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The Babysitter in Loco Parentis: The Beginning of Dual-Attachment

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**THE BABYSITTER IN LOCO PARENTIS:
THE BEGINNING OF DUAL-ATTACHMENT**

by

Leslie B. G. Simonyi von Strauss

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Educational Psychology

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Leslie B. G. Simonyi von Strauss

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ABSTRACT

Traditionally, Western society expected the mother to take care of the children in the family. Yet it is widely reported that even before the industrial revolution, children were often cared for by siblings and relatives. Today, childcare is being rendered by strangers to many children whose mothers had to enter full-time employment.

Most of the research done by childcare experts has concentrated on the need for and the effectiveness of institutionalized childcare, as offered by nursery schools, childcare, and daycare centers. Very few researchers have touched upon the existence of "babysitting" (or nannies) who care for over 4,000,000 U.S. children.

This thesis concentrates on the latter. First of all, a review is presented of the psychological developmental issues pertinent to the mental health and desirable growth of small children. Focus is on the attachment-formation theories espoused by Bowlby, Brazelton, Kramer and Schaffer, among others. Following the above, a summary is presented relating to the few existing studies on babysitting-type of childcare.

The emphasis, as a consequence of this author's interpretation of psychological, developmental and child-centeredness needs, is on babysitting. Through a case-study approach, the author proposes that babysitters can participate in dual-attachment formation in small children, provided the babysitters are carefully screened to meet stringent criteria before employment. The desirable criteria are presented in the form of a proposed Babysitter Selection Check-List, to be used by parents in their hiring efforts. If the babysitter meets the criteria, dual-attachment may form, which can not only alleviate initial separation anxieties, but also give the child socialization skills equal to, - or better, - than that obtained in institutionalized settings.

In conclusion, suggestions are made for the provision of training curricula for future babysitters in the scholastic setting from high-school through college to assist in meeting rising childcare needs.

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I feel I must say a special thanks to the professor I had in my first (then later three more) psychology classes, Dr. William Davis, Chief of Psychology at Hines VA Hospital. His teaching, his challenging yet understanding approach to students (of whatever age) earned my everlasting respect. And it was he, of all others, who set me on the road to earning my first degree.

Finally, I am grateful for the assistance, understanding and goal-directed guidance I had received from Dr. Barbara Bardes, Dean of University College and her equally helpful staff of counselors, especially Mr. Erich Graff, who handled so many of my inquiries during the first four years of study. Dr. Bardes' firm, decisive and imaginative problem solving ability helped me realize my goal earlier than it would have been otherwise possible.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work first of all to my daughter, Dr. Kathleen Eniko Simonyi v. S. who motivated me to go back to school thirty-five years later than it would have been normal to do; and I further dedicate my work to my wife, Maureen, who stood by me, and whose abilities as a Babysitter Par Excellence supplied me with the subject for this thesis.

VITA

Leslie B.G.Simonyi v.S., was born January 6, 1933, in Budapest, Hungary. In April 1945, he and his family fled Hungary before the Russian occupation. After living five years as a refugee in Bavaria (W.Germany), he and his family emigrated to the United States of America.

He began his formal education with the Benedictines in Budapest. He received his high-school diploma from the Christian Brothers of St.Paul's Academy, in Covington, Louisiana, in May 1952. In February 1953, he enlisted in the U.S. Air Force and served until February 1957. In 1958 he married Maureen O'Rourke (born in Ireland) and in February 1960 he became the father of Kathleen Eniko.

After two decades in administrative management positions in business, the author joined Loyola University of Chicago and was soon named Manager of Computer Inventory in the Information Technologies Division.

In 1986 the author went back to school, and by May 1990, completing the required night courses offered through University College, he earned a Bachelor of Science degree in Psychology, Cum Laude. He was immediately granted entrance to the Graduate School, specifically the School of Education's Department of Counseling and Educational Psychology at Loyola University of Chicago. His goal was to attain a MA degree in Educational Psychology and to teach in these fields on a part-time basis till retirement, and continue teaching after retirement from his normal career.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, child-care was an integral part of family responsibilities. The ideal was the father as the all-around provider and the mother as the maker of the home and family-hearth. She was also the designated care-giver for all the home's children. It is possible that these ideals have accounted for the traditional stereotype that is still held today, implying that mothers historically remained out of the work place in order to make the family home and care for the children. However, a closer look at most recorded history gives a surprisingly different indication of how things really were (Browne-Miller, 1990). The necessity to feed and shelter the family, whether in the farmlands or the cities, meant that the mother, as well as older siblings had to share in the work to maintain the family. The children were either cared for by the mother or older siblings (usually daughters) and often they were carried onto the field or into the other work-places so the caretaker could share in the family's work activities.

These simple models of family life became a stable custom in all of Western civilization. It also became tradition for most sons to follow their fathers in their professions, which, during the feudal system, perpetuated the continuous availability of needed tradesmen as well as peasants in a lord's domain. These ingrained customs reinforced the

closeness within the family and provided a sense of continuity. These habits also acted to immobilize the family, prevented movement to better locations and changes of professions (Browne-Miller, 1990).

The Industrial Revolution with its newly emerging emphasis on larger and larger production centers changed the feudal picture. Formerly the bulk of a nation's families were in the agricultural scene. Mass-production needed masses of people to do the work, hence began the migration from the farmlands to the cities in Western Europe and America. People living in larger population centers had to be fed, housed, and governed. Factories had to produce not only to satisfy the needs of the immediate vicinity but also that of the entire the nation. The city-bound masses from the farmlands had taken up new methods of work; therefore, the daily life of the family had to change. Childcare, ceased to be a family matter, because the places of work were not immediately next to the home as they had been on the farms. Consequently, small children could not accompany their mothers to the workplace. Very often both fathers and mothers had to take full employment. To handle this family crisis, older siblings, often themselves still children, or neighbors with their own infants were designated as child care-providers in a neighborhood (Browne-Miller, 1990).

While the customs pertaining to the mother being in the house caring for children might have held up as a tradition

in the lower socio-economic classes until the Industrial revolution, a further examination of history discloses that this was not usually the case in the middle and upper classes (Browne-Miller, 1990). There the upbringing of children was accomplished by a series of strangers, many of whom were not even from within the family (Browne-Miller, 1990; Clarke-Stewart, 1982; Roemer, 1989). These strangers were: wet-nurses, nannies, governesses and tutors (Gordon, 1988) in the upper classes or maids and nannies in the middle-classes. Additionally, many sons of nobles, even as young as six or seven years of age, were often sent to other (and higher ranking) noble houses as pages. In both the middle and upper classes it became a habit to send children to boarding schools when they reached the age of ten or eleven, if not earlier (Browne-Miller, 1990).

In the beginning decades of the Industrial Revolution, there were no organized, government sponsored childcare facilities. The only childcare available was that which was then, as it is today, called the babysitter (Browne-Miller, 1990).

Regardless of historical facts to the contrary, even today, strident voices call for the continuance of the mother as the primary (and only) caregiver. There is general awareness of the issues of bonding or attachment formation and the relation this means in childcare and parental roles vis-a-vis the child (Bowlby, 1953, 1969). Within psychology,

attachment or bonding phenomena have been posited as factors that seriously, and perhaps permanently, impacted upon the developmental future of each and every child (Bowlby, 1953; Schaffer, 1984). The imperatives of these opinions forced Western society to aspire (at least in words, if not in deeds), to the maintenance of the home with mother and child in permanent co-existence. One could speculate, that this same ideation might be responsible for keeping women out of the everyday work-force, especially from the skilled professions, into the mid-1950s.

In the last few decades the idealized family habits - the mother who stayed home to create the family nest and care for the children while father was the sole breadwinner-has changed. Supplying even minimum life comforts have demanded that both adults in most families share in providing the financial wherewithal for the establishment and maintenance of such comforts. This societal development changed not only the mother's role in family childcare, but also the father's involvement in the rearing and caring for children. (Malatesta & Izard, 1984).

Realizing the changed circumstances in everyday family life, sociologists, philosophers and psychologists have conducted studies, written research papers and treatises, about the various aspects of childcare that resulted from the need for both parents to be away from the home on a daily basis.

Most people agree, that childcare is singularly and simply about the welfare of the child (Erikson, 1963). In addition to the child being a son or daughter to the parent, he/she is also a national asset. In fact, the child is the paramount guarantee of an individual's and the nation's continuation. Therefore, citizens of a nation can be seen as having the duty and the responsibility to raise not only their own children, but also future citizens of the nation.

These principles apply to all those who must act temporarily in place of the parents (i.e., in loco parentis) as caretakers of children. Many of these persons are pursuing this role as a career in organized, insitutional surroundings such as nursery schools, childcare centers and daycare centers (Clarke-Stewart, 1982, 1989; Roemer, 1989). Many more take this role as individuals in their own homes or the homes of parents as the personal caretaker for other parents' children (Fillstrup & Gross, 1982; Kivikink & Schell, 1987; Pettygrove, Whitebook & Weir, 1984; Roemer, 1989). These individuals are called, - what they were called more than a century ago, - babysitters.

There appears to be a consensus that the happiness of the child depends on as close, personal care as one can provide (Bettelheim, 1988; Bowlby, 1953, 1969; Brazelton & Kramer, 1990; Browne-Miller, 1990; Clarke-Stewart, 1982, 1989; Spock, 1976). His or her development should proceed in as normal a surroundings as possible (Erikson, 1963; Freud, 1963;

Rutter, 1979; Schaffer, 1984). The parents' own sense of psychological well-being suggest that care by others approximate as closely as possible the intents, purposes and locales of the optimum parental style of caregiving (Clarke-Stewart, 1982; Roemer, 1989).

Basic principles of childcare should be followed by parents and babysitters. The warmth, nurturance, and stimulation that the child should receive from the earliest times in his or her life is expected. There should be continuity. Children need to be "...participants in an affective communications system" (Tronick, 1989, p. 112). This is normally the task of the parents, but, due to the contemporary need that both parents work, this nurturing task now becomes one that the chosen daily caretaker, in whatever setting, must faithfully discharge in loco parentis.

Current studies have been designed to focus mostly on childcare that is provided in institutions, such as nursery schools, childcare and daycare centers. In addition, there seems to be a large percentage of children who are cared for by others in alternative settings (Fillstrup & Gross, 1982; Kivikink & Schell, 1987; Roemer, 1989). As will be seen later, many children, perhaps as much as half of all those taken care of by others than their parent, are cared for by individual, personal caretakers (Pettygrove, et al., 1984). To many parents this is considered to be a more convenient and safer arrangement than the type offered by the

institutionalized-type facilities. The nurturance that direct, person to person contact gives, which is what is thought to be provided by the babysitter, seems to many parents to be a better solution for childcare than anything else, short of the mother staying home with the child.

There is, however, a paucity of research directed at examining this individual type of childcare. The literature on childcare contains many research studies on nursery schools, daycare and childcare centers. Even group-care homes are discussed in some detail (Fillstrup & Gross, 1982). Very few references provide an in-depth and meaningful examination of the babysitter as being a personal, individual caregiver. It is possible that the reasons for the paucity of data in this area are due to the inherent privacy connected with this type of childcare, therefore, few subjects would be willing to disclose their participation in it.

The reasons parents seem to prefer babysitters; the implications and advantages that this type of childcare has on the development of the child and the types of interactions between parent-child, child-caretaker and caretaker-parent are primary subjects to be addressed in this thesis. The economic need of childcare by other than parent is accepted as a frequent inevitability. In addition the optimum effects of childcare will be discussed from various perspectives with a preference for individual as opposed to institutional type of care.

There also will be a discussion of the various criteria used for the selection of babysitters. It will support this preference by presenting a case study which the author had witnessed through several years.

Finally, proposals will be made for educating future babysitters to support the personal-type care prescribed as the most viable alternative by Bowlby (1953), Schaffer (1984), Spock (1976) and others. The implications of other-than-maternal childcare will be discussed, pertaining to future generations of children in such circumstances.

The historical facts, which, after examination, indicate that childrearing and caretaking was not always explicitly the role of the mothers, will at least serve to allay the unjustified guilt that many working mothers today have often had to bear. Their children, as others' centuries ago, can be taken care of by others than themselves. The point is that the high quality of the care that should be given, can be obtained and should be part of training for those who will be the providers of present and future childcare.

CHAPTER II

CHILDCARE AND ATTACHMENT: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

It was mentioned earlier that a systematic literature review revealed a paucity of writings and studies related to the issue of childcare by individual, personal caregivers, (i.e., babysitters). On the other hand, there were many volumes and articles on the corollary issues of childcare: developmental stage theories and attachment or bonding.

In order to give a sound theoretical basis for the propositions offered in the following chapters, this review is divided into three parts: (1) the developmental theories thought to be most significant for childcare issues; (2) the attachment/bonding phenomena discussed in psychology and (3) what has been found written on the personal/individual babysitting situation.

Significant Developmental Stage Theories

The focus of this thesis is the childcare aspect by the individual caregiver. Thus only a few of the most significant developmental stage theories, specifically those which impact upon the childcare scene, will be reviewed in this section. Five positions will be presented: (1) Freud; (2) Erikson; (3) Piaget; (4) Kohlberg, and (5) Vygotsky.

It is only fitting to begin by looking at Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical stage theory, since he should be credited as the first proponent of modern psychology. Essentially the

Freudian positions on child development are characterized by their deterministic nature and by the mentalistic offerings of the constructs of id, ego and superego. All of those constructs seem to appear in the developmental continuum, roughly, in the order mentioned above (Freud, 1963; Skolnick, 1986). What is of the greatest importance by implication to the childcare field is Freud's insistence upon the deficits that may occur through his developmental stages.

