

WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF LIVING WITH THEIR CHILDREN IN JAIL: AN INTERPRETATIVE PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

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Abstract

The present examination researched the experiences of women matured between eighteen to forty-five years living in jail with their children. Check was contained perpetrator females rather than suspects and therefore the investigation in hand hurl light on their psycho-social experiences aboard adjusting frameworks. Semi-structured interviews were coordinated with a sample of half dozen feminine convicts. Four crucial topics were recognized: life within the jail (positive encounters/negative encounters), Losses (Real/Ambiguous), Negative Psychological effects (Thoughts/Emotions/Behaviors) and adapting designs (Adaptive/Maladaptive). Females were a lot of eager and had association with their kids later on, an in-depth a part of the thoughts they uncovered were related to their children. subsequent to enduring the style during which that they did wrongdoing and required to measure here for a protracted time they utilized bound adapting techniques. At first, all the female participants divulged non-adaptive adapting designs however that within the finish become versatile ones. Aftereffects of study rely upon transactional model of stress i.e. at intervals the sight of stressors negative mental impacts were watched and recently the detained females convert non-adaptive adapting designs into versatile ones. Mental administration suppliers should be as a bunch with the mass within the jail to assist them in vanquishing their psycho-social issues.

Key-words: Crime, Women in jails with children, Semi-structured interviews, Interpretative Phenomenological analysis, Psycho-social experiences.

As indicated by criminologist Paul Tappan (1960) wrongdoing is characterized as "The aberrance in criminal law, set by the managers of a nation, purposefully is known as Crime. There is no essential legitimization or self-protection reason while completing a criminal movement then it must be marked as Crime." Along these lines, according to the definition wrongdoing is an action which goes astray individuals from the law of the state. Individual who perpetrates wrongdoing is named as criminal. As cognate with the topic malefactor females living in confinement having children abate the bars are studied on bio-psycho-convivial grounds.

Total number of female culprits is always less than the male malefactors. According to world criminal policy research world prison brief ecumenical 10.35 million malefactors make the population of jails but among these 5% are females. Ecumenical calculations show that mostly offenders are male and statistics shows that the ratio is 93.2% are males and 6.8% are females in the prisons. But this less number of female culprits in confinement has more psycho-social effects on people around them. Because there are many cognations annexed with females specially children are more dependent on their mothers rather than their fathers.

Among the female offenders many are mothers and have children inside or out of the prison. Culprit females having their youngsters have more level of blame as opposed to the females who have no kids. Just about 80% of females inside the detainment facilities confronted right around one time any mental issue in their whole time of detainment (Teplin LA, Abram KM, and McClelland GM, 1996). Detainment of mother wrongdoers isn't risky for themselves yet in addition for their children. Connection among moms and tyke depends on passionate connections and there is a need to fortify this relationship abate the bars (O'Malley and Carmel, 2015). The number of inhabitants in offspring of offender mothers is extremely a hopeless creature. They need to shoulder discipline of their mother's wrongdoings.

The issues of female confinement are macrocosmic. As the rate of malefactor conduct is expanding step by step so as the quantities of female detainees. Such females who are in confinement mostly report noetic dilemma in result of disavowment from their children (Easterling, 2012). Progeny of malefactors have been kenneled as the "overlooked casualties" of malfeasance (Mathew, 1983), the "vagrants of equity" (Shaw & Roger, 1987), the "covered up casualties of confinement" (Cunningham & Baker, 2004) "the Cinderella of penology" (Shaw 1987, p. 3), and the "inconspicuous casualties of the jail blast" (Petersilia, 2005). Their emotional and behavioral wellbeing must be in peril because of disavowment from mothers.

Most of the countries of world sanction incipiently born babies of confined women to stay with their mothers

up to minimum of age three and maximum of age six (Bergh, Plugge, & Aguirre, 2014). In the wake of imagining every one of these issues an astronomically immense portion of the nations of the world sanctions confined females to keep their scion with them in the jail.

