowledged as an individual with rights to respect and explanation; she has a voice but not a vote. In coercing, the child's sense of self is disregarded; he may even be shamed for being anxious or afraid. His or her will is battered. The child is emotionally abused.

4 1/4 year old Doug used to really enjoy splashing in the portable kiddy pool they had when he was 1 and 2 years old. Mom thought he'd like to learn to swim. But when taken to the pool, Mom and Dad found that Doug was afraid to go any deeper than his knees and becomes frightened when Dad tries to get him to get into the water to learn to swim. Dad said to Mom that Doug is just not ready to learn to swim. No way will he do what his Dad did to him! Dad loves his own Dad, but some memories make him still very angry with his Dad. One, for sure, is that when Doug's Dad was a boy, he too was afraid of water (to swim in). Doug's grandfather thought the best way to get Doug's Dad to learn to swim was just to throw him in the deep end of a pool to force him to swim his way out! Many Dads did that in those days. No way will he do that to Doug!

But Mom was worried that Doug was afraid of the water. "What's wrong with that kid anyway?" She said. Mom didn't realize that 3 to 6 year old kids develop fears of things like swimming or riding a bike due in part at least to some of the fantasies normal kids have. Trying to talk them into not being afraid often does not work. Mom couldn't help feeling mad at Doug sometimes for this. Last week she called him a sissy and Doug felt very embarrassed and mad at Mom for doing that. Mom was sure that her son was the only kid in Philadelphia who is afraid of water. She was very surprised when 50 year old Bernie's mother happened to ask her advise on what to do about Bernie's just refusing to try to ride the new two-wheeler bike his grandparents gave him for his 5th birthday. He refuses to try it even with the training wheels on.

Parents tend to feel bad when their children are afraid of learning what most children seem to do with no trouble at all, like swimming or riding a bike. A number of things contribute to these fears. First are the fears of getting hurt, of failing, of feeling embarrassed, etc. Then, there are also fears that are more complicated, that come from other sources than the bike or the

water itself. This has more to do with normal fantasies children have which we shall detail in Sections 3.23 and 3.24. For now let's just consider what Doug's Mom and Dad and Bernie's Mom (his Dad is not living with them) could say that would be growth promoting.

Doug's Dad knew how it feels to be coerced as a 4 year old into doing something that frightens you. He remembers. Unfortunately many parents do not (let themselves) remember; this is regrettable, because it would increase their understanding of what their child is experiencing. Dad can say, "I was afraid of swimming when I was your age too, Doug. It really is important to learn how to swim though, so I hope that someday soon you'll wanna try to learn. We can do it slowly. You don't have to know how to swim right now."

Mom would help a lot by apologizing to Doug for calling him a sissy. "Doug, I'm really sorry I lost my cool the other day when I said you're being a sissy. I'm sorry; I wasn't at my best then. I do want you to learn to swim; it can save a person's life; one can never tell if one will ever need to know how to swim. You have to try to do it someday soon, I'll try to be better about helping you overcome being afraid."

Bernie's Mom should not push Bernie so hard since learning to ride a bike is not essential to survival or constructive adaptation. She can tell Bernie though that riding a bike is a lot of fun, feels really good, and would help Bernie feel good about himself. It can be embarrassing if a friend says "Let's ride our bikes" and you have to say "Uh, well, uh, I'm not allowed" or something like that.

There are many things the 3 to 6 year old child must do whether the child likes it or not like washing up, eating with reasonable manners, going to bed when told to do so, etc. To coerce learning where not yet necessary may, in many children of this age, lead to resistance to learning -- which can later be costly to school learning. Later, of course, demanding that the child do homework may be necessary. Encouraging or even demanding a child to practice special skills can readily be done during the 3 to 6 years period. Some talented ones should be respectfully pushed (by demanding) to develop their talents. But caution and due respect for the child are needed along with some monitoring of both positive and negative reactions to such pressured demands.

The parents' teaching the child not only facilitates the child's learning process, it also encourages the child to learn on his or her own; and that in turn, is facilitated by the parents approving of the child's efforts and successes. Parental approval brings with it pleasure and pride in making efforts and in succeeding, and raises the child's self-esteem. There is, therefore, value in parents helping their children develop skills in playing and in learning activities.

But parents also have to know when not to help, when to let the child try to cope on her or his own even at times to struggle some. Struggling to do something on one's own, trying hard to learn to dance or do gymnastics, to draw or read, to swim, to ride a bicycle or hit a ball with a bat, brings with it not only its own development of skills but also the child's feeling she/he is competent, capable and can be reasonably self-reliant. It makes the child do things he/she never did or mastered before and with it new skills are learned -- an essential step in learning to adapt to the many challenges of life and to grow. For this reason, children need opportunities, time and space to learn to do things on their own.

But when the task is too difficult, when the child tries again and again and fails, when the child is likely to give up, the parent should step in and help. One of the best times to help, of course, is when the child asks for help. Pushing a child too hard to learn, and not pushing a child hard enough to learn, can both interfere with healthy growth of skills at learning and/or playing.

At this age too, children will also want to help mom or dad fix things. Some parents will

not allow a child to help--if even just to hold the tools or handle utensils, to hand them to father or mother when needed. This often makes a child feel hurt and resentful and can lead to the child's feeling unimportant and incompetent, a feeling that can last in some instances for many, many years. In this context one often hears a parent say to a child impatiently, "You can't do this" or "You'll hurt yourself", or the like. Of course, many times limits must be set to protect the child; we are speaking only of the opportunity for the child to learn age-appropriately to do things that are safe, to develop skills under reasonable conditions, and to grow in self-confidence and self-value.

We should say here too that teasing and ridiculing a child's performance, in whatever task, whether speaking, throwing a ball, drawing, etc., is hurtful, shames, may enrage and create resentment and is a poor way of trying to get improved performance. Usually, encouragement works better.

Let's consider briefly the issue of answering a child's frequent "Why" questions. It is not necessary for parents to be paragons of virtue or of patience. There are times when children will really wear their parents' patience with their numerous questions "Why". But for the most part answering the child's questions are enormously useful to the child. The information that parents convey to their children by answering their questions helps the children learn what the real world is like. We will talk in a moment about children's wild fantasies. The need to know, the need to understand how things work, what makes them work, seems to be very strong in some children. Of course it is the kind of interest and curiosity one hopes a child will have when the child goes to school and it is time to learn from books as well as experience. This is where it all begins: with the child asking the parent why something happens or does not happen. The pressure to know is so large that if the parent does not answer the children's questions the children may seek out other teachers to answer these questions. Some of these teachers may very well be a neighbor who is 6 or 7 years old who can give the child much misinformation, to the child's detriment. But, let's remember again, that it is not necessary for parents to answer all their children's questions, especially when a parent is exhausted and would like a few minutes of peace.

How to optimize children's learning to play with toys and games, alone and with others:

Most children use toys very well and these help them learn all kinds of basic principles as of physics, such as wheels facilitate moving a load of blocks from one place to another, or toys always fall downward, they go up only if you toss them up (i.e., gravity), etc. They also learn that toys break and cannot always be repaired. But children also may use toys as weapons and they may break them partly intentionally say when angry with mother or father or big brother. When Jennifer's Mom told Jennifer she can't go into her brother Mike's things without asking him first, one of the reasons was that Jennifer did manage to break two of his erector constructions, Mom thought, maybe because Jennifer is jealous of Mike for a number of reasons, e.g., he's older, he's a boy, he goes to bed later, he can build things she can't (yet), and foremost, she is at times convinced that Mom loves him better than her. Jennifer's Mom was helpful to both Mike and Jennifer when she told her daughter that she is not allowed to just break Mike's toys, nor her own for that matter. "It's better to talk about feeling angry or jealous than to just break something! Besides, toys cost money and breaking them is wasting money. Cut it out!"

That is different from what Doug does which is that he likes to take some toys apart, he says to see what's inside them. He actually tries to put them back together; when he can't he has

asked his father to fix them for him. Even though Doug's father can't always fix them, he does not get mad at Doug because he knows Doug's not just breaking his toys, that he is exploring how they're put together and how they work. That is why Doug's parents have gotten him toys that are interesting to take apart and can pretty much be put back together. In fact, they plan to buy him a pretty complicated erector set for his 5th birthday.