In each such stage, Freud posits certain basic, innate drives. If their resolution is incomplete, psychological affects may be life-long in impact (Freud, 1963; Skolnick, 1986).

In childcare this implies, that the caregiver is a major and, therefore, the genesis of, influence of the directions and resolution that such innate drives of the id take. Moreover, the early formation and growth of the ego as the regulator of the child's id, derives in part from the influences, teachings and guidance that the caregiver models to the child. It is obvious from the above, that if the id and the ego do not form and progress in the optimum way, the existence and/or functioning of a superego must become questionable (Erikson, 1963; Freud, 1963; Skolnick, 1986). It is extremely important, at least from a psychological perspective, that the child develop good interactions with others in his circle. Based on Kohut's (1971) and Wolf's (1979) writings, on the Freudian issues of transference and

counter-transference, Kohler (1984) emphasized that the interaction between the child and the caregiver is an indivisible system of the growth process. Kohler (1984) went on to propose that the living organism is always actively self-regulating and, at the same time, it is in "intimate exchange" with its life-supporting environment. In this same article, she refers to Wolf (1979) who averred that the child-parent interaction is analogous to the patient-therapist connection in regards to forming self-experiences.

The Freudian constructs in the stage theories may seem rigid to some, mainly because of the predetermined factors stated. Yet, the growth process within the young child - from cradle to school age - offers a number of critical passages that directly affect his or her later outlook and functioning as well as coping abilities in life. Freud (1963) posits the formation of character traits which originate in the various early stages. A caregiver, such as a babysitter, becomes a powerful influence for the child in the regulation of the demands of his or her stage of development. Freud (1963) suggests, that everyone should receive some psychoanalytic training if they will handle children; without that, he believes, upbringing will not be successful.

Freud's concerns on human development take into account the values that humans, from the earliest time on, experience and learn. His stages emphasize the interaction and interdependence between child and caregiver. He goes on from there

to advise looking backward to some deficits that the child may have experienced in the past, if pathology appears in the future. The importance of care and the nature of the caregiver is obvious.

Erikson's views on developmental stages were influenced, in part by his own experiences and studies and by his close association and work with Anna Freud. The other major influences on his life were his loneliness experienced as a son from a broken marriage and the alienation he felt when he was later exposed to a different ethnic environment. It is the natural consequence of these life events that led Erikson to expand the developmental stage theories to include several more stages beyond Freud's (and others'). He also emphasized both the strength and importance of the ego and posited a dichotomy in each of his stages. This afforded him a bipolar scenario: successful resolution of the main ego-problem and developmental task of the stage or the failure to do so (Erikson, 1963).

This, of course, highlights the need for the existence and/or interaction of the proper caregiver to the child in the various early stages. If a young mother must continue full employment in the family's joint effort to provide proper comforts, the alternate caregiver will have a large part in the formation of trust on the part of the child, which is the first stage proposed by Erikson in the developmental process (Erikson, 1963; Skolnick, 1986). Conversely, if the caregiver

is not aware of this need of the young infant, the opposite, mistrust, will be the result at the end of this important stage. Erikson writes very convincingly, that such general sense of trust includes the ability to rely on sameness and continuity on the part of the child. Without that, mistrust is virtually inevitable. In his discussion on this subject, Erikson (1963) emphasizes, that the quality of the relationship is more important than the quantities of food or show of love afforded to the child. According to him, those qualities will help the child to form his or her own identity.

In his subsequent stages, Erikson's emphases remain on the sense of security that is necessary to successfully overcome the posited dichotomies of each stage. Implicit in these stages is the need for the caregiver to guide; to be there as a refuge when the early explorations either scare or tire the child; to help overcome the sense of loss that many children perceive during the toilet-training months. And the caregiver - in the babysitting situation a person who spends usually more of the daily awake or valuable time with the child than the parent - is the source and guidepost in each Eriksonian stage for a positive resolution. The caregiver, however, if not chosen by the right criteria, can also be the source of the negative resolution of the stage-crises proposed (Erikson, 1963; Skolnick, 1986).

Good initial care that lasts to the years before the child will attend school depends, in the Eriksonian sense, on

caregiving that intuitively or understands the child's developmental stage or needs. Thus, the type of caregiver is considered to be a pivotal factor in successful child development.

Originating even more from the biological aspects than the theories previously discussed, Piaget's theory of child development focuses largely on the cognitive domain (Piaget & Inhelder, 1969; Skolnick, 1986).

The whole Piagetian proposition of stages has a logical commencement point: the sensory-motor stage with its emphases on innate, naturally instinctive processes. Then nature is soon influenced by the impacts of nurture. The infant's experiences, from the first time he or she receives satisfaction to the natural instincts (sucking, etc), start the schema formation (Piaget & Inhelder, 1969).

The self-centeredness of the young child to his own surroundings are later directly influenced by the kind of care he or she receives. Good care consists of proper, plentiful, - but not overwhelming, - stimulation. Piaget posits that the amount and kind of stimulation combine to allow the child to form schemata (i.e., begin a cognitive style, that through future assimilations and accommodations institutes a perpetual cycle of equilibration). In turn, this builds into a character, that, if the schemata were initially formed on proper nurturing bases, brings with it the ability to perceive a sense of reality. As such, the child can find his or her

proper niche in the world (Piaget & Inhelder, 1969; Skolnick, 1986).

What can affect this process more importantly than the type of caregiver who is there, often in loco parentis, to introduce the child into a world that is unknown to him or her? Parents, if they could always be there, would take on the tasks of guiding the schemata formation process. But they are not always there; both mother and father are, in large percentages today, out of the home in the work-place. The caregiver for eight to twelve hours a day is, at first, a stranger, herself a probable subject of a new schema for the infant. Perhaps that is the first occasion when the infant, by force of circumstances, has to form parallel, yet not completely similar schemata about the caregiver; one of the schemata is of the mother, the other of the stranger, the babysitter. The degree of sameness so experienced; the sense of similarity in matters of security and dependence learned; and the warmth and nurturing received, combine to help the child to accommodate to this duality and continue the reestablishment of equilibration that will further allow healthy dynamism in his or her developmental continuum (Erikson, 1963; Piaget & Inhelder, 1969; Skolnick, 1986).

Naturally, there are other aspects to development besides the ones reviewed above. The biopsychosocial aspects are very well covered by Erikson (1963), Freud (1963), and Piaget and Inhelder (1969). Other important developmental aspects are,

for example, the moral-ethical dynamism posited by Kohlberg (1981); and the linguistic and cognitive implications in the growth patterns referred to by Vygotsky (1978).

Along with the physical and psychological care that a young child receives, the guidance given by the caregivers must include moral and ethical bases in the process. Kohlberg (1981) proposes a scheme for the development of morality along with the other dynamic factors. His theories, not detailed in this thesis, pose yet another responsibility to the person who will take part in the upbringing of the child, which includes the babysitter or other in loco parentis personae. Without the proper formation of pre-conventional and then conventional sense of morality and social ethics - all of which begin during the early years of each human being - the defects later becoming observable have their origins in the social milieu experienced by the child. The caregivers are part of that milieu, hence the existence of improper personal ethics or morality may have had their beginnings with such caregivers.

Vygotsky (1978) focuses on human potential in his scheme of development. His entire theory depends in many ways upon the existence in the here-and-now of persons around and near the young child who can and will become mentors to him or her. They can recognize the emerging potentialities of the child and bring them further along in the developmental process. Vygotsky makes a great point for the existence and use of

language as not only a communication-factor but also a benchmark of emerging potential, which indicates to an aware older partner (of the child) his famous zone of proximal development (Skolnick, 1986; Vygotsky, 1978). That zone becomes a point where development allows itself to be not only accelerated, but actually exploited to instill deeper and more meaningful learning in the child. If the mother is not able to be there always, it is the caregiver who has the responsibility to become this mentor that Vygotsky (1978) mentions to help the child attain the level of his or her potential.

Both Kohlberg's (1981) and Vygotsky's (1978) theories call for the child to be exposed to the right type of caregivers. The successful formation of morality, ethics as well as the exploitation of one's emerging potential revealed by reaching a zone of proximal development prepare the human being to take his or her place in meaningful, successful and happy life as an adult.

Those who primarily influence the child on his or her way to such adulthood are the parents and the other caregivers in the early stages.

Attachment or Bonding Theories

It has been established from voluminous and constantly updated research, that from the earliest moment of life, humans form attachment to and bond with their primary

caregivers. In order to discuss childcare in a meaningful way, a review of attachment theories and their explication in reference to the growth and well-being of the child, who is not cared for solely by his or her parent, becomes mandatory. This review - due to the limited scope of this thesis - will not be exhaustive; but in it there will be citations and discussions of the most well-known contributors in this area of psychology.

No review of attachment theories could start anywhere else but with Bowlby's writings on this subject. He was an explicit and vociferous proponent of child attachment and his writings never failed to be emphatic on this subject, as the following quotes will illustrate:

Among the most significant developments...during the past quarter century has been the steady growth of evidence that the quality of parental care which a child receives in his earliest years is of vital importance....

...What is believed to be essential for mental health is that an infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate and continuous relationship with his mother or permanent mother-substitute - one person who steadily 'mothers' him in which both find satisfaction and enjoyment (Bowlby, 1953, p.13.).

His emphases on "warm, intimate and continuous relationship" and "or permanent mother-substitute" are the core of this thesis. The former defines the quality of interactions that should characterize the relationship between infant or young child and caregiver; the latter suggests that such caregiver may be someone other than the mother, such as a babysitter.

Bowlby (1953, 1969) warns that if a child under three years of age must be left by the mother, this can only be done for very weighty reasons. Such an event also must be planned carefully and, if at all possible, the child should be placed with people whom he/she knows.

Lack of attachment formation, due to non-existence of a warm and loving caregiver, brings on all the ills of early deprivation (Bowlby, 1953). Bowlby is a direct and loud proponent of maternal care, even though, by the above quotes it can be assumed, that he allows some exceptions. However, he is definitive on this issue when he says: "...The prolonged deprivation of a young child of maternal care may have grave and far-reaching effects on his character and so on the whole of his future." (Bowlby, 1953, p. 53.)

In this same work, he especially warns against leaving a child without constant maternal care in his or her first six months of age. He notes that the bad effects of separation later in life can be reduced because there is sufficient resiliency to allow recovery. He also states that other family members, fathers, siblings, and other relatives, with their interactions in the mother's absence, may afford sufficient nurturance to alleviate the initial deprivation suffered because of the absence of the child's mother (Bowlby, 1953).

Bowlby (1953, 1969) bases his attachment theory between mother and child from the earliest time (post-partum) on

Freud's (1963) postulates of object relations formations. He is joined by other psychoanalysts in his opinion, that the child's first human relationships are one of the foundations, if not the pivotal one, of his or her later personality (Bowlby, 1969; A. Freud & Burlingham, 1943; Schaffer, 1984).

Freud (1963) does not mince words nor does he use analogies to give meaning and definition to his views on the importance of attachment formation in the child; he states, that "...attachment behavior is regarded as a class of social behavior of an importance equivalent to that of mating....and parental behavior" (Bowlby, 1969, p.223). He cites evidence, that such attachment between mother and child is already recognizable at the age of four months; yet at the same time, he admits, that the manifestations of such attachment behavior (vocalizing, eye-following, etc.) can be observed directed toward other members of the child's family (Bowlby, 1969; Shaffer, 1984). According to Bowlby (1969) the very origins of love, like a secondary drive comes from the ability to form attachment first abetted in the infant by his gaining satisfaction at the mother's breast.

This critical attachment model seems to hold firm in most children at least past their third year of age (Bowlby, 1969). After that there is less outward indications of this condition. Furthermore, it is possible that a child could form attachment to others as well as to the mother or at the same time as to her, because, as indicated by his citations

of Anna Freud (A. Freud & Burlingham, 1943), the child "...could fix on almost anyone" (Bowlby, 1969, p.430). In the nursery setting, Bowlby (1969) cites Burlingham and Anna Freud (1944) who wrote that "...the emotions which [a child] would normally direct toward its parents... remain undeveloped and unsatisfied, but....are latent in [him] and ready to leap into action the moment the slightest opportunity for attachment is offered" (Bowlby, 1969, p.430).

Bowlby agrees that attachment appears to be a vital schema formation in the Piagetian sense (Piaget & Inhelder, 1969). The mother is to be the most preferred object of such attachment but others in the family circle can also act as attachment objects. While leaving a child for whatever length of time is a problem and may have serious repercussions to his or her sense of security, character and general well-being, there are caveats that even Bowlby acknowledges: the necessity for the mother to be away due to pressing circumstances. His citing of Freud (1963), Burlingham (1944) and Anna Freud (1943), further seem to weaken his initially irrevocable stance for demanding that the primary - or constant - caregiver be a mother and no one else. It appears that Bowlby, writing on attachment in the 1950s and 1960s could no longer ignore facts: World War II and the aftermath had begun the perpetuation of women, including young mothers, in full-time employment. The cost of living standards had risen so rapidly in the post-war era, that family comfort

virtually demanded employment for both parents. Thus he had to acknowledge, if not tacitly agree with, reality.

Bowlby (1953, 1969) requires that high quality childcare must be offered, from whatever source. If the caregiver provides such high quality care, be she mother or another person, the deprivation, so devastating otherwise, may not occur.

The above statement is supported by Sroufe and Fleeson (1986) who found Bowlby stating, that "...infants...become attached to persons who care for them." (Belsky & Nezworski, 1988, p. 23). A good, well-qualified babysitter, full time or otherwise, cares for the infant/child, thus preventing deprivation, so feared by Bowlby and others.

