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An observational study of mother-child interaction.

Baker, Betsy Ruth

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Boston University
AN OBSERVATIONAL STUDY OF MOTHER-CHILD INTERACTION

A thesis

Submitted by

Betsy Ruth Baker
(B.S., Tufts College, 1947)

Alice Mary Baxter
(B.A., Annhurst College, 1946)

Dorothy Johnson Corwin
(B.S., Tufts University, 1955)

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Chapter I
INTRODUCTION

General Purposes

This thesis is a study of interaction between mothers and babies of one to two years of age, through direct observation and interviewing. Its primary focus is to determine whether there are differences between what a mother can report regarding problems of the child's development and the mother-child relationship, and what an objective observer can perceive. It is expected that reporting will at times be found unreliable, and by observation, it will be seen that in a mother's reporting the child's reality has been subject to interpretation according to mother's own emotional blocks and lack of self awareness.

The fundamental goal is to determine whether this difference exists. There will be an attempt to see if there are areas where mothers have sufficient distance to perceive behavior with reasonable objectivity and in what areas the major distortions exist. It will then be estimated why they exist in relation to our understanding of the dynamics of the mothers' personality. It will be noted if each case differs in respect to distorted and/or objective areas. In spite of dynamic differences, are there certain things that all of them distort? It is then hoped that it will be possible to note to some extent the concomitants of the dif-
ference in observed and reported material as reflected in the mother's actions and reactions and the child's reactions.

The interest in this study stems from the growing emphasis on the importance of the early mother-child relationship as the basis of personality development, a concept now accepted as quite fundamental to all who deal with problems of child and personality development.

"The ways in which a mother answers to the needs of her infant and the quality of her emotional response to him are said to determine in large part the strength and quality of his subsequent identifications and the susceptibility or resistance he may develop to psychic disturbances."1

It seems increasingly imperative, therefore, that, since this early relationship is so important, and the experiences of the child during this period so far-reaching in their effects, that as much concrete knowledge as possible should be gained through observational studies of what really does go on in this period, and that every effort should be made to witness how problems do have their genesis in this mother-child relationship. Other methods of getting at the experiences of these early years are such that one can get only limited knowledge of them. When a child is brought to a Child Guidance Clinic, the developmental history of his formative years is dependent on the mother's reporting

of what she remembers and what she can reveal of her relationship to the child. It is recognized that one of the obstacles in gaining an accurate history and a real understanding of the quality of the mother-child relationship is that mother's material is subject not only to failure of memory, but to unconscious distortions and omissions as dictated by her own personality structure and emotional needs. The real picture of mother-child interaction and the live fibres of personality formation seem effectively buried, therefore, in the unconscious of mother and child, recoverable only by deduction and speculation.

"The practical obstacles to observation of mothers have caused many investigators to depend entirely on interviews and questionnaires, and mainly for historical data. This is in spite of the known fact that the discrepancy between what persons report about their attitudes and behavior is often great, and especially in regard to situations where immaturity or conflict obtain."

The emphasis in the observational study of this thesis is to point out this difficulty in getting an accurate report from a mother and to show that this applies not only after the passage of time in giving history, but even at the moment, as the events are still taking place.

In this study, it has been chosen to focus on mother-child interaction in the child's second year of life for several reasons. It is at this time that the child
begins his dramatic transition from infant dependency toward independence through his developing skills of walking and talking. He begins to function as a unique individual, thus evoking the need for a major readjustment in the mother-child interaction. The dynamic changes during this period offer a fertile field for observation. It is further believed that because of the many readjustments demanded of the mother that this is one of the most trying and crucial periods of child development for her to cope with, and, therefore, a period most subject to distortion and forgetting when later reported.

Scope:

Six mothers have been selected for observational study from among the group of mothers originally screened in the Prenatal Clinic at Massachusetts Memorial Hospital for participation in the Child Development Research Program. For various reasons, these six mothers were not accepted for participation in the study. These particular mothers were all approached at the time of this study on the basis of their availability and willingness to participate. The mothers have the following characteristics in common:

1. They are between the ages of 19 and 30.
2. They are married and living only with husband and one child, their first.
3. Their husband is the principal wage earner.
4. Their income averages between $75 and $100 per week.
5. They are functioning without the aid of social agencies.

6. There are no outstanding physical handicaps or mental illnesses which would interfere with handling of the child, although pregnancy in two mothers may have influenced handling.

**Method:**

The original plan was for three students to make four home visits to each of their two clients. Each visit, lasting approximately one hour, consisted of careful observation of total activity of mother and child, accompanied by associative interviewing. There was no formal schedule for eliciting information, but the chief developmental areas were explored by the observer when circumstances seemed favorable. Part of the plan was to include father in one interview with each family. Due to unforeseen difficulties there were only three visits made in one case and it was not possible to see father.

Recording took place via notes written immediately after the interview, expanded soon after into a full written report of the happenings in sequence during the interview. Group discussions were held weekly, in which a trained observer helped evaluate the material collected and also pointed up areas for further exploration.

**Sample:**

The size of the sample was purposely kept low so as to facilitate a more intensive study of each mother-child relationship. Because of the type of study, not previously done,
it was necessary to explore certain variables which were unknown in advance. Intensive contacts, therefore, necessarily limited the size of the sample.

The method of home visiting in studying mother-child relationship did not allow for any independent check of reliability of the mother's reports. The implications of this will be discussed in the final chapter.

*It was not possible to complete interviews with the sixth mother due to her emergency hospitalization. Her condition made it necessary to eliminate her from further study.*
CHAPTER II
PRESENTATION OF DATA

The case material, giving a detailed account of the observations, is presented here. This is intended to set forth the data from which the conclusions and discussions in the following chapters have been drawn.

CASE 1 - MRS. A.

Mrs. A., a sweet-faced young woman, welcomes the observer on the first visit with a very warm, out-going manner, as though it were a real pleasure for her to have her come. She was apologetic about the state of the room, Ray's playroom, into which one entered. It was overcrowded with living room furniture, due to repairs in progress. She took the observer's coat, and invited her out to the kitchen to have a cup of tea. From the beginning she gave the impression of being eager to please. Ray had followed her to the door, and looked at the observer solemnly. He did not respond to overtures. As the observer first observed Mrs. A. looking down at him and encouraging him, as she commented on his being shy with strangers, the observer noted the marked love and tenderness with which she seemed to envelop the child in her every word and gesture. Ray is a sturdily-built, pale child, with rather pointed features, twenty months old at the first visit.

From the kitchen, when Mrs. A. became aware that Ray
was trying to get the observer's purse and zipper notebook, she went into the playroom, taking them out of reach, and diverting him to some playthings, in an easy tender way, with no protest from Ray. The observer felt that Mrs. A. seemed anxious he should not disturb her things or offend her.

As the observer sat at the kitchen table, Mrs. A. was preparing tea, and commenting on the adjustments necessary in the kitchen to allow Ray freedom to explore without danger to himself or havoc to the kitchen, as though she had taken pleasure in arranging things for him. She said how glad she is to be able to let him have one room for his playroom which he can enjoy freely with no restrictions.

Over tea, she talked with pleasure of Ray's habits and activities. Her entire attitude bespoke pleasure in this baby. Even as she talked, she was constantly aware of his activity, as he played about the room with a box and some trucks. Frequently he came to her for attention, which she always gave instantly with the habitual warmth and tenderness. Every time she looked at him, her face lighted up, and her tone was gentle, almost like "cooing". An eagerness to give him pleasure and to avoid refusing him, if possible, were evident, throughout, particularly in her handling of giving him milk. From the time she first removed the milk bottle from the refrigerator, she seemed to be constantly either offering the child milk or pouring it eagerly when he suggested that he was ready for more. This was repeated every
few minutes throughout the hour. She never showed any disposition to cut off the supply, nor any annoyance at the interruptions. She showed much pleasure each time he took more milk. The baby drank it each time with much relish. She seemed indifferent to his dribbling it over his chin and clothes and spilling it on the floor. At the appearance of one particularly large puddle of milk, she exclaimed in her tender tone, "Oh, Ray, what a mess!"

There were some instances of her exercising restraints on him, which he accepted without protest. He started to pick up her boots from the corner by the door. She told him firmly, "No", that they were dirty. Another time he started to pull the kitchen broom out of the corner. She forbade him firmly. She added, however, that because he likes the broom so much, she is thinking of getting him a small one of his own which he could play with as he pleased.

In our conversation about Ray, she told me how easily he had been weaned from the bottle at fifteen months, with only three days' effort. She seemed to feel that this was an early weaning, and explained that when he started to walk, she was afraid to have him around with a glass bottle in his hand, and she did not like plastic bottles. She stressed that he has always taken milk readily from the cup ever since and said how glad she is that he likes milk so much. She talked of the concern she had had at his seeming slow to walk and her consequent fear at that time that it might mean
he was going to be stupid. He walked at fifteen months. She asked if the observer thought he was average. She explained at length the reasons why she thought he had been slow. Until he was ten months old, they had lived in a very cold apartment, where they could not put him down on the floor, even in a play pen. She talked with satisfaction of how active he is, and how good-natured. She was concerned that he does not have much chance to play with other children, and when he does he seems aggressive. Her husband says he is going to be a little bully. She wants him to learn to be generous, and expressed some question whether she should try to force him to be more generous and compliant in surrendering toys, for example, to other children. She said that he has always been a very good eater, and she is very glad for that. He feeds himself, which she lets him do regardless of the mess he makes, because she feels that is the way he will learn. As the observer spoke of his keeping her busy, she said he is her amusement and her company, and she doesn't know what she would do without him, as her husband is working or sleeping so much of the time.

Toward the end of the visit, Ray had come over and was sitting on the observer's lap, at which Mrs. A. expressed much surprise. He kept reaching for the observer's earrings, and she kept telling him, "No," a bit anxiously. After a few minutes, she apparently thought he was showing indications of a bowel movement. She grabbed him from the
observer's lap and whisked him off to the toilet. She explained that she is trying to catch the signs and that he is just beginning to get the idea. As she brought him back to the room, she was hugging him and kissing saying lovingly, "What a pest you are." She used the same expression with the same tone, when she had gone for a Kleenex to wipe a very drippy nose, which she had seemed to ignore for a long time.

When asked to make plans for another visit, she said laughingly, "If you can stand him -- he's a pest." Ray was waving and saying "bye" as the observer left.

As the observer was knocking at the door for the second visit, a man's voice was heard raised in anger, then an oath. Mrs. A. was serene and pleasant when she came to the door, and welcomed the observer warmly. Ray was with her making sounds as though talking. She explained why Ray's crib was now in the playroom, because it had been too cold for him to sleep upstairs. She invited the observer again to the kitchen for tea. Ray followed her movements in preparation. She looked down at him fondly and commented that it was easy knowing he had only been up from his nap a little while, or his face would never be that clean.

Ray came over to the observer as the mother was busy, and sat on her lap, much to mother's surprise. As she sat opposite, she leaned toward Ray and smiled and talked to him lovingly, asking, "What? What is it?" several times. She commented laughingly on his needing a haircut so badly,
explaining that she had not got him out for it because of the bad weather. She had Ray display his cowboy boots when he got down. Her husband had got them for him for Christmas. She is not sure they are good for his feet, so she only lets him wear them every few days.

She offered him milk, and quickly gave him more when he asked. She cautioned him not to spill it, as he started off in motion with the cup, throwing it in a corner of the kitchen when he finished. As he got into the other room, she sensed he was after something, which was the observer's pocketbook on the table. She got up and went in, saying, "What is he doing? Pulling that scarf? He's a menace," in a light, laughing way. She distracted him from the table to his toy box. She returned to the kitchen table, and the observer asked about Ray's Christmas. She described the wonderful time they had with him. She thinks he has too many toys because he doesn't bother to play with them too much. His real trouble, she thinks, is that he is lonely, as he doesn't have children to play with. "He spends most of his time finding ways to annoy me," she said gaily. Ray returned to the kitchen with a book in his hand, coming to the table for more milk. He then wandered over to a pile of rubbish on a chair waiting to go out. She restrained him from this, and gave him more milk. He went off to the other room to bring soap in to the father. Mrs. A. spoke of how Ray likes books,
and likes to identify pictures. When he came back, she gave
him more milk. He returned to the playroom, but she could
see him near the door to the upstairs. She called him to
come out where she could keep an eye on him, then went after
him and coaxed him out to his book, first drawing him to her
to look over the pages, then, after more milk, he got up on
her lap. She held him, looked at him fondly, and caressed
him intermittently, as she talked about him.

He was a very easy baby, never gave any feeding problems,
always slept well. She gave his weaning history again. She
said he did everything easily, as he has just now been easy
with the toilet training. She has done away with diapers for
a month. Now he tells her when he needs to go by coming and
making signs and faces. As she had been talking, Ray had
got down and gone off into the playroom. She went to see
where he was, and as he started into the living room, where
the father apparently was, she said firmly, "Never mind run­
ning away from me." She had to put up a wooden gate to
restrain him. He cried briefly, but she soothed him, saying,
"Come on, stay here with Mommie," and led him to a rubber
doll, leading him to say, "Baby," which he repeated several
times. When they returned to the kitchen, she gave him more
milk, and he got up on her lap again. She spoke again of
his loneliness, and her desire for him to learn how to get
along with other people. Mr. A. appeared to take out the
oil drums for refilling. Ray tried to get into this, but
Mrs. A. called him away. He came over and sat on the observer's lap briefly, then went around the kitchen for a while. Then he came back to the table, where she gave him more milk.

Mr. A. came back to take out the rubbish. As he was going through the kitchen, the bag split, spilling coffee grounds and such on the floor near where the observer was sitting. He stalked out of the room in annoyance. Mrs. A. got up quickly, and good-humoredly said, "I'll clean it up, honey." She swept it up, and retied the garbage.

Ray came back to his mother's lap. She offered him some tea in a cup, which he played in, as mother and observer talked. It was remarked that he liked to be with her. "Oh, yes," she said with much pleasure, "he's a pest!" Ray alternated between drinking his tea, and playing in it with a spoon. She allowed him to splash away in the tea, quite sloppily, while chiding him lightly that he wasn't going to play in it. She was enjoying his fun in the tea, until he got to the point of really spilling it over onto the table. She said firmly that was enough, and went to the sink to dump out the remainder. Ray then asked for the cup and saucer and sat at the table playing with them and a spoon.

She continued to talk about him. She told of his having a temper, which showed mainly when he can't make a toy go, or something is taken from him. She said there has been little to bother him, as he has received all the attention
of the entire family, and she wonders how he will accept the
new baby. She feels he will have to be jealous, but she
hopes that she can still give him most of the attention in
order to diminish jealousy. Ray had been banging loudly on
the table with cup, saucer, and spoon. She remarked lightly
it was a good thing they didn't break, but finally reached
out a hand to quiet the noise and said easily, "All right,
now stop." Ray did stop.

He got down on the floor and she offered him more milk,
which he lifted a little too quickly, and splashed on the
floor. She said reproachfully but gently, "Ray, what did
you do?" He said "barp", meaning "bath". She said easily,
"No, it's not 'barp'. You're a bad boy." She then asked
gently, "What's the matter?" He put his thumb in his mouth
and leaned his head against her.

She continued telling what a good baby he had always
been, never cried and was so contented. She hoped the next
one would be as good. He went off and she called to him to
keep off the stairs. He came back to her lap, playing with
a cup and the pitcher, pouring a little milk back and forth.
The mother watched with interest, but did not restrain. She
gave him more milk twice. Once he spilled it over his jersey,
for which she reproached him lovingly, then remarked lightly,
"What a mess he can make!"