Playing with other children is very useful for them but it is not always fun. 5 1/2 year old Bernie's mother likes Bernie to have a friend or two over to play with him. He does have 2 nice friends who go to the same kindergarten to which he goes. Bernie is quite good about playing with them, but from time to time he seems to get upset and then things don't go well. He then does not want 5 1/2 year old Suzy nor 5 3/4 year old Tom to play with his toys. Then, of course, Suzy and Tom get mad at him and gang up on him. Last Tuesday, Bernie's Mom really got angry with him for this; she can't even remember what was troubling Bernie. Mad at him for again not wanting Suzie or Tom to play with his toys, Mom got very upset and said "You really are a spoiled kid! You don't deserve to have friends like Suzy and Tom! If you don't let them play with your toys, I'll just have to send them home -- and you'll have no friends to play with!" That really made Bernie feel awful. Now he felt everyone was against him; everyone hates him. And he hates everybody! Interestingly, Suzy felt very bad for Bernie. So did Tom. Suzy put an arm around Bernie's shoulders. Tom spoke up: "It's ok Mrs. Williams, I sometimes do that too. Can we all go in the backyard and play?" Bernie, Suzy and Tom have been playing together for about 2 years. This kind of episode had happened before between them.

Bernie's mother was not helpful in the way she handled this situation. Life is difficult for mothers and it is difficult for children. Many demands are made on children; there are many difficult things to learn, many frustrations, hurts, and disappointments. A major one for Bernie is that, after years of arguing and a lot of hostile interactions and even insults, Bernie's Mom and Dad have separated. Suzy and Tom were fully aware of this. Of course, life is difficult for parents too, especially where there is a separation between them. Bernie's mother though, as should all parents, should have asked herself "How would I want my Mom to treat me when I did what Bernie did?" If parents apply this Golden Rule in their parenting it would guide them to be growth-promoting more than 80% of the time. It could have led Bernie's mother to say something like: "What's going on guys? Can I help? Bernie you look pretty mad. What happened?" Some complaint might have been registered and Mom could have tried to get the kids to resolve their problem together, these are actually good opportunities to help one's child solve problems constructively with friends. Bernie's Mom could have said: "Bernie, you're the host to you friends and that means you should let them play with your toys; I am sure that they let you play with their toys when you go to their houses. It's ok if you kids get mad at each other sometimes; but you've got to learn how to play fairly together, and how to settle your arguments reasonably. And you and I can talk about this more later." Respect for the child, knowing that there always is a reason for a child feeling hurt or angry, recognizing that when a problem arises it often can be made into an opportunity to help your child grow well -- these are essentials for growth promoting parenting. Helping the child get along constructively with friends in play contributes to the child's learning how to get along constructively in all social life situations, be it in play, in work, in society.

Optimizing children's fantasy play:

Fantasy and fantasy play are problem solving strategies. They are not silly, useless

child's play. When a 3 year old gets an antibiotic treatment shot at the pediatrician's and for the next few days or longer goes around playing doctor or nurse and giving every available person a series of shots and expecting variable reactions, the child is trying to master a situation in which the child felt afraid, helpless, hurt and probably angry. Each fantasy and fantasy play is an effort at mastering some aspect of life and adapting to it. Most common fantasy play of 3 to 6 year olds centers around family experiencing: playing house. A mother is taking care of a child, or going shopping, or going to the office to work; a mother and father are doing everyday chores with the baby; or they are on a trip together, etc. Also common is playing doctor. Here parents are wise to be alert since bodily examinations and poking can lead to infantile sexual exploration, which requires parental attention and guidance (more about this in Section 3.23). Parents should know that this "playing house" can be quite complex. A child may one time be the mother or the father (the sex of the child playing is not always determining of the role played), at another time, the baby. Although there is a tendency for girls to engage in playing house more readily than in boys, it is quite normal for both girls and boys.

It is important for parents to also know that quite normally children's fantasies can be extravagant, distorting, and even bizarre. Because there is a strong need to understand and know, to have explanations for how and why things happen if left to themselves, children will fabricate their own theories about anything and everything. The experiences they have, of course, is what determines the theories they will develop. Where the child's experience is limited, where the experience has not made certain things clear or known to the child, the child will fill the gaps from his/her own imagination, fantasies, in an effort to cope and to master life and the world in which he or she lives. Understanding the usefulness to coping of a child's fantasies, will make a parent more tolerant of the child's fantasies. The child's efforts to fill gaps in the experiences he or she has lead the child to spin distorted, even bizarre fantasies. The parent's helping the child correct some of the child's distorted fantasies gives the parent an opportunity to help the child read reality better and with it adapt better.

THE EARLY SCHOOL YEARS (FROM SIX TO TEN YEARS)

4.21 THE CHILD'S ABILITIES TO ADAPT -- Part I

4.2131 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: Intelligence -- Cognitive, Play and Fantasy Activity

Cognitive Activity:

Intelligence is evident in children's speech and communication, in their increasing capacity for solving problems, in their dialogues and narratives within the family, as well as in their capacity to learn school materials, to do chores within the home, and in their interactions with peers where numerous problem solving situations arise. Intelligence, in other words, is visible across all the 6 to 10 year old's activities.

Speech, language, vocabulary are developed to the capacity for carrying on a dialogue, responding to questions in substantial detail, in the verbalization of wishes, thoughts, even fantasies, with ample evidence for symbolization and a modest degree of inferring and abstracting from events that occur. Side by side with the development of speech and communication, the child gives evidence of a remarkable capacity to learn within the school setting, at home, in social relationships and situations. We can assume that these capacities in children 6 to 10 years of age have been known to their caregivers because, as Erikson has reported, demands for work are made of children across cultures at about 6 years of age. The demands of school are made because we know children are capable of responding productively to such demands. It is important to recognize that even where children go to school prior to 6 years of age, the demands made on them for learning to read, write and do arithmetic are limited; whereas from 6 years of age on, it no longer is an option for the child, now the child must learn to read, write and do arithmetic. In many other cultures this is the time when children are sent into the fields or to a work place to begin to learn to work along side adults.

In terms of writing, there is evidence of further brain maturation which leads to a spurt in the organization of cognitive functions which underlie the ability to write. This is inferred from the fact that many children who prior to 7 or 8 years of age tend to reverse letters and numbers, stop doing so at this age. This represents a higher level organization of cognitive functioning which brings with it better recognition and reproduction of the configurations of letters and numbers, clearly an important fact in writing.

Play Activity:

As we have done before, we will not include fantasy play here; we shall discuss it under fantasy activity (see below); here we focus on motoric play and games. Both 6 to 10 year old boys and girls tend to involve themselves in motoric play activity as required in games of tag, in rope jumping, which constitute a significant vehicle for the organization of bodily action,

discharge of large amounts of energy. In addition, a primary purpose in play is to effect interaction, communication, and bond formation with peers.

The same can be said for organized games, namely that among their primary functions are the organization of bodily actions and of emotional-mental energy utilization and to effect interaction, communication and bond formation with peers. Another major purpose for games is the pitting of oneself against challenges in order to enlarge one's own abilities and skills. The pitting is as much of the self against the self as it is against others. Much bodily coordination, the organization of specific motor (muscular action) movements continue to develop during the 6 to 10 years period. We have seen such development starting in the earliest years in the child's learning to feed himself/herself, to walk, climb stairs, run, skip and jump, handle crayons, and later pencil and paper, scissors, etc. This motor skills development, an avenue for the development of sensorimotor intelligence, continues during the 6 - 10 year period especially in the sphere of play, especially in games of tag, in rope jumping, but also in structured games as tennis, softball, track, and the like.

