

1974

The Stability of the Family Day Care Arrangement: A Longitudinal Study

Arthur C. Emlen

Portland State University, emlen@pdx.edu

Betty A. Donaghue

Quentin D. Clarkson

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Citation Details

Emlen, Arthur C.; Donaghue, Betty A.; and Clarkson, Quentin D., "The Stability of the Family Day Care Arrangement: A Longitudinal Study" (1974). *Regional Research Institute for Human Services Publications*. Paper 41.

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**THE STABILITY
OF THE
FAMILY DAY CARE ARRANGEMENT:
A LONGITUDINAL STUDY**

Emlen-Donoghue-Clarkson

Field Study of the Neighborhood Family Day Care System

THE STABILITY OF THE FAMILY
DAY CARE ARRANGEMENT:
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Corvallis, Oregon: DCE Books, 1972

Reprinted by:

Portland State University
Regional Research Institute
for Human Services
P.O. Box 751
Portland, Oregon 97207

1980

**THE STABILITY OF THE FAMILY DAY CARE ARRANGEMENT:
A LONGITUDINAL STUDY**

by

**Arthur C. Emlen, Project Director
Professor, School of Social Work
Portland State University**

**Betty A. Donoghue
Research Associate**

**Quentin D. Clarkson
Consulting Statistician
Associate Professor
Portland State University**

**A report to the Research and Evaluation Division,
Children's Bureau, Office of Child Development
Department of H.E.W.**

1972

**FIELD STUDY OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD FAMILY DAY CARE SYSTEM
A RESEARCH PROJECT OF THE TRI-COUNTY COMMUNITY COUNCIL IN COOPERATION WITH
PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY
SUPPORTED BY UNITED STATES CHILDREN'S BUREAU GRANT R-287**

**A CONTINUING EDUCATION BOOK
CORVALLIS, OREGON**



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Continuing Education Publications
Ext. Hall Annex, Corvallis, OR 97331
Printed by Oregon State University
Department of Printing

PREFACE

This monograph reports the last of a series of studies conducted from March, 1967, to September, 1972, as part of the Field Study of the Neighborhood Family Day Care System, a research project of the Tri-County Community Council in cooperation with Portland State University and supported by Child Welfare Research Grant No. R 287 from the United States Children's Bureau and Office of Child Development, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The Field Study included a service component known as the Day Care Neighbor Service which provided the Field Study's initial entree to the private world of neighborhood day care and was a continuing source of stimulation for the research program. The Day Care Neighbor Service demonstrated a feasible way of reaching and strengthening informal child care. Especially see the *Handbook* (Collins and Watson, 1969) and *Matchmaking* (Emlen and Watson, 1970).

The Field Study also included two investigations of informal day care behavior as it is found unassisted in the neighborhood. The aim here was to undergird intervention efforts with an understanding of the content, context, and dynamics of the social and economic exchange between working mothers and caregivers of family day care. The first of these, reported in *Child Care by Kith: A Study of the Family Day Care Relationships of Working Mothers and Neighborhood Caregivers* (Emlen, Donoghue, and LaForge, 1972) developed and pretested the measures, accounted for sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and explored differences in the dynamics of arrangements between friends as contrasted to arrangements between strangers. The present study is a sequel investigation though based on an independent sample and having additional research objectives made possible by a longitudinal panel study. As the title of the present work implies, *Stability* measures stabilities and changes in attitudes of mothers and sitters toward the arrangement and toward one another and attempts to account for variation in the duration of the arrangements as well as in the reasons why they terminate.

How well have we succeeded? Does the present study contribute knowledge of family day care that is theoretically important and useful to know? A critical appraisal probably must await the test of application and further study by others. But it may be helpful to suggest our own assessment of its contributions and limitations.

The study has many limitations:

(1) Though a major original contribution to the subject, the study provides a perspective on the problem of stability that is by no means complete. The unit of analysis is the arrangement and is studied only for one arrangement per pair of mothers and sitters. Though the predictive effort for this sample of arrangements was fairly successful, not-insignificant amount of variance of the stability variables was left accounted for. Also, more attention needs to be given to comparing the kinds of persons who continually make unstable arrangements in contrast to those who experience no such difficulty. Likewise further study is needed of continuity in the caregiver role, studying caregivers' careers longitudinally over many arrangements.

(2) The study looks at the child care arrangement largely through the eyes of mothers and sitters. The benefits to the child are as evaluated by them. Though interviewer typology judgments take quality of care

into account in some fashion, the study does not feature systematic, direct observation of the child. It is a social systems study of the arrangement that does not address effects on the child; rather it attempts to see to what extent the perceived benefits to the child become important to mothers and sitters in the context of other considerations in the formation, maintenance, and termination of the arrangement.

(3) Even given the limitations of focus and scope there are defects. We were insufficiently prepared to measure extrinsic factors that proved to be of overriding importance in disrupting the arrangement.

(4) The study has methodological limitations: sample loss, the representativeness of a Portland sample of family day care arrangements, and measurement assumptions for statistical procedures that assume linearity. Still, we think that appropriately cautious interpretation and some of the methodological strengths of the study such as multi-method approaches, make for a valid study of process in family day care that has some generality.

It is our hope that the study reported here will make contributions on a number of theoretical fronts with practical significance as well. In general the study does point up specific weaknesses in family day care that need to be addressed; a variety of strengths that can be relied upon; and a number of attitudes, behaviors, and life circumstances that practitioners, program planners, and policy makers should be cautious about ignoring.

On the theoretical front:

1. **Sociology of the Family.** The study shows how family day care fits into family life for two different families, that of the working mother and of the caregiver. It documents how child care functions are shared with non-relatives substituting for the extended family in a pattern of child care by kith that now outnumbers the use of kin for supplemental child care in the United States.

2. **Family Day Care as Social Exchange.** The study contributes a micro-level analysis of the transaction between working mother and neighborhood caregiver. It examines the benefits to each and how successfully they combine. It shows the conditions under which they will make arrangements with which they will be satisfied and remain satisfied.

3. **A Typology of Family Day Care Arrangements.** In addition to describing types of arrangements, the study contributes to a theory of stability of family day care:

4. **Informal Child Care and Supporting Mechanisms within the Neighborhood: Prosocial Behavior as a Theoretical Basis for Natural Systems of Service Delivery.** In documenting the existence of informal systems of child care by kith, the study uncovers extensive evidence of prosocial behavior in the exchange of benefits. Elements of altruism emerge, of sharing and caring, and commitment to values that are of critical importance in explaining why family day care exists as a social phenomenon. Couple this with discoveries of the Day Care Neighbor Service in which we identified extensive matchmaking behavior by selected women, of information and referral as well as recruitment, and even protective responses. These systems of prosocial behavior that initiate and support informal child care are an integral part of the neighborhood ecology of family day care. Together with informal child care itself these supportive mechanisms form a basis for a natural system of service delivery as advocated in project publications (Collins, 1973; Emlen, 1973). The advocacy of such an approach rests in part on the assumption of the existence of prosocial behaviors to be found in natural settings. The present study locates some of these strengths (as well as weaknesses) in family day care and points to which ones might be reinforced or otherwise modified by intervention programs.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We especially wish to express appreciation for the support from the Children's Bureau and Office of Child Development, Department of Health, Education and Welfare and for the encouragement of Charles Gershenson, Chief of the Division of Research and Evaluation. We are also indebted to Carl V. Sandoz, Executive Director of the Tri-County Community Council and Gordon Hearn, Dean of the School of Social Work at Portland State University for their administrative support of the project.

Alice H. Collins, Director of the Day Care Neighbor Service, and Eunice L. Watson, Social Work Consultant for the Day Care Neighbor Service, provided invaluable stimulation and practical experience in opening up the private world of neighborhood day care for systematic study.

A number of consultants deserve credit but no blame: Christoph M. Heinicke of the Reiss-Davis Child Study Center provided us with wise counsel from the earliest stages of the project and contributed to our understanding of the implications of family day care relationships for the child. Rolfe LaForge, Professor of Psychology at San Francisco State College, worked intensively on the early stages of the project in developing measures and investigating a number of the issues, both substantive and methodological. Other friends whose interest and ideas have been a help are Clyde R. Pope, Mcrwyn Greenlick, Henry S. Maas, Olive M. Stone, and F. Ivan Nye.

How can one adequately thank research assistants and project staff who do everything from typing to coding: Joe LeBaron, Paul Bamford, Linda Champ, Sue O'Keefe, Nancy Whitelaw Mancini, Gail LaForge, and Katie Liedtke. Paul Bamford managed procedures from sample flow to data collection. Nancy Mancini developed the coding layout, did endless meticulous coding, and work on the typology data. Likewise, the panel interviewers, who sustained a high level of interest and competence throughout the study, were: Edith Dzubay, Lyndine McAfee, Dolly Clarizio, Jan Wetzel, Joe LeBaron, Carol Boos, Pat Altermatt, and Betty Glaudin. Special credit goes to Betty Glaudin and Jan Wetzel for the Donovan case study in Chapter XII.

Martha Ann Adelsheim and Laura Rogers set up procedures for obtaining sample, as did Eunice Watson with the continued help of all the day care neighbors. Barbara Burgess reviewed literature on social relations of friends and neighbors. Audrey McCoy helped train the interviewers.

Computer work was done at the University of Washington Computer Center; programmer Charlene Haug was most helpful and the CDC 6400 was no slouch.

Arnold Labby, and earlier Martha Ann Adelsheim, chaired the Tri-County Community Council Board's Advisory Committee for the project.

Most important were our respondents, the many working mothers and caregivers who gave of their time, experience, and understanding of the world of family day care. We hope we have reciprocated by pointing out ways of strengthening their lives and their efforts to provide care for children.

Arthur C. Emlen
Betty A. Donoghue
Quentin D. Clarkson

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Arthur Emlen is Professor, School of Social Work, Portland State University. He received his Masters in Social Welfare from UCLA, his Ph.D. from Tulane University, and did postdoctoral work at the University of California, Berkeley, as an NIMH Special Research Fellow. His specialty is in the field of child welfare. He was Project Director of the Field Study of the Neighborhood Family Day Care System.

Betty Donoghue, Research Associate, brought to the Field Study several years of graduate work in psychology and statistics at the Universities of Nebraska and Portland. Within one year after completion of the Field Study, she completed both a thesis and dissertation, receiving her M.A. and Ph.D. in Psychology from the University of Portland. A working mother herself, she also includes women's careers among her areas of special interest.

Deane Clarkson is Associate Professor serving Portland State University as an applied statistician. He received his Ph.D. in Botany from Oregon State University and completed three years as a postdoctoral fellow in statistical procedures at Oregon State University and North Carolina State University.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This monograph reports a longitudinal study of 116 family day care arrangements, which were followed over time from beginning to end. The data were obtained both from the working mother and from her neighborhood caregiver who were interviewed twice during the arrangement and once after termination in what are referred to as the T₁, T₂, and T₃ interviews. Similar data were obtained from both mothers and caregivers, and the 116 cases represent arrangements on which complete panel data were available.

This is a study of the processes by which these arrangements were made and were kept going, as well as of how long they lasted, who terminated the arrangement and why. The study investigates:

- 1) the life circumstances and attitudes brought to the arrangement by the working mother and by the caregiver;
- 2) the characteristics of the arrangement itself;
- 3) the changing sources and levels of satisfaction resulting from the arrangement and from the interpersonal relationships within it; and,
- 4) the stability outcomes, namely, the duration of the arrangement and the reasons for its termination.

The study describes, analyzes, and attempts to explain these processes as well as to predict the outcomes from events that occurred earlier in time.

That in a nutshell is the design of the study. *The aim of the study* was to investigate the sources of stability and instability of the family day care arrangement. Of primary interest was the question of whether, or to what extent, family day care is an inherently unstable form of social arrangement and, in so far as it is, could an analysis of the sources of instability tell us in which direction to look to plan for policies or direct interventions that could have a stabilizing effect upon this kind of child care arrangement.

Next, some background on family day care, on the importance of the stability issue, on how the research problem was formulated, and on the theoretical framework employed.

Background on Private Family Day Care

The private family day care arrangement has become a prevalent form of supplemental child care in the United States. The use of non-relatives now competes with the use of relatives for child care resources both in the home and out of the home;¹ and in family day care, which is out-of-home care by non-relatives, one now

¹Census data discussed in A.C. Emlen, B.A. Donoghue, and R. LaForge, *Child Care by Kith: A Study of the Family Day Care Relationship of Working Mothers and Neighborhood Caregivers*. (Corvallis, Oregon: DCE Books, 1971), p. 8.

finds twice the number of preschool children as are found in center care of all varieties.² A substitute for the use of kin has quietly emerged as an alternative institution. Like the extended family, it has both strengths and weaknesses. What is clear though is that private family day care arrangements have a firm foundation in consumer demand, and this fact must be understood before the weakness in this form of care can be remedied or prevented.

What are some of the demand factors that have made the informal family day care arrangement such a wide-spread phenomenon?

1) Like all out-of-home forms of child care, family day care is economical and convenient for one or two children, but not for large families; and patterns of use reflect this, with 70 percent of arrangements involving one child under six.³ A disproportionately large number of whites use family day care — 42 percent for white versus 23 percent for blacks in a survey by Parnes of young working women ages 14-24.⁴ White collar workers pay more than blue collar; domestic or non-domestic service workers and whites pay more than blacks in all occupational categories. Since family day care is more expensive than care by relatives either in or out of home, it is small wonder that it is a more usable resource for white collar whites.

2) It accommodates children of any age and it is more likely than center care to accommodate all of the children in the family, both the pre-schoolers and the older ones after school.⁵ However, it "specializes" in children under six. Two-thirds of the children of working mothers are of school age, but two-thirds of the children in family day care are under six.⁶ The young family of these working mothers finds a complementary fit with the somewhat older family of the caregiver who completes her partially empty nest with day care children.⁷

3) Distance, transportation time and strain are minimized for child and parent. The present study replicates the results of our previous Portland study showing that nearly three-quarters of the arrangements may be found within one mile of home.⁸ Beneath this statistic lies a relationship that Zipf calls the "principle of least effort;" the cumulative percentage of arrangements increases as the logarithm of the distance.⁹

4) It is a neighborhood phenomenon affording a familiar situation, a socially approachable resource, a consumer-controllable selection process and degree of participation, plus a manageable and tolerable delegation of authority and responsibility without threat to feelings of parental possessiveness.¹⁰

²Despite increases in center care, the proportions have not changed radically from the special census figures of Seth Low and Pearl G. Spindler, *Child Care Arrangements of Working Mothers in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 71; Jody R. Johns, et al, *Day Care Survey 1970* (Bladensburg, Maryland: Westinghouse Learning Corporation and Westat Research, Inc., 1971). For comparison see Charles L. Schultze, et al, *Setting National Priorities The 1973 Budget* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1972), p. 261.

³*Child Care by Kith*, pp. 51-54.

⁴Herbert S. Parnes, et al, *Years for Decision: A Longitudinal Study of the Educational and Labor Market Experience of Young Women*, Manpower Research Monograph No. 24 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 132-140

⁵*Child Care by Kith*, pp. 51-52.

⁶A.C. Emlen and E.L. Watson, *Matchmaking in Neighborhood Day Care: A Descriptive Study of the Day Care Neighbor Service* (Corvallis, Oregon: DCE Books, 1970), p. 57.

⁷*Child Care by Kith*, p. 49 and Chapter V.

⁸*Ibid*, p. 59.

⁹*Ibid*.

¹⁰*Ibid*, p. 110.

5) Use of this type of care, that is, care by non-relatives out of the home, does reflect a pattern of preferences to some extent. In the previous study it was found that family day care users appeared to be avoiding the use of relatives.¹¹ They might have someone come in, but not a relative. They would rather stay home themselves or have a sitter come in (neither option being economically feasible), but the use of a neighborhood sitter ranked high for most and was preferred to a center.

6) As an experience for the children it is viewed generally in a favorable light by its users and by the caregivers.¹² Despite the strains of achieving and maintaining this form of arrangement, both the caregivers and the users express satisfaction with the results including its benefits for the child.¹³ And investigators have not found this confidence misplaced in the great majority of cases, although the developmental effects of family day care on the child have not been investigated. The quality of care probably is not far different from care received in the users own family homes.

Studies of private, unlicensed family day care have been conducted in Spokane,¹⁴ Portland,¹⁵ Pasadena,¹⁶ and New York City,¹⁷ with the Western studies presenting a more favorable view. All report the caregivers as generally nurturant and capable women, the New York results differing in two respects: sub-standard housing and a preference for center care. The New York City sample was largely black and Puerto Rican, and the center care preference appears to be attributable to the poor housing and neighborhood conditions, as well as to collecting the sample from lists of those family day care users who had applied to centers.

Briefly, what are some of the strengths and limitations of the private family day care arrangement as a child-rearing environment, in so far as there is evidence at this time? The caregiver is apt to be mature, experienced, capable, warm, nurturant, and relatively child-oriented. Her motivations for giving care tend not to be mercenary or economically driven, but to involve a modest degree of economic need and a considerable expressive need to be caring for children.¹⁸ Only a small number of children are typically found in her care¹⁹ — an overriding fact that assures a number of related benefits. It affords the possibility of availability, individualization, and responsiveness by the caregiver to the affective needs and cognitive interests of the child, comparing favorably with the typical day care center.²⁰ In addition to the opportunities for spontaneous play,

¹¹*Ibid*, pp. 62-65.

¹²*Ibid*, pp. 107-109, 188.

¹³*Ibid*, Chapters VIII and IX.

¹⁴Joseph B. Perry, "The Mother Substitutes of Employed Mothers: An Exploratory Inquiry," *Marriage and Family Living*, 23 (November 1961), pp. 362-67; also see chapters by Perry and Nye in Nye and Hoffman's *Employed Mother in America*.

¹⁵Field Study of the Neighborhood Family Day Care System of which this is the fourth major report.

¹⁶June S. Sale with Yolanda L. Torres, "I'm Not Just a Babysitter:" *A Descriptive Report of the Community Family Day Care Project* (Pasadena: Pacific Oaks College, 1971).

¹⁷Elizabeth Vernon and Milton Willner, *Magnitude and Scope of Family Day Care Problems in New York City* (New York: Medical and Health Research Association of New York City, 1966); M. Willner, "Unsupervised Family Day Care in New York City," *Child Welfare*, 45 (June 1969), pp. 342-47; M. Willner, "Family Day Care: An Escape from Poverty," *Social Work*, 16 (April 1971), pp. 30-35.

¹⁸*Child Care by Kith*, Chapter V.

¹⁹*Ibid*.

²⁰Elizabeth Prescott, "Group and Family Day Care: A Comparative Assessment," *Family Day Care West: A Working Conference* (Pasadena: Pacific Oaks College, 1972).

family day care provides new learning and socialization experiences the child would not have at home, including cross-age associations which typically are present in the family day care setting.

On the other hand, the caregivers may vary widely in their motivations, capabilities, and talents for child-rearing, and the language stimulation, as well as social and emotional benefits may be limited in some families. Though relatively infrequent, various cases of exploitation, neglect, and abuse do occur, as well as unsafe housing, poor health conditions, and inadequate situations for play. Finally, of special relevance for this study, family day care arrangements may lack stability, resulting in discontinuity of care.

Importance of the Stability Issue

There are several reasons why the stability issue is an important one to focus on. In the first place pilot studies²¹ revealed that some working mothers make one poor arrangement after another – arrangements with which they are unhappy at the start or with which they may be happy to start but which soon turn sour because they are unable to manage successfully the relationships involved. For the working mother the end of one arrangement frequently means the desperate search for a new arrangement, perhaps absence from the job, or sometimes even the loss of a job. Likewise, caregivers in family day care hate to lose the children they have, and turnover in care appears to affect adversely their attitudes toward giving care.

For the child instability of the arrangement means discontinuity of care and the loss of important relationships. Stability cannot be equated with quality of care since even pathological relationships may have strong bonds, be viewed with satisfaction by both adult parties, and have a permanence that permits the arrangement to persist a long time. It is equally true that brief arrangements may be planfully made for short-term purposes, understandable for the child, even contributing to his experience of variety, and satisfactory to all concerned. For some children, however, instability of the arrangement can be part of and contribute further to what is already a chaotic pattern of life that makes possible only shallow attachments and a life of uncertainty. The effects of such patterns of day care have not been studied, but the assumption was made that repeated changes in child care arrangements could adversely affect the development of the child and that continuity of the arrangement itself is one of the necessary conditions for sustaining meaningful relationships for the nurture and socialization of the child.

The Concept of Stability

The stability issue is an important one to focus on also because it provides us with a fruitful way of analyzing the dynamics of the family day care arrangement. To proceed, though, we need to have an understanding of the concept of stability. For reasons which will become apparent, we define stability of the arrangement as a quality of robustness, of being well-made, held together by internal social bonds, and capable of permanence. It is important to note that stability is not equated with one of its empirical indicators, that of duration, but rather is defined in terms of having the *capability* of lasting a long time or at least of not breaking up before it has served its purpose.

Other indicators of that capability were used in the study – namely, measures of a growing dissatisfaction with the arrangement that becomes the reason for its termination. Note, however, that the satisfaction/dissatisfaction measures used as indicators of stability in this study are *outcome* measures having to do with the termination of the arrangement while all other measures are predictor variables used as indicators of the *sources* of stability or instability. Thus, we attempted to avoid circularity, but at the same time not to define stability too narrowly in terms of duration.

²¹Alice H. Collins, *The Day Care Exchange Project, Final Report* (1966). Also, G. W. Perry, et al, *Social Exchange in the Private Family Day Care Arrangement*, Portland State University, MSW Thesis, 1967.

Two examples will make clear why *duration of the arrangement* does not by itself adequately represent what we mean by stability:

- 1) A successful and otherwise stable arrangement of three months duration, one that could well have continued for three years, ends because the husband is transferred to another city.
- 2) A hastily made arrangement, ill-fated by misunderstanding, finally ends after three months of growing dissatisfaction.

If most cases were like these, then duration and satisfaction would have a zero correlation, obscuring what lies beneath.

In other words, arrangements may terminate for *extrinsic* reasons as well as because of dissatisfaction with the arrangement itself or with the social relationships involved. When this happens, the arrangement, though temporary, is not an inherently unstable system; the changes occur in relation to the job, residence, family plans, or other life circumstances. These constitute changes in the extrinsic reasons for which this particular arrangement was made.

There are instances in which a child care arrangement is made primarily because of its benefits for the child, and occasionally a family will move to be near a caregiver who is moving, so as to be able to continue using her. But for the most part, use of child care is contingent upon continued work or similar out-of-home pursuits, husband's job, convenient residence, and other extrinsic conditions.

Of course, a stable family day care arrangement should be capable of lasting a long time. But how long is long? It is a relative matter and depends on the phenomenon in question and on what is being compared. Not very much is known, however, about the durations of this or any other kind of supplemental child care arrangement. Some perspective on this is provided, however, by several independent samples from this series of studies in Portland. These samples of family day care arrangements and their duration are presented in Box 1.1 in order of increasing median duration of the arrangement. The list includes the present study.

It is clear from these durations not only that different sampling frames capture different average durations, but there is a wide variation in the duration of arrangements that calls for explanation. How do we account for the fact that some family day care arrangements last for many years and play an important part in the lives of all involved while the quick break-up of other arrangements causes distress. Our previous study, which sampled ongoing arrangements, gave a picture of the stability that is possible. Half of these lasted over one year and there was ample evidence to account for this stability in the satisfaction and life circumstances of both parties.

Of course the sample of arrangements that already were ongoing and approached at mid-stream could provide the basis for a study that was more cross-sectional than longitudinal. Each arrangement was caught for a single picture at one point in its duration. Some were near their inception, most were well established, some near termination. Only a longitudinal study, a panel study, would be sufficiently powerful to permit convincing inferences about the sources of stability and instability based on the changes in arrangements over time.

For this task the present study gains from the preliminary one two strengths of particular importance. The attitude scales used in the longitudinal study were developed, pretested and refined by factor analyses in the earlier study, *Child Care by Kith*, which was based on a different sample. The present study then has the advantage of being able to replicate earlier results using measures that have shown their stability with two independent samples.

**MEDIAN DURATION OF INDEPENDENT
SAMPLES OF PRIVATE FAMILY DAY
CARE ARRANGEMENTS**

<u>Sample Characteristics</u>	<u>Median Duration</u>
<p>301 terminated arrangements</p> <p>Known about through the Day Care Neighbor Service 3/1/67 to 2/28/69. Sample biased by exclusion of continuing arrangements or those with unknown durations. Also sample includes irregular arrangements made for reasons other than full- or part-time work, and the sampling frame caught arrangements of durations less than a week.</p>	1 month
<p>35 terminated arrangements</p> <p>Sample was of working mothers most of whom received supplemental AFDC assistance and showed a child care item in their budgets. Interviewed in Spring, 1966.</p>	2 months
<p>180 new arrangements (panel study)</p> <p>Sample of beginning arrangements of working mothers located through employment, classified ads of caregivers, and neighborhood contacts of the Day Care Neighbor Service, 1968-70. Sampling tended to miss arrangements that terminated within the first week. In this panel study both mothers and caregivers were interviewed in three waves of data collection during the arrangement.</p>	3 months
<p>22 continuing arrangements</p> <p>Current arrangements from a neighborhood survey, resurveyed one year later, 1965.</p>	6 months
<p>146 continuing arrangements — at time of interview at time of followup</p> <p>Sample of working mothers located through places of employment, 1967-68, and having a current arrangement at time of contact for interview.</p>	6 months to 1 year

In the present study, the arrangements were shorter but the distribution of durations showed sufficient range to be usable as an indicator of stability. The durations ranged from less than one week to more than 99 weeks. Of the 116 cases, 39 terminated within the first two months and 28 arrangements lasted more than six months. The median duration was approximately three months. This distribution is shown in Chapter XI along with the analysis of the other major indicator of stability, that of reason for termination.

Questions Addressed by the Study

Having fixed in our minds, then, the definition of stability of the arrangement, we can return to the central aim of the study which is to account for the relative stability and instability of the arrangement in terms of the possible sources of instability. In assessing the sources of instability, the study takes the form of posing questions about alternative explanations that could provide us with a guide to the formulation of policy and intervention programs.

- 1) To what extent is instability of the arrangement attributable to the working mother, her life and circumstances, her attitudes and behaviors?
- 2) To what extent is instability of the arrangement attributable to the instability of the child care resource, that is, to the caregiver and her life and circumstances or her attitudes and behaviors?
- 3) To what extent is instability of the arrangement attributable to the social interaction between the mother and the caregiver and child within the arrangement, that is to difficulties within the interpersonal situation?
- 4) To what extent are duration and reasons for termination of the arrangement attributable to extrinsic factors that would affect the stability not just of *this* arrangement but of any arrangement?
- 5) Are there socioeconomic conditions that are predictive of the outcome of the arrangement?
- 6) Is there a prevailing systematic pattern to the selection process, to the matching of mother and caregiver, and if so is it associated with stability of the arrangement? Are there deviant cases that depart from the usual pattern and if so are they less stable or do they have some other stabilizing basis?
- 7) What kinds of changes take place in the specific satisfaction and dissatisfaction reported during the arrangement, and how much change and dissatisfaction can the arrangement tolerate without disruption? In general, does dissatisfaction increase or decrease during the course of the arrangement?
- 8) When dissatisfaction is the reason for termination, does termination tend to happen early? Does initial dissatisfaction result in early termination while it takes extrinsic reasons to terminate an established arrangement?
- 9) Do people use extrinsic reasons to justify more politely their termination that really is due to more latent dissatisfactions?
- 10) Are there different types of arrangements for which the bonds are different, which have different sources of stability?

Theoretical Approach

Implicit in the above list of questions and in how the research problem was formulated is, if not a well-developed theory, at least a conceptual framework for the development of a theory of the family day care arrangement. The family day care arrangement was viewed as a temporary social system which, although created, modified, maintained, and terminated primarily through the actions of the care user and the caregiver, is an open-boundaried system very much contingent upon the economic and social purposes for which it is created.

Not only is it a temporary form of social organization by intent, its existence is also at least as precarious as the combined stability of residence of both the mother and the caregiver to say nothing of how long the mother keeps her job or continues in the work role. The parties to the family day care arrangement do not have full control over such external sources of discontinuity for the arrangement. Arrangements are an extension of the family life of two separate households and are contingent upon the plans of these families as well as on the world of work and how the hours and patterns of employment can be accommodated by the two families.

The child also affects what the arrangement is like and how long it will last, and the older child, for example, may become a main channel of communication between the mother and caregiver. Ultimately, however, the child affects the stability of the arrangement through how his behavior and adjustment are perceived and evaluated by the two principal adults who contracted the arrangement. The heaviest burden for the creation and maintenance of the arrangement falls on them.

Viewing the family day care arrangement as a social system, therefore, focuses attention on the stability issue and forces us to delineate the boundaries of this temporary and very open system, weighing the internal versus the external sources of its stability and instability.

Social Exchange as a Framework. Since the mother and the caregiver are the two main contracting parties to the arrangement, the study concentrates on how the arrangement is perceived and evaluated by them. The literature on social exchange²² was turned to as a general guide in developing a comprehensive model of social interaction in dyadic relationships, and the work of Nye²³ on the roles and satisfactions of the working mother was used.

At once an economic exchange of money for services and a social exchange of great complexity, the transaction between mother and caregiver requires not only that they communicate the norms or mutual expectancies that the culture has not made clear for this form of social arrangement; they must also evaluate their need for the arrangement, their ability to get along in it, and their satisfaction and dissatisfaction with diverse aspects of it. Their evaluations of the situation, if sufficiently detailed and complete, provide us with a way of assessing at different points in time the changing state of the interpersonal system they have created and from this of predicting subsequent behavior and events within the arrangement. Thus, this report places heavy emphasis on describing how the family day care arrangement is perceived and evaluated both by the mothers who use it and by the neighborhood sitters who provide the care.

²²George C. Homans, "Social Behavior as Exchange," *American Journal of Sociology*, 62 (May 1968), pp. 587-606.

John W. Thibaut and Harold H. Kelley, *The Social Psychology of Groups* (New York: Wiley, 1959).

Peter M. Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life* (New York: Wiley, 1964).

²³Ivan F. Nye and Lois W. Hoffman, *The Employed Mother in America* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963).

This means we have been able to identify the sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the child care arrangement. We examined what mothers and caregivers expected of one another and how satisfied they were with the results in the many-faceted relationships involved. Satisfaction scales developed for the mothers included such sources of satisfaction as the adjustment of the child, the sitter's concern for the child and the possessiveness of the sitter. Sitter scales included the satisfaction with the adjustment of the child, with the mother's concern for her child, with the long hours of child care and planfulness of the mother. Perhaps more important for policy and planning, however, is the identification of some of the economic, social, and psychological conditions under which mothers and caregivers will make arrangements with which they will be satisfied and which will endure when they want them to.

A detailed account of the development of attitude scales appears in the previous study reported in *Child Care by Kith*. Attention was paid to four major kinds of evaluation of the arrangement by the working mother and her caregiver:

1) *Satisfaction*. Major sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction that arise for mothers and sitters both from within this particular arrangement and from general circumstances external to the arrangement. For example, the mother's satisfaction with the sitter's concern for the child or the mother's satisfaction with the dual role of working mother and homemaker.

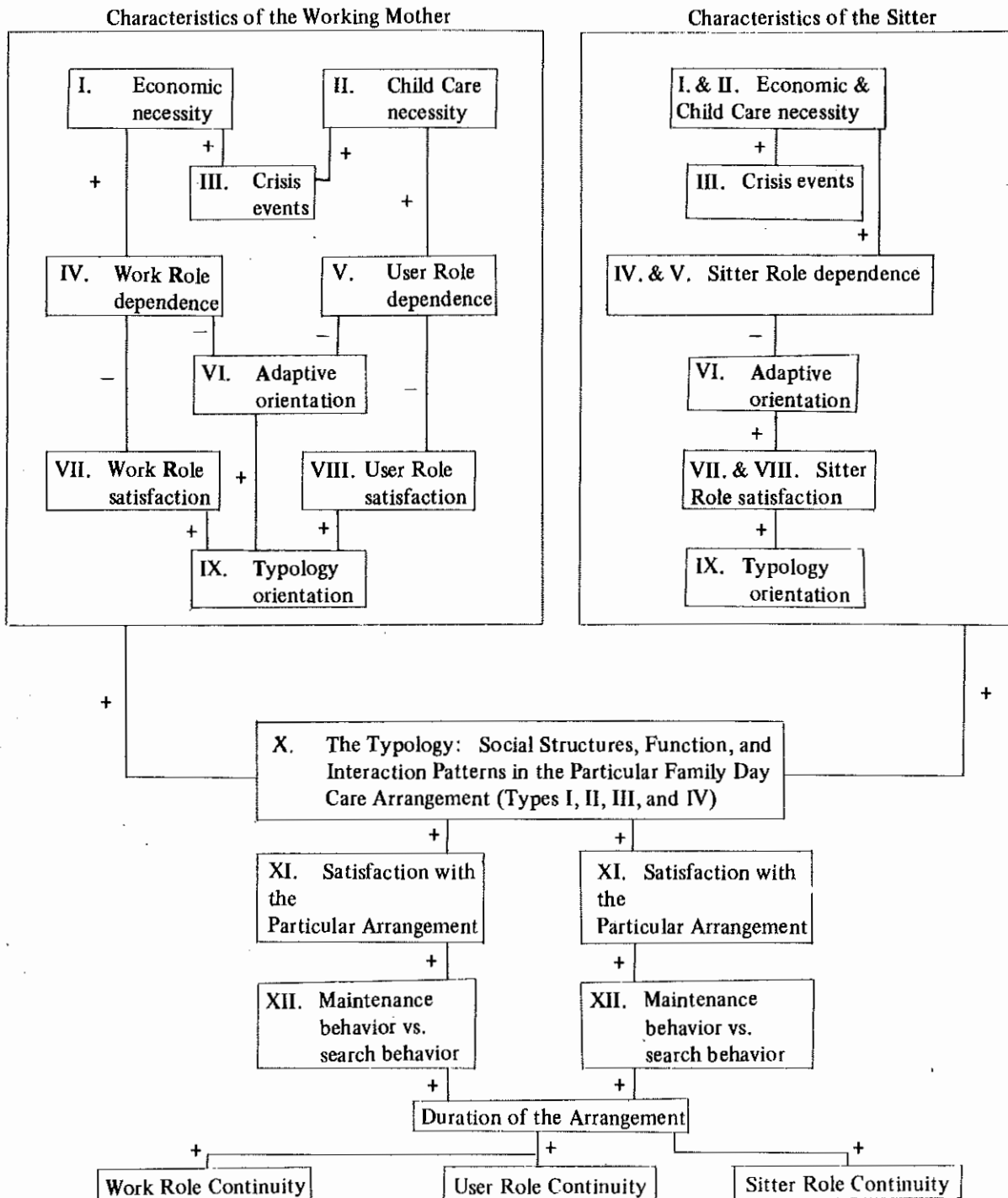
2) *Dependence*. The kinds of constraints which mothers and sitters feel themselves to be under in making their arrangements such as the economic need to work or the economic need to babysit.

3) *Adaptive Orientation*. An adaptive or maladaptive orientation toward the management of their interpersonal relations within the family day care arrangement, for example a retreatist versus a cooperative orientation.

4) *Typology*. The expectations of mothers and sitters in looking for an arrangement of a preferred kind based on such dimensions as the degree of inter-family closeness sought, the child-orientedness of the arrangement and the degree of planful, instrumental organization of the arrangement. In the study an attempt is made to relate these perceptions and evaluations of the arrangement to parallel ratings by the interviewers and to objective "hard variable" demographic characteristics of the lives of the mothers and caregivers.

A more explicit statement of how the subject was approached is the diagram presented in Box 1.2. The diagram shows the domains of behavior that we attempted to measure and the relationships we expected to find. The diagram is taken without modification from the original model that was formulated prior to the collection of data (Progress Report No. 2, Nov. 1, 1967). This conceptual mapping of expected relationships derived in part from the general theoretical literature on social exchange and in part from a pilot effort to conceptualize and measure what experience told us were the relevant variables to consider in understanding those forces within and impinging upon the family day care arrangement. These forces include "hard-variable" social and economic circumstances as well as their perception and evaluation by the two principal partners to the arrangement. In gross terms, some domains were characteristics that a working mother or a sitter would take to any arrangement she might make, while other domains were concerned with social interaction within the particular arrangement. When we came to the measurement of satisfaction with *this* particular arrangement, a much more detailed attempt was made to measure a variety of specific sources of satisfaction with the arrangement.

Box 1.2 **DIAGRAM OF EXPECTED RELATIONSHIPS AS ORIGINALLY FORMULATED**



CHAPTER II

METHOD

This chapter describes and evaluates the methods we used in the study. It tells how the sample was obtained, discusses what kind of measures were used, and outlines the strategy followed in analyzing the data. The purpose of the chapter is to alert the reader to the strengths and limitations of the study. These should be kept in mind in evaluating the reported results and in generalizing from them.

Since each chapter of this monograph reports what can almost be regarded as a separate substudy in itself, many of the methodological issues involved are reserved for the separate chapters. In addition, many of the details concerning the development of the measures used were described with some care in the first study reported in *Child Care by Kith: A Study of the Family Day Care Relationships of Working Mothers and Neighborhood Caregivers*. (1971)

Sampling Frame

The sampling frame for our previous study was a cinch. Working mothers were located through their places of employment, screened regarding the ages of their children and the type of child care arrangements they had, the family day care users were interviewed regarding their arrangement, and then in turn the caregivers they were using were also interviewed. It was a sample of current, ongoing arrangements. For the present study, however, the problem was more difficult. Because the problem was different the sampling frame had to be different. For a longitudinal study we had to catch new arrangements just as they were beginning. In most organizations or communities no formal mechanism exists that can alert one to the formation of informal, private family day care arrangements. The employers who had helped us before to locate mothers with ongoing arrangements proved unable for the most part to notify us about those mothers who were about to make new arrangements or had just done so. They did not know themselves. Some of our sample was obtained in this way, however, through the use of a screening device similar to the one used in the previous study but adapted to the future tense. See Figure 2.1.

Likewise, the screening device was used with employment placement agencies both public and private on the theory that working mothers who were looking for jobs would also be looking for new day care arrangements some of which would be family day care arrangements. Such sources and some other miscellaneous sleuthing provided us with 39 of the 116 cases reported in this study.

An additional 40 cases were obtained by following up on classified ads in the newspaper. The daily classified ads under the heading of "Babysitting" were pursued systematically by telephone. This provided us with a caregiver sampling frame and it was a productive source that did not require screening regarding the type of day care but only regarding the presence of a new arrangement. The caregivers who advertised were in many cases followed up several times by telephone before they were caught with a new arrangement.

The remaining 37 cases of the 116 followed in the panel study were located through the Day Care Neighbor Service. The Day Care Neighbor Service was a service component of the Field Study, the purpose of which was

FIELD STUDY OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD FAMILY DAY CARE SYSTEM

2856 NORTHWEST SAVIER
PORTLAND, OREGON 97210

TEL. 228-7263

Dear Working Mother:

Making babysitting arrangements is difficult for many mothers. We want to find out how to make this task easier. That is what our "Day Care Study" is designed to do. Only you can tell us what we need to know, however, and we would appreciate your answering the questions on this page. Some names will be drawn for personal interviews.

Your answers will be kept confidential. Neither your employer nor your babysitter will know your answers. Please use the business reply envelope that came with this letter. Seal it and return it by mail or by leaving it with your employer.

Name: _____ Tel.No. _____

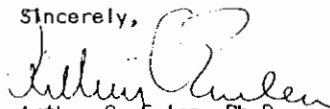
Address: _____

1. How old are your children? Circle age of each child (twice if two of same age).
Under 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 or over
2. Are you applying for a job? Yes No. Do you have a job now? Yes No.
What is the job? (For example, waitress, file clerk, power machine operator, etc.)

3. Do you think you are likely to be starting a new babysitting arrangement within the next month? Yes No Comments _____
4. Have you made a new babysitting arrangement within the last week or two? Yes No
When did it start? _____
5. Check the plan below that best describes your arrangement:
 - a) Child at the home of a neighbor, friend or sitter who is not a relative.
 - b) Child at the home of a relative. What relation? _____
 - c) Child at a day care center or nursery.
 - d) Child at home and cared for by my husband.
 - e) Child at home and cared for by his older brother or sister.
 - f) Child at home and cared for by a relative. What relation? _____
 - g) Child at home and cared for by a sitter who comes in.
 - h) Other arrangements. Please describe. _____

Thank you for your help. We want to hear from you as soon as possible, if you have made a new babysitting arrangement recently, or if you expect to be making one soon.

Sincerely,



Arthur C. Emlen, Ph.D.
Project Director

A RESEARCH PROJECT OF THE COMMUNITY COUNCIL IN COOPERATION WITH PORTLAND STATE COLLEGE
SUPPORTED BY UNITED STATES CHILDREN'S BUREAU GRANT R-287

to gain access to a wide cross-section of day care arrangements at the neighborhood level through a network of women who were found giving day care in their own homes and who also were found being helpful to their neighbors in meeting daily babysitting crises. Continually responding in moments of need they helped their neighbors to find and arrange child care. These "day care neighbors" as they were called were recruited by the project to develop their role as part of a service. Since it was a natural role they were discovered to be performing already, they were paid but \$25 a month, and through expert consultation they were encouraged to continue, to improve, and to increase their neighboring activities. Since the day care neighbors knew when arrangements were being made in their particular localities, the communication network of the Service supplied us with a source of samples for the research. This sampling frame provided us with the names of both mothers and caregivers who had just made arrangements or who were about to.

These three sampling frames were enough different to provide us with a broad cross-section of working mothers and of caregivers. This was important even if it was not possible to obtain a probability sample. Successful probability samples of private family day care arrangements, even of ongoing ones, have been exceedingly difficult to achieve because of the informality of the behavior, because of the tendency of some mothers to deny they are using this form of care, because of the tendency of many caregivers to babysit for a friend or neighbor without realizing that they are giving day care, and because these kinds of informal arrangements are unlicensed and generally unconnected with any formal organization. Thus, being able to obtain a sample of new arrangements and to obtain interviews with both the mother and the caregiver within two or three weeks of the beginning of the arrangements was a considerable feat.

The fact remains however that it was not a probability sample and therefore its limitations need to be pointed out and the sample compared to other known samples. Unfortunately there are no data available from the census and day care surveys that provide a precise basis for comparison, and the parameters of our population are not yet sufficiently known. Relevant comparisons are made however in various chapters of this study. For example, the family incomes of the working mothers of our sample compare fairly closely with those reported in the Westinghouse-Westat Survey of family day care homes. On the other hand, ours is a biased sample in the number of the children under six found in the caregiver's home, being somewhat above the mean of our previous sample and of the national average.

The reason for this is that the sample includes a disproportionately small number of arrangements made between friends. Ours is a special sample that consists primarily of arrangements made between strangers who had no prior acquaintance or relationship established prior to the formation of this arrangement. The majority of the sample did not know each other before the working mother responded to the caregiver's classified ad in the newspaper or prior to being referred to a caregiver by the Day Care Neighbor Service. Only 15% of the sample regarded themselves as friends to begin with. From the previous study *Child Care by Kith* we knew that women who take care of the child of a friend generally only have that one arrangement and there is but one child they are caring for other than their own. Caregivers who advertise in the newspaper however are more likely to have children of two families involving three day care children. In Table 2.1 it may be seen that counting all of the children under six at the sitter's (including the caregiver's own), the caregivers who advertised had the most children while those referred by the Day Care Neighbor Service had the least.

In addition, the three sample sources differed significantly in mother's earnings (not family income). The mothers using the caregivers who advertised had the lowest earnings, the working mothers located through employment placement had the highest earnings, and the mothers located through the Day Care Neighbor Service had the widest range of earnings evenly distributed. See Table 2.2.

On other key variables the sample sources did not differ significantly. See Table 2.3. There were no differences in the sitter's day care earnings or family income nor in their global satisfaction with the

Table 2.1 Sample Sources and Number of Children Under Six at Sitters (Including Caregiver's Own)

No. children	Sample Sources			
	Neighborhood	Ads	Employment	
6 or more	4	9	8	
5	6	9	1	
4	2	8	10	
3	11	6	11	
1 or 2	14	8	9	
Σ	37	40	39	116

$$\chi^2 = 17.050$$

$$df = 8, p < .05$$

Table 2.2 Sample Sources and Working Mother's Own Earnings

Earnings	Sample Sources			
	Neighborhood	Ads	Employment	
\$5000 or over	12	7	13	
\$4000-4,999	9	7	16	
\$3000-3,999	8	16	9	
less than \$3000	8	10	1	
Σ	37	40	39	116

$$\chi^2 = 19.175$$

$$df = 6, p < .01$$

**Table 2.3 Chi Square Comparison of Sample Sources
on Family Income, Earnings, Duration, Number
of Children under Six, and Satisfaction with Arrangement**

	χ^2	df	p
Sitter's family income	11.122	8	p<.20
Sitter's day care earnings	5.277	8	p<.80
Number of children <6 at sitter's	17.050	8	p<.05*
Sitter's satisfaction at T ₁ (ladder)	2.870	4	p<.70
Sitter's satisfaction at T ₃ (ladder)	4.945	8	p<.80
Mother family income	4.635	6	p<.70
Mother's own earnings	19.175	6	p<.01**
Mother's satisfaction at T ₁ (ladder)	8.330	6	p<.30
Mother's satisfaction at T ₃ (ladder)	3.085	4	p<.70
Duration of the arrangement	2.234	2	p<.50

arrangement at the beginning or end as measured by a "ladder scale." Also there was no difference between the three groups in the duration of the arrangements they made.

Representativeness of Sample with Respect to When the Arrangement Began and Ended

The data collection for the panel study began in September 1969 and extended for almost one calendar year. With the exception of the summer months of June, July, and August, all other months of the year are well represented by new starting arrangements. The frequencies for startings and endings are shown in Table 2.4. The low number for December reflects not only the disruptions of the Christmas season but also the unusually severe snowstorms that occurred that year. The high number of arrangement endings in June reflects the fact that older members of the family frequently are pressed into service to look after the preschoolers when school lets out. For the purposes of this study arrangements were regarded as terminated if they ended for the summer even though a number of them might resume again during the fall.

The Screening Process

A screening process was necessary in order to arrive at a sample of new family day care arrangements. Most of the screening took place by telephone or personal contact prior to conducting a panel interview. However some cases had to be eliminated after the first interview, during which it became clear that the cases were not eligible for the sample. For example, three cases were eliminated because the mother was a student and not a working mother. In many cases a mother who was a potential candidate for the sample decided not to go to

Table 2.4 Frequency of Arrangement Startings and Endings by Month of the Year

	Began	Ended
September	15	6
October	12	5
November	11	8
December	3	7
January	16	11
February	13	11
March	21	8
April	13	11
May	11	8
June	0	28
July	1	10
August	0	3
	<hr/> 116	<hr/> 116

work or quit working or was laid off or turned to babysitting herself. Likewise caregivers were found not to be giving care any longer. In addition to screening out those ineligible by virtue of their work role, others were discovered not to be instances of family day care after all. Usually it meant care was being given by a relative, a nonrelative who came in or it was some form of center care. Agency supervised family day care was not included in the sample. Mutual aid arrangements that were not paid were not included and arrangements that involved less than ten hours per week were not included. Sixteen cases were eliminated because the mother had had a previous arrangement with this sitter or made a new arrangement with a sitter already in the sample; the sample had to consist of independent arrangements. One motherless family was eliminated because the interview schedule did not fit such circumstances.

Thirty-five cases had to be rejected because the arrangements when discovered already were too old to follow in a panel study in which we wanted a reasonable comparability among the T_1 interviews as distinct from the T_2 interviews. Because of the difficulty of locating new arrangements in time to get interviews with both mother and sitter within a week or so of beginning, we allowed ourselves some latitude. Eighty percent of the T_1 interviews however, were conducted within three weeks of the beginning of the arrangement, and the T_2 interviews were conducted approximately three weeks to one month later. Our idea was that initial

impressions regarding the formation of the arrangement were important to catch and that many changes would occur early in the arrangement. As many of the T_2 interviews as possible had to be conducted before the arrangement ended.

An additional 12 cases had terminated after being contacted but prior to obtaining a T_1 interview and this will be pointed out in greater detail in Chapter VI. The sample is somewhat biased in durations by the loss of arrangements that lasted less than a week.

Refusals

In 24 cases we were unable to locate or make contact with the mother or the sitter, and 59 cases involved a refusal to be interviewed by either the mother or the sitter. Sample loss due to refusal poses a serious source of bias. By "refusal" we meant any reason that prevented the interviewer from obtaining an interview, whether hostile or polite, whether due to lack of interest or some realistic circumstance or emergency that prevented getting a panel interview within a reasonable period of time. Many working mothers were simply too harassed to feel that they could give the time and participate in an interview. The necessity for interviewing both mother and sitter also provided both parties with a handy way out. The sitter would say the mother refused and the mother would say the sitter refused. If we lost either party to the arrangement at any point during the panel study then we lost the case for the sample reported in this report. In all, 163 caregivers were interviewed at least once, 148 working mothers were interviewed at least once, and at least one interview was available on 180 arrangements. But sample attrition by either party reduced to 116 the number of cases on which complete panel data were available from T_1 through the T_3 interview. Of the arrangements lost to panel analysis after at least one interview was completed, 27 were refusals.

At least we have some basis for comparing the sample of 116 with the "sample loss" of 47 sitters and 32 mothers. The differences between the sample and the sample loss groups were computed by Chi square on the following variables. See Table 2.5. It is evident that the average duration of the sample loss arrangements were slightly shorter, and that it was more difficult to keep in the sample those caregivers whose husbands had low education and whose families were not intact. There was some loss of dissatisfied users and givers of care.

The differences are not dramatic however, and the remaining sample of 116 on which full panel data were available encompassed the complete range on the variables measured and permitted a study of the processes of change in the family day care arrangement on a broad cross-section of family day care arrangements.

The differences between the sample and the sample loss would have been greater had we not made a special effort to recruit sample through a special sleuthing effort from among those who had experienced greatest difficulty in making and maintaining arrangements. Towards the end of the panel study two of our most resourceful interviewers were assigned the task of finding new arrangements of people whose previous experience showed evidence of great stress and discontinuity of care provided in unfavorable situations. Ten additional cases were added in this manner, helping to balance the sample with what we regarded as high risk cases.

Data and Data Analysis

Painstaking effort was taken to ensure the quality of the data:

- 1) Having had conducted a major study of 104 mother-sitter pairs in ongoing arrangements provided us with invaluable pretest experience. We learned what kinds of questions could be asked and what distributions we were likely to encounter on many key variables. The attitude scales were developed on this so-called pretest

Table 2.5 Chi Square Comparison of Sample and Sample Loss on Variables

Mother	χ^2	df	p
Work role satisfaction	3.373	4	p>.30
Work role freedom	5.48	5	p>.30
Satisfaction with type of care	6.522	3	p<.10
Freedom about type of care used	1.350	3	p>.70
Satisfaction, mother-sitter relationship	0.808	2	p>.50
Satisfaction, sitter-child adjustment	8.652	3	p<.05*
Satisfaction, mother-child relationship	3.044	2	p>.20
Satisfaction with this arrangement	4.564	2	p>.10
Respondent's age	2.021	3	p>.50
Amount of respondent's education	2.124	2	p>.30
Number of days per week working	0.087	2	p>.70
Working pattern – shift breakdown	0.713	1	p>.30
Family intactness	0.029	1	p>.80
Total family income	1.676	6	p>.90
Respondent's earnings	2.646	4	p>.50
Ladder scale choice	2.629	4	p>.50
Total number of children, this mother, under 18 years	5.134	2	p>.10
Total number of children in this arrangement	2.277	2	p>.30
Total hours/day spent in care in this arrangement	2.148	3	p>.50
In general, how long plan to continue this arrangement	0.068	3	p>.99
Specific time plan to continue this arrangement	4.668	2	p<.10
<u>Sitter</u>			
Giver role satisfaction	0.077	3	p>.99
Work role freedom	6.656	4	p>.10
Satisfaction with type of care given	5.637	2	p>.10
Freedom about type of care given	1.100	3	p>.70
Satisfaction, mother-sitter relationship	5.120	3	p>.10
Satisfaction, sitter-child adjustment	3.336	2	p>.10
Satisfaction, mother-child relationship	3.36	4	p>.50
Satisfaction with this arrangement	9.734	2	p<.01**
Amount of respondent's education	0.207	3	p>.95
Amount of husband's education	9.921	4	p<.05*
Number of days per week working	2.762	2	p>.20
Family intactness	6.513	1	p<.02*
Total family income	8.331	7	p>.30
Respondent's earnings	6.353	5	p>.20
Ladder scale choice	8.872	4	p>.10
Total number of other families getting care this sitter	2.072	3	p>.50
Total number of other day care children in sitter's home	3.104	5	p>.50
In general, how long plan to continue this arrangement	4.132	3	p>.20
Specific time plan to continue this arrangement	6.630	5	p>.20
Subject of duration came up while arrangement was made	0.132	1	p>.70
If so, who brought it up	0.27	3	p>.95

Duration

ample. In many ways the previous study prepared us for the much more complicated task of managing a panel study involving six interviews, three with the mother and three with the caregiver.

2) A great deal of time was devoted to training and supervising the team of interviewers. Morale and quality control were sustained through regular meetings with these interviewers as a group and through individual supervision, reliability checks, and conferences. Since half of the interviews were tape recorded this provided an additional basis for analysis of the reliability and validity of coded material. Biweekly group meetings were held to resolve problems of interpretation and to reinforce common orientations toward the more difficult judgments interviewers were required to make. The complete interview schedules, the interviewer instructions, and the coding layout are available on request. The data used in the study were obtained in the context of an interview situation, with additional information collected by means of written questionnaire between the first and second interviews. Data were obtained separately from the users and givers of family day care by independent interviewers. Five mother interviewers and five sitter interviewers were used over the nine month period during which most of the data were collected. Each interviewer continued with the respondent she started with, except for a number of T_3 interviews which had to be completed by two interviewers who stayed on to complete these interviews on arrangements that continued for a long time. No conferring was permitted between mother interviewers and sitter interviewers except regarding anything the other needed to know in order to make initial contact with the respondent. Emphasis was placed on maintaining confidentiality of interview material from the other party to the arrangement as well as from employers, social agencies, and the Internal Revenue Service. Interviews usually took place in the home, and occasionally husbands were present, influencing to some extent respondent's answers to questions.

3) A careful job was done of coding the data and checking the accuracy of the data at each step as it proceeded from the schedules to the punch cards, to the computer data tapes, to computer print-outs and to final reporting. The responses to all open-ended interview questions were coded by two coders and very few discrepancies needed to be resolved. A first stage print-out including missing data was used to solve problems of missing data and to deal with distributions involving too few responses. A variety of checks were made on scale items and interview items for accuracy of coding and respondent's consistency. A check of all code sheets was made for correctness of plus and minus signs; the means of all card sort items were checked for each time period, watching for extreme values; all factor scores were checked for extreme values which then were compared with the interview schedules for evidence of extreme position related to the factor content reported. Frequencies on all items were checked for unusual responses, and all difference scores ($T_3 - T_1$), were checked for extreme or unlikely changes in attitude. The coding of interview material was checked for consistency.