Basing most of their review on attachment on Bowlby's theses, Belsky and Nezworski (1988) examined the attachment phenomenon from various other angles.

They indicated in their work that Bowlby's "inner working models" (Belsky & Nezworski, 1988, p.18) theoretically posited that there is a working relationship developing between infant and caretaker, presumably, therefore, any caretaker, not only the mother. Sroufe and Fleeson (1986), according to Belsky and Nezworski (1988, p.25), stated that "each child is making a particular and unique adaptation to his or her world." Rutter (1979), is also in support of this finding (Belsky & Nezworski, 1988).

Greenberg and Mitchell (1983), as cited by Belsky and

Nezworski (1988), concluded that there is direct causal effect between the infant's attachment and later behavior; that there will be the acquisition of certain templates of traits and dispositions from the attachment model. These conclusions seem to support Bowlby's (1953, 1969) opinions on this subject. Two others, Brim and Kagan (1980) also discuss the importance of the continuity of relationships formed during this attachment process and they point to this continuity as an important environmental factor (Belsky & Nezworski, 1988).

Belsky and Nezworsky (1988) cite Bretherton and Waters (1985), Main (1981), Sroufe and Fleeson (1986) positing that the early schemata formations of the child mediate the developmental continuities cognitively. The authors further credit these sources with implying that the child is able to form not only attachment but also differentiation to the personality of his or her caregiver. Belsky and Nezworski (1988) found a number of additional sources both in support of Bowlby's position and also as a complement to his theories. However, there were also indications, that important as attachment formation is, it is by no means limited only to maternal-child interactions. Other childcare-givers can also act as the objects of such attachment, thereby saving the child from the experience of serious deprivation.

Schaffer (1984) approaches the child's situation after birth as mainly a social joining of his or her environment. At the very beginning of his book, he states:

From birth onwards, the child lives a social world. He arrives with a number of physiological systems such as breathing, swallowing...and temperature control which help him survive, yet even these are of little avail to him in the absence of other people (Schaffer, 1984, p. 9.).

In this same work, Schaffer (1984) poses a number of propositions, many of which are pertinent to this thesis. He offers the idea that the acquisition of social development depends on personal competencies of the child who is an individual without explicit reference to social context in which he or she functions.

Another proposition is that environmental influences determine and shape the child's development. This highlights the range of individual differences in the nature of social development. These environmental influences include the child's frequency of social responses. They posit the shaping influence of experiences, infant feeding methods and discipline techniques, and even the scheduling of rewards.

Schaffer (1984) views social development and interactions as a relationship formation within the social development processes. He notes that interactions between child and his significant other humans, are important to the fulfillment of the child's needs. He identifies attachments as relationships with enduring bonds that grow out of social interaction. He finds that the child's first attachments to specific persons usually crystallize in the third quarter of his or her first year of life. These are the results of a history of months of

interactions (Schaffer, 1984).

His studies have centered on the environmental impacts that the infant becomes exposed to from birth. Schaffer (1984) strongly believes that evidence shows how infants are predisposed or preprogrammed to respond to other people. One of his findings (Schaffer, 1984) is the infant's definite and preferential responsiveness to human faces. Mutual gazing, vocal interchanges are just some of the indications of such preferential interactions that babies are known to do when held and stimulated by a person with whom they are in the process of making attachment. Later, around eight to ten months of age, the infant begins imitation and starts to demand attention to his initiatives with more noticeable goal-directedness (Schaffer, 1984). The preprogrammed proclivity extends into the second year of life, where, with the growing ability of speech, the child's determination to socialize becomes more observable.

In a chapter on polyadic interactions, Schaffer summarizes some of the findings in the following points: S. White (1985) indicated, that children who had over 20% of general social interactions develop better psychologically. Multiple interactions in the family setting - with mother, father and other siblings - that occur, help the socializational development of the child (Schaffer, 1984).

The effects of daycare experiences on children whose parents both must work are difficult to measure (Schaffer,

1984). Studies, according to Schaffer (1984), do not look at the precise conditions that prevail in daycare settings; little is known of the day to day experiences of children in such places. Even less is reported on the nature of the children's social interactions with adults in daycare settings, and nothing at all about what those adults actually do or what is the nature of the childcare given in such centers. He raises this issue because he firmly believes, that adult actions structure the children's experiences. Those experiences will be more diffused in group-care setting due to the distraction of others vying for the attention of the caregiver. In his opinion, this destroys the important dyad that must go on between small child and adult in the early learning/developing continuum (Schaffer, 1984).

Schaffer's discussions (1984) parallel Bowlby (1953, 1969) in several ways. First it seems obvious, that he too would prefer the maternal care to any other for the child; second, he pays even more attention to the purported importance of the overall effects of the child's environment than Bowlby. By implication he seems to be against group childcare in most of its forms due to his focus on the importance of dyadic interactions. He does not give any particular views on individual, personal (babysitter) childcare in his work. However, it can be inferred, that if the child must be cared for by another for several hours per day, Schaffer (1984) would most certainly prefer such care

from one individual in place of the diffusive atmosphere he believes to exist in the childcare center setting.

Several other authors support Bowlby's theories. It is worthwhile to glance at their positions because often by the very specific areas that they concentrated on they expose related areas which impact upon childcare in its various settings.

Brazelton and Kramer (1990) concentrate on the very early relationships that infants develop after birth. They posit, that the infant's bonding process begins when he or she first sees and hears after birth. Therefore, the child's attachment starts even before first being put to the mother's breast. They agree with Schaffer (1984), that babies are "preprogrammed" for interaction with other humans, in fact, they state, that the visual stimuli by itself shows the infant's programming to gaze at and prefer to look at human faces. Accordingly they prefer that infants be held en-face positions as much as possible. The visual signs an infant communicates, (Brazelton and Kramer, 1990) act as indicators to the caregiver that the baby's central nervous system is intact.

When they examined infants' responses to auditory stimulus-responses they found that babies usually gave preference to female voices. And along with the nurturing aspects of breast-feeding, most babies during that activity, expect other social interactions such as cuddling. In fact,

the very act of touching, between mother and infant, seems to be the first important area of communication.

Brazelton and Kramer (1990) posit that it is a fortunate situation when the baby's individuality coincides with the patterns or preferences of the family caregivers. The baby's ability to use the mother-, or caregiver-offered stimuli is one of the greatest assets that appears automatically upon the infant's birth.

According to Brazelton and Kramer (1990), reactions by the caregiver to infant-initiated sounds and acts by the caregiver creates the nurturant environment which fuels the child's development and widens his or her experiences. All these interactions, whether initiated by caregiver or by the baby, serve to prolong attention and additional social cues in the dyadic relationship. They also invite and strengthen the continuous schemata formation (Piaget & Inhelder, 1969) in turn assisting the infant in regaining equilibration.

If the environmental cues received were properly nurturant and the interaction between infant and caregiver were on the whole warm, security-giving and trustworthy, the emergence of autonomy will occur in the proper time setting (Brazelton & Kramer, 1990). It is quite evident, that by environmental impacts, these authors mean persons and locations, as well as other objects, such as food and toys, in the infant's surroundings. The persons can be - by the force of today's circumstances often must be - other than

maternal caregivers. Consequently, the importance of caregivers, such as babysitters, to be "tuned in" to the baby's needs beyond food, shelter and cleaning, is of lasting effect and their views are, that it enters every area of the child's everyday life (Brazelton & Kramer, 1990).

Another environmentally oriented approach to childcare is voiced by Toner (1986). While mainly discussing the proper or improper disciplinary measures between child and caregiver, the article emphasized several corollary points that are germane to attachment and socialization. He avers, that the primary focus by parent or childcare giver should be on the child's socialization skills, which include knowing the difference between right and wrong, i.e., moral behavior. He says this is because "...most behaviors, including moral behaviors, are learned (p. 28)." He credits Bell (1968) with the opinion that children may and do shape the behavior of their parents, not just the other way around. Of course, this is part of the child-caregiver dyadic relationship discussed by Schaffer (1984) and others. It follows from Toner's (1986) position that the importance of the personality, experience, warmth and nurturing abilities of the caregiver, be it mother or babysitter, cannot be taken lightly.

Tronick (1989) acknowledges the effects of affective communications between child and caregiver. He states, that "...the infant is part of an affective communication system in which the infant's goal-directed strivings are aided and

supplemented by the capacities of the caretaker" (p.112). According to him, by ten months of age, the infants can appreciate and appraise the expressions of others and modify their responses based on that understanding.

According to studies reviewed by Babchuk, Hames and Thompson (1985), women, as opposed to men, are much more accurate and quicker in their identification of infant's facial expressions of emotions. They posit their "primary caretaker hypothesis" (p. 89), which is a blend of psychology and evolutionary theories by some scientists. This hypothesis states, that the gender, which through evolutionary times has dominated infant caretaking and was able to differentially interpret and react best to infant's interactions, was female. This finding rests on statistical analyses conducted by these authors in which they found superiority of females over males when infant care in general and the child's facial expression interpretation was examined (Babchuk, et al., 1985).

Approaching the attachment phenomenon from yet another direction is Spitz (1945) who had researched the effects that living in orphanages had on infants and young children (Skolnick, 1986). Spitz (1945) concluded unequivocally, that the lack of mothering was responsible for the plight of the foundlings, and this type of maternal deprivation could result in various degrees of retardation. His work, along with Bowlby's (1953, 1969) writings, were largely responsible for the reduction of large orphanages with few caretakers in

Britain and the United States. Their work also influenced the reorganization toward better adoption procedures (Skolnick, 1986; Spitz, 1945). What can also be extrapolated from Spitz's (1945) opinions is that obviously, the more person-to-person care can be provided by the mother or a dedicated individual babysitter, the better it will be for the child's development and attachment formation.

The foregoing reviews of attachment theorists are essential to any serious study of childcare because the impact of early experiences in the child's life is critical. Quality, not quantity caregiving and dyadic interaction are pivotal factors to the future well-being of children. From all that is known about the attachment-formation, one thing stands out: attachment is formed to and with a person, not an institution.

Research on Institutional-type Childcare

As was pointed out above, very little research is available on individualized child care. There are, however, numerous articles on childcare in the institutional setting such as day care or childcare centers, nursery schools, and various kindergarten style of settings.

Data are available showing that a large proportion of children, at least in the United States, are cared for by dedicated, singular, individual and personal caregivers, who augment the insufficient availability of quality childcare offered by the above cited various institutions (Browne-

Miller, 1990; Clarke-Stewart, 1982, 1989; Fillstrup & Gross, 1982).

It is this author's view that individualized child care is closest to the optimum demanded by Bowlby (1953, 1969), Schaffer (1984) and others who embrace the importance of attachment formation as an important part of child development. However, this type of childcare is the most difficult to research because it is conducted within private settings. This factor seems to hide individual childcare from public view or governmental licensing processes. Yet, as data will indicate below, there are literally millions of children who are in such care, with millions of caregivers plying their trade.

Since this area is the core of this thesis project, the review presented here will be more exhaustive than on the subjects covered previously.

What is generally known today of childcare situations in the institutional setting and what general data is available for the need of non-parental childcare will be first reported on before the focus will shift to the individual, personal babysitter findings discovered.

Clarke-Stewart (1982, 1989) addresses the issues of childcare mainly in the institutional setting. Her work stresses the difficulties inherent in making good, lasting childcare arrangements by working parents for their small children. She also discusses the work-related problems that

improper childcare creates. such as low productivity and slow (if any) promotability of working mothers (Clarke-Stewart, 1982). She admits, that there is still disagreement among psychologists, sociologists and pediatricians whether daycare by other than the mother is or is not detrimental to the child's development. There are two camps of thought on this: one could be called the Bowlbian camp which essentially stands fast on the view that maternal care is the only guarantee of healthy attachment formation and development. Others offer the view that daycare enhances the socialization aspects of the child's development and the resiliency of children can overcome temporary maternal deprivation without lasting effects (Clarke-Stewart, 1982).

The need for childcare is indicated by statistics found by Clarke-Stewart (1982): In the United States, since 1965 alone, the percentage of working mothers had risen from 20% to 42% by 1980. The most common reason, for mothers in the work place, was economics amounting to 69%; of these 55% admitted that they would continue work even if money was not an issue. This establishes another telling reason: the need for women to find self-fulfillment and self-enhancement in their lives. Added to this was Clarke-Stewart's (1982) discovery that of 22,000 occupations listed by the U.S. Department of Labor, homemakers are generally regarded to be on the lowest level as far as the complexity of skills is thought to be important.

Several other facts indicate the need for the childcare by persons other than mothers: for example, the divorce rates of some 800,000 couples per year affect over one million children each year. In addition, 56% of single mothers (more than 80% of these full-time) must be in the work force. And 33% of married mothers with pre-schoolers also need to be employed. Due to the fact that geographical distances make it difficult to rely upon relatives to provide care, outside persons become important sources for the provision of childcare for younger children (Clarke-Stewart, 1982).

Clarke-Stewart (1982) quotes governmental statistics that show that there are some 8,000,000 children in the U.S.A. whose mothers work and this figure is expected to rise by 2,500,000 by the end of the 1990s. However, there are only some 2,000,000 places for these children in daycare centers. This means that families of the other 6,000,000 children must make other arrangements. Only 19% of those desiring daycare center utilization can get it.

She acknowledges those who are against daycare by other than the child's mother. Citing Fraiberg (1977), Clarke-Stewart (1982) mentions that (1) babysitters' availabilities are unstable; (2) that there is regimentation and a poor ratio for caregiver per child in the institutional setting, and (3) that there are, - often in both settings, - insufficient toys. Spock (1974) is credited by this same author as saying that in the first three years of life the child must be in

devoted, responsive and fulltime parental care. And she refers to Burton White (1975), who condones only part-time work for mothers of small children (Clarke-Stewart, 1982).