Ray went off to the playroom. Mother followed him, and
tripped over a cup and saucer. She laughed and said by
night-time she had to go around and collect them all off the floor. When Ray came back, she gave him more milk. He got up on her lap. The observer asked was he with her as much normally. She said, "Oh, yes," hugging him, and kissing him on the back of the neck. "He's the worst pest," she said. He reached for more milk, which she gave saying, laughingly, "I'll buy a cow." He continued on her lap, banging cups together. She squeezed him and kissed him. He began to suck his thumb a little.

On the third visit, Mrs. A., sweet and warm as usual, brought the observer into the living room, and said that her husband would be along shortly. Ray remained behind in the playroom. She soon sensed, as she heard a sound, that he was into something. It turned out he had pulled down the observer's handbag. She chided him lightly, and seemed amused as she recovered it and the contents. Ray came back into the living room, making talking sounds. She restrained him lightly from making fingermarks on the television and climbing on the sofa. He kept reaching for observer's coat lying along the back of her chair. She restrained him with her hand, and they made a game of his reaching and her holding, both laughing. She remarked that he loves to make fun out of everything.

Mr. A. came in and sat on the arm of the sofa, not facing the observer, and appearing very uncomfortable. Ray was around him, talking and smiling, but he did not respond to
him for a little while, then picked him up. The baby began frisking with him, although Mr. A. still seemed a little stiff. Both mother and father recounted how Ray treats the father rough. They spend time together rough-housing on the floor. Mr. A. said that now that he is getting bigger that he himself will be taking him out with him more.

Ray was on the floor playing with trucks. He rolled the wheels on the floor, held them to his ear to hear the sound, then held them for his mother to listen. He was delighted and began to make noises in imitation, which his mother repeated. They did this back and forth several times, both with pleasure. The father commented how much fun one can have with him. As he watched Ray manipulating his trucks on the floor, he commented that Ray was getting smart, and he hoped that Ray was not going to be like himself, as he could never learn anything from books. The father talked for some time about himself. He can work with his hands, and hopes Ray will be able to do this, too. He said he'll soon have Ray out polishing the car with him. This is something he does to take up his mind and his worries or he would blow his top, he said. As he continued to talk, he seemed to become more comfortable, and went over to sit in a chair facing the observer. Mrs. A. commented how much like her husband Ray is. He is always busy and active, and is a big eater like his father, and also doesn't show it. Mr. A. said how Ray wants to have everything on his plate the same as his father's.
Mr. A. said he would do without himself, if there were ever a question in order to give to Ray. He ruffled Ray's hair fondly as he said this. During this conversation, Ray had been playing, and coming occasionally to the father with a toy to be adjusted or handled. The father continued talking about himself, how much weight he had gained in the Army, and how many sports he had engaged in. This was one of his hopes for Ray, that he would play ball. He could hardly wait to get him started. Ray had had a little football when he was six months old. The father told of quitting school in the ninth grade, then trying electrical school when he got out of the Army, but he just couldn't learn from books. During the talk, Ray was playing, and was trying to move a big trailer truck which was too heavy for him. He started to squawk in frustration and anger. His mother reached out, smiling, and helped him ease the weight of the big truck to the floor and to insert the little one inside it, as he was trying to do. She said soothingly, "There? All right?"

The conversation continued about education, Mrs. A. telling how her family had all liked school and she hopes Ray will. She would even like him to go to college. The father looked at him lovingly, ruffled his hair, and said he would send him if he wanted to go, even if he had to work two jobs, day and night. He expressed dissatisfaction with his own present job, and hoped Ray wouldn't have to do work like this. Mother hoped Ray would never have to go in the Army,
and then talked of how hard it was going to be to leave him to go to the hospital.

Ray brought a gun in from the playroom. Mrs. A. asked what it was. He displayed it, waving it around, and repeating with much delight the word many times very fast, as she said it for him. He went to his father with the gun and fooled with him, then returned to his trucks.

Mr. A. introduced the subject of jealousy of the new baby. Mrs. A. said they have made him such a big shot it will be hard, but she hopes to give him still most of the attention. She could imagine his trying to throw things into the crib on top of the new baby. She said he's just at the point of finding out just how far he can go. He's with her so much, he doesn't pay half as much attention to her as to his father.

Ray brought the big trailer truck over to his father and had him put it between his knees, so that Ray could play around with it, turning the wheels, and putting things in and out of it. After some of this, he sneaked around and playfully socked his father on the back. He went across to the other side of the room, and started putting things in the stove. Mother was sitting next to it, and four times told him to stop. Each time he did, but went back. She finally raised her hand up high as though going to slap him, although with a mild expression on her face. He stopped, turned away back to his father and the trucks, which the father had meanwhile put down on the floor. He struggled
again to get them up on the father's knees. As he cried and got red in the face, the father was amused and was going to let him struggle it out, but the mother reached over and helped him. The father commented on his temper when he can't make things work. The father tried teasing him by making as if to put the truck down, but at Ray's angry protest, laughingly gave in and let it stay. Ray was so delighted with his play with the father that he broke into a spontaneous "da-da-da-" very happily. Mr. A. began boxing and roughhousing with him completely freely. They fooled over the gun, Mr. A. holding it tight, Ray yelling and pulling to get it loose. Mr. A. enjoyed his protesting, but Mrs. A. urged her husband not to get him mad and to let him have it. Ray then went over toward the stove again. Mr. A. spoke of all he hopes to do for Ray, although he doesn't want to spoil him. One of the main hopes is to get a home in the country, where he can have play space, which he doesn't have here. Mrs. A. expressed again her concern that he learn to play with other children, or he won't know how to get along with them when he goes to school and won't have any friends. Ray began banging the stove with a tiny truck. He ignored his mother's asking him to stop. Mr. A. told him twice to stop. He did, but started right in again. Mr. A. rose as if to come over to him, and said sternly, "Do you want a licking?" Ray sat down, put his head down a little, but only briefly, going back to the banging, and giving it up finally
when his father stood up the second time and threatened to come over. The father said this love of banging things, as, for example, the wall paper, has just developed, and that's one thing they do have to stop him from doing.

As the observer left, the baby followed to the door, talking and saying "car" several times.

When the observer arrived for the fourth visit, Ray was standing in the crib, just waking up from his nap. Mrs. A. was extremely tender and loving with him, holding him, kissing him, talking to him gently. Several times she asked if he were "Mommie's big boy?" After dressing him, she gave him milk. He came to sit on her lap. She held him against her, and he put his fingers in his mouth briefly. He looked up at her and talked. She commented on how quiet he always is on awakening, and how he wants to be with her. She feels that he is more attached to her than ever lately, and thinks of what she has heard that a baby can sense that there is another one coming.

Ray went off to the playroom. Mrs. A. began preparations for tea, as she talked about the new baby's coming, she has not shopped for him yet although it is only a week or so away. Her husband will do it while she is in the hospital. The baby will sleep in a bassinet in the parents' room. She thinks that Ray will then want to come upstairs again to sleep when he knows that the baby is there. Ray came back, and reached impatiently for more milk from the
big gallon jug which was on the table. She gave it to him instantly, soothing him. He returned to her lap. She hugged him, talked to him lovingly, calling him tenderly "a pest". She talked about how she dreaded the separation from him when she is in the hospital, and how she will worry even though she knows he will receive excellent care at her mother's. She hopes he does not forget her while she is in the hospital.

Ray went back to the playroom, while we talked about the readjustment after the new baby. People have always told her that she has catered to him too much, but she and her husband could never see this. He was always such a good baby, and when he cried they knew he needed something, so they never let him cry. They always wanted him to be happy.

She had tea and cake ready, and put Ray at the table in his highchair. She gave him milk and cake, laughing over the way he squashed his cake on the tray. He began straining and fussing for something. Instantly, she got up and brought him a small plate for his cake. He strained again, and she immediately gave him a few spoons of tea in his milk. He was immediately pleased. He began reaching for the pitcher, which she first firmly refused him, but as he insisted, she first gave him the milk from the pitcher, and as he kept insisting on the pitcher, she poured all his milk into it, saying, "O.K., you can have it." He started playing and splashing in the milk. She first restrained him lightly, then easily wiped up what he had spilled. He made as if to
spill more deliberately on the table, looking at her first. She said mildly he would get a slap if he kept it up. She said to me that it's hard not to laugh, when he thinks he's funny and tries to see how far he can go. She refused him more milk, because now he was only going to play, and more cake, as he was only going to make a mess. He finished drinking his milk, and began contentedly manipulating the plate, pitcher and spoon, banging them against each other and the table. Mrs. A. watched him with pleasure, until he gestured to get down and went off to the playroom.

Observer and Mrs. A. continued to talk about the new baby. She really hasn't thought much about it yet. She has had Ray to absorb her. It was not like when she was waiting for Ray. She confided her main concern to be how Ray will accept it. She hopes he will not be too jealous, and outlined her plans for avoiding this. She pictured the new baby as sleeping most of the time, leaving her free to pay most of her attention to Ray. She hopes to give the new baby the necessary care like baths, feeding, when Ray is either asleep or occupied. She hopes he will enjoy the baby in time, and will find him a companion which Ray needs. She anticipated the future when they would get Ray a bike, a toybox of his own, and he would have the house in the country with the yard and a swing in the yard. She admitted wanting to spare him the jealousy as much as possible, and remarked that people have always told her that she protected him too much. She
hopes he will not feel resentful or that they do not love him as much anymore.

Observer commented on Ray's comparative lack of temper display. She said she hopes he will always stay easy-going, but there has never been anyone around to frustrate him. She said the only thing that ever aggravates her is if he plays in his food too much. He's only a baby, and there's really nothing he could do that would make her really angry.

Ray was trying to get upstairs. Mother went in to distract him, and turned him to a rubber baby doll. She demonstrated kissing and loving the baby, saying, "Nice baby. Love the baby." She does this frequently, she said. She praised Ray when he imitated her in loving the baby. Mrs. A. repeated over several times in different ways her fears of Ray's being jealous of the new baby, and how she hopes to handle it.
CASE 2 - MRS. D.

On the first visit to Mrs. D., she greeted the observer pleasantly, although with a flatness and lack of warmth in her manner. Her husband was home for lunch. Also present was a ten-year old girl, Nina, a neighbor. Both Mr. and Mrs. D. expressed strong interest in the visiting, Mr. D. saying they would like to know if Stan is normal. The father remarked with some pleasure, "One word describes him. He is fresh!" The mother agreed and complained that he is so active, and would like her to do nothing but play with him all day long. But she cannot do that when she has a house to keep. The father began directly to describe Stan's sleeping problem, which has existed since he was a few months old. He is now one year. He sleeps fitfully in no regular pattern all night long, sleeping for a short while, waking, sleeping and so on. The father said there is hardly a night when he hasn't been up five or six times a night with him, as he cries and demands to be picked up during his wakeful spells. This sleeping problem is a great perplexity to them.

The baby had been napping in his room off the kitchen. As he stirred, the mother went in and brought him out for the observer to see. She handled him and spoke to him affectionately. He was shy and clung to his mother.

The father was still sitting at the table, and reached for him. The mother handed him over to the father. He played
with him in various ways, lifting him up and down, jouncing him, hugged him and kissed him. He asked the baby several times to give Daddy a kiss. The father was taking great pleasure in the baby and eager for response from him. The mother watched and asked the baby to "Do bye", but the baby did not respond to the mother's motions. The father told the baby he was going to be psychoanalyzed. He commented on the baby's hair not growing in fully on the left side, although this was scarcely noticeable. He told about having been a barber himself, but that he had given it up due to the long distances he had to travel to his work. Now he is happy to have a job in a shoe factory within walking distance of home.

During the play, the baby had been active, but did not show any great enjoyment. Finally the father had to leave, and with a final hug and kiss, handed the baby back to the mother. The mother sat down and stimulated the baby to wave "bye" after Daddy. She laughed when he pointed at observer, instead of waving after Daddy. Stan started to wriggle and squirm, standing up on her lap, reaching for a comic book nearby. She said, "Oh no, you're not going to have that. All you want to do is to tear it." She asked what she will do when he is walking. She thinks he is just about ready to start walking, and thinks he has not started yet because his feet have been too small for hard sole shoes. He was one year old the previous Sunday, and the day before had taken seven steps alone, but not since, although he tries hard holding on. She put him down to demon-
strate his walking attempts. She stood him up, held out her arms, encouraged him gently. She had to hold his hands, and he waddled about ten steps over to her. They did this about three times, both smiling and laughing. She then went back to sit down, still holding him.

Observer asked where he spent his time all day. She said either in the playpen in his room or on the floor with his toys. But she complained that he would never play with his toys, but would rather make trouble for her, getting into the living room, climbing, pulling, and knocking over. She said, "Come on. I'll show you," carrying him into the living room, and putting him down. She turned on the television, and he went straight to it, as she remarked, "Watch. First thing." She told him sharply "No", and struck him on the hands as he continued to do it. He turned aside to a little potty chair which was sitting nearby, which he had received for a birthday gift from his grandmother. He thinks it's a toy, and loves to play around it, Nina had been present and followed into the living room. The baby played around the chair with her as Mrs. D. talked. Once he started to cry and she remarked, "That's what he does when he doesn't get his way, but it does him no good. When he's not supposed to do something, that's it, no matter. He could take up your whole day," she said disgustedly. She continued to talk all about her own family, her married brothers and sisters, their children, and relationships, with much warmth and pleasure. The baby whim-
pered, and she turned to notice, saying, "Get up. You'll have worse bumps than that in your life." She said how spoiled he is. His godmother lives upstairs, and was always picking him up, never wanting to hear him cry. She herself could never stop it. This is the result. She said that they say you make all your mistakes with your first one, and now she'll know. She talked about the sleeping, explaining that her husband would never let him sleep on his stomach, for fear he might smother. She thinks he would have raised gas bubbles more easily on his stomach, and in general would have slept better. I commented that her husband is very fond of him. She said he adores him. It's he that gets up in the night. He's a light sleeper anyway. She tells him the baby's sleeping is hereditary.

Just before the observer left, Nina tried to push the baby to come to her, but he pulled back and crawled over to his mother.

As the observer arrived for the second visit, the baby was in the playpen. The mother's first remark about him was, "He's a devil." She called in to him to get up and walk, then told with pleasure that he had been walking several steps each day this week. She carried him out to have him demonstrate, talking to him affectionately. Nina, the ten-year old girl, was also present again. The baby took seven or eight tottering steps back and forth between them several times, all laughing and enjoying it. Mother hugged the baby each time he
came to her. Mother then held the baby firm on the table, as she talked about how the hard-soled shoes have helped him get started. He struggled to get free and she put him down with good humor, asking if he would walk to Daddy tonight. However, as he tried to start off in the direction of the living room, she restrained him firmly, telling him he was not heading for trouble, but that anywhere he went there was trouble. As he continued to try to go, she decided to put him up on the chair and clean him up. As she took off his jersey, and started washing his face, she said, "Let me change you -- slop!" He was gurgling and fooling, reaching for the blinds and curtains. She expressed annoyance at this, and remarked, "I'm dying for him to walk, but I shouldn't be. If he's into everything now, what am I going to do then?" To the baby, she said sharply, "I'll be glad when you're twenty, and out to get married!" then softened, and asked him, "Won't you?" Finally with annoyance, she pulled the blinds up beyond his reach. She complained as he threw the soiled clothes down to the floor.

The baby fooled with Nina as the mother dressed him. Mother told him sharply to stop.

