

ED 353 496

CG 024 714

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 TITLE What Makes a Good Parent? Comparative Studies on Adolescents' Perceptions.  
 PUB DATE Aug 92  
 NOTE 30p.; Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association (100th, Washington, DC, August 14-18, 1992).  
 PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.  
 DESCRIPTORS \*Adolescents; Age Differences; \*Childhood Attitudes; Child Rearing; Children; Elementary Secondary Education; \*Expectation; Foreign Countries; \*Parent Attitudes; \*Parent Role; Sex Differences; Socioeconomic Status  
 IDENTIFIERS \*Israel

## ABSTRACT

This study explored children's perceptions of good parenting. An open-ended question "What makes a good parent?" was asked of children aged 8 to 9 years, 14 to 15 years, and 17 to 18 years of age to investigate developmental processes. Adolescents' perceptions were compared to parents' perceptions using the same measure among 14- to 15-year-old adolescents and their parents from two socioeconomic status (SES) levels. Finally, 14- and 15-year-olds were studied under both city and kibbutz conditions. A total of 280 children and 51 parents participated. The findings revealed different patterns in the three age groups, highlighting the distinct needs and expectations from parents at different age levels. Discrepancies also were found between parents and their adolescent children in several content areas. These findings were revealed regardless of gender, SES, or ecological condition. Children at all the ages studied expected their parents to know how to set limits on their children's behavior and how to provide guidance and to serve as a model. In contrast to the younger children, adolescents were no longer eager to spend their free time with their parents, nor did they define a good parent according to the number of gifts he or she bought. Adolescents' perceptions that good parents should be understanding and supportive, respectful, and enabling independence were much higher than the parents' ideal images of themselves in these areas. (Author/NB)

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What Makes a Good Parent?  
Comparative Studies  
on Adolescents' Perceptions

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This paper was presented at the Centennial Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Washington, DC, August, 1992.

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The author would like to express her appreciation to her graduate students, especially Dina Shulman and Ilana Ben-Dov, for their part in the research and to Dee B. Ankonina for her editorial assistance.

Running Head: GOOD PARENTING

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## Abstract

This study explored children's perceptions of good parenting, focusing specifically on adolescents. An open-ended question "What makes a good parent?" was administered to youngsters aged 8-9, 14-15, and 17-18 years in order to investigate developmental processes. A second goal of the study was to compare adolescents' versus parents' perceptions using the same measure among adolescents (aged 14-15 years) and their parents at two socio-economic levels (SES). Third, adolescents (aged 14-15 years) were examined under city and kibbutz conditions. The findings revealed different patterns in the three age groups, highlighting the distinct needs and expectations from parents at different age levels. Discrepancies were also found between parents and their adolescent children in several content areas. These findings were demonstrated regardless of gender, SES group, or ecological condition, emphasizing the special needs and sensitivities appearing at each developmental stage. The parent-adolescent discrepancies evidenced in this study may clarify the appropriate targets for family intervention programs, with the aim of fostering more effective channels of communication between adolescents and their parents.

## What Makes a Good Parent?

## Comparative Studies on Adolescents' Perceptions

What makes a good parent? What kind of parent do I have? What kind of parent would I like to be? People are challenged by these questions throughout the lifespan. Parents' ideal image of parenting is dynamic, changing over time in accordance with their children's ages and developmental needs (Galinsky, 1986; Smilansky, 1989). These images guide the parents' behaviors and to a great extent mold their attitudes and relations with their children. Parents strive to actualize these ideal images and often experience anger and frustration when they fail. Children, in turn, develop their own images of what makes an ideal parent, and these perceptions and expectations may or may not be congruent with their parents' ideas. Children's definitions of good parenting are also dynamic and evolve over developmental stages (Selman, 1980).

Perceptions of what makes a "good parent" may determine mutual expectations, behaviors, and attitudes between children and parents (Hall, 1987; Minuchin, 1974). Research has illustrated that awareness of similarities and differences in expectations from one another facilitates family communication and leads to improved family relations (Amato & Ochiltree, 1989; Galinsky, 1986; Magen, Levin, & Yeshurun, 1991; Stefanco, 1987). On the other hand, ideal parenting images can also constitute a source of frustration, anger, and friction when parents fail to fulfill these ideals or when significant incongruence exists between children's and parents' perceptions and expectations (Greenberger, Steinberg, & Vaux, 1982; Patterson & McCubbin, 1987). Yet few studies have directly

addressed the question of the different perceptions of "good" parenting and the existing parent-child discrepancies.