4) The reliability and validity of the scale data which were used to measure change in attitude benefited from the fact that scale construction was done on the previous independent sample. Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha² was used as a criterion of internal consistency, and these reliabilities are shown in Chapter VIII for the previous sample and for each administration in the present panel. The alphas for the change scores are also shown. To some extent multitrait-multimethod analyses were conducted. This was possible because most domains were measured by at least two different kinds of data. With different methods of measuring the same things it was possible by comparing correlations to establish at least partially the construct validity of some key concepts. To a considerable extent this was done in the previous study and not repeated in the panel study in which a more economical use of variables was necessary. A factor analysis of the scales developed in the previous study served as a second order analysis and in addition to the data reduction so achieved provided further validation of the major domains that were being measured. In the predictive studies, however, reported in Chapter XI we found that the different kinds of data supplemented one another as predictors of the stability of the arrangement. The factor analyses were kept small with never less than twice as many subjects as

²Cronbach, Lee J., "Coefficient Alpha and the Internal Structure of Tests." *Psychometrika* 16 (1951), pp. 297-334.

variables and usually with even more favorable ratios, thus reducing the opportunity to capitalize on chance. In the multiple regressions a considerably reduced number of predictors were used, and where there were a large number conservative criteria were applied for recognizing predictors.

Despite the care that was taken to develop accurate, reliable, and valid data, the data have limitations that should be kept in mind. The use of correlations, factor analysis, and multiple regression rests on assumptions that have only partially been met. The lack of homoscedasticity for some distributions and the lack of linearity of some relationships between variables resulted in lower correlations than might have been found had appropriate transformations been made on all variables and had distribution-free statistics been used when they would have resulted in a better fit with the data. However, in view of the stage of the investigation and the large scope of domains included in the study, the quicker but dirtier methods seemed appropriate to use. The relevant distributions are shown including scatter plots of the T_3 scale scores by T_1 level. Though the results are probably somewhat conservative, key sources of stability and instability of the family day care arrangement were identified, and some of these probably should be investigated further with improved measurement models.

Sources and Kinds of Data

Roughly parallel kinds of panel data were obtained from both parties to the arrangement. These were independent sources of data not only with respect to the interview responses of the mothers and sitters but also with respect to the interviewer ratings and typology judgments made by the mother interviewers and the sitter interviewers.

Five different kinds of data were obtained:

1) There were relatively "hard" variable demographic characteristics of the mothers and of the sitters and of the arrangement that they had made. For sample, age, education, and income were more informational than attitudinal data. Most of the information supplied by mothers and sitters about the arrangement, e.g., hours child was in care, showed high levels of agreement and permitted us to use one party's version.

2) There were the attitude scales which ranged from attitudes towards one's general circumstances, e.g., Economic Need to Work, to specific sources of satisfaction with this arrangement, e.g., Sitter's Dissatisfaction with the Mother's Long Hours, Demands, and Lack of Planfulness. These scales which were based on responses to 150 standardized items are described in greater detail in Chapter VIII. These response data were used as repeat measures and represented one of the major techniques for measuring change.

3) Self reports about work role history and family characteristics, as well as social interaction between the two families were also obtained by means of a written questionnaire. Some of these items supplied us with additional information concerning the nature of the social relationship between the two parties, as a supplement to interviewer judgments.

4) Precoded interview questions included some direct measures of perceived change. For example a "ladder scale" was used at each interview to obtain the respondent's global rating of her overall satisfaction with the arrangement, and at T_2 and T_3 interviews she was shown where she had rated it before and asked where she would put it now. Also direct reports of changed attitudes were elicited at the T_3 interview concerning a range of possible sources of dissatisfaction, e.g., convenience, did it get better, worse or stay the same?

5) In addition to precoded items, much of the interview material was coded by office staff independently of the interviewers. Coded responses to open-ended interview questions carried the burden of much of the data concerning the specific content of attitudes.

6) Interviewer ratings and typings that required observation and training were relied upon to measure some dimensions of attitude and behavior. In the family day care arrangement three relationships were principally involved – between mother and child, between sitter and child, and between mother and sitter. Satisfaction with each of these dyadic relationships was rated by the interviewers. The interviewers also made complex typology judgments discussed in Chapter VI, as well as ratings of patterns of interpersonal behavior referred to in this study as “adaptive orientation,” see Chapter X.

Response Sets

Since self reports of attitudes are subject to response sets, especially that of presenting oneself in a favorable, socially desirable light, an effort was made to minimize this tendency. In the first place the specific manifest content of the scale items were not general opinions such as, “A mother shouldn’t yell at a child,” but rather were first person statements about “my” feelings about or perceptions of “my” arrangement with “this” person, e.g., “Taking care of her child is more of a drain than I expected” or “I like the way her children behave.” Even the general attitude items had this particular quality of self reference, e.g., “I would rather work than stay home.” As Becker and Krug have pointed out, items such as we used are less subject to defensiveness and social desirability than items of general opinion.³ Nevertheless, at the conclusion of the T₃ interview the Marlowe-Crowne Scale of Social Desirability was given to respondents as a way of determining to what extent our measures were subject to a general tendency towards defensiveness in attitude.⁴ The scale includes items such as, “There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone” or “I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.” (Fifty percent of respondents gave a socially desirable response to the first item and 14 percent to the second, with the sitters more prone to so respond by a difference of about 6 percent.) For the scale as a whole, the results are shown as follows for the 33-item scale:

	<u>mothers</u>	<u>sitters</u>
Percentage of items given a socially desirable response	55%	58%
Mean score	18.37	18.55
Standard deviation	5.19	5.22

An examination of the correlations between the Marlowe-Crowne scores and the scale scores for measuring mother and sitter attitudes reveals no strong relationship and only a handful of correlations barely significant at the five percent level. The results are shown in Tables 2.6 and 2.7. The Marlowe-Crowne scores for mothers and sitters were used as predictors in Chapter VI and did account for very small proportions of the variance of the stability criteria. However, we concluded that this tendency represented no serious threat to the validity of the attitude data.

The Strategy of Data Reduction and Analysis

An overview of the strategy of data reduction will help the reader to follow the content of the chapters. In Chapter III, 22 mother demographic variables and 22 sitter demographic variables were used to describe the

³Wesley C. Becker and Ronald S. Krug, “The Parent Attitude Research Instrument – A Critical Review,” *Child Development*, 36 (June 1965), 329-365.

⁴Douglas P. Crowne and David Marlow, *The Approval Motive: Studies in Evaluative Dependence* (New York: Wiley, 1964). See also John P. Robinson and Phillip R. Shaver, *Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Institute for Social Research, 1969).

Table 2.6 Correlations Between Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale and Mother Attitude Scales

	<u>T₁</u>	<u>T₃</u>	<u>T₃-T₁</u>
1. Sat. S's concern	.19	.17	.05
3. Prefer work role over home role	.04	.03	-.01
4. Economic need	-.15	-.07	.10
5. M's assertion. . .	-.01	.06	.08
6. Confidence in sitters	.11	.19	.11
7. Job sat. and market advantage	.13	.19	.11
8. Complaints S's possessiveness	-.05	-.13	-.08
9. Playmates reason for T.A.	.16	.17	.03
10. Need for flexible sitter	-.10	-.12	-.04
11. Disadv. sitting market	-.16	-.18	-.01
12. Reluctance to interfere	.20	.21	.03
13. Guilt child's adjustment	-.18	-.13	.04
14. Feeling people disapprove	-.05	-.08	-.03
15. Expect child can get along any sitter	.08	.04	-.04
16. Prefer uninvolved businesslike relationship	-.10	-.05	.04
17. Inter-family closeness (revision of No. 2)	.05	.04	-.01

sample and in cross-tabulations to answer the question, what kinds of working mothers picked what kinds of caregivers. Each of these two sets of 22 variables was reduced to seven rotated factors not only for descriptive purposes in Chapter III but also the seven mother demographic factors and the seven sitter demographic factors were used in Chapter XI as predictors of the stability of the arrangement. Likewise in Chapter IV, 16 mother-sitter variables were used to describe the basic economic characteristics of the family day care arrangement. They were reduced to five rotated factors, and these arrangement factors were used not only for descriptive purposes in Chapter IV but also as predictors of the stability of the arrangement in Chapter XI. In Chapter X most of the analysis concerns 30 attitude scales, of which 16 are mother attitudes and 14 are sitter attitudes. These scales which were constructed in our previous study already represent a considerable data reduction by means of factor analytic procedures and item analysis to create scales that were both internally consistent and discrete in their content from one another. Although a "second order" factor analysis of the

Table 2.7 Correlations Between Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale and Sitter Attitude Scales

	<u>T₁</u>	<u>T₃</u>	<u>T₃-T₁</u>
1. Sat. M's concern	.02	.02	.01
3. Economic need	.02	.09	.09
4. Expressive needs met	.04	.03	-.02
5. Approval of M's discipline	.09	.04	-.04
6. Only certain children	.11	.13	.03
7. Dissat. M's long hours	-.07	.03	.09
8. Disapproval of mothers working	.05	.13	.08
9. Role power	.00	.04	.05
10. Emotional drain	-.10	-.07	-.01
11. Market disadvantage	.05	.07	-.01
12. Role strain	-.11	-.09	.03
13. Restricts hours	-.07	-.14	-.08
14. Sat. child's adjustment	.05	-.00	-.05
17. Inter-family closeness (revision of No. 2)	.07	.09	.02
Sitter Marlowe-Crowne X Mother Marlowe-Crowne			-.11
Sitter Marlowe-Crowne X duration			-.10
Mother Marlowe-Crowne X duration			.09
Sitter Marlowe-Crowne X Sitter Adaptive Orientation			-.10
Sitter Marlowe-Crowne X Mother Adaptive Orientation			-.15
Mother Marlowe-Crowne X Sitter Adaptive Orientation			-.14
Mother Marlowe-Crowne X Mother Adaptive Orientation			-.07

scale scores and of the change scores is reported, scale scores and not second order factor scores were used as predictors of stability. Thus, the attitude scale predictors used in Chapter XI are the same attitude scales used in Chapter VIII to assess and describe the changes in attitude from T₁ to T₃. Additional interview material is used in Chapter XI to describe reasons for termination of the arrangement as well as additional sources of predictors of termination. Also, interviewer judgments regarding the adaptive orientation of mothers and sitters and of the type of arrangement are used both descriptively in Chapter X and predictively in Chapter XI. A maximum of 50 variables were used as predictors of the stability of the arrangement, and an effort was made to predict from the demographic and arrangement factors separately, then adding satisfaction levels at T₁, and finally adding measures of change.

CHAPTER III

WHAT KINDS OF MOTHERS PICKED WHAT KINDS OF CAREGIVERS?

PART ONE: DISTRIBUTIONS AND CROSS-TABULATIONS

What kinds of mothers and sitters are we talking about in this report? In answer to this question we describe mothers and sitters in terms of their basic life circumstances such as occupation, age, marital status, and family size. These are conditions which they would bring to any family day care arrangement they might make, and as we shall see there are important differences in the life circumstances of the two parties. Rather than a similarity of circumstances, we see a complementary fit between them.

Race

Approximately five percent of the working mothers and a slightly larger percentage of the caregivers were non-white, reflecting the composition of the Portland metropolitan area's population of working mothers. In the analyses that follow race is disregarded. However, many of the socioeconomic variables associated with race, such as occupation, play an important part in the analysis. As was pointed out in the introduction, a disproportionately large number of whites use family day care. Yet despite differences between blacks and whites in their use of and preference for family day care, to a considerable extent these differences can be accounted for in terms of economic factors such as occupation and income. The non-white group in our sample is too small for separate statistical analysis, and no special attention is given to the race factor in any of the analyses.

Occupational Socioeconomic Status (SES)

The socioeconomic status of the working mothers in the sample ranges from 7 to 82 on the 100 point Reiss Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (1961).¹ With only a four percent representation of professional occupations, the sample gave about equal representation to the following four largest groups: secretaries and office workers, bank tellers/telephone operators, sales, and textile workers. Approximately 35 percent of the sample were blue collar workers. The distribution is shown in Table 3.1. An exact basis for comparison does not exist in census data; however, a rough comparison is shown in Box 3.1, comparing the sample distribution to that of occupations of working mothers of children under fourteen for the western region of the United States.²

¹ Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *Occupations and Social Status* (New York: Free Press, 1961)

² Low and Spindler, *op cit.*, p. 54.

Table 3.1 Occupational SES of Working Mothers

S. E. I. *	Model Occupation	f	%
0-14	service workers	6	5
15-24	operatives	27	23
25-34	craftsmen	4	3
35-44	sales	20	17
45-54	tellers, telephone operators	24	21
55-64	secretaries	30	26
65-over	professional	5	4
	N =	116	100%

Median occupation: telephone operator

Mean SEI score: 42.36; s.d. = 18.16

*Socioeconomic Index (Reiss Scale)

**Box 3.1 FOR COMPARISON: CENSUS DATA ON OCCUPATION
OF WORKING MOTHERS OF CHILDREN UNDER 14
(WEST U.S.A.)***

Occupation Groups	Percent
Farmers & Farm	2
Service Workers	17
Private household	2
Craftsmen, etc.	11
Sales	6
Clerical	43
Profess., mgr., etc.	19
	100%
	N = 1,016,000

*Low and Spindler, 1968

Occupational SES of Husband

Since the caregivers all fall into one occupation category, one must look to the occupation of the husband for a comparison of the occupationally based SES of the mother and sitter families. Table 3.2 shows a comparison of these two distributions.

Table 3.2 Husband's Occupational SES, Percentage Distributions for Mothers and Sitters

<u>S.E.I.*</u>	<u>Mother's Husband's SES</u>	<u>Sitter's Husband's SES</u>
0-14	28	9
15-24	median [†] 23	36
25-34	6	median [†] 16
35-44	4	10
45-54	13	14
55-64	3	2
65-74	14	4
75-84	3	6
85-over	6	3
N = 116	100%	100%
*Socioeconomic Index (Reiss Scale)	\bar{X} = 43.4 sd = 23.1	\bar{X} = 34.5 sd = 21.2

Occupational status of husband (Reiss Index) was not a basis of mother-sitter matching; the Reiss SES scores were not significantly correlated ($r=.10$), and, as the cross-tabulation in Table 3.3 shows, occupational SES of the husbands did not match up like with like for more than half the sample. Nor was there any one-way tendency for mothers to have lower SES sitters or vice versa. The results show considerable latitude in both upward and downward cross-class matching.

Table 3.3 Sitter's Husband's Occupational SES by Mother's Husband's Occupational SES*

		Mother's Husband			
		0-24	25-64	65-over	
Sitter's Husband	0-24	31	11	11	53
	25-64	19	18	11	48
	65-over	9	2	4	15
		59	31	26	116

*Where no husband, mother's job SEI substituted

Education

A comparison of the education of mothers and sitters and also of their husbands shows that the mother had more education than the sitters and the mothers' husbands more than the sitters' husbands. See Table 3.4. The education of mothers' husbands showed the widest variation with 21 percent not having gone beyond grade school and 17 percent having graduated from college.

Table 3.4 Education of Mothers, Sitters, and Their Husbands

Education	Mother	Sitter	Mother's Husband	Sitter's Husband
grade school	1	2	21	10
some high school	5	20	8	16
high school graduate	43	50	31	43
some college	44	27	23	25
college graduate	7	1	17	6
N = 116	100%	100%	100%	100%
Beyond High School	51%	28%	40%	31%

As one would expect, considering the higher percentage of mothers than sitters who went beyond high school, one finds the working mother more apt to be using a caregiver with less education than the other way around (51 vs. 17). See Table 3.5. However, the linear correlation is nonsignificant ($r=.08$).

Table 3.5 Sitter's Education and Mother's Education

Sitter's Education	Mother's Education			
	less than 12 yrs	high school graduate	beyond high school	
less than 12 yrs	0	11	15	26
high school graduate	4	29	25	58
beyond high school	3	10	19	32
	7	50	59	116

Residential SES

In addition to occupation and education, residence also provides an indicator of socioeconomic status. Furthermore, it is one that is readily visible to mothers and sitters as they approach one another in making an arrangement. Characteristics of the residence and neighborhood were rated by the interviewers and the distributions follow in Table 3.6. In general, there was no overall difference between the neighborhoods of mothers and sitters collectively, but the sitters were somewhat more likely to live in a single family home and where traffic was light. Cross-tabulations and correlations, however, showed a low order of correlation between the residential SES variables for the mother-sitter pair.

Table 3.6 Residential SES of Mothers and Sitters

		<u>Neighbor</u>	<u>Resp.</u>	<u>Neighbor</u>	<u>Resp.</u>
Predominant Type of Dwelling in Neighborhood: (type of dwelling this respondent)	Detached single family homes, large lots	20	(13)	16	(17)
	Same, small lots	59	(47)	72	(63)
	Duplexes	1	(3)	1	(3)
	Apt. houses, courts	13	(31)	6	(10)
	Rooming house or converted house	4	(4)	5	(7)
	Apts; in commercial units	3	(2)	0	(0)
	Trailer courts	0	(0)	0	(0)
		<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Neighborhood:			<u>Mother</u>		<u>Sitter</u>
	Residential		61		70
	Rural & Residential		11		4
	Rural		0		2
	Commercial & Residential		27		24
		<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>	
General SES Level of Neighborhood:	Upper		4		0
	Middle		35		33
	Modest		54		53
	Lower		7		14
		<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>	
Type of Neighborhood:	Newer established		12		15
	Older established		35		36
	Newer, developing		8		3
	Older, changing		26		24
	Older, rundown		19		21
	Older, slum		0		1
		<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>	
General Upkeep of Neighborhood:	Good		32		33
	Mixed		55		52
	Poor		13		15
		<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>	
Traffic Conditions:	Dead-end street		13		6
	Light		51		71
	Heavy		28		17
	Arterial		8		6
		<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>	
Upkeep of Respondent's Home:	Meticulous		14		7
	Neat & clean		45		42
	Adequate		27		29
	Messy & cluttered		10		16
	Dirty or in poor repair		4		6
		<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>	

Income

In Table 3.7 the earnings of mothers and sitters, as well as their family incomes, are compared. The families of working mothers were somewhat more likely to have incomes of \$10,000 a year and above, while two-thirds of the family incomes of the sitter's family fell between \$5,000 and \$10,000. It is clear that the sitter's earnings from day care represent a small proportion of her family income since 89 percent earned less than \$2,000 per year from giving day care. In contrast, 79 percent of mother earnings fell between \$3,000 and \$7,000 per year. Only a low correlation ($r=.20$) was found between the family incomes of the two contracting parties.

Table 3.7 Earnings and Family Incomes of Mothers and Sitters

Annual Amount	Own Earnings		Family Income	
	Mother	Sitter	Mother	Sitter
less than \$1,000	3	41	0	0
\$1,000-1,999	4	med ⁺ 48	1	2
\$2,000-2,999	9	7	1	2
\$3,000-4,999	med ⁺ 56	3	18	14
\$5,000-6,999	25	1	19	32
\$7,000-9,999	3	0	med ⁺ 35	med ⁺ 36
\$10,000 and above	1	0	26	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Family incomes of our sample correspond reasonably well to the estimated distribution of family income reported by the Westinghouse-Westat Day Care Survey of 1970 for the parents of children in family day care homes.³ The estimates were based on a national area probability sample. The comparison is shown in Box 3.2.

Box 3.2 FOR COMPARISON: ESTIMATED FAMILY INCOME OF PARENTS OF CHILDREN IN FAMILY DAY CARE HOMES (Westinghouse-Westat National Probability Sample, 1970)*

	Westat (1970)	Our Sample (1969)
Under \$2,000	6.7	1
\$2,000-2,999	7.5	1
\$3,000-3,999	4.9	8
\$4,000-5,999	15.9	15
\$6,000-7,999	med ⁺ 23.5	24
\$8,000-9,999	21.6	med ⁺ 25
\$10,000 or more	19.8	27
	100%	100%

*page 101.

³Johns et al, p. 101.

Marital Status and Family Incomes

For working mothers family income is dramatically associated with having a husband. The effect of this condition salary is shown in Table 3.8 in which it may be seen that family incomes of under \$6,000 are almost invariably those of women whose marital status is not intact while incomes of \$7,000 or more are almost invariably those of women of intact families.

Table 3.8 Mother's Family Income by Marital Status

	<u>Marital Status</u>		
	Not Intact	Intact	
Under \$6,000	25	3	28
\$6,000-6,999	8	9	17
\$7,000 or over	5	66	71
	38	78	116

$r = .93; x^2 = 63.51 \quad p < .001$
 $df = 2$

Two-thirds of the sample were working mothers with intact families. The complete distribution of marital status is shown in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9 Marital Status of Mothers and Sitters, Distributions

	<u>Mothers</u>	<u>Sitters</u>
Never married	9	0
Separated	6	2
Divorced	17	6
Widowed	1	1
Married, intact	67	91
	100%	100%

How long had they been a one-parent family? The sitters mostly over a year but half of the mothers more recently, relating to their entry into the labor force. See Table 3.10.

Table 3.10 How Long a One-Parent Family

	<u>Mothers</u>	<u>Sitter</u>
Less than 6 months	11	2
7 months less than 1 year	8	0
1 year less than 2 years	9	0
2 years less than 4 years	10	4
4 years less than 6 years	0	0
7 years or more	0	3
	<hr/> 38	<hr/> 9

How long mother a one-parent family

How long a		<1 year	>1 year
working	<1 yr	14	4
mother	>1 yr	6	14

Yule's Q = .78; $X^2 = 8.674$ 1 df

Newness to the Role of Working Mother or to the Role of Caregiver

In Table 3.11 it may be seen that 48 percent of the working mothers and 48 percent of the caregivers were relatively new to the role, having been a working mother or a caregiver less than one year. Then, however, the distribution shifts, with more sitters than mothers having performed the role for four years or more. Thus, both groups include wide variation in the amount of experience with performance of the roles.

Table 3.11 How Long as a Working Mother or as a Caregiver

	<u>As a Working Mother</u>	<u>As a Caregiver</u>
Under 3 months	23	33
3 months-1 year	25	15
1-2 years	18	8
2-4 years	30	22
4 years or more	4	22
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

Continuously?	Yes	93	72
	No	23	44
		116	116

It raises the question of whether working mothers who are new to the role use sitters who are new to the role or those who are more experienced. New working mothers used sitters of all amounts of experience, but with some tendency to use the more experienced caregivers. Those who had been working mothers for at least two years, showed a tendency to select brand new sitters who had been giving care for less than three months. See Table 3.12. This suggests some special recruitment and selection process on the part of working mothers, perhaps to complement as needed their own limited experience and to discount need for an experienced caregiver if they are experienced themselves.

Table 3.12 Length of Caregiver Experience by Length of Experience as Working Mother

<u>Sitter's Length of Caregiver Experience</u>	<u>Mother's Work Role Experience</u>	
	<u>Less than 2 years</u>	<u>2 years or more</u>
Under 3 months	18	20
3 months-1 year	11	7
1-2 years	9	1
2-4 years	11	5
4 years or more	28	6
	77	39
$\gamma = .45; \chi^2 = 12.81; 4 \text{ df}, p < .05$		N = 116

Stability of Residence

Table 3.13 shows how long mothers and sitters had lived at their current address, in their present neighborhood, and in the Portland metropolitan area.

It may be seen that substantially more working mothers were new to their neighborhoods than were the sitters; however, there was little systematic pattern of selection on the basis of length of residence ($r = .19$ for time in neighborhood; $r = .14$ (n.s.) for time at current address; $r = .02$ (n.s.) for time in Portland area). The figures also show some moving within the neighborhood, especially for the sitters.

Table 3.13 Stability of Residence of Mothers and Sitters

Length of Residence	In this Metropolitan Area		In this Neighborhood		At this Address	
	Mother	Sitter	Mother	Sitter	Mother	Sitter
Under three months	3	0	23	9	27	11
Three months less than 1 year	10	5	30	20	33	33
1 year less than 2 years	4	5	9	21	11	19
2 years less than 4 years	9	16	18	17	18	13
4 years less than 6 years	15	9	10	9	8	8
6 years or more	59	65	10	24	3	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

less than 1 year	13%	5%	53%	29%	60%	44%
1 year or over	87%	95%	47%	71%	40%	56%

Age and Stage of Family Development

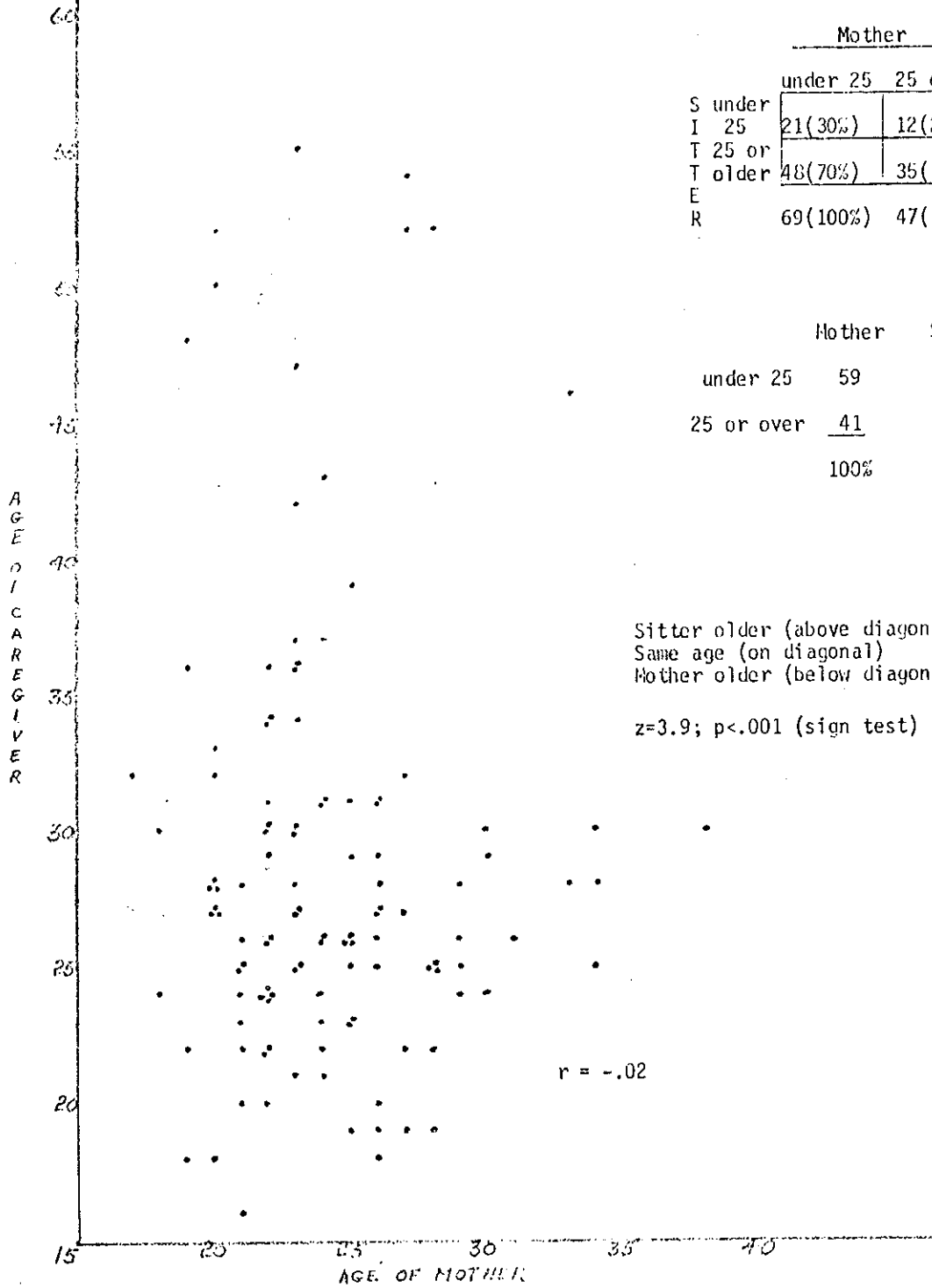
As pointed out in the introduction, the users of family day care are young families. Thus, 68 percent of the mothers were under 25 years of age. By contrast 28 percent of the sitters were under 25. The sitters ranged in age from 16 to 61, but only seven sitters were age 50 or over. Fifty-five percent fell in the ten year age span between 25 and 35, and 83 percent were between the ages of twenty and forty. Thus, these results confirm those of our previous study that the caregivers available for and used for family day care tend to be older than the working mothers. Deviant from this generalization were the eight sitters who were less than twenty years old; with one exception they were used by older mothers. Likewise, all but one of the seven youngest mothers (those under twenty) used older sitters. Age of caregiver by age of mother is plotted in Table 3.14. Cases falling above the diagonal line are those in which the working mother used a caregiver older than herself. Although this is the prevailing characteristic of family day care arrangements, the ages of the two women bear no systematic relationship except that the sitters are older. ($r = -.02$ n.s.; but the sign test for sitter older vs. mother older (74 vs. 35) is significant, $z = 3.9$; $p < .001$.)

Also their families are further along. Since this is a study primarily of the arrangements for children under six, 100 percent of the working mothers in the sample had children five years old or younger. And 80 percent had no children older than that. In contrast, the sitters, who also tended to have larger families than the mothers, had children ranging over a greater span of years, but with relatively less concentration in the early age group. This is summarized in the following percentages:

Later in this chapter we shall see that these variables combine with age to provide an index of the stage of family development for the mother's and for the sitter's family. An additional indicator of the stage of family development is the age of youngest child which is shown in Table 3.16. Thirty-six more mothers than sitters had a youngest child of less than three. Again as with the age of mother and sitter, the ages of their youngest children were not correlated. The only systematic relationship is that the sitters were at a later stage of family

Table 3.14

Age of Caregiver by Age of Mother



	Mother		
	under 25	25 or over	
S under 25	21 (30%)	12 (26%)	
T 25 or older	48 (70%)	35 (74%)	n.s.
R	69 (100%)	47 (100%)	116

	Mother	Sitter
under 25	59	28
25 or over	<u>41</u>	<u>72</u>
	100%	100%

Sitter older (above diagonal) = 74
 Same age (on diagonal) = 7
 Mother older (below diagonal) = 35
 N = 116
 z = 3.9; p < .001 (sign test)

r = -.02

development. The sitter's youngest was older in seventy arrangements versus twenty-seven where the mother's child was older. ($z=4.08$, $p<.0001$.) The entire cross-tabulation is shown as evidence of the diversity in how the mothers and sitters matched.

	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Sitter</u>
No children yet	0	2
All children under 6	53	41
All children under 6 and 6 but less than 12	19	26
All children under 6 and 12 but less than 18	1	1
Children in all 3 age ranges	0	9
All children at home 6 but under 18	0	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The complete distributions are shown in Table 3.15

**Table 3.15 Number of Children by Age Groups,
Mothers and Sitters**

<u>Number of Children</u>		<u>Mother</u>	<u>Sitter</u>
Under 6	None	0	23
	One	77	46
	Two	19	28
	Three	3	3
	Four	1	0
		<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
6 less than 12	None	83	53
	One	15	24
	Two	1	15
	Three	1	4
	Four	0	4
		<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
12 less than 18	None	98	77
	One	2	10
	Two	0	8
	Three	0	2
	Four	0	3
		<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
18 or over (Grown and left home)	None	100	86
	One	0	6
	Two	0	2
	Three or more	0	6
		<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Table 3.16 Age of Caregiver's Youngest Child by Age of Working Mother's Youngest Child

		Age of Mother's Youngest Child							
		0-3mo	3mo<1yr	1<2yr	2<3yr	3<4yr	4<5yr	5<6yr	
Age of	no children yet			1	1				2
care-	under 3 mos		1				1		2
giver's	3 mos<1yr	2	6	7		4	1	1	21
Young-	1<2 yrs		2	5	2	2		2	13
est	2<3 yrs	1	4	5	3	1		3	17
Child	3<4 yrs		7	4	1	1			13
	4<5 yrs		2	2	4	1	3	1	13
	5<6 yrs		4	3	1	2			10
	6<7 yrs		2	3	1	1			7
	7<8 yrs		1	1	1				3
	8 yrs or over at home		4	3	2	1	2		12
	all children grown	1		1	1				3
		4	33	35	17	13	7	7	116

Caregiver's Youngest	Mother's Youngest		
	<3	3<6	
<3	38	15	53 (46)
3<6	28	8	36 (32)
6+	21	4	25 (22)
	84 (76)	27 (24)	114* (100%)

$X^2=1.484$ df = 2 n.s.

*2 caregivers have no children; both pregnant.

Family Size

Some indication of family size was already evident in the above, but a more complete picture is shown in Table 3.17 which presents the number of children under 18. The larger family size of the sitters is apparent. On the average sitters have families that are larger by one child. One would expect this partly because the sitters and their families are older. Its significance lies in the fact that family day care users place their children with caregivers who have experience in raising children of their own.

Table 3.17 Family Size of Mothers and Sitters

<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>Mothers</u>	<u>Sitters</u>
0	0	2
1	63	26
2	27	23
3	7	13
4	2	13
5	1	4
6	0	4
7	0	3
8	0	0
9	0	2
	100%	100%

Mean = 1.50

Mean = 2.69

Median = 1

Median = 2

Summary and Discussion

Within the scope of the variables studied we see wide variation in the manner in which mothers and sitters matched themselves. Conspicuously absent are strong similarities between mothers and sitters with respect to the background characteristics they brought to their arrangements. Similarity was measured by positive correlation coefficients, which typically were nonsignificant. Exceptions were the SES characteristics of the neighborhood, though even here the correlations were low. These are the features of house and neighborhood that would be most visible to one another. Yet such similarity would be expected also because of the proximity of the sitter's home demanded by users of family day care.

On the whole, the only systematic patterns of selection were those of complementarity as measured by 1) negative correlations, such as between mother's and sitter's years of experience in the role of working mothers or of caregiver, or 2) pairing that departed from a normal binomial distribution, such as on the age variable in which sitters were older than mothers more frequently than vice versa. There are exceptions, such as a group of very young sitters used by older mothers. But this counter-trend was consistent with the tendency toward complementary fit in experience such as those women with two or more years experience as working mothers using sitters with only three months or less experience as caregivers, while if the mothers were new and inexperienced as working mothers, they tended to use the more experienced caregivers.

The difference in family size, coupled with the finding that the caregivers tend to be older and at a later stage of family development replicate the results reported in *Child Care by Kith* which were based on an independent sample and which we interpreted as suggesting an "empty nest" hypothesis to explain the phenomenon of family day care.⁴ There appears to be a complementary fit between the needs of the young family of the working mother and the older family of the caregivers whose nest is partially emptied of young children. Less well prepared educationally for entry into the labor force, deterred by family size, and pushed less by economic need to work outside the home because of husband's income, the caregivers augment a modest family income to the extent of one or two thousand dollars a year by doing that for which they are prepared by experience and inclination—raising children.

A word of caution is suggested against interpreting mother-sitter matching as attributable unilaterally to selection behavior by working mothers; the way mothers and caregivers match up also reflects caregiver supply and availability behavior in making day care arrangements. Overall, however, the evidence does point to a complementary fit in family and economic circumstances, some similarity in social class, but wide variation throughout the selections made.

PART TWO: FACTOR ANALYSIS OF MOTHER AND SITTEr DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

So far we have investigated a variety of demographic variables one at a time. There are several reasons why it is fruitful to subject these variables to a multivariate analysis of their common structure:

- (1) We were able to reduce an unmanageable collection of 44 variables to two sets of 7, based on the intercorrelations among them.
- (2) The resulting factors are more stable measures than single variables.
- (3) The factors provide meaningful indices that more adequately represent domains, such as stage of family development, than could any single variable taken alone.

⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 49 and Chapter 5.

(4) A second-order analysis by means of canonical correlation of the relationship between mother and sitter characteristics might produce results that differ from, and test the results of, univariate analyses we have presented so far in this chapter.

(5) The factors will provide us with a good set of predictors of duration and of reasons for termination of the arrangement, so as to be able to determine whether demographic variables are related to arrangement outcomes.

The factor analysis of the demographic characteristics of the working mothers is presented first. Table 3.18 shows the factor structures in which seven orthogonally rotated varimax factors account for 68 percent of the total variance of the 22 variables entered into the analysis for the 116 mothers. Factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00 were rotated. The eigenvalues, communalities, as well as the means and standard deviations are shown in Table 3.19, followed by the correlation matrix in Table 3.20. Then each factor is presented and discussed in turn.

Table 3.18 Factor Structure of Mother Demographic Variables (22 Variables, 7 Rotated Factors)

	I Hi Family SES (husb's ed., Occup. & In- come)	II Recent Change of Residence	III M's low Ed & occup. with Larger Family	IV Earliest Stage of Family Develop- ment	V Low Neigh- borhood SES	VI Better House & full Pre- school Family	VIII M's Hi Earn- ings Occup. SES
5. M's husband's education	.88						
4. M's husband's age	.85						
7. M's family intactness	.84						
6. M's husband's job SES	.76				-.31		
15. M's family income	.54						.51
21. How long M in neighborhood		-.92					
20. How long M at address		-.84					
22. How long M in Portland		-.55	-.33				-.32
2. M's education			-.78				
19. Age of youngest child				-.80			
1. M's age				-.66		.39	
18. No. M's children 6<12			.47	-.60			
11. M's neighborhood upkeep					-.83		
9. M's neighborhood SES					-.79		
10. M's neighborhood status					-.69		
14. M's housekeeping					-.57		.37
13. M's type home						.76	
8. M's type neighborhood						.67	.31
17. No. M's children <6			.43			.59	
12. M's street's traffic					-.40	.43	
16. M's job earnings							.82
3. M's job SES			-.49				.54

(Only factor loadings of .30 or more are listed.)

**Table 3.19 Eigenvalues, Variance, and
Communalities of Mother
Demographic Factor Analysis**

Eigenvalues:	FI	FII	FIII	FIV	FV	FVI	FVII
	5.09	2.51	2.03	1.69	1.37	1.24	1.13
Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance							
	.23	.35	.44	.51	.58	.63	.68

Communalities:

Variable no.	h²	X	s.d.
1	.68	24.20	3.81
2	.66	5.16	1.48
3	.64	42.36	18.16
4	.82	21.65	12.36
5	.84	4.33	2.77
6	.74	33.81	28.60
7	.75	4.01	1.49
8	.64	2.30	1.20
9	.71	2.65	.66
10	.65	3.04	1.37
11	.72	1.81	.64
12	.41	2.32	.81
13	.72	2.72	1.25
14	.53	2.40	1.10
15	.67	85.34	37.33
16	.72	43.28	17.66
17	.59	1.28	.57
18	.61	.23	.53
19	.65	2.44	1.53
20	.84	7.30	2.57
21	.88	7.91	2.77
22	.61	10.83	1.95

Table 3.20

Correlations among variables entered in factor analytic factor analysis

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1. H's age																						
2. H's education	.18																					
3. H's SES	.32	.63																				
4. H's husband's age	.01	.20	.73																			
5. H's husband's education	.01	.20	.73	.59																		
6. H's husband's SES	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67																	
7. H's family intactness	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74																
8. H's type neighborhood	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40															
9. H's neighborhood SES	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40	.10														
10. H's neighborhood upkeep	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40	.10	.30													
11. H's street traffic	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40	.10	.30	.33												
12. H's type home	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40	.10	.30	.33	.16											
13. H's householding	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40	.10	.30	.33	.16	.23										
14. H's family income	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40	.10	.30	.33	.16	.23	.50									
15. H's own income	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40	.10	.30	.33	.16	.23	.50	.15								
16. H's ch'n < 6	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40	.10	.30	.33	.16	.23	.50	.15	.17							
17. H's ch'n 6 < 12	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40	.10	.30	.33	.16	.23	.50	.15	.17	.06						
18. Age of youngest child	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40	.10	.30	.33	.16	.23	.50	.15	.17	.06	.27					
19. How long at current address	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40	.10	.30	.33	.16	.23	.50	.15	.17	.06	.27	.26				
20. How long in neighborhood	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40	.10	.30	.33	.16	.23	.50	.15	.17	.06	.27	.26	.18			
21. How long in Portland area	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40	.10	.30	.33	.16	.23	.50	.15	.17	.06	.27	.26	.18	.30		
22. How long in Portland area	.01	.20	.73	.59	.67	.74	.40	.10	.30	.33	.16	.23	.50	.15	.17	.06	.27	.26	.18	.30	.22	

Factor I (Mother Demographic): High Family SES

Variable	Factor Loading
Husbands' education . . . . .	.88
Husbands' age . . . . .	.85
Family intactness . . . . .	.84
Husbands' job SES (Reiss) . . . . .	.76
Family income . . . . .	.54

This factor provides an SES index for the family of the working mother based on the education, occupation and income of the husband. Husbands' age also contributes to this status factor.

Factor II (Mother Demographic): Recent Change of Residence

Variable	Factor Loading
How long in neighborhood	-.92
How long at current address	-.84
How long in Portland area	-.55

A high factor score on this stability of residence factor means a recent change of residence. It means that the working mother is relatively new to her neighborhood as well as to her current address.

Factor III (Mother Demographic): Low Educational and Occupational Status of the Mother Coupled with Larger Family

Variable	Factor Loading
M's education	-.78
M's job SES (Reiss)	-.49
Number M's children 6<12 . . . . .	.47
Number M's children <6 . . . . .	.43
Time in Portland area	-.33

Working mothers scoring high on this factor combine a lower educational and occupational level with more than the usual number of children, both school-age and pre-school age, found in family day care.

Factor IV (Mother Demographic): Early Stage of Family Development

Variable	Factor Loading
Age of youngest child	-.80
M's age	-.66
Number M's children 6<12	-.60

These three variables create an index of early stage of family development. High scoring are those young mothers who are going to work when their children are infants or toddlers. They do not yet have children in school.

Factor V (Mother Demographic): Low Neighborhood SES

Variable	Factor Loading
Neighborhood upkeep	-.83
Neighborhood SES	-.79
Neighborhood status	-.69
M's housekeeping	-.57
Traffic on M's street	-.40
Husband's job SES	-.31

Combining upkeep, age and general appearance of the neighborhood, mother's housekeeping and the traffic conditions on her street, this factor creates an index of SES based on residence. The first five variables are interviewer ratings. A high factor score means a generally low SES residence rating for the working mother.

Factor VI (Mother Demographic): Better Housing and Full Pre-School Family

Variable	Factor Loading
M's type of home (single family dwelling)	.76
Housing in M's neighborhood (same)	.67
Number M's children <6	.59
Traffic on M's street	.43
M's age	.39

In contrast to Factor IV, these families are further along, boasting greater than average number of children under the age of six. The mothers' age confirms this somewhat. The factor is dominated by the type of housing these families live in—single family homes, either on small or large lots.

Factor VII (Mother Demographic): Mothers Earnings and Occupational SES

Variable	Factor Loading
M's own income	.82
M's occupational SES (Reiss)	.54
Family income	.51
M's housekeeping	.37
How long in Portland area	-.32
Housing in M's neighborhood	.31

In contrast to Factor I which represents a family SES, based on having a husband and his education, occupation and income, Factor VII consists of the working mother's own contribution to the family income and socioeconomic status through her earnings and occupational status.

Summary of Mothers' Demographic Factors

This factor analysis illuminates the many facets of the socioeconomic status of the working mother:

- that based on husband's status (FI)
- that based on mother's earnings (FVII)
- that based on residence -- the neighborhood and the housing (FV & FVI))
- that based on recent mobility of residence (FII)
- and those based at least in part on the stage of family development of the working mother:
 - the earliest stage (FIV) involving those young mothers with an infant or toddler
 - the slightly older family with more preschool children (FVI). The mother is apt to be older and the family lives in the better housing of single family homes where traffic is light.
 - the larger family with both preschool and school-age children (FIII). The mother is not apt to be older; and of special importance in this factor, her educational level is low, as well as her occupational status.

On the basis of the factor scores, the sample of working mothers classified readily as belonging to one or another of these three stages of family development each of which has a distinctive socioeconomic status. The sample divides as follows:

Stage	f
early	46
pre-school	43
later and larger	27
	116

Factor Analysis of the Demographic Characteristics of the Caregivers

Likewise, 22 sitter demographic variables were subjected to factor analysis, with seven rotated factor resulting which accounted for 70 percent of the total variance. The factor structure is shown in Table 3.21; the eigenvalues, communalities, and the means and standard deviations are presented in Table 3.22; and the correlation matrix in Table 3.23. Again, each factor is then discussed in turn. Similar but independently obtained measures were used for the sitter analysis. The factors that emerged were roughly parallel in content though there were differences such as the sitters' later stages of family development.

Table 3.21 Factor Structure of Sitter Demographic Variables (22 Variables, 7 Rotated Factors)

	I Low Resi- dential SES	II Late Stage of Family Devel- opment	III Econ- omic Stabil- ity	VI Stabil- ity of Resi- dence	V Edu- cation & occu- pation- al SES	VI Better Hous- ing & Neigh- borhood	VII Middle Stage of Family Devel- opment
11. S's neighborhood upkeep	-.87						
9. S's neighborhood SES	-.84						
10. S's neighborhood status	-.81						
12. S's street's traffic	-.40					.35	
22. No. S's grown children		.89					
1. S's age		.88					
16. No. S's children <6		-.60					
18. No. S's children 12<18		.54					.43
3. S's husband's age		.30	.79				
6. S's husband's time on job			.78				
7. S's family intactness		-.33	.75				
15. S's family income			.52				-.31
20. How long S in neighborhood				.92			
19. How long S at current address				.86			
21. How long S in Portland area	.32			.59	-.31		-.41
5. S's husband's job SES					.77		
4. S's husband's education		-.31	.34		.67		
2. S's education					.65		
14. S's housekeeping	-.49				.53		
13. S's type home						.88	
8. S's type neighborhood						.83	
17. No. S's children 6<12							.79

(Only factor loadings of .30 or more are listed.)

**Table 3.22 Eigenvalues, Variances, and
Communalities of Sitter
Demographic Factor Analysis**

Eigenvalues:	FI	FII	FIII	FIV	FV	FVI	FVII
	4.37	3.57	2.18	1.52	1.43	1.26	1.16
Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance							
	.20	.36	.46	.53	.59	.65	.70
Communalities:							
Variable no.	h²	X	s.d.				
1	.84	29.06	8.65				
2	.48	4.34	1.29				
3	.76	29.89	11.17				
4	.75	4.30	1.80				
5	.68	34.48	21.15				
6	.64	8.85	3.87				
7	.74	4.78	.76				
8	.78	2.12	.93				
9	.78	2.81	.66				
10	.71	3.01	1.47				
11	.81	1.82	.67				
12	.43	2.23	.65				
13	.85	2.27	1.08				
14	.60	2.73	1.02				
15	.48	76.21	31.70				
16	.53	1.10	.78				
17	.67	.80	1.07				
18	.61	.45	.96				
19	.84	8.57	2.43				
20	.89	9.28	2.34				
21	.74	11.19	1.31				
22	.86	.35	1.14				

Factor I (Sitter Demographic): Low Residential SES

Variable	Factor Loading
Neighborhood upkeep	.87
Neighborhood SES	.84
Neighborhood status	.81
Sitter's housekeeping	.49
Traffic on S's street	.40
How long in Portland area	.32

As with the working mothers, a cluster of characteristics of neighborhood housing conditions and appearance, housekeeping, and traffic conditions on the sitter's street, creates an index of residential SES for the caregiver.

Factor II (Sitter Demographic): Late Stage of Family Development

Variable	Factor Loading
Number of grown children	.89
Sitter's age	.88
Number S's children <6	-.60
Number S's children 12<18	.54
Family intactness	-.33
Husband's education	-.31
Husband's age	.30

Here is the older sitter whose nest has emptied not only of pre-schoolers but of grown children as well. It is a household of high schoolers.

Factor III (Sitter Demographic): Economic Stability

Variable	Factor Loading
Husband's age . . . . .	.79
Husband's time on current job . . . . .	.78
Family intactness . . . . .	.75
Family income . . . . .	.52
Husband's education . . . . .	.34

This cluster of variables defines a factor of economic stability based on the sitter's husband's job seniority and the higher income associated with it. The SES rating of husband's occupation had a zero correlation with this factor; it belongs to an independent factor.

Factor IV (Sitter Demographic): Stability of Residence

Variable	Factor Loading
How long in neighborhood . . . . .	.92
How long at current address . . . . .	.86
How long in Portland area . . . . .	.59

These three variables reflect the length of time since the last move and since coming to the neighborhood or metropolitan area, this providing an index of residential stability for the caregivers.

Factor V (Sitter Demographic): Education and Occupation SES

Variable	Factor Loading
Husband's job SES (Reiss) . . . . .	.77
Husband's education . . . . .	.67
S's education . . . . .	.65
S's housekeeping . . . . .	.53
How long in Portland area	-.31

This SES factor consists primarily of education both of the caregiver and her husband, as well as his occupational level according to the Reiss scale.

Factor VI (Sitter Demographic): Better House and Neighborhood

Variable	Factor Loading
S's type of home	.88
Type of neighborhood	.83
Traffic on S's street	.35

Factor I was a low residential SES factor, but Factor VI is a high residential SES factor based on the type of housing, namely single family homes on small or large lots, as opposed to apartment buildings, courts and rooming houses.

Factor VII (Sitter Demographic): Middle Stage of Family Development

Variable	Factor Loading
Number of S's children 6<12	.79
Number of S's children 12<18	.43
How long in Portland area	-.41
Family income	-.31

This is a weak factor based on a tenuous cluster of very low correlations. It consists almost entirely of the number of school-age children. It represents an earlier stage of family development than does Factor II.

Summary of the Factor Analysis of Sitter Demographic Variables

Just as with working mothers, the caregiver's socioeconomic status is many-faceted domain consisting of:

- residential SES (FI and FVI)
- educational and occupational SES (FV)
- economic stability (FIII)
- residential stability (FIV)
- stage of family development:
 - late stage (FII)
 - middle stage (FVII).

The Relationship Between Mother Factors and Sitter Factors

In our previous study, mother and sitter demographic variables were included together in a single, larger factor analysis and yet still produced independent factors for the two parties to the arrangement. In the present study separate factor analyses were done in order to be able in a second-order analysis to examine their relationship one to another. This was done by means of canonical correlation between the two sets of

variables. However, still no statistically significant overall pattern was found between the demograph variables of the mothers and those of their caregivers.

A handful of simple correlations (from the possible 49 correlations of seven mother and seven sitter factor scores) were significant but of a low order of magnitude:

Variable	r
Residential SES (MV, SI)	.25
Better Housing (MIV, SVI)	.24
M's residential SES & S's education and occupational SES (MVI, SV)	.18
M's family SES and S's late stage of family development	-.23
M's earnings and S's middle stage of family development	-.25
M's early stage of family development and S's economic stability	-.20

A canonical correlation of $R_c = .50$ between the two sets of factor scores was not significant with the 49 degrees of freedom involved ($X^2 = 64.81$; $p > .05$)⁵ and is not shown. The results, however, were generally consistent with the direction suggested, however faintly, by the simple correlations, namely, a weak positive relationship between mother and caregiver SES where residence is involved and a weak and difficult-to-interpret relationship between the stage of family development of each party and the economic status of the other.

It remains to the following chapter to discover how mother and caregiver background characteristics relate more strongly to the characteristics of the arrangement itself. In general, however, we have found earlier in this chapter, now confirmed by multivariate analysis, that the self-selection process in family day care between working mothers and caregivers results in very little close similarity between them with respect to their socioeconomic backgrounds. More important are the differences; mothers are younger, have smaller families (at the time of the arrangement), are more likely to be a one-parent family, but are more likely to have gone beyond high school, are more likely to have been in the neighborhood less than a year, but have been in the working mother role longer than sitters have been in the caregiver role. Furthermore, some of the differences between mothers and caregivers found a complementary fit in family status and economic circumstances, as well as in age and experience.

Then, in Chapter XI, the demographic factors will be used as predictors of the stability of the arrangement.

⁵ Cooley, William W. and Paul K. Lohnes, 1962, p. 37.

CHAPTER IV

WHAT KINDS OF ARRANGEMENTS DID THEY MAKE?

THE BASIC ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENT

This chapter describes and analyzes the basic economic relationships of the arrangement. Later chapters will examine the more changeable attitudinal aspects of the arrangement and the social processes by which it is formed and maintained. The present chapter, in describing the economics of the family day care arrangement, deals with relatively stable characteristics that should undergo less modification because they reflect closely the socioeconomic conditions and family composition of the mothers and sitters.

In the exchange of money for services, what did the working mother actually pay for? How many children were there in the arrangement? For how many hours of child care? Are there other correlates of the amount of day care pay?

Then, since "this arrangement" (the mother-sitter pair under study) may or may not have taken place in the context of additional child care arrangements, the amount of day care business becomes a variable. How many other families did the caregiver sit for? How many children under the age of six did she have in her care, including her own? What are the correlates of the number of children she cares for?

This chapter also reports a factor analysis of these economic characteristics of the arrangement and then relates the resulting dimensions of arrangement to those socioeconomic factors by which the mothers and caregivers were described in the previous chapter.

Number of Children in This Arrangement

The number of mother's children in this arrangement shows a distribution almost identical with family size as shown in the previous chapter, (Table 3.17). One of the prime features of the family day care arrangement is its accommodation with few exceptions of the entire family of the working mother. In the present sample all of the mothers' children under six were included in the arrangement, and only 6% of the families had a school-age child who was not included in the arrangement. Of the 24 families with a school-age child, 17 or 70 percent were using the family day care arrangement for all of their school-age children, as well as for their pre-schoolers. Table 4.1 shows the total number of children as well as the number of children under six in this arrangement.

Table 4.2 shows the ages of the youngest or only child in the arrangement and the age of the oldest child in the arrangement. These distributions show clearly how young these families are, since in only five percent of the families was the oldest child eight years or over.

Table 4.1 Number of Mother's Children in this Arrangement by Age of Child (Percentage of Arrangements)

Number of Children per Arrangement	Percentage of Arrangements		
	Total Number of Mother's in TA	Mother's Children <6 in TA	Mother's Children 6<12 in TA
0	0	0	83
1	65	77	15
2	27	19	1
3	5	3	1
4	2	1	0
5	1	0	0
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	n=116	n=116	n=116

Table 4.2 Ages of Mother's Youngest and Oldest Child in This Arrangement

	Youngest or only in This Arrangement	only 1 child	Oldest in This Arrangement
under 3 months	3%		65%
3 months <1 year	29		0
1 year <2	30		0
2 years <3	15		2
3 years <4	11		4
4 years <5	6		7
5 years <6	6		5
6 years <7	0		9
7 years <8	0		3
8 years or over	0		5
	<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>

Ninety-nine percent of the family day care arrangement studied were the primary arrangements for the child while the mother worked. For 72 percent of the families it was the exclusive child care arrangement. The secondary arrangements were as follows:

	f
Also cared for by husband	14
Also cared for by other relative	6
Also attends nursery school	3
Also attends kindergarten or school	2
Also cared for by sitter who comes in	2
Also in care in more than one of the above	6
	33

Number of Days and Hours Spent in Care in This Arrangement

Seventy-seven percent of the arrangements were for at least five days per week and 77 percent were for at least eight hours a day. For approximately 70 percent, the children had at least a forty hour week in family day care. Most of the arrangements were for mornings and afternoons, and only eight percent of the arrangements involved either late evening, split days, or other irregular patterns of care.

Amount of Day Care Pay

Fifteen dollars per week was the mean, the median, as well as the modal, amount paid for the child care arrangement. Table 4.3 shows the distribution.

Table 4.3 Amount Paid Per Week for This Arrangement

less than \$10	13
\$10-14	23
\$15-19	37
\$20-24	20
\$25 or more	7
	100%

median: \$15

mode: \$15

mean: \$15.43 s.d.=\$5.18

What is the mother paying for? What accounts for the variation in day care pay? As one might expect, the number of children in the arrangement makes the biggest difference, as well as the number of hours the children are in care.

These two variables account for the greatest amount of variation in the rate of pay:

# of Children	$r=.60$	$R=.81, R^2=.66$
# Hours per Week	$r=.55$	

There are, of course, other lesser benefits that might contribute to the price tag of the arrangement, such as willingness to babysit odd shifts, but they fail to correlate with day care pay because the effect is offset by the fact that these caregivers charge less or at least no more than other caregivers.