Children which are living with their mothers have their own worries. They require to confront issues of sundry kinds on the grounds that the earth of confinement facilities must have solid effect on their identities (Barlow, 2014). They require to visually perceive their mothers in hopeless circumstance abaft the bars, aurally perceive the revilements of individuals around them about their mothers additionally they are deprived of essential needs and facilities of life (Cunningham & Baker, 2004). These children living with mothers need to confront private aggravations, school changes, partition from kin, this make them auxiliary casualty of malfeasance (Cunningham & Baker, 2004). The unnerving condition of jail and horrible conditions in spaces like conduct of experts and physical setting (Christian, 2009). A moiety of the culprits in confinement suffer from phrenic health issues and they require to be treated on this domain (Christian, 2009).

Ambiguous loss theory depends on the loss of close connection's physical nonappearance while they are mentally present as indicated by theory such condition causes extreme sorrow in one's life (Boss, 1999, 2004, 2006). According to theory the loss which is unclear is known as ambiguous loss. The ambiguity causes restriction to the sorrow related to loss. This theory also states that ambiguity creates contradiction among absence and presence of their relations. Youngsters and guardians both feel a similar feeling of misfortune and it prompts mental unsettling influences for them. Ambiguous loss also creates a stoppage to cope the loss. It also causes the feelings of hopelessness and helplessness among people.

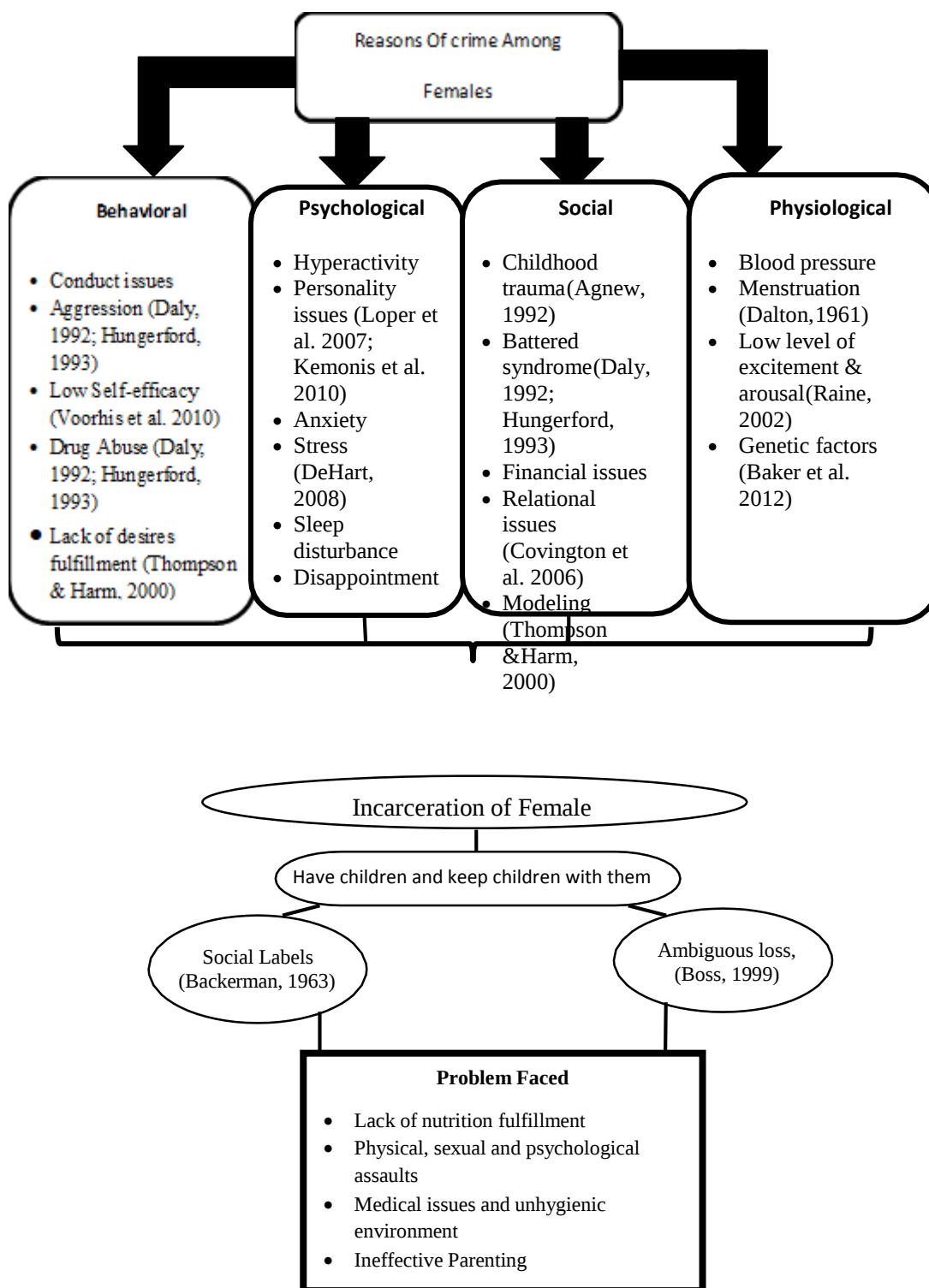
Keeping in see the issues identified with ambiguous loss in response of imprisonment of guardians, administrators of numerous nations enable mothers to keep their children with them in the prison. Current study is not quite the same as past examines in light of this hypothesis in following ways:

It is constructing totally in light of the mothers living in prisons with their youngsters according to the law of Pakistan. This law was made along these lines that they could stay away from worry because of ambiguous loss. It relies on the mother and child connection behind the bars. It is diverse on the grounds that it will think about the ordinary psychosocial encounters of mothers in the jail while living with their children. It is diverse on the grounds that it tosses light on how mothers need to confront their children while children are confronting ambiguous loss of other social relations for reasons unknown.

The labeling theory is based on two parts: first part is social labels are given because of activities we do and if we do bad we get bad labels and these labels ultimately leads towards more criminal acts. Second part was based on the concept that these labels not only affect the person himself rather they effect the relation around them (Spiegel, 2006; Becker, 1974). Mothers who are mindful, deals with nourishment and caring are labeled as "great mothers". Be that as it may, on other hand imprisoned mothers are marked as "bad mothers". Offspring of such mothers need to confront this disgrace of society and they frequently need to hear "terrible mother" title for their mothers from others, this will lead culpability in them.

The work close by depends on the encounters of mothers while living with their children behind the bars and marked as bad mothers. In the wake of having such titles the life of such mothers and children got influenced from multiple points of view this exploration will help us in concentrate those consequences for mother and how the lives of their children are influenced through it.

Fig. 1.1 Conceptual Framework



Rationale: Current study depends on the encounters of such offender mothers who need to live with their children in detainment. A little measure of work is done on the subject particularly in Pakistan. This range should have been

investigated that how such mothers need to confront jumps

in the childhood of their offspring abate the bars. Their encounters of childhood are altogether unique in relation to others. They need to confront hardships and it influences their child's identity. This examination will assist in seeing such practices. Right off the bat the theme covers the psycho-social encounters of the females living with their children abate the bars. Besides the subjective research and IPA strategy will give top to bottom scope to every one of the parts of those encounters. It will withal toss light on the issues of guilty mothers in the jail. The vast majority of the front work done on this subject had vivacious effect of children's mind however this examination will have more highlight on the encounters of mothers. This examination will benefit in understanding the circumstance of such mothers and will lead us towards finding whatever other option for such mothers and children. It will withal cause feeling of cautiousness among the general population in regards to the nearness of very much prepared criminological clinicians in the jail setting to surmount such issues of trouble.

Objectives: I. The study seeks to expand on the findings of literature of women convicts living in jail with their children.

II. The study pertains to the lived psychological and social experiences of women convicts living in jail with their children.

Research Question: What do convict female experience while incarcerated abate the bars with their children?

Specific Question I: What kind of problems have to be faced by the women convicts living in the social environment of the prison?