Not always recognized is that play and games also require and serve to channel that difficult to explain phenomenon we speak of as mental and emotional energy. Often normally fused with bodily physical energy, this mental-emotional energy, most clearly evident in self-preservative, assertive, hostile destructive, sexual and narcissistic behaviors, this energy seems always present in human behavior, at times moderate, at times intense, notably influenced by the state of physical and emotional health and by emotionally meaningful experiences. This energy fuels play and games and at the same time these serve as pathways to put this energy to constructive and pleasurable use.

6 to 10 year olds seem thrust from within to play games with each other. Many children this age find independent play and activity not gratifying. They seem to need to play with one or more peers. And, although it is important that children this age be able to be usefully and pleasurable active when alone, it is highly salutary that they also need to play with peers because by these activities, play and games (of varying degrees of structure), the 6 to 10 year old has many needed opportunities to exercise ways of interacting, communicating, and forming relationships with peers.

Play and games require skills; all kinds of skills in all of the areas just described, in bodily coordination, in effective motor (muscular movement) actions, in the beneficial channeling and use of mental energy, in developing peer relations. The development of skills as these and others, so wonderfully exercised and enlarged during the 6 to 10 years period, bring with them a heightening and cohesiveness of the sense of self, of industry, of capability and therefore an equivalent increase in self-esteem, self trust, self reliance and confidence. The importance then of play and games and the increase in skills they can bring seems self-evident.

And large too in play and games is the inevitable experience of competition. Competition is not new to the 6 to 10 year old. He/she has already known these only too well in relationships with siblings especially, but also with pre-school, daycare and neighborhood peers, and to be sure, in every child's family romance. Competition can be highly salutary in pushing the child from within to improve skills and performance. But too much push from within can become burdensome especially when it leads to intense feels of inadequacy and lowers self-esteem too much. And competition that is loaded with hostility, coming from excessively painful past experiences of all kinds, can become problematic both in terms of its creating shame

and guilt as well as problems in peer relations.

Consider too, how play and games accommodate well to the 6 to 10 year old's typical defensive mode of coping, that is by using obsessive-compulsive modes of coping. This pattern of coping not only help to effect the development of skills, by repeating again and again, day after day, but is also inherent in games, which are played over and over, each games having a fresh start, a new opportunity to win and to grow in competence.

Furthermore, of major importance, play and games hand in hand with obsessive compulsive ways of coping serve the learning of rules and regulations, a crucial organizing factor in human relationships and society. Consider the obsessive-compulsive mode of structuring behavior and conduct in games employed by the normal child 6 to 10 years of age, namely, the organization of behavior according to regulated, orderly, predictable, repetitive sameness. Learning rules and regulations in relationships, work and society is added to from the 6 to 10 years period by learning the rules and regulations called upon in games and without which games cannot be played. All in all then games benefit the child given that they provide an organized source of interaction, communication and bond formation among peers, provide the child with frames for self improvement contained by rules and regulations which guide, protect, are society-oriented, and contribute to a consolidation of the internalized standards by which the child governs his/her behavior.

There are several types of organized games including games that are one on one and group games of various kinds. One on one, there are checkers, and other board games, as well as cards; there are structured games that are of a sport type, namely tennis, ping-pong, etc. Organized (structured) group games also can be categorized as individual-on-group competition and team competitions in which the individual is a member; namely track, pits the individual against a group of other competitors; and by far among the most common are sportive games where teams are pitted one against another such as in baseball, football, field hockey, volleyball, etc.

Fantasy Activity:

Bear in mind that fantasy and fantasy play are problem solving and adaptive. Fantasy play has its beginnings in the middle of the second year of life, when it images a moment -- e.g., an 18 month old barks "like a dog" -- and expands to narrative, to story telling capability during the 3 to 6 years of age period. During the 6 to 10 years period, fantasy plays its part in helping the child adapt to all types of challenges he/she faces, challenges coming from the environment, from school and family, and challenges coming from within the self, from the child's continuing efforts to resolve his/her family romance, to entertaining fantasies of achievement, of self-enhancement, of being admired. Much fantasy at this time in addition to continuing to contain and further resolve whatever exists of the family romance also serve the child in placating feelings of inferiority, of incapability, of weakness. Furthermore, fantasy formation serves to develop fantasies of success which contain goals of serious dimensions for the child. It is not uncommon for a 6 to 10 year to fantasy being an admired teacher, a heroic fireman, explorer, or pilot, a magnificent dancer, etc. These fantasies not only make the child feel good about herself/himself now but they may also contain the seed for future plans, namely, to someday be a teacher, dancer, explorer, doctor, etc.

Fantasy activity can be solitary or be enacted in small groups. Most fantasy activity at this age tends to be solitary, especially in the form of daydreams. Teachers as well as students

and parents know only too well how frequently daydreaming is evident and may interfere with a child's efforts to achieve a task, be it to listen in class, to carry out a chore at home, or even while engaged in a team effort.

Group fantasy play usually occurs with a handful of people and seems to be more common among 6 to 10 year old girls than boys, who commonly enact a family story in which each person is assigned a particular part.

We cannot conclude a discussion of play activity and fantasy activity when carried out one on one or within a group, without emphasizing the purposes these activities provide as we have done above, but in addition without emphasizing how these are not always pleasant or fun. The challenges children encounter in games, in fantasy play together, one on one or within a group often, in fact, are painful. Often a child's wish to achieve or to do something is frustrated either by his/her own incapability or by the group's rejections of the child's wishes or hopes. "Play" can at times be enormously upsetting, humiliating and even infuriating. Learning to deal with these frustrations can bring with it adaptive capabilities which will help the child learn to deal with her/his peers and ultimately the adult world into which the child will grow.

4.2132 CHILD REARING: Intelligence -- Cognitive, Play and Fantasy Activity

Parents expect their children to be capable of responding productively to the demands made of them by school, by the peer group, and also by the family itself wherein, the expectation of being able to carry out new tasks is clearly stated to the child. Parents should, as they have before, encourage their children to increase their capacity to talk, to tell the family what they have been doing, to discuss matters important to the child and family, and many have already encouraged learning to read and in some instances learning to play musical instruments, etc. But now, from 6 to 10 years of age, the demands parents make on their children to learn are especially organized by what the children are learning in school. Parents can be enormously helpful in responding to any questions, in helping problem solve issues that grow out of the work the children are doing in school. Care must be taken to make demands which the child will be able to comply with and while pushing, to not push beyond the child's capabilities, tolerance, or degree of tiredness. It is well for parents to not become unduly discouraged at a first or second grader's reversal of letters and numbers given that the normal development we have referred to in the section above will help to resolve this problem in due time.

We want to emphasize for parents that play activity must be recognized as at times being very taxing, challenging, upsetting, if not downright painful. While play is enormously important for children as we described in the section above (4.2131), play, games, are often not relaxing, often not gratifying, they at times turn a pleasantly feeling youngster into an angry one because of some frustration, disappointment, or even insult sustained at the hands of his/her "friends."

Much of these activities, cognitive, play and fantasy activities occur within the home, but also in the school setting, and in a setting outside the child's home, be it at a friend's house, on the playing field or the playground. Parents, therefore, are given the dual opportunity of observing, supervising and guiding those activities which occur within the house and, equally importantly, can become the agent of listening to, being available to respond to, playing the part

of the consultant to the child with regard to activities that occur away from home, which can make the parents a source of counsel, working through of an unpleasant or very pleasant event, helping the child solve problems away from the actual set of their occurrence, namely in school and in the peer group. In this it is important that parents bear in mind that in providing guidance and counsel it is well to not be intrusive but to be available when possible. In other words, parents have to provide guidance when asked for or when deemed helpful; care has to be exercised here to attain a balance between being able to tell a child something he/she may not want to hear and not too vigorously forcing the parent's views on the child when they are not welcome. Let us emphasize that parents have not only the right but also the responsibility of telling their children things they may not want to hear; but it is well known that if this happens too often, the child will learn to not listen or will disregard what is being said by the parent.

Also important in judging when to tell and when not to tell your child what you think or what to do, is the fact that letting 6 to 10 year olds solve problems themselves to a reasonable point will give them a feeling of capability, of self-reliance which can serve them to advantage. Here the line to be drawn by the parent is whether they believe that the child can solve a particular problem by himself/herself and when the task may be too difficult. If the problem is too difficult, will lead to too much frustration, parental help may serve the child very well.