The supporters of daycare are also noted. Clarke-Stewart (1989) agrees with Bettelheim (1988) who stated that the idea that woman's needs are only fulfilled by exclusive service to the family at home must change. This calls for more daycare choices, so mothers who want to - or have to - work, can do so safely. She further mentions Kagan (1975), who gives daycare a "clean bill of health." And even Spock, (1976) according to Clarke-Stewart (1989), at a later occasion, assumed a more favorable position to daycare. Finally Clarke-Stewart (1989) states that even Bowlby (1969) supports the new trend by acknowledging that mothers needn't stay cooped up at home with babies or toddlers, if circumstances demand their contribution to the home economy by going out to work. What she believes to be Bowlby's (1969) true emphasis is that the crucial issue is the provision of stable continuity to the child through engaging adequately qualified caretakers (Clarke-Stewart, 1989).

Clarke-Stewart (1982) notes that individualized childcare is used in the United States in lieu of organized, institutional type of care. According to statistics published by the U.S. Department of Labor, she shows, that 52% of childcare is provided by fathers, other relatives and individual babysitters (20%, 20% & 12% respectively); leaving

only 48% of the daycare for institutionalized settings (Clarke-Stewart, 1982).

In fact, Clarke-Stewart (1982) highlights some of the advantages afforded by in-home daycare (babysitting either in the parents' or the babysitter's home). These are: flexible hours, short distances to the care-site, familiar, and secure surroundings for the child and the parent's ability to monitor (to some extent) the behavior of the caregiver. Furthermore, in this type of care, siblings usually stay together at the same place and personalized attention, similar to the mother's, is provided to the child.

The disadvantages listed next by Clarke-Stewart (1982) include lack of training and/or licensing, high expenses, and often the lack of availability. All these may force the parent to change babysitters frequently. According to her sources the surveyed daycare homes are also not free from disadvantages. A study completed by Mary Keyserling (1972) in this area found that only 7% of daycare homes were rated superior, 31% were rated good, 48% fair and 14% poor. Yet, even in the light of these findings, she believes that in-home care is still more like what would be given to the child by his or her mother. She does not believe, however, that children in daycare centers would have deficits in interaction skills with other children (Clarke-Stewart, 1982).

Referring to the parental choices examined in her research, Clarke-Stewart (1982) states that the majority of

parents would prefer child care in their own homes for the sake of continuity, familiarity and control.

Clarke-Stewart (1989) returns to the examination of the childcare issue. Her emphasis this time is to see if childcare is really detrimental to children (if given by other than their mother) or is the field maligned unjustly. She refutes Barglow, Vaughn and Molitor (1987) as well as Belsky and Nezworski (1988) who claim that "maternal employment puts infants at risk for developing emotional insecurities and becoming socially maladjusted" (Belski & Nezworski, 1988, p.266) by contrasting this to her own earlier findings that there is insufficient evidence for the above conclusions. Research had shown, that while separation anxieties may occur, attachment-formation is still possible with substitute caregivers (Clarke-Stewart, 1989). However, the support she marshalls through the use of the statistics in this paper is not very strong. Over 36% of children with full-time and 29% with part-time working mothers show some evidence of insecurity. But some of her findings indicate that children left with babysitters are "...less wary...less likely to resist contact with the stranger....(Clarke-Stewart, 1989, p. 267)." A more problematic consequence is that they are also "...less likely to seek proximity and contact with the mother." (Clarke-Stewart, 1989, p. 267).

From the above it seems that there is not enough incontrovertible evidence available either for or against

stranger care for one's children. Clarke-Stewart (1989) notes that there is a higher level of aggression in children cared for outside the home. However, this is explained by the speculation, that more necessary levels of assertion in a different-from-home atmosphere might be termed wrongly as aggression. One interesting series of findings disclosed that children who experienced daycare often did better in advanced development, sociability, social competence, language, persistence at tasks, achievement, self-confidence and problem-solving. Her sources for these findings were : Andersson (1987); Golden, Rosenbluth, Grossi, Policare, Freeman and Brownlee (1978); Haskins (1985); Lay and Meyer, (1972); Macrae and Herbert-Jackson (1976); McCartney, Scarr, Phillips, Grajek and Schwartz (1982); Ramey, Bryant and Suarez (1983); Rubenstein and Howes (1983); Rubenstein, Howes and Boyle (1981); Schwartz (1983); Schwartz, Krolick and Strickland (1973) and finally Strayer and Moss (1987) (Clarke-Stewart, 1989).

On the issue of intellectual precocity the findings consistently indicated that when children are given intelligence tests between 18 months and five years of age, those who had experienced daycare as infants score higher than those who had not (Clarke-Stewart & Fein, 1983; Fein & Clarke-Stewart, 1973). This so-called "intellectual head start," however, is not of permanent duration.

On the one hand, research tends to show that there is

generally some evidence of emotional insecurity in the maternal attachment by children to their mothers who were in daycare centers with poor adult to child ratios (Clarke-Stewart, 1989). On the other hand, it has been found that working mothers usually encourage more independence at an earlier stage in their children than do non-working mothers. Girls usually showed higher verbal and social advancement than boys (Clarke-Stewart, 1989).

The emphasis of Clarke-Stewart's (1982, 1989) two forays into the field of childcare were mainly focused upon institutional type of care-settings. Her illustrations regarding single or in-home daycare show that this type of childcare is perhaps the closest to warm, steady and fruitful caring. Thus, this seems to be the type of childcare where the individual, qualified babysitter can make a lasting contribution to the welfare of her charge, someone else's little boy or little girl.

Small and Dodge (1988) have conducted a complete review of the existing literature in the area of institutional type childcare. They specifically focused their article on the type of personnel involved in the professional childcare field. They have reviewed more than 150 references, dating back to the 1930s, that deal with the roles, skills and job tasks in child care work. They found that Pecora and Gingerich (1981) concentrated their research on the staff roles and general functions of childcare workers rather than

on specific job tasks involved in the actual care of the child (Small & Dodge, 1988). Still others provided definitions for roles and childcare measures as well as labels for the various specificities within the field. Twenty-three of their sources deal with the "Childcare worker as Parent Substitute/Primary Caretaker" (p. 8). They credit Burmeister (1960, 1967) with supplying a definition for the role of the childcare worker as a "houseparent" (1960, p. 9), attending to the physical, clothing, feeding, and mothering needs of the child and gives one-on-one attention, emotional support and appropriate discipline (Small & Dodge, 1988).

Then they cite Williamson (1931), who defined child care simply as tasks that are educational, physical, social and emotional. Yet they showed some disagreements too with the above definition, namely, there were other experts who opined that it is "...not necessary or even desirable" for the caregiver to be regarded as a parent substitute (Small & Dodge, 1988 p. 9).

Small and Dodge (1988) are seemingly more interested in the administrative and training functions of childcare than in its evaluation. Their references to the writings of Bettelheim (1988), M. Mayer (1951), Redl and Wineman (1967) stress therapeutical interventions if and when needed in the institutionalized setting of childcare. The functions of the childcare worker, as a member of a professional team are enumerated and classified. The training that should be made

available to these professionals comes from the writings of Braukman and Blase (1979), who produced a 1100 page manual which gave precise behavioral objectives to be followed by each childcare worker. Anna Mayer (1966) also provided a listing of specific job skills for childcare supervisors over their other adult subordinates in the centers. Finally mention is made of a number of surveys made by Krueger, Lauerman, Graham and Powell (1986), which examined the differences between the standings of members of professional organizations and those who were not in such groups - in the childcare field (Small & Dodge, 1988).

They finally touch on an aspect of childcare, which, in the opinion of this author, is more centrally related to the needs of childcare than the above areas. This aspect is one in which they quote Whittaker (1985), who suggested that "...new childcare job functions outside the institution are emerging, particularly in family intervention" (Small & Dodge, 1988 p.13). Whittaker (1985) focused in his writings on the range of tasks that are connected with modeling and teaching parenting skills in the home. He predicted broader roles for childcare workers in our schools in the future. Barnes and Kelman (1974), Diggles (1970) and Linton (1973), as reviewed by Small and Dodge (1988), all agree that childcare workers should function as primary child therapists in place of caseworkers and psychiatrists (Small & Dodge, 1988, p.13).

Although Small and Dodge (1988) provided a thorough

review of what they termed the "professional" childcare provider, they left out virtually any mention of the role that individual, personal babysitters have had in aiding parents. The babysitter's role might not be considered professional in the sense of Small's and Dodge's definition, nevertheless it is what millions of children and parents must rely upon daily.

Scarr, Phillips and McCartney (1989) delivered a paper on the issue of working mothers and the effects their absence from the home may mean to their families. Their focus centered on the childcare center type of assistance that these mothers had to use for their children. They disclosed, that their research did not show major or consistent effects on the children's development. In their opinion this was mainly because the reasons why mothers were working were diverse and often interrupted for the sake of returning to the home scene to support their children. Based on the studies of Kahn and Kamerman (1987) the following statistical findings are cited: as of 1986 over 51% of married mothers and 49% of single mothers were employed. The problem is that national attention is not focused on the provision of high quality affordable childcare. With other words, as others before and after them stated, the availability of proper childcare is a larger problem for parents than their making the joint decision to work outside the home (Scarr, et al., 1989).

The concern with the quality of care that a child might or might not receive from strangers is voiced by Mohar (1988)

when he says, that "...[the] child is a unique individual and should be treated as such by all caretakers in all situations" (p. 221). He concentrates on the examination of the matches that should be made between the temperamental make-up of the child and his or her caregiver. He considers this a very serious issue, since a mismatch by indifferent, or otherwise too busy caretakers to the child's needs can have pathological consequences (Mohar, 1988). From this, one can extrapolate that the institutional childcare setting would not be preferred by Mohar, where there is very little guarantee for dyadic interactions of lasting nature between caretaker and child. The individual babysitter arrangement should be a much more preferable route to insure temperamental interactions that will be matching each other.

Khurana and Kapoor (1987) observed types of interaction between infants and caretakers in institutional settings. They used measurements of vocalizations, smiles and proximity-seeking movements as indicators of interactions. They were interested in seeing who was the initiator of such interactions, child or caretaker? While their work was not directly concerned with the actual delivery, evaluation and characterization of childcare tasks, the measurements on interactions contributed to the defining of the quality that is sought in childcare worker and which is otherwise so hard to properly describe (Khurana & Kapoor, 1987).

Hoffman (1989) focused on the effects of maternal

employment on children in out-of-home childcare. She supports others who believe that there are no significant differences in cognitive and socio-emotional development between children who are in daycare or those who are at home with their mothers. Heyns and Catsambis (1985) and Zaslow's (1987) findings are described by Hoffman (1989) to highlight some significant results. For example, she notes that working mothers have a positive effect on their daughters' expectancies for the future as opposed to the effect upon their sons, who, at best, show mixed results. In addition, daughters of middle-class working mothers showed better levels of social adjustment, although some showed a lower level of grade-school achievement. It also was found that children who had working mothers and were cared for by others, (1) had less restricted views on sex-role stereotyp-es; (2) they were more apt to be independent, and (3) had developed earlier a sense of responsibility for their tasks than children cared for by their mothers (Hoffman, 1989).

Frodi, Murray, Lamb and Steinberg (1984) studied infant and caretaker interactions. Their work supports the idea that continued warmth, interest and care need to be directed toward the infant. This seems to guarantee healthy development, even in circumstances when children are cared for outside their homes.

It can be concluded from the above that the more focused and personal the care is that a child receives, the better he

or she can adapt to his or her situation and will be more open to new experiences, than the more sheltered children of mothers who stay at home. Such personal, focused care is more likely to be found with individualized, personal type of childcare, such as in babysitting.

Browne-Miller (1990) approaches the childcare problems at first from a socio-political perspective. She mentions the scarcity of childcare to the growing number of mothers - married or single - who need it. She notes the lack of federal, state or even local governmental interest, standards and/or effort for the provision of equal, affordable childcare services for the citizenry.

Further on, Browne-Miller (1990) returns to the core childcare issue by discussing the qualities that should be offered by all providers. She avers that care is a direct act by a caretaker toward a child, who is another human being. In her continuing discussion she points to some of the qualities that parents demand of caretakers. These parental demands can be grouped into four major categories: (1) settings in which the child's development must proceed; (2) protection from any outside impacts which might retard such development; (3) nurturing that must be provided in order for any development to occur, and (4) development can only happen if the instruments and activities are given for it to become a reality (Browne-Miller, 1990).

With respect to the ratio of adult caregivers to

children, Browne-Miller (1990) notes that the familial setting (especially if members of the extended family are near and can participate) provides the child with the best circumstance for his or her developmental potential. This ratio is particularly important in the first two to three years of the child's life because stimulation and one-on-one attention are most critical during that time period. She also states many parents prefer for their child to be taken care of by people of their own kind, with ethical, cultural and social outlooks closely paralleling their own (Browne-Miller, 1990).

Of the various childcare arrangements studied by Browne-Miller (1990), only one of the six sites show other than the daycare center type of caregiving. This one site, a so-called "family-group" care activity did not fare very well in her scores, especially on educational, social and psychological aspects of caregiving. However, users liked the 1:4 ratio of caregiver to children in the location, which presumably afforded closer care, warmth, attention and interaction for their child with the caretaker. Users also seemed to feel that they had more control in the upbringing of their children. It is true that the costs were the highest here per child and location and distance factors were not as good as they were for the other five sites examined by Browne-Miller (1990).

It appears that parents, if they can afford it, prefer the individual, babysitter type of care to the more

structured, regimented and less-personal atmosphere of the childcare centers (Browne-Miller, 1990; Clarke-Stewart, 1982).