Disparities emerge at different developmental stages but especially characterize times of transition, as when a child in the family enters the adolescent period. New stages within the family system's process of growth and change require the negotiation of new family rules, interactions, and attitudes, including the revision of family members' perceptions of good parenting (Frank, Butler, Avery, & Laman, 1988; Galbo, 1984; Magen, Weller, & Klahr, 1977; Shulman, Seiffage-Kremke, & Samet, 1987). The present study undertook to explore children's perceptions of good parenting in relation to their parents', with a specific focus on enlightening the desired features of parenting during the potentially complex adolescent stage.

In spite of recent emphasis in the literature questioning the accuracy of depicting the adolescent stage as one of turbulent processes (Shulman, Seiffage-Kremke, & Samet, 1987; Smilansky, 1991; Youniss & Smollar, 1985), clinical evidence and empirical observations continue to report a sense of alienation, breaches in understanding, and frustration of communication between parents and children at this stage (Conger & Peterson, 1984; Patterson & McCubbin, 1987; Smetana, 1988). A solid body of research on adolescents and their families has substantiated the duality of the individuation process during adolescence (Blos, 1979; Callan & Noller, 1986; Newman, 1989; Pardeck & Pardeck, 1990; Sebald, 1986). Mixed parenting images and expectations manifested by adolescents may reflect the special needs and conflicts, growing abilities, and developmental processes exhibited during this period. However, above and beyond adolescents' ambivalence and

rebelliousness toward parents cited throughout the literature (Jurich, Schumm, & Bollman, 1987; Sprinthall & Collins, 1988; Steinberg, 1981), this study aimed to gain insight into positive aspects of their parenting perceptions.

The study sought to address several questions through an open-ended, qualitative exploration of adolescents' perceptions: Do adolescents have a distinct, differentiated image or definition of what makes a good parent, as contrasted with younger children's and with parents' images? Is this image shared by adolescents of different sexes, ages, environmental conditions (i.e., city versus kibbutz (Beit-Hallahmi, 1981)), and socio-economic levels?

Selman (1980) delineated the developmental stages in cognitive-social understanding of the parent-child relationship. Young children egocentrically view parents simply as adults who omnipotently meet their specific immediate needs. Later, children begin to perceive their parents as caretaker-helpers with differentiated intentions toward the child. During adolescence, the youngsters' increasing cognitive ability, including the developing capacity for perspective taking, facilitates their understanding of the reciprocal, relative, and systemic nature of interpersonal relations.

Research on parents has indicated that they are aware of the developmental tasks and transitions experienced by their adolescent children, the increasing influence of the peer group on their children, and the possible risks involved in the adolescents' growing autonomy (Galinsky, 1986; Williamson & Campbell, 1985). At the same time, parents appear cognizant of the importance of family communication, the need to support their children, and their own role in maintaining open channels of communication and in providing support.

The present study attempted to elucidate various aspects of good parenting as perceived by adolescents, through a series of comparative studies focusing on two major issues: differences in perceptions of "good parenting" according to developmental stages (i.e., children versus adolescents of different ages) and the comparison of perceptions between adolescents and their parents. In order to provide a non-directive opportunity for the full expression of subjective attitudes and feelings toward parenting, the present study introduced a methodology based on one brief open-ended question.

### Method

#### Sample

Three samples participated in the research: (a) three age groups of children: 8-9 years ( $N=50$ ), 14-15 years ( $N=55$ ), and 17-18 years ( $N=44$ ); (b) 14-15 year old adolescents and their parents at two socio-economic levels (SES) (Adolescents: Low SES:  $N=24$ , High SES:  $N=27$ ; Parents: Low SES:  $N=24$ , High SES:  $N=27$ ); and (c) adolescents aged 14-15 years in two environmental settings: the city ( $N=40$ ) and the kibbutz ( $N=40$ ). A total of 280 children and 51 parents from the central area of Israel participated in the study.

The three age groups in the first sample were selected from similar school settings, and no differences were found between the groups according to academic achievement or parental educational status. In the second sample, the low SES group consisted of families where the father had no more than eight years of education, and in the high SES group the fathers had post-secondary education. The paternal education index was found to be highly correlated with socio-economic measures such as family income and housing conditions. For the third sample, the kibbutz and city groups were matched on academic achievement and

paternal education levels.