We want to reiterate that while providing guidance is enormously helpful, it is also true that 6 to 10 year olds continue to require supervision and that limits need to be set on some of the activities they may undertake or in some of the ways they may react. When arguments between peers get too difficult, when rules need some refereeing, when abuse of one youngster by others becomes evident, whether it is one's own child or another, when bullying behavior occurs by one's own or another, parental limit setting will be needed. Refereeing should be distinguished from limit setting. Refereeing means that the parent intervenes between peers to prevent the breaking of rules, to clarify rules, to call when play is foul; but allow the competitors to go on with their problematic interaction. Setting limits is called upon when an activity has to be put to a stop, such as in bullying or the abuse of one youngster by others. If the abusing or bullying 6 to 10 year old cannot be stopped from such behavior, an interruption of the activity is called for which may also require a separation of the bully or the victimized youngster from those who are abusing him/her.

It is also important for parents to realize that 6 to 10 year olds will need supervision with regard to play of a sexual kind between peers (including siblings), a quite common phenomenon. Setting limits--that is, interrupting the activity--is indicated because children usually experience feelings of shame and of guilt when carrying on sexual activities at this early age. It is important to set limits in a benevolent manner in order to help the child understand that sexuality is a normal activity, at appropriate ages and under appropriate conditions a desirable and beneficial activity, whereas at too young an age it may be detrimental and hurtful to the child. It is a matter of waiting until the child is old enough to have a good grasp of what sex is all about, what some of its consequences may be for both good and bad, and that from 6 to 10 years of age the child is much too young for such responsibility-requiring behavior. Shaming, embarrassing, as a limit setting or even punishment goal are usually not desirable; quite invariably, though, children "caught" in such sexual activity will feel embarrassed and ashamed. The goal should be to interrupt the activity, to clarify its prematurity, and to strongly recommend a postponement of engagement in such activity until the child has a good grasp of its meaning and consequences.

It is also well for parents to recognize that daydreaming is ubiquitous in children 6 to 10 years of age, that daydreaming is often the result of a child's efforts to make herself/himself feel

better, solve a problem, construct goals for the self, that all in all, daydreaming is fantasy activity which has its helpful and adaptive aspects. Where it needs to be interfered with is when the daydreaming interferes with the achievement of a task the child is expected to carry out, be it a school task such a homework assignment, or the performance of a chore at home.

We also want to emphasize that competition has, like so many other things, its good side and its bad side. The good side of competition is that it directs the child, it energizes and motivates the child to achieve at a better and higher level of capability, and that it can, therefore, help the child grow in skills, in self esteem, in self reliance. The bad side of it, is when competition becomes imbued with hostility, leads to a breakdown of the observations of rules and regulations as well as when it produces poor sportsmanship. Poor sportsmanship, the breaking of rules and regulations is costly in that it tends to make peers reject the child and lead to the child's developing attitudes toward peers which are hostile and may even become antisocial. It is an important task for the parent to try to sort out whether in the competition the child is indeed developing a better sense of herself/himself, is developing further skills, the ability to persist in efforts and is developing a sense of mastery over self and his environment. Equally important is to determine whether the child is developing ways of interacting with peers which in the long run will be destructive, lead to feelings of shame and guilt, to poor social interactions and even antisocial behavior.

PRE-ADOLESCENCE (FROM ABOUT 10 TO 13 YEARS)

5.21 THE CHILD'S ABILITIES TO ADAPT -- Part I

5.2131 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: Intelligence -- Cognitive, Play, and Fantasy Activities

Cognitive Activity:

10-13 year olds who have fared well in developing good learning skills in school continue to stabilize and further exercise these skills during the years from 10 to age 13. The stabilization of these skills during these years is facilitating of the capacity for abstract thought which will emerge during early and mid-adolescence, a capacity much needed for advanced, high school and later college level academic work. For children who have fallen behind in developing learning skills during the years prior to 10, these subsequent years from 10 to 13 are crucial in attempting to advance their needed learning skills before the greater demands of high school arrive.

Motor skills, mechanical, sport-related, instrument-playing, etc., usually continue to improve with continuing effort (practice). Well-coordinated youngsters tend to accommodate to their growing limbs without substantial loss of skill. Some less well-coordinated ones may require more effort in accommodating their growing limbs to the tasks attempted.

Especially with regard to thought activity, it is expectable that the inner biological stirrings which are determined by oncoming puberty, make for greater distraction and with it may impede the child's efforts to concentrate while learning in school or doing homework. This is especially due to the stirring up of fantasies activated by the bodily changes and feelings produced by the child's changing biology.

Fantasy Activity:

While fantasy is amply and richly developed already from the 3 to 6 years period on, it seems to get a new burst of activity during the 10 to 13 years period, and will continue well into and through adolescence. Bear in mind that fantasy formation is adaptive, that it allows trial experience in one's mind without risk of danger, that it allows us the expression of forbidden wishes without harm or external reprimand.

Fantasy is experienced especially within the privacy of one's own mind. But it can also be shared and may determine play and social interaction. It is especially that which is experienced privately that is the stuff of daydreams and which intrudes in the child's efforts to concentrate and learn in school or while doing homework. The biologically determined inner stirrings bring with them feelings that fuel wishes and with these, fantasies. In well cared for and well treated children such fantasies generally serve the fulfillment of wishes to be heroic, admired, emotionally desired, successful in school and sports or art, etc. In most children, such wishes may also contain fantasies of victory over pain, over evil-doers, of right over wrong.

Traumatized, abused youngsters are likely to also fantasize retaliations against those that have hurt them, fights to victory being often more detailed in bloodshed, tortures and destructions. Sexual feelings will stir sexual fantasies, some idealized; in children in whom much hostility has accumulated due to excessively hurtful experiences, such sexual fantasies may become sadistic toward others and toward the self. Many factors enter into the formation of our fantasies which accounts for their richness and great variety.

One of the problems for the 10 to 13 year old, as well as will be the case for adolescents, is that while these private fantasies help the child contain and master the many inner forces active in the child's body and mind, heightened fantasy activity can intrude into and interfere with the child's efforts to attend to school tasks, to concentrate and to learn.

Fantasy that is shared with others, whether in play or other social interaction (such as sharing jokes, stories, or even in early sexual activity) tend to be put into action in social contexts, not usually during individual efforts to work or practice skills. In these contexts fantasies become more organized, tend to be tamed under optimal conditions, camouflaging wishes for more overt sexual activity during these pre-adolescent years. Of course, 10 to 13 year olds who are abused or taken advantage of may enter into sexual activities precocious for their years with at times seriously detrimental consequences (we will speak more of these issues in Unit 5.23).

Special note should be made of the fact that the 10-13 year old's increased capacity to think and understand life more realistically brings with it not only a mounting interest in matters of sexuality and becoming bigger, becoming an adolescent, but also the gradual recognition of the finiteness of the child's own life. Prior to pre-adolescence the child increasingly came to recognize that things that die do not return to visit, like grandfather, or the dog that got killed by a car. But these thoughts seem to not turn to the self. There is also question as to how truly the irreversibility of death even of others than the self is fully accepted or understood before about 10 years of age. Now, the 10-13 year old seems to gain this anxiety producing understanding and it may indeed become very upsetting to him. The anxiety may reach such proportions following upon the recognition and understanding of the irreversibility of death, as well as of one's own eventual death, that symptoms may result which may need professional help.

Play Activity:

Solitary play is often fueled by fantasy, before and during this age period as well. Because some of the fantasies will be fueled by sexual and/or hostile wishes, many a child will try to fend off such fantasies by a variety of psychic defense mechanisms (see section 5.2521). In addition solitary sexual fantasies will also lead to masturbation (see Unit 5.23). Of the defense mechanisms implemented, sublimation will lead to the setting up of highly valuable creative activities propelling some youngsters to practice more be it in sport skills, artistic skills, etc. Some will begin or continue already started stamp collections, collections of coins, dolls, butterflies, etc. The channeling of increasingly higher levels of sexual and/or destructive stimulation into such creative activity starting again now (it was quite high during the 3 to 6 years period) and increasing through adolescence, can be most salutary for the child.