Childcare by Individuals in Loco Parentis: Findings

The review of literature in this sub-section deals with the very few studies and articles written about the direct, personal-type of childcare provided to users by babysitters or nannies.

Fillstrup and Gross (1982) had first reviewed the childcare field in its institutionalized settings. However, two chapters in their book were dedicated to the discussion of the usage of nannies and/or babysitters, highlighting the importance of these types of caregivers to parents and children. They discussed the effects of separation from the perspective of Bowlby and other psychological theorists. Separation, they posited, is a life-long process and it is an event with both internal and external aspects. The internal means that each human being has a sense of self separate from others; on the other hand, externality manifests itself by a dynamic ability to move away from familiar and loved environments and to seek new challenges (Fillstrup & Gross, 1982). Through the internal self one develops human relationships and forms attachments to others - factors that heavily influence child and caretaker dyads (Fillstrup & Gross, 1982).

The ability to separate from the mother helps children in other-than-mother caretaking situations to adapt to new circumstances. Important contributions come from the caregiver, who, in loco parentis, is in daily contact with the child; these are: nurturance, warmth, understanding, and stability (Fillstrup & Gross, 1982).

The authors go on to state that continuity is another quality that helps alleviate the initial separation anxiety of the child when he or she is left with a different caregiver. This continuity can be well served by hiring a nanny, originally a European invention. While the costs are very high, the nanny in the household soon becomes a virtual member of the family and her stay is usually of long enough duration to lend a sense of security to the child for whom she cares daily. Most nannies live in the household where they become very familiar with parental views, opinions, and personal peculiarities of the people living in the house. Perhaps most important of all, they are in constant attendance on their charges. Most of the time they do not have to take care of more than one or two children at a time, all in the same household. Thus the continuity, familiarity of location and control of the children's upbringing rests mainly in parental hands (Fillstrup & Gross, 1982).

In their review of personal babysitting, Fillstrup and Gross (1982) observed that the problems are that of cost, the number of children whom she will care for simultaneously (if

she does it in her own home), experience, and the nurturing styles that she provides for the child. It seems that these authors favor the babysitting or nanny arrangement, over the daycare/childcare center models.

A better solution is hinted at in their book through the establishment of babysitting cooperatives, which consist of a group of mothers and their children. The way this works is that the working mothers have various flexible schedules which allows them to both pursue a career and at the same time, in their at-home hours, they can participate in the babysitting chores for themselves and their neighbors who are members of the cooperative. This way the children can retain the familiarity with and closeness to their surroundings; receive mutual nurturance, warmth and exposure to socialization with other children (Fillstrup & Gross, 1982).

Both authors seem to accept the general view, that parents prefer babysitters whom they engage person-to-person and can influence to some extent in the rearing of their children. They mention, however, the high cost factors and the necessity to do serious reference checking prior to employing a babysitter or nanny to care for one's children.

In her book, Roemer (1989) relates a number of charming, heart-warming episodes of the children that she and her sister, Barbara Austin, had cared for in her home continuously for two to three years. Her approach to childcare is best characterized by her belief that they were not merely

fostering children, but were helping parents in the creation of future adults (Roemer, 1989).

She makes a number of valuable observations which are worth mentioning. According to her, in the 1970s, the home-type daycare was different because there was little interest in it. Few realized that this arrangement, where 4 to 10 children are cared for on the average every day for 8 to 10 hours by one or two caregivers, provides much of the socialization and even some of the enrichment usually offered in nursery schools. It is also true that children bring the difficulties of their home lives to the care-setting. They replay the parts they have witnessed at home thereby making sense of the reality they have experienced (Roemer, 1989).

Roemer (1989) had visited many daycare centers in her area and was not impressed with the conditions that she found. Crowded space, lack of sufficient toys, or over-regimentation in scheduled activities, to her mind, did not offer the best and most wholesome caring to the children taken there daily.

Roemer (1989) states that most of the children in the daycare home-setting, her style of effort, will become open to interaction with others. They will learn independence and sharing both toys and themselves with others. They also will develop a sense of self-worth at an earlier time than those remaining home with mother or attending institutional-ized childcare.

Pettygrove, Whitebook and Weir (1984) discuss the results

of surveys that they conducted in the childcare field. Their surveys were designed to acquire information about the types of available childcare, qualities of the caregivers, and perceptions of the services rendered. These surveys were conducted in two states, California and Illinois. Their findings indicate that institutionalized care in California was more widely used (and available). In Illinois, nearly 22% of the children of working parents were babysat privately. They also found, that in the United States over 2,000,000 women earn a living as babysitters on a full-time basis. A great majority (88%) of the caregivers in Illinois possess education several years beyond highschool level. Only 38% of childcare settings are publicly funded or provided. The rest are either non-profit, or for-profit private institutions. Over 75% of the caregivers felt that they are professionals. They also surmised that they were paid at a lower level than teachers.

Kivikink and Schell (1987) published demographic and satisfaction studies of users of various type of daycare, including the personal, private babysitting. They found some very interesting answers to questions rarely asked openly. They based their analyses on replies received to 375 completed surveys which came from randomly selected subjects in the childcare user field. From these completed surveys, 110 were from users of childcare/daycare centers; 67 from users of nursery school services and 198 from parents who used

individual babysitters. Excerpts from their findings follow below (Kivikink & Schell, 1987 p. 122-124):

92% of users were married with both parents employed;

74% of the mothers were fulltime employed;

41% used relatives living near to give childcare;

85% used relatives (including above) who lived in region;

Average yearly combined earnings of parents: \$33,000+;

Average number of children babysat (simultaneously): 2.0;

Average age of children babysat: 3.2 years;

Average distance from child's home to babysitter's: 8 miles.

In-home (parent's home) sitters were used by those who had certain financial constraints, while others could afford to take the child to the babysitter's own home for care. "Good care" was generally perceived, by the parents, to be the provision of "good nutrition"(Kivikink & Schell, 1987 p. 116).

It is interesting to note that Gladstone (1988) supports the usage of relatives noted by Kivikink and Schell (1987). Gladstone (1988) notes, that grandmothers are used as babysitters some 28% of the time; if parents are divorced, grandmothers' contribution to this type of childcare grows to over 45% in the United States.

Integrating the statistics from Pettygrove, et al., (1984)

and Kivikink and Schell (1987) reveals some sobering facts: if there were over 2,000,000 women making their living as babysitters in the U.S.A. in 1984, and the average number of children cared for stood at 2.0 per caregiver, then over 4,000,000 children were in the care of babysitters. In addition, Clarke-Stewart (1982) forecasts that over 2,500,000 additional children will require caregivers by the mid-1990s. All of this means that the babysitting field is alive and well and it must become as dynamic as the growth of children in the future, because from Clarke-Stewart's (1982) figures it is also known, that institutionalized childcare cannot provide sufficiently for this market-demand.

Kourany and LaBarbera (1983, 1986) have addressed other issues relating to babysitting situations. First Kourany and LaBarbera (1983) focused on the quality of babysitters and the referral systems that are, or are not, available for parents during their search for individual childcare. The information they obtained came from completed questionnaires they collected from a large number of responding parents. They found, that many mothers who used babysitters had also often babysat during their own youth.

Kourany and LaBarbera's study (1983) contained a number of findings that were rather disturbing. They found that very few parents do a thorough screening of babysitters before hiring them; and parents do not clearly articulate their expectations, including nurturing methods, feeding choices

and/or disciplinary instructions to the babysitters. While parents' most important criteria included the babysitter's sense of responsibility, reliability, maturity, experience and understanding of children, there was little effort made to discover why the prospective employee wanted to babysit, what references and what expectations (other than financial) she or he had. The authors indicated that only 32% of the parents asked for references; and only the same percentage followed up on the references before hiring an applicant.

The lack of clear, unequivocal instructions from parents to babysitters are partly responsible for the problem that arose in the disciplinary areas. Nearly 23% of the respondents mentioned unauthorized spankings administered by possibly angry or frustrated babysitters. Occasionally, babysitters were drunk or under the influence of drugs while on the job, and some 5% of the parents reported that their babysitter had experimented sexually with their children (Kourany & LaBarbera, 1983).

The authors strongly advise a proper review of the qualifications of each babysitter applicant before hiring. They also advocate very strongly that parents consult with their children's pediatrician so he or she can suggest the proper screening questions and/or steps they should take before hiring a babysitter.

In their second article, Kourany and LaBarbera (1986) examine the reasons for the use of adolescents as babysitters.

They find that adolescents view babysitting as an experience that provides them with opportunities to develop and practice adult role behaviors. Kourany and LaBarbera (1986) analysed some 900 completed surveys and it is their opinion that adolescents, generally, profit from babysitting experiences. Babysitting gives them a chance to develop parenting skills and independence. It also provides financial reward as well as the opportunity for decision making without direct adult supervision.

Kourany and LaBarbera (1986) made quite an effort to find out why the adolescents did this type of work. Their findings indicated that adolescents primarily mentioned the need for spending money, followed by the expressed pleasure of practicing independence on the job. Many also stated that they liked children which correlated with the findings that over 80% of adolescent babysitters had developed positive relationships with their charges. Except for the caveats on criteria in the first article, Kourany and LaBarbera (1986) did not voice any specific objections to the use of teenagers for childcare activities.

Brief Summary on the Literature Review

Based on the reviewed literature, it can be concluded that the postulates of developmental stage theories and those of attachment formation appear to be very closely related. In reality, attachment formation, seemingly a genetic

predisposition existing in each human being from birth, appears to fit nicely into the Piagetian model of stage development. As sensory-motor activities are believed to be step-by-step superseded by cognition through the schemata formations, the primary caretakers are recognized by the infant. From this, attachment takes place. The oral-stage of Freud meshes perfectly with Erikson's crisis of "trust vs mistrust" because both the oral closeness and trust learned by the infant, goes in tandem with attachment formation (Erikson, 1963; Freud, 1963; Piaget & Inhelder, 1969).

Childcare is in close and constant relation to the above psychological processes, for the caretaker is one of the pivotal "objects" (Kohler, 1984; Wolf, 1979) in the sensory, cognitive and environmental surroundings of the young child. Caretakers' actions help shape the child's psyche and personality in addition to the influences this same child is exposed to during the caretaking periods.

Development, according to the sources quoted in this chapter, is at first centered on the dyadic interactions of the primary caretaker and newly born infant (Bowlby, 1953, 1969; Schaffer, 1984). If the mother gives up the constant care of the infant to join - or re-join - the ranks of wage earners, this dyad is at first greatly interrupted. Perhaps the best way to correct this unwanted and dangerous rupture is by re-establishing a parallel dyad as closely approximating the natural one (mother to child) as possible. In other

words, engaging a personal and exclusive caretaker helps to alleviate the temporary damage sustained on the part of the infant.

Neither the daycare or childcare center, nor the nursery school, can be regarded as a full and complete replacement for the individual care needed by an infant. This institutional setting cannot, by definition, offer the kind of enriching one-on-one dyad that is so important to the child's early development. The unavoidable diffusion of attention; the too-early exposure to different types of persons and care; and the loss of continuity, familiarity and security with one's own place in the home combine to present the infant with nearly unsurmountable obstacles to allow attachment formation. Finally, the reportedly limited availability of daycare centers along with high cost and the lack of government supervised standards in the centers only exacerbate the baby's plight (Browne-Miller, 1990; Brazelton & Kramer, 1990; Clarke-Stewart, 1982; Roemer, 1989; Schaffer, 1984).

Based on the above review, it can be concluded that the best non-maternal care is individual babysitting care. With the right qualifications, which will be discussed in the following chapters, some additional cognitive and affective benefits can also be obtained for the child so cared for. Hopefully, these benefits will assist the child in reaching skills needed in later life.

CHAPTER III

SELECTION CRITERIA FOR CHILD CARETAKER

The potential risks that the mother's absence could present for the child have been summarized in the preceding chapter. Much research was cited. Many of these authors raised problems that may arise with attachment, the sense of security, belongingness and future psychological functioning if the mother's care is interrupted in the early, formative days of the infant.

In an effort to deal with prevailing social conditions, these same authors dealt with the current childcare situation. They provided detailed descriptions of the various types of childcare used today. A few, very few, mentioned the private, individual care, which nannies or babysitters can provide. Kourany and LaBarbera (1983) pointed out that too many parents fail to choose the proper caretaker for their children. While parents are concerned that their choices for a prospective caretaker include a sense of responsibility, reliability, maturity, experience and understanding of children, only a very few (32%) conscientiously check references.

Kourany and LaBarbera (1983) found that only 31% had bothered to restrict telephone usage by the babysitter. Additionally, it appeared to these researchers that parents' instructions about the possible use of discipline, behavioral expectations and other matters, were minimal and often unspoken. The parents often based their relationship with the

babysitter on assumptions about her abilities after a short interview. Parents usually failed to ask prospective childcare workers about the reasons they are looking to be employed in such positions (Kourany & LaBarbera, 1983).

Schaffer (1984) agrees with these authors and indicates that many parents fail to look at the prevailing conditions in most daycare settings. However, there are some parents, who focus their attention on the caregiver's background, (i.e., if it is similar to their own, and has the same ethical, cultural and social outlooks) (Browne-Miller, 1990).

Unfortunately, it seems, as if parents do not know what questions to ask prospective caretakers of their children, regardless of the type of care they are about to choose. Too often it appears, that even with respect to seeking institutionalized care, parents assume how things will be; they do not visit and examine the childcare places they are considering for their child's daily home away from home. They believe that educational methods are the most important factors in the care they expect for their children and ignore such things as adult to child ratio, psychological influences, and other related factors (Browne-Miller, 1990; Clarke-Stewart, 1982, 1989; Fillstrup & Gross, 1982; Schaffer, 1984).