Specific Question II: What problems affect female convicts while living with children in prison?

Specific Question III: What are psychological concerns of women living in jails with their children?

Specific Question IV: What are the social concerns of women living in jail?

Method: The study was conducted on the basis of Qualitative research design which is helpful in understanding the lived experiences of female convicts staying with children abate the bars. The qualitative research design helps to gather information about lived experiences of the related sample through open ended semi structured interview questions. Interpretative phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach was used to analyze the data gathered through interviews because IPA is considered as the best tool for interpretation of the lived experiences. IPA gives a detail view of experiences of females living in jails with their children along with the researcher's view to observe the world. Base of IPA is double hermeneutics: researcher is giving themes on the bases of sense of the participants' answers to the interview questions. Interpretation is based on researcher's own concepts, beliefs and experiences regarding the environment of prison (Smith, Jarman, & Osborne, 1999). A researcher must be reflexive to reflect the perspective of participants in explicit way (Willig, 2001). According to Smith et al. (1999) two approaches are being used in IPA: one is ideographic case study method used for small sample size and other is for large sample size and used to find out relation between two conceptual groups.

Current study is based on Ideographic case study approach so that themes must be explored to find out in-depth view of participants' view on interview questions. Health psychology was the domain who first introduced IPA strategy for qualitative study purpose (Flowers, Smith, Sheeran, & Beal, 1997; Osborn & Smith, 1998). Current study is based on the domain of Forensic Psychology to explore the daily life experiences of female inside the prison living with their children.

Sample: Sample of 6 women aged 18 years and above living with at least one child or more in the prison. The participants were chosen on the basis of their period of stay i.e. 5 months or above, behind bars. The convicts were chosen from the central jail Lahore. The demographic sheet pertained information about age, charge, No. of children, level of education, socio-economic status, duration of imprisonment and religion and it helped in choosing the sample.

Participants	Age	Socio-economic Status	Level of Education	Religion	Charge	Duration of Imprisonment	No. of children
Participant 1	40	Low	Uneducated	Islam	CNSA, 1997	5 months	4 All in
Socio-		economic class			Narcotics Control		prison
Participant 2	28	Low	Socio-				

		economic class	Uneducated	Islam	Murder 302	2 years	2 all in prison
Participant 3	36	Low	Uneducated	Islam	CNSA, 1997 9c	2 years and 6 months	5 & 1 in prison
Socio-		economic Class			Narcotics Control		
Participant 4	32	Middle Socio-economic class	Up to class 8 th natural	Islam	337 PPC Un-Offense (Relations with Al-Qaeda)	2 years and 7 months	2 all in prison
Participant 5	28	Middle Socio-economic Class	uneducated	Islam	302 Murder	18 months	1 in prison
Participant 6	21	Low economic class	Uneducated	Islam	302 murder	8 months	1 in prison
Socio-							

Data collection: Semi structured interview schedule was developed to probe about the everyday lived experiences of female jail inmates living with their children. The interview was based on 6 main questions which are based on problems in prison while living with children, Psychological and social concerns about staying abaft the bars and wellbeing of life. These 6 major questions were further divided into 30 additional questions which were helpful in explaining and elaborating the major questions. These interviews were helpful in completely following the procedure of IPA and to extract themes out of data collected from the participants living in jail.

Firstly, board of studies approved the research proposal. Permission was taken from I.G Punjab prison department to visit central jail Lahore for the purpose of data collection. Keeping in view the sample interview questions were translated in native Language (Urdu) because mostly prison population of Pakistani prison is uneducated. Informed consent form was made and read by the researcher for participants because participants were mostly illiterate. Demographic sheet was got filled after asking about their personals. Interviews were conducted for 30-35 min per interview under the supervision of police warden. Video and audio taping was not allowed so the given verbal information was written by hand. Then data was read again and again and translated in English from native language (Urdu) carefully. Data was then interpreted by Interpretative phenomenological analysis. IPA is an approach which throws light on the conditions through which individuals go amid their life (Rafia & Hunt, 2015). According to Smith, Jarman, & Osborne (1999) IPA is the best way of interpretation of data collected through interviews. After reading the data again and again themes were made out of that those themes were then gathered under major themes. These themes were then analyzed according to the concept of speaker. Interpretation leads towards the results which tell us about the experiences of women living in jails along with their children. Following steps were followed while analyzing the data.