5.2132 CHILD REARING: Intelligence -- Cognitive Play and Fantasy Activity

Cognitive Activity:

Most parents want to insure that their child is developing good learning skills in order to secure for himself/herself the best opportunities for that child's eventual life work opportunities. One can best insure such development by being attentive to the child's report cards, the child's teachers' views of and recommendations for the child. And above all, parents can insure the development of good learning skills by keeping an open channel for communication about school activities with the child and by being aware of the child's homework, its load, and by supporting and encouraging the child's efforts to become disciplined about these. Of course, parents highlighting the value to the child of making major efforts in and of developing discipline about work is among the best ways parents have of helping the child.

If school skills have not developed well to date, the 10 to 13 years period is a must period to gain ground on developing basic learning skills better. Extra help, often more readily accepted by children when it comes from tutors rather than directly from the parents themselves, may well be worth the cost. To be sure, parents should offer help as best they can; our caution that tutors may be more effective comes from the added difficulty children experience when parents become their school teachers given the complex conflicted emotional relatedness that exists in even the best of parent-child relationships. Suggestion for extra help at this time for children who are not succeeding in developing age-appropriate skills for learning is that it will not get easier in adolescence due to two compounding factors: (1) the greater homework load as well as schoolwork load which comes with high school years, and (2) the greater intensity of inner sexual and aggressive pressures, fantasy life and distractions of efforts to concentrate, study, and do work.

Supporting and encouraging a 10 to 13 year old's interests in and efforts to learn, to repair broken household things or a bicycle, or sewing and knitting, or to develop special skills be it in sports or artistic endeavors, is valuable because they enhance a feeling of competence and raise self esteem. In addition they become effective and constructive pathways for the channeling of large sexual and aggressive energies that come with adolescence. Given that sublimations organize psychic experiencing in probably the most constructive way possible, supporting such efforts on the part of the 10 to 13 year old, now as it will be during adolescence, is most growth-promoting.

Among the many factors that concern parents regarding their children pertaining to facilitating thinking, problem solving, carrying on a conversation, talking about important things in life, etc., we want to emphasize the following. As we stated in Unit 5.2131 (Human Development Aspect of Cognitive Functioning), children are terrified at times, much anxiety is produced in them by the realization that the life of each of us is finite and that our eventual death is an irreversible phenomenon. Parents should be prepared to talk to their children about this concern like about any other concern.

A 12 year old asked his father: "What is a brain tumor?" which he then followed with a number of further questions. His father soon learned that a 16 year old in his school had died of a brain tumor. From the mental health vantage point, the school administration served its student body well by announcing this death in an assembly and the calling for a moment of silence. This

12 year old was able to let his distress surface when he found the environment receptive to his questions. He was told by his father that a brain tumor is an abnormal growth of body tissues which can cause serious damage and if it goes far enough, can kill a person. "What is cancer?" he asked, he'd heard it was cancer. His father tried to explain. This was followed by what kind of cancer could develop in the brain, which was then followed by how would such be discovered, treated, and while he clearly showed much anxiety and revulsion at how a surgical brain procedure would be carried out (which was given in very simple, as mild as possible details) he was nonetheless able to explore this very frightening subject and seemed relieved at being able to talk about it. Clearly, frightening details, going beyond the child's tolerance for such a discussion, are not desirable. It is clear, however, that caring parents, as well as other caregivers, can address these issues in ways that can be most beneficial to the 10 to 13 year old.

Fantasies:

Fantasies are activated by internal concerns, by experiences and by physiological (biological) inner stirrings. Fantasizing serves not only the expression of wishes and needs but also efforts at mastery, at controlling inner pressures and at problem solving. Therefore, it is constructive, adaptive. But fantasizing can also interfere with learning, by its interference with concentration, study and doing homework. The 10 to 13 year old's fantasy life will unavoidably be energized by bodily stirrings and freshly emerging sexual interests, by the changes that begin the 10 year process of becoming an adult. It is helpful to encourage the 10-13 year old child to put herself/himself back on track when daydreaming (fantasizing) interferes with learning efforts. How this is achieved, however, is critical. Depreciation, ridiculing, hostility because the child is daydreaming and not working, should be avoided because they tend to cause injury while they may be an effort to help. Humor can be very useful, again if it is not depreciating or ridiculing of the child. Firmness to get back to work, drawing attention to the interference of daydreaming can be very helpful.

Children who have been abused, physically and/or sexually, are likely to be more preoccupied with mastering their hurt feelings or their sexual over-excitement, fears and guilt, and the hate these feelings generate within them. The higher the level of hurt, sexual over-excitement, fear guilt and hate, the more will fantasizing take place in an effort to handle these feelings. The more will work efforts be interfered with. The hurt and hate must be dealt with by the parents and professional help may be warranted where efforts to study and learn continue to be interfered with in a significant way during this age period.

Play Activity:

It is well for parents to bear in mind that play activity grows out of very real concerns children have, and that in the 10 to 13 year old boy and girl a substantial sector of play activity is likely to become sexualized or aggressivized, given that these result from the developmental intensification of these two powerful behavior-influencing factors at this age. These of course activate the fantasies which lead to play activity both solitary and in interaction with peers. More will be said of sexual and aggressive activity in Sections 5.23 and 5.24. Both solitary and interactional activity are enormously important for constructive development, adaptation, the capacity to enjoy experience, develop methods for relaxation, entertainment and pleasure, and a component of one's time and energies needs to be allocated to that sector of

experience. Psychologically, it is quite clear; that "all work and no play make Johnny a dull boy" has a great deal of merit. From the vantage point of mental health, it is essential that humans be able to not only work but also to play and love. Therefore, benevolent supervision of play activity, especially in interactional activity that is prematurely sexualized or excessively aggressivized, is beneficial. So is the encouragement and guidance in how to interact at a play level with peers for some children who seem to be inhibited in this sphere. Again, more on this in Sections 5.23 and 5.24.

ADOLESCENCE (FROM ABOUT 13 TO 20 YEARS)

6.21 THE ADOLESCENT'S ABILITIES TO ADAPT -- Part I

6.2131 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: Intelligence -- Cognitive, Play and Fantasy Activities

Cognitive Activity:

A new era in thinking ability begins in early adolescence, the ability for abstract thought, to infer meaning beyond that which is immediately visible, to condense a large mass of information into its essentials. This remarkable ability is critical for reasoning, for predicting outcome, for complex problem solving, and for theorizing -- whatever the field, be it math, science, philosophy, etc. The development of this ability peaks in mid to late adolescence and the application of this type thinking to work enlarges. In late adolescence, further exercising of it leads to increasingly sophisticated skills in reasoning, problem solving and theorizing. Now the quality of intellectual work becomes college level and with the acquisition of more and more information and technical skills reaches the threshold of professional capability level.

During this era, especially from mid adolescence on, the cognitive abilities in the process of developing lead the mid adolescent in the direction of work congenial to his/her abilities to think which will have lifelong implications. To be sure, input toward becoming a baseball star, an auto mechanic, a teacher, a doctor has input from very early on in life; this is especially so due to identifications with a particular person meaningful to the child and/or interests which spontaneously from early childhood on became part of problem solving and sublimations. We assume that the degree to which the mid adolescent finds herself/himself capable of meeting the demands of the schoolwork typically programmed during high school is significantly determined by the development of good or not so good cognitive capability. The mid adolescent whose struggle to understand, to meet the intellectual academic demands made of him/her will be disheartened about pursuing continuing education along professional lines and will wisely channel his/her interests into trade level thinking performance. Those who excel will no doubt, unless significant emotional problems interfere with it, be propelled and motivated by their inner capabilities to pursue post high school and even post college education. Of course, social and socioeconomic obstacles are known to often create discouragement in even very capable adolescents, to promote a pessimistic outlook for future possibilities, and disrupt the adolescent's continuing efforts to exercise innate intellectual capabilities to his/her advantage.