What about other less tangible benefits? Working mothers will tell you "you get what you pay for." Though they hew fairly closely to what they perceive as the going rate, they seem to believe that they could get better care if they paid more for it. This assumption was tested by means of a multiple regression of day care pay on a series of six independent variables. Controlling for number of children in this arrangement and for the hours per week children are in care in this arrangement, what would be the partial correlation between day care pay and mother's family income? And controlling also for family income, what would be the partial correlation between day care pay and the amount of mother's earnings? These two questions permit us to determine whether the working mother pays more if she has more. The step-wise multiple regression was then continued a further step in order to assess the contribution of the mother's own judgment regarding an important dimension of the arrangement, namely her satisfaction with the sitter's concern for the child, controlling at the same time for a tendency to present a socially desirable response.

The results of this analysis (presented in Table 4.4) show that differences in the amount paid for care can be accounted for largely on the basis of two practical dimensions of the service purchased: number of children cared for and number of hours in care. These are what largely determine the "going rate." The fact that differences in mother's family income add only 3 percent to the variance explained suggests just how little consumers will depart from the going rate even if they can afford to. The analysis also shows that a subtle but possible value determinant did not contribute anything. However, since 32 percent of the variance remained unaccounted for, a more thorough investigation might yet reveal that the amount paid reflects a demand for quality of care. Of course, many important determinants of demand do not appear to have a price tag. For example, convenience (proximity) is important, but one probably does not pay more for it.

Caregiver's Amount of Day Care Business

Let us turn now to the quantity of care provided by the caregiver. The caregiver is apt to have other day care children in addition to those comprised by "this arrangement," which is the arrangement under study. On the average, one finds two arrangements per caregiver, that is, a caregiver is apt to take the children of two families. In the present sample 36 percent of the caregivers only had the one arrangement under study while 50 percent had children from an additional one or two families. See Table 4.5.

An overview of the composition of the caregiver's home is presented in Table 4.6—a mean of 2.7 day care children under the age of six plus .4 school-age children for a total of 3.1. This is almost twice the mean number found by the Westinghouse-Westat Survey of family day care home, which underscores the present study's heavy sampling of caregivers who advertise and take two or more children.

**Table 4.4 Predictors of the Amount Mother Pays
for Day Care: A Multiple Regression**

Step	Variable	R	R ²	R ² increase	F
1	No. children in TA	.60	.36	.36	62.84
2	Hours/week youngest of TA children	.81	.66	.30	100.37
3	M's family income	.83	.68	.03	9.56
4	M's own earnings	.83	.69	.00	1.01
5	M sat. S's concern T ₁	.83	.69	.00	1.72
6	M's Marlowe-Crowne	.83	.70	.00	.92

$F_{6,109}=41.53; p<.01$

		Correlation Matrix					Partial correlation with day care pay at last step before entering	
		dc pay	1	2	3	4	5	
No. children TA	1	.60						
Hrs/wk TA	2	.55	-.01					.69
M family income	3	.17	.10	-.09				.28
M's earnings	4	.18	-.01	.32	.28			-.10
M sat. S's concern	5	.02	-.11	-.04	.22	-.07		.12
M's Marlowe-Crowne	6	-.01	.10	-.07	.10	-.02	.07	-.09

**Table 4.5 Number of Families Making Arrangements
With this Caregiver**

1	36%
2	31
3	19
4	6
5	5
6	2
7	1
	100%
	n=116

Table 4.6 Mean Number of Children in Caregiver's Home

Mean	
1.3	from this arrangement, under 6
+1.4	from other arrangements, under 6
<hr/>	
2.7	total day care children under 6
+1.1	caregiver's own children under 6
<hr/>	
3.8	total children under 6 in caregiver's home
+ .4	day care children, 6<12
+ .8	caregiver's own children 6<12
<hr/>	
5.0	total number of children under 12 in caregiver's home

Since only 15 percent of the total number of day care children cared for by these caregivers were of school age, let us concentrate our attention on the number of children under six. Table 4.7 shows the number of day care children under six by the number of the sitter's own children under six.

Table 4.7 Number of Day Care Children <6 by Number of own Children <6 in Sitter's Home

Day care children <6 at sitters	Own Children <6				Σ
	0	1	2	3	
1	8	16	11	2	37
2	7	15	7	0	29
3	2	7	9	0	18
4	4	3	4	0	11
5	4	6	2	1	13
6	1	1	0	0	2
7	1	4	0	0	5
8	0	1	0	0	1
Σ	27	53	33	3	116

As we have already pointed out, the present sample is biased toward large numbers of children in care. Nevertheless, the numbers of children drop off rapidly once the mean is passed. Confirming the results of our previous study, we find that in completing their partially emptied nest, caregivers still tend to limit the size of the clutch they have acquired. This is shown in the distributions for the total number of children under six in the sitter's home, her own plus the day care children. See Table 4.8.

It may be seen in Table 4.8 that the shape of the distribution is not that of a normal curve, but that of a Poisson distribution in which large numbers of children become increasingly rare events. In this sample, however, 18 percent of the sitters were caring for more than five children under six which is the limit specified by federal requirements. (The distributions for total children under twelve at sitters' and for number of day care children under six also approximated the Poisson distribution, but not for sitter's own children under six.)

**Table 4.8 Observed and Poisson Distributions for
Total Number of Children under Six
at Sitters Including Caregiver's Own**

Number of children <6 at sitter's	f	cumulative percentage	Expected Cumulative percentage for Poisson distribution for mean = 3.8
0	0	0	2.2
1	8	7	10.7
2	23	27	26.9
3	28	51	47.3
4	20	68	66.8
5	16	82	81.6
6	11	92	90.9
7	4	95	96.0
8	5	99	98.4
9	1	100%	100.0
116			

Further evidence of the leveling off tendency in the number of children under six in a caregiver's home is shown in Table 4.9. For caregivers with increasing numbers of children of their own under the age of six, as one compares the cumulative percentages of arrangements at a given number of children in care, one notices that they all, roughly speaking, reach the same ceiling. Whether this represents an upper limit of tolerance on the part of the caregiver or the result of selective behavior on the part of the working mother cannot entirely be sorted out. The results are generally consistent, however, with those of our previous study suggesting that family day care arrangements obey some natural constraining forces that govern the number of children involved.

Correlates of the Amount of Day Care Business

In general, what socioeconomic conditions are associated with the number of children to be found in the caregiver's home? And of more practical value, who takes "too many" children? While it would be difficult to

Table 4.9 Total Number of Children Under Six at Sitters by Number of Sitter's Own Children Under Six* (Cumulative Percentage of Arrangements)

Cumulative Percentage of Arrangements Found at Each Group Size Where

Total Number of Children Under Six at Sitters (Group Size)	Sitter has no children of her own <6	Sitter has 1 child of her own <6	Sitter has 2 children of her own <6
1	30%		
2	56	30%	
3	63	59	33%
4	78	72	55
5	93	77	82
6	96	89	94
7	100	91	100
8		98	
9		100	
(total n=113*)	n=27	n=53	n=33

*3 cases omitted where sitter had 3 children of her own.

Table 4.10 Day Care Earnings and Number of Children Under Six in Sitter's Home

earnings per week	Number of Children Under Six		
	1-5	6+	
less than \$30	68	6	Q = .73
\$30 or more	27	15	X ² =13.77
			df = 1; p<.01
		116	

say what represents “too many” children, let us take six or more as an arbitrary cutting point and examine some results, both positive and negative, obtained from cross-tabulations with the *total* number of children under six at the sitters (including the caregiver’s own children).

However, using family income less caregiver earnings as a measure of economic need to babysit, we do not find that economic need is associated significantly with taking six or more children; rather, the relationship is slightly in the other direction. See Table 4.11.

Table 4.11 Family Income Less Caregiver Earnings and Number of Children Under Six in Sitter’s Home

Family Income less Caregiver Earnings	Number Children Under Six		
	1-5	6+	
<5000	23	8	Q = -.32 X ² = 1.69 df = 1, n.s.
≥5000	72	13	
			116

Likewise, having six or more children in care approaches a positive, not a negative, association with the sitter’s husband’s higher occupational SES (Reiss Scale). See Table 4.12.

Table 4.12 Number of Children Under Six in Sitter’s Home and Husband’s Occupational SES

No. of Children <6	SES		
	00-24	25 & over	
1-5	47	48	Q = .42 X ² = 3.03 df = 1; p <.10
6+	6	15	
			116

And it is not done by those sitters whose neighborhood SES was rated low by the interviewers, as shown by Table 4.13.

Table 4.13 Number of Children Under Six in Sitter's Home and Sitter's Neighborhood SES

No. Children under 6	Neighborhood SES		
	Middle	Low	
1-5	80	15	Q = .58
6+	20	1	X ² = 1.76
			df = 1; n.s.
	116		

Rather, they usually have small-lot private homes, along with most other caregivers.

Those who take six or more children tend to be the better educated sitters. See Table 4.14.

Table 4.14 Number of Children Under Six in Sitter's Home and Sitter's Education

No. children under 6	Sitter's Education			
	Less than H.S.	H.S. Grad.	Some college	
1-5	25	49	21	
6+	1	9	11	
	Gamma = .60	X ² = 9.57	df=2, p<.01	116

There was a zero correlation between having six or more children under six and either the age of the sitter or her marital status.

Looking more generally at the socioeconomic correlates of the number of children under six in the caregiver's home, we find similar results in a multiple regression. Three sitter demographic factors are predictive, though they account for only a small percentage of the variance. See Table 4.15.

They are a combination of high education and occupational SES, better housing, but low economic stability (based on husband's work).

Table 4.15 Multiple Regression of Total Number of Children Under Six in Sitter's Home (Including her own) on Sitter Demographic Factors

Step Number	Variable entered	R	R ²	R ² Increase
1	S's ed & occup. SES	.18	.04	.04
2	S's econ stab.	.25	.06	.03
3	S's better housing & neigh.	.27	.07	.02

$F_{3,112} = 2.95 \quad p < .05$

More predictive (Multiple R= .35; R²= .12) are working mother demographic factors, reflecting correlations between the number of children under six in the caregiver's home and those types of families with more children in need of care. Table 4.16 shows the regression on mother and sitter factors combined.

Table 4.16 Multiple Regression of Total Number of Children Under Six in Sitter's Home (Including her own) on Mother and Sitter Demographic Factors

Step Number	Variable entered	R	R ²	R ² Increase
1	M's better housing full pre-school fam.	.30	.09	.09
2	M's low neigh SES	.35	.12	.03
3	S's ed & occup SES	.41	.16	.04
4	S's econ stability	.44	.20	.03
5	M's earnings	.47	.22	.03
6	M's low ed, occup. & larger family	.50	.25	.02

$F_{6,109} = 5.90 \quad p < .01$

Factor Analysis of Arrangement Variables

Factor analytic procedures throw further light on the kinds of arrangements that were made. Sixteen "arrangement variables" were included in a factor analysis that was subjected to varimax rotation. Five rotated factors resulted, accounting for 62 percent of the total variance. The factor structure is presented in Table 4.17. Eigenvalues, communalities, means and standard deviations are shown in Table 4.18, and the correlation matrix in Table 4.19. The factors were as follows.

**Table 4.17 Factor Structure of Arrangement Variables
(16 Mother-Sitter Variables; 5 Rotated Factors)**

	I Hours of care	II School Age arrange- ment	III Pay for TA (No. m's chn & hrs of care)	IV Young child of new working m.	V Full house of pre- schoolers
1. Hours/day s gives care	.78				
6. Hours/week of care TA	.64		.49		
3. Shifts s sits for	.63				
2. Days/week s gives care	.55	.33			
4. S's day care earnings	.53				.55
8. S's No. children 12<18		.74			
10. All chn 6<12 at S's		.69	.30		
11. Time s in d.c. role		.52		.30	
13. Amount pay for TA			.88		
14. Number chn 6<12 in TA			.57	-.32	
5. Number chn <6 in TA			.57		.54
12. Age youngest child in TA				-.88	
15. Time M in work role				-.71	
16. Distance M's to S's house				.42	
9. All children <6 at S's					.87
7. Number other families using S.					.77

Table 4.18 Eigenvalues, Variance, Communalities, and Means and Standard Deviations for Factor Analysis of Arrangement Variables

Eigenvalues:	FI	FII	FIII	FIV	FV
	3.31	2.04	1.67	1.54	1.33
Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance					
	.21	.33	.44	.53	.62
Communalities	Means and Standard Deviations				
Variable	h²	\bar{X}	s.d.		
1. Hours/day s gives care	.64	10.16	2.97		
2. Days/week s gives care	.45	5.03	.77		
3. Shifts s sits for	.44	6.23	2.08		
4. S's day care earnings	.65	5.60	3.46		
5. Number chn <6 in TA	.74	1.28	.57		
6. Hours/week of care TA	.71	41.42	13.00		
7. Number other fam. using s.	.82	1.22	1.31		
8. S's No. children 12<18	.57	.45	.96		
9. All children <6 at S's	.82	3.80	1.84		
10. All chn 6<12 at S's	.64	1.39	1.41		
11. Time S in d.c. role	.41	8.02	3.16		
12. Age youngest child in TA	.78	2.44	1.53		
13. Amount pay for TA	.86	15.43	5.18		
14. Number chn 6<12 in TA	.51	.20	.48		
15. Time M in work role	.55	7.79	2.63		
16. Distance M's to S's house	.30	5.48	1.54		

Table 4.19 Intercorrelations of Mother and Sitter Arrangement Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Hrs/day S gives care	1	.22	-.51	.42	.02	.39	.24	-.01	.26	-.06	.20	-.05	.18	-.07	.02	-.01
Days/week S gives care	2		-.33	.41	.00	.26	.35	.17	.25	.12	.17	.01	.11	.01	-.04	.08
Shifts S sits	3			-.17	-.03	-.12	-.19	.00	-.20	.10	-.07	-.05	-.12	-.06	-.03	-.04
S's day care earnings	4				.05	.22	.66	.17	.52	.15	.22	-.04	.21	-.09	-.04	.07
No. ch'n <6 in T.A.	5					-.06	.08	-.04	.41	.22	.01	-.18	.49	.08	.05	.03
Hrs/week in care T.A.	6						-.03	-.05	.03	.01	-.02	-.04	.54	.05	.02	-.10
No. other families using S	7							.29	.74	.25	.24	-.02	.07	.03	-.06	.16
No. S's ch'n 12<18	8								.04	.34	.25	-.07	-.10	-.02	-.15	.05
Total ch'n <6 at S's	9									.06	.13	-.04	.24	.05	-.03	.07
Total ch'n 6<12 at S's	10										.21	.02	.09	.22	.04	.04
How long S in d.c. role	11											-.20	-.05	.01	-.15	.14
Age youngest child in T.A.	12												-.04	.25	.47	-.23
Amount of pay for T.A.	13													.38	.04	-.13
No. ch'n 6<12 in T.A.	14														-.02	-.15
How long M in work role	15															-.14
Distance M's to S's house	16															

Factor I (Arrangement): Hours of Care

Variable	Factor Loading
Hours per day S gives care	.78
Hours per week this arrangement care	.64
Shifts S sits for	.63
Days per week S gives care	.55
S's day care earnings	.53

Factor V (Arrangement): Full House with Preschool Children

Variable	Factor Loading
All children <6 at S's	.87
Number other families using this sitter	.77
S's day care earnings	.55
Number children <6 in TA	.54

Factors one and five separate two independent aspects of the amount of day care business. Each factor is associated with higher day care earnings. One factor is the number of hours devoted to giving family day care, while the other is the number of children accommodated.* Some sitters are flexible about the range and number of hours they will sit. Others are more restrictive about the hours, but care for larger numbers of children. Working mothers with an above-average number of children under six tend to use these arrangements. These arrangements specialize in preschoolers and are a full house.

Factor II (Arrangement): School-age Arrangement

Variable	Factor Loading
S's number of children 12<18	.74
All children 6<12	.69
Time in day care role	.52
Days/week S gives care	.33

By contrast, Factor II describes a school-age arrangement. The sitter's children tend to be twelve to eighteen, as well as six to twelve; in short, the home is full of school-age children. These caregivers have been performing the day care role a relatively long time.

Factor III (Arrangement): Basis of Day Care Pay for this Arrangement

Variable	Factor Loading
Amount of pay for this arrangement (TA)	.88
Number children 6<12 in TA	.57
Number children <6in TA	.57
Hours per week in care in TA	.49
All children 6<12 at S's	.30

*In a multiple regression, 74 percent of the variance of the total number of children under six (including her own at sitter's) was accounted for by Factor V; Factor I accounted for an additional 4 percent, and Factor II an additional 2 percent.

In Factor III, the elements of day care pay emerged as an independent facet of the arrangement. The amount paid by the working mother, along with those primary determinants of the "going rate"—number of children in the arrangement and hours in care, produce results similar to those reported earlier in the chapter which were obtained by multiple regressions of the amount of day care pay.

Factor IV (Arrangement): Young Child of New Working Mother

Variable	Factor Loading
Age of youngest child in TA	-.88
Time in work role	-.71
Distance M's to S's house	.42
Number children 6<12 in TA	-.32
Time S in day care role	.30

The last factor is the arrangement for the young child of the new working mother. Also loading on this factor with low loadings is a tendency for these mothers to go a greater than average distance for a sitter and to select caregivers with relatively greater experience in the performance of the day care role.

Arrangement Factors and Demographic Factors

A more detailed understanding of the arrangement factors is provided by an examination of their correlates with the mother and sitter demographic factors. This was done by means of a canonical correlation, thus, in effect, providing a second-order factor analysis that seeks the best linear combinations of the sets of factors for correlation with each other. The canonical correlations between the arrangement factors and the caregiver demographic factors are shown in Table 4.20. Two roots were extracted significant at the five percent level. The first root simply confirms that the school-age arrangement is a function of the sitter's middle and later stages of family development, involving large family size and stability of residence. The second root is more interesting although the canonical correlation is not especially high. After removal of the first root we see that the factor of sitter's economic stability (which was based largely on husband's job seniority and family-income) is negatively correlated with the two arrangement factors involving sitter's day care earnings, that is, with the one involving many hours of care giving and the one involving many preschool children. This correlation appears to identify a significant but modest relationship between economic need and amount of day care business undertaken by the caregiver.

The canonical correlations between arrangement factors and the demographic factors of the working mother are shown in Table 4.21. Four roots were extracted significant at the five percent level. The first root appears artifactual and redundant, showing a high canonical correlation between the mother's early stage of family development and arrangements involving a young child of a new working mother. The results suggest, however, that this represents a specialized arrangement for this group of young mothers. The second root shows a correlation between day care pay and those factors involving many children. One such factor involves low education and occupational SES, while the other involves high residential SES. Conspicuous by its absence is any weight given to the mother's earnings or family income (Factors VIII and I).

Table 4.20 Canonical Correlation of Arrangement Factors and Sitter Demographic Factors

		Sitter Demographic Factors				Arrangement Factors	
First Root	I	Low residential SES	.05	$R_c = .73$ $p < .05$	-.04	I	Hours of care
	II	Late stage of fam. devel.	.63		.98	II	School-age Arrangement
	III	Economic stability	.18		-.16	III	Basis for day care pay
	IV	Stability of residence	.44		.12	IV	Young child of new work. m.
	V	Ed & occup SES	-.14		.05	V	Full house of preschoolers
	VI	Better housing and neigh.	.07				
	VII	Middle stage fam. devel.	.59				

Latent root = .538, $R_c = .733$, $\Lambda = .321$, $X^2 = 124.28$, $df = 35$, $p < .05$

Second Root	I	Low residential SES	-.19	$R_c = .44$ $p < .05$	-.76	I	Hours of care
	II	Late stage of fam. devel.	-.33		.07	II	School-age Arrangement
	III	Economic stability	.83		.28	III	Basis for day care pay
	IV	Stability of residence	-.23		-.17	IV	Young child of new work. m.
	V	Ed & occup SES	-.26		-.55	V	Full house of preschoolers
	VI	Better housing and neigh.	.00				
	VII	Middle stage fam. devel.	.21				

Latent root = .189, $R_c = .435$, $\Lambda = .695$, $X^2 = 39.78$, $df = 24$, $p < .05$

The mother's earnings, however, do enter the picture in the third root which presents a more complicated picture. The demographic factor involves high income from the mother's job rather than from the husband's, low education and a larger family, low residential SES. These high-earning, lower-class mothers, then do not use arrangements that are full of preschool children from "better" neighborhoods, but they pay more for their arrangements because they have relatively more children per arrangement and because their arrangements involve longer hours of child care. The fourth root, while not accounting for a large proportion of the variance, suggests a negative relationship between use of the school-age arrangement and mother's economic circumstances.

Table 4.21 Canonical Correlation of Arrangement Factors and Mother Demographic Factors

Mother Demographic Factors				Arrangement Factors			
First Root	I	Family SES	-.19	$R_c = .80$ $p < .05$	.06	I	Hours of care
	II	Recent change of residence	.02		.15	II	School-age arrangement
	III	Lo ed & occup; larger fam.	.01		.18	III	Basis for day care pay
	IV	Early stage of fam. devel.	-.96		-.96	IV	Young chd of new work m.
	V	Low neighborhood SES	-.05		-.14	V	Full house of preschool.
	VI	Better housing; pre-sch fam	-.03				
	VII	M's earnings	.20				

Latent root = .641, $R_c = .801$, $\Lambda = .1008$, $X^2 = 251.26$, $df = 35$, $p < .05$

Second Root	I	Family SES	.04	$R_c = .75$ $p < .05$	-.18	I	Hours of care
	II	Recent change of residence	-.15		-.12	II	School-age arrangement
	III	Lo ed & occup; larger fam.	.72		.87	III	Basis for day care pay
	IV	Early stage of fam. devel.	-.01		.07	IV	Young chd of new work m.
	V	Low neighborhood SES	-.24		.43	V	Full house of preschool.
	VI	Better housing; pre-sch fam	-.56				
	VII	M's earnings	.52				

Latent root = .569, $R_c = .754$, $\Lambda = .281$, $X^2 = 139.08$, $df = 24$, $p < .05$

Third Root	I	Family SES	-.32	$R_c = .47$ $p < .05$	.47	I	Hours of care
	II	Recent change of residence	-.11		-.05	II	School-age arrangement
	III	Lo ed & occup; larger fam.	.46		.44	III	Basis for day care pay
	IV	Early stage of fam. devel.	.20		.21	IV	Young chd of new work m.
	V	Low neighborhood SES	-.24		-.73	V	Full house of preschool.
	VI	Better housing; pre-sch fam	-.56				
	VII	M's earnings	.52				

Latent root = .220, $R_c = .469$, $\Lambda = .652$, $X^2 = 46.90$, $df = 15$, $p < .05$

Fourth Root	I	Family SES	-.24	$R_c = .34$ $p < .05$	.55	I	Hours of care
	II	Recent change of residence	.03		-.76	II	School-age arrangement
	III	Lo ed & occup; larger fam.	-.37		-.12	III	Basis for day care pay
	IV	Early stage of fam. devel.	.17		-.15	IV	Young chd of new work m.
	V	Low neighborhood SES	.30		.29	V	Full house of preschool.
	VI	Better housing; pre-sch fam	.43				
	VII	M's earnings	.71				

Latent root = .116, $R_c = .341$, $\Lambda = .835$, $X^2 = 19.71$, $df = 8$, $p < .05$

Table 4.22 Correlation Matrix of Demographic Factors and Arrangement Factors

			I Hours of care	II School- age arrange- ment	III Basis for day care pay	IV Young child of new work m	V Full house of pre- schoolers
S	I	Low residential SES					
I	II	Late stage of fam. devel.		.46			
T	III	Economic stability	-.26				
T	IV	Stability of residence		.32			
E	V	Ed & occup SES					.20
R	VI	Better housing & neigh.			.19		
	VII	Middle stage of fam. devel.		.41			
M	I	Family SES	-.24				
O	II	Recent change of residence					
T	III	Lo ed & occup; larger family			.59		
H	IV	Early stage of fam. devel.				.75	
E	V	Low neighborhood SES					
R	VI	Better housing; preschool fam.			.31		.45
	VII	M's earnings	.19	.23			

This table shows only those correlations significant at $p < .05$ ($r = .18$)

Summary

In the exchange of money for services, what did the working mother actually pay for? And how did arrangements differ? Some findings:

- A multiple regression of the amount paid for family day care showed that 66 percent of the "going rate" reflects the number of children per arrangement and the number of hours in care, and that only 3 percent of variation in the going rate is attributable to differences in family income. Despite a common feeling that "you get what you pay for," the scale measuring mother's satisfaction with sitter's concern for the child - a strong evaluative factor - made no contribution to the amount of day care pay.
- Confirming the results of our previous study concerning the size of the typical family day care operation, approximately 3/4ths involve 3 or fewer day care children under 6. The most typical situation is a caregiver with one child under 6 of her own (plus older ones after school) and two day care children under 6. Above 3 or 4 children under 6 the frequencies drop off rapidly like a Poisson distribution so that caring for 8 preschoolers is a rare event. Family day care is a very different phenomenon than even the small proprietary center.
- Which caregivers are apt to take 7 or more children under 6? Those with more education ($\gamma = .60$) and higher husband's SES. A multiple regression of total number of children under 6 in the sitter's home on a variety of demographic factors showed that sitters who are better off and mothers who are less well off are the ones who make "full house" arrangements.
- A factor analysis of arrangement variables showed that family day care tends to specialize in at least 5 ways: 1) those higher paid arrangements, reflecting numbers of children and hours of care, 2) those involving many and flexible hours of care but without many children, and three factors specializing in stages of family development, 3) the very young child of the new working mother, 4) the full-house of preschoolers, and 5) the school age arrangement.

CHAPTER V

PREFERENCES AND POSSIBILITIES FOR WORK AND DAY CARE ROLES

A woman, a mother, who appears in this study either as a caregiver or as a working mother using family day care, faced a number of decisions and at least in principle she had a range of alternatives at each decision point. There are work role alternatives, and if she works outside the home there are day care alternatives. If she uses family day care there is a choice among arrangements. However, logically possible alternatives are not always a possible, feasible, or reasonable option for a family. As we saw in Chapter III, the mothers who entered the labor force had a greater economic need to work outside of the home than did the caregivers. Likewise the choice of family day care is not only a question of preferences but also is related to not having relatives who could perform as caregivers.

During the T₁ interview both mothers and sitters were asked to rank their preferences for five possible work roles and to indicate for each whether they thought it would be possible to do. Respondents were asked, "Aside from what you prefer which ones are available to you? For example, you prefer (blank) first. Could you do this?" Answers were coded: yes; maybe, but not sure; yes but I wouldn't; and no. The percentage indicating "no, not possible" for each of the work role alternatives is shown in Table 5.1 along with the preference data showing the percentages giving each alternative as a first choice, as either a first or second choice, and as a last choice. Several findings may be observed in this table:

1) A substantial proportion of working mothers regard other work role alternatives as impossible, especially those involving staying at home, and even 31% do not regard a part-time job as possible for them, because they need to work full-time.

2) As for the sitters 27% believe they could not stay at home without doing the kind of work they are doing, but 41% regard a full-time job outside the home as impossible. In general, however, sitters reported less constraint than working mothers as to the role they are performing.

3) A greater percentage of sitters than working mothers reported a preference for the role they were in fact performing. Forty-five percent of the caregivers gave "babysit at home" as their first choice while only 16% of the working mothers gave "full-time job outside the home" as their first choice. Working mothers gave first choice status to a part-time job but in fact 88% of the working mothers in this sample were working full-time.

4) The fact that 70% of the sitters saw a full-time job outside the home as a last choice reinforces the finding that these two groups represent different populations with respect to their work role motivations. Only 28 percent of the caregivers but 76 percent of the working mothers gave a first or second choice preference to a part-time job outside the home.

A separate code was established for the ranked choice the respondent gave to her present work role, which was "babysit at home" for the caregivers and either a full-time or part-time job outside the home for working mothers. The results presented in Table 5.2 show the caregivers having a more pronounced preference for what

Table 5.1 Sitters' and Mothers' First and Last Choice Among Alternative Work Roles

	First Choice		Either First or Second Choice		Last Choice		No, Not Possible	
	Sitters	Mothers	Sitters	Mothers	Sitters	Mothers	Sitters	Mothers
Full time job outside the home	7%	16%	9%	29%	70%	28%	41%	3%
Babysit at home	45	4	79	15	0	44	0	53
Stay at home – not work or sit	34	33	51	52	17	10	27	62
Part time job outside the home	11	42	28	76	3	3	28	31
Other work to do at home	3	5	33	28	9	16	23	47

they are doing than the working mothers. For 79 percent of the sitters giving family day care was either a first or second choice, while for the working mothers, working either full-time or part-time (which ever she was doing) was a first or second choice for only 39%.

Table 5.2 Rank of Present Work Role

	%	Sitter	%	Mother
		Cumulative %		Cumulative %
First Choice	45	45	24	24
Second Choice	34	79	15	39
Third Choice	14	93	21	60
Fourth Choice	7	100	16	74
Fifth Choice	0		24	100

That these caregivers are taking care of children because this is the work they want to be doing seems clear not only from the work role preferences reported above, but also from the fact that 97% of them gave a high preference ranking to their current role of providing family day care. See Table 5.3 in which are shown responses to questions about the preferences and possibilities respondents had for the type of care they would and could give or use.

Table 5.3 Sitters' and Mothers' Ranking of Alternative Kinds of Day Care

	First Choice		High Rank*		Low Rank**		Last Choice	
	Sitters to give	Mothers to use	Sitters to give	Mothers to use	Sitters to give	Mothers to use	Sitters to give	Mothers to use
A relative in the mother's home	0%	12%	3%	28%	78%	47%	29%	27%
A relative in the sitter's home	13	12	61	31	16	50	1	13
Someone, not a relative, in mother's home	0	28	3	52	72	32	42	19
Someone, not a relative, in sitter's home	77	24	97	52	1	29	0	9
Group day care or nursery school	10	23	36	38	34	42	28	32

* high rank = 1st or 2nd choice

** low rank = 4th or 5th choice

By contrast this sample of working mothers were not using the type of day care of their choice to the extent found in our previous study. Only 24% gave family day care as their first choice and only 52% ranked it as either first or second choice, and 29% gave it one of the two lowest rankings of the five alternatives presented.

The question of which alternative to family day care the family day care users would prefer (assuming it were possible) was answered by counting the number of times any alternative kind of care was preferred over family day care in a paired comparison analysis of the ranked preferences. Expressed as a percentage of mothers who preferred family day care to each kind of alternative:

- 44% preferred it to having a sitter come into the mother's home;
- 61% preferred it to a relative caring for the child in the relative's home;
- 64% preferred it to having a relative come into the mother's home; and
- 64% preferred it to having the child in a group day care situation.

Do Preferences Change with Experience?

How stable were these preferences over time? Do preferences change with experience in the role of family day care user? Two scale items provide repeat measures at the beginning and the end of the arrangement. The results show relatively little change.

		T ₁	T ₃		T ₁				
					-	0	+		
I would rather have my child with a sitter than with a relative or member of my own family.	disagree	34	26	T ₃	-	23	3	5	116
	neither agree or disagree	14	22		0	6	8	11	
	agree	52	52		+	10	5	45	
		100%	100%						

		T ₁	T ₃		T ₁				
					-	0	+		
I would rather have my child at the home of a sitter than at a day care center.	disagree	33	34	T ₃	-	27	6	6	116
	neither agree nor disagree	8	6		0	4	1	2	
	agree	59	60		+	8	2	60	
		100%	100%						

When controlling for whether or not the mother had had previous day care experience the change pattern was no different. There was however, a slight trend, not statistically significant, in the direction of increasing preference for family day care among those who had made previous family day care arrangements.

	previous arrangement			previous arrangement			
		no	yes		no	yes	
Preference for FDC over relatives at T ₃	No or ?	18	28	Preference for FDC over day care center at T ₃	No or ?	20	36
	Yes	17	53		Yes	15	45
		$X^2=2.903, p<.10$ n.s.				$X^2=1.578, p<.30$ n.s.	

What Kinds of Arrangements Were Regarded as Possible?

Considering the lack of overwhelming preference for family day care on the part of its users one might find the extent of such use surprising were it not for the fact that for the most part these working mothers saw no alternative but to use the form of care that they were using. Either in the home or out of the mother's home, for 94 and 84% respectively it was not deemed possible to use a relative as a sitter. Neither were the prospects perceived as bright for use of a day care center or of having a non-relative sitter come in. See Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Possibility of Use of Day Care Alternatives Reported by Mothers Using Family Day Care (N=116)

Kind of Day Care	Possible	Not Possible	Total
Using a relative in mother's home	6	94	100%
Using a relative in the relative's home	16	84	100%
Use of group day care center or nursery school	21	79	100%
Use of a non-relative sitter in mother's home	38	62	100%
Use of a non-relative sitter in her home (family day care)	100	0	100%

Interestingly the reported preferences were largely independent of the reported possibilities. In no instance was preference associated with what the mothers regarded as possible:

Relative in Mother's Home

		Pref.	Poss.	Not Poss.	
Hi		0	32		
Lo		7	77		
		n.s.			116

Relative in Relative's Home

		Pref.	Poss.	Not Poss.	
Hi		5	31		
Lo		14	66		
		$\chi^2=0.236$			116
		n.s.			

Group Care Center

		Pref.	Poss.	Not Poss.	
Hi		7	37		
Lo		17	55		
		n.s.			116

Non-Relative Sitter at M's Home

		Pref.	Poss.	Not Poss.	
Hi		23	37		
Lo		21	35		
		n.s.			116

Family Day Care

		Pref.	Poss.	Not Poss.	
Hi		60	0		
Lo		56	0		
					116

Likewise, the caregivers, though somewhat less dramatically than mothers, tended not to see as possible other kinds of caregiving alternatives than that of giving family day care, that is caring for the children of non-relatives in their own homes. See Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Possibility of Caregiving Alternatives Reported by Sitters Giving Family Day Care (N=116)

Kind of Day Care	Possible	Not Possible	Total
Giving care in relative's home	22	78	100%
Giving care in a non-relative's home	24	76	100%
Giving care in a day care center	47	53	100%
Giving care to relative in sitter's own home	48	52	100%
Giving care to non-relative in sitter's own home	100	0	100%

For the sitters, however, reported preferences were not independent of reported possibilities. In the case of giving care in a day care center or to a relative in the sitter's own home (the only two instances in which the distributions permit analysis), the sitter's preference was positively associated with her perception of the alternative as possible. (Or low preference where it was not possible):

Family Day Care

		Not	
Pref.	Poss.	Poss.	
Hi	112	0	
Lo	4	0	
			116

Relative in Sitter's Home

		Not	
Pref.	Poss.	Poss.	
Hi	39	32	
Lo	17	28	
			$X^2=3.244$
			116

Group Care Center

		Not	
Pref.	Poss.	Poss.	
Hi	28	14	
Lo	27	47	
			$X^2=9.787$
			116

Sitter in a Relative's Home

		Not	
Pref.	Poss.	Poss.	
Hi	2	1	
Lo	23	90	
			116

Sitter in a Non-Relative's Home

		Not	
Pref.	Poss.	Poss.	
Hi	2	2	
Lo	26	86	
			116

The working mother is more disadvantaged than the sitter in the number of alternatives to family day care reported as possible. Tallying the number of possibilities other than family day care reported as open to each respondent the working mothers had fewer options open to them:

	Sitters to give	Mothers to use
0 alternative kinds of care possible	26	48
1 alternative kind of care possible	40	51
2 alternative kinds of care possible	31	14
3 alternative kinds of care possible	14	1
All 4 alternative kinds of care possible	5	2
	116	116
		$x^2 = 26.84$
		$df = 4; p < .01$

In general, we may conclude this analysis of preferences and possibilities regarding the work role and type of day care as showing the working mother to be rather severely constrained by the options open to her and her preferences do not correspond closely to the options she was obliged to adopt. Nevertheless, the majority of family day care users report a relatively stable preference for the kind of child care they are using when asked to compare it with other out-of-home forms of day care. These are bare majorities, however, and more mothers than not would rather have their child remain at home and indeed, would rather stay home themselves, as long as they could not have a part-time job outside the home. Later however, we shall see that these mothers make the best of it in some sense, reporting higher levels of satisfaction with various aspects of the arrangement they have made than one might suppose from the preference data.

Caregivers, in contrast, are clearly home-oriented in their work-role preferences, not even sharing the working mothers' preference for a part-time job out of the home. Caregivers report less constraint than working mothers and a greater likelihood of preferring what they are doing.

CHAPTER VI

THE NATURE OF THE SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTHER AND SITTER

Whether by choice or force of circumstance, then, the working mothers of this study turned beyond kinship resources to make an out-of-home arrangement with a non-relative. But who would this non-relative be? A friend, acquaintance, or stranger? And how would contact be made? In *Child Care by Kith* we found that initial circumstances were important. Arrangements made within the context of a friendship had a different dynamics than arrangements between persons who had had no prior relationship before entering into the contractual child care agreement. Much of that study was based on a comparison of arrangements between friends and arrangements between strangers. The present study, however, is based on a sample that primarily consisted of arrangements between strangers. Respondents were asked "How did you go about making this particular arrangement?" Mother and sitter reports of how the contact for the arrangement was made (Table 6.1) show classified ads were the basis for 48 percent and informal intermediaries were used for 30 percent of the arrangements.

Did they regard themselves as friends, acquaintances, or strangers? The answer is shown in Table 6.2; approximately 8 percent were friends and at least three-fourths were strangers.

Table 6.1 How Contact for This Arrangement was Made

	Mother's Report	Sitter's Report
Directly with a friend or acquaintance	21	19
Through a friend, relative, or acquaintance who knew of the mother's need and/or the sitter's willingness	21	19
Through a Day Care Neighbor	16	14
Through the school, church, or an agency	4	7
From a newspaper classified ad	54	56
Mother knocked on door – direct approach from comparative stranger	0	1
	116	116

Table 6.2 Status of Acquaintance When Arrangement Began

	Mother's Report	Sitter's Report
Mother and sitter were:		
friends	9	10
acquaintances	18	14
strangers	89	92
	116	116
Sitter and child were:		
friends	7	7
acquaintances	9	9
strangers	100	100
	116	116

How long had the mother and sitter known each other? Two-thirds, "no time at all."

	Mother's Report	Sitter's Report
no time at all	75	76
less than 1 week	13	9
1 week to a month	2	9
1 month to a year	13	10
more than 1 year	13	12
	116	116

The mother's apparent reason for making this arrangement as judged by the mother interviewer is shown in Table 6.3. In only 14 percent was the mother's reason classified as an act of desperation, taking the first sitter found.

Table 6.3 Mother's Apparent Reason for Making Arrangement (Interviewer judgment)

	Frequency
First choice among possible alternatives	59
Desperate – first sitter this mother found	16
Friendship of mother and sitter	14
Sitter well recommended and/or arrangement through friend	9
Children of two families already playmates	6
Playmate for own child	5
Convenience	4
Other	3
	116

The sitter's apparent reason for making this arrangement as judged by the sitter interviewer is shown in Table 6.4. "Money badly needed" characterized 22 percent of the sitters.

Table 6.4 Sitter's Apparent Reason for Making Arrangement (Interviewer judgment)

	Frequency
Extra money	34
Money badly needed	26
Wanted a child to care for	24
Playmate for own child	17
Friendship of the mother and sitter	10
Children of two families already playmates	5
	116

Again it may be seen that in not more than twenty arrangements was a prior friendship or relationship involved in the formation of this arrangement.

How long did they plan to continue the arrangement? Sixty-two percent of the mothers and 68 percent of the sitters had either an indefinite or no definite period of time planned for the arrangement. See Table 6.5. Their expectations shown in Table 6.6 show that 44% of the mothers and 27% of the sitters anticipated that it would continue until there was some change in circumstances, that is, an outside event. Thirty-one percent of the mothers and 48% of the sitters thought it would go on as long as the other wanted it to.

Were They Neighbors?

Another important determinant of the relationship between mother and sitter was the degree to which they regarded one another as neighbors. Confirming the results of our previous study of the distance of family day care homes, 17% lived either next door, across the street, in the same block, or in the next block, and 75% lived within one mile. Thus the majority of arrangements were not between close, immediate neighbors but were within a radius that one would regard as being in the general neighborhood. Thus since the majority of the social relationships between the mothers and sitters of this sample were initiated through newspaper ads or at least a third party intermediary, since they regarded themselves as strangers for the most part rather than friends or acquaintances, and since they mostly had the social distance of being only vaguely neighbors despite reasonably close proximity, the social interaction that developed between them became friendly but did not extend beyond the context of the arrangement itself.

During the second interview the respondents were asked to complete a brief questionnaire which included the information regarding the scope and amount of their social interaction with one another. Table 6.7 defines quite clearly the circumscribed social relationships between the two families; relations are friendly but tend not to extend beyond the confines of the user-giver role.

A Typology of Family Day Care Arrangements

Since the beginning of the field study, an effort was made to develop a typology of family day care arrangements that would serve as a working conceptual framework for ordering the varieties of arrangements that observation had suggested. Even though such "ideal type" characterizations would fail to fit well a great many cases, they were useful as working hypotheses. Even though empirical testing and revision would be needed, the typology served as a guide for the kind of research in which measurement was emphasized and analysis of arrangement phenomena would be pursued to many domains and a great many variables.

The original typology was described in *Child Care by Kith* (Appendix E), and to some extent it was tested in that study, resulting in a revised set of descriptions of the types we thought we would encounter in the panel study. These descriptions as used by our interviewers are presented in Box 6.1. The interviewers were asked to classify during each interview the typology characteristics of their own respondent and of the other party to the arrangement as well. They were given a second choice if needed. Each type for each respondent was assigned "typology points" on the basis of the mother interviewers' and the sitter interviewers' judgment. A high degree of agreement between the judgments of these independent interviewers could not be expected because each interviewer was interviewing a party to the arrangement whose orientation and behavior could well be different. Table 6.8 shows the distribution of typology points. It may be seen that Types B and C were the most prevalent types of arrangement, each representing a little more than one-third of the sample. Type B arrangements were playful, warm and child-oriented, meeting both physical and emotional needs of the child. Type C is more commercially oriented; more efficient than warm, with emphasis on the contractual features and physical care. Only a small number of arrangements were judged by the interviewers as deviant types

Table 6.5 How Long Arrangement Was Planned For, Mother's View by Sitter's View

Mother's View	Sitter's View									Σ
	<1 mo	1<2 mo	2<3 mo	3<6 mo	until outside event	no plans didn't discuss	6<9 mo	9 mo<12 mo	≥1 yr.	
<1 mo	2	1								3
1<2 mos			1		2	1				4
2<3 mos			3	1						4
3<6 mos				2	4			1		7
until indef. outside event		1	2	6	23	13	5	1	3	54
No plans, didn't discuss					6	10			1	17
6<9 mos					4	1				5
9 mo<12 mos				1	2	4			1	8
≥1 yr.			1	1	7	2	1	1	1	14
Σ	2	2	7	11	48	31	6	3	6	116

(Methodological note: For the regression analysis of duration in Chapter VI, the above codes were combined so that if either respondent said how long the arrangement was planned to last, whether or not communicated to the other party, this number was coded. "Indefinite outside event" and "no plans" were combined into a single code since they fell at about the mean duration and would have least effect on the correlations there. The other code numbers for 6<9 mos., etc., were moved up accordingly.)

Table 6.6 Plans Regarding Termination of the Arrangement

	Mother's Report	Sitter's Report
As long as she (both) wants	31%	48%
Don't know or hadn't thought about it	6	12
Depends on how it works out	6	9
Trial period mentioned	3	3
Until change in circumstances (e.g., anticipated outside event)	44	27
Until mother can make other arrangement which better fits her needs, (e.g., closer to home, housekeeper, etc.)	8	1
Not happy but not planning to terminate	2	0
Sitter (mother) dissatisfied, planning to quit	0	0
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

**Table 6.7 Scope and Amount of Social
Interaction Between Mother and Sitter Families**

	Mother Report	Sitter Report*
She has been to my house almost as much as I have been to hers.	15	19
She has been to my house a few times that were not connected with this arrangement.	22	12
I have been to her home other times than for my child but she has never been in mine.	13	9
I have been in her home only to leave or get my child and she has never been in mine.	54	60
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
We spend most of our free time together.	0	1
We often do things together.	5	8
We see each other once in a while when my child isn't at her home.	28	19
We see each other only when I leave my child or pick him up.	61	65
The sitter and I often don't see each other even on days my child is at her home.	6	7
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

	Mother Report	Sitter Report
We usually talk about all sorts of things: families, children, work.	60	56
We usually talk about my child and what he is doing.	38	40
We talk most about what she and I are doing.	0	3
The sitter and I usually talk most about all the problems of getting by.	2	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
The sitter and I often exchange all kinds of favors.	8	6
We do extras for each other to make the arrangement easier.	41	17
I pay her what we agreed and she does her part without worrying about doing favors.	47	74
She doesn't do what she is supposed to do.	4	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
We are best friends.	2	3
We are good friends.	18	18
The sitter and I are friendly, but only in the arrangement.	58	44
I see this sitter only because she is taking care of my child.	22	35
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Our families are together much of the time.	3	4
Once in a while our families do things together.	9	6
I have only seen others in her family occasionally.	82	53
I have never met the rest of her family.	6	37
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
My husband sees the sitter's family often because we are friends.	6	10
He usually comes with me for our child.	10	10
He sometimes brings or picks up our child.	32	29
We are a one-parent family.	33	16
My husband usually picks up and delivers our child.	10	11
My husband has never met the sitter.	9	24
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Our children play together most of the time.	4	3
They sometimes are together when they are not being cared for at the sitter's.	17	17
The children in our families see each other only during the time my child is at the sitter's.	63	66
Because of our children's ages, it is silly to talk about "playing together."	12	11
The sitter does not have children.	4	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

*Statements are worded from the mother's view; sitter statements are comparable. E.g., mother statement "My husband usually picks up and delivers our child" is sitter statement, "The father usually picks up and delivers the child."

despite the considerable effort that was made to include such cases in the sample. Five percent, for example, were classified as crisis-ridden, disorganized situations in which the child is adrift in a world where adults have neither time nor energy to provide good physical care or to meet his expressive needs.

In part these data reflect a tendency on the part of the interviewers to identify with the respondents they were interviewing and to assess their arrangements with empathy for their situations and struggles. Therefore all interview schedules and tapes were reviewed by the interview supervisor who made typology judgments of her own on the taped interviews without consulting the code for the interviewer's judgment. This distribution is also shown in Table 6.8.

It became increasingly clear that in gross terms Type B or a B-C combination was the dominant type of arrangement in family day care and that a clustering of types would not prove fruitful, because of the mixed character and dearth of "pure" types other than B. B points were extensively mixed with C, and very few cases had more than traces of the various "deviant" types. The interviewer typology judgments for mothers and sitters proved to be in agreement sufficiently to justify using them as a typing of the *arrangement*. A correlation of .80 was found for the sum of type B points for the mothers at T₁+T₃ and the sum of the sitter B points at T₁ and at T₃. Also the typology changes for the mothers and the sitters from T₁ to T₃ were correlated .57.

Table 6.8 Distribution of Typology Points at T₁ and T₃

Type	T ₁		T ₃	
	Points	%	Points	%
A Like an extended family; born of friendship or closeness of prior relationship	78	6	113	8
B Planful, warm and child-oriented, meets both physical and emotional needs of child	645	46	588	42
C Commercially oriented; contractual emphasis on physical care, more efficient than warm	541	39	549	39
D Intense attachment between adults; child incidental	31	2	30	2
E Rescue of, or possessive attachment to, child	15	1	23	2
F Born of crisis and desperation	60	4	-	-
G Chaotic, disorganized, marginal, unplanned	22	2	89	7
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1392	100%	1392	100%

Percentages by Judge (T₁ + T₃ combined)

Type	Interviewer Judgment of		Office Judgment of same	
	Own respondent	Other respondent	"own"	"other"
A	6	6	7	7
B	52	43	40	34
C	30	37	42	49
D	3	4	1	1
E	2	2	5	2
F	2	2	1	1
G	5	6	4	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Box 6.1

DESCRIPTIONS OF TYPES FOR
T₁, T₂ and T₃ INTERVIEWS

Instructions to Interviewers:

Each interviewer is asked to characterize her respondent as type A through G. If she feels it necessary to describe the respondent's orientation more adequately, she may (but is not required to) include another type as second choice. She will be encouraged to use the same procedure to type the other party to the arrangement, but will be offered the option of adding "Not enough information" to her judgment (to be used sparingly) for the person not seen, if she feels the interview did not elicit the necessary information.

Type A at T₁

The type A mother chooses a family friend whom her child already knows or whose children he knows and presumably enjoys. There are two principal distinguishing features at T₁. The child is not thrust into a totally strange situation, but has prior knowledge of the people and place where he will be. For him the situation can be like visiting with an aunt and cousins or his grandmother. It may mean a formalized continuation of formerly casual play with his friends. He has some idea what to expect of the sitter and what she expects of him. Second, mother and sitter know each other well enough to feel that they share mutual standards of child care. Planning between mother and sitter may be extensive or almost nonexistent because the sitter is already well acquainted with the child and the mother.

Type A at T₂ and T₃

There is a relationship among members of both families. The child therefore does not go from one separate set of relationships to another, but experiences some continuity and sense of being part of a group made up of his own and his "day care" families. There are visits and varied social contacts extending beyond the minimum contacts required by the child care arrangement. The mother and sitter have shared beliefs and standards of child care. They may discuss how the child gets along, and handling

of specifics, or they may feel they understand each other so that this is not necessary. Discussion that takes place may be easy for them because they are friends, or it may be or may not be of importance.

The salient characteristics of this type are friendship between the families, a sense of sharing child care responsibilities in a way that focuses on all the child's needs, and the extension of the child's family world rather than a separate day care world. These characteristics may be present when the arrangement starts or may develop out of the day care experience.

Type B at T₁

Either the mother and sitter know each other slightly or are strangers at the beginning of the arrangement. Mother and/or sitter may have been referred or recommended by someone else. If no third person was involved, she probably asked questions of the other before agreeing to the arrangement. The child does not know the sitter or her home; he enters a separate world when the arrangement begins. There is a reasonable amount of planning for the terms of the arrangement (pay, hours, etc.) and for his physical care; the women expect that the child's initial adjustment, comfort and happiness be equally important to care of his physical needs—payment is made or received on the presumption that they will be working together toward these ends.

Type B at T₂ and T₃

These arrangements are characterized by planful, child-oriented behavior on the part of both women. They are friendly but not intimate; their association is limited to the requirements of the day care arrangement. Their communication is largely around the child and his needs. They cooperate on the practical aspects of managing the arrangement; one or the other may "hold the reins," or there may be mutual give and take. The child's well-being is of concern to them, including efforts to meet his emotional as well as physical needs. There is affection between sitter and child, but his own home and day care home are separate. The arrangement is businesslike. Payment for service expected and rendered is important, but there is also concern for the quality of experience for the child in terms of his expressive needs.

Type C at T₁

Type C is somewhat like type B. The mother and sitter, as type B, do not know each other well at the beginning of the arrangement and they are reasonably planful about selection. The difference from type B is one of emphasis. An agreement on the terms of the arrangement is the most important area to be decided, with the child incidental to an efficient arrangement. The welfare of the child is discussed primarily in terms of his being well behaved, the routine to be followed, what meals he will need, etc. There is a commercial flavor to type "Cs," the giving of an adequately defined and performed service for an agreed upon rate of pay.

Type C at T₂ and T₃

These arrangements show most concern for the external details of keeping an arrangement going smoothly. The women make a business agreement in which one purchases and the other sells service. Details about the child's physical care are given planful attention and the communication between the women is largely around these matters. The child is expected to behave himself and adjust to the day care home, which is separate from his own. The families do not know each other and the relationship between the women is apt to be distant.

Type D at T₁

The choice of arrangement is determined primarily by the relationship between mother and sitter. Reasons given for the arrangement are indicative of adult friendship rather than of a primary interest in the needs of the child. "She takes a real interest in me" is the type of reason that might be offered either for making or for being satisfied with the arrangement. What distinguishes this from types A or B is the content of conversations, which emphasizes the interests and needs of either the mother or sitter more than those of the child. The child is incidental to the personal relationship of mother and sitter.

Type D at T₂ and T₃

The choice and maintenance of the arrangement is determined primarily by the relationship between mother and sitter. Attitudes expressed about the arrangement are indicative of adult friendship rather than of a primary interest in the needs of the child. "She takes a real interest in me" is the type of reason that might be offered either for making or for being satisfied with the arrangement. What distinguishes this from types A or B is the content of conversations, which emphasizes the interests and needs of either the mother or sitter more than those of the child. The child is incidental to the personal relationship of mother and sitter.

Type E at T₁

This type is characterized mostly by the sitter's attitude. She wants children, often babies in particular. She "just loves" them. She is interested in the child and gets a great deal of satisfaction from having him. Having the child to care for is more important than the money exchanged or any relationship with the mother. This type of sitter often cares for one, or only a very few children. Planning for physical care may range from little to greatly detailed, but the sitter expects to become very attached to this child. The mother may or may not be aware of the sitter's expectation in the initial stage. If the mother is aware of the sitter's expectation in the initial stage, she may be pleased about the loving care given her child or concerned lest he become too attached to the sitter. This arrangement is somewhat like B, with the mother and sitter strangers or casually acquainted at T₁. It differs from B in the clear emphasis on the sitter's wanting a child to care for.

Type E at T₂ or T₃

This type is characterized mostly by the sitter's attitude. She wants children, often babies in particular. She "just loves" them. She is interested in the child and gets a great deal of satisfaction from having him. Having the child to care for is more important than the money exchanged or any relationship with the mother. This type of sitter often cares for one, or only a very few children. Planning for physical care may range from little to greatly detailed, but the sitter expects to become very attached to this child. The mother may be pleased about the loving care given her child or concerned lest he become too attached to the sitter. This arrangement is somewhat like B, but differs from B in the clear emphasis on the sitter's wanting a child to care for.

Type F at T₁

These arrangements, like type G, have a quality of desperation about them. The mother may be in a real family crisis, or be in an emergency situation because her previous sitter quit unexpectedly or because a job materialized much sooner than anticipated. She had no time to check ahead of time, and had to make an arrangement she might not have been satisfied with if circumstances were different. The

sitter may feel the same uncertainty about the quickly-made arrangement, but have begun it in response to the mother's need for new child care arrangements, or because she has a similar urgent need for an arrangement at once. The first day or two may have been chaotic or unplanned, but there is a possibility that there is concern for the child and there may be belated communication regarding him.

Type F at T₂ and T₃

This type will have developed into one of the others by T₂ or T₃.

Type G at T₁

The desperation and/or chaotic state may seem more pervasive in the life of mother or sitter than the specific emergency of type F. There is a lack of organization and a sense of real and continuing pressures great enough that thoughtful planning for the child is difficult or impossible. The mother and sitter may be friends or strangers. The arrangement may have been made hurriedly or ahead of time. There are few details worked out between mother and sitter, and those that have been decided may not have been adhered to even in the first few days. The child is adrift in a world where adults do not have time or energy to provide good physical care or to meet his expressive needs. The mother's reason for this arrangement may be, "I needed an arrangement." There is little or no perception of alternatives. The sitter's reason frequently is, "I need the money; there is nothing else I can do."

Type G at T₂ and T₃

There continues to be a desparate or chaotic state present in this type. There is a lack of organization and a sense of real and continuing pressures great enough that attention to the needs of the child is difficult or impossible. The mother and sitter may see a lot of each other or very little. If a lot they are so preoccupied with the crises in their lives that they spend their time trying to deal with—or avoid—these. The child is adrift in a world where adults do not have time or energy to provide good physical care or to meet his expressive needs. The mother's reason for this arrangement may be "I need an arrangement." There is little or no perception of alternatives. The sitter's reason frequently, "I need the money; there is nothing else I can do."

Typology, Satisfaction, and Duration

At this point we need to report some brief contingency table analyses which were conducted to provide an overview of the results of the study and which influenced the strategy for further analysis. Our hypothesis had been that controlling for typology would yield better prediction of the duration of the arrangement as a function of satisfaction with the arrangement. This turned out not to be the case and it should be useful at this point to show why, even though the prediction of duration does not receive full discussion until Chapter XI.