Step 1 Read and Re-read Data was read and re-read keeping in view the verbatim of the interviewees and translated into English language from native language (Urdu).

Step 2 Initial Noting Now transcripts were again read to find out the overall sense of the speaker and written material. Every minute detail was kept in mind along with non-verbal language. Every line was written on the left side of paper with numbering. That was helpful in making themes out of data.

Step 3 Developing Emergent Themes Next step was based on reducing the size of the lines and to make themes out of these transcripts

Step 4 Searching for Connection Among Emergent Themes Connection was made among these themes and closely related themes were clustered together on the basis of similarities. These clusters were then given names as super ordinate themes.

Step 5 Moving to the Next Case Then process was repeated for the next case and expected themes were looked for every case.

Step 6 Looking for Themes across Cases Connection across cases was found out and themes in one case highlighted in other cases. After this a master table was made out of these subordinate themes, themes and super-ordinate themes.

Table 4.1: Master table of Themes

Following is the Master table of subordinate themes, themes and super-ordinate themes

Super-ordinate Themes	Themes	Sub-ordinate Themes
Life inside Prison	Positive Experiences	Availability of education Better medical facility Appropriate access to food and clothing
	Negative Experiences	Physical torture Verbal abuse Stigmatization

		Discouragement and dissatisfaction of children	
Loss	Real Loss:		
	Loss of Self	Loss of self-esteem Loss of self-respect Loss of self-importance	
	Social Loss	Social disconnection from relations Social prejudice for children	
	Ambiguous Loss:		
	Anticipated Loss	Deprivation of future freedom Deprivation of child's reputation in society Loss of social relation	
	Perceived Loss	Deprivation of basic needs Loss of security for children Loss of Interests Substandard food	
Negative Psychological Factors	Thoughts	Repentance Uncertainty about life Future apprehensions about children Social rejection for children Incapacitated for needs of children Suicidal ideation	
	Emotions	Anger Fear of Death Irritability Depression	
	Behaviors	Ill-mannered Aggressive Careless	
Coping Strategies	Maladaptive:		
	Blaming		Problem Focused Coping
	Acting out		Religious coping
	Adaptive:		
	Acceptance		

On Family members
wishes
On in-Laws

Scolding children
Minimizing social interaction of children with others
Plan to commit suicide

Increased sense of strengths
Appreciation for life
Firm religious believes

Sewing cloths
Teach children

Regular prayers

Seeking mercy, etc.

Results: In the results after analysis of data 4 superordinate themes were made, 11 themes and 45 subordinate themes were made. The four themes are related to each other in headway like life inside the prison leads to losses due to incarceration which leads to negative psychological effects and lastly prisoners cope with the situation in their own ways which were maladaptive in start but later turned into adaptive ones.

Life inside the Prison: While living inside the prison with their children female report two major aspects of life inside the prison which are contrasting with each other. So, it is termed as positive and negative experiences of life inside the prison. They reported sufficient and appropriate educational, medical, food and clothing facilities. It is then added under theme of positive experiences of life inside prison. Almost all of the results showed that participants reported similarly in this domain. As participant 1 reported:

“General illnesses like fever, flu etc. also happens here like in home but team of doctors and hospital is available inside the jail. After taking medicine we get recover. There is school for children they go in morning and come back in evening.”

Participant 4 reported about successful cesarean delivery in prison by the doctors recruited in the hospital of prison. So, human needs which are essential for life are given to the prisoners and their children except respect. Behavior of wardens is not appropriate and they use bad words with us.

Participants reported physical torture, verbal abuse, stigmatization and discouragement or dissatisfaction of children. This is coded under negative experiences of prison life. Almost all participants reported verbal abuse, strictness on performing specific tasks and demoralization but only two reported physical abuse. As the participant 5 said that:

“Warden’s often torture us physically and verbally. They often use harsh words which demoralize and degrade us.”