This is not to say that many parents are not careful in their preparation for the choice of a childcare arrangement or person for their child. But findings show, that while many do give detailed instructions to their babysitter - if that

is the method they have chosen - there are nearly 25% of the parents who do not provide this important guidance at all! Furthermore, the review of the researchers' works in this area did not disclose a systematic way in which parents were, or were not, making their babysitter search or when interviewing, face the applicant with thoughtfully prepared, logical questions (Browne-Miller, 1990; Clarke-Stewart, 1982; Kourany & LaBarbera, 1983; Roemer, 1989).

In order to assist parents in their search for the right babysitter for their children, a proposal is offered here, for the use of a short, concise and handy Parents' Babysitter Selection Check-List (See Attachment A; hereafter referred to as the Check-List). With a little adaptation, this Check-List could also serve to evaluate the childcare-, daycare center and nursery school situations. Browne-Miller (1990), in her study on childcare, used similar questions when visiting selected sites. Her questionnaire, as opposed to this proposed Check-List, evaluates user satisfaction and basic data on location and efficiency of childcare sites to arrive at her findings. While the proposed Check-List addresses many of the same areas as the Browne-Miller questionnaire it differs from it in format and overall in intent. The purposes here are two-fold: setting criteria based on the psychological, developmental, and attachment-formation issues previously reviewed and actual usage of this Check-List before a parent would engage a childcare provider.

From a careful examination of the Check-List, it should be evident that the effort is focused on finding the optimum individual caretaker. The following paragraphs provide a rationale for the ratings scheme. For each question, the optimum answer is indicated by the point value order (1 through 5, most desirable to least). By using the Multi-Attribute Utility Method (MAUT) statistical procedure designed by Edwards, Guttentag and Snapper (1975) and Pitz and McKillip (1984) (in Posavac & Carey, 1989) parents can prioritize (i.e., weigh), the value of each question according to their preferences. The weighing method can also be used for the answer-choices indicated for each question. However, it should be noted that the answer-choices are shown in an order that is based on preferences suggested by positions of childcare experts previously reviewed (Bowlby, 1953, 1969; Brazelton & Kramer, 1990; Bretherton & Waters, 1985; Erikson, 1963; Fillstrup & Gross, 1982; Schaffer, 1984; Spock, 1976). In the following paragraphs each question is discussed, and where applicable, citations will show the supporting views of researchers.

In the case of **SEX**, female is preferred over male caretakers based on studies of Bowlby (1953), Babchuck, et al., (1985), Brazelton & Kramer (1990) and Schaffer (1984). Their findings indicate that there seems to be a preference for female voices and touch by infants. Causes of these preferences, however, are not clear at this time; it could be

that familiarity with female voices is preconditioned in the child's in utero existence before birth. Choices for AGE indicate several age-groups, the best of which, 26-40, seems to be one in which experience, physical abilities and maturity are most represented.

One of the automatic ways to gain experience in caring for children is if the candidate is a mother who has cared for a child. Therefore, **"MARRIED WITH CHILDREN"** has been chosen as the highest value in this category.

Remembering the evaluations and other related research findings in the previous chapter, **EDUCATION** becomes a factor that should be considered. For this reason a babysitter with a college degree or with special training at the college level in childcare, education and/or psychology, should be preferred for the position (Small & Dodge, 1988).

ETHNIC, RACIAL and/or RELIGIOUS differences may also be viewed by parents as an important area, where similarities to themselves should present continuity in their child's upbringing. For this reason, this section was designed in an attempt to achieve the optimum combination in this very sensitive area, keeping in mind that the natural rights of the parents to start their child's upbringing in their own chosen manner must have preference (Browne-Miller, 1990).

In reference to **CHILDCARE LOCATION** it is preferred for the babysitter to come to the child's home (Fillstrup & Gross, 1982; Kivikink & Schell, 1987), but if the child must be taken

to the babysitter's home daily, the **DISTANCES** (to reduce discomfort, problems of communications, etc) must be taken into consideration (Roemer, 1989).

The **BABYSITTER'S FAMILY INCOME** is considered to be an important variable and can be regarded as an extrapolation of Browne-Miller's (1990) finding that parents prefer caretakers with similar backgrounds and attitudes. Therefore, it is assumed that family income matters with respect to providing information on two issues: (1) whether the babysitter is, or is not, in the same socio-economic status as her prospective employer; and (2) whether the babysitter considers this work as a major source of her income or not. The optimum situation is probably when the babysitter is roughly from the same socio-economic background as her employer. There is less pressure on the babysitter if she works without financial dependency on this income. If the income levels are roughly equal between the two parties, parity in socio-economic status is to be inferred, therefore, the child will most likely encounter the same value systems as he or she would have had if he or she would have stayed home with mother. Again, continuity in childcare is then most likely.

HEALTH AND PHYSICAL LIMITATIONS of a prospective babysitter are considered to be important considerations. This area refers to the age-groups previously evaluated, since, usually, in the 26-40 age range, there probably will be less problems either in general health and physical

limitations (except, of course, congenital conditions that may already exist).

Similarly, the need to consider the **EXPERIENCE** of a prospective sitter is supported by authors who discuss the importance of training for childcare workers (Clarke-Stewart, 1982; Fillstrup & Gross, 1982; Roemer, 1989; Small & Dodge, 1988). In the 26-40 age-group the chances are, that the babysitter will have had several years of experience which should rate the highest points in this section if it is assumed that the examination of references does not force changes in the value ratings (Browne-Miller, 1990; Clarke-Stewart, 1982; Fillstrup & Gross, 1982; Roemer, 1989).

The **CARETAKING RATIO** which will exist, if a babysitter is hired, is of the utmost importance. Bowlby (1953, 1969), Brazelton and Kramer (1990) and Schaffer (1984) place very heavy emphasis on the vital and individualized need for dyadic interaction between infant and his or her primary caretaker. This is perhaps the single most important feature of care that must be provided to the young child, at least, in the first three years of life. Childcare experts, for example, Clarke-Stewart (1982, 1989), Pettygrove, et al., (1984), Roemer, (1989); psychologists such as Erikson (1963), Freud (1963) and Vygotsky (1978) emphasize that the closeness and warmth that must be established between infant and primary caregiver are foundations upon which the child's future psychological well-being depends.

For these reasons the ratings on this characteristic should be doubled in value for this section. The best choices should only be considered for situations in which the babysitter will interact one-on-one (only) with the child (Bowlby, 1953, 1969; Brazelton & Kramer, 1990; Fillstrup & Gross, 1982; Schaffer, 1984). According to most sources this seems to present the best scenario in which any psychological risks sustained, if at all, will be alleviated. (Bowlby, 1953; Brazelton & Kramer, 1990; Schaffer, 1984).

For the most part, the foregoing sections in the Check-List were based on objective variables. The remaining section, **PERSONALITY RATINGS**, however, is considered to be much more subjective. Perhaps it is also more important, than any previous values measured. The answers parents mark down during the interview will be based on their perceptions, feelings, guesses and impressions. These subjective ratings are a part of every interview and they are weighed carefully by anyone who is an employer looking for a new employee. It is important to get a sense of the babysitter's mood, maturity, and ability to communicate. It is a matter of importance whether she or he is alert, organized and/or motivated. No responsible parent can ignore a prospective babysitter's answers to questions dealing with hygiene and child discipline, nor should a parent fail to ask for, and follow through by checking each reference obtained. It is strongly suggested that the personal habits of drinking, usage

of drugs, and/or political, idiosyncratic and philosophical views be covered during the interview when the parents are ascertaining the prospective babysitter's recreational preferences.

After the conclusion of a number of interviews with prospective applicants, the parents have the task of checking the references on all persons interviewed. Following that, they should prepare to rate each person's questionnaire (which was updated with appropriate remarks after the reference-check). If a parent, in his or her personal opinion, attaches higher significance to one of the questions contained in the Check-List than to an other, then it is recommended that the Multi-Attribute Utility Method (MAUT), mentioned above, be used (Edwards, et al., 1975; Pitz & McKillip, 1984; Posavac and Carey, 1989). This instrument allows the weighing of each question in the user's preferential order. In Attachment A a simple method is shown for the scoring of the questionnaire based on the MAUT method.

After completing the ratings by using the MAUT method, the parents will be in position to compare all applicants' scores objectively. Finally, the cost factors, (i.e., the charges the prospective babysitter is asking), should be entered as a remark at the end of the questionnaire, and be part of the decision-making process. One should bear in mind that the costs associated with childcare, while they may be a paramount consideration in a family's budget, must take

second place to the qualities of the prospective caretaker.

The proposed Check-List may assist parents in the objective and thorough evaluation of the prospective childcare providers. It attempts to give them a brief, yet potent instrument that should help them avoid problems and dangers later on in their child's development.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROPOSAL OF DUAL-ATTACHMENT

In the previous chapters, it is suggested that optimal childcare is provided by a nanny or a babysitter. This choice is especially important to the young infant who is left in the care of someone other than the mother. Research findings are very definitive with respect to the dyadic needs of the very young child (up to three years of age, usually). The youngest child's developmental needs cannot be met by any other means of daycare (Bowlby, 1953; Brazelton & Kramer, 1990; Erikson, 1963; Freud, 1963; Schaffer, 1984). Childcare or daycare centers; even family-group care, cannot provide one-on-one interaction due to circumstances already discussed, nor can parents' wishes, ideas of child upbringing and control be individualized in the institutionalized care-setting.

Another recommended practice supported by childcare research reviewed is that the infant or young child should remain in the daily care of the same babysitter for at least 2 to 3 years without interruption (other than family vacations, etc.) (Roemer, 1989). This arrangement reportedly provides security, continuity and allows the infant or young child to begin a healthy routine as part of his or her dynamic development (Bowlby, 1953, 1969; Roemer, 1989; Schaffer, 1984; Tronick, 1989).

Are there any additional benefits that can be obtained for the child in this type of care? There appear to be

several such benefits. For example, if the babysitter has a one-on-one relationship with the child (Bowlby, 1953; Schaffer, 1984), and if the quality of the home of the babysitter (assuming the baby is taken there daily) resembles that of the child's; if the personality of the caretaker is a good match in temperament and mood to that of the child (Mohar, 1988), and there is sufficient experience on the part of the caretaker (Clarke-Stewart, 1982), the child will overcome initial separation anxieties (Belsky & Nezworski, 1988; Bowlby, 1953, 1969; Erikson, 1963; Freud, 1963) and achieve constant equilibration and natural schemata formation in his or her development (Piaget & Inhelder, 1969).

The additional benefits to personalized childcare are somewhat in opposition to the most stringent demands formerly posited by such as Bowlby, (1953, 1969), Schaffer (1984) and others, namely that it is best for the mother to be the sole permanent caretaker. These additional benefits, in the form of three separate proposals, will be offered and explained below.

1. It is proposed that the development of dual-attachment formation in the infant or small child will start at the very beginning of the relationships that occur between the infant and mother and the infant and babysitter. In this sense, dual-attachment means, that the natural bonding phenomenon will be directed to the principal caretaker, at the time, she cares for the child, regardless whether it is the

mother or a stranger. Dual-attachment will occur simultaneously between child and mother as well as child and baby-sitter (caretaker). Actually, the child will receive more stimulation in this milieu, than even if the mother stayed home, because the child will be in dyadic interaction with the caretaker and the parent upon the latter's return to his/her home. As a result the child will perceive and learn sameness of interactions and, at the same time, he or she will learn differentiation of persons in his or her interactions.

2. It is proposed that this dual-attachment development actually can enhance the child's life-experiences, because it allows for socialization already at a very early stage without the trauma of losing the exclusivity to interact constantly one-on-one. This is not possible in many institutionalized settings.

3. It is proposed that this dual-attachment may result in the child being more open to others as well as to new situations; he or she may be able to interact with others more readily. As a long-term result of the dual-attachment experience, he or she may also be able to acquire new learning easier. The result could be a child who will probably experience better learning achievements than those who have stayed home with their mothers, or those who have experienced child-care in institutionalized settings.

All of these propositions could become research hypotheses to be tested in the future.

Finally, there is a side-benefit proposed, which concerns the parents of children who must be cared for by a nanny or a babysitter. Parents, especially mothers, have been found to feel guilt for having neglected their mandated responsibilities of caring for their children when they had to go to work (Fillstrup & Gross, 1982; Clarke-Stewart, 1989; Roemer, 1989). By employing personal, individualized childcare givers (i.e., nannies or babysitters), they can find appreciable solace from the above propositions, which offer the view that attachment-formation will be established and maintained. This arrangement will prepare their children for a future, which, in most instances, will present the same circumstances in their own adult lives. It can be posited that motherhood will be complemented by the pursuance of outside creativity, hence mothers will be happier, less depressed by the feeling of being closed-in and depreciated for their perceived limitations. And parents should no longer feel guilt for efforts which take both of them out of the house to provide the best economic opportunity for their family. The individual, personal babysitter, if all criteria are met at the optimum level, re-establishes the security, proper development and future functioning of their child (Browne-Miller, 1990; Clarke-Stewart, 1982).

Institutional type settings, such as day-, childcare centers and nursery schools, due to the diffusion of dyadic interaction opportunities, cannot provide either this type of

care, or guarantee the additional benefits that could accrue to the child (Browne-Miller, 1990; Clarke-Stewart, 1982; Roemer, 1989).