First of all, four groups in the sample were differentiated according to whether the mother's and the sitter's satisfaction at T₃ were both high, both low, mixed mother high and sitter low, or mother low and sitter high. Thirty-nine cases were eliminated from this particular analysis because the satisfaction scores were within .25 standard deviations from the mean; it was desirable to deal only with cases where satisfaction and dissatisfaction were clear-cut. These 77 cases then were divided categorically into two groups: Type B and other types. Type B were those cases that received interviewer ratings resulting in more B points than anything else (i.e., than any other single type). All other cases were classified as "other." From the contingency tables shown below, the following conclusions were drawn:

Table 6.9 Typology, Satisfaction, and Duration

Mother Typology

Satisfaction	Type B	Other
Hi Hi	24	15
SHi MLo	5	6
SLo MHi	4	12
Lo Lo	3	8

$\gamma = .49$
 $\chi^2 = 8.150$
 $df = 3, p < .05$

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Sitter Typology

Satisfaction	Type B	Other
Hi Hi	26	13
SHi MLo	4	7
SLo MHi	4	12
Lo Lo	1	10

$\gamma = .69$
 $\chi^2 = 16.011$
 $df = 3, p < .01$

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Mother Satisfaction

Duration	Lo	Hi
<14	15	19
14+	7	36

$Q = .60$
 $\chi^2 = 7.210$
 $df = 1, p < .01$

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Sitter Satisfaction

Duration	Lo	Hi
<14	13	21
14+	14	29

$Q = .12$
 $\chi^2 = 0.268$
 n.s.

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Typology and Duration

Duration	Type B	Other
<14	13	21
14+	22	20

$Q = .28$
 $\chi^2 = 1.513$
 n.s.

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Type B

M Satisfaction

	Hi	Lo
<14	10	3
14+	20	2

$Q = .50$
 $\chi^2 = 1.305$
 n.s.

Other Types

M Satisfaction

	Hi	Lo
<14	9	12
14+	16	5

$Q = .58$
 $\chi^2 = 4.842$
 $df = 1, p < .05$

Lo M. Sat

	B	Other
<14	3	12
14+	2	5

$Q = .23$
 $\chi^2 = 0.199$
 n.s.

Hi M. Sat

	B	Other
<14	10	9
14+	20	16

$Q = .06$
 $\chi^2 = 0.042$
 n.s.

1) The interviewer typology judgments regarding both the mothers and the sitters were significantly associated with the satisfaction groups.

2) Mother satisfaction but not sitter satisfaction was significantly correlated with duration of the arrangement.

3) That typology by itself showed only a weak and nonsignificant association with duration.

4) Controlling for typology, mother satisfaction was still associated with duration without much loss in the magnitude of the correlations, but controlling for satisfaction reduced rather than increased what low correlation there was between typology and duration.

5) Therefore, it was concluded that typology would probably contribute very little to prediction of the duration variable in the larger analysis other than what was contributed by the various measures of satisfaction. For this reason, although typology was included as one predictor along with satisfaction and other variables, the categories of typology were not used for subgroup analyses; the analyses of change and the predictions of the stability variables in Chapter XI were conducted using the entire 116 cases as one group.

Also in Chapter XI, typology-related scales measuring the degree of inter-family closeness as perceived by mothers and sitters revealed results that replicated the findings of *Child Care by Kith*. Initial closeness between the two families is negatively associated with duration of the arrangement, but an increasing closeness during the arrangement is positively related to duration. Thus, a low degree of friendship initially, such as characterizes most of the sample, when followed by developing friendliness, creates a bond that contributes to an enduring arrangement.

Summary

The Social Relationship Between Mothers and Sitters: A crucial aspect of the study concerned how the arrangement began and how friendship or social distance contributed to the dynamics of the developing social relationship. What patterns of interaction defined the character of the arrangement, its form of organization, and the bonds that held it together? Most of the mothers and sitters did not know each other before the arrangement began; only 8 percent regarded themselves as friends and at least three-fourths had no prior acquaintance. A classified ad or some informal third-party referral made the contact possible in all but 17 percent of the contacts. Though 75 percent lived within one mile of one another, only 17 were next-door neighbors, and most enjoyed reasonably close proximity yet also a friendly but definite social distance. Friendships tended not to extend beyond the context of the arrangement itself to involve other members of the two families.

A 7-type typology was used to classify arrangements. Types B and C were the most prevalent types each representing about one-third of the sample, Type B being more warm and child-oriented than C which is more commercial in flavor. Only 5 percent were typed as disorganized, crisis ridden situations in which the child's physical and emotional needs were unmet. Type B was associated with satisfaction and duration of the arrangement.

CHAPTER VII

WHAT DO MOTHERS AND CAREGIVERS WANT IN A FAMILY DAY CARE ARRANGEMENT?

We now turn to a concrete description and set of generalizations about the norms and expectations that the users and givers of family day care bring to the arrangement. A unique source of data was used for this account, namely, the impressions formed by one of the investigators as a result of having supervised the interviewers, having reviewed all of the more than six hundred interview schedules, having conducted independent validity ratings on selected variables and judgments, having checked all interview ratings for consistency, having supervised the coding of the interviews, and especially having listened to 356 of the tape recorded interviews for the purpose of making the independent office typology judgment of each case. Approximately half of all of the interviews were tape recorded; 167 mother interviews and 189 sitter interviews were taped, divided among the three waves of interviews. Most, but not all, of the interviews were selected on a random basis.

Prior to the analysis of the coded data, the investigator recorded her impressions of the taped interviews in order to capture as an additional type of data, the values, sentiments, norms, and role expectations of the mothers and sitters. The following account then is intended as an educated set of impressions to serve as a supplement to the systematic analyses of response data, interviewer ratings, and other variables. This account captures impressions that may have been lost by the standardized items and it provides a holistic overview of what each party to the family day care arrangement seeks from it and generally succeeds in getting. Since for the most part respondents reported being quite satisfied with their arrangements, the following descriptive account helps to sensitize the reader to some of the concrete complaints and sources of dissatisfaction that will appear in the subsequent measurement. It should be kept in mind, however, that these complaints are given a relative salience in the narrative description that they may not necessarily deserve.

The impressions reported below were formed from listening to tapes of:

- 1) Fifty-five mother and sixty-five sitter T_1 interviews that concentrated on why they made this particular arrangement, what they were looking for and what things they discussed when making the arrangement;
- 2) Fifty-five mother and sixty-three sitter T_2 interviews of ongoing arrangements that were one or two months old. This interview focussed on the kinds of mother-sitter interactions that had taken place, how any problems that had arisen had been resolved, and how satisfied they were at that time;
- 3) Fifty-seven mother and sixty-one sitter T_3 interviews done shortly after the arrangement ended. At this time reasons for the arrangement's ending were discussed as well as the respondent's retrospective judgements

regarding the sources and amount of satisfaction and dissatisfaction they had had with the arrangement. Respondents were assured that there was no way for the other party to find out what was said to the interviewer, and that everything would be confidential. They were told and reminded that sitter interviewers and mother interviewers were not allowed to discuss cases to insure that no information could get back to the other party. This was also to insure that the interviewers themselves did not influence one another's judgments. The respondents gave every appearance of speaking frankly and freely about their current arrangements and their feelings about day care in general.

What do the Working Mothers Want?

Perhaps most important in considering what mothers want in a day care arrangement is a recognition of the reasons they need an arrangement at all. They may work for a variety of reasons, many of which are child oriented, whether financial, ranging from sheer necessity to wanting "better lives" for their children, or a desire to improve the quality of time spent with their children by having some time away from them. Some professional women such as pediatricians and social workers, work from a feeling of obligation to all children, not just their own. Whether a mother's reasons for working are altruistic or child oriented she needs to meet her obligations to her job, without being distracted by anxiety for the welfare of her children.

No matter how good an arrangement might be for them, it is of no use to the working mother unless it is available for the required hours and days, dependable on a day-in-day-out basis, within the price range she can afford, and to which she can get her child without undue strain in time, effort, or money.

Convenience of location is essential but has different meanings depending upon the mother's circumstances. In the same apartment house or next door would seem convenient for all mothers who have to take their children out of the home. A mother who has her own car has more freedom than one who has no transportation or who must consider where the sitter lives relative to bus routes on the mother's way to work. A mother who relies on public transportation and is carrying an infant, diaper bag, and purse plus leading a toddler must look very close to home for a sitter. Other mothers, who are constrained by having both school age and preschool children, need a place close enough to school for their children to walk to and from kindergarten. An arrangement that is manageable in the summer may seem impossible in the cold and wet of winter. Conversely, a school year arrangement may not be feasible in the summer when older children are home. Some mothers solve this problem by routinely making a summer arrangement for a high school girl to come into the home.

Finding a sitter who is available at the hours needed is not a problem for the mother who works straight 8 to 5 hours, but mothers who put in much overtime, work split or rotating shifts, such as beginning telephone company operators, waitresses, or hospital employees, find their choice of sitters narrowed by the demands of their jobs. They do find good sitters who will accommodate to the unusual hours, but there are many others who won't or can't because of their obligations to their own families.

Mothers who were heads of one parent families and earned low wages had some choice of sitters who were willing to lower their usual rates because of the mother's need. But even if they could afford to pay more, most mothers paid a "going rate."

Once a mother has determined that a sitter meets the requirements of pay, hours, and distance, how does she decide whether she wants this woman to take care of her child? Many rely on the reassurance of choosing a

friend or a sitter recommended by a trusted acquaintance. A large number, however, choose strangers for a variety of reasons. Some mothers just don't know anyone to ask. Others would not feel comfortable telling a friend how they want their child cared for and prefer the control over the arrangement that doing business with a stranger gives them. Some have specific requirements in mind, not available among known friends. One chose a sitter who would let the children "mess" because she thought it good for them but could not bear it in her own immaculate home. A few mothers of one-parent families want sitters who have husbands so that their children will have some experience of a two-parent family.

Most mothers picked caregivers partly on the basis of numbers, ages, and sex of other children in the sitter's home. Some wanted only one child, same age and sex as their own. Others, especially when the child was beyond the toddler age or when the arrangement was for two or more children preferred more than one other child at the sitter's. None mentioned actively seeking sitters who cared for very large numbers of children, i.e., six or more. Some mothers of small infants wanted a sitter who had no other children at home during the day to distract her from care of the baby. One mother's doctor recommended that she find a day care home with no other children because of her son's sensitivity to communicable diseases.

Other requirements were mentioned less often than numbers of children. Some mothers wanted sitters who had fenced in yards; others mentioned toys and play space. Some stipulated that they expected a sitter to stay home when the child was there, while others were delighted with sitters who led active lives and took the children along to store, library, park, or meetings. But in selection of a sitter these mothers exercised a great deal of control in the kind of environment they wanted for their children, evidencing understanding of the needs of the child and of themselves.

Most of the above conditions of an arrangement can be checked by phone before ever meeting the caregiver. Others, such as kind of neighborhood or general appearance of sitter's home, can be observed without entering the house. But most mothers do meet their sitters at least once before beginning an arrangement. Perhaps the most frequent reason mothers gave for selecting the sitter they did choose was child oriented and depended upon actually meeting the sitter. "She likes children." "He took to her right away." "I liked the way she was with her own children." "She seemed to be interested in him (the child)." A sitter who shows concern by asking about a child's routines, favorite foods, if he has a Linus blanket, etc., goes a long way to reassure a mother about leaving her child there.

Dependability of sitters was not often mentioned as a requirement for making an arrangement. By and large, sitters are there when needed and mothers assume this will be so. One aspect of dependability that many mothers take almost for granted is that sitters will care for sick children. Mothers can and do stay home with a seriously ill child but cannot adequately meet their work responsibilities if they must be absent every time a child has a cold, a stomach upset, or is recuperating from a communicable disease. Both mothers and caregivers assume that sitters will provide the special care needed at such times, giving medicine, keeping the child quiet, or whatever is required.

A frequent concern of mothers at the beginning of an arrangement was that sitters exercise fair but effective discipline. The expressed concern was not that the sitter might be cruel to the child but that she might let him "run wild." Mothers not only reported talking about discipline at their initial meeting with the sitter, but at the second interview when the arrangement was about a month old it was frequently mentioned as a further topic of discussion. Apparently it was a sensitive area for both mothers and sitters, and a great deal of communication took place concerning it. Sitters often told mothers when they had punished the child, both the nature of the misdeed and corrective measures applied at the time. In the case of continuing misbehavior such as biting or hitting, the sitter often asked the mother's preference in how to handle it or suggested a method she had found effective with her own children; then they would agree on a single consistent way for

both to deal with it. It is interesting that although discipline was both an initial concern and a matter to be checked on during the first month or two of an arrangement, it was infrequently mentioned at termination and was never given as the reason an arrangement ended.

Once the child is at the sitter's, the mother wants to be free while at work to give her full attention to her job without nagging guilt or worries that her child might be wet, unhappy, or even neglected. Mothers are alert to signs that their infant is not getting the proper physical care. Does he seem hungry when he should have been fed? How many diapers were used? How does he react to being left with the sitter each day? Older children are often questioned about what happened at the sitter's as well as their feelings about being there.

But the most important reassurance a mother gets is through open communication about her child with her caregiver. She wants continuing evidence that her sitter likes her child and is interested in his welfare. Conversations were usually reported as brief if there were no problems to be discussed; but even a few words about the child's day, how long he napped, what he ate, successes or failures with toilet training help the mother to feel that the sitter is paying attention to the needs of the child. Often mothers and sitters take a few minutes to exchange information about the child's new accomplishments, difficulties they were both concerned about, e.g., learning to play with other children, and take pleasure from the results of their mutual efforts in his behalf. The absence of communication can be a source of great distress to the mother. One of the most wistfully plaintive remarks heard on any tape was that of a mother who said at the end of her arrangement, "She didn't tell me what went on with the children."

Occasionally a mother mentioned that her sitter left her child with a substitute caregiver, neighbor, husband, or sitter's teenage child, without letting the mother know. When a mother reported this to an interviewer, she often seemed reluctant to discuss it with the sitter. It had usually happened only once and the mother did not want to jeopardize an otherwise excellent arrangement by complaining about something that might not happen again. At the same time, she was concerned and would have welcomed the sitter's mention of the substitute as an opportunity to express her unease about it. For some mothers this is a gray area where she is not certain that she has the right to insist that the sitter be present all the time. Of course other mothers did take the initiative and tell their sitters, who as often as not had not even thought to mention that they had to go out awhile, and that the mother wanted to be told in advance when the sitter had to leave and who would be in charge of the child.

When real or suspected problems exist, feeling free to ask about them can be important to the success of an arrangement. Mothers in general seem to feel more free than sitters to react to certain things. If a sitter reported that she had let the child go to the corner store, the mother could say that she would rather not have the child do that. If the child tells his mother that something has happened at the sitter's, the mother usually asks the sitter and very often finds that the child has reported only part of the story or has misconstrued what went on. Mothers can and do lay down the rules for feeding, request more frequent changing, and establish bounds for a child's freedom, but, within the limits set, leave the sitter free to handle the child as she thinks best.

The important thing to mothers is that they feel they know what is going on and that they do exercise some control over the day care situation. If the child is in a situation she likes, is being handled the way she wants, and is happy there, a mother can go to work not only with an easy conscience but peace of mind about her arrangement.

What do Caregivers Want?

Why do sitters sit? Most of the sitters in our study are women who were content to stay home, who (over eighty percent) feel a woman should not work unless she really has to, but who like the extra money they can

make while being at home themselves. As might be expected, they said they did it because they like children. Some have older children with perhaps one or two still at home. Their primary responsibilities are seen to be to their own families. Some, for this reason, discontinue sitting each summer so that they can be free to do things with their own children.

For the average sitter, in this sample, the first requirement for a babysitting arrangement is that it not be disruptive of family life. The hours and number and ages of children are more important than money in determining whether she will make a particular arrangement. Some want only infants; others refuse infants and will take only children the age of their own. Most take only one or two families and have about three preschool children in their homes.

It is therefore important that the day care child fits in with other children. This does not preclude a child with problems, but the kind of problems and how amenable they are to the sitter's intervention is crucial. A child who has a negative influence on the behavior of the other children in the home may be tolerated if his behavior can be modified, but not if behavior of other children deteriorates due to his presence.

Related to effects on family life is the mother's pick up and delivery of the child at agreed upon times and her notification of the sitter when her plans change. A sitter may feel unable to plan her day if she is waiting—not knowing if or when a child will come. Children who come at noon or during nap time were spoken of as disruptive—disturbing the routine, making it difficult to handle children who had been at the sitter's since early morning. A child left late is an inconvenience particularly if, as in many cases, the sitter's husband doesn't mind if she sits as long as it is only while he is gone from the home. Many sitters plan to spend their time with the children in the late afternoon but to have day care children gone by the time they are busy in the kitchen preparing their own family's dinner. A mother coming to pick up a child at this time may be an annoyance to the husband and a reason for dinner being burned or late. Incidentally, how often the mother stops to talk, and how long she spends at the sitter's were thought initially to be good indicators of the relationship between mother and sitter. At this point, there seems to be reason to doubt that the mother spending a great deal of time talking to the sitter is good for an arrangement.

Sitters want to know details relevant to their care of the child and do not resent the time necessary to talk about these. They want mothers to let them know in the morning when anything unusual has happened: not enough sleep, breakfast eaten, medicine to be given, temporary restrictions on a child's activity, etc.; and in the evening they want to be able to tell the mother the child had a good day, how he got that bruise or scratch and how the sitter handled it. They particularly want the mother to communicate changes in her plans to leave or pick up the child.

Some sitters do enjoy chatting with the mother, perhaps a half hour or more, but most see a lengthy visit as an intrusion. If the mother stops in the morning when other children are arriving, she takes the sitter's attention when the sitter feels it should be available for the children, greeting them, helping them get started on the day's activities.

The evening is the time of greatest strain. Children are tired and hungry, the other mother is arriving for her child and a mother who settles down for a social chat at this time disrupts the routine. But primarily sitters complain about the effect of mother's presence on the behavior of the child at this hour. Her appearance is a sign that it is time to go; he wants her attention; he is hard for the sitter to handle when mother is there. Many sitters agonize, "Should I or shouldn't I take the initiative in handling him while mother is present?"

Sitters do not feel kindly either toward mothers who call during the day to check up on the sitter or just to talk. This takes them from the children who need to know the sitter is in control, and checking up implies the mother does not have confidence in her sitter.

There are many subtle variations in role definition and a few arrangements end because mothers and sitters see the role differently: the amount of affection a sitter should give the child, the division of her attention between her own and the day care child, the amount of time she should spend playing with him, whether she stays home all the time, takes the child out with her or leaves him with a substitute sitter. These are a few of the differences in role ascription that can cause trouble between mother and sitter if expectations differ and neither is willing to give in on some particular issue.

Basically, sitters feel that their job involves taking adequate physical care of children left in their care; keeping them fed, napped, changed, safe, and happy. It is equally important that the day care child become adjusted, and be reasonably content to be at this sitter's, both for practical reasons involving the sitter's duties to family and other day care children and because his rejection of the sitter or his inability to get along with the group is a reflection on her adequacy as a day caregiver. Besides, the sitter gets satisfaction from doing her job well.

A new day care child presents a challenge to the sitter. She must overcome his feelings of strangeness, learn his needs, teach him the rules of the house, and, hopefully, arrive at a state of mutual affection and understanding. For a normal child at least a week, maybe more, is needed before all begin to feel comfortable with the altered situation. Perhaps one sitter's comment throws light on this subject. "Breaking in a new child is just too hard. These children are used to each other now; we all get along well; no I don't think I'll get a new one to replace the one who left." What if the "breaking in" process does not go according to expectations? It represents a failure to the sitter. Only a few of the most experienced babysitters seemed aware that sitter-child "misfits" were to be expected and such an arrangement should be terminated quickly. Occasionally a sitter would explain to the mother why the child did not fit into the group and in addition find her another sitter where the child would not, for example, be too young for the other children or the only girl in a group of boys.

The above discussion refers to normal children. If a sitter knows from the mother or concludes from her observation that this is a child who has special problems, she may take on the task of his care with the hope and expectation that she can help him. Needless to say, the shy, withdrawn, neglected or slow child is far more likely to be accepted by a sitter than is the acting out, destructive child. His behavior conflicts with her first need, that a day care child not be a disruptive influence on the other day care children or on family life. Realistically, a sitter who is responsible for two or three small children and her household chores during the day cannot give one child her undivided attention. If she does, chaos results. One sitter kept two such children from the same family and was pleased with the changes in their behavior while she had them. She was young, optimistic, and had no children of her own. Eventually she gave up the children, ostensibly because she was pregnant and had a heart murmur so had to conserve her strength; but the last interview revealed a great deal of discouragement because the children's behavior was returning to its former level, due, she felt, to a worsening of their home situation.

This brings into focus the mother's role in the sitter's feeling of accomplishment. The ideal situation for the sitter is one where the mother takes good care of the child at home and actively cooperates with the sitter in working out agreements about how to handle him. Perhaps one of the most bitter, though not frequent, complaints of sitters is that their work is wasted if the mother does not follow through. It is discouraging in any job for one's work to be ruined by someone else's indifference, and sitters see the job of babysitting as a team effort that requires mother and sitter working together to produce a healthy, happy child. One person cannot accomplish much if the other does not do her share. This becomes most obvious in the care of babies and toddlers. Sitters sometimes complain that they work hard to clear up diaper rash, only to have the child returned to them each Monday morning with the diaper rash back. Toilet training causes the same kind of frustration. "It doesn't do any good for me to work with him to keep him dry, if she doesn't do anything at

home. Each week I have to start all over." A sitter for a retarded child was even more discouraged. "I got him to the point he was dry almost all the time. I didn't have him trained; he had me trained—but he was dry. I had him eating with a spoon instead of his fingers. But she didn't try at all, and he just went backward every time he was home."

The average sitter takes pride in the job she is doing. She would like not only cooperation from the mother but some indication that she is doing her work well. Adequate development in a happy child is frequently all a sitter needs to make her feel her efforts are worthwhile. Perhaps sitters of school age children find fewer intrinsic rewards in the child's development, but for sitters for the younger age group we studied, this is a very important source of satisfaction, from teaching the youngest to accept solid foods to getting the oldest to learn to tie his shoes before starting kindergarten. They do not, by and large, see this as a teaching role, but part of a sitter's job and much more of it may go on than was ever mentioned to interviewers.

A third need of sitters is modest but fair pay for the jobs they do. An item they were given, "I think sitters are usually not paid enough," has as many sitters disagreeing as agreeing with it. For a single child whose mother works five days a week, the average pay to the sitter in the Portland, Oregon, area is \$3.00 a day or \$15.00 a week. When the sitter has the child ten hours a day, this figure results in a gross hourly wage of thirty cents an hour. For two-child families the average rate is \$4.50 to \$5.00 a day, making it harder for mothers of multiple child families to find sitters and cutting down the pay of sitters who will sit for these mothers.

Out of this the sitter usually has the cost of one meal, occasionally two, and snacks for the child. There are the indirect, almost never mentioned, costs of utilities and wear, tear and breakage of home furnishings. Infrequently a sitter provides breakfast as well as lunch, often not as part of the original agreement. She may keep the child when the mother has to work overtime, not always for an extra charge; a few do the laundry for babies because "it is more convenient."

Why then is there such a split of opinion among sitters as to whether they are paid enough? Some sitters answer on the basis of the work they do; others on the ability of mothers to pay. Some regard their sitting income almost as "found" money, since they are home anyway; others look on sitting as a business which provides a definite supplement to the family income. The "average" sitter is not distinguished by any one or any particular combination of these attitudes. She may wish she made more money, feel that her services are under-valued; but her suggestions more often veer toward thoughts of government subsidies than to requesting more pay from the mother. Many a sitter during the interview stopped when she came to the item about being paid enough and explained to the interviewer that she knows from her own experience when she was a working mother how little a mother has in take-home pay after taxes, social security, transportation, clothing expenses and babysitting fees. Sitters are particularly solicitous of mothers who are "going it alone" and some will reduce fees based on ability to pay.

Perhaps one reason sitters are not up in arms about their rate of pay is that they are private entrepreneurs in a competitive market. There are many children who need babysitters, but they are available only if the sitter does not price herself out of the market. A sitter can be particular about which children to take, but not about the price set upon her services.

There is a "going rate" for sitters and even the mother who could afford to pay a great deal more does not do so. If, as is possible, this rate came into existence based on what the "average" working mother is willing or able to pay, it remains there even if the mother gets a raise or has a better paying job. Sitters must be at least partially aware of the numbers of other women who want to or must stay at home and to whom an extra \$65.00 a month that they can earn without even stepping outside their front doors looms as a powerful inducement. It can provide extras for themselves or their families, a sense of individual work that comes in our

society only when one's services are deemed worthy of pay, and (if the right age) the day care child can be a companion for the sitter's preschool child.

Whether or not the sitter feels the rate of pay for sitters is adequate, there are aspects of day care that arouse resentment out of all proportion to their rate of occurrence. Sitters spoke with feeling of these matters whether they occurred yesterday or in an arrangement ten years before. Few things about a child care arrangement anger a sitter as much as feeling that the mother is taking advantage of her. She resents a mother who brings a child still in his wet night diaper and leaves the sitter to clean him up for the day (aside from loudly expressed righteous indignation about the effect this has on the child on a cold winter morning); she resents a mother's habitually dropping the child off with a request that he be fed breakfast since the mother is late; she resents mothers who do not bring their children with never a word to the sitter; mothers who don't pay when they said they would, or even worse, mothers who disappear without paying at all. They resent mothers who don't pick up on time, especially without any notification. A sitter most resents being forced into a situation to which she might have agreed if asked, without any say about it. She may fume, but she won't leave a child wet or hungry once he is there; she'll find something to feed him or put on him if mother didn't bring bottles or diapers; she can't put him out of the house if the mother doesn't come; she'll take care of him, give him supper, or postpone her family's dinner until the mother arrives. But most assuredly, she will resent being exploited.

A sitter's resentment of a mother who does not cooperate or who won't listen to what the sitter wants to tell her about her child is another instance of her feeling exploited. "Why should I bother when she doesn't care? After all it's her child." Even the few sitters who take a child "because I worry about what would happen to him if I didn't have him," get to a point where their resentment of the mother's neglect, whether material or emotional, overrides their satisfaction in helping the child. One did end such an arrangement with the expressed hope that the mother would take better care of her child, that the sitter's willingness to make up for the mother's inadequacies only served to make it easier for the mother to ignore the needs of her child. Even though the child's welfare is mentioned as being most important, there is a bit of the resentment felt by people who are conscientious in meeting their responsibilities toward those who don't—and get away with it.

Perhaps because the sitters were talking about their jobs and because they were the ones with the children all day, as a group they were more vocal and more explicit than were mothers about what an arrangement should and should not be like and especially what mothers should do to make the job easier.

In our study, most sitters were happy with the mother's concern for and care of her child. They overwhelmingly agreed with the item, "She is a good mother." In these cases the sitters found it easy to talk to the mother because the problems centered on the child and their mutual concern for him. Sitters were less likely to feel free to tell the mother when they were upset about her behavior. One just does not cast aspersions on another's quality of mothering. For the sitters, the interview provided an opportunity to ventilate some pent up feelings about working mothers, of whose working they don't approve anyway, and to stress their own child-centered concerns.

Summary

There is an overall congruence yet a potential discrepancy between what mothers and sitters want in an arrangement. Each wants the *other* to be concerned about the child, to treat him fairly and with affection. Each wants to be able to talk about the child and to have easy communication about his needs and progress, but even more important, each wants the *other* to communicate about the child, and to have the other be pleased and express her appreciation of the way the child is cared for. Both want to be informed, in advance if reasonable, about changes in plans, to be treated fairly and with consideration. Mothers want to feel some

degree of control over their child's day care situation, and sitters want mothers to live up to the contract and not take their sitters for granted. In most of our arrangements, these conditions were met to a sufficient degree that everyone was happy, and most arrangements ended for reasons other than dissatisfaction.

While these initial impressions gained from listening to taped interviews are but an initial and subjective form of data, all of the mother and sitter interviews, taped or not, were coded and subjected to multivariate analyses for a formal and objective report of findings. The reader should be reminded that the above impressions were recorded prior to the analyses of the data which will be presented next and which will supplement the careful but subjective description of what mothers and caregivers want in an arrangement with measurement of the changes that came about in how they evaluated their experience.

CHAPTER VIII

THE AMOUNT OF CHANGE IN STRENGTH OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE ARRANGEMENT

Measurement of Attitude Changes

Arrangement processes were also studied by means of attitude scales which had been pretested and developed on a previous independent sample so as to provide repeat measures of attitudes at T_1 , T_2 and T_3 interviews. The measurement of attitudes such as work role satisfaction was accomplished by means of scales that were constructed from a pool of items such as "On the whole, I think I can be a better mother if I work" to which respondents expressed their agreement or disagreement on a seven-point scale as follows:

-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
strongly disagree	disagree	slightly disagree	neither disagree nor agree	slightly agree	agree	strongly agree

The items were presented one by one to the respondent on cards in the interview situation. The card was read to the respondent and then handed to her to place in the category of agreement or disagreement she chose.

The process of scale construction has been described in detail in *Child Care by Kith*, since the scales were developed on a previous and independent sample. Each scale consists of a cluster of items, the responses to which were highly correlated with each other and not correlated highly with other clusters. Based on a series of overlapping factor analyses and confirmed by a comprehensive factor analysis of the 150 items finally included, these scales represent relatively distinct attitudes or kinds of evaluative judgments made by mothers and sitters about their arrangements and their general life circumstances. The scales were further shortened and improved by the use of Cronbach's alpha coefficient which provides a measure of the internal consistency of the scale.¹

In the present study the original scales were used as repeat measures at T_1 , T_2 and T_3 , presented of course as a pool of items within the interview; 150 items were presented to the mothers and the 150 items to the sitters as shown in Appendix B in order of presentation. The complete item content of each scale is shown in Appendix A. Tables 8.1 and 8.2 show for each mother scale and sitter scale the original alpha coefficient from the independent sample of scale construction, the alpha for each administration of the scale in the current panel study, and the alpha of the change score T_3-T_1 .

¹Alpha is equivalent to the average split half correlation one would obtain from all possible ways of splitting a set of scale items into halves. Lee J. Cronbach, "Coefficient Alpha and the Internal Structure of Tests." *Psychometrika*, 16 (1951), 297-334.

**Table 8.1 Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha for
Mother Scales T₁, T₃ and T₃-T₁**

	Pretest	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁
Sat S concern	.91	.87	.90	.93	.87
Prefer work to home	.91	.89	.91	.91	.65
Economic need	.96	.93	.96	.96	.84
M asserts. . .	.70	.59	.59	.51	.15
Confidence in sitters	.71	.61	.78	.71	.27
Job sat. and advantage	.72	.66	.73	.68	.43
S possessiveness	.74	.49	.66	.66	.58
Playmates reason for T.A.	.65	.48	.51	.52	.10
Flexible sitter	.67	.38	.63	.61	.16
Disadv. sitter market	.72	.55	.59	.60	.33
Reluctance to interfere	.58	.23	.51	.57	-.18
Guilt child's adjustment	.72	.62	.70	.69	.37
People disapp m working	.50	.50	.62	.56	.21
Expect child to get along	.58	.51	.53	.27	.10
Prefer uninvolved rel.	.63	.51	.64	.76	.47
Revised family closeness	.89	.81	.84	.85	.60

The main burden of the investigation in this chapter is based on the change that took place from T₁ to T₃ for the 116 cases on which complete data were available on both mothers and sitters both at the beginning of the arrangement and just after termination of the arrangement. This chapter examines the elements of change, that is, the variables we measured and the amount of gain or loss that took place. Later, in Chapters IX and X, we shall examine the structure of the changes by means of correlations among the variables, including cross-lagged panel correlations, selected path analyses, and factor analyses of the intercorrelations.

The measurement of the amount of change in the strength of attitudes, such as the increase or decrease in specific dissatisfactions, was attacked in the following way:

1) A general impression of the levels of satisfaction or, more generally, of the degree of agreement with an attitude, was gained by examining the percentage of agreement with selected items from each scale at T₁

**Table 8.2 Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha for
Sitter Scales T₁, T₃ and T₃-T₁**

	Pretest	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁
Sat M concern	.94	.90	.94	.95	.91
Economic need	.83	.79	.85	.84	.57
Expressive need	.83	.74	.79	.75	.50
Approve of M's discipline	.84	.66	.79	.78	.63
Only certain children	.77	.67	.81	.77	.43
Hours, demands	.90	.78	.89	.90	.83
Disapprove of m working	.57	.37	.45	.50	.31
Role power	.76	.52	.69	.68	.34
Drain	.76	.73	.79	.86	.79
Disadvantage sitter market	.64	.58	.62	.68	.47
Role strain	.82	.74	.78	.79	.58
Restricts hours	.67	.46	.64	.58	.16
Sat. child's adjustment	.74	.77	.79	.81	.71
Revised family closeness	.89	.88	.92	.88	.68

and at T₃. It is not especially useful to try to compare the mean of one scale with the mean of another scale containing different items, because the scales vary in length from two to twenty-two items, and because the level of difficulty of the items themselves varies so that the scales can have no true zero point permitting comparison. However, an intuitive grasp of the degree to which people are satisfied with their arrangements may be gained quickly by noting the percentage of respondents who agreed with an item (that is, agreed with positively phrased items and disagreed with negatively phrased items). Therefore an overview of the content of the scales and of the changing levels of satisfaction reported by respondents at T₁ and at T₃ will be presented by showing leading representative items from each scale.

2) The shapes of the distributions of T₁ and T₃ scores were graphed and T₃ scores were plotted against T₁ scores so that each pattern of changes in scores could be inspected. These two graphs help to keep in perspective both the direction and amount of overall change for the sample as a whole and the variability of change within the group. In general, it will be seen that although statistically significant shifts take place for the group data they are not radical changes. In no instance does a mean level of satisfaction shift to dissatisfaction or anything remotely approaching it. Nevertheless, within a modest overall loss or slippage in satisfaction levels for the sample, there were individuals whose satisfaction went up or down over a wide range.

Thus, though such changes frequently cancelled each other out resulting in little net change for the group as a whole, the correlates of individual changes could be important and these will be reported later in Chapter IX.

3) We examined the means and standard deviations of the *change score* $T_3 - T_1$ for each scale and asked the question, "Is this change significantly different from zero?" T tests for correlated groups are reported for the departure from zero of the mean of the individual change scores.

No adjustments were made that would deemphasize the significance of the amount of dissatisfaction reported which we were not anxious to do since there was little enough dissatisfaction expressed, and it seemed undesirable to reduce its weight by means of any adjustment affecting extreme scores. Consequently, in reporting changes in the strength of satisfaction we show the raw score changes and unadjusted T test results. In our subsequent correlational analyses we also preferred to use unadjusted change scores for the emphasis they would give to the dissatisfaction found in the somewhat skewed tails of the distributions.

4) However, we did ask, "Is the amount of change ($T_3 - T_1$) correlated with the initial level of a given attitude, and if so to what extent is this due to the unreliability of the measures?" It is clear from the scatterplots of T_3 by T_1 scores that the correlations are less than perfect, reflecting a combination of true change and errors of measurement. One would estimate the true correlation to be higher and the true change to be less, were a correction made for the attenuating effects of unreliability. Likewise, significant negative correlations would be found between the gain scores and T_1 level, but these correlations would be reduced by correcting for errors of measurement.

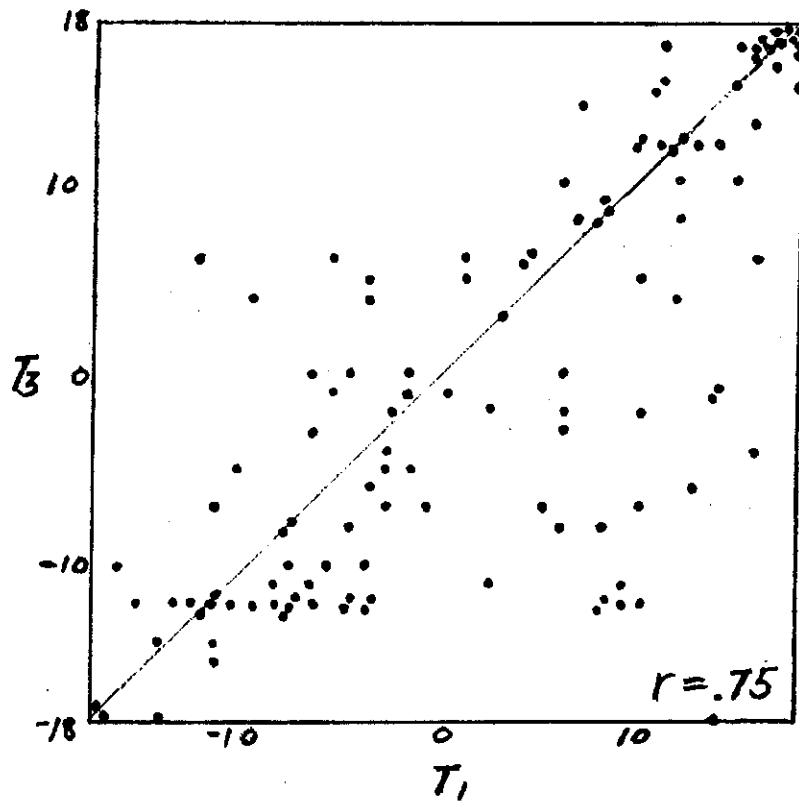
This correction was done by using a weighted average of the alpha coefficients of the scales at T_1 and T_3 . *(The alphas generally increased becoming more internally consistent.) The results of correcting for unreliability are shown in Tables 5.18 and 5.19, and they suggest that when measurement errors are removed, very little correlation remains between the gain scores and initial levels at T_1 .

5) In addition, information about when the changes took place, between T_1 and T_2 or between T_2 and T_3 , were available on the 89 arrangements on which a concurrent T_2 interview took place. There were 27 cases that terminated before a T_2 interview could be conducted concurrently with the ongoing arrangements on one or both of the parties to the arrangement, resulting in a combined T_2 and T_3 interview conducted after termination of the arrangement. Although the 89-case subsample is biased toward longer more stable arrangements, the data do permit comparisons of whether the changes in the means and standard deviations take place primarily early in the arrangement or at the end. In several instances satisfaction goes up at T_2 and down at T_3 , but a variety of change patterns are evident. The main burden of the analysis, however, will be based on the 116 cases and the changes that took place from T_1 to T_3 .

All of the data discussed above are presented in four summary tables: 8.3, 8.4, 8.5, and 8.6, and the correlational data will be presented in Chapter IX. Changes in the strength of attitudes will now be discussed scale by scale, showing percentages, means and standard deviations, and the distributions for changes on each scale.

*Using the formula:
$$a_{ig} = \frac{r_{if}S_f - r_{xx}S_i}{\sqrt{S_f^2 + r_{xx}^2 S_i^2 - 2r_{if} r_{xx} S_i S_f}}$$
 Quinn McNemar, *Psychological Statistics*, 3rd Edition, 1962,

p. 160. For further discussion of the problems of measuring change see *Problems in Measuring Change*, Chester W. Harris, editor, 1963.



M Scale 4: MOTHER'S ECONOMIC NEED TO WORK

Table 8.3 Changes in Strength of Attitudes (T₃-T₁): Mother Scale t Tests

	T ₁		T ₃		T ₃ -T ₁		t for raw change score ^a	r change score by T ₁ level		r T ₁ by T ₃
	\bar{x}	sd	\bar{x}	sd	\bar{x}	sd		original	adjusted	
1. Sat. S's concern	34.47	14.86	27.20	22.13	-7.27	17.72	-4.42***	-.09	-.01	.60
3. Pref. work role	.19	13.05	.42	13.21	.23	7.67	.33	-.27	-.11	.83
4. Economic need	2.23	10.73	-.22	11.11	-2.46	7.80	-3.39***	-.32	-.25	.75
5. M's assertion. . .	10.67	4.64	9.97	4.02	-.70	3.36	-2.24*	-.54	.10	.71
6. Confidence in s's	3.45	5.69	4.23	5.96	.78	4.34	1.94	-.32	.13	.72
7. Job sat.	11.28	6.54	11.16	5.75	-.12	5.24	-.25	-.54	-.15	.64
8. Dissat. s's possess.	-6.81	1.81	-6.25	2.17	.56	2.35	2.57*	-.48	-.18	.31
9. Playmates	5.38	3.55	4.83	3.79	-.55	2.96	-2.00*	-.33	.27	.68
10. Need flexible s.	-3.03	5.79	-2.09	6.62	.94	5.35	1.89	-.30	.25	.64
11. Market dissadv.	-2.63	5.46	-3.71	5.39	-1.08	4.89	-2.38*	-.46	.01	.59
12. Reluctance interfere	1.23	2.67	1.33	2.78	.09	2.31	.42	-.38	.30	.64
13. Child's adjust.	-4.93	5.32	-4.52	5.69	.41	4.54	.97	-.34	.06	.66
14. People disapprove	-3.91	3.27	-3.66	3.30	.25	3.09	.87	-.46	.05	.56
15. Child get along	1.76	2.64	1.76	2.32	.00	2.37	.00	-.57	.13	.55
16. Prefer uninvolved	3.38	2.87	2.95	3.40	-.43	2.90	-1.60	-.31	.04	.58
No. 2 17. Family close.(rev)	-9.38	8.23	-8.75	8.91	.63	6.65	1.02	-.24	-.10	.70

$$a. \frac{T_3 - T_1}{\sqrt{\frac{SS_{T_3 - T_1}}{N(N-1)}}}$$

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Table 8.4 Changes in Strength of Attitudes (T₃-T₁): Sitter Scale t Tests

	T ₁		T ₃		T ₃ -T ₁		t for raw change score ^a	r change score by T ₁ level		r T ₁ by T ₃
	\bar{x}	sd	\bar{x}	sd	\bar{x}	sd		original	adjusted	
1. Sat. M's concern	27.87	10.03	19.90	16.70	-8.03	14.05	-6.16***	-.07	-.02	.54
3. Economic need	-3.30	5.42	-3.71	5.33	-.41	3.73	-1.18	-.37	-.11	.76
4. Expressive needs	8.34	7.61	7.16	7.82	-1.81	5.66	-2.25*	-.34	.01	.73
5. Sat. M's discipline	4.50	5.08	2.33	6.33	-2.17	5.52	-4.23***	-.29	-.04	.55
6. Only certain child.	4.74	5.10	5.09	5.43	.35	4.08	.02	-.32	.03	.70
7. Dissat. M's hours	-16.47	7.40	-10.49	11.80	5.92	10.61	6.01***	-.20	-.10	.44
8. Disapp. m's work.	2.47	3.82	2.27	4.15	-.21	4.02	-.56	-.44	.10	.49
9. Role power	9.88	5.52	9.17	6.25	-.71	4.82	-1.59	-.27	.18	.67
10. Emotional drain	-18.69	7.23	-12.58	11.47	6.11	9.59	6.86***	-.09	.05	.55
11. Market dissadv.	-3.84	3.71	-4.38	3.35	-.54	3.39	-1.72	-.56	-.18	.54
12. Role strain	-3.90	8.07	-1.35	8.60	2.54	6.60	4.14***	-.33	-.04	.69
13. Restricts hours	3.90	3.92	4.78	3.92	.88	3.41	2.78**	-.44	.12	.62
14. Sat. child's adjust.	9.11	4.37	7.83	5.13	-1.28	4.60	-3.00**	-.35	-.14	.54
17. Family close.(rev) No. 2	-9.46	10.07	-8.41	9.84	1.03	7.29	1.52	-.40	-.24	.73

$$a \frac{T_3 - T_1}{\sqrt{\frac{SST_{3-T_1}}{N(N-1)}}}$$

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Table 8.5 Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations of
 T₁, T₂ and T₃ Panel Data for N=89 Concurrent T₂ cases (Mothers)

	T ₁		T ₂		T ₃		Correlations		
	\bar{x}	sd	\bar{x}	sd	\bar{x}	sd	T ₁ xT ₂ r	T ₂ xT ₃ r	T ₁ xT ₃ r
1. Sat. S's concern	36.57	13.23	36.89	13.84	30.13	20.56	.72	.65	.47
3. Pref. work role	.07	13.51	1.81	12.81	.12	13.77	.92	.85	.86
4. Economic need	2.67	11.00	1.94	11.59	-.94	11.40	.94	.75	.74
5. M's assertion. . .	10.63	4.47	9.92	4.10	9.96	3.83	.76	.68	.68
6. Confidence in s's	4.45	5.49	5.87	6.18	5.17	5.62	.78	.75	.68
7. Job sat.	11.55	6.19	11.79	6.33	11.09	5.90	.72	.77	.61
8. Dissat. s's possess.	-6.99	1.72	-6.49	1.89	-6.27	2.27	.41	.45	.26
9. Playmates	5.54	3.29	5.74	3.08	5.10	3.69	.72	.70	.65
10. Need flexible s.	-3.07	5.63	-2.44	6.33	-2.16	6.65	.67	.71	.59
11. Market dissadv.	-2.99	5.32	-3.94	4.91	-4.06	5.45	.74	.55	.61
12. Reluctance interfere	1.34	2.71	1.73	2.42	1.49	2.69	.67	.64	.66
13. Child's adjust.	-5.35	5.06	-4.87	5.43	-4.98	5.52	.75	.75	.62
14. People disapprove	-4.21	3.21	-3.76	3.58	-3.67	3.52	.59	.65	.53
15. Child can get along	1.97	2.45	2.20	2.28	1.87	2.30	.63	.50	.51
16. Prefer uninvolved	2.99	2.93	2.73	3.13	2.74	3.36	.64	.59	.57
17. Family close.(rev) No. 2	-9.22	8.10	-8.76	8.31	-8.10	8.83	.83	.73	.63

Table 8.6 Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations of
T₁, T₂ and T₃ Panel Data for N=89 Concurrent T₂ Cases (Sitters)

	T ₁		T ₂		T ₃		Correlations		
	\bar{x}	sd	\bar{x}	sd	\bar{x}	sd	T ₁ xT ₂ r	T ₂ xT ₃ r	T ₁ xT ₃ r
	1. Sat. M's concern	27.56	10.83	26.12	12.64	19.39	17.64	.74	.74	.55
3. Economic need	-3.49	5.27	-3.83	5.73	-3.76	5.25	.84	.75	.74
4. Expressive needs	8.17	7.27	7.91	7.98	6.64	7.88	.85	.78	.74
5. Sat. M's discipline	4.38	5.14	3.98	5.97	1.73	6.27	.69	.61	.50
6. Only certain child.	4.60	5.16	4.48	5.81	5.06	5.66	.79	.76	.70
7. Dissat. M's hours	-16.62	7.80	-15.21	9.22	-10.30	12.74	.51	.70	.41
8. Disapp. m's working	2.49	3.69	2.66	3.80	2.46	4.38	.66	.75	.52
9. Role power	10.02	5.54	10.40	6.21	9.57	6.14	.72	.62	.67
10. Emotional drain	-19.44	6.89	-17.38	8.21	-12.88	11.58	.81	.54	.48
11. Market dissadv.	-3.94	3.95	-4.34	3.28	-4.69	3.31	.73	.53	.54
12. Role strain	-3.99	8.11	4.21	8.38	-.78	9.02	.81	.76	.69
13. Restricts hours	3.80	3.94	4.06	4.29	4.66	4.16	.74	.72	.70
14. Sat. child's adjust.	9.58	4.09	9.19	4.36	8.34	4.84	.71	.56	.40
17. Family close. (rev) No. 2	-9.62	10.40	-10.07	10.36	-7.89	10.16	.85	.83	.74

Changes on Mother Scale 1

MOTHER'S SATISFACTION WITH THIS SITTER'S CONCERN FOR CHILD

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
If I had it to do over, I'd choose this sitter again.	89% agree	75% agree
I like the way my child and sitter get along.	91% agree	84% agree
She takes a real interest in my child.	91% agree	79% agree
She doesn't give the children enough to do.	74% disagree	70% disagree
If I want a sitter, I have to take what I can get.	72% disagree	76% disagree

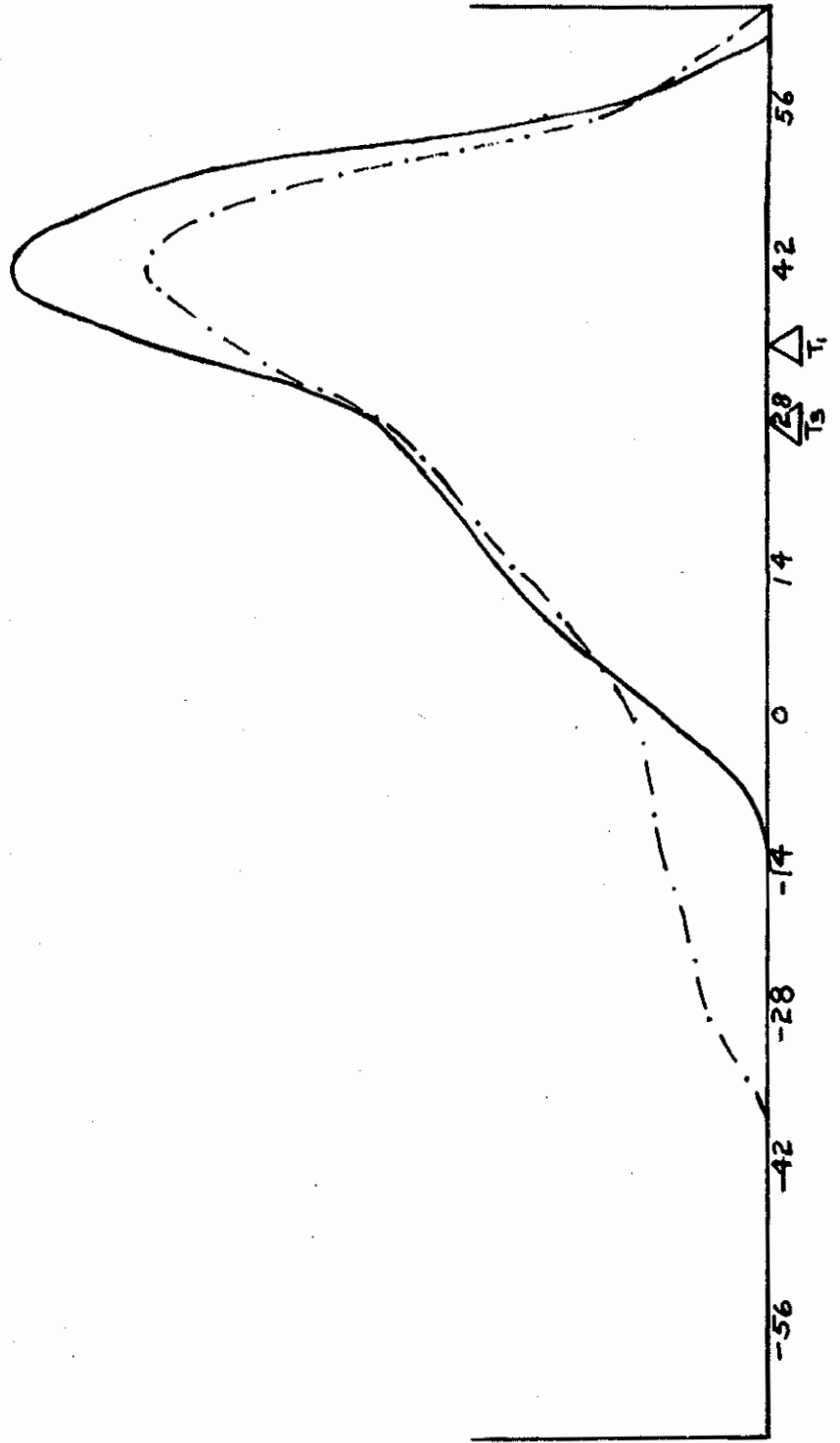
* For complete scale see Appendix A

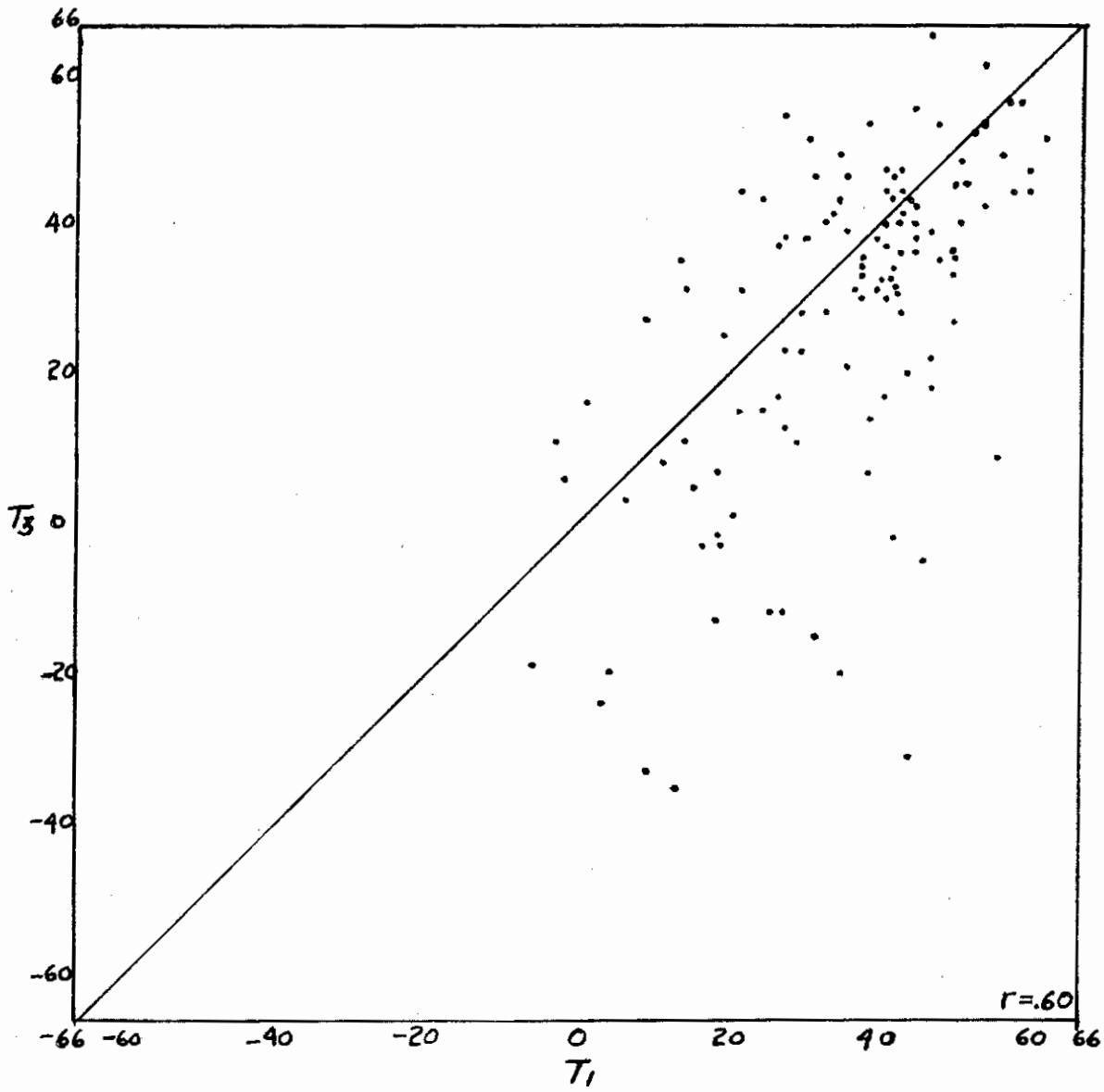
	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	28%
\bar{x}	34.47	27.20	-7.27	percent who went down	67%
sd	14.86	22.13	17.72	net	-39%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = -4.42; p < .001$$

Mother's satisfaction with this sitter's concern for the child decreased significantly after the T₁ interview, but three-fourths of the mothers still reported satisfaction at the end of the arrangement.