Participant 3 reported about the environment of prison that:

“There are many basic issues in the prison which we can’t tell because no one will stand by our side. There are many moral evils which I have heard off after my imprisonment. So I keep my children away from the environment of jail.”

Loss: Due to this imprisonment, culprit females have to face many losses these losses were real and ambiguous in nature. As there is Loss of self-esteem, self-respect, self-importance, freedom, Social prejudice for children and social disconnection from family so these all were gathered under real losses and clustered as loss of self and social loss. As participant 6 reported:

“I have 11 brothers but no one come to meet me here inside the prison. They broke off relations with me. Wardens used to insult us off and on we don’t have any respect here. We are not allowed to live according to our wish they bound us to perform tasks whether we are interested in that or not.”

But most of prisoners reported that they don’t know about their families whether dead or alive so loss of social relations, peer group and husband was ambiguous in nature. Along with this, participants reported about loss of basic needs, security for children, substandard food and self-importance which were physically present there but they were not accepting the fact mentally. So, were counted as ambiguous losses and clustered under themes of anticipated loss and perceived loss.

“Sometimes my sister comes to meet me here but no one from my husband side and even not my husband. I don’t know whether they are alive or dead.”

Participant 2 reported: “We are not provided with basic needs of life. Even food provided to us is not appropriate; water is added in the gravy. Food is tasteless here. My children want to go back to home.”

Negative Psychological Factors: These losses discussed above leads to negative psychological effects on the mental health of the participants. These psychological effects include thoughts like repentance, uncertainty about life, future apprehensions about children, social rejection for children and incapacitated for needs of children which lead to emotions and behaviors. Participants 2 and 4 reported their thoughts as follows:

“Often I used to think that I ruined life of my children. They are getting punishment of my sins.”

Participant 5 revealed her thoughts as: “Life is unpredictable and it is a curse so it should end up. My life is meaningless because there will be no acceptance to my children in this society. They don’t have any future.”

Thoughts like these give rise to negative emotions like anger, fear of Death, irritability and depression. As one of the participant reported about her emotions in a way:

“I feel myself more aggressive then before I got angry at little issues and often scold my children for nothing. Later when I thought about those issues I felt myself wrong.”

Participant 3 reported: “whenever I look towards my children I feel myself guiltier because they are getting punishment for nothing. It makes me ashamed in front of them and I feel sad because of that.”

These emotions lead to negative behaviors like ill-mannered, aggression and careless.

I feel hastiness in my behavior after coming here. I am more cunning than before. Now I am able to take my own decisions so I feel myself more confident now.” As reported by participant 5.

In words of participant 1: “I am more irritable after coming here. I got easily irritated on little issues which have to be least bothered. Often I behave in ill-mannered and insolent way with others.”

Coping strategies: Females in prison use to follow two styles of coping; Adaptive coping and maladaptive coping. Maladaptive coping is a way in which alternate behaviors were chosen by the participants to neglect the thoughts and emotions. Participant 4 reported blaming: “This charge is fake my in-Laws planned against me.” Participant 6 said: “I used to scold my children for nothing and do not allow them to mingle with others. I do not allow them to go to school of prison and teach them myself.” That was displacement behavior of many participants they project their anger and frustration to their children.

Participant 3 was telling about her activities in jail to cope with situation: “I remain alone most of the time and I am exhausted of life it should end up now. It’s better to be dead than to be in jail.” The phenomenon is themed as acting out.

On later stages maladaptive coping is being converted into adaptive ones when the participants started giving acceptance to the traumatic event which leads them about the bars. Some females reported with statements which shows acceptance towards their crime “It is a trail from Allah and something must be hidden in this trail”.