It is probably never too late to develop new skills in anything. We do not know enough to say otherwise. But the early adolescent who does not keep pace with school expected level of skills development will eventually find meeting the demands of advancing schoolwork more and more difficult. The pre-high school years are critical for the establishment of individual study skills. Still though, such study skills can be developed even during late high school and have been known to develop in young adults who never put significant effort into high school studies; some adults, coming face to face with the realities of life, have determined to make new efforts and have succeeded in developing significant cognitive study skills during adulthood.

Patterns of study are pre-requisite for good ability to do the homework which will pile up in school. Of course, developmental factors and experiential factors may both interfere with the ability to concentrate on school work, especially so in doing homework in which, of course, the effort to concentrate and think has to be self imposed. Among developmental factors that may interfere with the early and mid adolescent's efforts to study are the continuing stirrings of sexual feelings, stirrings difficult to control, difficult to suppress when the need to concentrate and study are at hand. As time passes, the ability to put aside sexual preoccupations improves and concentration and study improve. Experiential factors that may interfere with concentration and study capabilities include any sources of worry, anxiety, be they familial in origin, peer related, or even performance related. Again and again we have found the fear of not being able to perform well to become an interferer with a capable adolescent's ability to concentrate and study. And then, the more the adolescent has difficulty doing work due to insufficient skills development, the more the chances he/she will fantasize (daydream) and further impede efforts to study and learn.

Of course, the development of cognitive skills plays its large part in the development of other skills as well. There comes a point in any locomotor (movement) coordination when intellectual skills play their part. For instance, in all sports be it basketball, football, or tennis, movement coordination can be more or less skillfully negotiated by means of quick thinking and problem solving. Similarly whether it is playing a musical instrument, doing a theatrical performance, a dance routine, these too are enriched by intellectual capability. Similarly the artist who paints or sculpts is using much more than just technical motor skills. At a certain point the development of such skills, motor coordination skills are integrated with intellectual, especially problem solving skills in elevating performance to higher and higher levels. Much of this occurs during mid and late adolescence.

Play Activity:

Adolescence is by far the age period of group play activity. Interestingly, animal behaviorists who study monkeys and apes have virtually defined adolescence in these primates by the fact that this is the era and the developmental phase when peer activity in the form of play is at its highest. In these primates, especially monkeys, the adolescent population can virtually be identified in looking at a mass of monkeys by selecting those that seem to be doing most of the running around, often chasing each other in clearly a playful manner. In a very similar sense, during adolescence in humans, peer relatedness achieves a new level of importance which we shall discuss in Section 6.22. We can assume that play activity in adolescents becomes a vehicle for important social interaction within the peer group. In fact play now becomes a major vehicle for socialization.

Play, interaction with the peer group is rewarding; but it is also taxing, often anxiety producing, frustrating, disappointing, infuriating, and even at times very worrisome. It is very pleasant to be an accepted member of a group, to play successfully, to be approved for one's participation in play. But it is frustrating to not perform at the level one wishes to perform and to not win in games, it is very hurtful to be ridiculed, it is infuriating to be scapegoated, and it is worrisome to do things in play which may get one into trouble. Here, problems may arise from the mid adolescent and the late adolescent's disappointment in his/her own performance; and the negative reactions may equally come from how the peer group reacts to the adolescent's performance. The adolescent may be ridiculed by peers but may also ridicule himself or herself;

she or he may be infuriated by peers but she or he may also infuriate peers and feel rejected.

The general term play as we use it consists of a number of activities. There are games, there are group activities, and most importantly there are specifically social groupings. There is also one-on-group play and one-on-one play. Games, especially in the form of sports, fulfill the enormously important function not only of bringing a group of similarly interested and similarly skilled individuals together, but especially in further firming up rules and regulations by which individuals in the group interact with each other. Smaller group games, non-skilled specific games such as board games like Monopoly, Trivial Pursuit, etc., are less dependent on specific abilities but nonetheless function by rules and regulations which continue the process of learning to play, interact in socially acceptable ways.

Another crucial aspect of games in groups as well as one on one such as in chess and checkers, is the question of winning and losing. Due to the relatively age-appropriately unstable self esteem of young adolescents, winning and losing is very challenging to the self. Teenagers who have the good fortune of feeling loved, respected, appreciated within their families and are developing emotionally and intellectual well, will have a more stable sense of inner value, inner self respect and have a higher and age-appropriate more stable sense of self esteem. Those who are not as fortunate, adolescents who for years have been traumatized in one way or another, who have been depreciated, who have met with a number of failures in school, in peer relations, and especially those who have suffered rejections within their own families, will have a much less stable, and much lower level of self esteem. The fact is, as we shall describe further in Section 6.26, no adolescent's self esteem is very stable. The level and degree of psychological development during adolescence makes for much -- albeit increasingly less -- uncertainty about the self, perhaps much promise but a long distance to go before inner conviction of efficiency, capability, and strength becomes truly stable. That will not happen until early to mid adulthood. Therefore, tolerating losing is a difficult task for the adolescent, even for the adolescent who is emotionally quite healthy. Losing in a game will present the early, the mid and even the late adolescent with the difficult task of tolerating the degree of loss in self esteem, a degree of loss of self valuing that comes with losing in play. Mental health professionals speak of this as a narcissistic injury, an injury to the adolescent's healthy self regard and self love. And on the other hand, boosts of healthy narcissism, raises self value and self esteem come with winning as is readily visible in sports, even in adults. In this, then, games in adolescence are enormously important, are a workshop for forging a better sense of self value and self esteem, and make their very meaningful contribution to total development and emotional health.

Another common group process in adolescence is that built around peers with common performance, sublimational interests. Musical groupings, theater, dance, are all vehicles for "play", creative activity (sublimation) and for socialization. Here too there is much potential reward but also much that is experienced as taxing for the individual. Feelings of achievement, pleasure, elation as well as anxiety, frustration, disappointments, and even intense anger and despair may accompany these activities. These may all be produced by the adolescent's own performance or the reaction of peers in the group. Here too, rules and regulations are observed, in fact, are part and parcel of the ability to work as a group, as an ensemble, be it an orchestra or instrumental quartet, a theater performance or dance performance.

There are also other types of social groupings such as the group of friends the adolescent becomes a part of; those who are outside of this group may view it as a clique. Such groups are very meaningful to the mid and late adolescent and contain a unique dimension for the adolescent. This group tends to be more intimate, peers at times revealing to each other their

most intimate thoughts, feelings, and experiences, whereby they serve the critical function of forging pathways to intimacy in relationships. This is apart from sexual intimacies; rather these pertain to complaints about the family, the exchange of worrisome thoughts of a more personal nature, etc. To be sure, some groupings of this kind tend to be more superficial and have shorter lives than others; however, some groups of friends from high school may maintain relationships well into adulthood.

Other forms of organized social groupings may be school based, such as the Debating Society, the Spanish Society, etc. Others are organized under the roof of religious institutions such as Catholic Youth, B'nai B'rith Youth Groups, Methodist Youth Groups, etc. And then there are also the community organized groups such as the Scouts.

An important social group is that regularly organized in the form social events we all know as "parties". These of course have a unique importance especially from mid adolescence on in providing an environment and opportunity for social interaction between males and females. These group events present opportunities for mutual acquaintance between adolescent girls and boys acting both as prescriber and facilitator of what conduct is and is not acceptable. In this it organizes the adolescent's introduction to the universe of male and female social interaction. Of course, such parties are not the only setting in which social interactions between male and female are possible; in fact, school is that foremost domain. Nonetheless, at parties conduct not permissible in school is sought out and both prescribed and prohibited. Conduct toward alcohol, drugs, become organized both in the direction of moderating and restricting their use and, regrettably, for some in the direction of promoting and facilitating their use. Similarly socially condoned or restricted sexual activity occurs in both positive and negative directions. That is to say, it is positive where early adolescents, mid adolescents and late adolescents prescribe for each other sexual behavior which is reasonable for their age, cautious and mutually respecting. Negative is the setting where caution, respect and thoughtfulness are put aside for the sake of immediate gratification at times at high cost to the individuals involved. More on this in Section 6.23.