M Scale 1
 K = 22; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 66 MOTHER'S SATISFACTION S'S CONCERN
 T1 RANGE: $-6 + 61$ ———
 T3 RANGE: $-35 + 65$ - - - - -





M Scale: MOTHER'S SATISFACTION SITTER'S CONCERN FOR CHILD

Changes on Mother Scale 3

MOTHER'S PREFERENCE FOR WORK ROLE OVER HOMEMAKER ROLE

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
I am happier when I am working	61% agree	63% agree
I would rather work than stay home.	44% agree	46% agree
On the whole, I think I can be a better mother if I work.	44% agree	46% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up percent who went down	51% 43%
\bar{x}	.19	.42	.23	net	+8%
sd	13.05	13.21	7.67		
$t_{T_3-T_1} = .33; n.s.$					

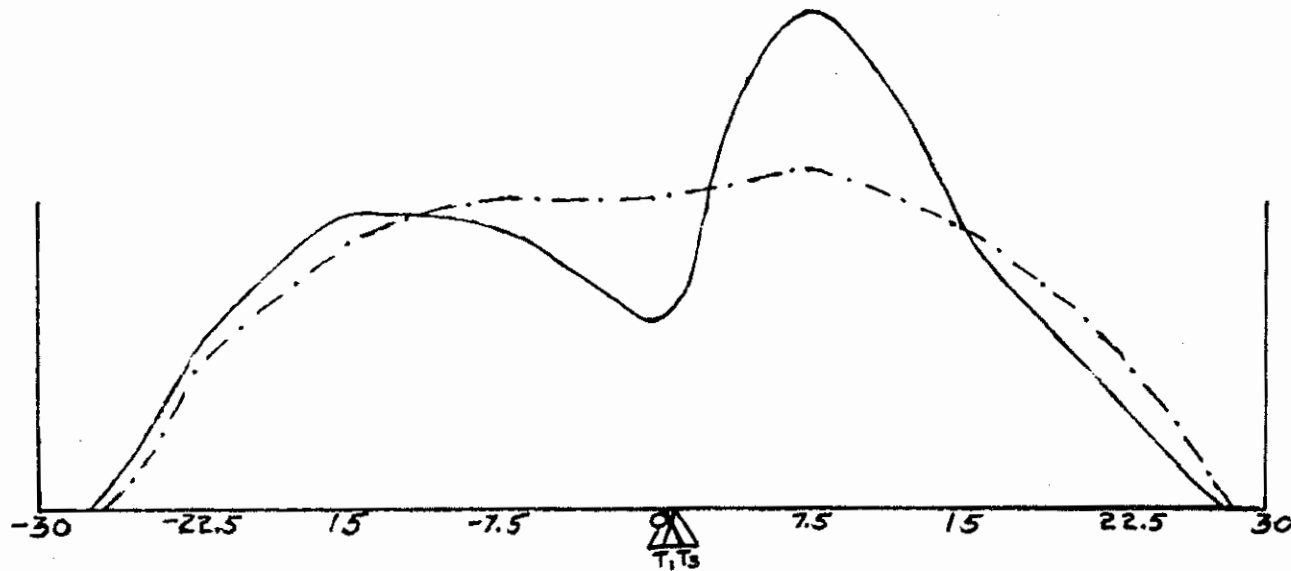
Mother's preference for the work role represents a stable attitude that did not change from T₁ to T₃.

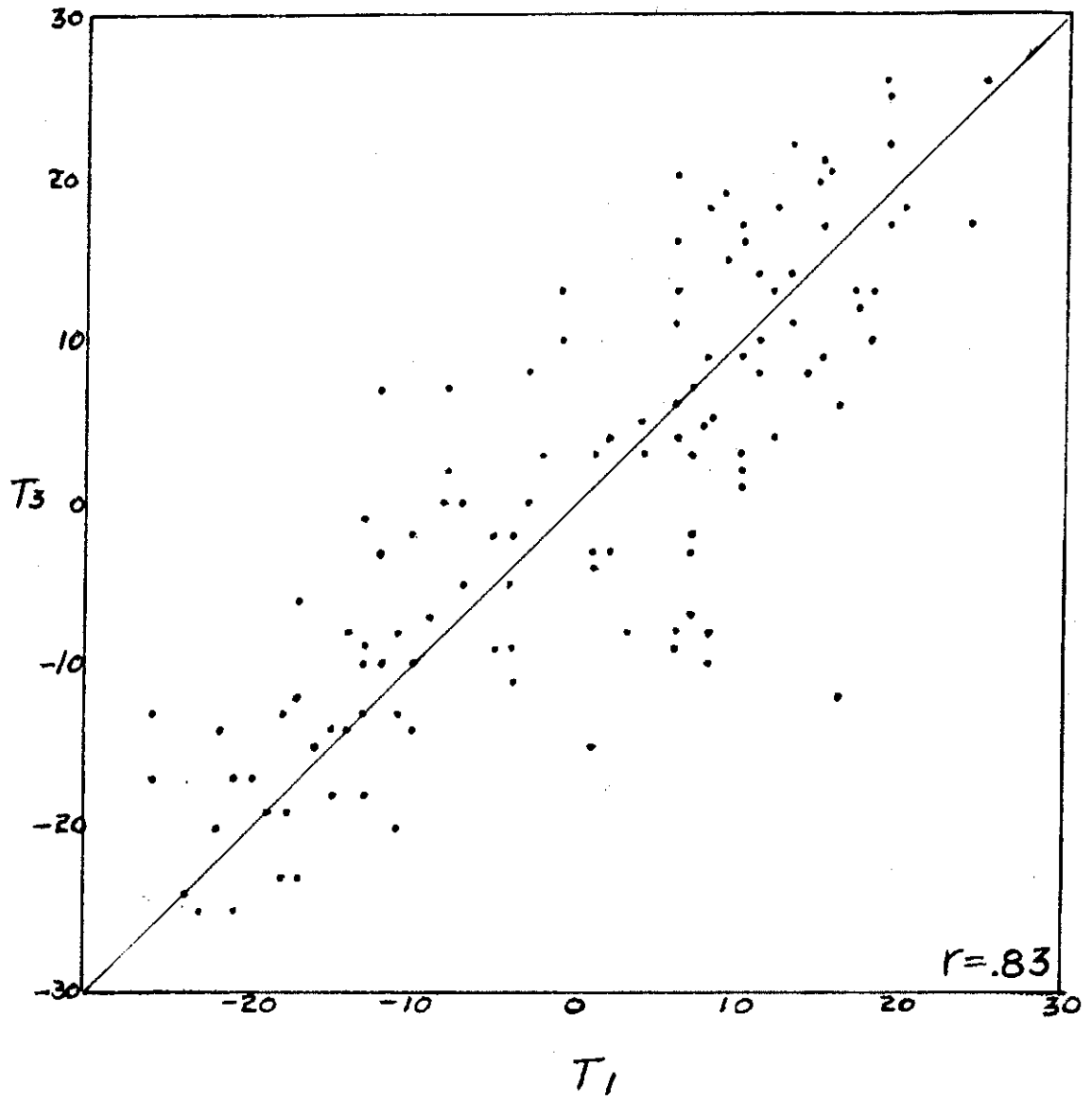
M Scale 3

$K=10$; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 30 MOTHER'S PREFERENCE FOR WORK ROLE

T_1 RANGE $-26 + 25$ ———

T_3 RANGE $-25 + 26$ - - - - -





M Scale 3: MOTHER'S PREFERENCE FOR WORK ROLE

Changes on Mother Scale 4

MOTHER'S ECONOMIC NEED TO WORK

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
My family couldn't get by if I didn't work.	44% disagree	49% disagree
For me, working is not an absolute necessity.	43% agree	53% agree
I do have some choice about whether to work or not.	50% agree	59% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁		
				percent who went up	33%
				percent who went down	51%
				net	-18%
\bar{x}	2.23	-.22	-2.46		
sd	10.73	11.11	7.80		
$t_{T_3-T_1} = -3.39; p < .001$					

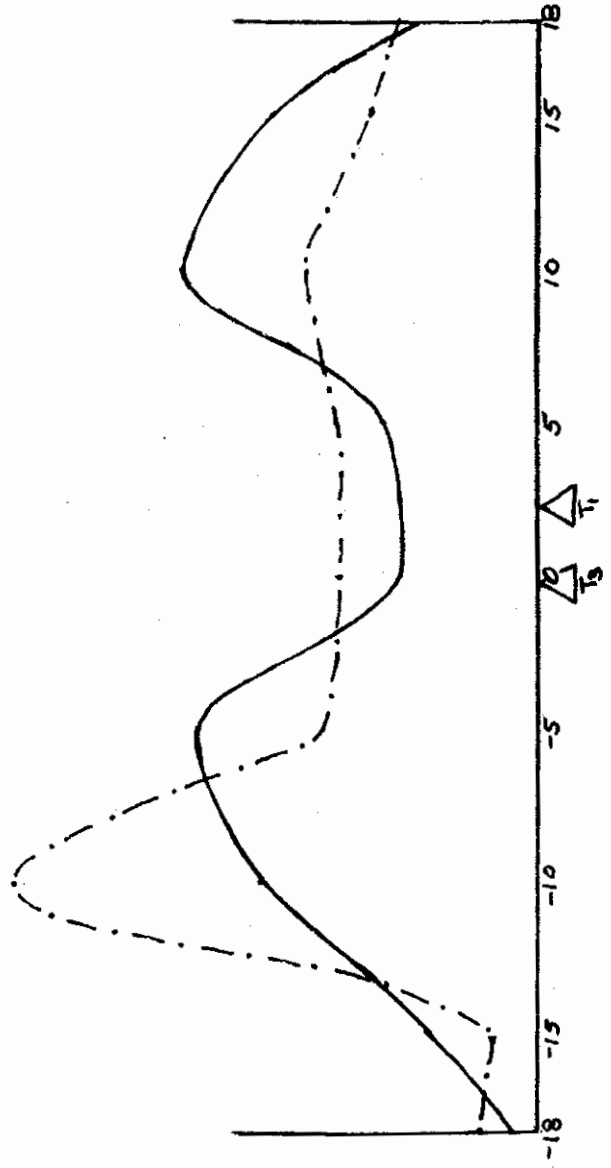
The mother's perceived economic need to work was reported significantly lower at the arrangement's end, for the sample as a whole. After showing a balanced bimodal distribution at T₁ with both high and low need to work, the group shifted lower at T₃ as many no longer felt the same need to work. However, there were working mothers at both extremes whose perceived economic need did not change.

M Scale 4

K = 6 ; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 18 MOTHER'S ECONOMIC NEED TO WORK

T₁ RANGE : -18 + 18 ———

T₃ RANGE : -18 + 18 - - - - -



Changes on Mother Scale 5

MOTHER'S ASSERTION THAT SITTERS SHOULD DO WHAT MOTHERS SAY

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
I would not keep a sitter who did not follow all instructions I gave her.	75% agree	69% agree
I prefer a sitter who is interested in helping me and my child.	94% agree	87% agree
A mother should insist that a sitter carry out the mother's way of handling the child.	50% agree	53% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	34%
\bar{x}	10.67	9.97	-.70	percent who went down	56%
sd	4.64	4.02	3.36	net	-22%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = -2.24; p < .05$$

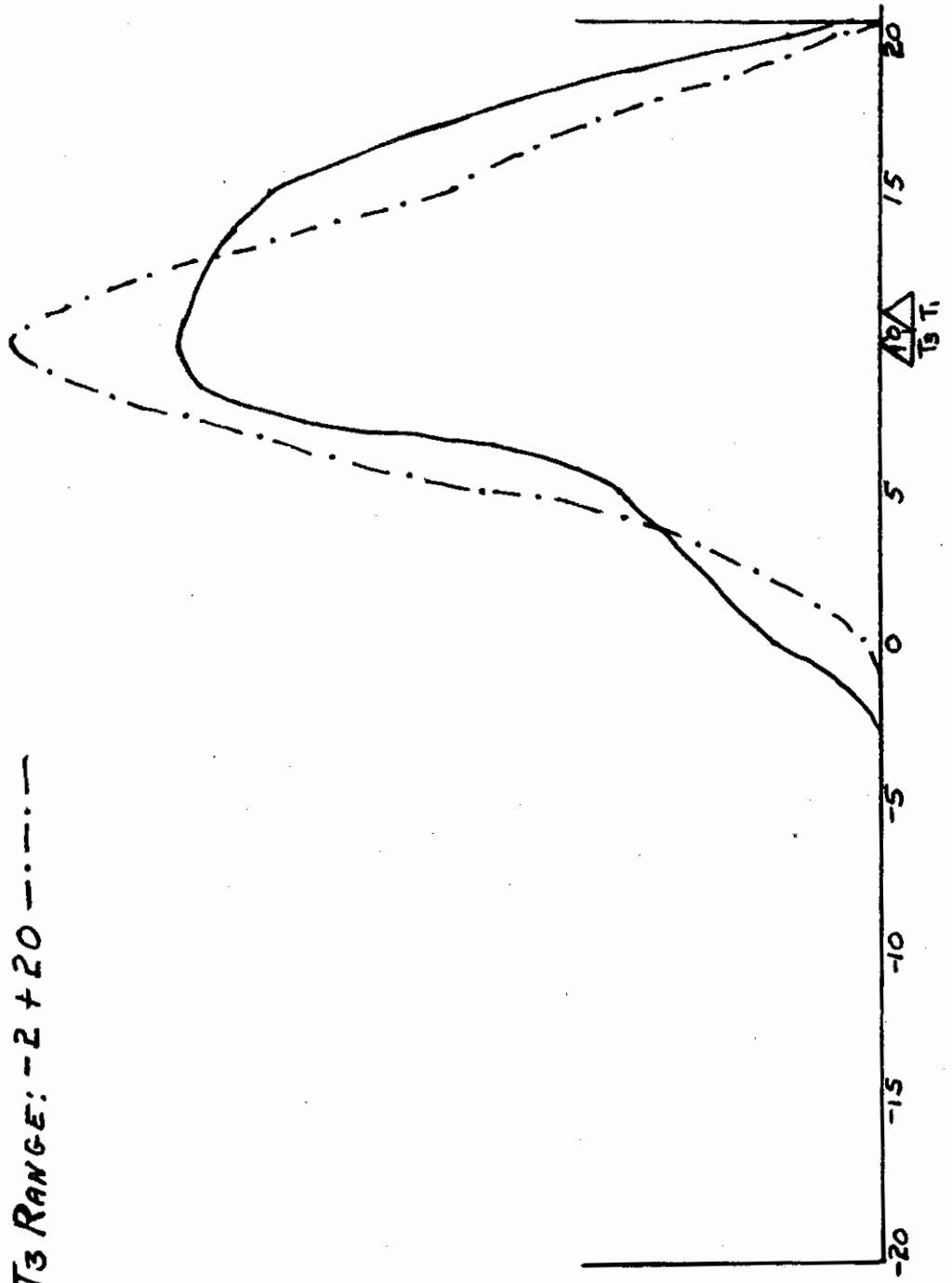
As time went on mothers were somewhat less inclined to assert that sitters should do what mothers say. Though the amount of change was small, it was significant ($p < .05$) because of the small standard deviation in the amount of change. The sample, however, shows a homogeneously high score on this scale.

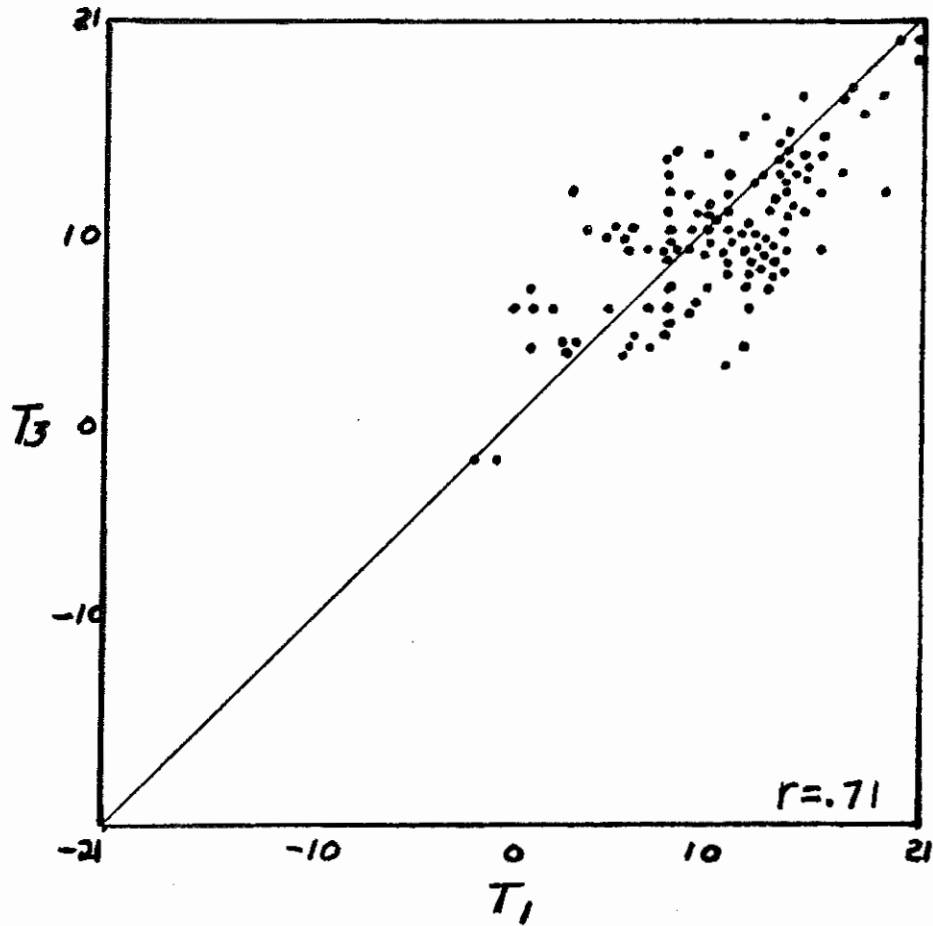
M Scale 5

K=7; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 21 MOTHER'S ASSERTION SITTERS SHOULD

T₁ RANGE: -2 + 21 ———

T₃ RANGE: -2 + 20 - · · · -





M Scale 5: MOTHER'S ASSERTION SITTERS SHOULD

Changes on Mother Scale 6

MOTHER'S GENERAL CONFIDENCE IN SITTERS

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
You can usually trust a sitter to do a good job.	49% agree	59% agree
Babysitters always like my children.	74% agree	80% agree
I think most sitters try to do what is best for the children they sit for.	72% agree	79% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	48%
\bar{x}	3.45	4.23	.78	percent who went down	40%
sd	5.69	5.96	4.34	net	+ 8%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = 1.94; \text{ n.s.}$$

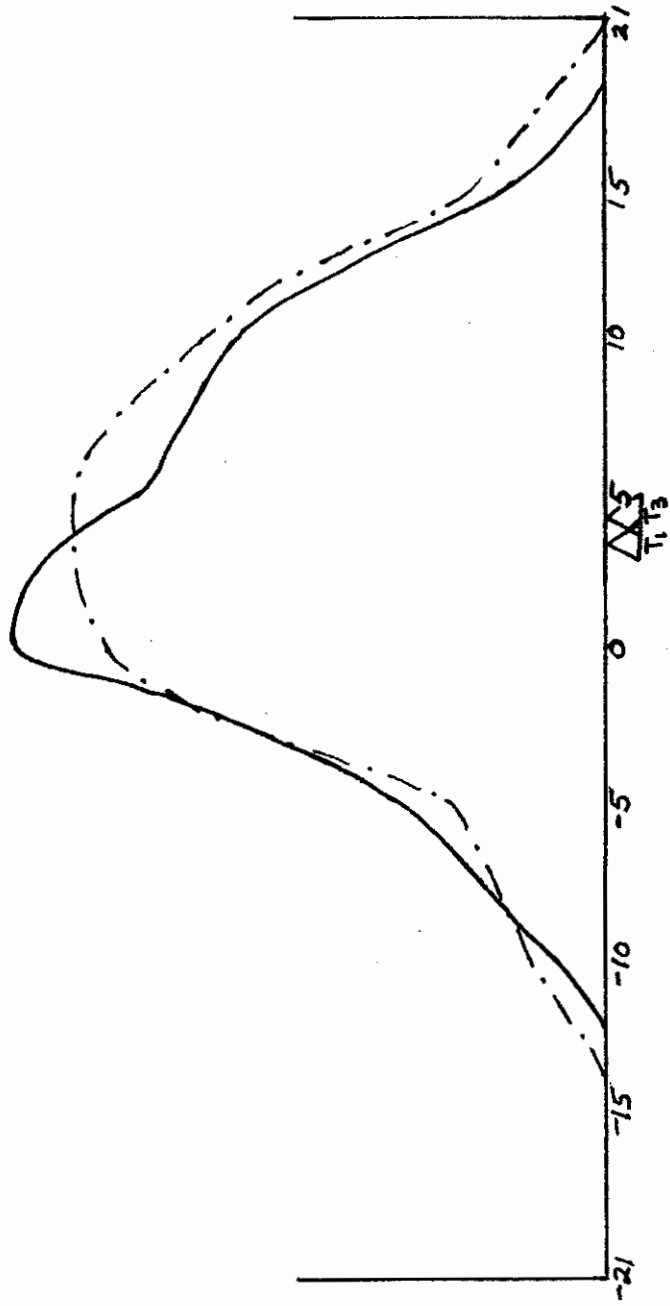
The mothers' general feeling of confidence in sitters improved slightly but not to a statistically significant degree ($p < .10$).

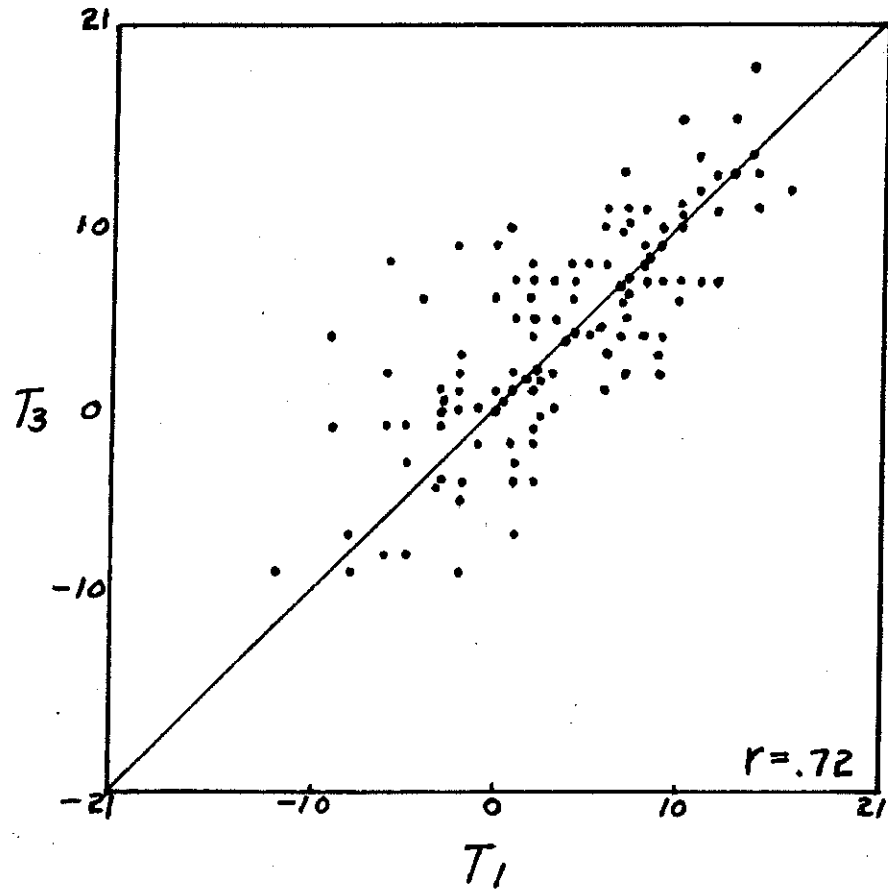
M Scale 6

K = 7; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 21 MOTHER'S GENERAL CONFIDENCE

T₁ RANGE -9 + 16 ———

T₃ RANGE -9 + 19 - · - · -





M Scale 6: MOTHER'S GENERAL CONFIDENCE IN SITTERS

Changes on Mother Scale 7

MOTHER'S JOB SATISFACTION AND JOB MARKET ADVANTAGE

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
I like the kind of work I am doing.	88% agree	87% agree
I wish my job were more interesting.	59% disagree	53% disagree
Usually I don't have a hard time finding a job.	78% agree	82% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	49%
\bar{x}	11.28	11.16	-.12	percent who went down	48%
sd	6.54	5.75	5.24	net	+ 1%

$t_{T_3-T_1} = -.25; n.s.$

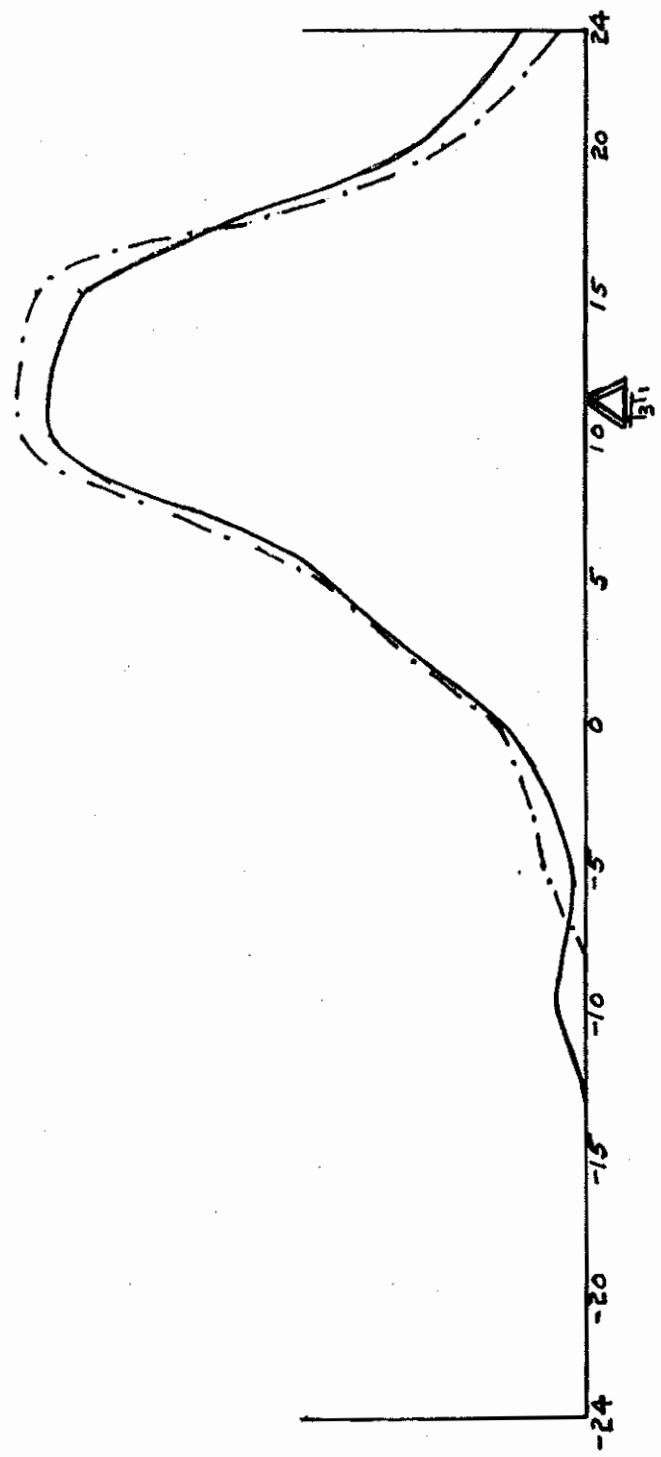
No change was found in this general attitude of the mother towards her job.

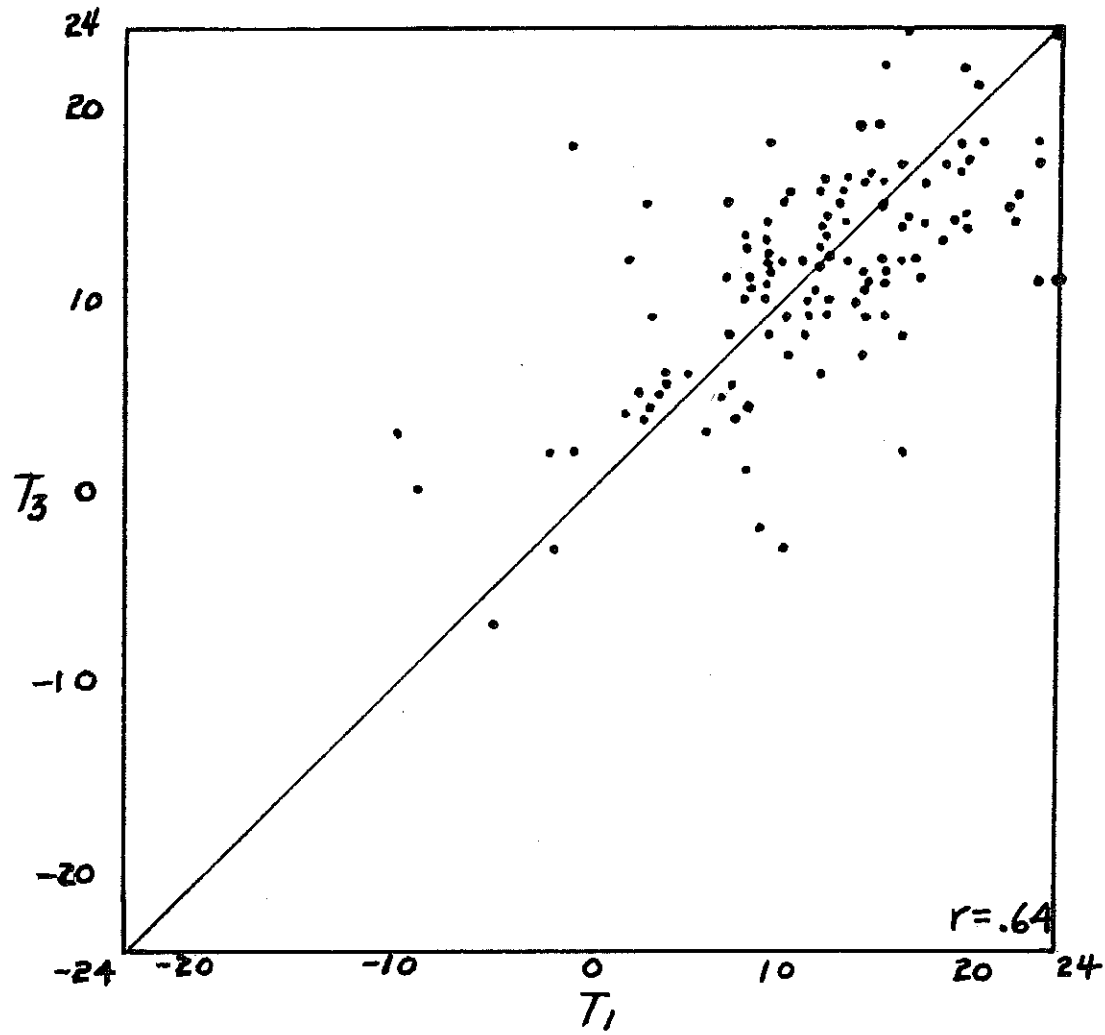
M Scale 7

K=8; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 24 MOTHER'S JOB SATISFACTION ---

T1 RANGE -10 +24 ———

T3 RANGE -7 +24 - - - -





M Scale 7: MOTHER'S JOB SATISFACTION - - -

Changes on Mother Scale 8

MOTHER'S COMPLAINTS ABOUT SITTER'S POSSESSIVENESS

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
Sometimes I'm afraid that she's coming between me and my child.	91% disagree	92% disagree
My child sometimes seems confused about which of us is his mother.	94% disagree	91% disagree
She gets too possessive with my child.	90% disagree	92% disagree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	49%
\bar{x}	-6.81	-6.25	.56	percent who went down	48%
sd	1.81	2.17	2.35	net	+ 1%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = 2.57; p < .05$$

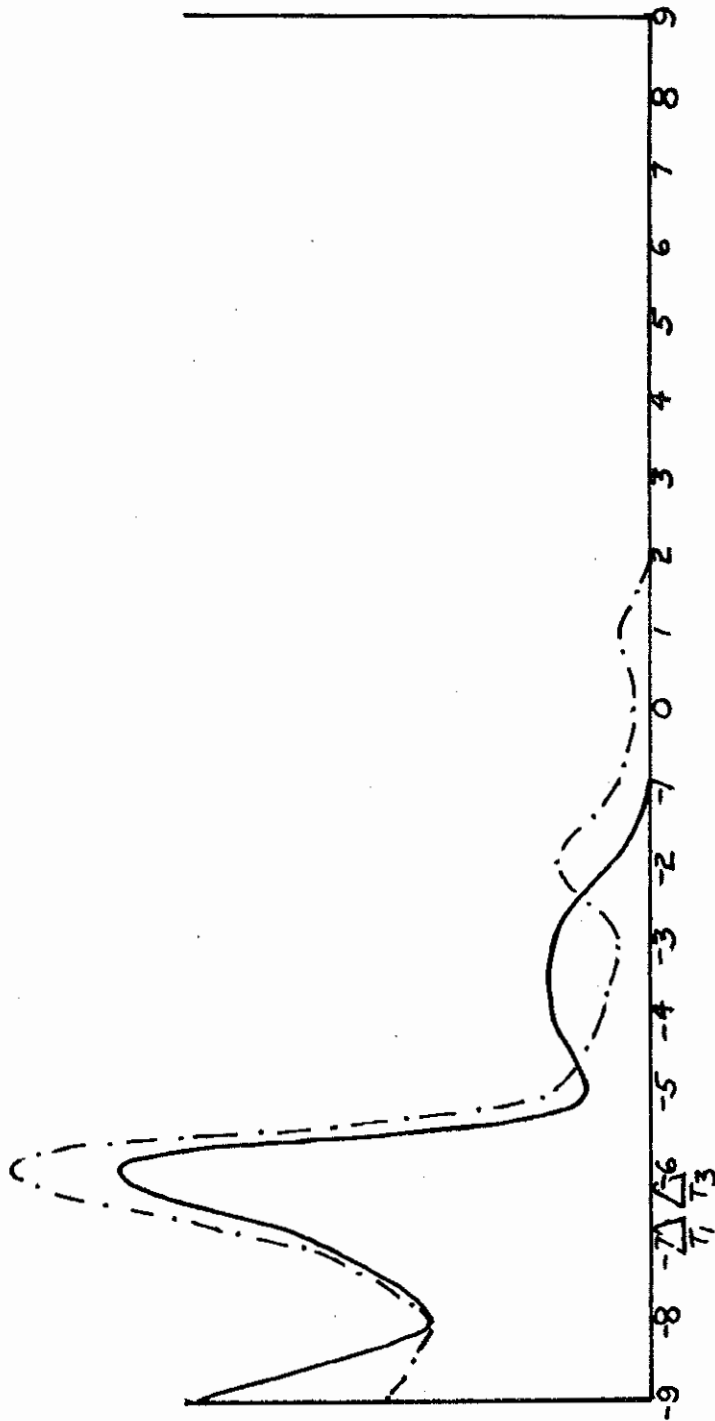
The mother's denial of complaints about sitter possessiveness remained very high, and only changes in extreme scores brought a shift in this attitude.

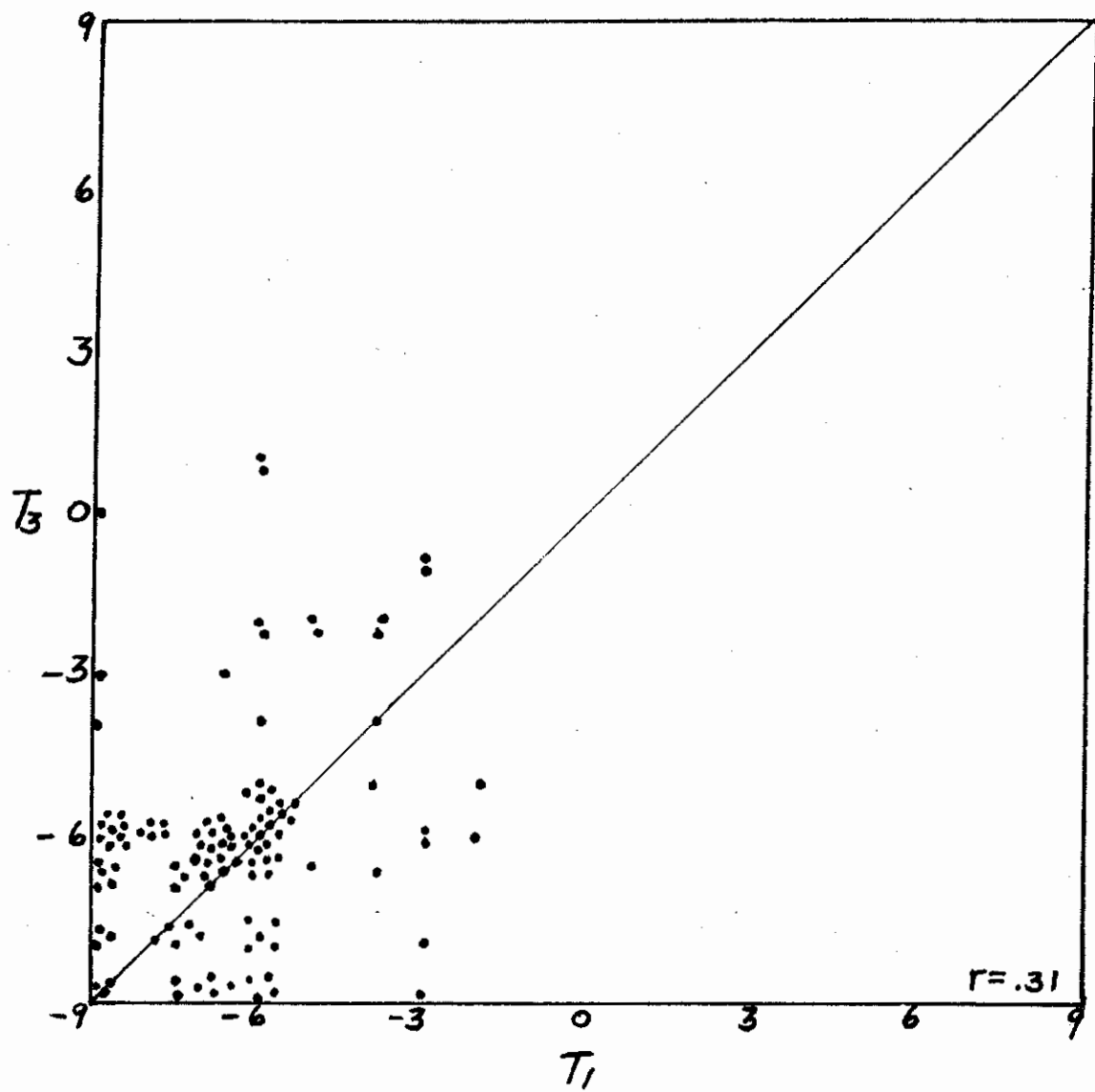
M Scale 8

K=3; POSSIBLE RANGE ±9 MOTHER'S COMPLAINTS S's POSSESSIVENESS

T₁ RANGE: -9 -2 ———

T₃ RANGE: -9 +1 - - - - -





M Scale 8: MOTHER'S COMPLAINTS S'S POSSESSIVENESS

Changes on Mother Scale 9

PLAYMATES FOR CHILD AS MOTHER'S REASON FOR HAVING THIS ARRANGEMENT

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
It is good for my child to have a chance to play with ^a her children.	90% agree	85% agree
I would only want to leave my child at a place where there is another child he enjoys.	70% agree	77% agree
My child has the opportunity to learn to play with other children at the sitter's.	91% agree	91% agree
By being with this sitter, my child learns some important things that he wouldn't at home.	47% agree	48% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	35%
\bar{x}	5.38	4.83	-.55	percent who went down	51%
sd	3.55	3.79	2.96	net	-16%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = -2.00; p < .05$$

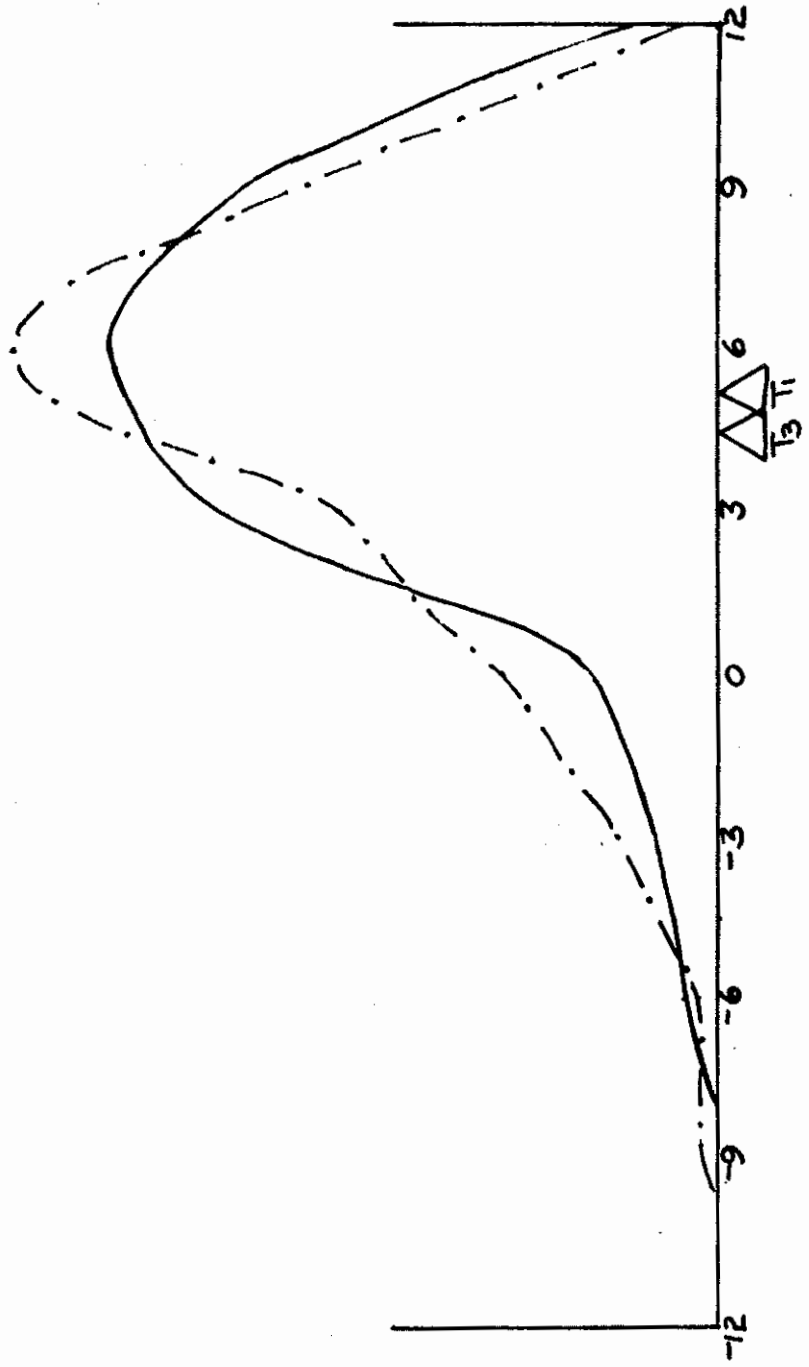
Although statistically significant because of a few mothers changing a lot, the loss on this scale was minor for the group as a whole.

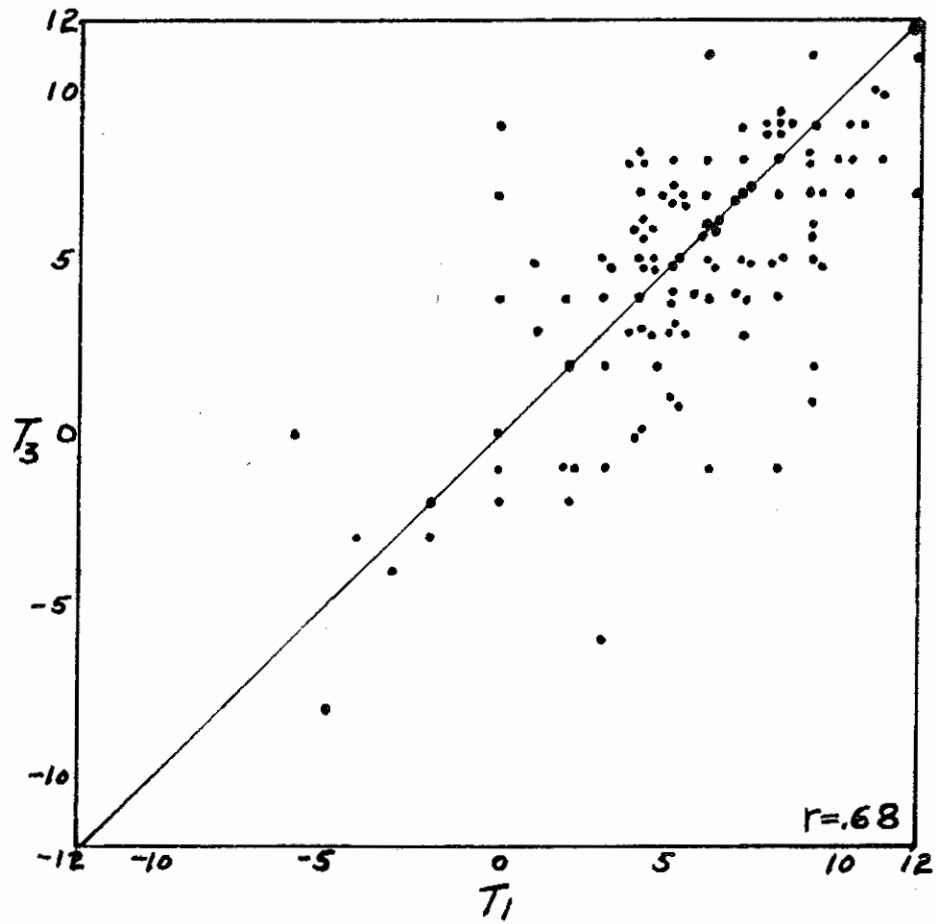
M Scale 9

K=4; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 12 PLAYMATES MOTHER'S REASON FOR TA

T₁ RANGE: -6 + 12 ———

T₃ RANGE: -8 + 12 - · - · -





M Scale 9: PLAYMATES FOR CHILD MOTHER'S REASON TA

Changes on Mother Scale 10

MOTHER'S NEED FOR A FLEXIBLE SITTER

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
I can't always let the sitter know ahead of time when I have to change my plans.	50% disagree	35% disagree
It's impossible to tell the sitter what my plans are because I don't know myself.	66% disagree	62% disagree
Sometimes I have to have my child stay late at the sitter's.	31% disagree	30% disagree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	53%
\bar{x}	-3.03	-2.09	.94	percent who went down	41%
sd	5.79	6.62	5.35	net	+12%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = 1.89; n.s.$$

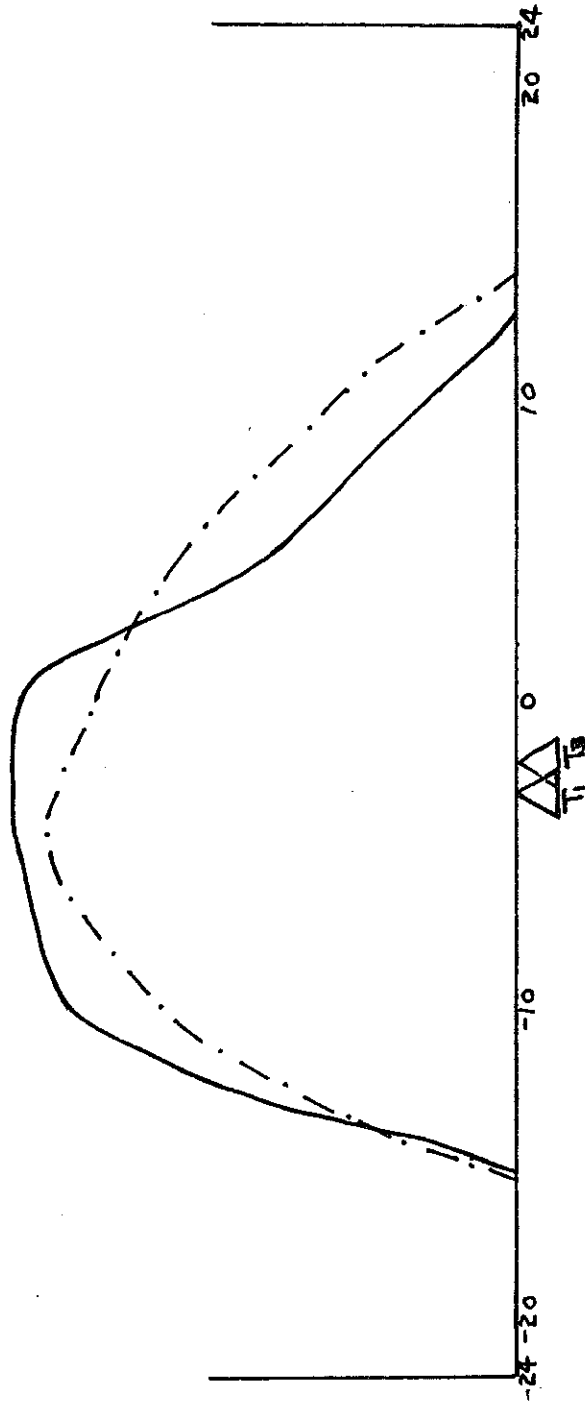
That the work and circumstances of many working mothers require a flexible sitter finds support from this scale and does not change much as a general condition.

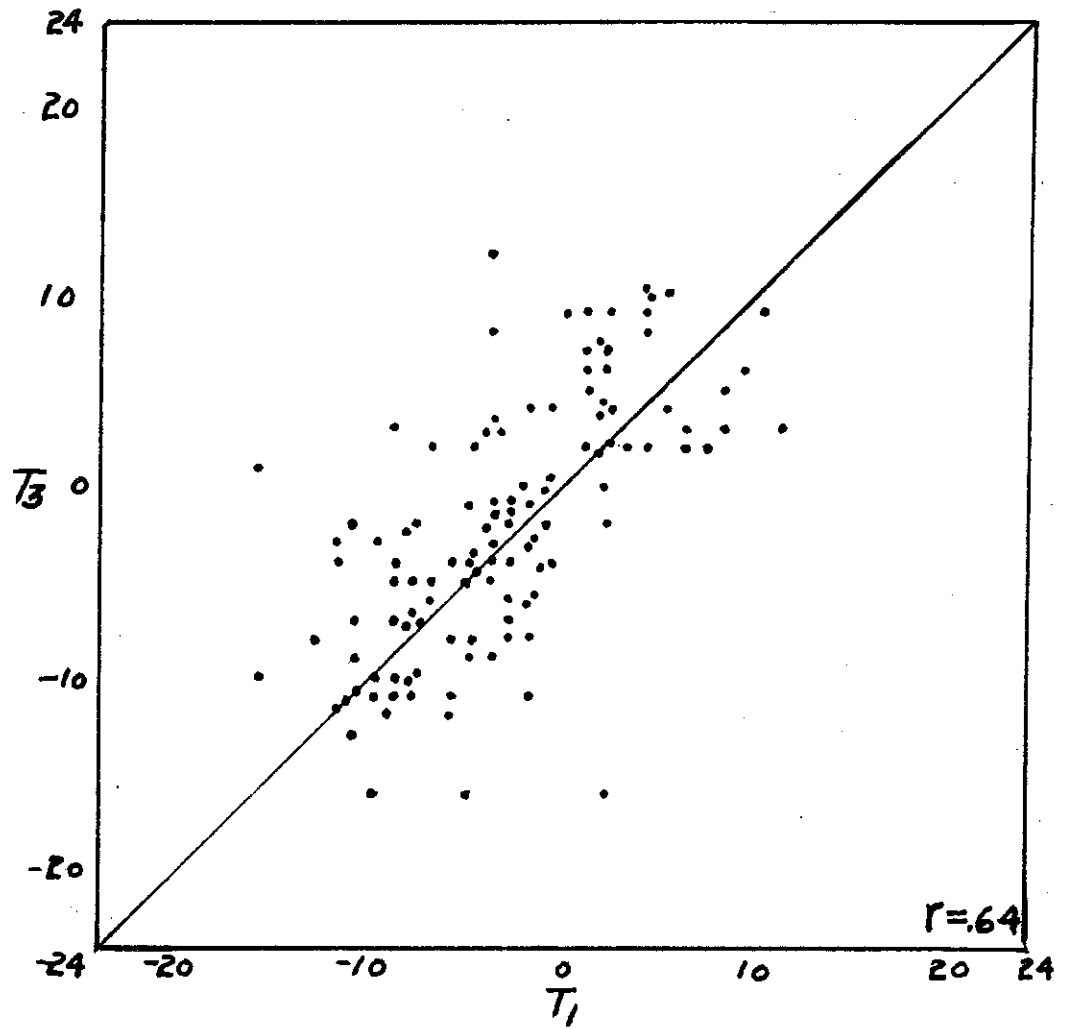
M Scale 10

K = 8; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 24 MOTHER'S NEED FOR A FLEXIBLE SITTER

T₁ RANGE: -16 + 11 ———

T₃ RANGE: -16 + 12 - · · · · ·





M Scale 10: MOTHER'S NEED FOR A FLEXIBLE SITTER

Changes on Mother Scale 11

MOTHER'S DISADVANTAGE IN THE BABYSITTING MARKET

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
There are many people in my neighborhood who would be willing to give child care.	14% agree	16% agree
I have a list of alternatives if this arrangement fails.	38% agree	44% agree
If I lost my sitter, I would have to stay home.	72% disagree	77% disagree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	32%
\bar{x}	-2.63	-3.71	-1.08	percent who went down	60%
sd	5.46	5.39	4.89	net	-28%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = -2.38; p < .05$$

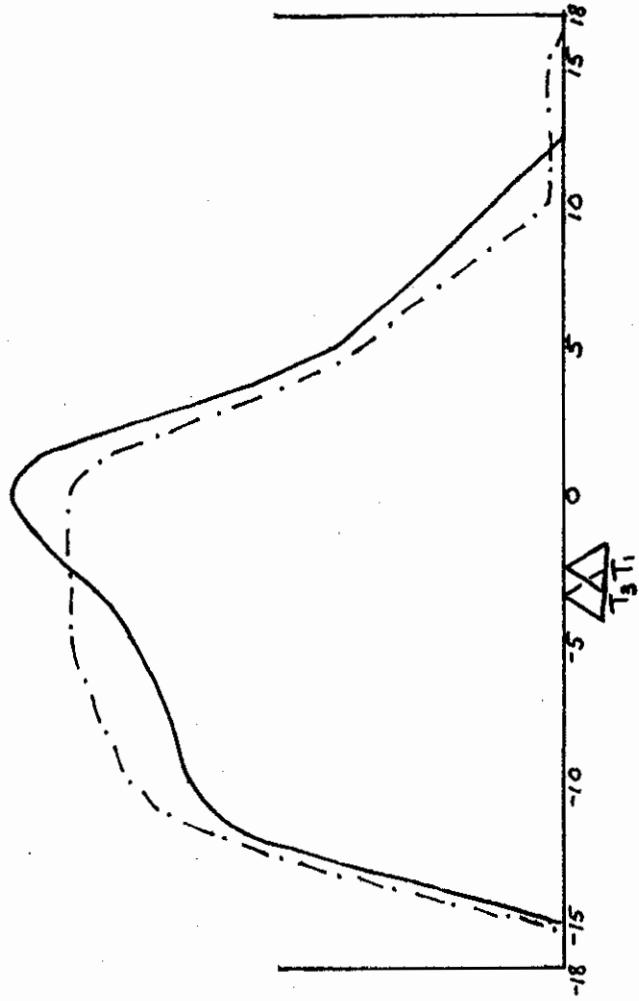
These results suggest that with time and experience in the family day care arrangement, mothers feel at somewhat less of a disadvantage in finding day care resources.