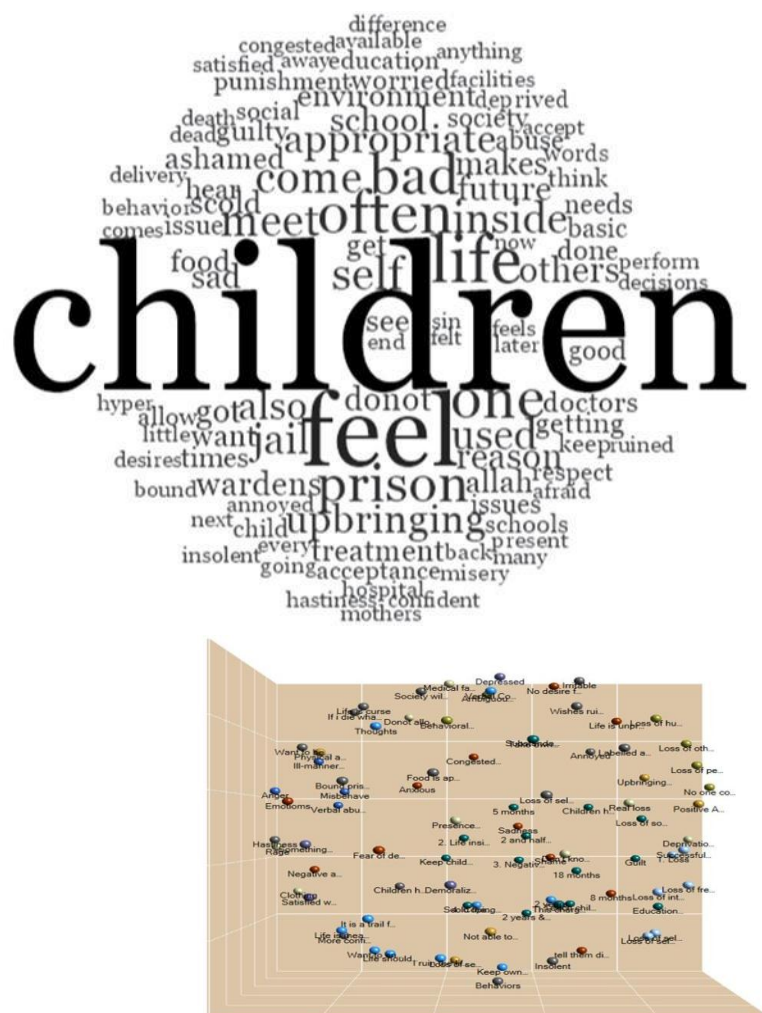
Adaptive coping is based on appropriate coping styles like: Religious coping “I want to be successful in next world.” Another participant said that: “This imprisonment is a trail from Allah and something must be hidden in this trail.” Many participants reported that they are satisfied from

life. One of participant gave statement that: “I used to pray more than before so that may be Allah forgive my sins.”

Another way of coping observed among female culprits was practical coping a participant said that: “I used to teach my children. I teach them the difference between good and bad.” One female reported that: “I used to sew clothes of others imprisoned women and wardens that help me to fulfill desires of my children.”

Word Frequency Test

Fig: 4.1 Word Frequency query results by NVIVO Pro 11.



After analyzing the data in NVIVO Pro 11 the most repeatedly used words on the bases of frequency of words used by the participants are shown in the figure above. According to results Feel alone, upbringing issues, bad environment, often got sad etc. were the words which were used off and on by different participants. Almost every participant reported availability of doctors and educational facilities for children.

Word Similarity Test

Fig: 4.2 Word similarity Query Results through NVIVO Pro 11.

The graph given above showed the word similarity report as responded by the participants in the interviews. Words on the top are more similarly used while the one at the bottom are less similar in the answers of the sample (N=6).

Discussion: This investigation tosses light on the ordinary encounters of female guilty parties living in prison with their kids. Study depends on life inside the jail, mental and social concerns and adapting methodologies utilized by the culprits living with their kids. Various leveled and covering example of the four topics indicates movement like life inside the jail prompts losses and those losses prompts negative mental effect and ultimately coping styles of the offender ladies living inside the jail with their kids. The adapting styles utilized by the culprits were adaptive and maladaptive in nature that causes them in changing their considerations. The consequences of the examination are as per transactional model of stress with an example structure (Stress experienced as thoughts, feelings and practices because of the nearness of outside stressors, which helps in making comprehension of the way that which request surpasses the assets and make stress and how cope to that anxiety) (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984).