Under the label of play we also include solitary play, namely attention given to a collection say of stamps, rocks, butterflies; the writing of poetry, reading, art work, all sublimations and therefore valuable for the individual adolescent.

Many factors pertain specifically to adolescents. Among these, however, few are more important than the telephone and the question of a car. From early adolescence on the telephone becomes a unique facilitator for peer communication and peer relatedness. The adolescent uses the telephone for quick access to friends, for communicating with a friend under restricted conditions (such as not being able to go out on school nights), and even for important intimacies and communicating under conditions of high anxiety. Take for instance, a mid or late adolescent wanting to ask a girl to a party. Asking face to face is quite more difficult for most adolescent boys than it is to ask without being seen. While the telephone serves us all exceedingly well in different ways, for few is it more useful than for the adolescent.

The importance of transportation is of course quite clear to everyone. For the adolescent living in a suburban community, transportation is even more problematic than it is for inner city dwellers for whom distances are not as long and public transportation accommodations far better. In addition however, the car has a large emotional evaluation for the late adolescent for a multiplicity of reasons. Among them, is the power experienced by the late adolescent in driving so powerful a machine; so too is the degree of freedom and capability it gives the late teenager in getting from one place to another; and it is valued for the feasibility for accommodating a

couple on a date. Needless to say, family economics are powerfully determining of the feasibility of making a car accessible to a mid or late adolescent. So too is the degree to which that adolescent can be trusted, is known to be responsible, to use good judgment, as co-determiners of whether or not a family car can be made available to that adolescent. It is well known how important having a car at one's disposal acquires for many an adolescent. This, of course, like the telephone, is not a necessity for adolescent successful living; but it too is experienced as a facilitator for communication with peers and social interaction.

Fantasy Activity:

By far the largest time given to fantasy is solitary time. While fantasies also are carried out with others, most fantasy life is an individual activity. The large developmental tasks of adolescence are fodder for fantasy activity. Daydreams, one of the preferred and most frequent private activities, become a method for testing one's wishes, imagining the narrative or course of an event of major importance which causes anxiety, fear of disappointment and of failure. Such trial mental and usually very emotional run-throughs give the adolescent an opportunity to sharpen his/her eventual actual trials; and they test ways of taking such events on, give opportunity to consider what efforts to make and what their consequences might be, the possibilities of success and failure. Again, we emphasize the positively adaptive function of fantasy in everyone's life, and especially so during adolescence.

As before, the fantasies of adolescents are of all kinds; heroic deeds, masterful performance and conquest, successes of all kinds, pleasures and gratifications, sexual undertakings, etc. In traumatized adolescents acts of violence, retaliation and revenge, are common. In such adolescents, as well as in even moderately conflicted adolescents, sexual fantasies may also be hurtful, torturing of others and even self-hurtful and humiliating.

As before, although a principal means of problem solving and of testing reality, fantasy (daydreaming especially) may interfere with work, especially with listening attentively enough in class or in concentrating in doing homework. It is in doing homework especially that daydreaming can be disruptive because the adolescent is alone in this effort, with no external reminders to pay attention or inhibit daydreaming.

Fantasies can also become shared with others and become subjects for discussion. This sharing of course can reflect thoughts and concerns at varying levels of intimacy. Intimacies can be shared to a substantial degree with friends and become a source of mutual exploration and exchange of ideas. Such exchanges can also serve to forewarn against action that could cause problems as much as it can serve to encourage undertakings which cause the individual anxiety. For instance, a 16 year old encouraging his 15 year old friend to try to get on the school basketball team might be just the push needed by that 15 year old to pull himself together and gather the courage to try out. Of course, humor, jokes often also allow the expression of fantasies with ideas that cause anxiety and are tested on the peer group for their reaction which may both condone or prohibit acting on such ideas.

One of the most important functions fantasy activity serves in addition to those already stated, is its implementation in creative activity. The dancer, the writer, the painter--all are facilitated in their work by the play of fantasies in the creative process required for these activities. All in all then fantasy activity is an integral part of adaptation and is amply put to use in the developmental challenges which the individual adolescent faces.

6.2132 CHILD REARING: Intelligence -- Cognitive, Play, and Fantasy Activities

Cognitive Activity:

Parents are presented with many challenges in the course of rearing their children; this is no less the case for the parent of the adolescent. With regard to the development of new cognitive capabilities, thinking capabilities, it is important for parents to know that a new stride in thinking capability unfolds during early adolescence and continues variably in individuals through mid and late adolescence. How to facilitate, support, and guide the adolescent in developing these new and increasingly powerful skills? Given that higher education creates more opportunities for adaptation to life, to the job market, to improving one's socioeconomic status through work and providing an income, parents need to think most seriously of the status of their adolescent's cognitive, thinking activities. This is of course best and most exercised in efforts required by schoolwork and in doing homework. Attention to the adolescent's school performance, to the degree of difficulty in doing homework, preparing for tests, in doing school projects, to the quality of report cards, all will inform the parents and give signs to the adolescent of parental support, which will in turn facilitate the adolescent's acceptance of parental guidance. There are many instances when parents have to demand greater effort on the part of the early, mid and even late adolescent to perform in academic settings.

In addition, communication within the family, exploring the family members' activities of the day at the dinner table, as well as before dinner and before bedtime is an important way by which, through reportage and discussion parents can facilitate the adolescent's communicating better and better. It is wise to discuss, and therewith encourage thinking around issues of importance to adolescence, namely their experiences in school, their experiences with peers, their hopes and their ambitions, etc. Parents can also be enormously helpful in securing an environment in which studying can be done. This means providing sufficient space (even if very small, like part of the kitchen table) for study, with good enough lighting for reading, the elimination of unnecessary noises and sounds that interfere with a specific adolescent's ability to study.

It is especially important for parents who in their own development were not encouraged to work hard in school, to work hard at developing skills in sports, music, etc., to come to terms with the fact that they can increase their own children's potential future chances for life improvement by making serious efforts to learn in school and in constructive out of school activities.

Looking for and encouraging a teenager's innate potentials, talents, can be most rewarding both for the adolescent and the parents. A teenager who is known to be talented in sports, to show talent in music or in art should be supported by the parents, encouraged, and provisions made to facilitate the development of these skills and talents.

It is well for parents to know that it is probably never too late to develop new skills. The earlier these are developed, of course, the more secure their development in adolescence. But even where work skills, learning skills have been insufficiently developed up to this age, it is essential for parents to make major efforts from early adolescence on to encourage and facilitate the development of skills and the ability to persist in work efforts. It is common for parents to have to demand of the adolescent to try harder and to work persistently, often against a good deal

of resistance on the part of the adolescent. Insufficiently developed skills makes work much more difficult and thereby increases resistance to making the effort. Parents should not underestimate the frustration children experience when they cannot perform, when they feel incompetent to do what is required for academic performance. Scolding, depreciating, yelling, harsh punishment, tend not to help very much. Support, encouragement, persistence in reasonably-dosed demands are much more likely to succeed. Attention is going to be needed by the parent; adolescents who have difficulty in studying due to having insufficiently developed their skills to do so, will find studying extremely difficult and parental attention will be necessary and may be very rewarding. The parent must consider the fact that a hard pressed early adolescent or mid adolescent may not be truthful about the homework that is required and it is important that parents, in these as more benign cases, be in touch with the school, find out what the work requirement is, and cooperate with school authorities. It can be very helpful for parents to inquire of their adolescent how the homework is going, to explore whether or not the adolescent can work alone successfully, whether there is much daydreaming that interferes with studying, etc. Again, encouragement, supporting good efforts being made and work well done, are much more helpful than yelling, depreciating, scolding the adolescent who is having difficulty. Consultations with schools can be invaluable in helping parents help their adolescents effectively. The cost of time and energy the parent gives to helping his/her adolescent study better, stay in school, make efforts to develop all kinds of skills, academic and extracurricular, will in the long run pay itself off many times over.