Drawing on the results of research done by Browne-Miller (1990), Clarke-Stewart (1982, 1989) and Roemer (1989), the institutional settings provide, under the best of circumstances, an average of 1 : 5 ratio of adult caretaker to child. The ratio is not better in family-group homes studied by the same authors. The only other arrangement seemingly close to the one-on-one type recommended here is that provided by near-relatives living in close proximity of each other (Clarke-Stewart, 1982, 1989; Kivikink & Schell, 1987). However, the same authors (along with others) point out, that this type of situation is becoming scarce, because young parents today rarely live within reach of their extended families to avail themselves of this type of childcare.

CHAPTER V

A CASE STUDY: SIX YEARS WITH STEVEN

The following case study is presented to provide supporting evidence for the propositions in Chapter IV. The duration of the babysitting performed in the author's home by his wife was six years and several months. During that period of time the author observed the daily caretaking process. After returning home daily from work, he interacted with Steven, the little boy whom his wife babysat. This interaction consisted of teaching the child eating and table manners, story-telling, playing with him and later, when he was a little older, teaching him to play soccer. He also participated in the administration of discipline (on the rare occasions when needed) and hours of watching children's programs on television. This chapter recounts both his and his wife's memories of those years.

Steven's parents were of middle-class origins; the father was employed as a computer programmer and the mother as an accounting clerk in a bank. Both worked in the Detroit area. They lived in an apartment complex in a northeastern suburb. Steven, until he was over six years old, was an only child.

The babysitter was in her mid-forties. She had a grown son from a former marriage (no longer living with her) and a daughter, who at the onset of the babysitting, was fifteen years old and in high-school. Her husband's employment was at a national corporation's Detroit area branch as a branch

administrative director.

The incomes of both families were within the same range, with the parents' slightly higher due to the dual salaries. Ideas on discipline and child-upbringing were also similar. There were constant exchanges of views between the two households on these matters as well as other pertinent issues. In the following years a close friendship grew between the two families who shared several interests, meals in each other's homes and attendance at sports events.

The decision to return to her former employment was not easily taken by the mother of the child. However, the economic circumstances in the mid-seventies in the Detroit area were not good; in addition, the family also wished to accumulate money for the future purchase of a house, and they planned for more children. The author's wife's decision to engage in babysitting came after neighbors alerted her to the fact that Steven's family wished to find someone to care for their child. Since the babysitter's only child was a daughter still living at home attending high school, she thought this would be an interesting activity that would provide some extra money for herself.

Steven was three and a half months old when he began his life with the babysitter. He was a large, fat baby. Each morning, latest by 6:15 AM, he was carried over to the babysitter's home, which was across the street in the same apartment complex that the parents lived in. His pick-up time

was between 5:45 and 6:30 PM, with rare deviations.

From the very onset of the arrangement, the parents provided proper sleeping equipment (bassinette, then later also a playpen), toys, extra changes of clothing; the phone numbers where they could be reached in an emergency and the phone number and the address of their family pediatrician. In addition, they provided the phone numbers and addresses of both sets of grand-parents. The parents wanted no grand-parental interference in their child's upbringing which explains their preference for an outsider as childcare giver.

While he was a baby, - up till about 8-10 months of age, - food items, bottles and formula, were brought to the babysitter on a daily basis. Later, the child began to share food from the babysitter's table at regular mealtimes. Naps and walks (in a stroller provided by the parents) were daily occurrences arranged for by the babysitter.

After he was older, occasionally one or the other grandparents took the child for a day, or for a shopping trip. This was always preceded by the parents alerting the babysitter that such a visit would happen at a given day and time.

The arrival of the little boy in the babysitter's household was quite an event. That very first day, when the mother deposited the baby in his bassinette in the strange living room, the babysitter noted the half-choked back sobs of the woman, and the slight, fretting motions and whimpering

of the little boy. The feeling of guilt was very evident on the part of the mother. In spite of childcare experts' warnings on the likely severity of separation anxiety on the part of a young infant (Bowlby, 1953, 1969; Erikson, 1963; Freud, 1963), Steven experienced only a very mild case a little later, which was alleviated by the babysitter's personal efforts as well as by the active interest and interaction of the other two inhabitants of the household. The husband of the babysitter, curiosity driving him, was first on the scene on the initial day, soon followed by the daughter, on her way to school. Steven was admired, cooed at, picked up, held, and loved by all around him from the first moment he was brought into the home.

This was a good beginning. Steven rarely fretted for long after his morning arrival. In effect, more so than it would be the case normally even at home with mother (who would have to do the daily chores too), he received additional attention, opportunity to interact (socialize) and stimulation from three adults. The situation was similar to a household where a child has several siblings except that all the living inhabitants of the home were adults giving him a lot of attention.

The babysitter's husband, very soon, tried to make sure he came home from work a little earlier, so he could play with and hold Steven before the parents arrived to reclaim him. When that occurred, each evening the babysitter reported on

virtually everything that happened that day, including Steven's sounds that he made, laughter, smiles, preferences of food taken and whatever may have been of interest to anyone. The child was hugged and kissed off by babysitter and her husband, then went off with his parents for that day.

Steven was healthy. Naturally, he had bouts of colds, flu and the usual child earaches. Medication, when necessary, was exactingly administered by the babysitter. If the child had a fever or any other symptom that was not present in the early morning when he was left by the parents, this was reported on the phone to the mother, who, if necessary, would make the necessary doctor's appointments or come home to take over (which very rarely happened).

It is not the intention of the author in this paper to furnish a daily diary of the babysitter's life with this little boy. But it is necessary to show in a series of brief sketches the continuum of the caregiving and the resulting development that encompassed Steven's subsequent years. In the following pages a number of vignettes will be offered to illustrate those many, happy days.

He first held a spoon at the babysitter's home, and he was shown, - with painstaking patience, - how to do it properly.

He fed himself from the table as soon as he got done with the usual plethora of "yukky" (his words later on) baby-foods.

No items of value (knick-knacks, flowers, etc.) were ever

removed in the babysitter's house from their normally appointed places. Steven was taught early - without too much trouble - to understand the word "NO" when his little hands moved tentatively for a vase, an ashtray or anything else that was off limits.

He was well-provided with toys by his parents - and then by the family of the babysitter as well - so his interests were kept awake and active. He played well by himself, but when anyone would stoop down to him, the sounds, interactions and playing-together began at once.

It was at the babysitter's that he took his first walking-steps when he was about eleven months old. These steps were from the babysitter's daughter's hands, three full steps, to the babysitter's husband.

It was also there, where the first two-word sentence came out of his mouth (his first words were spoken at home): "Car go!" as he watched from behind the front-door screen the babysitter's husband drive off to work.

The thousands of "why's", after he started talking, kept the whole household at bay. Whoever was around, gave answers. And that is when the story books started to appear. Very soon it became a rule, that right after supper, he would bring one or two such books to the babysitter's husband, and ask: "You read story to me, OK please?" And the little boy moved himself into a comfort-able position in the man's lap, and listened raptly to these stories.

Temper tantrums, during the "terrible two's" were not many and they did not last long. Discipline was either a tap of fingers to his butt, or the pouring of a small glass of cold water on his thrashing legs, which usually ended the performance. While the parents were more tolerant of misbehavior than the babysitter, there were no disagreements on discipline, nor was there any need for its application beyond a sharp "NO" or "ENOUGH."

When he was tired from playing, or just in such a mood, he would climb into the babysitter's lap, spread himself with arms and legs every which way, and fall asleep. The same occurred when - in his peregrinations in the green grass of the front yard or the back - he would experience a bump or a fall. He was not too selective, he would just as soon flee for comfort into the arms of the babysitter, or her husband (if home) for the required comfort.

There were several small children in the neighborhood, who would come over to the house. Steven would play well with them, and share his toys with reasonable agreement, and he evinced few occasions of aggressiveness in these interactions. The only things that he would not share with anyone, except with the babysitter's husband, were his many little model-cars. These he would, - with the husband's cooperation, - roll up and down the stair-risers' base and excitedly laugh, jump up and down, and yell "Eyee, look car go!", as the cars hurtled off onto the carpet of the hallway

("Eyee" meant Leslie, the babysitter's husband's name).

By the time he was three years old, he grasped the duality of his daily situation comically well. If he wanted something that was off-limits, he would often turn down the corners of his lips, and say: "I go see my Mommy and Daddy!" Once, the babysitter obliged, put his boots on, his heavy winter parka, and set him outside on the apartment stoop, saying: "Okay, you go home if that is what you want." And then she hid behind the front-window curtain, watching what Steven would do. He stepped off the stoop, took three-four steps, then turned, climbed back on the stoop and banged on the door. When the babysitter let him in he announced with a half-smile "Too cold, Meeween...Too 'indy out." ("Meeween" meant Maureen; "indy" stood for windy.) When the parents were told of this episode, they laughed and related, that when at home he was unhappy about something, he would say: "I go see Meeween and Eyee." So, the little guy found out early that one can try to play off one set of adults against another.

As he grew to four or five years old, he shared with his father his already mentioned hobby of collecting (and playing with) model cars. With the husband of the babysitter, however, he shared the latter's liking for soccer. At that time, there was a professional soccer league-team in Detroit, and soon he and his parents, went to the games - along with the babysitter's family. The day after the game, in the babysitter's backyard, he would try kicking a soccer-ball, and

imitate the shots and styles of players he saw on the field. "Eeye" became both playmate and coach (Steven started playing soccer on travel-teams when he was 8 years old and by age 12, he was a very good goalie and centerforward).

By age four, he had such good table manners that he could be sat at anyone's table without drawing attention to himself.

Each Christmas, after their own celebration, the parents brought Steven over to the babysitter's, where, - after he delivered his present to "Meeween", - he found a few under the tree with his name on it. Thus, he had two Christmas festivities, one at home, and one at his "other home."

Hundreds of other episodes could be related, but there is no space in this thesis for all of them. His enjoyment of his time at babysitter's house needs no further illustration. His fit into the scheme of the babysitter's home, matching the temperament and emotions of the people around him enriched his life as well as the lives of three other, - formerly strange, - adults.

The foregoing episodes, involving Steven, his parents and the babysitter (and her family) illustrate the existence of an atmosphere that richly establishes the first propositions made in the previous chapter: dual-attachment formation that began virtually instantaneously at the commencement of the babysitting routine. This dual-attachment formation went on simultaneously between him and the parents and him and the babysitter (and her family). It was natural

when one realizes that the milieu in both households, - with few and insignificant differences, - were essentially the same.

His behavior displayed a sense of belongingness to two bases of security simultaneously; there was unquestioned continuity in the established daily routines in both households; and there was a sense of security in all circumstances that normally occurred in his young life. Based on Bowlby's (1953) statement on the decision to leave a child under 3, as a very important matter that should be planned with great care, it can be said that his parents acted with appropriate care and planned well. Their choice of the babysitter was fortuitous. It gave continuity, security, warmth and love that, according to all the authorities so often cited, a youngster needs.

What remains to be seen, is whether the second and third propositions in Chapter IV were also supported. The following discussion addresses this.

According to the reports of his parents, during their vacation trips (once or twice a year), Steven was an outgoing person wherever they took him. He enjoyed traveling, sight-seeing and meeting new people during those trips. When he came home and resumed his daily routine with the babysitters, he would relate all his experiences to her and to her husband and daughter, giving vivid and full descriptions of all he saw and did on those trips.

In his relations with his soccer team-mates, he was sharing, very concerned about the team's success, and willing to make contributions with all his considerable abilities, even then, when the team had a bad season record. He had very good imagination. Especially science fiction stories got his attention. Later, with his father, he engaged in many hours of building model-cars and when he was older his father and he took part in statewide competitions. Besides those spatial activities, he did well in school. In fact, when he was in the third grade, he was invited to participate in an essay competition at the University of Michigan and he received an "honorable" mention for his efforts.

In school, he made a number of friends, to whom he was very loyal, and the experiences with them was happily related to the babysitter and her husband, when he made his very frequent visits.

This brings up the point: when did the routine babysitting cease? He was slightly over six years old, when his parents told us that due to the advanced pregnancy of his mother, she would take her leave of absence from work. Steven then stayed with her, but he asked for, and was allowed to, visit the babysitter's home almost every week for several hours at a time. When the time came for his mother to think of making arrangements to leave him with grandparents, Steven insisted that he stay a few days with the babysitters' while his mother had to be in the hospital.

The call came from his father one night at one o'clock and he announced that he was bringing Steven over at once! Twenty minutes later (they now lived in a house they bought earlier that year, a few miles away), Steven preceded his father into the home, said "Hi" and crawled upstairs into the daughter's empty bedroom and into bed (the daughter was away at college). He stayed there for six days that time.

A year and a half later this was repeated, when another little brother was born to his family.

Due to the transfer of the husband late in 1981, the babysitter's family moved to the Chicago area. However, this did not mean the end of contact. Several times during the years the phone would ring in the new Chicago home, and Steven would be on the other end, picking up a conversation as if it were interrupted just five minutes ago. "Maureen, Leslie, hi, you know what?...." was the start of these conversations usually, and the family would hear all about his latest adventures, whom he met, what new things he did, how his soccer-team was doing and so on.

In the following years, every Christmas, Steven called the babysitter's family. And in the spring of each successive year, during one of his calls, he asked to visit and spend a week or two with the babysitter's family in the summer. This was done, and from the moment Steven walked into the house, he fell back into the routine that he knew when being babysat in the past. Together with the babysitt-er's husband Steven

practiced soccer, learned to play tennis and go for walks. They went to picnics, outings and movies. At other times, Steven spent hours watching favorite video-taped movies on the TV. He asked Maureen to cook his favorite meals and he ate all the foods his mother did not know how to cook.

He related all the news in the family, and every couple of days, he would ask for permission to call home to see how his Mom and Dad were and to see if his younger brothers were leaving his things in his room alone.