When he was dressed, she held him standing on the chair, while she talked. He was full of pep and motion. She told him to be still and asked if she would have to give him a licking. She continued to hold him, while she sent Nina off to the store, and explained Nina's role, coming in every day after school to play with the baby until suppertime. She
plays with him either in the playpen, or as he sits in the potty chair in the living room, while she plays school or house with him. Mrs. D. talked about the baby's eating, how he has always been a good eater, except for a few months from six months on when he went through a spell of spitting food out right in her face. The baby had continued to move around and try to play. He finally started to whimper, and she put him in the playpen. She sat by the playpen briefly, smiling and talking to him. After asking him to show her his "tooth-sies," she remarked how well he understands. She added that if she tells him to sit in a certain place on the floor, while she points at him with a stick, he will stay, but she does need the stick.

She came back to the kitchen to talk with the observer, leaving him to play in the pen. She started to discuss the sleeping problem at length. She told how he screeches, bangs, and lets his milk out of the bottle, when he is determined not to sleep. She just gets aggravated and gives up, as today, when she had tried to get him to take a nap. The same thing at night. She said her husband can't stand letting him cry, though she figures he should be left to cry himself to sleep a few times, but her husband won't allow it. So they pick him and hold him watching television until he finally falls asleep. Every night there is the same struggle. Then her husband is up off and on with him all night long. She spoke of it all quite matter-of-factly, supposed he will
straighten out as he gets older. She spoke of one of her sisters and what a wonderful system her children are on, long naps in the afternoon, early to bed at night. She talked much about her own family and her parents' approaching fiftieth wedding anniversary.

The baby fell down in the pen during his play, striking his face on the spokes. He cried loudly. She went in and picked him up, comforting him with much tenderness, until he stopped. She brought him out to sit on her lap. She then entered into varied play with him very freely, both of them laughing and showing much enjoyment of each other. She sawed him back and forth, played peek-a-boo, buried her head in his chest several times, making noises to him. He was very active and squealed with delight. Finally, he put his head on her shoulder, and his thumb to his mouth. She exclaimed, "At last -- maybe he's going to get sleepy." She stood up in the middle of the kitchen and began rocking back and forth, holding him horizontally in her arms, while she continued to talk. She told how his godmother upstairs spoiled him, rocking him, also about her husband's not letting him cry. She would let him cry it out. Her husband felt he never got enough of anything as a child, and has asked her to let him have this child, saying that she can do as she wants with the others. She said it makes him happy, but it's making it harder for her. She stood for quite a while, talking pleasantly and easily, checking the baby's sleep now and then. When she
was sure he was really asleep, she put him in the crib.

She then served tea, continuing to talk. She discussed the sleeping further, saying how hard it is to understand. She said she supposes all these problems come with the first one, and will all come out in the wash in time. She talked about feeding. He tries to grab the fork, but she doesn't let him have it, and she keeps the plate far away on the table, where he cannot grab it. She has been trying him on the cup a couple of times a day for milk the last few weeks. She said with disgust that he's overanxious, and dribbles it all over himself. She spoke with pride of his good health, and his weight, and related with disapproval how the Mass. Memorial Clinic had wanted to reduce his milk after she had put him on plain milk herself at five weeks, so she had stopped going to that clinic.

She talked about her marriage and how everything works out little by little. Gradually they have got many things they wanted. She said her husband wanted several more children just like Stan, but she doesn't know what she would do if they were all like him. She said the hardest problem to her is how to stop him from doing things, like turning the television and going to the stove. She had long since made up her mind from seeing unruly, destructive children that hers was going to mind, but she has tried everything, telling him, hitting him, but it seems to do no good. She supposes he is too little to understand, so she'll just have to go along
with him, but when he can understand, she will make him mind, no matter how she has to drum it into him. She reiterated that this question was her biggest problem, and that the rest was nothing.

The third visit to the D's took place at six in the evening, immediately after supper. Mrs. D. was finishing up her dishes, and the baby was secured in his toilet training chair, which was, however, being used as a seat for him at this time, with the opening closed over. He appeared ready for bed, in pajamas and bathrobe and looked freshly scrubbed. When the observer made a remark to that effect, she said he was cleaned up, but he sure wasn't ready!

When Mr. D. came in from the hall where he had been filling the oil drums, he worked around the kitchen a bit, pausing now and then to speak to Stan and to urge him to smile for the observer. The baby had been sitting quietly with an anxious expression until the father's efforts finally stimulated a smile. When Stan showed his "toothsies" in response to his father's coaxing, Mrs. D. said she wished he would hurry up and get them all because he was putting everything in his mouth and she had to keep an eye on him all the time.

The father's attention was now concentrated wholly on the child, talking to him, attempting to have him smile. He took Stan's fingers out of his mouth, telling him to "do nice," and used the same expression again when he prevented
the child from pulling at the string on his bathrobe. When the observer remarked that the child seemed to sit so quietly, Mrs. D. said, "Sometimes. This afternoon I couldn't do anything with him. I tried everything. I gave him a can, an airplane, a belt, but nothing would do. He just kept on screeching." When asked where he had been, she said in the chair.

Mrs. D. left the sink and spoke with enthusiasm of what a strong musical sense the baby seemed to have, how he loved dancing with his uncle Frankie, and how he beats time with his foot to music on the radio. When the baby started to whine and strain slightly in the chair, she handed him a funnel to play with, which promptly landed on the floor. The father mentioned with amusement that when he is really mad, everything lands on the floor, and Mrs. D. said what a temper he has and puts up a terrible fuss when she is dressing him.

The baby's restlessness increased, and he was restrained by the father from pulling at the string on the bathrobe again, from putting his thumb in mouth, and from rocking in his little chair, hitting his head against the refrigerator behind him. The mother said that he watches television in the same little chair and sometimes starts rocking so hard she stops him so that the people downstairs will not be disturbed.

The father released the baby from the chair after he really started to squirm and whine. He made a few faltering attempts at walking with gentle encouragement from the father.
Then he crawled back to the chair and started to push it around. After he had banged the furniture with it a few times, the father fastened him back in the chair.

The baby hit his head on the tray of the chair while playing "peek-a-boo" with the mother, and his father came and took him out of the chair. The father entered into a period of active play with him, jouncing him around on his knees and swinging him about. The mother enjoyed watching the activity, and responded gleefully. The father remarked that Stan seemed to give more affection to his brother, Frankie, who plays and dances with him. While the play continued, the mother showed the observer a collection of pictures of Stan at various ages. She pointed to the torn corner of the paper tablecloth in his first birthday picture and said, "Look what happened. He was let loose for a second, and that was the result."

The baby hit his head during the playing with his father, and when he started to cry a bit, he was returned to his chair. The father gave him an airplane and mallet to play with, moving his chair away from the refrigerator when he started to bang it with the mallet. While the child played with the toys, mother served coffee and cookies. Stan banged the cookie he was given on the tray of the chair and was told by his mother to never mind that, eat it. As observer and parents were having coffee, Stan started banging on the tray of the chair with the mallet. His mother told him not to break the chair, or she would kill him.
Over coffee, the father spoke extensively of his concern over the child and the responsibility he felt for the development of his poor sleeping habits, since he was the one who wouldn't let him sleep on his stomach. He mentioned how hard he is to control but that he can restrain him better than Mrs. D. Again the affection for Mrs. D.'s brother Frankie was referred to because Frankie played with him so much. Mr. D. explained that he has difficulty playing with the baby for a long period at a time because of a condition of numbness in his hands, which has been troubling him for the last six months. He has been doctoring for it, but has had no relief, and is worried because it is beginning to affect his work at the shoe factory.

During this conversation, the baby was intermittently dropping his toys, straining unsuccessfully to reach them and then starting to whine. Each time the mother told him with annoyance to pick it up himself, that he threw it down, but each time she reluctantly retrieved it. After three or four such incidents she finally refused and Stan really started to screech. She picked him up and when he continued to scream, decided that she would have to give him a bottle to quiet him. After handing him to the father, she went to get a bottle, saying, "If this doesn't do it, I'll gag him."

The child was put in his crib to take his bottle. Observer wondered if he would fall asleep, and they both said, "No." He would throw the bottle out when he had had enough
and they would have to take him up again. While Stan was quiet with his bottle, Mr. D. continued to talk about his work, his past training and experience as a barber until a venture with his own barber shop failed, and of his present job in the shoe shop close to home.

With more concern than previously, Stan's sleeping problem was again discussed. Mrs. D. expressed a dread of the nighttimes.

A thud was heard from the other room. Mr. D. said, "There goes the bottle," and Stan started to cry in his crib. The father brought him out and put him in his chair, giving him the mallet to play with again. The baby started to hit himself on the head with it and his mother went and brought him some blocks. Again the pattern of the child throwing the toys down and the mother grudgingly picking them up was repeated. I wondered if the child usually stayed in the chair in the kitchen and the father said, "Well, we keep him in the chair, so when we're too busy to watch him, he won't get into anything."

When the mother refused to pick up Stan's blocks another time, he put his thumb in his mouth and started rubbing his other hand over his head. She pulled his thumb out of his mouth, telling him not to do that.

He started to rock his chair in anger and again to bang his head against the refrigerator, crying. She said, "Do you want a licking? Stop that!" She picked him up, saying
he was going to be a pest until she did. He wriggled to the ground and she picked him up again. "No, you know I don't want you on the ground." She handed the baby, still crying and struggling, to the father, threatening to get the strap if he weren't quiet. Stan continued to howl and she went for the strap. "All right. Hold up your hands." She struck him across the hands with the strap.

On the fourth visit, Mrs. D. greeted me pleasantly and led me into the living room where Stan, in his pajamas, was sitting in his little potty chair, fastened in. His attention was absorbed by an object resembling a thermos jug, which was within his reach in front of him. Both mother and father joined in telling me what a terrible cold the baby has had the last several days and how fussy and cranky he has been. (Mr. D. was home because he had been to the hospital to see about his hands. He was encouraged because the doctors had been unable to find anything neurologically wrong and had given him exercises to do indicating the trouble may be caused by his change in jobs.)

Mr. and Mrs. D. were both giving the child a good deal of attention, watching to sipe his nose. Mr. D. explained that the jug was really an air filter, which had helped greatly in relieving the baby's congestion. Stan continued to enjoy playing with the filter, lifting the handle and flipping the cord about. Mrs. D. told me with much satisfaction that Stan had walked alone yesterday. His father
had been carrying him when he seemed to want to get down. He had really started off and gone from the kitchen door to the sofa in the living room and across the room and back.

Mrs. D. gently wiped the baby’s nose with Kleenex and started to play make-believe guns with him. She said she thinks she will get him some little guns. She said he can sit fascinated for long periods watching T.V., a couple of hours at least every morning in the chair, during the children’s programs. Cartoons are his favorites and his responsiveness to music was again mentioned. The father turned on the television so the observer could see how Stan liked to watch it. When a lion appeared on the screen, the father stimulated Stan to make an imitation of a growl, which father and son both enjoyed.

The baby reached up with his hands as though wanting to get out, but neither parent made any move to release him. When asked if he liked to get out and move around after a while, Mrs. D. said he was usually contented to stay there. She started to play with the child, "ticka-tacka", tickling each other’s hands and laughing. The father shut off television and watched. He told him to "shoot poppa", and then to show his toothsies, both of which Stan did to the father’s delight.

Mrs. D. lit a match and showed how Stan will blow at it, saying "shoosha", which is the Italian word for "blow". When the baby reached for the Kleenex box, she said, "No, you
can't have that, love." The child persisted, starting to cry, and she told him sharply to stop it and finally slapped his hand. He finally turned back to the filter for amusement.

He soon began to whimper and to reach up to get out. When the mother came toward him to let him out, he jumped up and down in the seat. Once out, he headed straight for the filter which the father had pulled out of the way. He attempted to get at it and was diverted in turn from the filter, the electric plugs of the lamps, and the television.

The mother left the room. Not until she returned after a rather long absence was it realized that she had gone to the store. Meanwhile, the father supervised the baby's activities. Stan walked around, sometimes holding onto furniture, sometimes walking across the room unaided. He was repeatedly restrained by the father from heading for the waste-basket in the bedroom and from pulling out the light plugs. He accepted each restraint as long as he could turn to something else. The father kept asking him to "Do nice," seeming to hover over his activity in an anxious worried way. He feels that now that Stan is going to be walking well, they will certainly have to keep an eye on him. Mr. D. said he knows it is normal for him to love to grab everything. He again brought up the sleeping problem. He said they could be more attentive to him than they are if only they could get a night's sleep. He doesn't know where they will get the time and patience now that he is walking, considering how little
The baby found out how to remove his seat from the little chair. The father put it back in. Stan pushed it around a bit, then pulled a doily off an end table. The father picked him up, asked for a kiss and then said he had to go back.

Mrs. D. had returned and called all out to the kitchen for coffee. The father picked up Stan, chair and all, and carried him out and set him in front of the refrigerator. When Stan cried and reached up, the father fetched the filter from the living room. Even with the filter, the baby started to bang his head a little against the refrigerator, and his father said to stop, that he would hurt himself.

Mrs. D.'s sister, the mother of three children, had returned with her and was having coffee, too. The child played with the filter for a few minutes, and there was discussion of Mrs. D.'s plans for training this summer and for weaning. Stan drinks a little from a cup now, his mother said.

Suddenly the baby started to cry with all his heart, not as though angry, but in great sorrow. The father got up and let him down on the floor. Stan came over to his mother and asked to be picked up. She took him up on her lap and he started to reach for her spoonful of tea, causing her to spill some. She turned him over to his father, who managed to amuse him with tea in the saucer for a while, which the baby enjoyed drinking. When the father shut him off from the supply of tea, he stood up and started rattling the
blinds. The father put him in his pen in the bedroom with a teaspoon and cardboard box, and the child started to play with them contentedly.

Meanwhile there was conversation among Mr. and Mrs. D., her sister, and myself. Mrs. D. said one of her sister's children had started to be a problem child, too, but they had got him settled. When asked if they really thought of Stan as a problem child, the father said, "Well, the sleeping." The observer said that sleeping seemed to be the most severe problem and the mother said, "That's not the only one. That and trying to hold him all the time."

When asked further about this, she said it was a choice of trying to hold him all the time or have him into everything, so the only thing to do was to hold him. She said that when he was creeping he would have been into everything, only she had tried to keep him in a space where he couldn't do anything. Now that he is walking, the job will be harder. The sister suggested she could get a gate.

The father remarked as he looked in at Stan in the pen, "I think he's going to be worth it all, just the same." The observer wondered what ideas they had for his future. The father said that he wanted him to be healthy, energetic, and ambitious, and laughed as he added, "All the things I'm not." The mother said all she wanted was that he be able to earn his own living.
The observer said she thought they had a fine son now, in spite of the problems they felt they had. The father beamed and said, "That's good to hear." The mother did not respond. The father asked if the observer thought he was normal. She said it seemed he was doing all the things one year olds do. The mother said with a tone of annoyance, "All and a lot more!"

The baby was still amusing himself in the playpen, when the observer left.
CASE 3 - MRS. E.

Mrs. E. is a young, sweet looking, small girl who gives the impression of childlike innocence. She is pregnant and expecting her second child in March. Mrs. E. is soft spoken and cordial though not very verbal. On my first visit, I was told I could do whatever I wanted to and take the baby in whatever room I wished.

Julie, twelve months old, is a pretty, neatly dressed child. She has one eye congenitally much smaller than the other and, with the lid almost shut, seems to have only one eye. Mrs. E. did not mention this during our first interview at all. It was noted that when Julie was walking near her, she would occasionally push a toy on the floor away from the baby's advancing footsteps. In later interviews, as Julie's walking became more secure, this behavior on Mrs. E.'s part stopped.