### Instruments and Procedure

The following open-ended question was presented individually in writing (in Hebrew) to the subjects:

*"What makes a good parent, in your opinion?"*

Half-page anonymous written responses were collected. Children were administered the question in small groups at their schools. Parents in the sample were administered the instrument in small groups during parent-teacher meetings at their children's schools. Responses underwent content analysis by trained judges who obtained an inter-rater reliability of .89. The judges independently categorized all of the contents listed by the subjects in the three sub-samples, and eight shared content areas were found, corroborating the content categories yielded by previous research (Magen, 1990). A ninth content category -- Takes Responsibility for Schooling -- was found in the sub-sample of adolescents and their parents. The contents were as follows:

- (1) Expresses Feelings ("hugs and kisses," "gives warmth and love and joy to life")
- (2) Educates, Authority, Serves as Model or Example ("keeps promises," "sets limits," "punishes when necessary")
- (3) Understands, Supports ("encourages," "listens to his child's needs," "is someone you can tell everything to")
- (4) Buys, Provides ("gives presents," "brings surprises")



- (5) Spends Leisure Time Together ("takes the kids to the amusement park," "plays with his children")
- (6) Acts as Friend ("treats her child like a friend")
- (7) Respects, Democratic ("is liberal, doesn't force her child to do things," "treats his child like a human being")
- (8) Allows Privacy, Autonomy ("doesn't interfere," "lets his children make their own decisions," "doesn't meddle in when she isn't asked")
- (9) Takes Responsibility for Schooling ("makes sure I do my homework," "provides education")

Each subject's response was analyzed for the presence of the eight (nine) parenting themes. Repeated reference to the same content area was scored only once. Each subject thereby could potentially note up to eight (nine) possible contents that they believed were important factors defining good parenting.

## Results

### Age Comparisons

The findings demonstrated significant differences in perceptions of good parenting between the three age groups. Table 1 presents the frequency distribution for the first sub-sample, indicating the percentage of each of the three age groups that identified each of the eight content categories, and providing rank order of importance. As can be seen from the table, the 8-9 year olds mentioned fewer contents than the other two groups. The youngest group cited only five out of the eight content categories, whereas each of the two

older groups mentioned all eight categories. Gender differences were not found to be significant.

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Insert Table 1 about here

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Members of the youngest group did not include the following three content categories in their descriptions of important characteristics for good parenting: Acts as a Friend; Allows Privacy and Autonomy; and Respects, Democratic. On the other hand, the youngest group most frequently referred to the importance of a parent expressing feelings and assuming authority. The emphasis among the young children on parents' buying for the child and spending leisure time together differentiated this group from the two adolescent groups.

The younger adolescents, aged 14-15 years, most frequently referred to parents' function as an educator and authority; followed by parents' understanding, support, and expression of feelings, whereas shared leisure time was seldom mentioned at this age as an important parental feature. In addition, in contrast to the younger children, these adolescents frequently cited their expectation that a good parent allows his or his child privacy and autonomy.

The parental attribute cited most among the older adolescent group was parental understanding and support; followed by parents' allowing privacy and autonomy. Significantly fewer of the older adolescents accentuated parents' expression of feelings, in contrast to the other two groups' frequent reference to this parenting characteristic. In

addition, the oldest group more often reported that a good parent should act as a friend. Figure 1 illustrates the comparison of the three age groups' frequency distribution (percentage of each group that identified each of the eight content categories).

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Insert Figure 1 about here

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#### Adolescent-Parent Comparisons

The parenting contents emphasized by the 14-15 year old adolescents in the second sub-sample differed from those of their parents. Figure 2 presents a comparison of the frequency distribution (percentage of each group that identified each of the nine content categories) between the adolescents and their parents. More adolescents than parents stressed that a good parent should be understanding and supportive, allow privacy and autonomy, and be democratic and respectful. On the other hand, more parents cited the role of educator and authority, the responsibility of the parent to furnish schooling, and the buying and providing function.