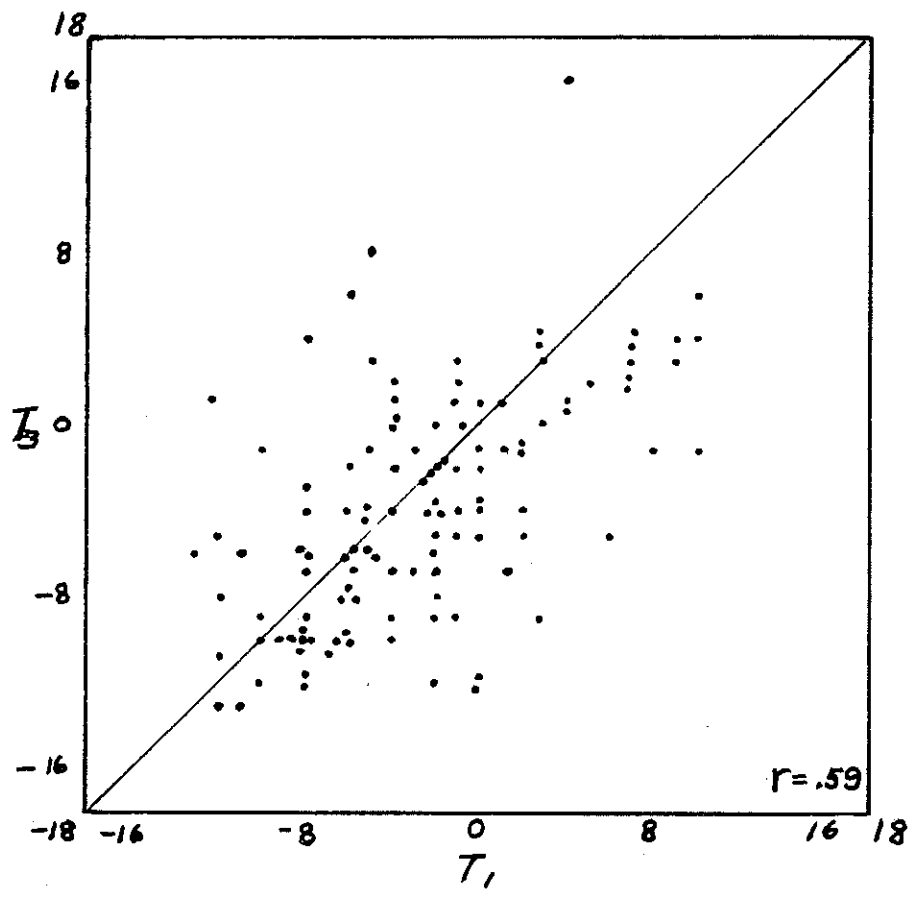
M Scale II

$K=6$; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 18 MOTHER'S SITTING MARKET DISADVANTAGE

T_1 RANGE: $-13 + 10$ ———

T_3 RANGE: $-13 + 16$ - · - · - · -





M Scale 11: MOTHER'S SITTING MARKET DISADVANTAGE

Changes on Mother Scale 12

MOTHER'S RELUCTANCE TO INTERFERE WITH SITTER'S WAY OF HANDLING CHILD

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
Unless a sitter did something to really hurt my child, I would not interfere with her way of handling him.	32% disagree	28% disagree
It is not fair for mothers to ask sitter to treat their children in a special way.	66% agree	61% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	41%
\bar{x}	1.23	1.33	.09	percent who went down	36%
sd	2.67	2.78	2.31	net	+5%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = .42; n.s.$$

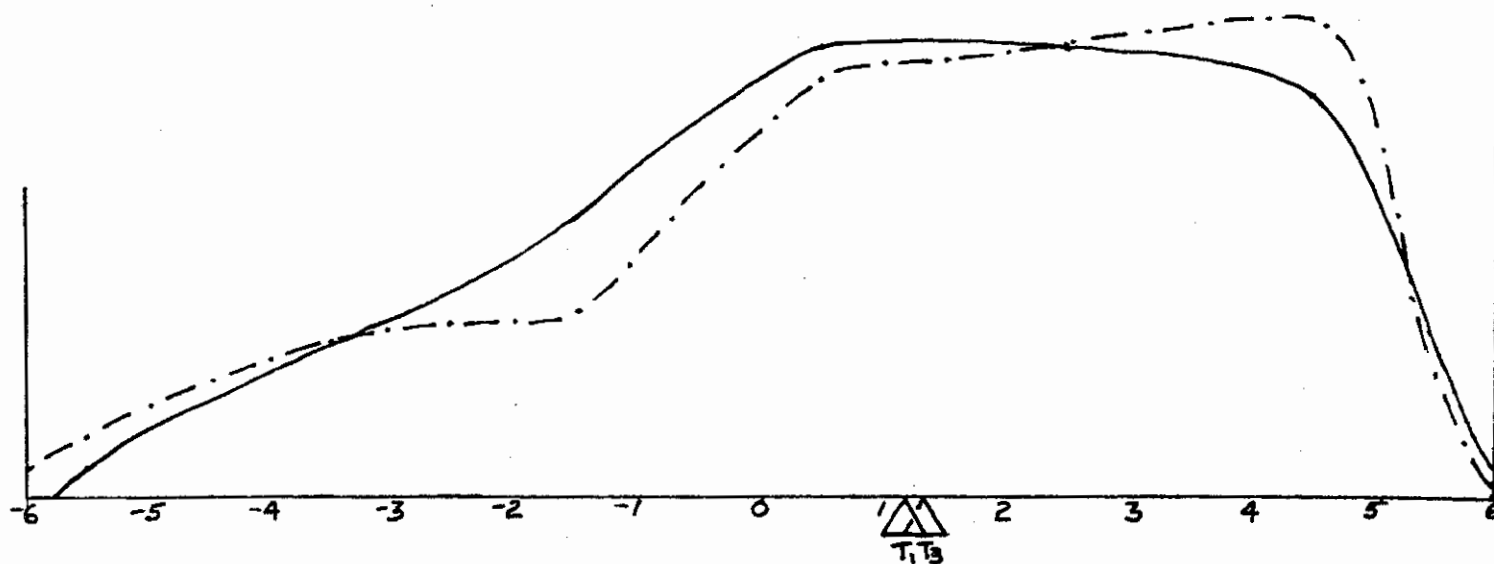
Little group change but considerable individual change characterize the scores on this unstable two-item scale which became more internally consistent only after the T₁ interview.

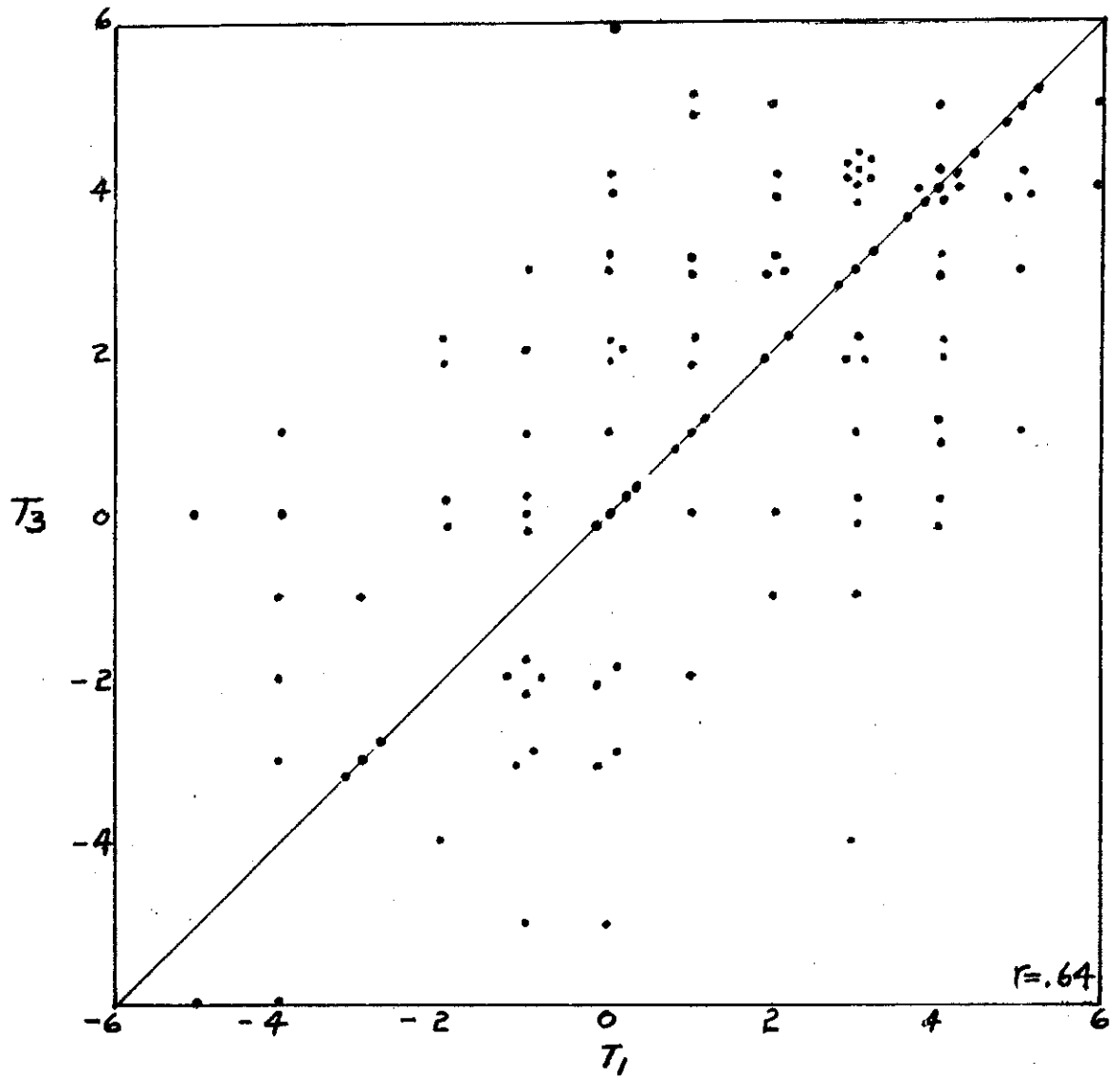
M Scale 12

$K=2$; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 6 MOTHER'S RELUCTANCE TO INTERFERE

T_1 RANGE $-5 + 6$ ———

T_3 RANGE $-6 + 6$ - - - - -





M Scale 12: MOTHER'S RELUCTANCE TO INTERFERE

Changes on Mother Scale 13

MOTHER'S FEELING OF GUILT ABOUT CHILD'S ADJUSTMENT TO BABYSITTING

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
Since I have had a sitter my child loses his temper more often.	74% disagree	73% disagree
I think my child would be easier to handle if he didn't have to go to the babysitter's at all.	68% disagree	55% disagree
My children usually like going to a babysitter's home.	63% agree	66% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	50%
\bar{x}	-4.93	-4.52	.41	percent who went down	40%
sd	5.32	5.69	4.54	net	+10%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = .97; n.s.$$

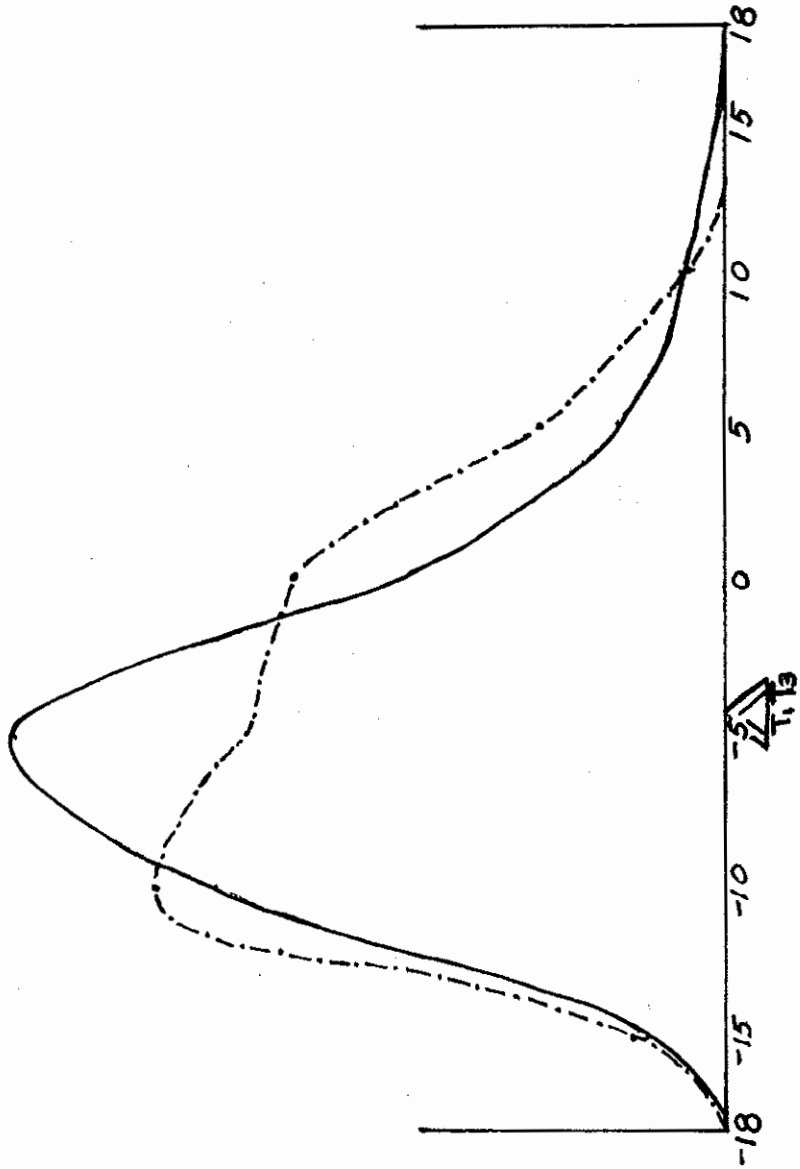
No mean difference was found in mother's general feeling of dissatisfaction with her child's adjustment to babysitting which remained relatively low.

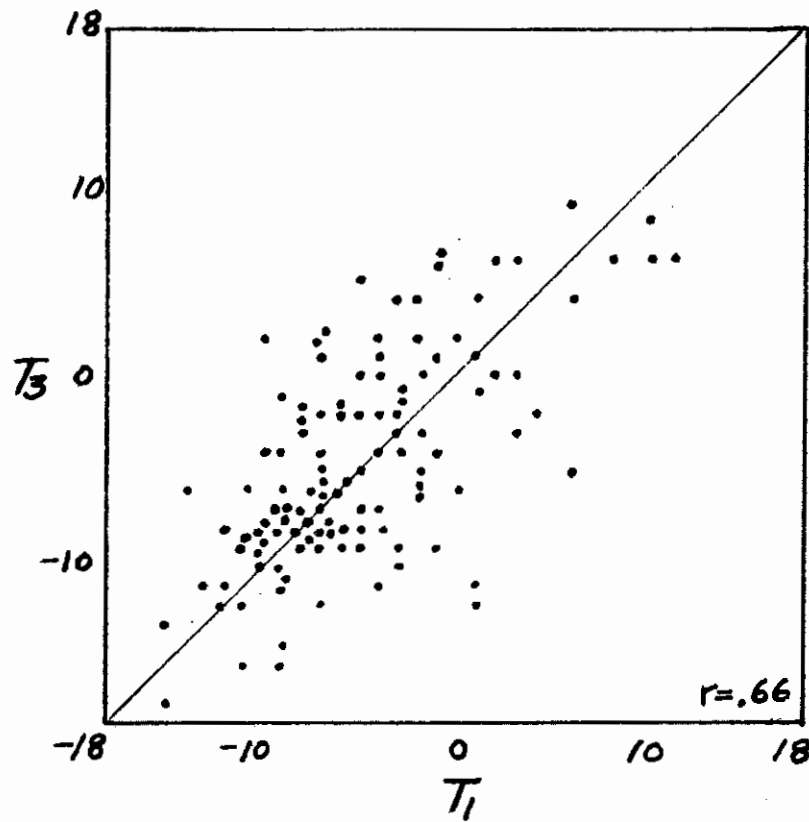
M Scale 13

K=6; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 18 MOTHER'S GUILT RE CHILD'S ADJUSTMENT

T₁ RANGE: -15 + 11 ———

T₃ RANGE: -17 + 9 - · - · -





M Scale 13: MOTHER'S GUILT RE CHILD'S ADJUSTMENT

Changes on Mother Scale 14

MOTHER'S FEELING THAT PEOPLE DISAPPROVE OF MOTHERS WORKING

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
I don't think she approves of my working.	87% disagree	77% disagree
I think most babysitters look down on mothers who work.	80% disagree	79% disagree
I think other people look down on me for being a working mother.	68% disagree	74% disagree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	43%
\bar{x}	-3.91	-3.66	.25	percent who went down	39%
sd	3.27	3.30	3.09	net	+4%

$t_{T_3 T_1} = .87; n.s.$

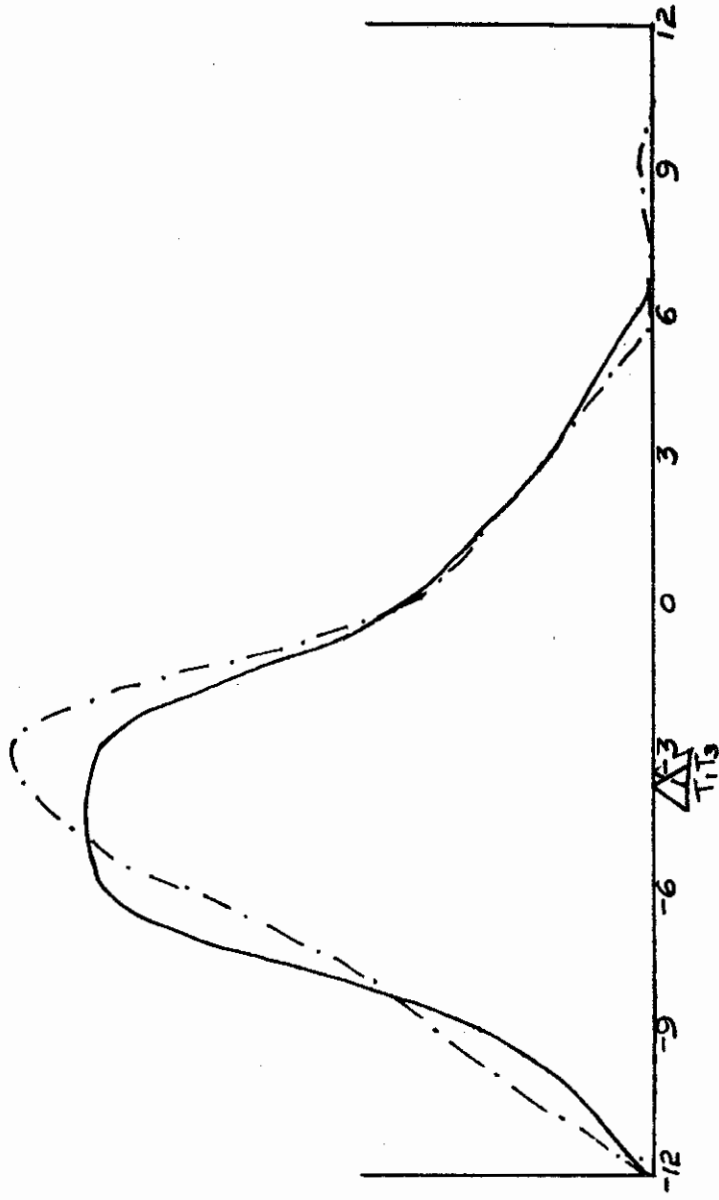
This attitude remained unchanged, with about a quarter of the working mothers feeling that people disapprove of their working.

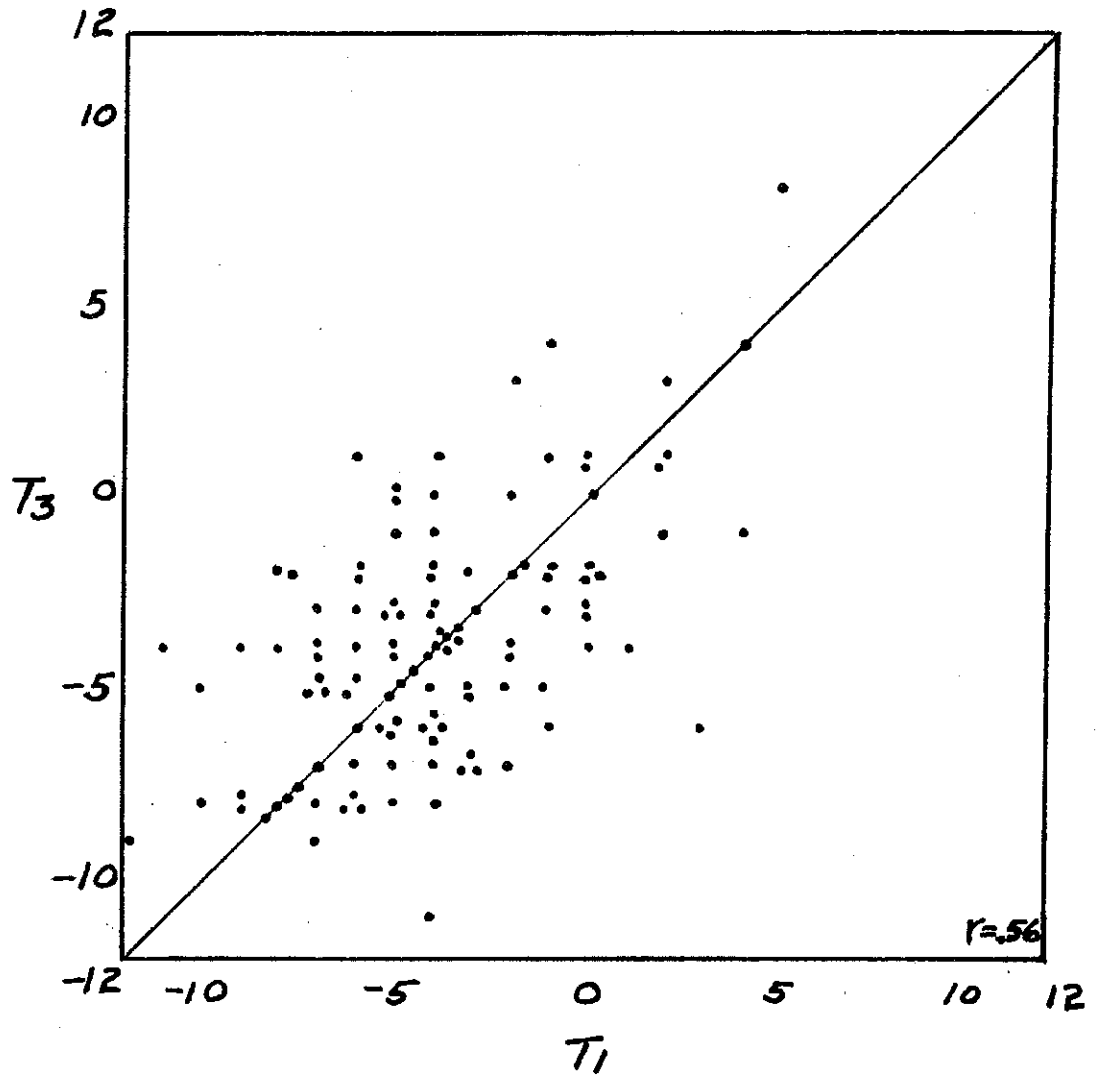
M Scale 14

K=4 POSSIBLE RANGE ± 12 MOTHER'S FEELING PEOPLE DISAPPROVE

T₁ RANGE -12 + 5

T₃ RANGE -11 + 8





MScale 14: MOTHER'S FEELING PEOPLE DISAPPROVE

Changes on Mother Scale 15

MOTHER'S EXPECTATION THAT CHILD CAN GET ALONG WITH ANY SITTER

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
My children get along with anybody.	60% agree	72% agree
It's difficult for my children to "take to" a sitter.	77% disagree	69% disagree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	35%
\bar{x}	1.76	1.76	.00	percent who went down	39%
sd	2.64	2.32	2.37	net	- 4%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = .00; \text{n.s.}$$

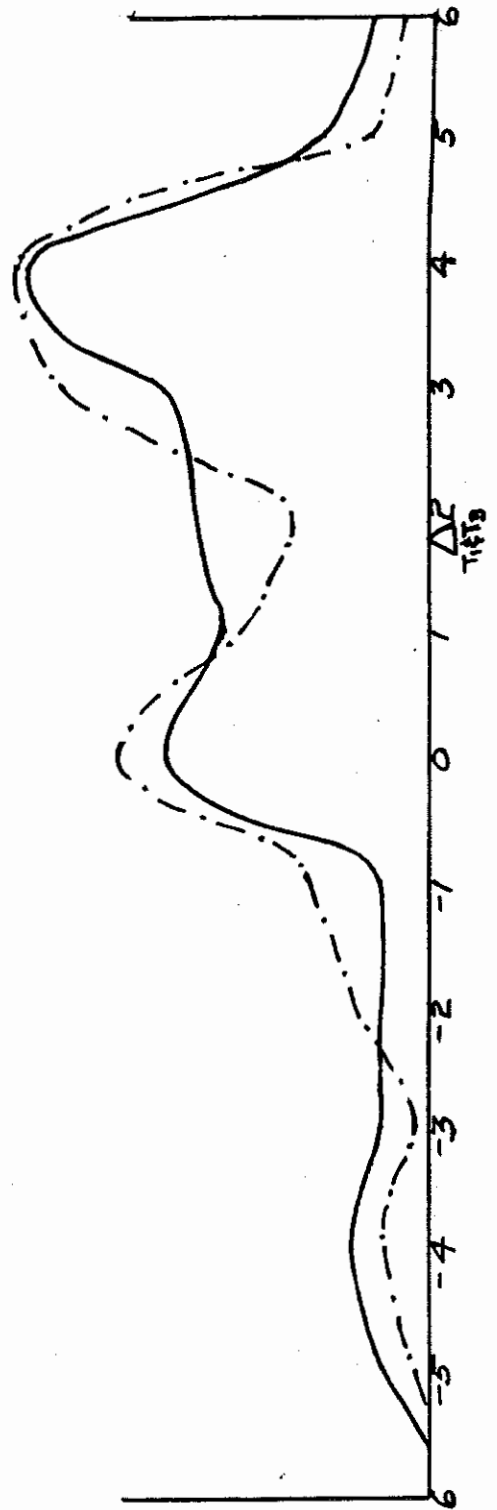
Only a two-item scale with decreasing internal consistency, this scale showed no mean change.

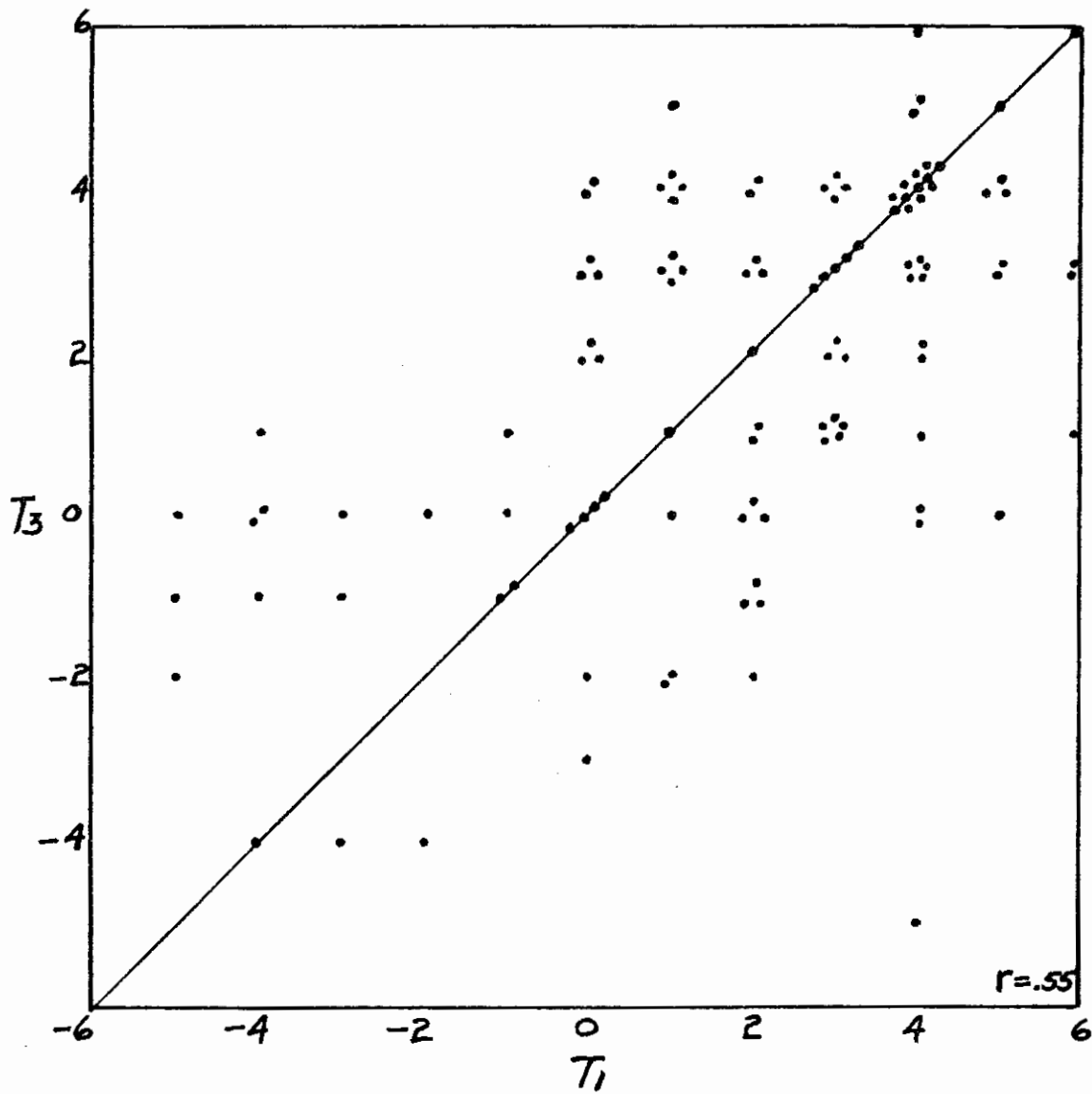
M Scale 15

K=2 POSSIBLE RANGE ±6 M EXPECTS CHILD CAN GET ALONG WITH ANY S.

T1 RANGE -5 +6 ———

T3 RANGE -5 +6 - · - · -





M Scale 15: MOTHER EXPECTS CHILD CAN GET ALONG ANY S.

Changes on Mother Scale 16

MOTHER'S PREFERENCE FOR UNINVOLVED, BUSINESSLIKE RELATIONSHIP WITH SITTER

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
It is all right with me when sitters would rather not get too involved with the mother.	5% disagree	9% disagree
I prefer sitters who do not try to involve me in their lives.	10% disagree	14% disagree
I think it's best to keep babysitting arrangements businesslike.	31% disagree	30% disagree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	35%
\bar{x}	3.38	2.95	-.43	percent who went down	43%
sd	2.87	3.40	2.90	net	- 8%
$t_{T_3-T_1} = -1.60; n.s.$					

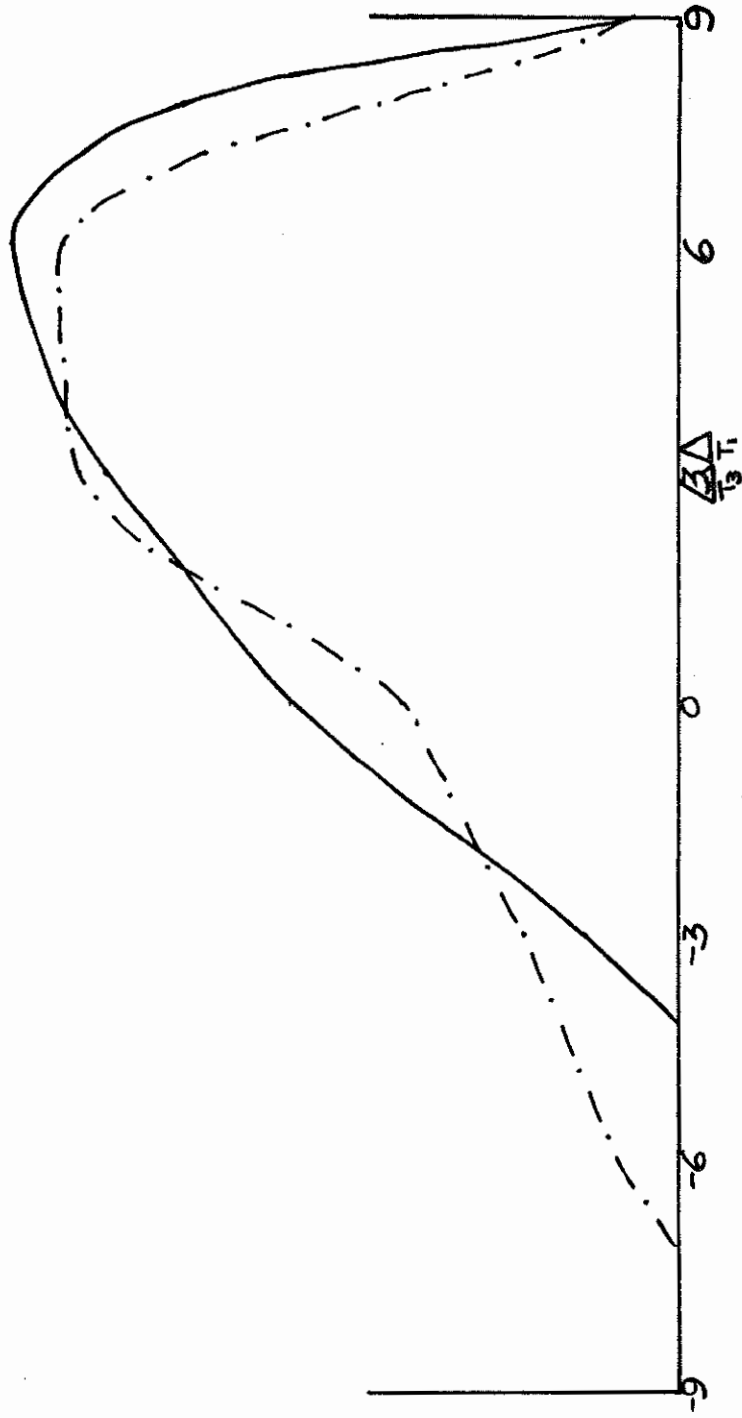
A dominant attitude among working mothers, the mother's preference for an uninvolved, businesslike relationship with the caregiver does not diminish significantly for the sample as a whole.

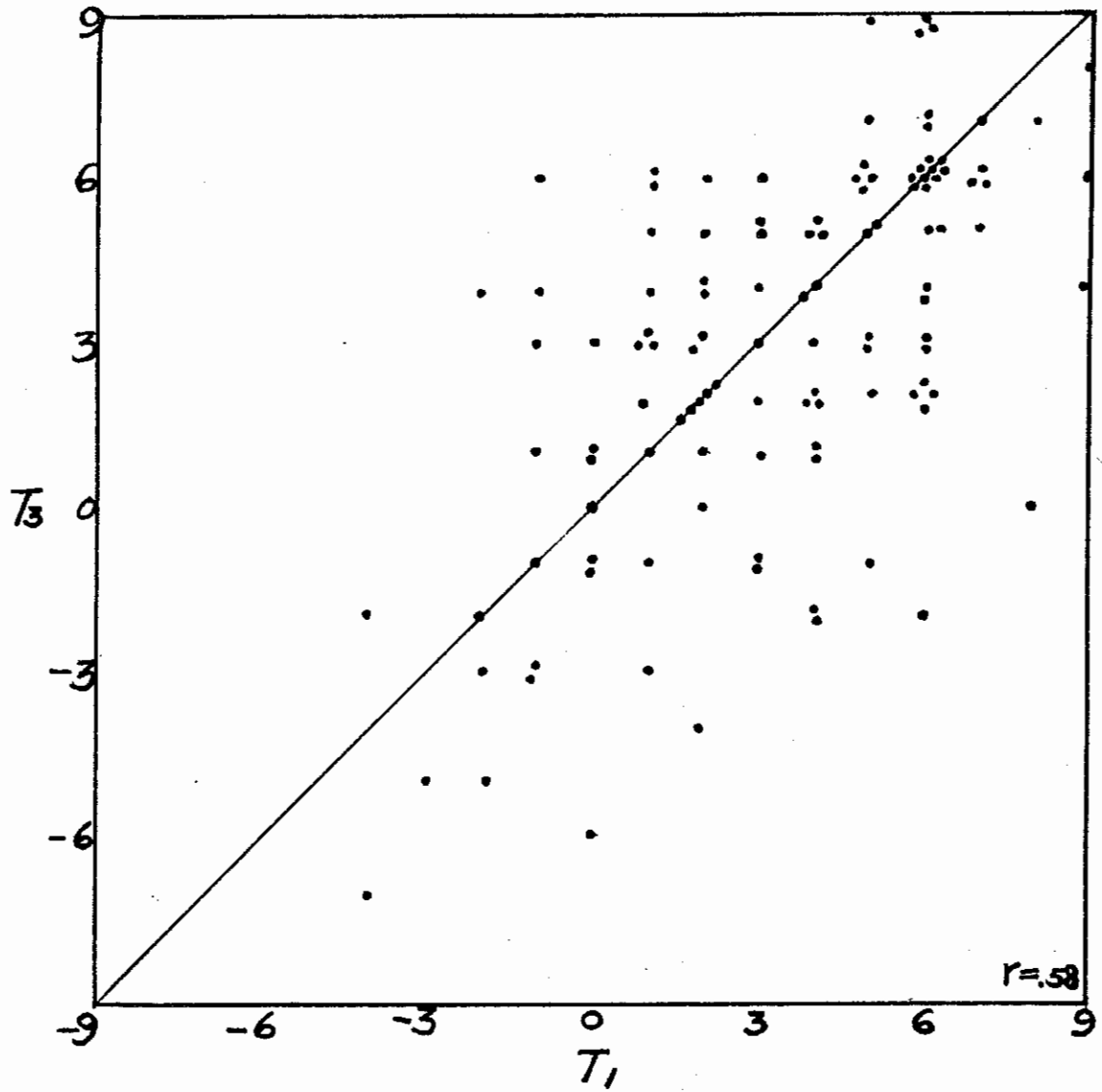
M Scale 16

K=3 POSSIBLE RANGE ±9 M's PREFERENCE BUSINESSLIKE RELATIONSHIP

T₁ RANGE -4 +9 ———

T₃ RANGE -7 +9 - · - · -





M'S PREFERENCE BUSINESS LIKE RELATIONSHIP

Changes on Mother Scale 17

REVISED MOTHER'S VIEW OF INTER-FAMILY CLOSENESS IN THIS ARRANGEMENT

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
Our families often get together.	13% agree	15% agree
My sitter is one of my closest friends.	11% agree	15% agree
We enjoy getting together.	48% agree	46% agree
Our families are so close it is as if we were relatives.	3% agree	5% agree
My sitter and I sit and talk to each other for hours.	14% agree	16% agree
I only see my sitter when I pick up or deliver my child.	33% disagree	35% disagree
My sitter has my child visit her or comes to see him even when she is not sitting.	16% agree	28% agree
One reason I have this sitter is that our children are friends.	25% agree	16% agree

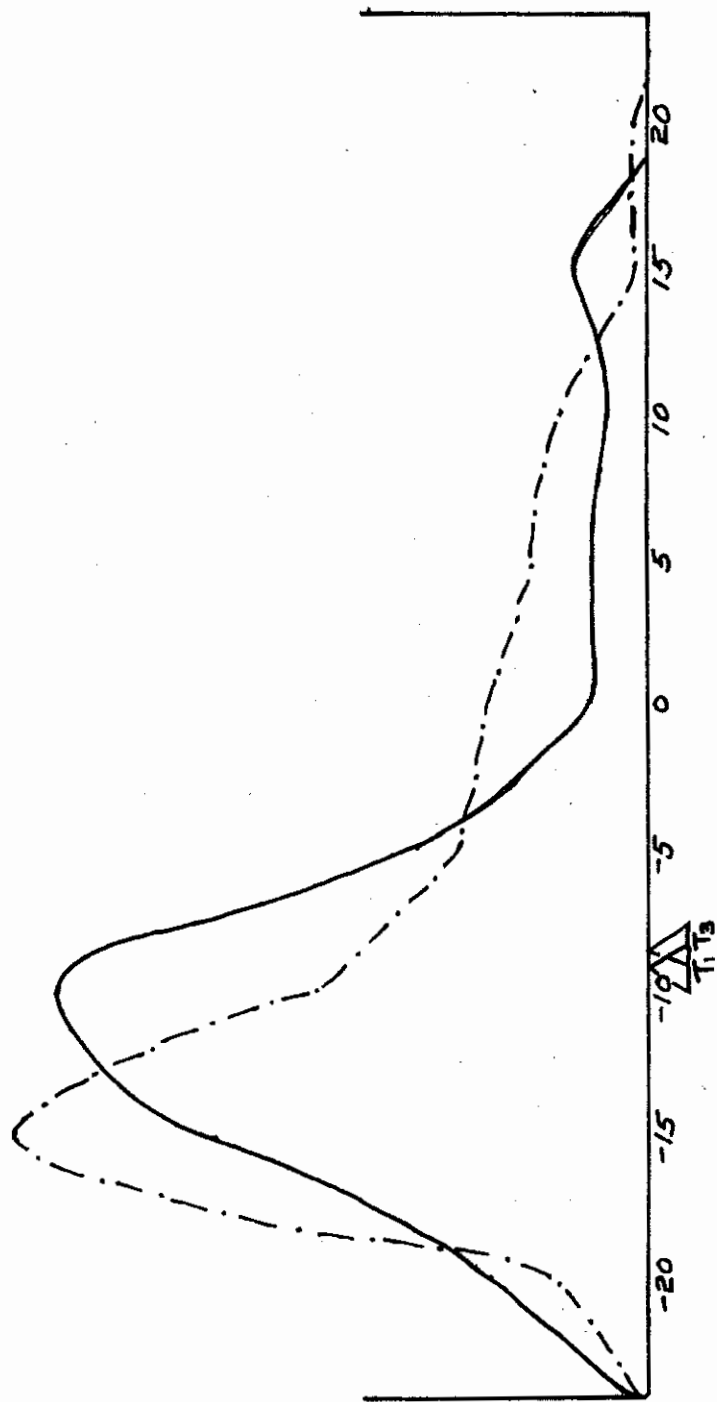
For complete scale see Appendix A

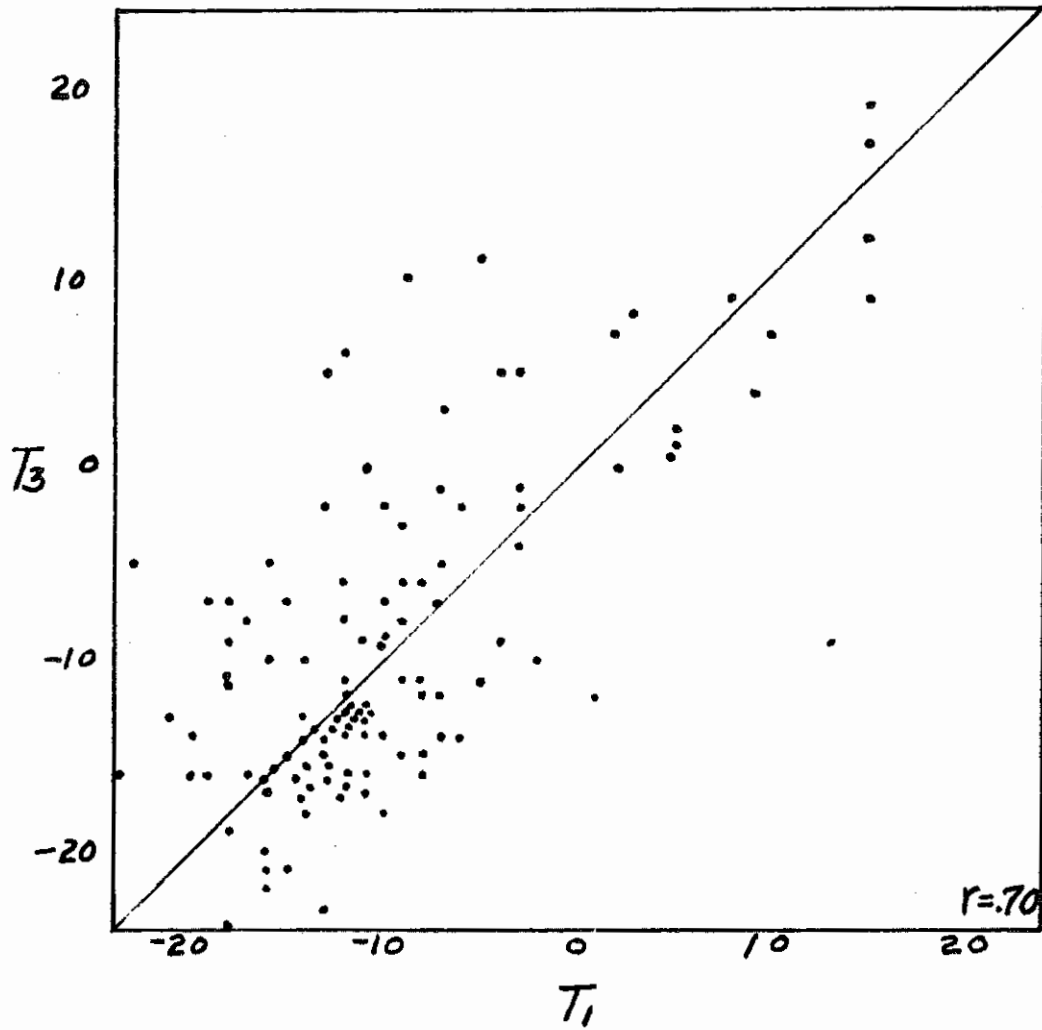
	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ T ₁	percent who went up	46%
\bar{x}	-9.38	-8.75	-.63	percent who went down	48%
sd	8.23	8.91	6.65	net	- 2%

$t_{T_3-T_1} = 1.02; n.s.$

Likewise a considerable degree of social distance is shown by the results of this scale which does not gain to a significant degree. It must be remembered that most of the sample began the arrangement as strangers, and individual gains on this measure play an important role in predicting stability of the arrangement.

M Scale 17
 K=8 POSSIBLE RANGE ± 24 MOTHER'S FAMILY CLOSENESS - REVISED
 T₁ RANGE -24 +15
 T₃ RANGE -24 +19





M Scale 17: MOTHER'S FAMILY CLOSENESS - REVISED

Changes on Sitter Scale 1

SITTER'S SATISFACTION WITH THIS MOTHER'S CONCERN FOR HER CHILD

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
It would be easier for me if the mother were more concerned about her children.	79% disagree	66% disagree
The mother is very cooperative.	97% agree	81% agree
She is a good mother.	91% agree	86% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	33%
\bar{x}	27.87	19.90	-8.03	percent who went down	63%
sd	10.03	16.70	14.05	net	-30%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = -6.16; p < .001$$

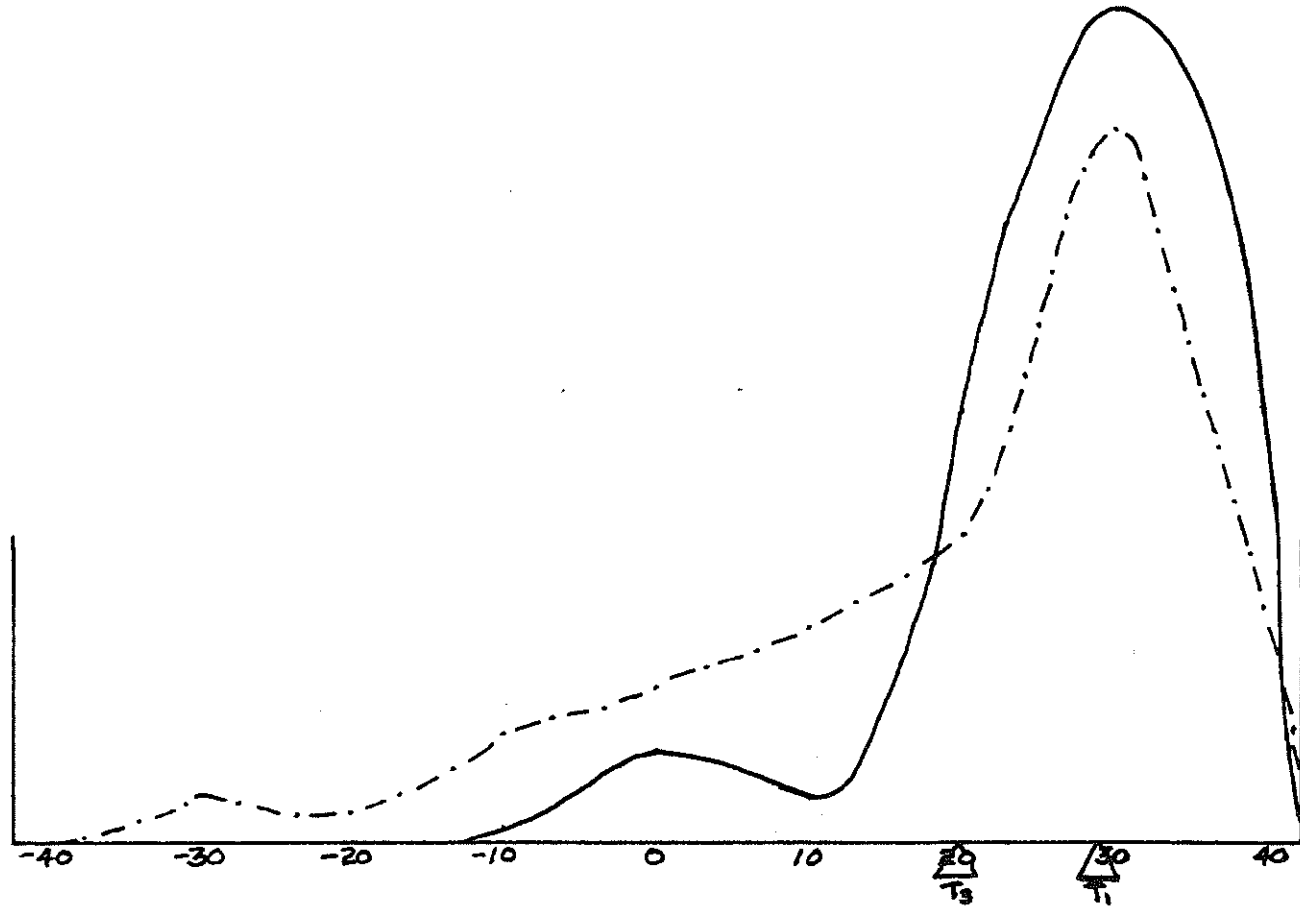
Just as for the mothers, caregiver satisfaction with the other's concern for the child shows a significant mean loss, though in general satisfaction levels remained quite high.

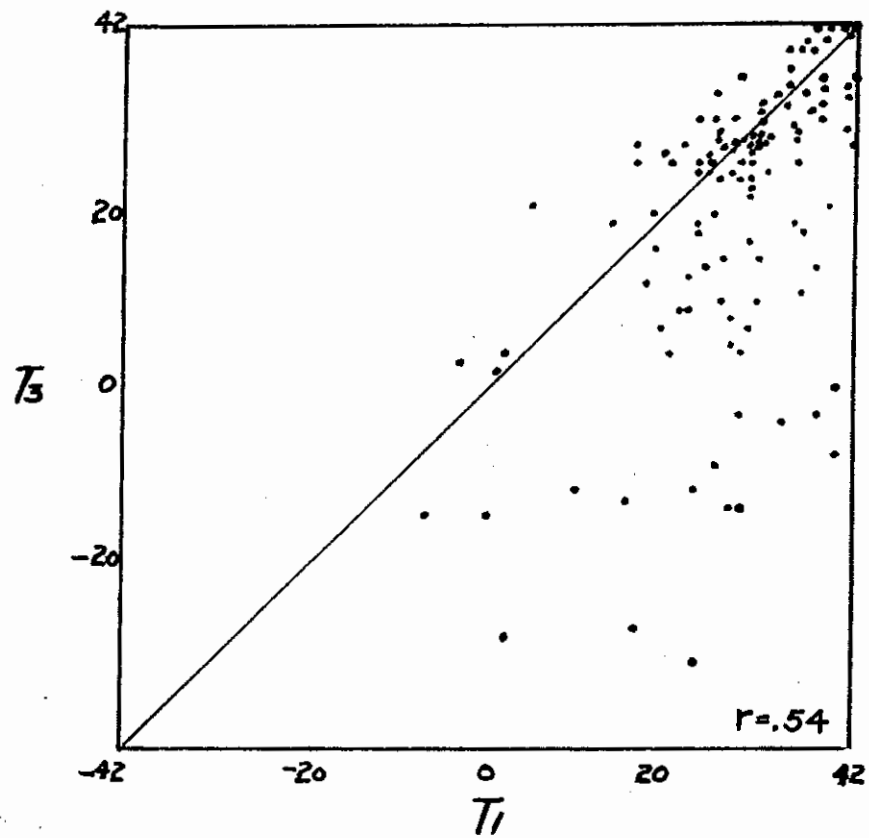
S Scale/

$K=14$; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 42 SITTER SATISFACTION M'S CONCERN

T_1 RANGE: $-7 + 42$ ———

T_3 RANGE: $-32 + 42$ - - - - -





S Scale 1: SITTER'S SATISFACTION MOTHER'S CONCERN FOR CHILD

Changes on Sitter Scale 3

SITTER'S ECONOMIC NEED TO BABYSIT

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
My family could not get by without the money I make taking care of children.	85% disagree	78% disagree
I need to babysit because it provides me with a steady source of income.	40% disagree	57% disagree
I do babysitting even though I don't especially need the money.	57% agree	61% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	41%
\bar{x}	-3.30	-3.71	-.41	percent who went down	41%
sd	5.42	5.33	3.73	net	0%

$t_{T_3-T_1} = -1.18; n.s.$

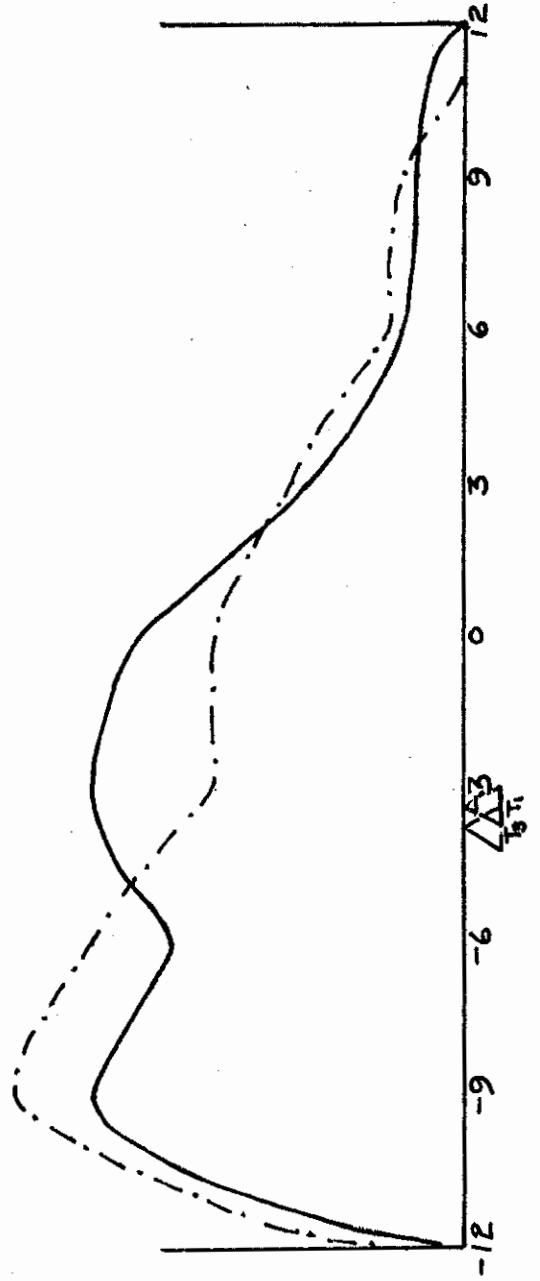
The caregiver's perceived economic need to do babysitting remained relatively unchanged from T₁ to T₃.