Mrs. E. seemed to feel more comfortable with me when she offered facts about her daughter from a diary. She seemed to be most at ease while reporting that Julie weighed eight pounds six ounces at birth, rolled to one side at three months, cut her fifth and sixth teeth when she was eight months, and walked at ten months. During this time, Mrs. S. and Jean interacted when Mother told Julie to "find the blocks and put them in a pail". When Julie came over to my side of the play pen and reached for my pen, Mother was quick to say, "Don't
touch that -- it's dirty."

During this first interview, Julie picked up a doll and chewed on its feet. Mrs. S. said "stinky piggies" and laughed. Shortly after she left to prepare Julie's bottle, leaving me with the baby. Before she left she took Julie's shoes off on the bed, smelled them in a playful way and again commented "stinky piggies". After mother left the room, Julie engaged me in a game of "kiss the doll" where we each had to take turns kissing her doll. This was the first time that Julie laughed aloud while I had been there. The kissing behavior seems common with her as she would at some time kiss each doll she played with. Mrs. E. would encourage her to "kiss the dolly" or "hug it". There was no kissing or hugging between Mrs. E. and Julie except when Julie fell, reached up to Mother who said "You want to be hugged? O.K." When Mrs. E. did prepare to give Julie the bottle, she placed her, minus shoes, in her crib and left her with the bottle which Julie accepted easily. Mother said that occasionally she will lie down with Julie on the bed as she used to when she nursed her. Julie would ask for it when she wanted it.

Mrs. E. reported that Julie was a companion to her as she could talk to her and Julie understood everything. In this interview, it was noticeable that Julie listened when told to do something, but this did not seem to be in the area of "companionship". Mother then mentioned that she had lived
in this two family house for nine months but has no friends in the neighborhood. She rarely goes out except to shop -- preferably with her husband. Her mother-in-law is a frequent visitor, but she works as a nurse, so Mother is alone during the day.

Mrs. E. filled in during this interview the facts that Julie learned to say "God" when the crucifix was pointed to by seven months, that she was no trouble cutting her teeth, that she makes no fuss when Mother and Father leave her with grandfather and grandmother.

Julie played by herself during this interview most of the time. She put her blocks in her pail, pushed a tooth brush in a jar, hugged and kissed her dolls. Only when she touched the pen, fell down, and was given the bottle, was there overt interaction between Mother and daughter.

In our second interview, Mrs. E. was quite as cordial as on the first visit. Julie was neatly dressed in a pink romper set and was again playing in her play pen in her bedroom when I entered.

Mother was not feeling well this day -- she had pains in her stomach and back and was going to the doctor later that day. Mother spoke about Julie's delivery in connection with her plans to have the second baby delivered in a hospital nearby. Mrs. E. says that at Mass. Memorial Hospital, she was given ether and doesn't remember a thing. Julie was born on a Sunday morning and Mother claims to have been in
a daze until Tuesday. According to Mrs. E. here was a hard
delivery -- her "stomach was all torn". The baby was too big
for her -- she was "just a little thing" weighing 98 pounds
when married. She blames Mass. Memorial Hospital for having
gained 35 pounds during the pregnancy which wasn't noticeable
until her sixth month.

During this time Julie played quietly in her playpen.
She didn't come to Mother, but sat hugging a doll, banging her
blocks and being generally self-occupied. Mother did not talk
to Julie but seemed involved in her own memories of the de-
ivery and focused on telling me about it.

As Mrs. E. had not mentioned Julie's eye to this point,
I asked how she felt when she first saw the baby. She "felt
nothing" -- "she was in a daze". When asked how she felt
about the eye problem, Mother said "awful" -- you have to get
used to things like that. She began to discuss her sister
who had had a hare-lipped baby three years before. She fo-
cused on how her mother felt and how everyone was primarily
concerned with how grandmother would react. Apparently, she
"almost fainted when she saw the baby". When I again focused
on Julie's eye, Mother said that the doctors didn't under-
stand why that eye was so much smaller and they had no imme-
diate plans for the future. Mother added in conclusion that
it doesn't affect Julie's sight as she can see the smallest
crumbs on the floor.

Mother noticed that Julie was becoming restless, seemed
She said "Where are the blocks?" and Julie found them. "Where's your tummy? nose? bum?" and Julie would point. Julie then pushed at the sides of the pen and Mother took her out. Julie played with a huge dog doll -- used as a T.V. cushion, then went and pushed a rocking horse back and forth. She brought Mother a can of baby powder with infants engaged in different activities painted on it. Mother would say, "Look at the baby. What is the baby doing? The baby is taking a bath, eating his supper, etc." She pointed her finger at the pictures and when she stopped, Julie would take her hand and put her finger on the can again.

After this period, I inquired as to Julie's feeding schedule. Julie has about four bottles a day to supplement her junior foods. Julie holds a spoon and wants to feed herself, but Mother feeds her because she gets all messy. Mother isn't anxious to have her try so she can keep her clean. She pointed out that Julie could hold the spoon, but she tilted it. I asked when she anticipated letting her use the spoon. Mother replied, "When she can use it right."

Mother offered me tea during this interview and gave Julie a small piece of bread and butter in her high chair. Mother commented as she tore the bread while buttering it, "My Mother would say that was a mess -- I agree with her." She asked me to pardon her table setting as it wasn't fancy.
Julie ate her bread and there was no interaction between the two. Julie pointed to the window and Mother said she often looks there but she doesn't know if Julie is looking out the window or at a flower on the curtain.

On the third interview, Mrs. E. looked well -- her hair was newly set and she had on an attractive maternity dress. She ushered me into the living room for the first time. Julie was sitting on the floor playing with an empty cracker box, and her long forelock was curled for the first time. Mother had set it, and though it keeps falling in Julie's eyes, Mother likes to keep it long to curl. Mrs. E. said she was exhausted today as she had been during a good deal of this pregnancy and the last one. She could sleep all day and took naps whenever Julie did. Julie brought the box to Mother who said, "That's nice," and Julie continued to stand near her. Mrs. E. said, "Put the blocks in the box." Julie didn't, but stayed leaning against her mother's legs. Julie then went over and found a book and brought it to Mother. She began to point to pictures of dogs taking baths, swimming, etc. Julie reached up her arms and Mother picked her up on her lap. Julie leaned against her and accidentally poked her finger in her own deformed eye. She began to rub it and Mother kept taking her hand away and pointing Julie's finger to a picture.

Julie then got off Mother's lap and walked to a vase.
Mother said, "That's mine" quietly and pointed to her chest. "Don't touch it." Julie pointed to herself, and Mother said she imitates that. Mother then asked "Where's the baby?" and Julie looked at her picture hanging on the wall. Mother commented on the wedding picture nearby saying that when Julie was just six months, she would look at that picture when asked "Where's Daddy". Julie then walked to the T.V. and jiggled the knobs. Mother had removed the handles, so seemed content to let Julie play there. Julie then walked to the coffee table and pushed it. Mother said sharply but not loudly "Stop it" and Julie did. She touched a figure of a girl's head and again Mother said "That's mine". Julie stared at it and Mother said "Pretty girl" in a very sweet voice. Mother then asked Julie if she would like to get in the playpen. Julie came to Mother who put her in. Once inside, she played with the assorted dolls inside, placing them on her head and cooing to them. She made noises to herself and occasionally said "baby". She rang a bell toy and then handed it to me. I rang it, too, and she laughed and we took turns. Julie then went to play with Mother's foot which was jutting into the pen. By this time Mother was sitting half dozing on the chair with her chin in her hand. She let Julie push at her foot and then Julie returned to me. She threw a doll out and I picked it up and handed it back. She repeated this, but the doll bounced under the pen. Julie pointed to it and Mother said, "No more, baby".
Julie pointed again, then gave up on this and handed me a rabbit toy which I sat on the pen rim, on her head, on my lap. She enjoyed this for quite a while and asked for more several times. Then she played with my watch and the safety chain. She kissed my watch once and in response to my quizzical look, Mother said she kisses the holy medal on Mother's watch. Julie then made a rather anal noise and Mother said, 'That's naughty, that stinks, naughty girl.' She took Julie's hand and pulled her over to her while admonishing her. Julie turned away and began to bite on a rubber doll. Mother picked her up quite as if she had a dirty diaper (away from her) and took her to the bedroom. I heard "Shame" several times. Mother then returned and said she put her on the potty daily but she really didn't know what it was for yet. She then turned to Julie and asked, "Where's your belly, your nose, etc." Julie responded by pointing. Julie then reached for the rabbit, kissed and hugged it. Mother said she loves to kiss. One time they were both watching T.V. and Julie leaned over from the arm of the chair and kissed Mother on the lips -- then returned to watching T.V.

This interview, Julie seemed much surer of her walking. She was friendlier to the observer in that she made overtures to play. When the observer said "bye bye" to leave, she shook her head seeming for the first time to consider the observer as a person.
CASE 4 - MRS. B.

The first visit, Mrs. B. greeted the observer in a friendly relaxed manner, and the first impression of her was of a warm, outgoing, casual person. She is an attractive bleached blond, rather buxom twenty-year old, neatly groomed and dressed in an attractive skirt and sweater set. Her relaxed casual manner permeated the interview. Mr. B., a twenty-four year old tall and rather wiry young man, was also present during the interview. He seemed rather reserved and not as easy-going as his wife, and in his manner with the child, seemed to be more paternal than Mrs. B. was maternal.

They live in a duplex apartment which has two bedrooms on the first floor and living-room and kitchen in the basement. The living-room and kitchen are shared by Mrs. B.'s sister and two-year old child who live on the second floor. The interview took place in the living-room which was attractively and tastefully decorated with modern furniture. The entire apartment was immaculate.

When the observer entered the living-room, Carl was sitting in a canvas seat attached to a pully which hung in the doorway between the kitchen and living-room. He was actively bouncing up and down. He laughed and vocalized when the observer entered, and the first impression was that of a very happy child. He was playing with his father's pipe and mouthing it, which he continued to do most of the interview.
Almost immediately, Mrs. B. removed Carl from the seat and stood him on the floor. He immediately walked over to where the observer was sitting and rested his head against her knee. He took the pen and paper out of her hand and started to scribble while still holding on to his father’s pipe. Mrs. B. gave him a pencil so that he would give back the observer’s pen, but he held all three in one hand with an extremely tight grasp. He was not content with a substitute -- the pencil or pipe. After a few moments, he dropped the pipe which landed under the coffee table. He tried to pick it up, but couldn’t reach it as there was little room between the coffee table and couch. After waiting to see if he could pick it up himself, Mrs. B. picked it up for him.

As we conversed, the following information was elicited. Carl, fourteen months old, weighed seven pounds, eleven ounces, at birth and now weighs twenty pounds, ten ounces. The youngster has a sturdy, robust physique with broad shoulders and strong limbs. He was bottle-fed from birth. At two months, he went off his night bottle and was receiving four bottles a day. A few weeks later, he was hospitalized at Massachusetts General Hospital for four days for intestinal virus, dehydration, diarrhea and vomiting. When he returned home from the hospital, his night bottle was resumed which he continues to receive if he awakens during the night. At ten months, he went off baby food and now eats everything the parents eat. They said he is a hearty eater and likes all types of foods.
They told of a picnic they went on when Carl was ten months old when he ate such things as pickles, mustard, hotdogs and potato chips. As Mr. B. described Carl's appetite, the observer felt he was perhaps inclined to exaggerate, as he told it in a proud and boastful manner and seemed to be implying that Carl is really a little man. Mrs. B. helps him to eat, but added that "he likes to have a spoon on his plate and pick the food off the spoon and put it in his mouth with his hands". He is now on three meals a day and eats regularly at 7.15 A.M., 1.00 P.M., and 6.00 P.M. When put to bed at 6.30, they give him a bottle, but he doesn't drink the milk and only uses the bottle to play with. Mr. B. said they had to buy plastic bottles as he would break glass ones, throwing them on the floor, "as he is so active".

Mr. B. is a taxi driver and presently on the 3 P.M. to 2 A.M. shift. When he returns home from work, Carl will frequently awaken as he hears his parents talking in their bedroom. Carl will not cry, but will rather vocalize and bang his head on the wall separating their two rooms. If he stays awake any length of time, they will give him a bottle, so he will go back to sleep. He sleeps through until 7.00 A.M. He is put in the crib every afternoon for two to three hours; however, he seldom naps but will rather vocalize and play with the toys in the crib. They said he will spend hours talking to his father's socks or the kitty which is usually on the other bed in his room. Mr. B. said Carl doesn't need people
as he "plays just as well by himself or with the kitty".

In relation to his motor development, Mrs. B. said that Carl stood up before he sat up. At six months, he stood up in the crib holding onto the side. He walked without assistance when he was just over one year old. He never did crawl; in fact, before he learned to walk without assistance, if there was something he wanted across the room, he would walk around the room holding onto the furniture until he got to where he was going. Mr. B. said Carl might walk through three rooms holding onto the wall and furniture to get something he wanted that was originally a few feet away.

They said Carl loves to look at magazines, and then gave him a magazine to look at to show the observer what they meant. He turned the pages and looked at the pictures and was especially intent on a full-page picture of a man's face. When he tired of looking at the magazine, he tried to get up from his sitting position on the floor. As his feet were on the magazine, he kept sliding and was unable to stand up, although he tried vainly to do it becoming quite frustrated as evidenced by his whining. Both Mr. and Mrs. B. said, "Get off the magazine, silly," but made no effort to help him. When he was unable to stand up, he then hitched himself over to the coffee table and pulled himself up. Mrs. B., sitting on the couch, then picked him up and held him against her as he stood on her lap. Carl beat his head against her chest many times and then stepped off her lap and dropped his father's
pipe behind the couch. It was impossible to retrieve it as
the couch was against the wall, nor did the parents make an
effort to get it for him. Instead, Mr. B. raised the window
curtain so Carl could look out, even though he could not see
out even then. Mr. B. then played patty cake with Carl, which
Carl did competently without looking at his hands. As Carl
was becoming fussy and it was two hours beyond his usual nap
time, Mrs. B. said it was time for him to go to bed. Mr. B.
lifted him up, but before taking him upstairs, pointed to
their wedding picture to which Carl waved "bye-bye". As soon
as Carl was put in the crib, and even before his father left
the room, we could hear him from downstairs banging his head
against the crib. Mrs. B. said he does that every time he is
put to bed, but she did not express any concern about it.

Carl smiled and laughed during much of the interview
and was continually active, investigating and playing with
various objects. He walked around the rooms freely, going
from living-room through the hall to the kitchen. Mr. B.
said, "He's nosey like me -- he always has to know what's
going on." When they have a party, Carl "wants to join the
fun and hates to go to bed if there are other people around".
They said he isn't frightened of people because he is so used
to having them around. The maternal grandparents live across
the street and spend a good deal of time in the home and, too,
the B.'s do a great deal of entertaining. Carl plays with a
two-year old neighbor and his cousin.
Mrs. B. returned to part-time employment as a clerical worker when Carl was just over a year old. The date given for returning to work coincided with the time Carl learned to walk by himself. She is presently working three days a week, but hopes to return to full-time employment in a few weeks so that they can make payment on outstanding bills. When she does work, Carl is cared for by a neighbor. He usually does cry when she leaves him, but she feels he naps much better there than he does in his own home. Mrs. B. said she would like to move to a housing project as her sister who recently moved upstairs is "moody and difficult to get along with". Since the two families share the living-room and kitchen, Mrs. B. feels she has very little privacy.