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Insert Figure 2 about here

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Socio-economic comparisons. The frequency distribution (percentage of each group that identified each of the nine content categories) for the adolescents and their parents according to low and high SES levels is presented in Figure 3. Similar patterns were found between the parents in the two SES groups and between the adolescents in the two SES

groups, with the exception of the buying and providing category. Both adolescents and their parents in the low SES group more frequently stressed that a good parent is characterized by a buying and providing role than did the high SES group.

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Insert Figure 3 about here

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A greater discrepancy was demonstrated between adolescents and their parents in the high SES group regarding the parents' educator and authority function than in the low group. Over two-thirds of the parents with post-secondary school education cited this role as an important parental characteristic, whereas only about one-third of their children referred to this function. In the low SES group, more congruence was evident. Another finding was that adolescents in the low SES group more often cited the importance of parents' ability to enable privacy and autonomy for their adolescent children, as compared to the high SES group.

#### Ecological Setting Comparisons

Regarding the comparison of kibbutz and city adolescents' "good parent" perceptions, a similar pattern of frequency distributions was evident, as can be seen in Figure 4. Slight differences were found in only three of the categories: Youngsters living in the city more frequently cited parents' role as provider, as a friend, and as spending leisure time with their children. Both groups similarly placed greatest emphasis on parents' understanding and supportiveness, expression of feelings, and educator function. Gender differences were nonsignificant. Figure 4 presents the frequency distribution (percentage

of each group that identified each of the eight content categories) for the kibbutz and city adolescents.

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Insert Figure 4 about here

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### Discussion

The striking differences found between the three age groups underscored the developmental trends in expectations from "good" parents. The findings also demonstrated significant differences between parents and their adolescent children regarding certain content areas, with a similar pattern of discrepancies evidenced in families from different socio-economic backgrounds. Gender differences were not found to be significant. In addition, although the communal child rearing practices in the kibbutz environment (Raviv & Palgi, 1985) were expected to impact perceptions of good parenting, the differences found between the two ecological settings were not prominent. These results may suggest the generalizability of the findings among different sectors of the Israeli population. Future international research on parenting perceptions, utilizing the same single-question instrument, would contribute to our understanding of the extent of universality among adolescent-parent attitudes and expectations across cultures. Moreover, the current study's exploratory nature and preliminary comparisons require further empirical investigation using a matched national sample and rigorous statistical methods.

The results of the present study revealed that children of all ages, even adolescents who are striving for independence, expect their parents to know how to set limits on their

children's behavior and how to provide guidance and to serve as a model for imitation. In their own words, good parents "don't give their children just anything they want," "steer their children through life," "teach manners," "keep their children from getting into trouble," "get angry when they should," and "behave in a way that sets an example for their children." Even the older adolescents aged 17-18, who expressed their wish for parents to be like friends, still continued to expect their parents to act as educators. The predominance of children's and adolescents' desire for their parents to assume authority, provide direction, and set clear limits on their behavior has important significance for reconsidering many of today's prominent beliefs among parents.

Beyond the shared emphasis in all age groups on authority and serving as a model, differences were found between the three age groups. Young children, at the age of 8 or 9, mentioned only five of the eight content areas, avoiding parents' role as a friend, as allowing privacy and autonomy, and as a democratic parent. They did exhibit their strong need for parents' warm expression of feelings (A good parent "loves even when he's angry") and sensed their parents' love through physical closeness (A good parent "hugs and kisses," "tickles"). In addition, young children's view of good parents also centered on spending time with them (A good parent "goes out together with his children") and receiving material objects (A good parent "buys her child lots of goodies").

As distinct from the younger children, adolescents at age 14-15 were no longer eager to spend their free time with their parents, nor did they define a good parent according to the number of gifts he or she bought. Moreover, the responses of this younger group of adolescents indicated the development by this age of a great need, which was not at all

evident in the young children, for parents to respect and trust them and to try to understand their own different interests and desires. At the age of 14 or 15, it appears that the adolescents do not yet expect their parents to be their friends, as does the older group, but rather, they wish their parents to be fair and pay them respect (A good parent "trusts his child," "shares important decisions with her children," "respects his child's needs"). Yet, at the same time, these youngsters continued to highly value their parents' warm expression of feelings (A good parent "demonstrates his affection," "shows her love," "is warm and sentimental"), although at the age of 17 or 18, this parenting attribute received very little stress. Shared findings for both adolescent groups also clearly highlighted the major centrality for adolescents of their parents' ability to allow them autonomy and privacy (A good parent "doesn't butt in too much," "lets his child be independent," "knows when to leave me alone," "understands that his kids have things of their own") and to listen, understand, and provide support (A good parent "is always there when his son needs him," "is attentive to everything her child has to tell her," "encourages you when you get in trouble"). These findings were pronounced even among the members of the oldest group, whose need for parents to grant privacy and autonomy was so strongly emphasized.