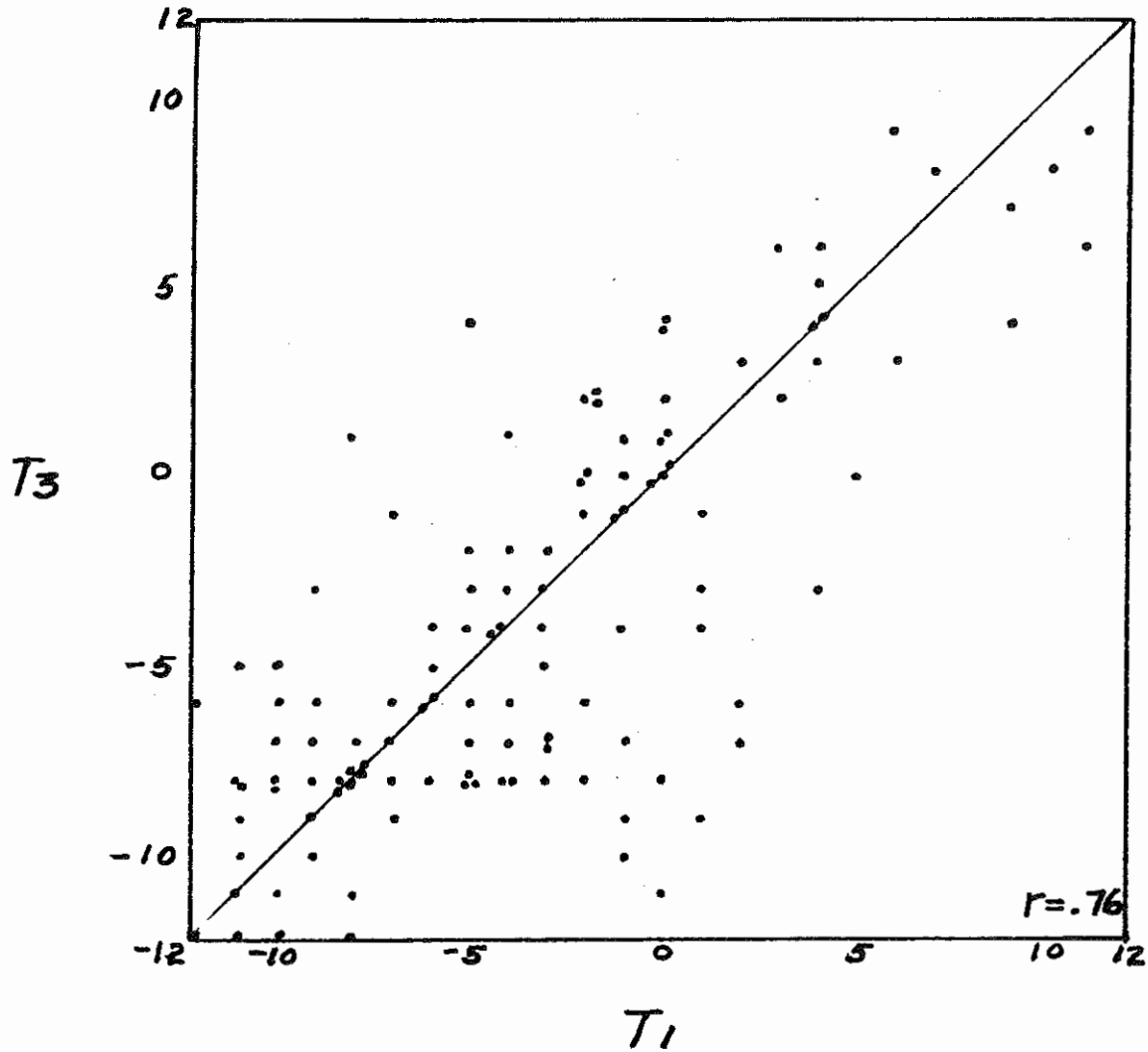
S Scale 3

$K=4$; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 12 SITTER'S ECONOMIC NEED TO SIT

T_1 RANGE: $-12 + 11$ ———

T_3 RANGE: $-12 + 9$ - - - - -





S Scale 3: SITTER'S ECONOMIC NEED TO SIT

Changes on Sitter Scale 4

SITTER'S EXPRESSIVE NEEDS MET BY CARING FOR CHILDREN

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
I am happier when I am taking care of children.	67% agree	66% agree
I enjoy giving day care because it makes me feel I'm needed.	71% agree	70% agree
I enjoy giving day care because of the affection the children give me.	70% agree	76% agree
If I weren't doing babysitting I'd get bored.	41% agree	37% agree
I like to keep at least one child all the time.	74% agree	61% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	37%
\bar{x}	8.34	7.16	-1.18	percent who went down	54%
sd	7.61	7.82	5.66	net	-17%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = -2.25; p < .05$$

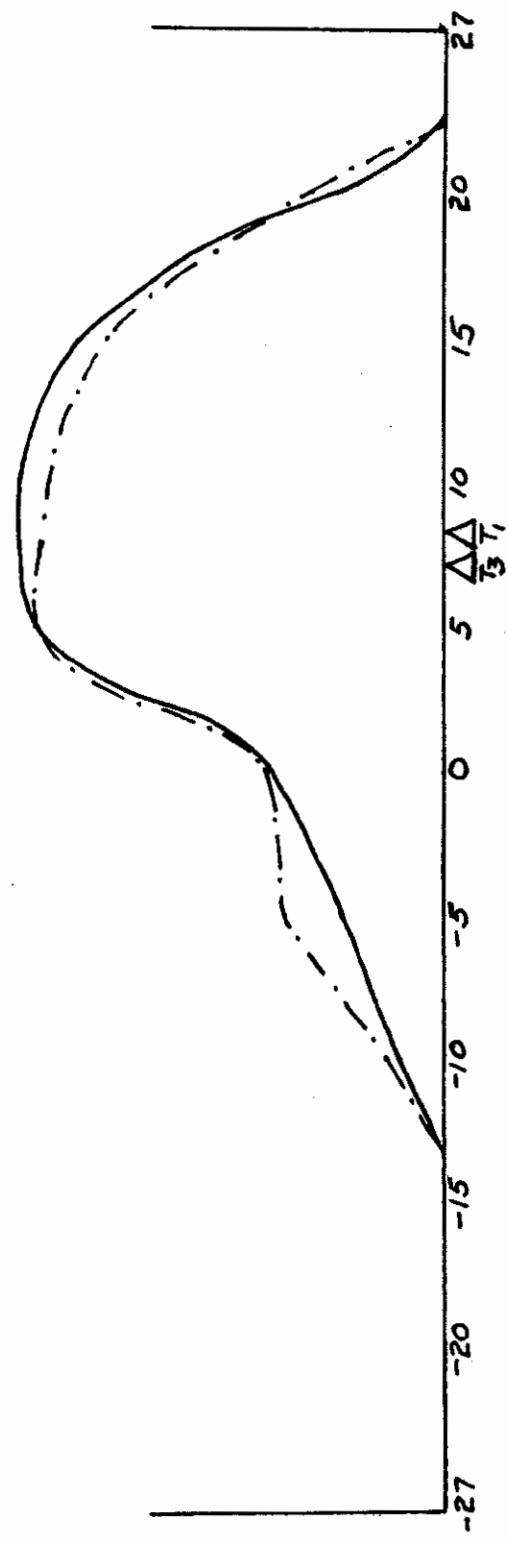
A small but significant loss was recorded on this general attitude of satisfaction with the caregiver role.

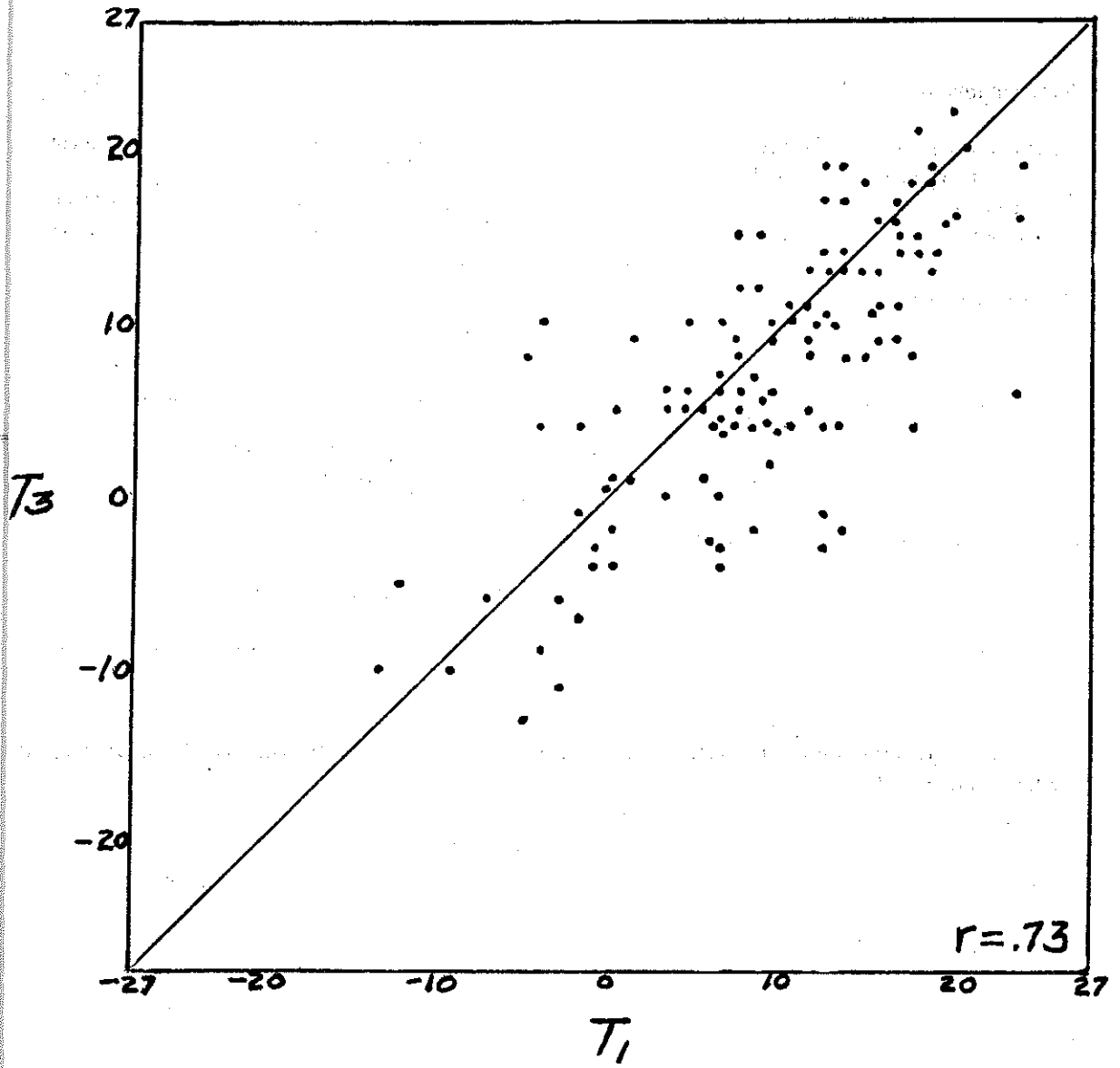
S Scale 4

K=9 ; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 27 SITTER'S EXPRESSIVE NEEDS

T₁ RANGE: -13+23 ———

T₃ RANGE: -13+23 - · - · - · -





S Scale 4: SITTER'S EXPRESSIVE NEEDS

Changes on Sitter Scale 5

SITTER'S APPROVAL OF THIS MOTHER'S DISCIPLINE

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
Her children seem to mind her.	63% agree	61% agree
The mother and I handle the child in about the same way.	66% agree	59% agree
She lets her child get away with too much.	67% disagree	55% disagree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	32%
\bar{x}	4.50	2.33	-2.17	percent who went down	57%
sd	5.08	6.33	5.52	net	-25%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = -4.23; p < .001$$

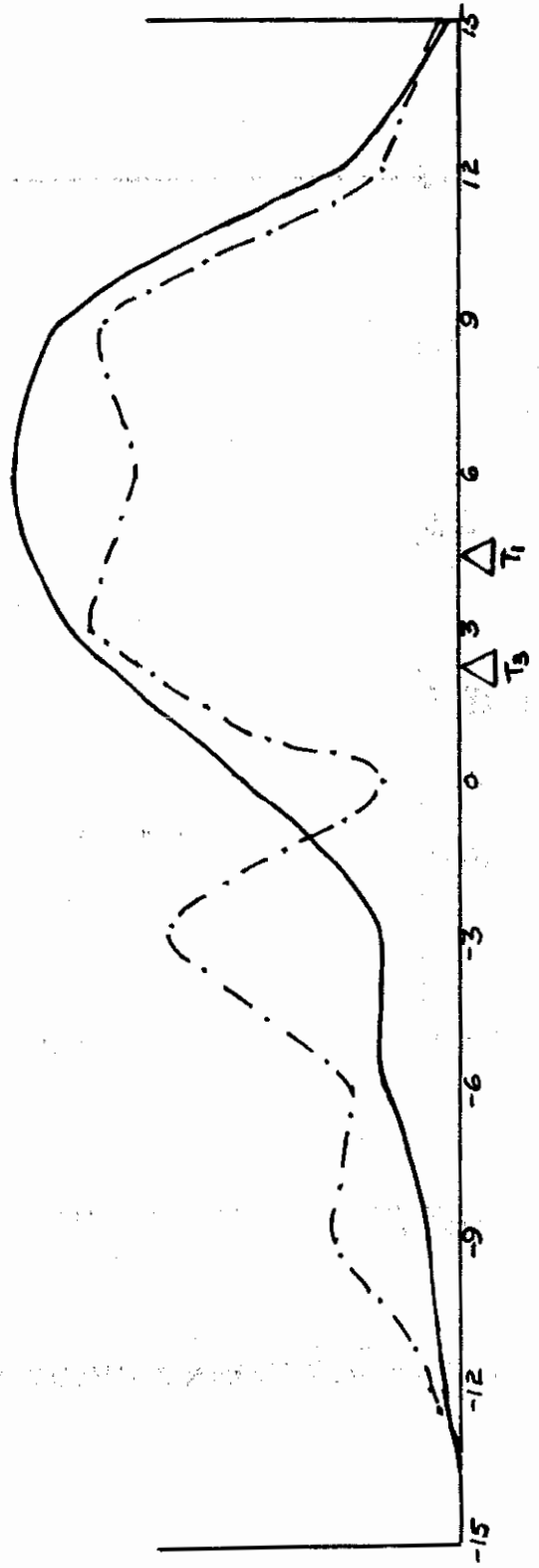
The caregiver's approval of this mother's discipline erodes over time, with 31 percent expressing dissatisfaction by T₃.

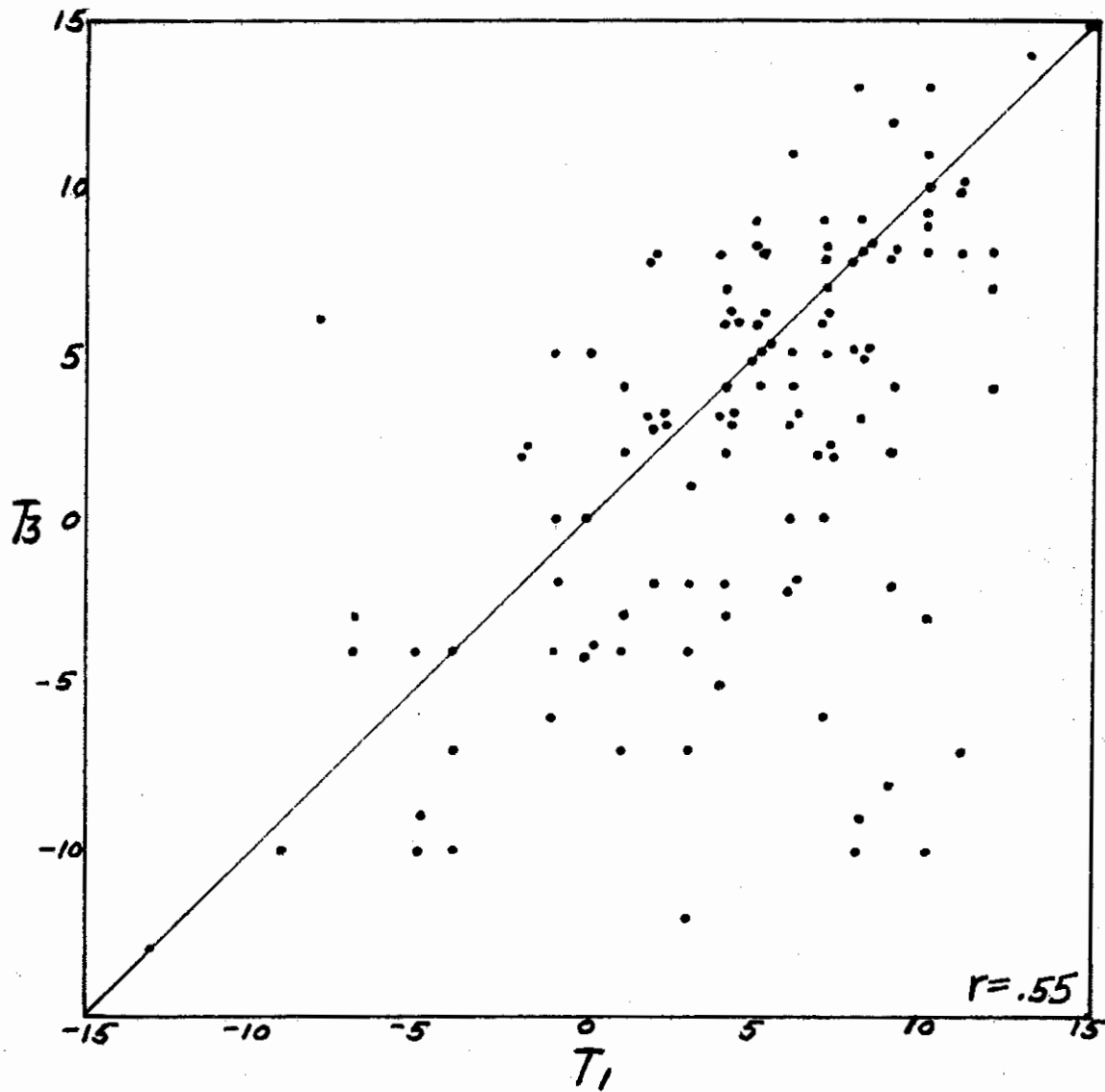
S Scale 5

K=5 POSSIBLE RANGE ± 15 SITTER'S APPROVAL THIS M's DISCIPLINE

T₁ RANGE -13 + 15 ———

T₃ RANGE -13 + 15 - · - · -





S Scale & SITTER'S APPROVAL THIS M'S DISCIPLINE

Changes on Sitter Scale 6

SITTER'S WILLINGNESS TO BABYSIT ONLY FOR CERTAIN CHILDREN

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
I would give day care only to children I enjoy.	67% agree	70% agree
I would not keep a child who didn't get along here.	86% agree	88% agree
I would continue day care only for a child who likes me.	70% agree	71% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up percent who went down	52% 37%
\bar{x}	4.74	5.09	.35	net	+15%
sd	5.10	5.43	4.08		
$t_{T_3-T_1} = .02; n.s.$					

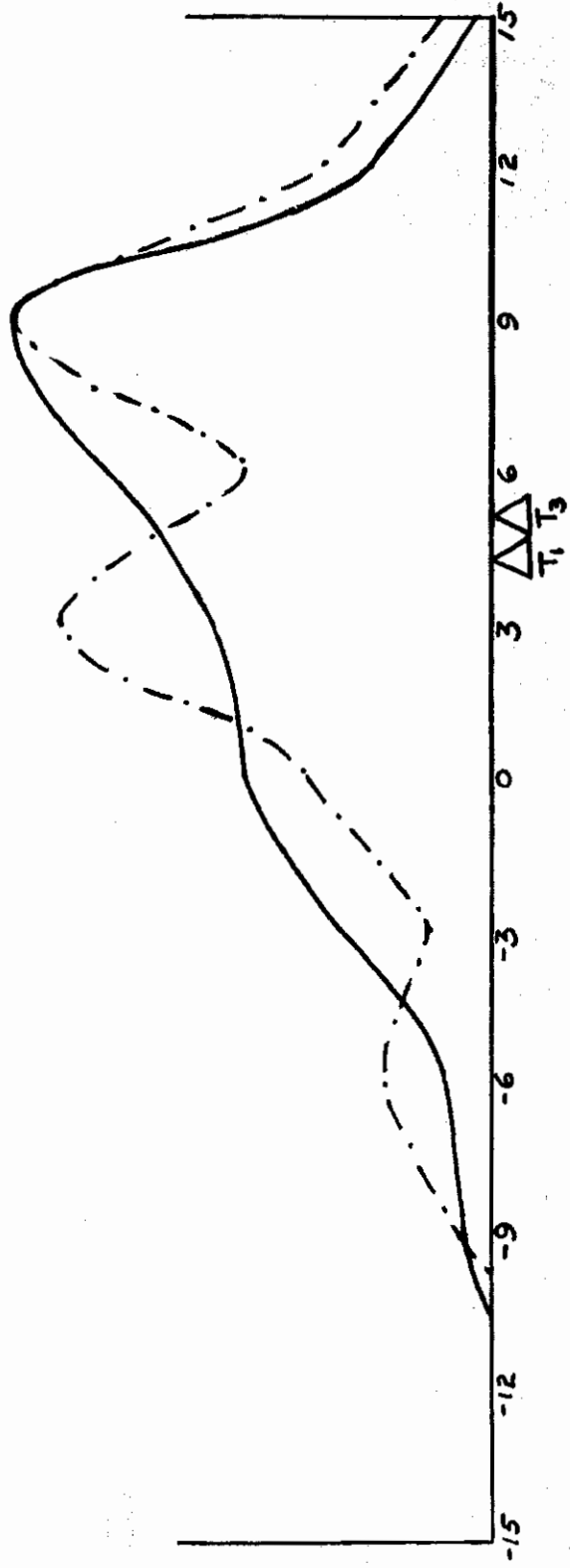
The sitters willingness to care only for certain children they think they will enjoy and who will get along well does not change, remaining a moderately strong attitude.

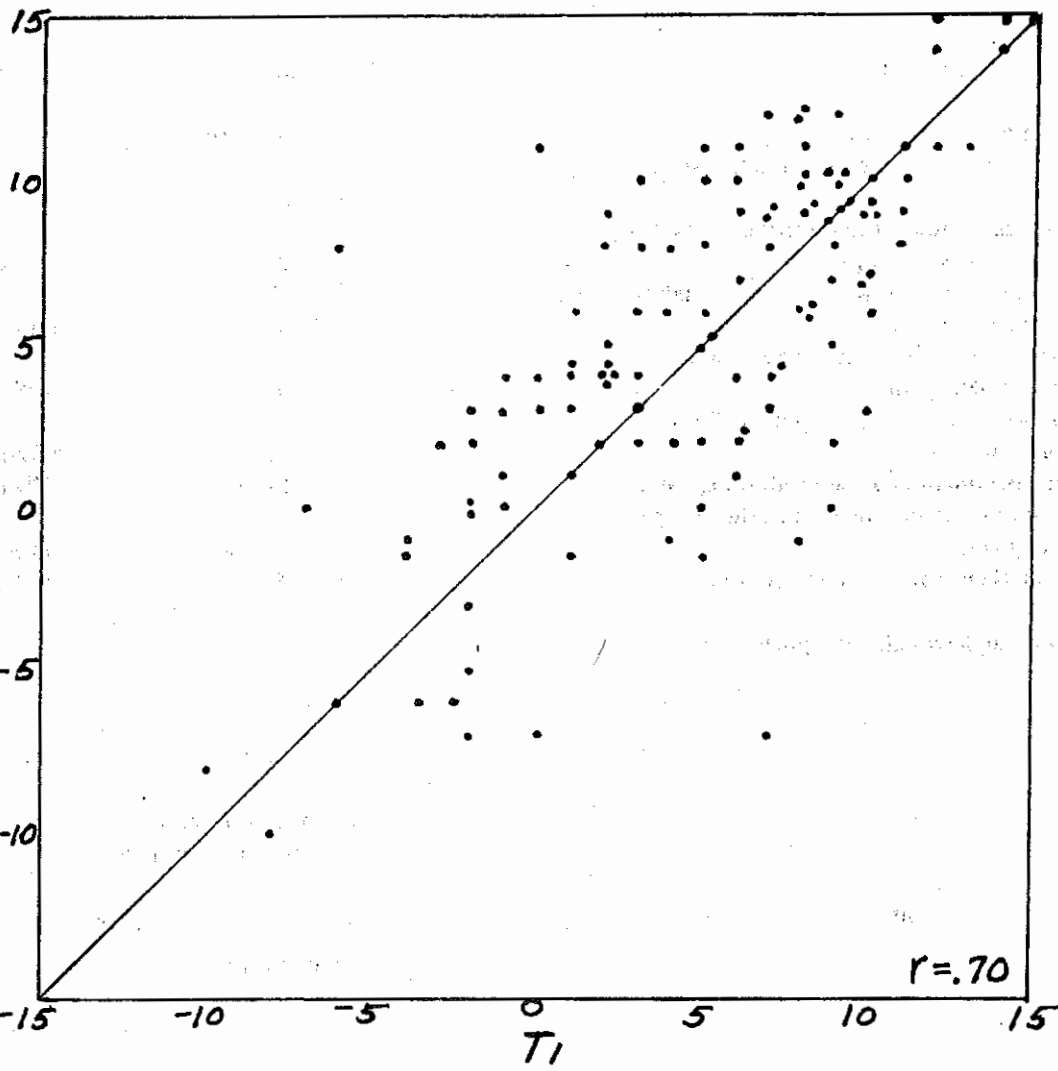
S Scale 6

$K=5$; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 15 SITTER WILLING ONLY CERTAIN

T_1 RANGE: $-10 + 15$ ———

T_3 RANGE: $-10 + 15$ - - - - -





S Scale 6: SITTER'S WILLINGNESS... ONLY CERTAIN CHILDREN

Changes on Sitter Scale 7

**SITTER'S DISSATISFACTION WITH THIS MOTHER'S LONG HOURS,
EXCESSIVE DEMANDS AND LACK OF PLANFULNESS**

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
I wish her hours were more regular.	74% disagree	60% disagree
I'm satisfied with the hours I take care of her child.	85% agree	77% agree
I get tired of the mother not sticking to the hours we agreed upon.	85% disagree	78% disagree
The mother doesn't seem to understand how busy I am all the time.	75% disagree	68% disagree
I sometimes wish the mother weren't so dependent on me.	81% disagree	64% disagree
The mother tries to pick up her child when she says she will.	86% agree	88% agree
I feel like the mother takes advantage of me.	88% disagree	72% disagree
She doesn't let me know when she changes her plans.	80% disagree	66% disagree
The mother expects too much of me.	91% disagree	76% disagree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	67%
\bar{x}	-16.47	-10.49	5.92	percent who went down	24%
sd	7.40	11.80	10.61	net	+43%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = 6.01; p < .001$$

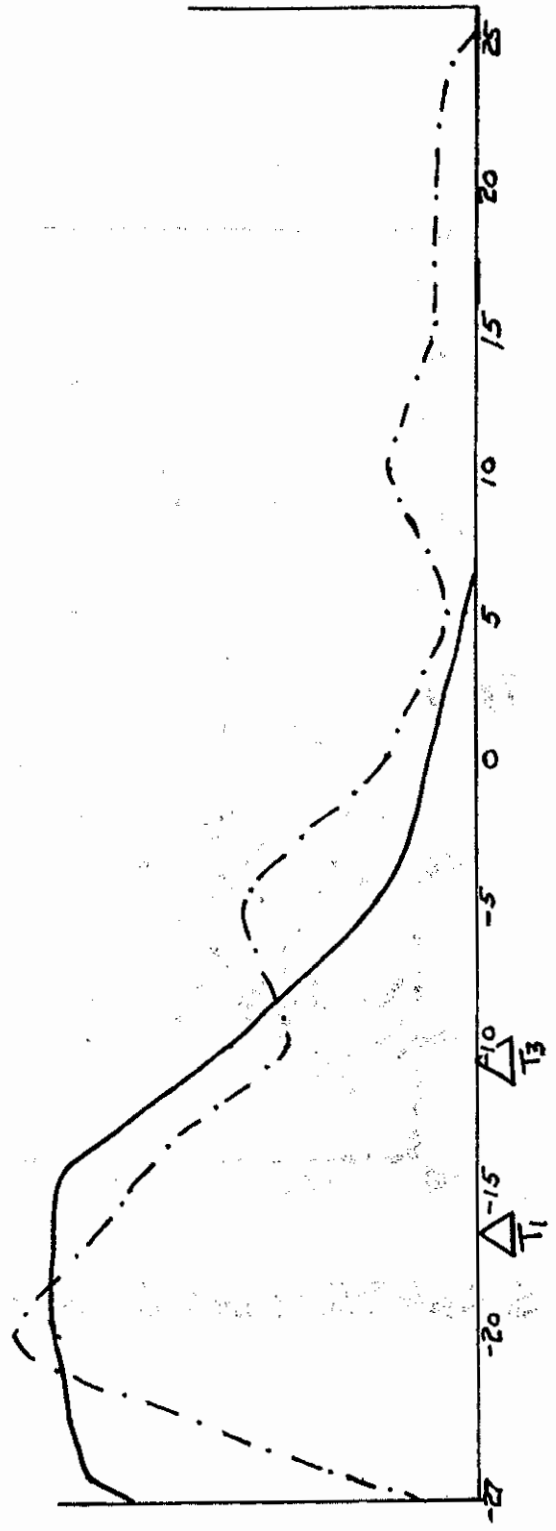
This key measure of sitter dissatisfaction shows a mean increase and some individual caregivers with sharply increasing dissatisfaction.

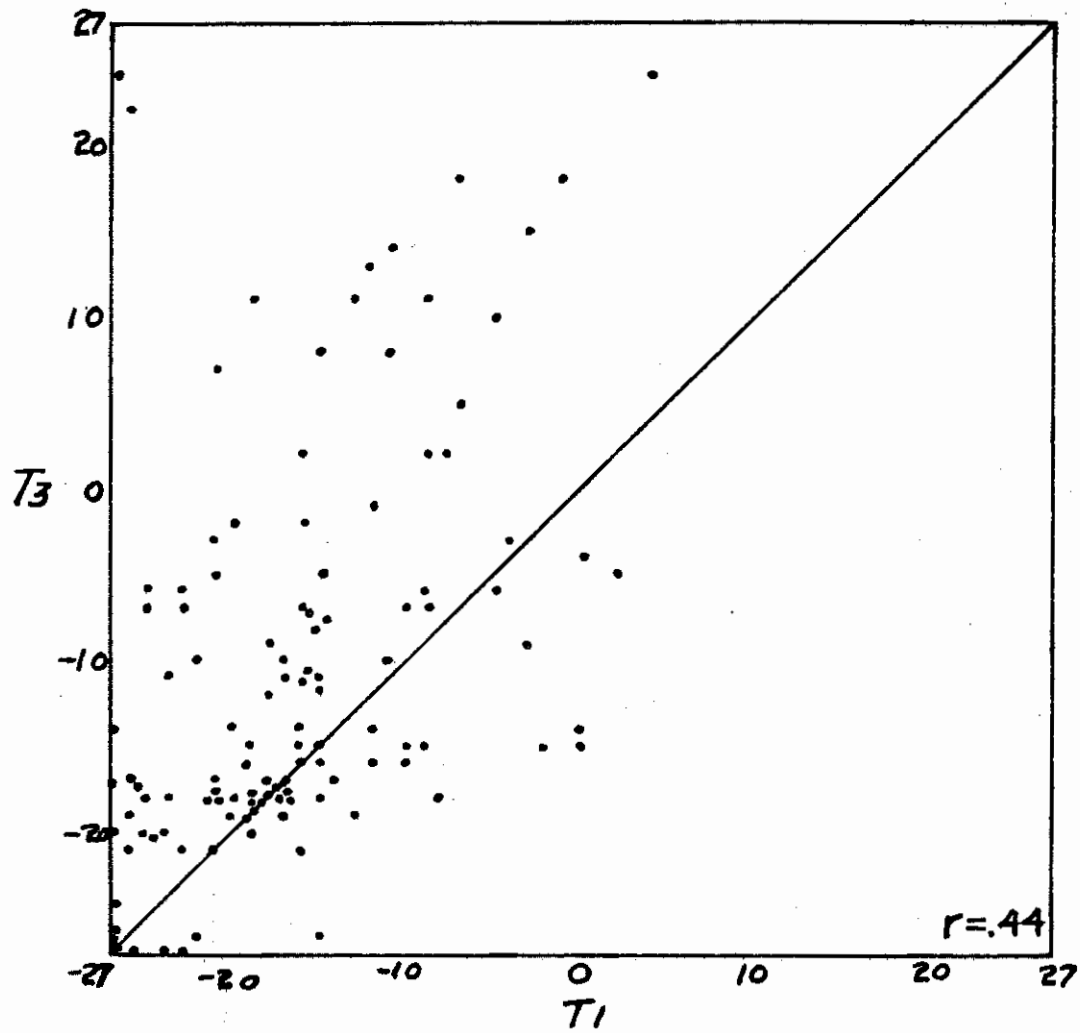
S Scale 7

K=9; POSSIBLE RANGE ±27 SITTER'S DISSATISFACTION M's LONG HOURS...

T₁ RANGE: -27 +4

T₃ RANGE: -27 +23





S Scale 7: SITTER'S DISSATISFACTION M'S LONG HOURS...

Changes on Sitter Scale 8

SITTER'S DISAPPROVAL OF MOTHERS WORKING

Representative Items*

	T ₁	T ₃
It doesn't really do most children harm to spend the day away from their mother.	56% agree	66% agree
I think several hours a day is too much for a child to be away from his mother.	47% disagree	51% disagree
I don't expect her to tell me what her plans are because she doesn't know herself.	71% disagree	66% disagree
Mothers shouldn't work unless they absolutely have to.	79% agree	87% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	43%
\bar{x}	2.47	2.27	-.21	percent who went down	46%
sd	3.82	4.15	4.02	net	3%

$t_{T_3-T_1} = -.56; n.s.$

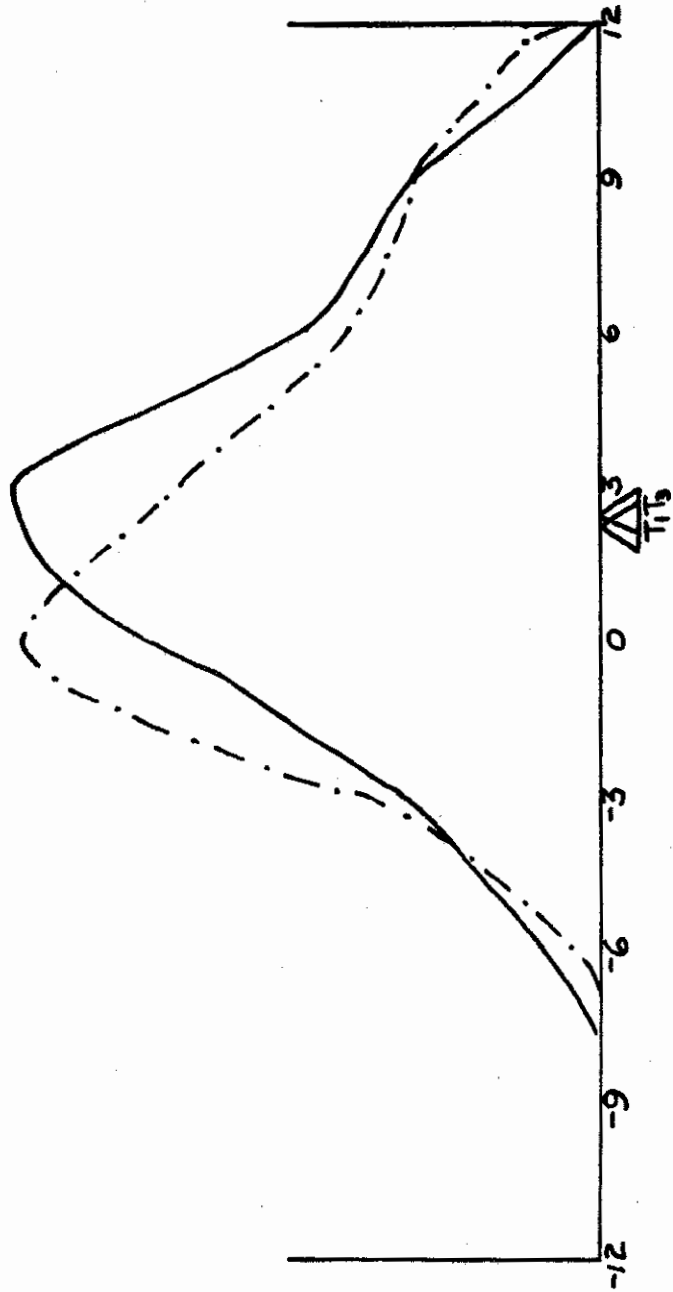
Sitters generally feel that mothers should not work and this attitude does not change.

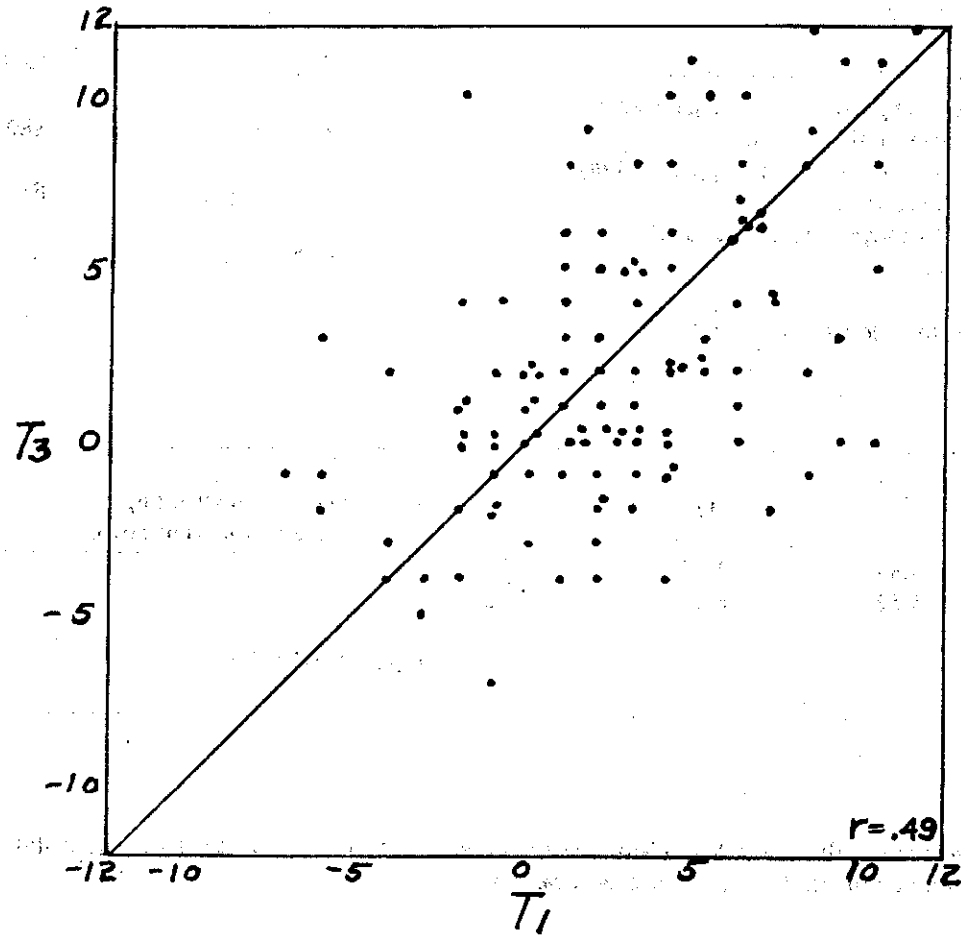
S Scale 8

K=4; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 12 SITTER'S DISAPPROVAL MOTHERS WORKING

T₁ RANGE: -7 + 11 ———

T₃ RANGE: -7 + 12 - · - · - · -





S Scale 8: SITTER'S DISAPPROVAL OF MOTHERS WORKING

Changes on Sitter Scale 9

SITTER ROLE POWER VS. POWERLESSNESS

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
Mothers give me adequate instructions.	82% agree	78% agree
Most mothers are good about letting me know about changes in their plans.	88% agree	88% agree
My husband (or family) doesn't approve of my doing babysitting.	86% disagree	85% disagree
If I want to do babysitting, I have to take what I can get.	81% disagree	81% disagree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	35%
\bar{x}	9.88	9.17	-.71	percent who went down	53%
sd	5.52	6.25	4.82	net	-18%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = -1.59; n.s.$$

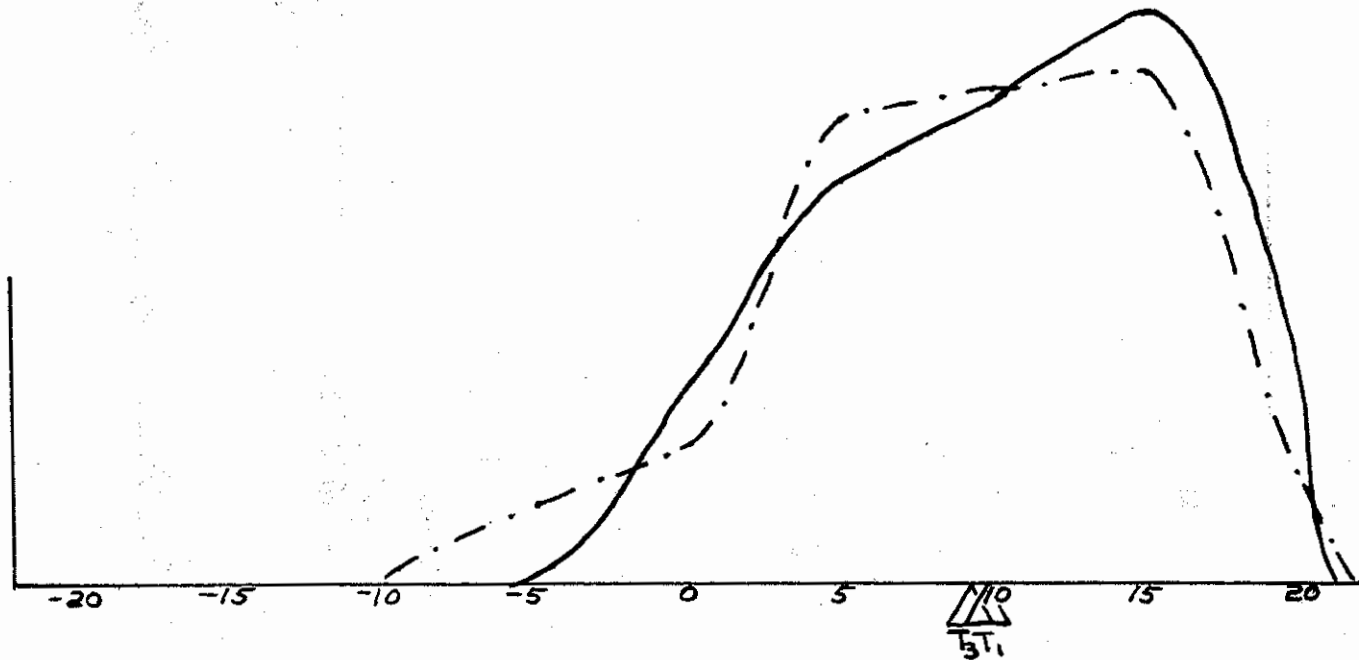
Caregivers report they are able to elicit the support and cooperation they need to be successful, a position that does not diminish significantly during the arrangement.

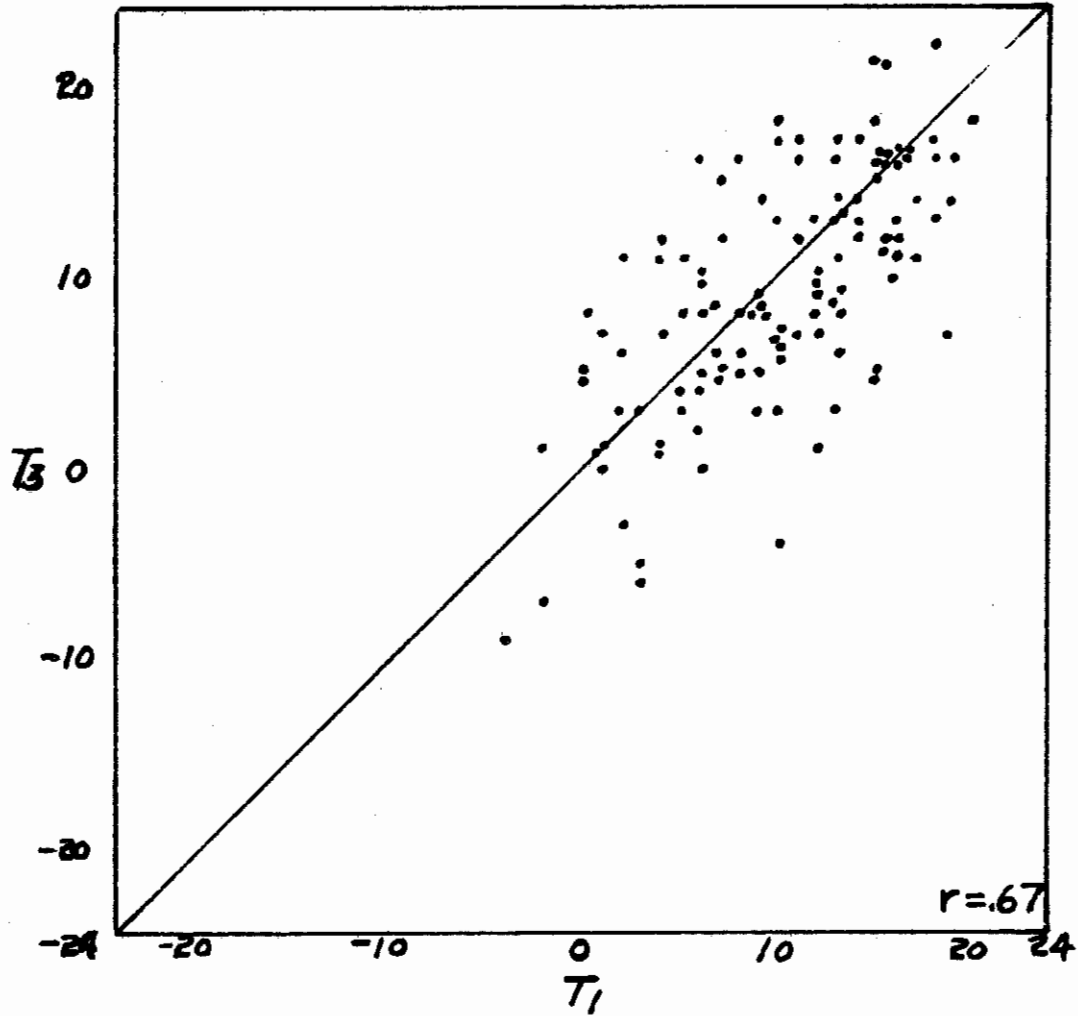
S Scale 9

$K=8$; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 24 SITTER ROLE POWER VS POWERLESSNESS

T_1 RANGE $-4 + 20$ ———

T_3 RANGE $-9 + 22$ - - - -





S Scale 9: SITTER ROLE POWER VS. POWERLESSNESS

Changes on Sitter Scale 10

SITTER'S FEELING THAT CARING FOR THIS MOTHER'S CHILD IS AN EMOTIONAL DRAIN

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
The children are too much for me.	93% disagree	79% disagree
I have trouble with her children because they are so spoiled.	85% disagree	72% disagree
I like the way her children behave.	84% agree	74% agree
Taking care of her child is more of a drain than I expected.	84% disagree	70% disagree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	71%
\bar{x}	-18.69	-12.58	6.11	percent who went down	24%
sd	7.23	11.47	9.59	net	+47%

$t_{T_3-T_1} = 6.86; p < .001$

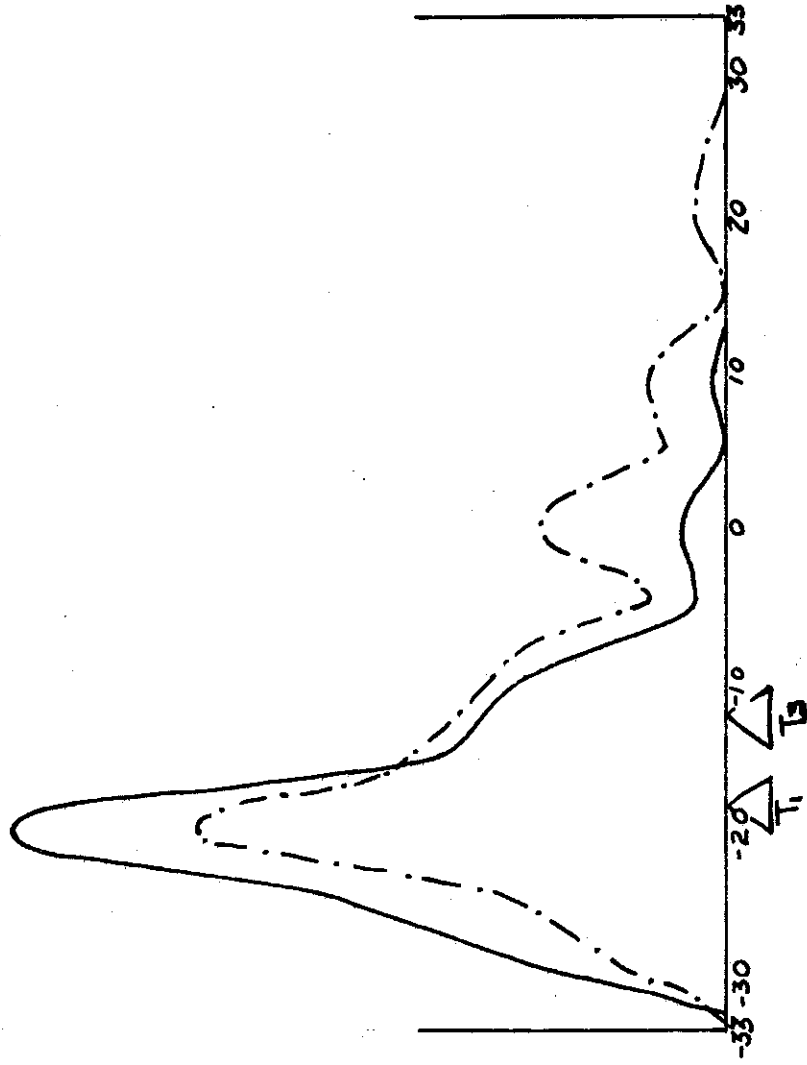
The feeling that caring for this mother's child is an emotional drain, while remaining relatively low, nevertheless did increase significantly, affecting most of the sample.