The second visit, Mrs. B. greeted the observer in a friendly manner and ushered her into their bedroom to leave her coat. The bedroom was sparsely furnished but immaculate. We went into the kitchen where Carl was sitting in his high chair eating an apple. He paid no attention to the observer when she entered, and there was no expression change. Mrs. B. said she had been eating the apple, but as he wanted it, she gave it to him. Carl looked and acted as if he had a cold as his nose and eyes were running; however, Mrs. B. said he was cutting his twelfth tooth and "he always is that way when he teeths".

Mrs. B. immediately began to prepare Carl's supper which consisted of thick vegetable soup with bread broken up in it
and a cup of milk. She explained that he wasn't eating the same food as they since he wasn't feeling well. Mr. B. came into the kitchen at this point. The observer had made the visit at this hour purposely so that Mr. B. would be at work; however, he had his shift changed and was now working days.

Carl managed his cup exceedingly well, holding it in one hand with a very firm grasp. The cup had a cover on it with large holes which enabled the milk to flow through easily. Mrs. B. sat down in front of him and started to feed him. She gave him huge spoonfuls in rapid succession as if stuffing food into him so that his mouth was full and he literally gagged. When she stopped feeding him for a moment, he dug his hands into the food and started eating with his hands. Both Mr. and Mrs. B. seemed unconcerned and made no mention of it. Mrs. B. then put the spoon on his dish and said in a pleasant and agreeable manner, "Oh, you want to feed yourself."

Carl raised the spoon to his mouth, and in a hitting fashion, spilled the food all over his face, on his shirt, on the floor and on the hi-chair. Mrs. B. made no effort to feed him, nor did she clean up the food until he was through. Mr. B. took his empty cup away, but as Carl started to whine, he poured him another cup which seemed to pacify him. As Carl was eating, Mr. B. started to cook their spaghetti dinner.

After Carl finished eating, Mrs. B. washed his face and hands and cleaned up the spilled food. She then took him out of hi-chair and stood him in the middle of the floor.
Carl came over to the table where the observer was sitting, but did not come to her. He reached for an orange that was in the middle of the table, but as he could not reach it, vocalized for it. Mr. B. reached for the orange for him and called it a "ball". Mr. B. crouched down on the floor and asked Carl to throw the ball to him. Carl held onto it, but later dropped it as if trying to throw it to his father. The orange rolled under the chair where his mother was sitting, but she made no effort to get it for him. Carl reached his foot under the chair while standing up and rolled it out with his foot. He then rolled the ball along the floor with his foot in short kicking movements as if he was playing soccer. His shoe became untied, and mother asked father to tie it. He did tie it and then asked Carl to give him a kiss as he put his mouth up close to Carl's. Carl kissed him for which father thanked him. Carl was walking around constantly. He went to the cabinet of pots and pans, and Mrs. B. asked him to get the dish pan. He opened the cabinet door and looked for a few minutes, but took nothing out. There was music on the radio, and Mrs. B. said to Carl, "Let's dance." After circling him around a few times, Mr. B. again crouched down on the floor and clapped his hands to the music. Carl imitated the rhythm, but instead of clapping his hands together, beat his hands on the cupboard.

Mr. B. said that when Mrs. B. is home, she gets all the attention from Carl; however, when she isn't home, Mr. B.
does get it. Carl never did go spontaneously to his father and only once did he go spontaneously to his mother. After he had been playing for some time, he sat down in the middle of the floor, looked very tired, and started to cry. Mrs. B. did help him to stand up after which he walked over and stood by her chair. She picked him up and held him affectionately and said it was time for bed. Before taking him to bed, she carried him over to the wall and pointed out birds and flower pots in the wallpaper design, naming each as he fingered them. Although Carl looked as though he didn't feel well, he was active and had a good disposition on the whole.

The observer accompanied Mrs. B. upstairs while she put Carl to bed. He was given a bottle of milk to take to bed. The two bedrooms were switched since the previous visit and was attributed to the fact that Carl banged his head against the wall separating their rooms. His crib is now against the outer wall furthest from their room, underneath the windows. There was not a thing in the crib except the bottom sheet -- not even a blanket. As soon as Mrs. B. laid him down, he stood up on his hands and knees and banged his head against the bars at the head of the crib. As he banged, he had a rather playful expression on his face. Mrs. B. made no effort to stop him, but rather kissed him and turned out the light. The room was unusually dark as the shades were drawn tight; however, they have never left a night light on, and Mrs. B. says the dark does not bother him. Mrs. B. could not
say when his head banging began, but he does it every time he
is put to bed. During the five minutes the observer remained
in the house, he was still banging his head.

When the observer arrived for the third visit, Carl was
in the play pen in the living room. He was obviously discontented as he was trying to crawl over the side and was whining.
Mrs. B. said he is only placed in the pen when she does house-
work, which she was in the process of doing when the observer
arrived. She did take Carl out of the pen immediately.

Mr. B. was home this time also, but he left for work
half way through the interview since he was home only to eat
breakfast. Mr. B. said he loves taxi driving as he is out in
the air all day and, too, he can be independent. Observer
mentioned that, too, he could come home any time he wanted.
Mrs. B. spoke up and said "that's the trouble. He comes home
any time and eats and expects me to do the dishes. But I now
refuse to do them any more than three times a day; so if he
wants to eat, he has to do his own dishes."

The television set was on and Carl watched it until his
mother turned it off. She said she doesn't have any trouble
with Carl about touching the television set as he touched it
once and she slapped his hands. She said the television was
too expensive a thing for him to play with and she had to
"teach him". Carl seemed not at all concerned when the set
was turned off and made no response other than to become in-
volved in another activity. He picked up a toothbrush that
was on the coffee table and went to the door leading into the
bathroom. Mrs. B. said he now always holds onto the tooth-
brush as he watched his father brushing his teeth the other
morning and he now imitates him. He did not go into the bath-
room, but sat down on the floor and played peek-a-boo with
the observer. Mrs. B. said, "Carl learned a new trick this
week," and proceeded to show the observer what it was. She
left the closet door ajar and told Carl to open the door. He
opened the door, walked into the closet, and pulled a towel
from the shelf which they told him to put back. As there were
many towels squeezed onto a narrow shelf, it was a difficult
task; however, Carl worked at it until he got the towel back
in place. He then pulled a blanket out, but Mrs. B. told him
to leave it in the closet as there was already one in his
criadle. He did put the blanket back and then came out of the
closet and closed the door.

Things that Carl is not suppose to touch seem to be
left within his reach, but he is told not to touch them. He
picked up a china ashtray from the coffee table, and Mrs. B.
said, "Put it back," which he responded to immediately with-
out any obvious sign of anger or frustration. Mrs. B. then
related an incident that happened yesterday in which it was
felt she was trying to impress on the observer how well Carl
minds her. He removed a doily from under a dish which she
told him to replace, and he fussed and fumed with it a long
time until he finally replaced it under the dish. After
replacing the ashtray, Carl walked over to the observer and looked at an ashtray on her chair. Although he looked as though he wanted to touch it, he did not, but rather looked at the observer and laughed while clasping his hands tightly together as if restraining himself. Carl pointed to the mantle and vocalized that he wanted something. Although there were many objects on the mantle, Mr. B. realized what he wanted and brought him down a little car. Carl pushed the car along the floor with his foot as he had the orange in the last interview. On Mr. B.'s part there was much play activity with the child. He jounced him up and down on the couch, threw him in the air and pulled him back and forth by his suspenders. Carl delighted in all this activity and particularly liked being pulled back and forth by his suspenders.

When Mr. B. left for work and kissed Carl goodbye, Carl waved bye-bye but otherwise seemed unconcerned. Mrs. B. said that when she leaves, Carl will look for her through all the rooms, and if he can't find her, will fuss, but will not do this if Mr. B. is there. Mr. B. has taken care of Carl a great deal of the time as Mrs. B. goes out for the evening three times a week. She belongs to two girls' social clubs in addition to attending choir rehearsal one night a week and church on Sunday. Except for working, Mr. B. is seldom out of the house at night. So he takes care of Carl in Mrs. B.'s absence. Sunday mornings, Mrs. B. gives Carl his bath, dresses him, changes him, feeds him and plays with him. When
Carl was a baby, Mr. B. got up in the night to give him his bottle. Mrs. B. said that her husband is a big help and really enjoys taking care of Carl.

Carl went to the cupboard and brought out his family's piggy bank which was a jar with a top on it. He brought it to the observer to open, although his mother was closer to him. Mrs. B. asked him where "his piggy bank" was and then went to get it for him. He relinquished his family's bank for him readily and kissed his piggy. After more investigating, walking around and playing, Carl seemed tired and started to cry. Mrs. B. lay him on the couch and he immediately got up on his hands and knees and rocked back and forth while still crying. Mrs. B. lifted him on her lap and held him close in an affectionate manner while patting his back. He continued to cry and bit the button on her sweater. He did not stop crying until she released him and juggled him on her knee. Mrs. B. said he only goes to her when he doesn't feel well, but then said he is quite affectionate and frequently puts his head against her knee. She did say she thought he didn't need people, as Mr. B. had said in an earlier interview. Carl receives much attention from his maternal grandfather of whom Carl is very fond. Carl is the only grandchild who does get attention from this grandfather, and Mrs. B. attributes this to the fact that she was her father's favorite as she was the baby in her family and was always pampered.

In response to the observer's question regarding
masturbation, Mrs. B. said, "He does finger his genitals when he is in the bath or when he is wet and is telling he wants to be changed." When he does it in the bath, she will give him something to play with; however, she "wouldn't punish him until he is old enough to understand that he shouldn't do it." She said he doesn't like to have clothes on and fusses when she dresses him; however, he does not fuss when his father dresses him. To Mrs. B.'s knowledge, Carl has never sucked his thumb. The observer again asked about the head banging -- if it was still going on, and when it was first noticed. Mrs. B. felt it started about two months ago, and he "learned it from his cousin upstairs who always did it." Mrs. B. then said there was something she did want to know about. Recently, Carl has been lying down on the floor and banging his foot. She feels his foot banging is a playful activity and could not say that he did it at any particular time such as when he is mad or tired; but she did wonder why he did it. It seemed to the observer that there was no concern manifested regarding the head banging; however, in questioning the observer about the foot banging, concern was evident.

Mr. and Mrs. B. moved to a Veteran's Housing Project a week before the fourth visit was made. This visit was unexpected and could have caused considerable inconvenience to Mrs. B.; however, it did not seem to disturb her in the least. The living-room was terribly cluttered with rubbish which Mrs. B. explained was there because she had just cleaned out
Dirty laundry was piled high in the kitchen as she was in the process of doing the laundry, which she continued to do while the observer was there. She was quite unconcerned about the condition of the house, and when the observer apologized for the inconvenience, she made no pretense or apology for the house being in shambles but seemed to feel the observer would accept it as it was.

Mrs. B. now has a full-time job as a receptionist at a hospital. She would like to continue working as long as possible, but doubts that this will be long because "as soon as the Project learns of it, the rent will be raised". She is working to pay off accumulated bills, but she says she would rather stay home. Although she enjoyed staying home during her pregnancy and until Carl was one year old, she does enjoy working. A neighbor in the Project cares for Carl while Mrs. B. works. This neighbor's teen-age daughter was present during the interview, and Mrs. B. treated her as though she were her hired maid. During the visit, Mrs. B. asked the girl to awaken Carl from his nap, empty the garbage, take a box of trash outdoors, and to go to the store.

Carl played by himself in the kitchen the entire interview and seemed almost oblivious to the fact any of us were there. He spent most of the time sitting or standing in the dish pan while trying to stand on his head. When the neighbor or the observer talked to him, he smiled, but he never took notice of his mother, nor she of him, except when the
observer asked a question about him. Once she did call to him in order to give him keys to show the observer how he tries to unlock the door. He did go immediately to her when she called and took the keys from her. After trying to unlock the door, he went back to the couch where his mother was sitting and was picked up by her. He stood up on the couch and picked up ceramic figures on the window-sill. Mrs. B. told him "no" and slapped his hands gently. He then sat down on the couch and played with her pocketbook while emptying its contents. She let him do this and was most unconcerned about it.

Mrs. B. related that once in a while Carl now has a temper tantrum when he can't have his own way which "he gets from her". The other day, Carl and a two-year old girl were each given a glass of orange juice -- Carl's in a green glass and the girl's in a red glass. Carl screamed and stamped his feet; and as they thought he wanted the red glass, they changed glasses; however, he wasn't satisfied as he wanted both glasses. Mrs. B. spanked him and put him in his crib until he "quieted down". In a few minutes he quieted down and was brought out and then drank his own glass of juice. He doesn't bang his head on the crib so much now, but rather jumps up and down in the crib when put to bed. He does not continue this activity as long as he did the head banging and usually tires of it in a few moments. Sometimes when he's tired, he will put a blanket on the floor, rest his head on it, and bang his foot on the floor.
it. He then wiggled down from her lap and walked to the cupboard of pots and pans as Mrs. C. followed him and screamed, "Don't you dare, I'll nail shut!"

As we talked in the living-room, Al stood in front of us leaning against the couch or sat on the floor. There was very little activity and spontaneity on his part, and what activity there was brought punishment which was always the same. In a sharp, harsh, critical voice, she screamed, "No, Mommy, bad boy" and slapped his hands. When slapped, Al did not cry, but rather laughed and usually continued with the behavior that provoked her to slap him. This reprimand occurred when he blew at ashes in the ash tray and when he stuck his hands down between the cushions on the divan. Again he tipped his bottle upside down so that milk spilled out. She reprimanded him, wiped up the milk, and he immediately tipped the bottle upside down again. She said, "See, he just does it on purpose." He took the observer's pen and scribbled on paper -- Mrs. C. grabbed it out of his hand, reprimanded him, and made a gesture as though throwing the pen in the other room. He, in response to this gesture, picked up the bottle that was on the couch and dropped it quite forcefully on the floor.

Al sleeps until ten to eleven A.M; however, he does not go to bed until midnight as he "stays up to watch television". She tried putting him to bed "when I wanted, but it didn't work as he wouldn't go." Now, when he is tired, he takes his mother by the hand and leads her to his crib. He slept with
his parents in their bed until a month ago when they moved to their present apartment where he has his own room.

Toilet training has not been started. Mrs. C. tried putting him on the toilet once, but he was so scared and cried that she didn't try it again as she read, "You shouldn't force toilet training."

Mrs. C. says that Al idolizes his father, and he prefers "him to me". Mr. C. can't leave the house with Al screaming even if Mrs. C. is there. When she slaps Al, he runs to his father and points to her. Mr. C. never slaps him, but as Mrs. C. says, "You have to slap them as you have to teach them when they're small." She seemed not at all concerned that Al prefers his father to her, but rather seemed to think it was quite natural since she is the one who punishes him. Mrs. C.'s mother visits frequently and tells her she shouldn't lick Al, but Mrs. C. says, "She forgets how she licked us", which was said with much bitterness.

Twice during the interview, Mrs. C. kissed Al, and both times it was after she had punished him by slapping him. There was no tenderness exhibited, but rather the kiss was given almost as a gift after the punishment. She exhibited no fondness or warmth to him and paid little attention to him except to restrict and punish him. Al's sober and apathetic expression changed only the few times when he laughed after being punished.

As the observer was ready to leave, Mrs. C. asked if
in a mechanical way exhibiting no warmth. There was no physical contact with him as she only lifted his legs to put the diaper under him. There was an extensive rash on his buttocks and legs which she commented on saying, "He always gets a rash when he teeths." She sprinkled powder on his genitals, but put nothing on the rash. Al slept all night in his shirt and overalls, and these were not changed when he did get up. She put on his shoes while he was in the carriage, and with this, came his first aggressive act for the day. He whined and kicked his legs vehemently as she held his legs forceably and said, "You're not going to win, kiddo", and forced his shoes on. She explained his resistance by saying he wanted his new shoes on. To quiet him, she gave him the bottle, which was in the carriage and which had been there all night. He did not drink from it but only played with it, and when he was quieted down, she took him out of the carriage.