The seemingly conflicting attitudes toward good parenting among the adolescents in this study corroborate previous research findings (Lecoroy, 1989; Smilansky, 1991). In an effort toward autonomy, adolescents develop personal lives outside the family and formulate new expectations as to what they need from their parents during their adolescence. They no longer view parental authority as absolute, placing heightened emphasis on their own decision-making abilities (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). At the same

time, adolescents maintain their connection with their parents, continuing to seek emotional intimacy and to express a desire to satisfy their parents and receive parental approval.

With regard to the comparison of perceptions among adolescents and their parents, the low divergence between parents with few and many years of education, in contrast with the significant discrepancies found between parents and adolescents in each SES group, implied the possible generalizability of expectations from good parenting in various sectors of the population. The two groups of parents showed similar views of good parenting characteristics, regardless of whether they had only an elementary school education or a university degree. Only in the area of buying and providing did parents in the two SES groups differ significantly. Parents with a low educational status more often described that an ideal parent gives financial support to his/her children. This finding may reflect these parents' feelings of incompetence or failure to fulfill their children's demands for material provisions, due to limited economic resources.

The parent-adolescent differences in the need for parents to support their children's schooling also substantiated findings in the literature. A major focus of conflict with parents throughout the adolescent period has been shown to lie in the youngsters' school achievements, behavior in school, and attitudes toward their studies (Rice, 1975). Parental high expectations and concerns in these areas, such as regarding low school achievements, have been cited as a leading cause of friction between parents and their adolescent children (Rice, 1975; Smilansky, Fisher, & Shapatiya, 1987; Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Parents exercise unequivocal, non-negotiable authority in this area, specifying their goals and



justifications and expecting the adolescents to act accordingly. Educated and non-educated parents alike in Israel were found to place a heavy emphasis on their children's studies (Smilansky, Fisher, & Shapatiya, 1987).

It was shown that adolescents' perceptions that good parents should be understanding and supportive, respectful, and enabling independence were much higher than the parents' ideal images of themselves in these areas. The adolescents preferred parents to serve as an example rather than to be a friend and preferred an understanding, emotionally supportive parent to one who gave them gifts or financial support. Although research has shown resistance to parental instructions, and the literature has shown increasing physical space between parents and their adolescent children (Larson & Lowe, 1990), our study shows that the adolescents give credit to and appreciate the need for parental authoritative involvement and interventions. Thus, it can be seen that adolescents express a desire for parental guidance and advice rather than a laissez-faire parenting approach. This study's findings may serve as guidelines for intervention planning in the realm of parent and family counseling.

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Table 1

Frequency Distribution for the Three Age Groups (Percentage of Each Group that Identified Each Content Category) and Rank Order

<u>Content Category</u>	<u>8-9 years</u>		<u>14-15 years</u>		<u>17-18 years</u>	
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Expresses Feelings	39.0%	1	37.8%	3	5.9%	7
Educates, Authority, Model	36.3%	2	65.2%	1	32.1%	3
Understands, Supports	14.4%	5	62.3%	2	59.5%	1
Buys, Provides	29.0%	3	13.1%	6	25.6%	4
Leisure Time	27.5%	4	7.2%	8	2.4%	8
Friend	0.0%	--	9.2%	7	24.0%	5
Respects, Democratic	0.0%	--	26.0%	5	11.9%	6
Privacy, Autonomy	0.0%	--	35.9%	4	53.5%	2