These criminal demonstrations depended on the behavioral, mental, social and physiological clashes in their past lives (Thompson and Harm, 2000). In any case, subsequent to going in imprisonment they need to confront many difficulties. Individuals never feel awful for them since whatever they confront was considered under their punishment. The problems inside the life of prison doubled for the females who have their children with them abaft the bars. They have to face real and ambiguous losses. These losses further lead to negative psychological effects of imprisonment. As indicated by (Wooldredge, 1999) social disapproval for the inmates leads to depression, anxiety, anger and stress. These psychological effects must be coped for making culprits healthy individuals of society.

There is a positive relation between emotion focused coping and wellbeing but avoidance-oriented coping and wellbeing revealed negative relation (Green, Choi, & Kane, 2010). While studying coping styles there are two types of styles of coping: intra-individual approach and inter-individual approach. The coping styles used by individual himself are termed as inter-individual coping on the other hand intra-individual coping is a term used for the places or events which help in coping

with the stressful situation (Endler & Parker, 1990; Endler, Parker & Summerfeldt, 1993). Emotion focused coping covers a very little part of stressful event so, it is considered as maladaptive one (Green et al., 2010). Problem focused coping is an adaptive technique to cope with stressful situation. As per the results of study female culprits focuses on the future of children and teach them right and wrong is a problem focused coping technique and is considered as adaptive in nature. Religious coping and constructive activities like sewing etc. are adaptive coping techniques. But excessive strictness with children and to restrict them is emotion-focused coping so it is gathered under maladaptive coping. Along with little element of suicidal tendencies were also observed among inmate females.

Our findings revealed the psycho-social concerns of the female culprits living abaft the bars with their children. The concerns of females living in jail with their children are a less studied topic but the concerns of such females are mostly related to their children. In most of the questions they replied with word "my children". This is rather different with the females living alone abaft the bars. Along with this their coping styles are different because the center of focus for mothers is always their children. So, after feeling guilt and shame they cope whether adaptively or mal- adaptively they usually focus their children. The most adaptive coping style used was to train children in a way that they could become successful entities in society. Culprit females want to keep their children away from bad environment of jail.

Limitations: The meetings were directed in Lahore central Jail facility thus, the greatest restriction was no authorization for Audio and Video taping. The majority of the information revealed in the interviews was to be

written by hand by the questioner. Also, manner of speaking was remembered with the goal that precise translation must be done and later decipher the exact outcomes.

There is a lack of homogeneous sample for this qualitative research because in Lahore central Jail there were only 6 females who are living with their children and charge was proved on them.

Suggestions: Current study is entirely based on the experiences of mothers in jail with their children but in future there can be a comparison between psycho-social concerns of single females and psycho-social concerns of mothers in jail. It will help in providing better facilities for both.

Conclusion: Hermeneutics, phenomenology and ideography are the principles on which the process of data analysis through IPA is based. The hermeneutic principle helps us to reveal the psycho-social concerns of female jail inmates living with their children. It gives phenomenological basis for identifying and giving expression to the female culprits living with children abaft the bars. Six participants which were included in the study were kept in mind to draw assumptions about the experiences rather than studying the whole community of female culprits living with children behind bars.

Recommendations: Following points should be kept in mind to maintain the psycho-social well-being of the female culprits.

Wardens must be trained in a way that they do not demoralize the females living under them in jails. Also there should be a peaceful and healthy environment for the females living in the jail. Proper everyday life facilities must be provided to their children like the children of normal parents because they are not defaulters and not to be punished. Proper counseling sessions must be done with staff, females in jails and also the children. Complete psychological assistance must be provided to them. Training seminars must be arranged for the female inside the prison which can alter their thoughts and will be helpful in altering their behavior.

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