It was most difficult to learn of the sleeping arrangement as Mrs. C. gave vague and conflicting stories; however, the observer felt it was more a lack of intelligence rather than resistance to giving the information. It was finally learned that last night Mrs. C. didn't feel well; so, therefore, did not feel like staying up with Al. She went to bed at 9:30 and as Al won't stay up without her, he went to bed with her. The previous night he also slept in their bed; however, he "doesn't like it and stays awake most of the night". He likes to spread out and doesn't like anyone to
roll against him. Since she hasn't been feeling well, Al has been sleeping in the carriage in their room as she said it was easier for her since she doesn't have to go to his room in the middle of the night to cover him up. This was not clear as she then said it has always been Mr. C.'s job to get up in the middle of the night and cover Al. The living-room and large playroom separate the two bedrooms.

As soon as Al was on his feet, she devoted all her attention to him, firing questions at him in rapid succession such as, "Where's your belly? Where's your nose? Where's your eyes?" However, as soon as he tired of the game and refused to point to any more objects, she responded in a sardonic and reproachful manner, saying, "Mummy don't like you anymore." This continued for perhaps ten minutes, she repeating the same phrase every time he neglected to point to the object in question.

Al looked at the ashtray in front of him, but did not have time to blow the ashes before Mrs. C. screamed to him to get away. He had an innocent perplexed expression on his face, but sneezed after his mother yelled. She then asked Al to get her boots -- he looked at her shoes and she spoke in a disgusted manner, "Not shoes, boots--Boots, Boots in the closet -- get them." As he approached the closet, he looked apprehensive, but as he got up to it an extremely anxious and fearful expression came over his face and he slowly edged backwards away from the closet. When questioned
as to what he was frightened of, she replied that it was the radiator which was beside the closet. In a matter of fact, she said, "That won't hurt you." When asked if he was ever burned, she said, "No, I told him not to go near it. The same with the stove -- he won't go near that even when it's not on." She then stood between the radiator and the closet blocking him from it -- the radiator was not on. He then inched his way up to the closet in a cautious, apprehensive way. He made a hissing sound imitating steam coming forth from a radiator. Al picked up a belt from the closet floor, and Mrs. C. grabbed it from him in a very controlling and hostile manner and told him he couldn't have that. He did bring out one boot, but rather than giving him any praise for his effort, she told him to get the other one, too.

Mrs. C. left her position at the radiator to return to the couch, leaving Al sitting in front of the closet. He seemed paralyzed with fright as he looked at the radiator, but could make no move. She told him it was all right as the radiator was not hot. He slowly edged backwards hitching himself along the floor, until he was a safe distance away, and then he stood up. He picked up a toy hatchet and hammer and came over to the couch and tried to stuff them down between the cushions. Mrs. C. did not stop him this time as she did in the previous visit, but rather reached them for him when he lost hold of them. He again walked over to the closet, and Mrs. C. yelled, "Don't go there, the radiator."
He stopped and ran to the corner behind the couch where he sat on the floor during the remainder of the interview that took place in the living-room. While he was in the corner, Mrs. C. took notice of him only once. She told him she was going to visit the lady upstairs, whereupon Al came rushing out of his corner; but when he saw she was not serious, he returned to the corner. She said he loves to sit in the corner and spends a good deal of time there. He gets it from watching boxing on Television. He and Mr. C. come out from opposite corners as the boxers do.

She said Al realizes when she's sick -- he is so quiet -- "He doesn't bother me -- he plays by himself." She then said, "He's so sensitive, you can't holler at him." She related that yesterday he fell off the chair and hit his head on the floor. She did not feel that he hurt his head, but because she yelled at him for getting up on the chair, he cried.

We went to the kitchen for coffee, and Al followed us going to another corner which Mrs. C. said was his favorite corner. She poured him an eighth of a cheese glass of milk and gave him a cracker which was the first and only food he had been given since arising. She had made no mention of breakfast, nor had he indicated he was hungry. She gave him the glass while he was standing and told him to hold it tight. He did not want to take the glass but wanted to drink from it while she was holding it. As she did not want to hold it, she put it on the chair in front of him.
She mentioned that when Al sees dirt on the floor, he brings her the broom and then holds the dust pan for her. She then told him to bring her the broom and dust pan, and as he was getting them, she said, "He gets so excited when he gets the broom." She could not say why he got excited, nor was any excitement or change in behavior or expression noted. He dropped the dust pan and broom at his mother's feet, and as she made no effort to sweep, he walked away.

Al was playing in the backyard when the observer arrived for the third visit. Mrs. C., with her hair in pin curls and dressed in a housecoat, greeted the observer and called her husband and Al in the house. Mrs. C. removed Al's coat, and as he stretched out his arm to help her remove the coat, his arm remained in this outstretched position until Mrs. C. hung his coat in the closet and came back by him and lowered his arm. He was dressed in a clean white shirt, looked as though he had been freshly bathed and had his hair neatly combed. Mr. C. is a small-framed, rather passive appearing man, friendly and courteous to the observer. Al immediately ran to his father and threw his arms around the father's legs. Mr. C. picked him up and held him in a more or less supporting position for ten minutes while standing in one spot in the middle of the kitchen floor. As Mr. C. held him, he spoke softly to him asking him questions such as "Where is Mummy, where is Daddy, where is Al, where is the nurse". Al responded to only one of these questions --
when asked where Al was, he pointed to his father and laughed. Mrs. C. mentioned how much Al loves his father and how he ignores her when Mr. C. is present. She stretched out her arms to Al and said, "Come Mommy." Al turned his head away from her and rested it on his father's shoulder. She then held up a pen and paper to him and said, "Look what I have, Al." He then got down from his father's arms and went to his mother. She then pushed the pen and paper out of his reach and grabbed him and said, "Ahha, I have you now." Al did not appear to be disappointed but seemed to take it as a matter of course as he pushed away from his mother and came to the observer for her pen. The only other time Al went to his mother was when she called to him and said, "I have a surprise for you," as she cupped her hands. As Al went to look at the surprise, she grabbed him and said, "Ahha, I have you" triumphantly. As Mr. C. picked Al up again, Mrs. C. said, "No wonder he likes his father, he gives him everything he wants -- he gives into him. I don't pick him up all day long and I certainly don't give into him."

Mr. C. made a pot of coffee on his wife's request, but before he could make it he had to wash the pot and three cups. As we drank our coffee, Mrs. C. put Al in his hi-chair and gave him a small amount of milk in a cup. He tried to drink it so fast that he spilled some down his front. He became so anxious that he spilled milk that he dropped the cup and beat his hands on the hi-chair as if in
a rage. The parents made no response to the spilled milk, but Mrs. C. wiped it up. Al then verbalized he wanted more milk, to which his mother responded, "Oh no, that's your tough luck -- you spilled it." Mr. C. said it would spoil his dinner. Mrs. C. then proceeded to feed him his baby food. He ate four mothfulls and indicated he didn't want anymore. Mrs. C. gave him a napkin and told him to wipe his face. Although he did wipe the napkin across his face, he was unable to remove the food, and Mrs. C. therefore wiped it for him. Mr. C. then removed Al from the hi-chair and sat him on his lap. Al reached for the spoon to feed himself, but Mrs. C. said, "Don't you dare get messy again" and grabbed the spoon from him.

With further reference to the feeding history, they said that at two months, the bottle was placed in a holder in his crib as Mrs. C.'s mother told them "you shouldn't hold the bottle for a baby". At three months, he started to hold the bottle himself. At five months, he started drinking out of a cup, but it was held for him only a few times before he wanted to hold it himself. Nightly, he takes a bottle to bed with him even now; however, his only pleasure is in "chewing the nipple as he does not drink the milk".

He has never sucked his thumb, but recently he has been putting his thumb in his mouth and chewing the nail. It was noticed that whenever he walked around the room, he did have his thumb in his mouth and he was biting his nail. Mr.
C. said he gets that habit from his mother as she always bites her nails to which she did agree. Frequently as Al walked around the room aimlessly, he sighed heavily; however, this did not occur spontaneously in relation to any frustration. There was one other incident where he acted out his frustration as he tried to unlock the door with a key. He was unable to get the key in the keyhold and dropped the key. At this, he shook his arms and stamped his feet.

Mr. C. said "Al" in a soothing gentle manner, and Al immediately stopped his tantrum and laughed. Mrs. C. remarked that he is such a nervous child. She held a lit cigarette about an inch away from Al's mouth, and as he drew in his breath, she pulled the cigarette away and laughed in a sadistic manner.

There was more activity on Al's part this visit; however, the activity was rather lethargic and undirected as it consisted of aimless walking around the room, clinging to his father or bringing something to his father.

Mr. C. talked of how lonesome it is living in their present apartment as at their previous address his mother lived upstairs and his sister downstairs. The paternal grandmother seems to be a very strong figure in this family as she is spoken of in very idealistic terms by both Mr. and Mrs. C.

Mr. C. mentioned the asthma attack Al suffered and of the severity of it, as Al was so hysterical, he didn't even
know his father, "which proved he was really sick". He enu-
merated the foods Al is allergic to, which include orange
juice and chocolate; however, they do give him an orange to
suck on, and Mrs. C. spoke up and said she gave Al a choco-
late last night.

Mrs. C. was calmer and more tolerant the fourth visit
than previous visits. The interview was devoted almost ex-
clusively to attempting to explore her feelings in relation
to the child and also her awareness of how her behavior is
affecting him. Questions as to what she enjoys most about
the child and what she finds most difficult were unfruitful
as she responded that she enjoys everything. When specific
areas such as feeding, play, and bedtime were pinpointed, she
felt nothing was difficult, nor was there any particular time
of the day he was more difficult. "He is as easy in daytime
as nighttime," All stages of his development were equally
pleasant and she denies that any stage was more difficult
than any other stage -- "He has always been wonderful, in-
teresting and easy." She admitted, however, that she does get
curious when he gets on the couch as she is afraid he will
fall off. The furniture in the living-room was rearranged
and the couch fixed plush against the wall "to prevent him
from falling behind the couch and also to prevent him from
sitting in the corner." During the entire interview, Al
sat in the corner of the couch and tried to squeeze down
between the couch and wall which was impossible.
When asked if she thought Al was nervous, she replied, "He is awfully nervous when he can't have his own way or when he tries to say something or do something he can't do." When asked how she knows he is nervous, she replied that he holds his breath, his face gets red, and he screams. She said, "Oh, is he stubborn."

Mrs. C. took Al on her lap and said, "Where's Mummy's eye?" He put his finger under her glasses, and she immediately slapped him and said, "No, Mummy, you put my eye out." For a few moments, Al was rather active, crawling over the couch; however, he soon quieted down as she said, "I'll put you in your crib." He played with the observer's pocket-book and opened the clasp. Mrs. C. told him to shut it, and although he tried to, she became impatient and left the room as she said, "Mummy get stick." Al immediately crawled back into the corner of the couch and drank from his bottle. After a moment, he followed into the kitchen and took the stick from her. She said, "No, you don't," and hit him gently on the buttocks with the stick. He whined and started to bite his nail. She then told him to put his hands out which he did as she hit each hand gently with the stick. Hitting with the stick was more playful than punishing. Al again crawled on the couch and started rocking, hitting his head against the back cushion. Mrs. C. put her hand against his chest and stomach and pushed him against the back of the couch which was a very restricting action. Al became panicky
as he waved his arms, held his breath, and had an extremely anxious, painful expression on his face. She released him after a moment, but repeated this action twice more when he didn't stop rocking. As he stood on the arm of the couch, Mrs. C. made no move to stop him, but said, "You fall, I'll give you a boo-boo." When asked what a boo-boo is, she replied, "a score, and he is scared of sores." Maternal grandmother visited last week and she had a sprained ankle which was bandaged. Al would not go near her, but when he wanted to get by her, walked way around her looking at her ankle.

When asked whether she thought Al was more like her or her husband, she pondered a moment and said she guessed he was like his father as he imitates him; however, he's like her, too, as he learns fast. Her mother told her she always picked up fast. She guessed he took after her in respect to nervousness also. When asked about his sighing, she said he always sighs when she asks him more than once to do something -- she feels he is saying, "Don't bother me."

Al was sick all last week with bronchitis; however, she found it impossible to keep him in bed. As he wouldn't sleep at night, she said she stayed up with him. She did not consult a doctor as she took care of him herself, giving him medication. Mrs. C. does not feed him when he is sick because "he gets a fever too fast" and she therefore only gives him liquids.
When Mr. C. came home from work, Al ran to him to take a paper bag out of his hand; however, he paid no further attention to his father. Mrs. C. said this was a nightly ritual as Al has to see what his father brought him.
Chapter III
CONCLUSIONS BASED ON INTERVIEW DATA

CASE 1 - MRS. A.

Mrs. A. was seen throughout the four visits to take great pleasure in this baby, and to give herself freely and fully to mothering him. In fact, it appeared that she was quite dedicated to him, and centered herself around him. Although she frequently referred to him as a "pest" in relation to the various demands of his care, her attitude and expression indicated she was finding him a joy and taking intense pleasure and satisfaction in ministering to him. It was observed that she was constantly trying to give him pleasure and satisfaction, in every possible way, in giving him milk, demonstrations of affection, participation in his play, and granting his desires, wherever possible. It was felt that mother saw herself only as being a loving mother, serving her child's happiness. However, observation showed her, thus, drawing much of the child's activity and attention to focus on herself, and keeping him close to herself. She verbalized that he was her pleasure and her company and she did not know what she would do without him. She was seen to act this out. She frequently followed him or called him back. The milk giving in such a continuous flow was a constant occasion for attraction to herself. The baby was responsive to his mother's desire for him. He always accepted the milk, came
to her frequently, and several times sat for long periods on her lap. The observer felt that, despite her interest in promoting his accomplishments and his independence, in such areas as weaning, self-feeding, walking, and toilet training, her interaction with him was inclined to keep him a baby, very close to her and emotionally dependent on her.

Accompanying her emphasis on giving him pleasure in every way possible was seen a corresponding desire to avoid frustrating him wherever possible. It was observed that she tried to avoid sources of conflict which might be the occasion for the expression from the baby of angry, negative feeling. She was seen to anticipate his needs and fill them instantly, as in the cake plate, and usually to give into his insistence on something, as finally giving him the pitcher. When she did have to refuse something, she instantly distracted him with a substitute. She restrained her husband from provoking him to anger, and herself quickly assisted him when he became angry under frustration with his toys. The most outstanding example of her desire to avoid conflict and expression of negative feelings was her concern over his reception of the new baby. She was thinking, not in terms of how she could help him with his jealous feelings, but how she could even prevent his having them. In the observer's view, her attempts to eliminate frustration and conflict for the child were leading to a distortion of reality, creating a false world for him where it will be difficult for him to
learn to cope with frustration.¹

Her reluctance to frustrate was seen to result in inconsistency for the child, in that, she would be entirely permissive and unrestraining, as in his playing with milk or tea, until he was allowed to reach a point finally, when she would realistically have to curb him suddenly. Even her reproaches or attempts at disapproving of any action were usually so permissive in tone and tenderly rendered that the child could not be expected to understand their import. The mother recognized that the child pays less attention to her attempts at discipline than to her husband's, but was not aware of the effect of her chronic permissiveness in this area.