Figure Captions

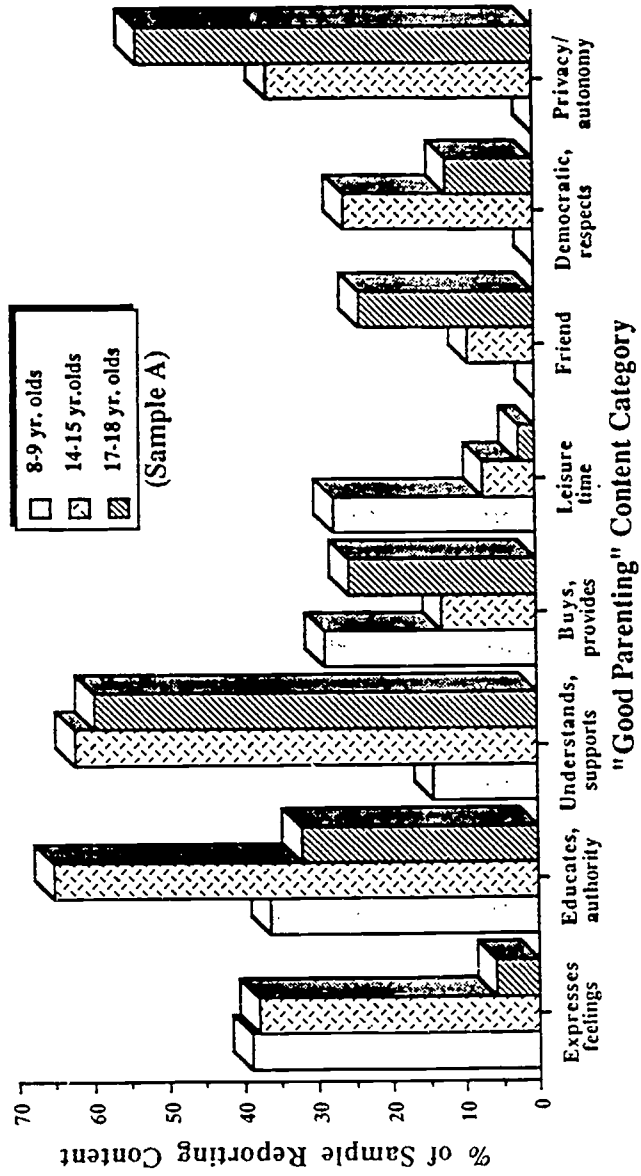
Figure 1. The developmental perspective in three age groups.

Figure 2. Adolescents versus parents.

Figure 3. Adolescents versus parents in two socioeconomic conditions.

Figure 4. Ecological perspective: Kibbutz versus city.

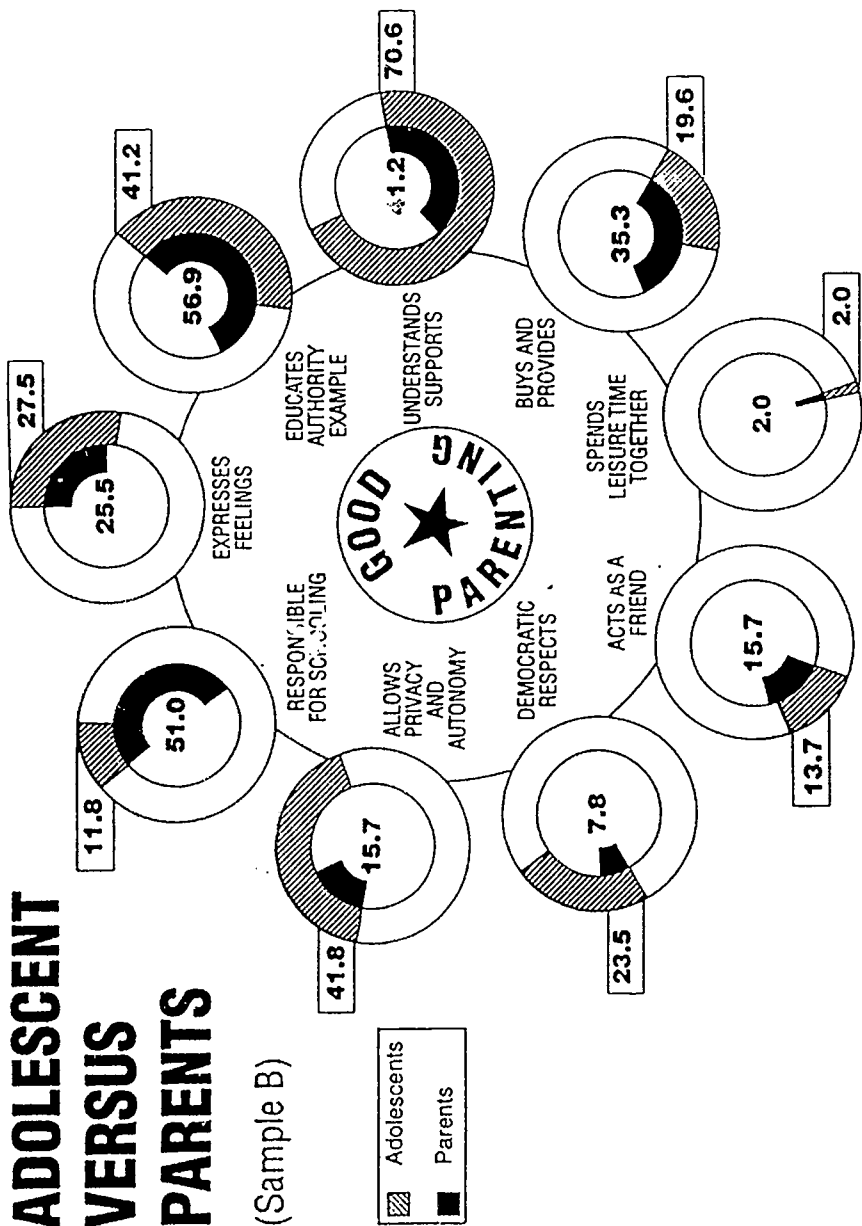
# THE DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE IN THREE AGE GROUPS