He told the babysitter once during a visit, that he considered them a "third-set of grandparents." He found it relaxing and pleasant to spend time with them each year. He cared for them as he cared for his own family.

It is true, though, that he showed very pronounced effects of sibling rivalry which, when one realized that he was an only child for over six years, is not unusual. Perhaps, sibling rivalry was, in part, the reason for his yearly visits to the babysitter's home, where he found peace and quiet and was (again) the center of attention. It must also be mentioned, that while the two homes were of similar circumstances in furnishings and other comforts, there was usually a level of disorder in Steven's home that was not the case at the babysitter's. There was order and neatness there always. Steven seemed to enjoy that, possibly, because there were also less distractions with the absence of his brothers.

Another point that should be noted is that Steven, during

his visits to the babysitters', had usually met with other children of his age living nearby. He made friends with them quickly and joined in their games easily.

From this discussion, especially the reports of his successful interactions in school, team-sports, and school-achievement (usually A or B+ average), it appears, that the second and third propositions of the previous chapter have strong support. The exposure of Steven to one concerned, warm caretaker as well as other children while under the babysitter's care, had helped him to become well socialized. The achievements and deportment in school indicated, that his ability to learn was not impaired by the separation from his parents in his early years. Indeed, his dual-attachment seemed to aid him in adapting better to new, out-of-home circumstances than might otherwise have been the case.

Based on this case study, it seems clear that Steven's life received considerable enrichment that has stayed with him after the babysitting arrangement was concluded. It is true, that he received care in an optimum scenario, where not only the babysitter interacted with him, but so did her whole family. As a result, his earliest schemata formations and maintenance of equilibration as Piaget proposes (1963), were unhampered. If there was separation anxiety (and that was hardly noticable) it was greatly, - and immediately, - lessened by proper and loving intervention. A brighter, more open and secure child went forth to school, who achieved good

results in the new environment, and one, who among his peers,
fit in properly.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

The final chapter of this thesis will consist of conclusions and a discussion of the implications drawn from the synthesis of the existing literature review, and the case study presented. Focus will be on the future of individual childcare, and the necessity for training and preparation of future childcare givers. The summary, therefore, will be from three perspectives, which will parallel the order of the literature review presented in Chapter II: (1) developmental impacts; (2) attachment impacts, and (3) childcare impacts.

Developmental Conclusions and Implications

From a developmental perspective, it can be argued that the proposed favorable impact of individualized childcare is in opposition to the view that children will experience developmental deficiencies if they are cared for by someone other than their mothers. It can be further argued that good childcare can be provided by someone other than the child's mother as long as the childcare giver is carefully selected for this task. To prepare for this type of childcare service educational courses, beginning at the high-school level and continuing in our colleges, should be offered. This would provide for the growing future need of parents to find this type of care for their children.

What should such curriculum contain? At the high-school level the curriculum should be limited to easily understandable, hands-on practice in the hygienic care for small children; a brief introduction to developmental theories, learning systems, child discipline and nutrition guidance. Finally, the curriculum should also include first aid instructions, techniques for managing child's time (play, story-reading/telling, naps, outside physical activities, etc.) and communication skills training between caretaker and child as well as caretaker and parents.

Basically, the same curriculum should be offered at the college level, except that the emphasis of psychological, developmental and learning theories should be focused upon childcare in all its aspects.

Attachment Formation Conclusions and Implications

From the perspective of attachment formation, the above suggested curricula both in high-school and college, would necessitate the study of Bowlby and other proponents of attachment formation. The goal should be the provision for thorough understanding of the effects of separation anxiety, and childhood deprivation. Individuals should also learn to avoid care-habits that might bring on behavioral problems in the children they are going to care for as nannies or babysitters. Furthermore, the curriculum should include instructions for the preparation and knowledge of the

necessary childcare selection criteria since, as Chapter III indicated, the type of babysitter selected by the parents is the real genesis of dual-attachment formation. It is also the only real safeguard against the possible problems that may exist for the child who is not always cared for by his or her mother.

Babysitter (or Nanny) Care Conclusions and Implications

Training in childcare is particularly important for those who will be aspiring to become babysitters or nannies. This is because they will need to know many things beyond the physical aspects of childcare (diapering, changing clothes, etc.). They will need to know how (1) to feed infants; (2) to teach table-manners to young children; (3) to provide physical contact to infant (cuddling) and for the older (toddler) child; (4) to help maintain reasonable attention span to an activity; (5) to correct inappropriate behavior, including aggression; (6) to teach manners, and (7) to awaken children's interests in new experiences and their peers.

It is important that instructions cover the practical aspects of childcare beyond the above enumerated areas. Thus the proper babysitter should be able to administer not only simple first aid, but she should also be able to know what to do in many types of emergency situations, such as fire, natural disasters and other similar instances. Finally, the ideal babysitter or nanny, as the person "in loco parentis,"

should know how to deal with the child in her care in a manner that is very similar to that of the parent. This will maintain security, continuity and stability for the child.

It is recommended that very serious efforts be made to re-examine the entire childcare sector within our society. Training, education and experiential preparations of future childcare givers will have to be organized under some regulatory auspices, in order to assure uniform standards for the caregiving, regardless what form it takes, institutionalized or individual. Careful attention will have to be given to the share of control over the children between parents and the insitutionalized caregivers as well as the individual babysitter. Licensing, for all types of childcare, incidentally, not only institutionalized types, should be standardized; review of qualifications of caregivers must be made regularly. Licensing will also have to be expanded to all personnel involved in providing childcare, which means, testing of prospective workers in this industry should be administered at regular intervals under the auspices of unbiased regulatory agencies. Such agency should be, in this author's opinion, either under the aegis of the state's Department of Education or the Department of Children and Family Services.

If the educational curricula recommended in the foregoing pages are adopted, the certificates (or diplomae) attesting to successful conclusion of the requisite courses could form

the basic qualification to enter the childcare field. However, even after the successful conclusion of such courses at the college level, the potential childcare giver should be required to undergo further on-the-job training under the supervision of an expert in the field for a minimum of three months before she could receive a license to pursue this profession independently.

In this thesis, the focus was on one particular area of childcare and yet, in the effort, many related areas of psychology, education and philosophy were also discussed. In all the foregoing, the child was always the central focus. The child, is one's share in creation, and the parents', as well as the nation's, guarantee of continuity in succeeding generations. The child is a unique human being, a person and a living organism, who contains not only the genes of his or her progenitors, but also the individuality of his or her own self. The care of this precious, living organism is a responsibility transcending many other tasks and, therefore, demands the closest attention that humanity can give to it. Regardless of the theories that one may espouse, the consensus remains the same: the welfare of the child foreshadows the welfare of his community and ultimately, that of his country and all society. If all the requisite steps are taken to assure the optimum chance for normal development, the result will be a human being who will contribute to not only his own, but his neighbor's future benefit. Conversely, if such steps

are not taken, the result might be maladjustment in later stages, lack of contribution to society and a failure as a human being. In today's family economy, the need for both parents to pursue careers appears to be necessary (Browne-Miller, 1990; Clarke-Stewart, 1982, 1989; Fillstrups & Gross, 1982; Hoffman, 1989; Malatesta & Izard, 1984). In a large percentage of families in the United States, the supposedly pre-determined role of the mother as the stay-at-home caregiver of her child and the homemaker is no longer possible. The necessity, therefore, to find the best possible method of providing for the development, attachment formation and happiness through appropriate types of childcare for today's small children must be accomplished.

This thesis posited a choice, which was based on the review of related literature, personal observations, and examination of what is available in the childcare field. The case for the individual babysitter (or nanny) type of childcare was made early in this work. Subsequent findings, examination of various opinions provided further support and logical underpinnings for this thesis. It is concluded, that the only childcare that can assure the best, most child-centered and beneficial outcome is that which is provided (aside from mother) by the individual, personal babysitter. This is the only form of care that comes closest to the no-longer always available mothercare. Mothers today, are on the freeways of the major cities, going to work to earn money and

realize a career. It is a fact that some childcare experts are still sounding warnings against other than mothercare and childcare issues or outcomes are still subjects of discussions. Yet, unavoidably, the next generation in the United States will contain more than half of all children, who will have experienced some form of childcare while their mothers worked full-time, away from the home. The issue that begs the answer is no longer whether childcare is, or is not, beneficial to the child; rather, in light of the reality of the today's family necessities, what kind of childcare should be used?

This paper's resounding answer is: the individualized personal childcare is what should be given preference, because it is the only type of care that provides not only replacement for the mother at work, but also re-creates the proper nurturing conditions for the child. And it is the only type of care that can really act "in loco parentis."

APPENDIX

Parents' Babysitter Selection Check-List

2. The next step will be to weigh the replies marked to the individual questions. Give the weight of 5 for the answer choice you regard as the most important for you, and 1 for the least important, thus weighing all five choices in each question. (Note on the previous page the recommendations in regards to this matter; using the MAUT method for answer choices is not advised.)

3. Now you can compute your rating for each question in the Check-List and mark the score on the margin. The MAUT computation formula is shown below:

Question Weighing 1 X Answer Choice = Question Score

Example: Your most important question, weighed at
9 times the best answer choice, weighed
5 = 45.

Formula= QW X AC = QS (Question Weight times Answer
Choice equals Question Score)

4. The total score, for each applicant interviewed, will be the sum of all question-scores.

Formula: QS 1+QS 2....QS 9= AR

Question Score 1, 2..9, sum of question
scores for the nine questions, equals
Applicant Rating.

5. After you have done the above for all interviewed applicants, simply compare the AR scores against each other to select the apparently most qualified for the position.

C. Other Remarks

1. Check several of the references given by each applicant.

If, as a result of these references, you wish to change any of the scores of certain questions, do so and then proceed to make your comparisons.

2. Discussing the costs of the childcare with each applicant should come AFTER completing your check-list during the interview. You could enter the charges she/he mentions after the last question, and after making the comparisons of the AR scores, regard this issue as the final factor before your decision to hire.

PARENTS' BABYSITTER SELECTION CHECK-LIST

1. NAME: _____ 2. SEX: _____ 3. AGE: _____
4. MARITAL STATUS (Indicate One Choice Only):
- a. Married with children _____
 - b. Married with children, or Widowed, Separated
or Divorced; or children don't live in her home _____
 - c. Single, never married, no children _____
 - d. Single, never married, with (1) child _____
 - e. Single, never married, with children _____
5. EDUCATION (Indicate One Choice Only)
- a. College Degree in or Special Training in Childcare,
Education and/or Psychology _____
 - b. College Degree _____
 - c. Some college, no degree _____
 - d. High School graduate only _____
 - e. Not High School graduate _____
6. ETHNIC/RACIAL/RELIGIOUS ORIGINS (Indicate One Choice Only):
- a. Same as parents and child _____
 - b. Same ethnicity/race, different religion; or same race
and religion, different ethnicity _____
 - c. Different race, same religion _____
 - d. Different race and religion _____
 - e. Different race, ethnicity and religion _____
7. OTHER IMPORTANT FACTORS (Answer Each Question Appropriately)
- a. Childcare Location (Indicate Only One Choice):
 - (1) In child's home, daily _____

- (2) In babysitter's home, daily _____
- b. If Child is taken daily to babysitters, indicate which condition applies: (Distance counted one-way)
- (1) Distance is less than 5 minutes drive _____
- (2) Distance is 6-10 minutes drive _____
- (3) Distance is 11-20 minutes drive _____
- (4) Distance is 21-30 minutes drive _____
- (5) Distance is more than 30 minutes drive _____
- c. Babysitter's Family Income (Choose One Only)
- (1) Approximately equal to parents'/yr _____
- (2) Over parents' income/yr _____
- (3) One third less than parents/yr _____
- (4) One half of parents/yr _____
- (5) On some form of Public Assistance only _____
- d. Babysitter's Health and or Physical Limitations
(Choose Only One Answer as Applicable):
- (1) Healthy, no physical limitations _____
- (2) Healthy, has some physical limitations
(mobility from arthritis, mild condition) _____
- (3) Mild health condition, no physical limitations (slight heart-,diabetes-,arthritis conditions, or similar) _____
- (4) Permanent health condition, medium level;
no physical limitations (except from condition);
or no health condition, but permanent/congenital
physical condition, mild to medium (partial

mobility limitations; can't lift) _____

(5) Healthy, but mobility limitations severe
(crippled, wheel-chair user, etc) _____

e. Babysitter's Experience (Chose Only One Answer)

(1) More than 5 yrs or raising/raised own child _____

(2) Over 3, but less than 5 yrs _____

(3) Over 1, but less than 3 yrs _____

(4) Less than 1 year _____

(5) No experience _____

8. CARETAKING RATIO TO CHILDREN BABYSAT (Suggested rating

should be doubled when weighing the reply-choices, as this is the most important area. This means, use 10 as the best choice, 8 next best, until the least desirable choice is 0.)

a. Takes care of only 1 child (has no children) _____

b. Takes care of a total of 2 children including own _____

c. Takes care of a total of 3 children _____

d. Takes care of a total of 4 children _____

e. Takes care of a total of 5 children _____

f. Takes care of more than 5 children _____

9. PERSONALITY RATINGS (Rate each question from 1 to 5, least ot

most desirable as you perceive applicant during interview and/or as you place importance on the choice):

a. General cheerfulness _____

b. Appearance of maturity _____

c. Ability of oral communications _____

d. Alertness in conversation _____

- e. Relaxation preferences (ask about alcohol/drugs) _____
- f. Existence of references _____
- g. Motivation _____
- h. Ideas on Hygiene _____
- i. Ideas on child-discipline _____
- j. Temperament or mood _____

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Approval Sheet

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies that fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Educational Psychology.

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