Mother described Ray as always a good baby, who had never given any problems. This appeared to be the case. Mother, however, did tend to make a problem, where observer could not see one, in regard to his socialization. She pictured him as lonely, and expressed concern over his lack of generosity with other children, fearing that if he did not learn how to get along with other children, that he would not have any friends. At two years of age, the observer could not see his unsocial behavior as any problem in the child, and felt that mother's seeing this area as a problem must

stem from her anxieties, rather than the child's reality.

It appeared to the observer that the baby was making a masculine identification with his father, and father was encouraging his aggression. Father, also, seemed to have deep affection for him, and a strong desire to give to him, but not the constant need to please him. Father was more firm and forceful in his placing limits on the child. Both parents had many aspirations for the child, father for physical prowess, mother for intellectual achievement.

CASE 2 - MRS. D.

Mrs. D. showed a general flatness, lack of warmth and affect in her manner, which seemed to reflect itself in her limited ability to give to this baby in the mother role. She was able to express some fondness for him and pleasure in his activity at times, when this activity, such as her play with him, suited her own mood and desire at the moment, but, for the most part, her underlying attitude throughout was negative, complaining, and annoyed. Her lack of understanding of the child's needs and her lack of empathy with his feelings and desires was demonstrated to an outstanding degree throughout the four visits. From the observer's standpoint, Stan was a healthy, normal, appealing one year old, making every effort to use his increasing motor abilities and developing intellectual capacities to explore and conquer his physical environment, and assert his own autonomy.
as a person. As the observer watched, it appeared that this child's normal drives met tremendous obstacles in this environment in the restraining, controlling handling of both mother and father. It appeared to the observer that he was like a little prisoner struggling to get free. This impression was particularly strong during the evening visit when he was forced to sit entirely in the potty chair and was increasingly restless and unhappy.

Mother's chief concern was to keep him quiet, under control, and "to stop him from doing things," which would cause her inconvenience or possible disturbance to the house. It was observed that the baby was almost constantly confined. He was either held by the mother, fastened in the potty chair, or in the play pen. Only on the last visit, when he was sick, was there seen any sympathy with his desire to be free. Whenever the baby's behavior was annoying to mother, she frequently resorted to physical punishment or threats of it in order to cause him to conform to her desires. Mother saw this problem of controlling the child's behavior and leading him to conformity as a major problem within the child. Observer, although recognizing that the activity of a child this age does present normally a problem in management, saw the marked problem in this situation, as lying within the mother and

her lack of understanding and feeling for the child's needs. At the same time that the mother was constantly inhibiting the child's activities and thereby actually thwarting his attempts to develop, she was eager for his development, and took pride and pleasure in his progress, as in walking. She was eager to show him off and rewarded him with affection for his efforts. The baby was responsive to encouragement, and to his parents' pleasure. Observer saw mother to be in a dilemma with this baby's development. On the one hand, she wants him to progress and to perform, but, on the other, she does not want to give of herself and pay the price necessary to make this development possible. She dreads what his walking will entail for her. She does not want the mess of self-feeding; she is disgusted with his first attempts at drinking from the cup. She wished his teething was all over and summed her whole attitude up in a sentence, when she said, "I wish you were twenty, and out of the house to get married."

Father was warmer and more emotionally involved with this baby. He obviously had a strong need for a response from the baby. Yet he was equally as restraining of the baby's activity as mother, and equally as unrealistic in the kind of conforming, perfect behavior he expected of the child.

Observer was struck by the unconcern and lack of sensitivity, at times amounting almost to unwitting cruelty, with which both mother and father interrupted any of baby's activity and frustrated him to suit their own desires, father pulling his fingers out of his mouth, and refusing him the string of his bathrobe, as he sat in the chair with nothing to play with, mother becoming increasingly annoyed as he kept dropping his toys and could not reach them from the chair. It was observed that the baby's frustration seemed pushed to a point where he seemed to be resorting to auto-erotic and possibly some self-destructive behavior in the rocking and head-banging. The parents' lack of understanding was seen to be producing a vicious circle. Having exposed the baby to almost intolerable frustration, against which he finally protested violently, he was then subjected to physical punishment for this response with their characteristic lack of understanding and sensitivity.

The sleeping was reported by both parents to be a problem, which realistically it does appear to be at this point, and with which they seem powerless to cope. This was discussed more in terms of parents' inconvenience than its significance for the baby. The child appears to have gained control of the situation effectively in this area.
CASE 3 - MRS. E.

Mrs. E. is a childlike young woman who seemed to relate in a friendly though unemotional way. It was noted throughout the interviews that most of Mrs. E.'s and Julie's interaction consisted of a stereotyped sort of behavior with Mother telling Julie to "put the blocks in the pail", asking Julie, "Where is your nose, mouth, etc.?" and pointing to pictures on a can of powder and in a book. There was a bare minimum of emotion displayed between the two, e.g. spontaneous kissing, hugging or cooing. Still if Julie asked to be hugged or reached out to be held, Mrs. E. would accommodate her.

Mrs. E. did not acknowledge Julie's eye difficulty as a problem, though the observer sees this as the case. She generally seemed to act as if the difficulty were not present, never mentioning it unless directly questioned. She insists that the eye problem does not affect Julie's sight as she can see the smallest crumbs on the floor, yet on occasion will remove toys from the baby's path. One might add from previous hospital information that Mrs. E. had a brother who lost a leg. She emphasized that it was wrong to sympathize with him and seemed annoyed when he didn't make enough of an effort to get along on his artificial leg. Mrs. E. seems to be acting in a similar fashion here.

Mrs. E. seems to disclaim anything "dirty" about Julie and will use this word to keep Julie from touching things,
as with the pen. She keeps Julie immaculately dressed and the observer never noticed the baby get her clothes messed or wrinkled. Mrs. E. responds with "Shame!" when Julie defecates in her diapers, though Julie is only twelve months old. She is attempting to toilet train, though she has verbalized that Julie doesn't yet know what a potty is for. Mrs. E. also deplores messiness in eating and seems not to allow Julie the freedom to explore in this area. Mrs. E. says she isn't anxious to have Julie try to use the spoon so she can keep her clean until she can "use the spoon right". Although Mrs. E. sees her attempt to keep Julie clean as the "right thing to do to have a good sweet child", the observer feels that at this particular age the child's natural impulse is to enjoy messing, and too many restrictions seem to be imposed. In the toilet training area, a natural process is made to be bad and training started at an age most investigators consider too early.

Julie is a pretty, neatly dressed baby who seems to listen to what she is told and acts like a "good girl" to please Mother. She immediately recoiled and let go of observer's pen when told that it was dirty and walked away from living-room objects when told they belonged to Mother. When this latter exploration continued, Mrs. E. suggested that Julie go in her playpen. Julie smiles very rarely and asks little of her mother in terms of overt affection, though she does at times kiss Mrs. E. (according to Mother) and fre-
quently her dolls. One feels that even at the age of one year, Julie is not a spontaneous, curious child, but is rather controlled. Activity that is normal in this age group, such as mischievous exploration, is not permitted, and already Julie has limited this in herself.

Mrs. E. verbalizes no problems with Julie. She seems to find certain things distasteful to her, but quickly attempts to correct these through training and prohibiting. Now that Julie is no longer in the stage of complete infant dependency, Mrs. E. seems to see Julie in the role of, as she puts it, a companion. The observer cannot see a situation at all resembling two companions, but rather two individuals engaged in independent activity with one continually guiding the other to the "right and proper" way to act.

CASE 4 - MRS. B.

Although both parents seem to have genuine fondness for this child, to the observer, the most significant aspect of this case, which became more outstanding as the four interviews progressed, was the mother's lack of total investment in the child. In the first interview, her relationship to him was considered casual, mildly indifferent, with an attitude of fostering the child's independence. However, as the interviews progressed, her attitude and handling were perceived more in relation to her own personality needs. It seemed
obvious that any dependent relationship was perceived as a hindrance to her.

The partial lack of awareness of the child's dependency needs on the part of both parents was observed in the following instances. In the first interview, when Carl slipped on the magazine and was unable to stand up by himself, neither parent made an effort to help him, but rather left him to his own means to pull himself up. This action was followed by the child's demonstration of anger to his parents by hitting his head against his mother's chest and dropping his father's pipe. The parents were unable to see this retaliatory action as anger against them, but rather expressed pride in the somewhat ingenious way he helped himself. In the second interview, when the orange rolled under Mrs. B.'s chair, she made no effort to retrieve it, but left the child to his own devices to retrieve it.

Mrs. B.'s desire to have this child an independent being was perhaps best demonstrated symbolically in the feeding area. From the observer's viewpoint, the type of food he ate at ten months was unrealistic for a child this age, yet in the parents' manner of describing his appetite and the foods he ate, it was as if they wanted to convey the impression that he was really not a baby, but rather a little man. Again as Mrs. B. was feeding him -- literally stuffing food into him -- it might be interpreted as her pushing him to grow up.
There were many toys in evidence and Carl never seemed to be at a loss as to what to do. It was felt that the mother has perhaps substituted objects and new learning experiences for herself. Seldom during the observation periods did Carl go spontaneously to either parent, and as Mr. B. said and Mrs. B. later repeated, "He doesn't need people." The parents do not perceive this as a problem, rather the observer felt that to them it was an indication of the child's maturity. Not only did the child seldom go to his parents spontaneously, but on two occasions, he came to the observer for assistance even though his mother was seated nearer to him. The child seemed almost oblivious to his mother's presence, and this, coupled with his acts of aggression on two different occasions, i.e., hitting his head against her chest and biting the button on her sweater, and his indifference to her signs of affection would indicate that he had not found this relationship totally satisfying. Evidences of early auto-erotic behavior were observed in the following two instances: he banged his head against the crib every time he was put to bed; he rocked on all fours when upset and was only pacified when mother jiggled him on her knee. The parents are unconcerned about the rocking behavior, or rather, fail to report it as a matter of concern.

To the observer, the child is very appealing, healthy, and not afraid of people. He seems to be using to the fullest extent his increasing motor and intellectual capacities
to learn new experiences and investigate his physical surroundings. On the parents' part, there is little restricting of his activities as he is given free reign of all the rooms and encouraged to investigate on his own. However, within the framework of this freedom, there are articles he is definitely not supposed to touch, and yet these are consistently left within his reach. The only disciplinary means to prevent this exploration, that were observed, were light slapping of his hands and a verbal "don't touch". Such punishment does not seem sufficient to explain why a child of this age would accommodate himself to the regulations. One might speculate, therefore, at an earlier age so many rules and regulations were placed on the activities that the child soon lost his motivation for this sort of exploration. The two tasks of replacing the doily under the dish and replacing a towel on an already tightly-packed shelf would seem beyond his present capabilities, and perhaps exemplify the sort of forced "picking up" behavior that he was expected to participate in before he was ready.

Two instances where the observer would expect complaints or an indication of anxiety on the part of the parents were in relation to the head banging, previously mentioned, and in the interview when the child exhibited symptoms of a cold. In the latter instance, the child was given no additional consideration or tenderness, and the illness was attributed to teething. Too, in view of the earlier hospitalization, one
CASE 5 - MRS. C.

Mrs. C. was outstanding from the first interview for her almost complete lack of understanding of the child’s needs which was substantiated throughout the remaining three interviews. Although she verbalized that there were no problems with Al "as he is a wonderful child and much fun"; by observation, her reaction him is indicative of great displeasure and fun only so long as he meets her demands and gratifies her own needs. Through her rigid control of the child, he is not perceived as a problem, since behavior which is distasteful to her is prohibited. She not only blocks his activities and needs, but seems to counteract them by resorting to physical punishment and restrictions as well as emotional deprivation. There was a notable lack of warmth and affection, and the few times any affection was given, there seemed to be little reason for it. As far as the observer could see, the only two times Mrs. C. kissed the child was after she had physically punished him. Not only was he physically punished by slapping, but actually physically restrained as can be seen in the second interview when she held his legs forceably as he tried to kick, and in the fourth interview when she restrained him with her hand, pressing him against the couch as he rocked. She withdrew her love at the slightest
provocation as seen when he tired of pointing to objects, and again when he spilled milk by saying, "Mommy doesn't like you anymore" in a tone which was truly indicative of her displeasure.

Although Mrs. C. verbalizes that there is no feeding problem and that he eats three adequate meals a day, on the basis of three different observations of eating, and the history of multi-physical illnesses, the observer felt there was a gross feeding problem which resulted in an actual restriction of food intake. Mrs. C. was unwilling for trial and error of the child learning to feed himself, for it interfered with her comfort and convenience due to the messiness involved. In this instance, it was observed that the father did not perceive the child's needs either, although in relation to discipline and learning he is more cognizant of the child's needs and seems to be more accepting of him as a child who does not know right from wrong.

Not only is there inconsistency in handling between the parents, but the mother's inconsistency in handling was marked, as well as her complete unawareness of the effect of inconsistency on the child. As examples of this, he was told to go to the closet which he was previously forbidden to do, and later in the same interview, again forbidden to go there which resulted in the child's fearfulness and passivity. In the last interview, she asked him where her eye was, and when he pointed to it, reprimanded him for complying
The sleeping area seems to be an outstanding example of the inconsistency of handling and resulting effect. For the child's first thirteen months of life, he slept in his parents' bed and then was abruptly shifted to a separate room. However, this arrangement is flexible, and he is returned to their room or their bed to suit their convenience. Mrs. C. seems to be aware of a problem in the sleeping area as she says she tried putting him to bed when she wanted to, but "it didn't work as he wouldn't go". They seem to have adjusted their handling of the problem to meet the child's needs as he seems unable to separate from them at nighttime; however, the adjustment of the problem from the observer's viewpoint is unrealistic for a child of this age. In the sleeping area, there is further evidence that method of handling is determined by the mother's own convenience. The child sleeps until 11.00 A.M. or noon and is put to bed for a three-hour nap in the afternoon which doesn't leave many waking hours when she has the sole care of him. This, along with her statement that Al was wonderful during the infancy period, "as he slept around the clock", and she never knew he was there, perhaps best indicate the length she has gone to, to restrict him from being a problem or inconvenience to her.

Mrs. C. sees the child's activity and self-expression as disturbing behavior, and therefore, restricts activity
that is normal for a child of this age. To the observer, it appeared Mrs. C. found it virtually impossible to accept the fact that the child who is capable of moving around just doesn't understand what he is supposed to do. There seems to be almost a complete lack on the mother's part of helping the child to learn what he can and cannot do which is so important at this age. In this, he seems to be blocked from channeling his energies into productive activity, since playful or investigating activity bring punishment and restriction of further activity.

One area that Mrs. C. seems to have perceived the child's needs and yielded to them is that of toilet training, as she tried it once and "Al was so frightened", she did not try it again.

Mrs. C. says that Al is nervous and that her yelling makes him nervous; however, she does not use this so-called awareness to handle the child in a more satisfactory way. She says that he is a stubborn child, and repetitive behavior, which she sees as stubborn, was evidenced in a few instances. This was when he repeatedly dripped milk when told not to, and when he tried to sit in the corner even though the couch was pushed against the wall to prevent him from doing this.
CHAPTER IV
DISCUSSION

CASE 1 - MRS. A.

Mrs. A. is seen to have a deep need to bind this baby to her and to have a strong affectionate response from him. She wants to encourage his dependence on her, and is pleased with every evidence of his attachment to her. Her constant giving to him and constant efforts to please him seem a form of wooing him to her. It is felt that she feels already some competition with her husband, and will not easily release this baby from such intimacy with herself to become more active with his father. She seemed not really pleased with his response to the observer. Her snatching him from the observer's lap is believed to be an intolerance of sharing him. It is felt that her need for the baby is a compensation for lacks in her own life, particularly her lack of satisfaction in her husband. Already her aspirations for the baby in learning and education show an image of him, unlike her husband. This baby has already met such a need for this mother that she seems to be almost denying the imminent arrival of the second child, and to be focusing on it only as it will affect Ray.