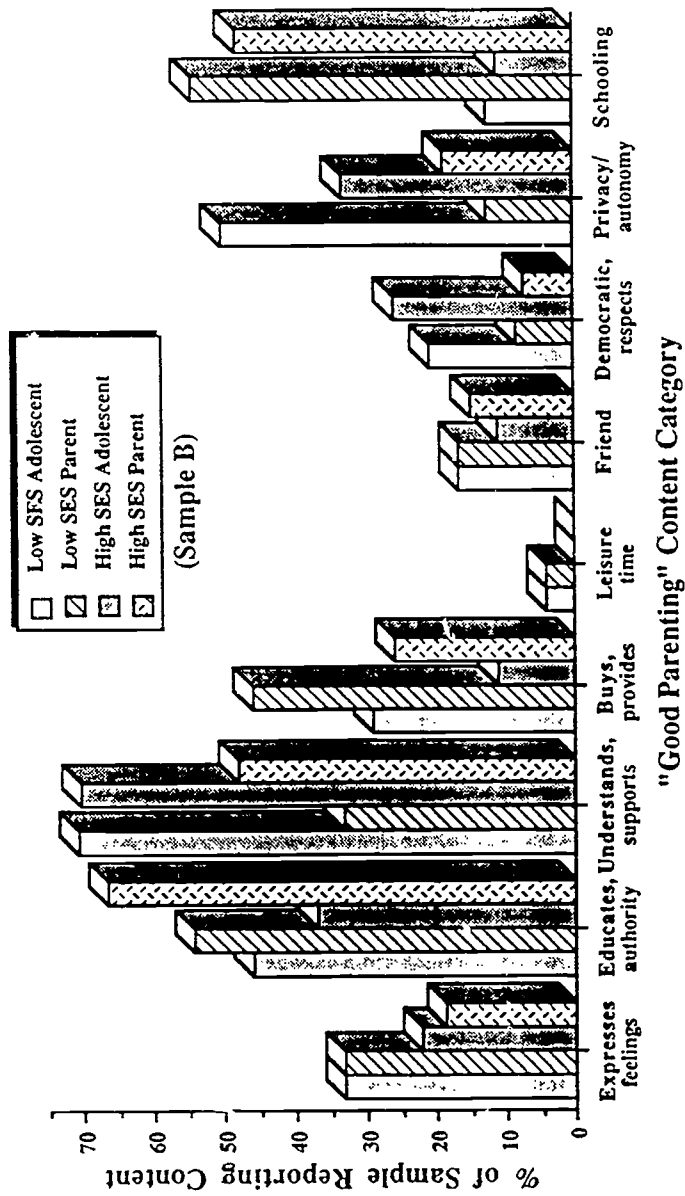
# ADOLESCENT VERSUS PARENTS

(Sample B)



 Adolescents  
 Parents

# ADOLESCENTS vs. PARENTS IN TWO SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS



## ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE: KIBBUTZ vs. CITY