Play Activity:

It is important that parents recognize that play activity in adolescence even more than before becomes a major vehicle for socialization, for developing successful one on one as well as group interaction. It is equally important for parents to realize that play, one on one and in groups is highly rewarding, but that it usually also is very taxing on the adolescent. Group interaction can bring with it much anxiety, the fear of not being accepted by the peers; it can be frustrating, disappointing, infuriating, even depressing. It is well for parents to explore how group activity has gone for the adolescent and to make space and time for the adolescent's reporting, complaining, asking questions, and exploring ways of solving problems in peer relationships.

One of the greatest gifts parents can make to their adolescents, one which can bring many returns, is for parents to attend sport events, musical events, theatrical, dance events in which their adolescent is participating. Complimenting an adolescent for performance that is good, for good efforts that are made to excel, can be enormously beneficial, raise self esteem, reinforce efforts and enhance the possibility of success.

Helping the teenager tolerate loss in games, or win heartily but also considerately and generously, may be a minor task with some adolescents but a large one with others. With adolescents who have difficulty losing, patience, reassurance, the demand for compliance with rules, these all done in a supportive and positive tone are more likely to be successful than is depreciation, ridiculing, scolding and insulting.

One of the largest areas of concern for parents of adolescents, from early adolescence on but especially in mid and late adolescence, is their adolescent's involvement in parties, in their handling of sexual activities and especially in their use of alcohol and drugs. To be able to skillfully explore with a young adolescent and mid adolescent how a party went, what was done

there, how the adolescent handled challenges of drugs, alcohol and sex can be done well. Here, those parents who have treated their children in the course of growing up with respect, attention and have supported their efforts to grow, will by far have greater access to their adolescents at this critical time than parents whose relationships with their now adolescents are replete with past problems, hostilities and conflicts. Quite especially, parents who from early on in life have made a point of talking with their children, of listening to what their children say, of answering their questions, will have already developed lines of communications with their now adolescent and will much more readily have access to essential information about their adolescent's behavior than will parents who have not made efforts to talk to and listen to their children from early on in life. We cannot overemphasize the fact that if parents want their adolescents to talk to them about important matters that they begin to talk and listen to their children from earliest childhood on. Parent-child communication begins at the child's beginning of life and is best ensured when it is exercised over the years.

We have emphasized throughout these materials that a respecting and loving attitude toward one's children is much more likely to succeed than a depreciating and intimidating or hostile attitude in whatever efforts a parent makes in rearing his/her child. We want to emphasize that this includes being able to make reasonable demands and where necessary to impose limits on behavior which is unacceptable, be it that it may be hurtful to the child, to others, or socially unacceptable. Here again, where limits are needed to prevent an adolescent from engaging in sexual activity that is beyond his/her years, or to indulge in alcohol and drugs, firm, strong, but nonetheless positively stated limits are indicated. Telling a 16 year old that he is "sure to amount to nothing if he continues his boozing with his good for nothing friends" is depreciating and insulting; it will lead to anger, resentment, and shame and/or defiance. It may even lead to hate toward the parents. Telling such a 16 year old that the parents are disturbed and concerned by his drinking more than 2 cans of beer at that party; that he does not have the parents' approval to drink more; that he is expected to use better judgment about alcohol, drugs and sex, will probably be felt as unpleasant and as a reprimand. If it is felt as a put-down it will not be because the parents were too hostile; it is more like to be due to the 16 year old pushing for more autonomy and a stronger sense of self and this adolescent's trying to shake off parental autonomy. Here hate toward the parents will not be generated in the adolescent.

Just as it is encouraging for parents to be present at performances in which their adolescent participates, such as in sport activities or in musical or other events, so too is it helpful for parents to be attentive to their adolescents' collections, or writings, or art work, or to inquire about the book he/she is reading (even if it is one the parent has not read) and to applaud these activities and where indicated to help the adolescent secure opportunities for himself/herself in pursuing such interests. For instance, an adolescent with significant talent in art can be encouraged to participate in extracurricular art classes given in many communities. So too, adolescents with significant skills in sports, be it baseball, tennis, football or soccer, should be encouraged and opportunities to do so reasonably facilitated.

Let us add a word here about some of the major virtues of encouraging the development of skills and talents in sports and the arts. Developing a talent adds richly to one's sense of identity and self. Developed enough, such an ability leads to the feeling "I can play tennis", or the cello, or "I am a baseball player", or an artist. By this it adds a degree and sense of inner order and organization. Also, it gives a sense of accomplishment and capability, a sense of "I can do things". Equally important especially during adolescence is that these activities are a highly constructive channel for the utilization of energies not exhausted by school work and the

demands of home. Because these are major channels for sublimation, they provide the adolescent with a built-in way to discharge excessive loads of sexual feelings and excitement as well as of occasional overloads of anger and hostility. Therefore, parents are wise and promote good mental health when they encourage, support, and facilitate their children and adolescents participation in such organized group activities.

Parents are understandably often irritated by their adolescent's spending much time on the telephone. It is well for parents to make their claim to the telephone since they should have rights to its use at least equal to those of their adolescents. However, it is important for parents to recognize that the telephone is a very helpful medium for the adolescent's relationships with peers; in fact the phone is at times more economical of time and is at times even better than face to face communication. For example, the fact that 16 year old John can be on the telephone with his friend Mark for one half hour at 9:30 in the evening from home as compared to having to go to Mark's home to talk with him, can see the advantages to this situation for the adolescent who is not permitted to go out of the house on school nights. So too exchanges of ideas about homework over the telephone can be very helpful to the adolescent. The telephone can also be a quick relief from some of the stresses experienced in the home, be they stresses coming from unpleasantness that has developed between parents themselves or from a vigorous effort at doing homework which was taxing. All in all, the telephone may be one of the least expensive ways of making it possible for adolescents who are not allowed out on school nights to briefly enough communicate with a friend on a matter experienced by the adolescent as being of much importance.

And then, consider the anxiety experienced by a 16 year old boy who wants to ask a girl he likes to a party, or a girl, 16, who wants to let a boy know of her interest in him and smartly chooses to do so by saying she wants to discuss a homework assignment. Having to just look at the other person while making his or her wishes known may be mortifying enough to give up the idea. The telephone allows the caller at least to not be looked at when extremely anxious. The protection of the telephone can make the adolescent more brave in the face of one of the largest sources of anxiety during adolescence: declaring one's (sexual) love interest in a peer.

Parents are well advised to use their judgment in permitting their adolescent use of the family car. The degree to which they can trust their adolescent to be careful, use good judgment, be responsible, should all contribute to the parents' determination as to whether or not the adolescent may have use of the car. Adolescents have survived for centuries without cars and while many adolescents nowadays do have such privileges, it is not a requirement for an adolescent's mental health that a car be made available to him/her. The use of a car should be considered a privilege and be contingent on trust in the adolescent to be a responsible driver.

Fantasy Activity:

For the most part, the adolescent's fantasy life is in the adolescent's private domain. It is not wise for parents to intrusively explore the adolescent's fantasies except where they are out rightly expressed by the adolescent himself/herself. If an adolescent expresses a fantasy openly to a parent, discussion of it with sensitivity, respect, and no pressure or digging, are very wise. If an adolescent reports a dream it is wise to show interest in it, to even encourage the adolescent to consider what it may mean without the parent's attempting to give it meaning dogmatically. In parents' attempting to interpret their children's dreams, they are wise to be tentative, only suggesting a possible meaning. Also, in preparation for an event which may cause an adolescent

a good deal of anxiety, parents can be useful in gently enough inquiring about the preparations the adolescent is making for the event, with an open mind and no preset ideas to explore how an event might best be prepared for and what the adolescent's fantasized reactions to its outcome might be.

It is well for parents to know that many an adolescent will test some of his/her fantasies through the use of humor, of jokes, and that these may be an effort to bribe guidance from the parents reactions as to what is acceptable and unacceptable. And, as we have done before we would caution parents to take very seriously the expression of the adolescent's wishes with regard to his/her future, what he/she would like to become in terms of work, and to experience these as opportunities to encourage their adolescent's efforts to make for himself/herself a future that is workable and rewarding.