It is felt that Mrs. A. has a great deal of anxiety, associated with fear of losing love and being rejected. Her universal sweetness and all-over desire to please seem an
expression of this anxiety. She is fearful of denying Ray for fear of losing some of his love. She verbalized her fear that he would feel they didn't love him as much when the second baby came. This would seem to include also her fear that she would then have less love from him. She was eager to please the observer, winning her also by the giving of food, and careful that Ray should not offend her. She showed insecurity and some feelings of inadequacy regarding her care of Ray, making many explanatory, somewhat defensive remarks about his appearance, her methods of handling him, and also the appearance of her home.

*The psychological material, although not a complete work-up, bore out the anxiety picture, emphasizing that Mrs. F. had a high level of personality organization, but that this was maintained, in the absence of many defenses, at the cost of much anxiety to herself. She was found warm and contactable, and would like to be close to people, but was thought blocked from this by her fears and distrust of people.

Her desire to please and reluctance to deny Ray seemed to be contributed to also by her apprehension at having Ray display any negative behavior, for fear that this would cause his rejection by others. She herself has never seemed able to display any aggression or hostility, and seems to handle all situations with the same sweetness. She therefore seems to have an image of the same kind of behavior as necessary for Ray, if he is going to be acceptable to society. It is
suspected that aggression in Ray would reactivate aggressive feelings of her own, which she has apparently deeply repressed. Her concern, mentioned so many times, about Ray's loneliness and need to learn to get along with people, very likely reflects her own anxieties about her acceptance by society.

It is to be expected that Ray will have a hard time solving the Oedipal situation when he comes to it, with a mother already as seductive to him as Mrs. A. He will also probably find it hard to express normal aggression, without a great deal of guilt, and may find it necessary, in order to please his mother, to drive his aggression underground. If his identification remains strongly with his mother, he may develop into a passive, feminine child, who could display learning problems.

CASE 2 - MRS. D.

The impression of Mrs. D. gained from observation of her activity with the baby was further amplified by the psychological material obtained in the screening process. The flattened, inhibited quality of her affect and an extreme, repressive constriction were shown; her affective life was found characterized by withdrawal, apathy, and blandness. It was stated that she has a vague, shifting grasp on reality, and a good part of the time is not aware of things as they are. This point seems particularly evident in her view of the baby and his activities. Her whole outlook regarding
him appeared to be a misinterpretation of reality, founded on an expectation that he should exhibit controlled, conforming, knowing behavior at one year of age, leading to her unreasonable demands and restrictions on the child's reality.

One of the most significant points of the psychological in terms of her relationship with the child was thought, according to the observer, to be her severe difficulty in establishing a stable identification and a severe anxiety as to her own body-image. It was stated that she did not have sufficient ideas of herself to present herself in inter-personal relationships. This is thought to bear directly on her role in relation to the baby. She really does not seem to have entered into an effective relationship with this baby in the mother role. She seems to have no concept of herself as a mothering, nurturing person, called upon to give of herself emotionally to fill the child's emotional needs. She seems to see the child in various lights, as a nuisance, a burden, a challenge, a plaything. She seems to see herself, as a monitor over his activities, a controller of his mischief, and one responsible for his physical care and well-being. One feels that she has been incapable of relating herself as a mother to this baby in a true inter-personal, mother-child relationship.

In fact, it appeared that the husband's instincts toward this baby are more maternal. Although he has the same lack of understanding of the child's need for expression and
and mobility at this age, he has been more protective and more sympathetic to the child's feelings during infancy. He has indentified himself with the child, and wanted to spare the child every deprivation. One wonders if the sleeping problem is not a result of the father's anxiety and refusal to allow the baby to cry. The baby has now become confirmed in the pattern of crying and protesting as a means to win his end, and the father is still powerless to resist it. The father's restraints of the baby were more anxious and fretful, and less sharp and impatient than the mother's, and it is suspected that he may be trying to get the baby to conform to what he knows mother demands of him, rather than acting from his own desire to control.

The baby, to this point, is still actively engaged in struggling for freedom and asserting his desires. However, as he meets with continual frustration and restraint, and then is punished for his protests against it, he may become quite passive and inhibited, or he may continue to fight the restraints imposed on him and develop a pattern of negative, unmanageable behavior, as the parents continue to react to his negativism with more punishment and restraint. A vicious circle of hostile interaction could be built up, stemming from parents' original lack of understanding of the child's needs and their unenlightened handling of his normal behavior.
CASE 3 - MRS. E.

Mrs. E. seemed to make a great effort to be thought of by the observer as a "good mother". She presented me with occasionally recorded facts kept in a diary, as if this was the "right thing to do". In allowing me to choose the room and activity, and in leaving Julie with me, Mrs. E. seemed to diminish her own importance in the situation, and one feels she has little sense of self-esteem. As she says, she is "just a little thing".

Throughout the interviews, the observer got the feeling that the question "What would Mother think?" is almost continually on Mrs. E.'s mind as evidenced by her comment on the bread and her focus on grandmother's concerns around the birth of the hare-lipped baby. The psychologicals report that "the discharge of libidinal derivatives seems to be feared more because of the threat that the ego will be overwhelmed by the impulses." This was concluded from "the signs of rather overdeveloped rigid moralism and the relative de-emphasis of ego functions as being something prized or highly valued". It seems that Mrs. E. is instilling the same type of feeling in Julie. It is against Mother's wishes to be dirty, to explore new objects, to feed oneself before one is really capable, to be anything but "good". This seems to go along with Mrs. E.'s blocking of the child's activities and stifling of her creativity and curiosity. About Mrs. E. her-
self, the psychological report says, "This subject is a naive, unreflective, immature woman. Almost everything in her record points to the use of repression as the major defensive system. There has been virtually complete blockage of the creative process." The observer speculates that Mrs. E. wants a restrained, controlled, "good" child, and when Julie advances further into the toddler stage, more difficulties will arise in the relationship.

Concerning Julie's eye difficulty, Mrs. E. insists that Julie can see as well as others. She will show no sympathy or indulgence as was her own mother's pattern with Mrs. E.'s brother. Mrs. E. seems to refuse to recognize the problems that Julie will have with this congenital defect. One might speculate that Mrs. E. feels somewhat responsible for the damage and quite guilty about it. Perhaps she sees this problem as a punishment for some personal "badness" and is compensating for this by creating a "nice little girl", one whom visitors will recognize as good and sweet and necessarily raised by a "good mother". She seems to hope that the good behavior will offset the effect of the "bad" eye. The observer anticipates a problem for Julie in accepting her limitation and the necessity for her, also, to deny its repercussions.

According to hospital information, it is expected that Father would support Mrs. E.'s efforts to have a nice pretty baby, though his motivations for this may differ.
CASE 4 - MRS. B.

Mrs. B.'s maternal capacity seems limited as evidenced by her inability to perceive and respond to the child's obvious needs. Although she seems to have affection for the child, she does seem to be in conflict about this as she wants independence and is afraid of his being too close to her, and in turn afraid to be too close to him. She treats the child casually, at the same time pushing him to be independent. Marriage and motherhood do not seem to have changed her life remarkably as she seems to have manipulated the environment in such a way as to continue her independent strivings. As she still longs for independence, perhaps she is still fighting the same battle of independence she fought in adolescence. She is not now mature enough to give herself to the child fully.

Some of the effects of mother's relationship with her parents can be seen in her own personality development. She was indulged and grew up feeling that she could take all that was due her without having to make an effort herself. This can be seen not only in her relationship to the child, but also in her relationship to her husband. Much of the child's care has been delegated to her husband while she continues to function fairly independently of him. Too, although she moved to another part of town from where she was reared, she immediately found someone to care for the child to enable her to work. Her attitude toward the teen-age neighbor was
further indication of her demands placed on others.

The psychological study of Mrs. B. during her pregnancy indicated her two outstanding character features are narcissism and exhibitionism. Although exhibitionism was not an outstanding feature in the observational study, narcissism was demonstrated throughout the four visits. This was evident when she attributed her father's fondness for Carl to the fact that she was his favorite, her interest in work and herself rather than her husband and child, her lack of warmth for others, and her description of her background. Her defenses and behavior enable her to function without anxiety which the observer felt was verified in the observational study through her lack of complaints and casual handling of the child. She manipulates the environment to make sure anxiety provoking situations do not arise which is substantiated in her depending on others to care for the child.

On the basis of the observational study at this age, we could speculate that the child might have difficulty with female figures, being indifferent to them, turning rather to men to meet his dependency needs. There are various indications in the observational visits that the child is attempting to identify with his father as seen by his attachment to his father's pipe, socks, and toothbrush. The difficulty with female figures might first appear in the school situation where he has difficulty relating to
female teachers. Since the father is in the home much of the time, and takes responsibility for much of his physical care, the child might have difficulty in differentiating between the roles of his parents which would further confuse his sexual identity.

CASE 5 - MRS. C.

In the face of the constant frustrations and restrictions this child has to deal with in attempting to satisfy needs which are normal for a child of this age, it is no wonder he is anxious and fearful. Mrs. C., with her critical attitude, seems to be perplexed as to how to manage the child as hostility is generated between them resulting in attitudes where both of them seem to thwart one another. When the child makes demands for himself which appear normal for a child to make, the mother slaps him down with a display of authority and discipline. Not only does she encourage his rebellion, but in her willfulness deprives him as much as possible of repetitive behavior, such as sitting in the corner, which is distasteful to her. It seemed to the observer as though the child rebelled in a passive way against restrictions by sitting in the corner; however, this means of behaving was denied him as furniture in the living-room was rearranged to make it impossible for him to do this.

Mrs. C., one of ten children, remembers vividly how she
was disciplined by her mother by being slapped, which she is repeating in her discipline of this child. She sees the child's normal activity as something which has to be restricted. Even now it appears evident that the child has a poor concept of reality as the mother is projecting her own distortion of reality. So much of his aggression and simple learning behavior is perceived as bad; restricting controls are exerted, provoking anxiety in the child. The child's anxiety is already being manifested in many disturbances: the early appearance of nail-biting habit, apathy, poor feeding, allergic reactions, passive compliance and obvious unhappiness, and negativism.

On the basis of various clinical and experimental studies, there is an indication that restraint -- that is the free response of which the subject is capable is not permitted -- plus an angry or tense restrainer may provoke a strong emotional response leading to a reciprocal fear and then to anxiety. Prolonged restraint, with its accompanying frustration or submission, may be a factor in producing slowing of tempo. The slowing may itself be the result of the chronic anxiety associated with very strong aggressive urges held in check.¹

It is felt in relation to the poor feeding, the mother's disinterest in food, as she only eats one meal a day, is reflected in her handling of feeding with the child. It results not only in his finicky eating habits which she denies when reporting, but also the actual neglect in meeting

his nutritional needs. In this one area, the reality was so grossly distorted in reporting in the home visit, if this mother attended a clinic, it is doubtful that a clear understanding of the handling of feeding would be obtained.

Mrs. C. presents a picture of an extremely immature person, both intellectually and emotionally, which impression was substantiated in a psychological diagnostic study made during her pregnancy. Her handling of the child with continual punishment and her lack of understanding of the child's needs in most areas to some extent could have been predicted from the results of the psychological tests. These indicated that Mrs. C.'s thinking is primitive; and although sublime emotions are blocked, she does have freedom to express hostility generated by demands. Her expression of hostility is not based on projected defenses, but she is free to express it in relation to provocation. Her freedom in this area enables her to control the situation and to get what she wants. The tests further indicated that her ability to understand what is going on in another person is almost nonexistent. It is felt she uses the repressive defensive pattern as well as denial, and these, coupled with her rather low intelligence, would seem to make it difficult to obtain a true picture of the handling of the child without observation of the handling.

Not only is Mrs. C. limited in her ability to gratify the child's needs, but the relationship seems to be
characterized by her gaining self-gratification to the extent of satisfying sadistic impulses either consciously or unconsciously. As examples of this -- although the child is allergic to orange juice, chocolate, and fish, she feeds him whole oranges, chocolates, and macaroni cooked with fish. As further illustration, she was observed to experience sadistic pleasure in tempting him with a cigarette, threatening him with a "boo-boo", and tempting him to her with imaginary gifts. Her action of tempting him away from his father on the pretext of giving him something might indicate that she is concerned over his obvious preference for his father.

* The psychological test material on the five cases, part of the Child Development screening process, was made available to the observers at the end of the study, when the data was being analyzed.
GENERAL DISCUSSION

The findings of these five cases have tended to support the initial hypothesis that a difference does exist between what a mother can report regarding specific areas of the child's development, and what an outside observer can perceive. In addition to the child's development, many "blind spots" in the mother's awareness of her relationship to the child were uncovered. It has been noted that in each case, there are some areas in which a mother can perceive behavior and report it with reasonable objectivity, while other areas are subjected to considerable distortion of perception and reporting.

One special variety of misconception results not so much from motivated misperceptions, as it does from a lack of knowledge on the mother's part of what constitutes expected behavior for a child of a given age. This leads her to consider some of the child's behavior as unique and in some way abnormal when in reality it is a common manifestation.

In most instances, the discrepancies between reporting and observation were unique for each case, but were understandable in accordance with each mother's own dynamics. However, there appeared to be two areas in which distortions seem most common: mobility and feeding. In all the cases, there were indications that the mothers reacted as though the child's normal drives for exploration, curiosity, and
self-assertion led to "bad" behavior which should be curbed. Although all were eager for the child's progress in terms of walking, they were unaware of their own ambivalent position regarding the other activities associated with increased mobility, and sought to restrict touching and handling as potentially destructive behavior. All seemed to attribute to the child a greater capacity to know right from wrong and to control his behavior, than his age permitted. In many instances, instinctual behavior was considered as willful. In the area of feeding, the essential quality of the mother-child relationship was seen to be reflected in each individual case, although none of the mothers reported feeding as a problem.

It is felt by the observers that the experience in this study, and the conclusions reached, point out that if there is difficulty in getting an accurate report from a mother of a child's development as it happens, there certainly will be distortions when a mother attempts to report in later years, what took place during this second year. It is felt that the results underline the fact that it is unavoidably difficult to get a real picture of what, in the mother-child relationship, contributes to the development of a child's problem, without the benefit of observation. These results seem to emphasize that diagnostic and treatment clinics must be aware of, and alert to the extensiveness of distortions in mothers' reporting, and therefore carefully
explore all possible areas of difficulty.

The above conclusions must be viewed within the methodological framework of the entire study. Certain limitations as to validity and generalizability of the findings are associated with the following procedural factors.

1. The observers are not previously trained in observational studies.
2. The observers' past experience and personality inevitably influence perception and memory of events.
3. The presence of the observer may have influenced the behavior of mother and child.
4. The limited number of contacts and short duration of each reduced the weight of evidence to support the evaluations.

Counterbalancing these limitations are the major contributions of this study.

1. This study offered a personal learning experience in observation which added a third dimension to the casework practice of the observers.
2. This study pointed up the importance to social casework practice of first-hand observation in order to obtain a reliable picture of the mother-child relationship.
3. This study points out the need for further study of the mother-child interaction during the second year of life and its great influence on later personality development.
4. This study points up the need for counselling for mothers with babies of this age group as preventive measures against development of personality problems.

As a closing statement, the observers might add that the interviewing of the mothers, which had no case-work purposes as goals, proved more interesting and less difficult to do than had been anticipated.
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