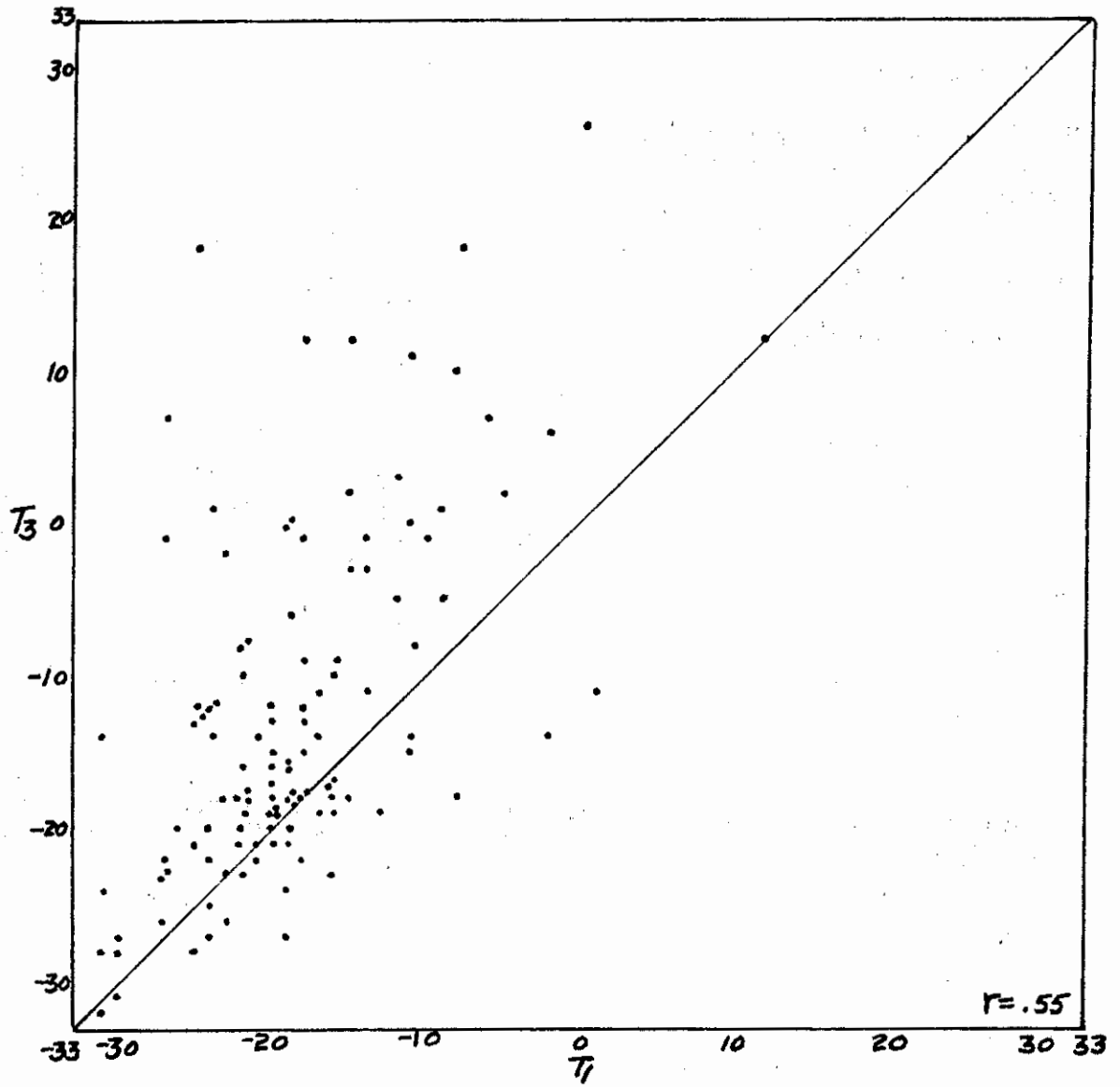
S Scale 10

K=11; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 33 SITTER'S FEELING -- EMOTIONAL DRAIN

T₁ RANGE -31 +12 ———

T₃ RANGE -32 +26 - · - · -





S Scale 10: SITTER'S FEELING ... EMOTIONAL DRAIN

Changes on Sitter Scale 11

SITTER'S DISADVANTAGE IN THE BABYSITTING MARKET

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
It's hard to get babysitting jobs because there are a lot of women in my neighborhood who do babysitting.	66% disagree	70% disagree
I can't find as many day care children as I need to have.	67% disagree	76% disagree
I don't know how to find people to babysit for.	80% disagree	85% disagree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	37%
\bar{x}	-3.84	-4.38	-.54	percent who went down	47%
sd	3.71	3.35	3.39	net	-10%

$t_{T_3-T_1} = -1.72; n.s.$

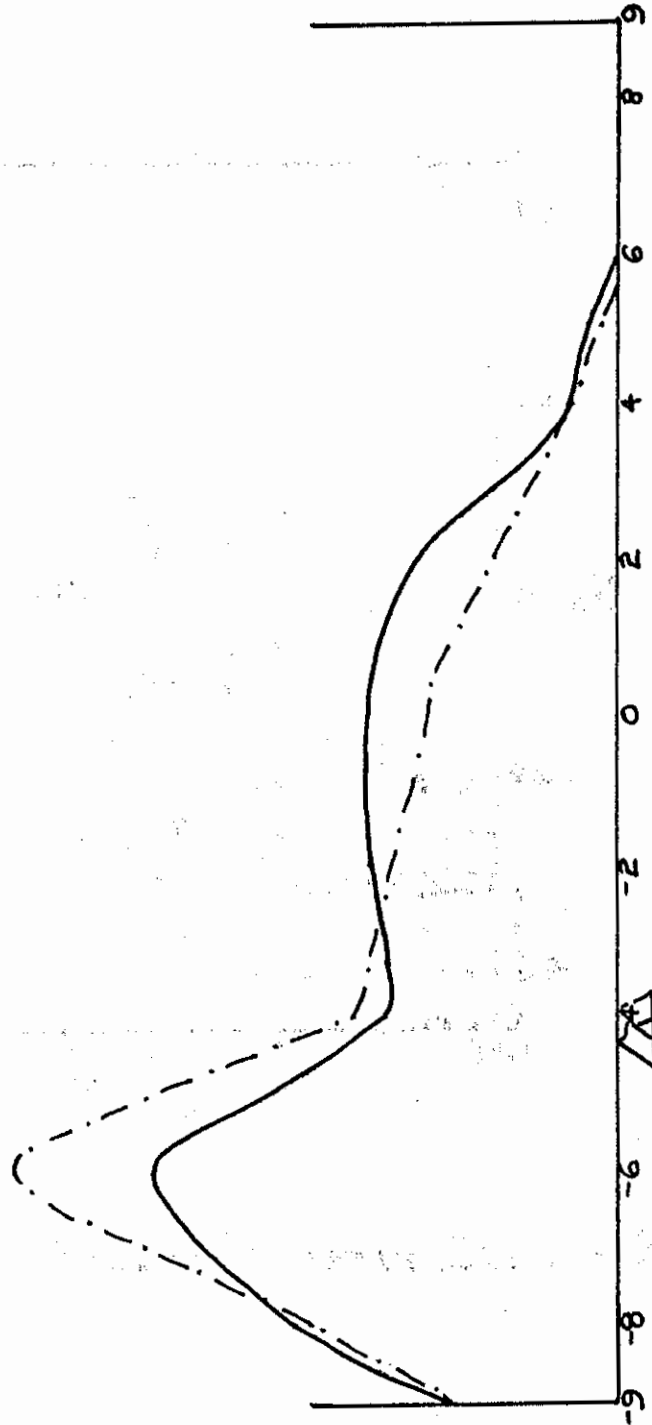
Relatively few caregivers feel a sense of disadvantage in the babysitting market, a feeling that does not diminish by T₃.

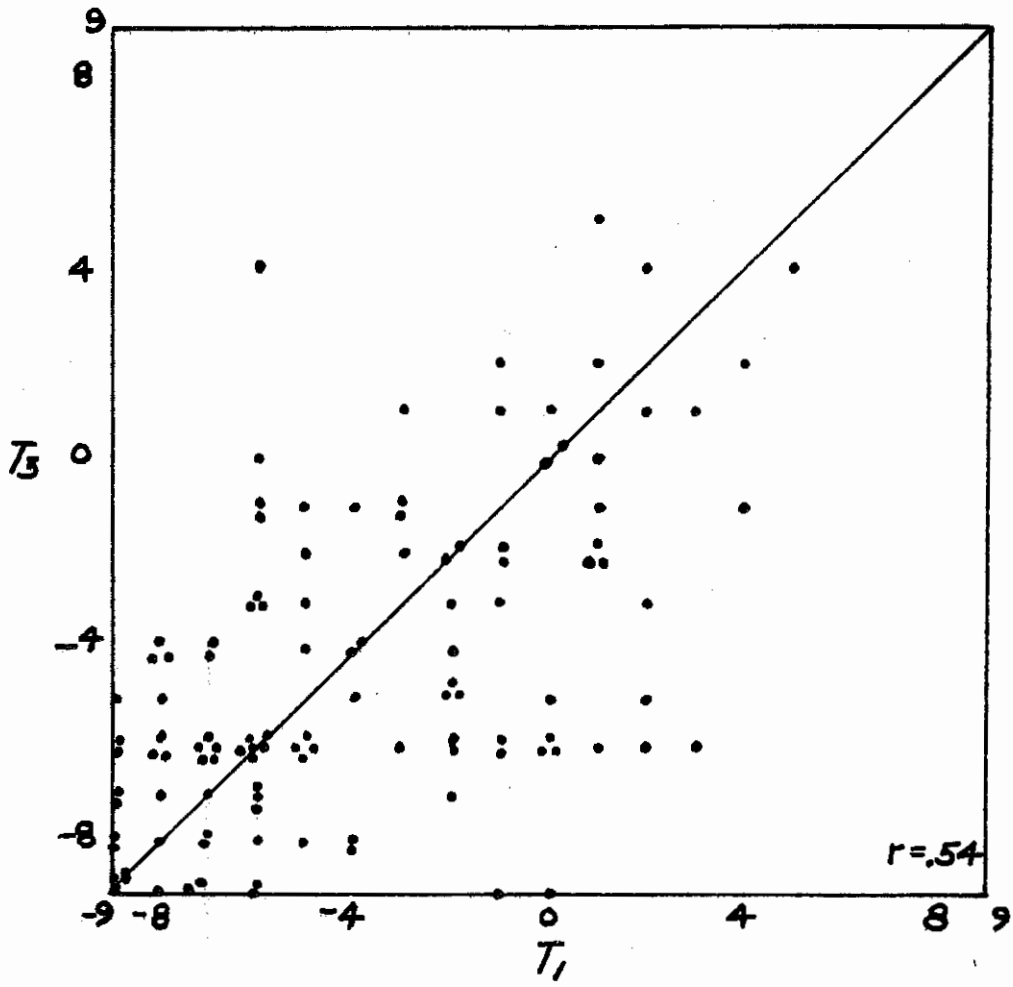
S Scale II

$K=3$; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 9 SITTER'S SITTING MARKET DISADVANTAGE

T_1 RANGE: $-9 + 5$ ———

T_3 RANGE: $-9 + 5$ - - - - -





S Scale 11: SITTER'S SITTING MARKET DISADYANTAGE

Changes on Sitter Scale 12

SITTER'S STRAIN FROM COMPETING REQUIREMENTS OF FAMILY AND SITTER ROLES

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
I just can't manage to keep the house the way I want to with children around all the time.	53% disagree	40% disagree
I think a day care giver is usually not paid enough.	38% disagree	36% disagree
I find that often the mother expects the sitter to do too much.	44% disagree	38% disagree
I find that my babysitting is hard on my own family.	46% disagree	40% disagree

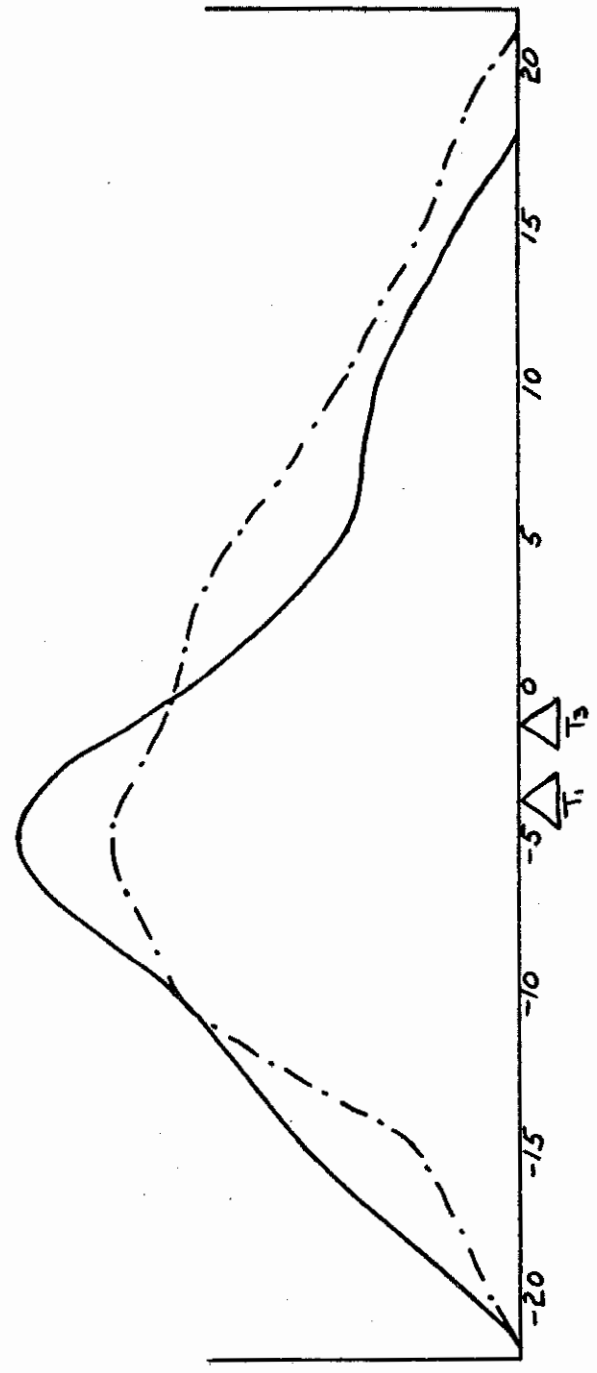
*For complete scale see Appendix A

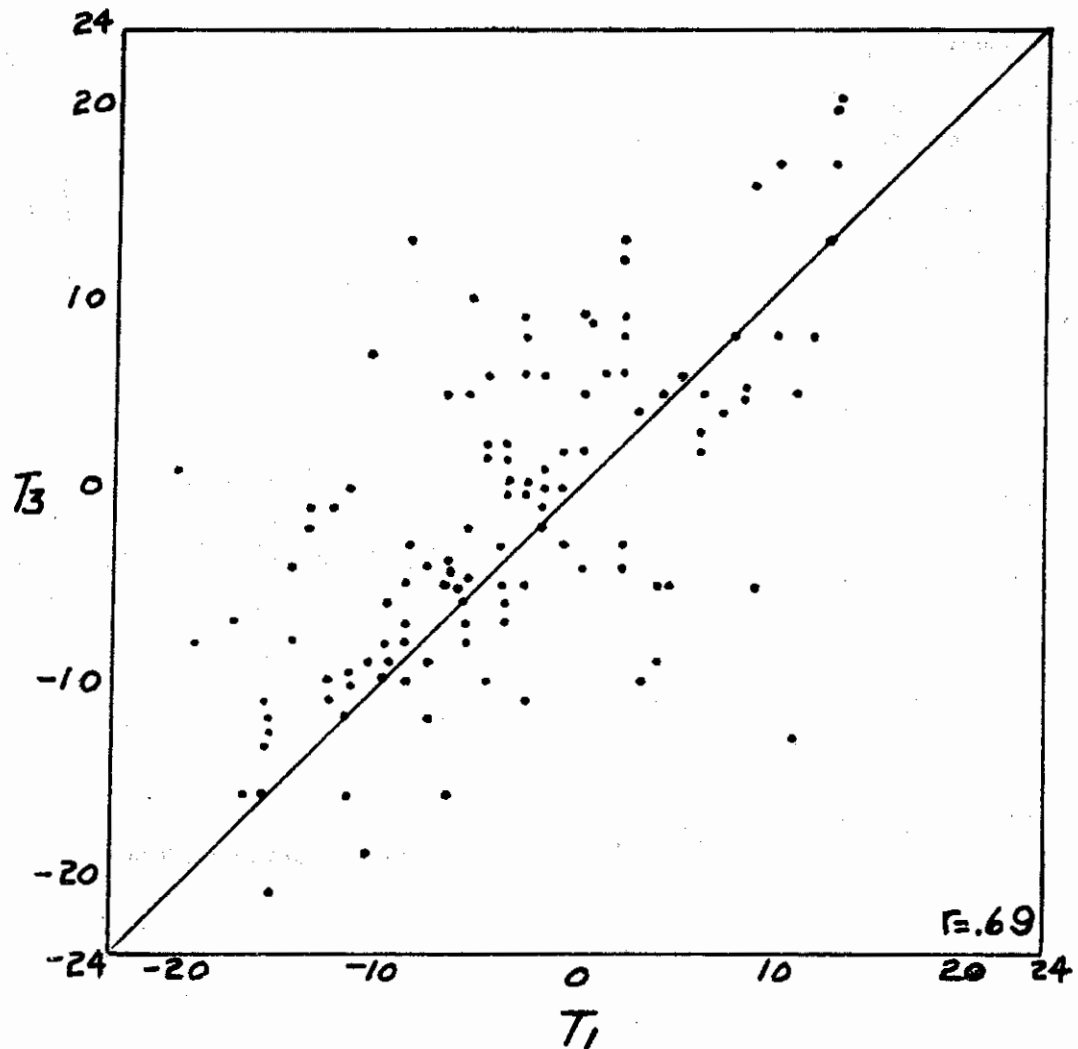
	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	65%
\bar{x}	-3.90	-1.35	2.54	percent who went down	29%
sd	8.07	8.60	6.60	net	+36%

$t_{T_3-T_1} = 4.14; p < .001$

A general feeling of strain from the competing requirements of family and caregiver roles is that price sitters pay for the dual role they take on, and it is a strain that increases.

S Scale 12
K = 8 POSSIBLE RANGE ± 24 SITTER'S COMPETING ROLE STRAIN
T₁ RANGE -21 + 13 ———
T₃ RANGE -21 + 20 - · · · -





S Scale 12: SITTER'S COMPETING ROLE STRAIN

Changes on Sitter Scale 13

SITTER'S RESTRICTIVENESS ABOUT BABYSITTING HOURS

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
I make it clear to the mother that it is really inconvenient for me to baby sit after a certain hour.	66% agree	79% agree
I can't have children who stay late.	54% agree	73% agree
I make it clear to the mother what I expect of her if I take the child.	88% agree	91% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	52%
\bar{x}	3.90	4.78	.88	percent who went down	32%
sd	3.92	3.92	3.41	net	+20%

$t_{T_3-T_1} = 2.78; p < .01$

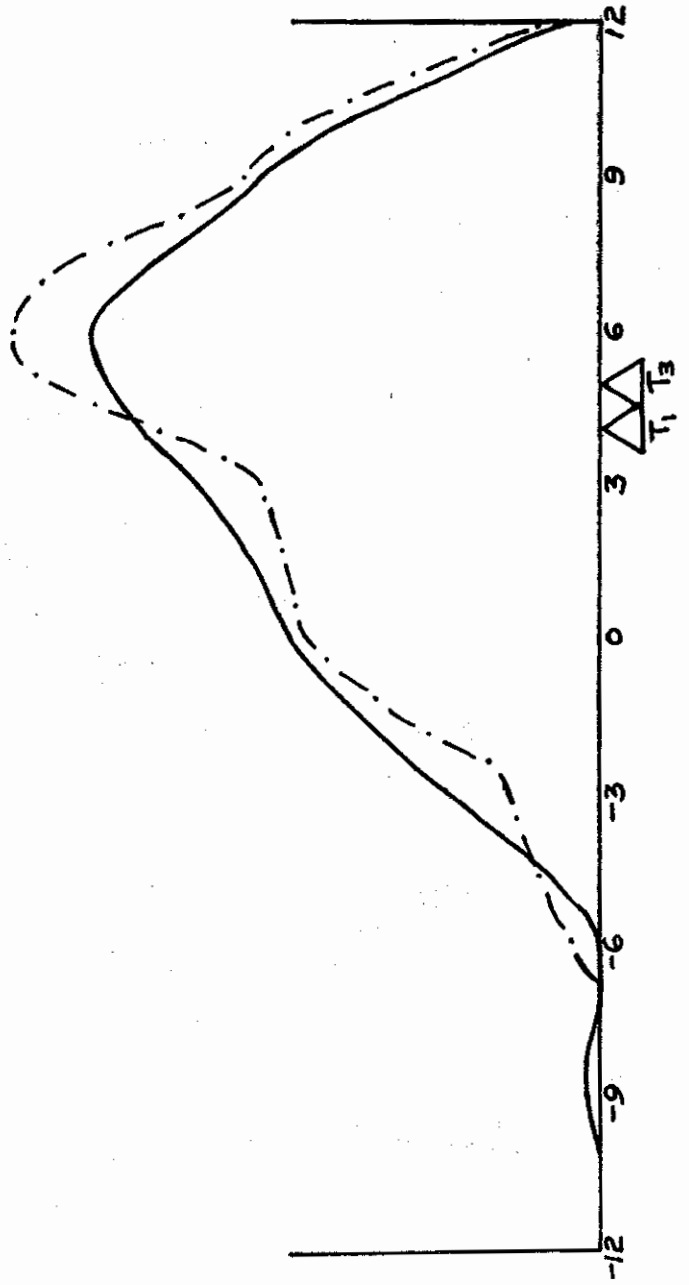
Sitter restrictiveness about the hours she will sit increases by the end of the arrangement.

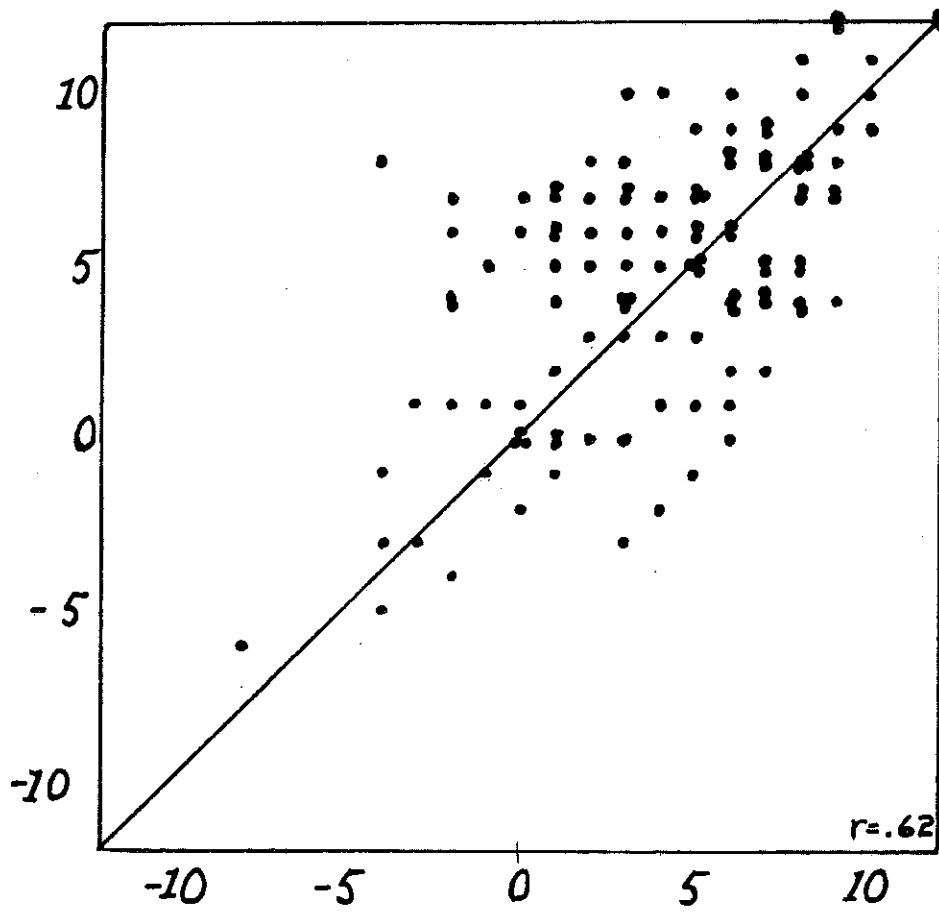
S scale 13

K=4 POSSIBLE RANGE ± 12 SITTER'S RESTRICTIVENESS ABOUT HOURS

T₁ RANGE -8 +12 —

T₃ RANGE -6 +12 - · - · -





Scale 13: SITTER'S RESTRICTIVENESS ABOUT HOURS

Changes on Sitter Scale 14

SITTER'S SATISFACTION WITH THIS CHILD'S ADJUSTMENT

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
Her child just won't mind me.	85% disagree	79% disagree
Her child seems to have fun at my house.	92% agree	89% agree
Her child seems bored when he is here.	88% disagree	85% disagree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	29%
\bar{x}	9.11	7.83	-1.28	percent who went down	50%
sd	4.37	5.13	4.60	net	-21%

$t_{T_3-T_1} = -3.00; p < .01$

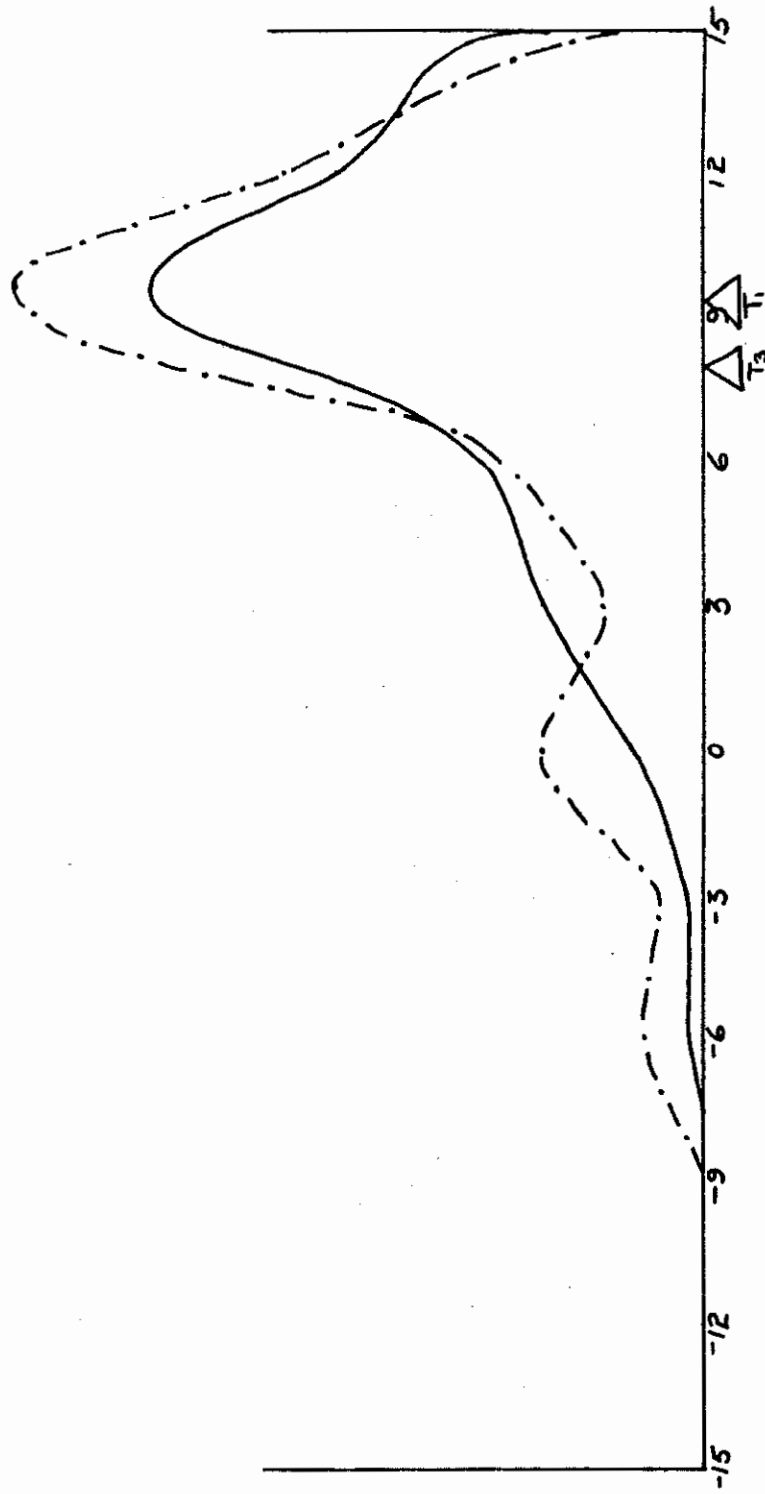
There is a loss in satisfaction with the child's adjustment, but the level remains high on this primary source of satisfaction for caregivers.

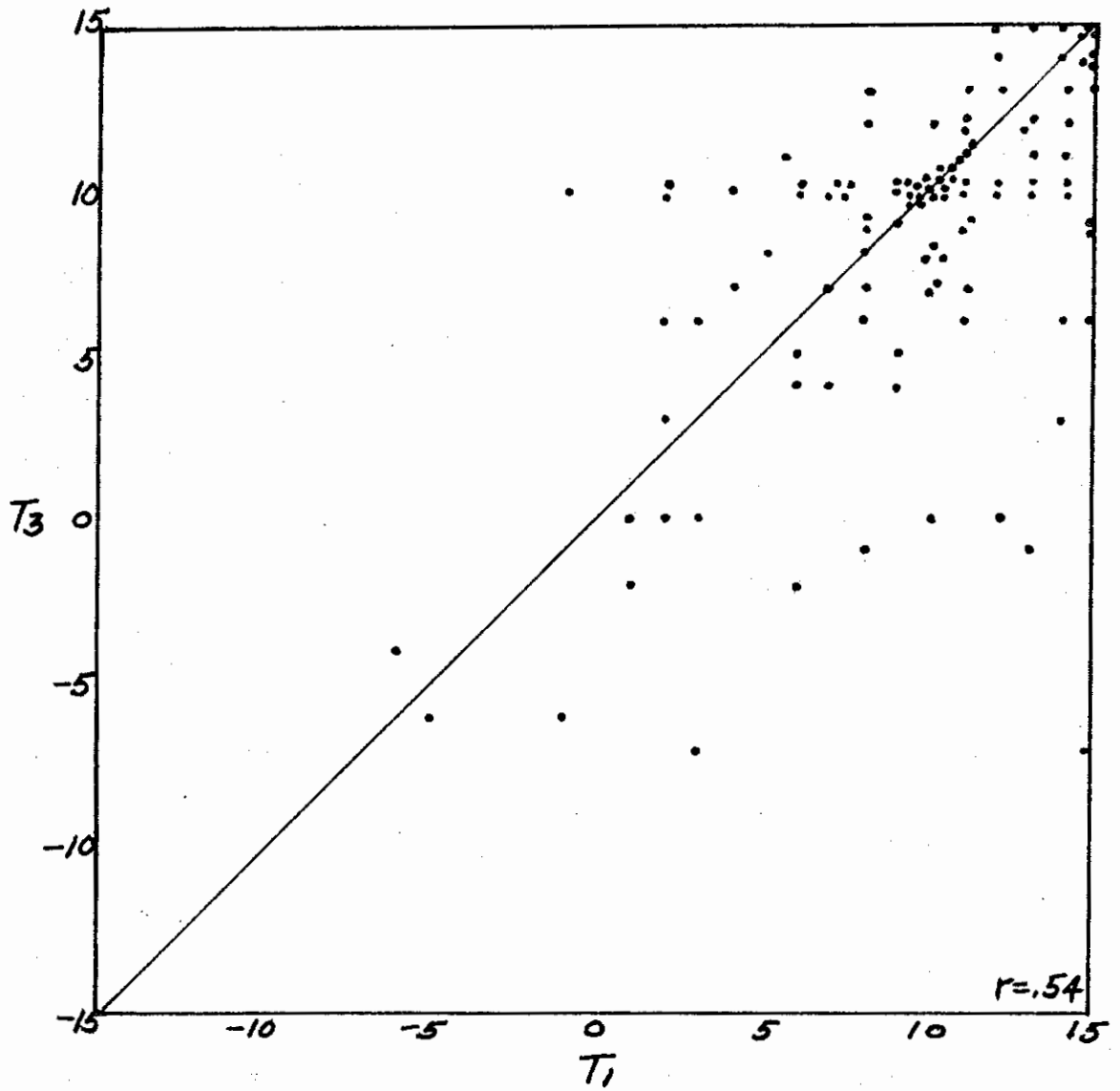
S Scale 14

$K=5$; POSSIBLE RANGE ± 15 SITTER'S SATISFACTION CHILD'S ADJUSTMENT

T_1 RANGE $-5 + 15$ ———

T_3 RANGE $-7 + 15$ - · - · - · -





Scale 14: SITTER'S SATISFACTION CHILD'S ADJUSTMENT

Changes on Sitter Scale 17

REVISED SITTER'S VIEW OF INTER-FAMILY CLOSENESS IN THIS ARRANGEMENT

Representative Items*	T ₁	T ₃
The mother is one of my closest friends.	10% agree	9% agree
Our families often get together.	15% agree	21% agree
I only see the mother when she leaves or picks up her child.	22% disagree	36% disagree
The mother and I enjoy getting together.	41% agree	40% agree
The mother and I sit and talk to each other for hours.	31% agree	32% agree
Our families are so close it's as if we were relatives.	6% agree	6% agree
I often visit with this child or have him visit me even when I am not babysitting him.	16% agree	26% agree
One reason I babysit for this mother is that our children are friends.	20% agree	18% agree

*For complete scale see Appendix A

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	percent who went up	48%
\bar{x}	-9.46	-8.41	1.03	percent who went down	45%
sd	10.07	9.84	7.29	net	+ 3%

$$t_{T_3-T_1} = 1.52; \text{ n.s.}$$

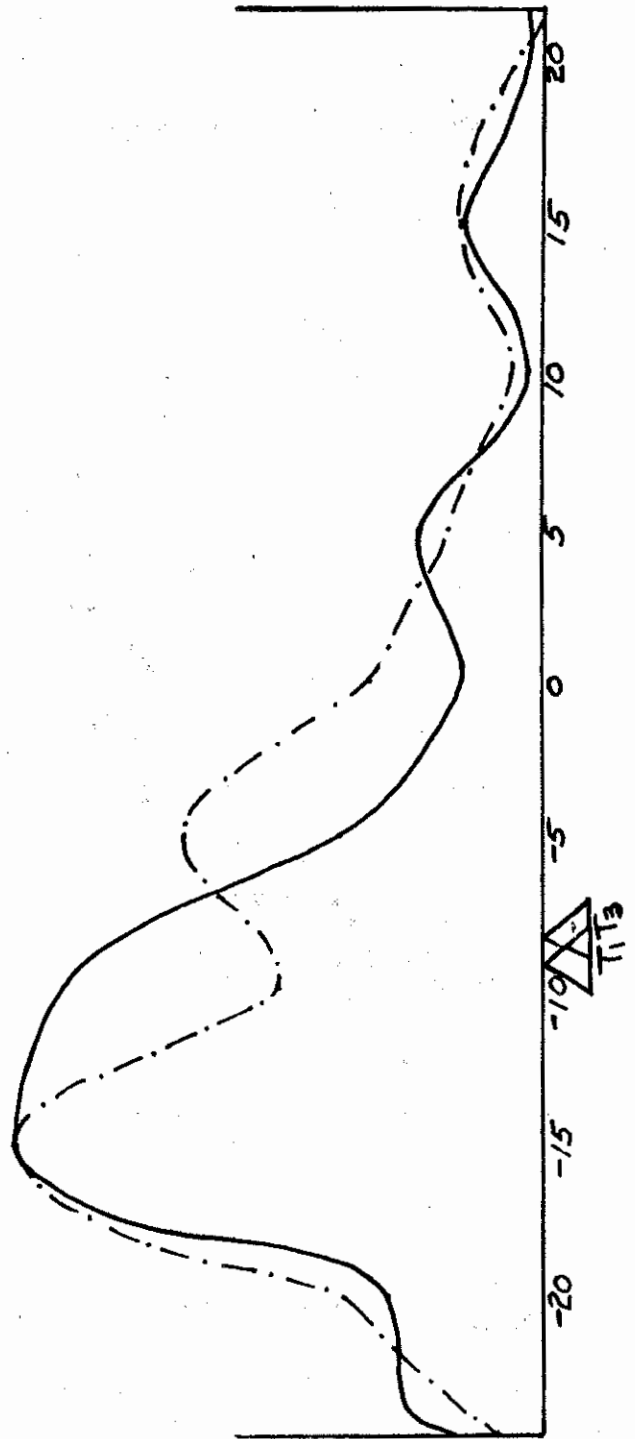
Sitter's view of inter-family closeness closely corresponds to the mother's view in its generally low level of closeness, and the mean at T₃ does not increase significantly.

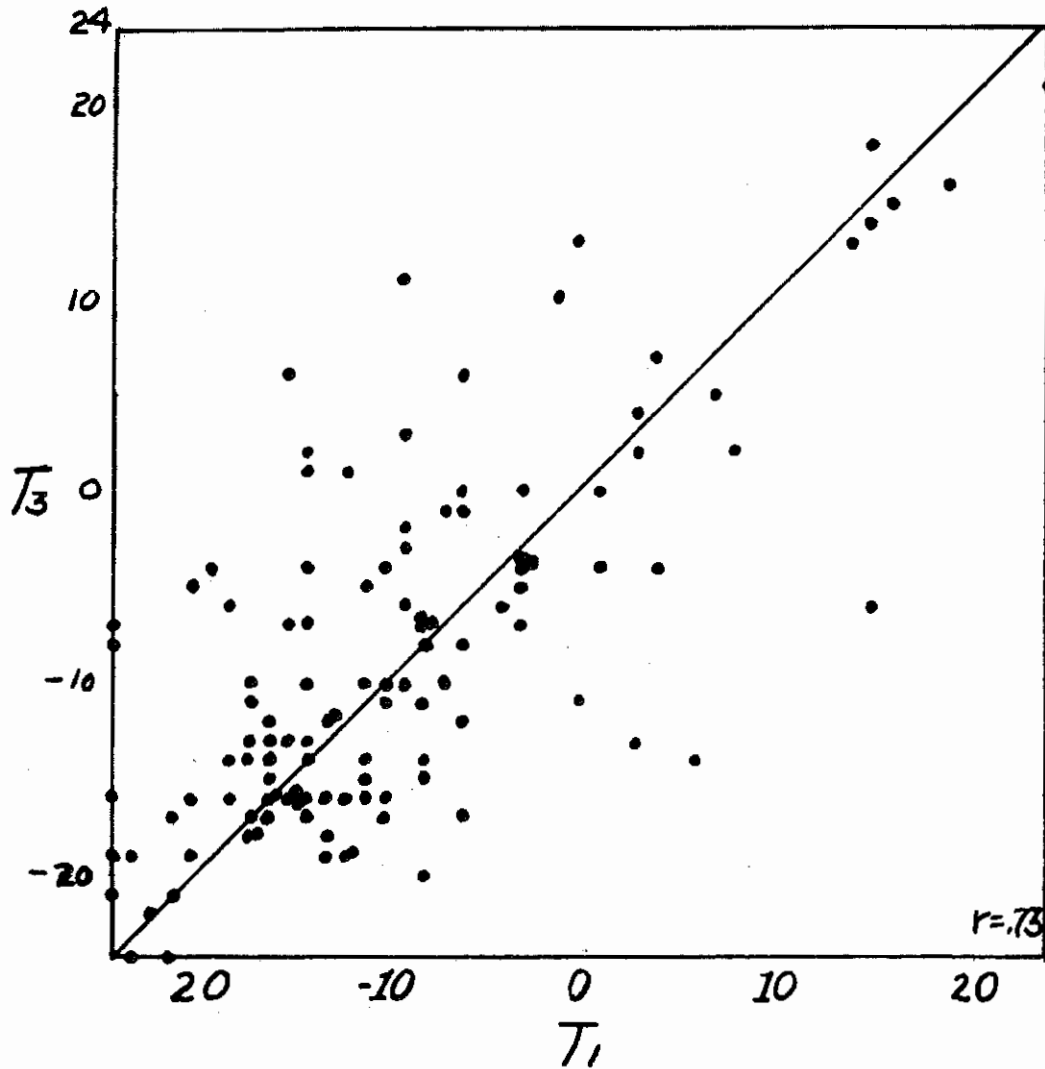
S Scale 17

K=8 POSSIBLE RANGE ± 24 SITTER'S FAMILY CLOSENESS - REVISED

T₁ RANGE -24 +24 ———

T₃ RANGE -24 +24 | - · - · -





S Scale 17: SITTER'S FAMILY CLOSENESS - REVISED

Summary

In general we see that for both parties to the family day care arrangement there were a number of statistically significant yet small shifts in the direction of dissatisfaction. These shifts were more pronounced among sitters than among mothers. As graphs made clear the differences in evaluations from the first few weeks of the arrangement to the end of the arrangement were relatively small and did not ever involve a shift from satisfaction to dissatisfaction for the sample as a whole. It also should be kept in mind that the difference in perception of the arrangement from T_1 to T_3 involves a situational change from that of evaluating an arrangement one has just begun to that of reflecting back on an arrangement that is now over.

For the sample of working mothers there was some shift toward dissatisfaction with regard to the sitter's concern for the child, and extreme shifts by a few individuals pushed the group means toward dissatisfaction regarding the sitter's possessiveness and away from playmates as a reason for this arrangement. For the mothers an initially perceived economic need to work diminished as did the feeling of being at a disadvantage in finding family day care resources. Preference for work role remained unchanged as did other attitudes toward general circumstances.

The sitters showed a shift toward dissatisfaction

in her feeling that caring for this mother's child is an emotional drain,

with the mother's long hours, demands, and lack of planfulness,

in her general feeling of role strain,

with the mother's concern for the child,

with the mother's discipline,

with the child's adjustment,

and her feeling that babysitting meets her expressive needs.

Sitters also became more restrictive about babysitting hours. That the T_3-T_1 results show more extensive dissatisfaction among sitters than mothers is consistent with interviewer ratings and global self ratings by sitters, which will be reported in Chapter XI in the context of predicting stability of the arrangement. It would appear that caregivers are more likely than working mothers to continue an arrangement despite dissatisfaction.

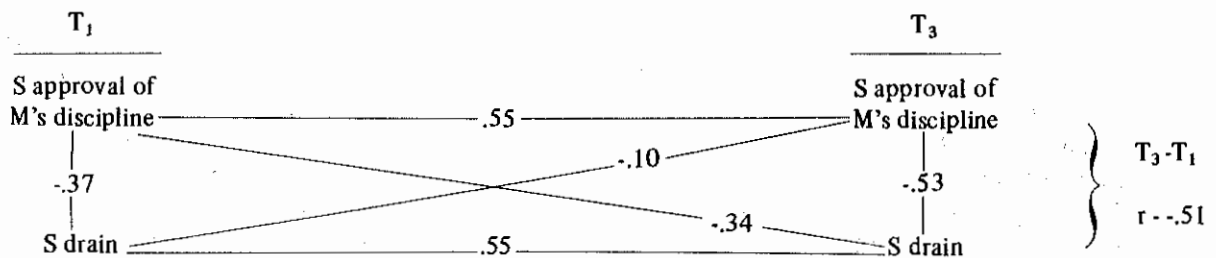
What we learn from an examination of the average changes for the sample as a whole is that satisfactions start high, drop some, but remain relatively high throughout the arrangement. In the next chapter we shall look at the structure of change to see which changes went together.



CHAPTER IX

THE CORRELATIONAL STRUCTURE OF CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ARRANGEMENT

There are two correlational techniques for getting at attitude changes. One is to compare the correlations among scales at T_1 with the later correlations among the scales measured at T_3 . Does the structure of attitudes at the end of the arrangement change from the structure of attitudes at the beginning of the arrangement? The second method is to study the correlations among change scores. Which changes are related to one another? The first method looks at the structure of attitudes at each time slice and notes the stabilities as well as the changes in the overall picture; the second looks for structure in the changes themselves. We pursued both of these approaches both by means of factor analyses and by examining the simple correlations. For example, "sitter's approval of mother's discipline" and "sitter's feeling that caring for this child is an emotional drain" both load highly on a factor of sitter dissatisfaction with this arrangement at T_1 and again at T_3 , and also their changes load together highly on the factor analysis of the change scores T_3-T_1 . It is the first factor in all three analyses. The changes in the two variables from T_1 to T_3 are correlated $-.51$. The correlation between the two variables is stronger at T_3 than at T_1 ($-.53$ versus $-.37$) and the cross-lag panel correlations suggest that the sitter's disapproval of the mother's discipline contributes more to her feeling that this child is an emotional drain than vice versa ($r = -.34 > r = .10$; $z = 1.91$, $p < .10$, 2-tailed test).¹



To facilitate the presentation of the correlational analysis of attitude changes the content of the T_1 factors will be presented in detail factor by factor and with this as a point of departure the changes that took place in relation to each cluster of variables will be discussed. Did the factor remain intact at T_3 or did it disappear? Or were there minor variations such as picking up a new variable and dropping another? Did those variables change together or did the structure of change present quite a different picture?

All of the correlations and factor structures are presented next for the reader's ready reference. These include three correlation matrices. The first shows the correlations among mother and sitter scales at T_1 above the diagonal and the mother and sitter correlations at T_3 below the diagonal. The second correlation matrix

$$z = \sqrt{\frac{z_1^2 - z_2^2}{\frac{1}{n_1-3} + \frac{1}{n_2-3}}}$$

C. Radhakrishna Rao, *Linear Statistical Inference and its Applications* (New York: Wiley, 1965), p. 363.

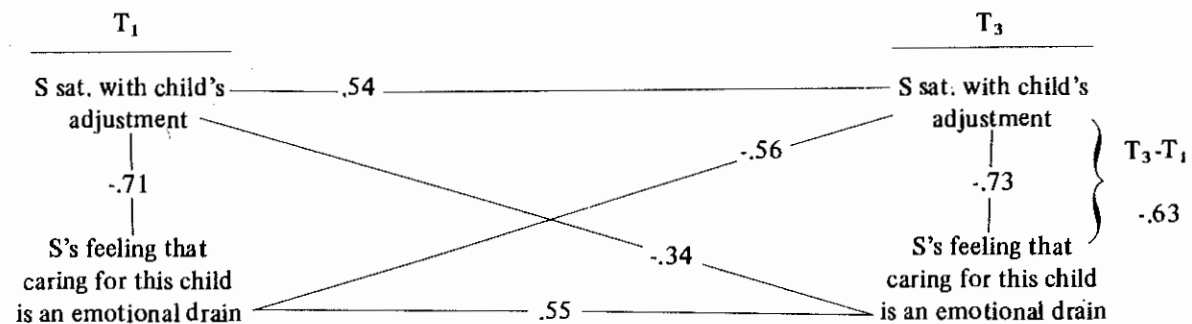
shows the panel correlations of mother and sitter scales at T_1 by mother and sitter scales at T_3 . The third correlation matrix shows the intercorrelations among the change scores. These tables are 9.1, 9.2 and 9.3 respectively. Table 9.4 shows the factor structure of mother and sitter attitude scales at T_1 , Table 9.5 at T_3 and Table 9.6 shows the factor structure of the attitude scale changes (T_3-T_1). The eigenvalues, variances, and communalities for the three mother and sitter factor analyses are shown in Table 9.7. All of these factor analyses (a principal components analysis with varimax rotation) involved the correlations of thirty variables and produced eleven rotated factors. All analyses were done on 116 arrangements. Both mother and sitter variables were included in order to reveal any interdependence that there might be between mother and sitter attitudes. Very little overlap occurred, however, especially for the change factors on which no high loadings (over .50) of both mother and sitter variables occurred on the same factor. In general T_3 factors were similar to T_1 factors but the change factors were in many instances quite different.

**Factor I (Sitter and Mother T_1 Scales): Sitter Satisfaction
with this Arrangement**

Variable	Factor Loading
S sat. M's concern	.81
S dissat M's long hours	-.80
S approval M's discipline	.72
S emotional drain	-.64
S sat. child's adjustment	.57

All aspects of sitter satisfaction with this arrangement load well on this factor. The factor is replicated again at T_3 , but by the end of the arrangement it is joined by elements of role strain and powerlessness and mother's economic need to work. That mothers perceived economic need to work should be related to this factor of sitter dissatisfaction is curious and suggests a possibility that some aspects of the mother's arrangement behavior associated with her need is a source of strain and dissatisfaction for the caregiver. All of the above mentioned variables with the exception of mother's economic need to work appear on Factor I of the factor analysis of change scores. This then is a strong cluster of attitudes that go together and that change together.

An examination of the cross-lagged panel correlations suggests causal hypotheses regarding the relationships among these variables. For example, in the relationship between the two highest loading variables on this factor, it would appear that although sitter's dissatisfaction with the child's adjustment contributes to her feeling of emotional drain, the reverse is even more true, namely that her feeling that caring for this child is an emotional drain strongly contributes to her dissatisfaction with the child's adjustment.²



$2r = .56 > r = .34; z = 2.09, p < .05, 2\text{-tailed test.}$

Table 9.1

Intercorrelations of Mother and Sitter Scale Scores (1/1/73)

	MOTHER SCALES																	SITTER SCALES																
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Sat. sifter's concern																																		
2. Inter-family closeness (original) .45	.32																	.32																
3. Prefer work role over home role .34	.03	.24																.03	.24															
4. Economic need	.23	.15	.04															.23	.15	.04														
5. M's assertion21	.26	.02	.09														.21	.26	.02	.09													
6. Confidence in sitters	.41	.26	.08	.14	.28													.41	.26	.08	.14	.28												
7. Job sat. and market advantage	.35	.07	.23	.28	.02	.13												.35	.07	.23	.28	.02	.13											
8. Complains S's possessiveness	-.15	.00	-.12	.09	-.04	-.06	-.35											-.15	.00	-.12	.09	-.04	-.06	-.35										
9. Playates reason for T.A.	.53	.41	.15	-.04	.20	.29	.09	.03										.53	.41	.15	-.04	.20	.29	.09	.03									
10. Need for flexible sitter	-.13	.09	.00	.14	-.03	.09	-.27	.01										-.13	.09	.00	.14	-.03	.09	-.27	.01									
11. Disadv. sitting market	-.18	.12	-.04	.17	-.08	-.28	.15	.07	.06									-.18	.12	-.04	.17	-.08	-.28	.15	.07	.06								
12. Reluctance to interfere	.27	.10	.03	.04	.11	.17	.23	.00	.18	.10								.27	.10	.03	.04	.11	.17	.23	.00	.18	.10							
13. Guilt child's adjustment	-.46	-.13	-.52	.23	-.14	-.45	-.31	.20	.13	.07	.28							-.46	-.13	-.52	.23	-.14	-.45	-.31	.20	.13	.07	.28						
14. Feeling people disapprove	-.25	.09	-.26	.07	.15	-.30	-.28	.21	.21	.01	.35	.16						-.25	.09	-.26	.07	.15	-.30	-.28	.21	.21	.01	.35	.16					
15. Expect child can get along any 5. . .	.10	.11	.11	.11	.21	.24	.11	.20	.11	.06	.29	.08	.42	.10				.10	.11	.11	.11	.21	.24	.11	.20	.11	.06	.29	.08	.42	.10			
16. Prefer businesslike relationship . . .	.10	.10	.06	.00	.16	.04	.03	.11	.11	.12	.02	.03	.10	.04	.20			.10	.10	.06	.00	.16	.04	.03	.11	.11	.12	.02	.03	.10	.04	.20	
17. Inter-family closeness (revised)	.34	.04	.05	.18	.18	.15	.11	.01	.33	.04	.17	.08	.14	.10	.26			.34	.04	.05	.18	.18	.15	.11	.01	.33	.04	.17	.08	.14	.10	.26		
1. Sat. mother's concern																																		
2. Inter-family closeness (original) .46	.17																.17																	
3. Economic need	-.11	.12	-.00	.03	.05	.03	.04	-.01	.10	.15	.00	.13	-.10	-.01	-.02	-.02	-.11	.12	-.00	.03	.05	.03	.04	-.01	.10	.15	.00	.13	-.10	-.01	-.02	-.02		
4. Expressive needs met	-.03	.01	.03	.08	-.11	.11	.03	.09	.05	.08	.27	.07	.09	.12	.08	.01	-.03	-.03	.01	.03	.08	-.11	.11	.03	.09	.05	.08	.27	.07	.09	.12	.08	.01	
5. Approval of M's discipline	.19	.05	.01	.19	.06	.08	.17	.00	.13	.08	.04	.04	.16	.09	.11	-.01	.01	.19	.05	.01	.19	.06	.08	.17	.00	.13	.08	.04	.16	.09	.11	-.01	.01	
6. Only certain children	-.01	.10	.10	.15	.09	.01	.02	.20	.00	.05	.13	.07	.04	-.10	-.11	-.02	.09	-.01	.10	.10	.15	.09	.01	.02	.20	.00	.05	.13	.07	.04	-.10	-.11	-.02	.09
7. Dissat. M's long hours	-.27	.18	.03	.31	.03	.13	.01	.10	.22	-.01	.03	.01	.07	.13	.01	-.11	-.27	.18	.03	.31	.03	.13	.01	.10	.22	-.01	.03	.01	.07	.13	.01	-.11		
8. Disapproval of mothers working	-.04	.00	.05	.01	.02	.07	.05	.09	.03	.03	.01	.04	.00	.04	.03	.19	.05	-.04	.00	.05	.01	.02	.07	.05	.09	.03	.03	.01	.04	.00	.04	.03	.19	.05
9. Role power	.27	.11	.04	.23	.00	.17	.13	.06	.10	.07	.14	.11	.15	.12	.08	-.02	.02	.27	.11	.04	.23	.00	.17	.13	.06	.10	.07	.14	.11	.15	.12	.08	-.02	.02
10. Emotional drain	-.19	.04	-.01	.22	.07	.15	.00	.05	.21	.05	.02	.03	.05	.14	.07	.07	.01	-.19	.04	-.01	.22	.07	.15	.00	.05	.21	.05	.02	.03	.05	.14	.07	.07	.01
11. Market disadvantage	-.25	.05	-.15	.02	-.01	.09	.19	.01	.04	.10	.06	.04	.14	.13	.03	.06	.09	-.25	.05	-.15	.02	-.01	.09	.19	.01	.04	.10	.06	.04	.14	.13	.03	.06	.09
12. Role strain . . .	-.08	.03	-.01	.19	.00	.08	.12	.08	.01	.09	.12	.03	.05	.11	.10	.01	.04	-.08	.03	-.01	.19	.00	.08	.12	.08	.01	.09	.12	.03	.05	.11	.10	.01	.04
13. Restricts hours	-.01	.01	.10	-.00	-.02	.19	.01	.19	.03	.08	.12	.02	.12	.15	.02	.04	.01	-.01	.01	.10	-.00	-.02	.19	.01	.19	.03	.08	.12	.02	.12	.15	.02	.04	.01
14. Sat. child's adjustment	.27	.14	.03	.01	.04	.16	.05	.08	.32	.09	.08	.14	.00	.04	.08	.17	.08	.27	.14	.03	.01	.04	.16	.05	.08	.32	.09	.08	.14	.00	.04	.08	.17	.08
17. Inter-family closeness (revised) .44	.04	.04	.14	.17	.05	.04	.02	.03	-.02	-.24	.14	.06	.04	.03	.03	.03	.04	.04	.14	.17	.05	.04	.02	.03	-.02	-.24	.14	.06	.04	.03	.03			
Sat. child's adjustment																																		
Role strain																																		
Market disadvantage																																		
Emotional drain																																		
Role power																																		
Disapproval of mothers working																																		
Dissat. M's long hours																																		
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Role strain																																		
Market disadvantage																																		
Emotional drain																																		
Role power																																		
Disapproval of mothers working																																		

Table 9.2
Cross-lagged Panel
Correlations T₁ by
T₁ Mother and Sitter
Scales

		MOTHER T ₁																	SITTER T ₁																
		Sat. sitter's concern	Prefer work role over home role	Economic need	M's assertion...	Confidence in sitters	Job sat. and market advantage	Complaints S's possessiveness	Playmates reason for T.A.	Need for flexible sitter	Disadv. sitting market	Reluctance to interfere	Guilt child's adjustment	Feeling people disapprove	Expect child can get along any S.	Prefer businesslike relationship	Inter-family closeness (revised)	Sat. mother's concern	Economic need	Expressive needs met	Approval of M's discipline	Only certain children	Dissat. M's long hours	Disapproval of mothers working	Role power	Emotional drain	Market disadvantage	Role strain	Restricts hours	Sat. child's adjustment	Inter-family closeness (revised)				
MOTHER SCALES		1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	17				
M O T H E R T ₁	1. Sat. sitter's concern	.60	.09	-.10	.07	.27	.20	-.10	.37	-.22	-.16	.19	-.30	-.27	.12	-.12	-.01	-.07	-.16	-.01	.11	.00	-.08	.20	.06	-.12	-.21	-.14	.02	.17	-.23				
	3. Prefer work role over home role	.01	.02	-.15	.03	.03	.16	.02	-.02	.03	-.04	-.07	-.30	-.13	.07	.10	-.02	-.05	.02	-.07	.01	.10	.07	-.10	.05	-.07	-.17	.06	.07	-.02	.00				
	4. Economic need	-.11	-.13	.75	-.01	-.13	-.23	.09	.08	.21	.18	-.04	.10	.02	-.01	-.10	-.05	-.17	-.05	.19	-.21	-.01	.22	-.01	-.10	.06	.25	.05	.06	.04	-.14				
	5. M's assertion...	.15	.04	-.04	.71	.26	.03	-.04	.15	.08	-.15	-.13	-.22	-.10	.17	-.04	.18	-.05	-.14	-.07	.17	.14	.01	.15	.04	.13	-.25	-.00	.08	.00	.23				
	6. Confidence in sitters	.31	.02	-.10	.10	.72	.25	-.12	.20	-.05	-.20	.13	-.36	-.32	.35	-.18	.08	-.02	.00	-.08	.08	.00	-.06	.07	.04	-.14	-.14	-.01	.09	.16	.02				
	7. Job sat. and market advantage	.23	.14	-.27	-.05	.10	.64	-.04	.16	-.19	-.25	.12	-.34	-.11	.12	.06	.05	.07	-.05	-.01	.12	.01	-.07	.07	.14	.01	-.23	-.08	-.06	-.05	-.02				
	8. Complaints S's possessiveness	-.14	-.05	.23	-.07	-.01	-.17	.31	-.12	.21	-.09	-.04	.29	.26	.01	-.02	-.01	.00	.02	.09	-.11	-.16	-.09	-.13	-.13	.06	.20	.10	-.11	-.04	-.04				
	9. Playmates reason for T.A.	.29	.11	.07	.17	.15	.04	.03	.60	.10	.01	.17	-.09	-.08	.10	.93	.13	.01	-.08	.04	.12	.06	-.08	.13	.09	-.23	-.24	-.11	-.01	.23	-.12				
	10. Need for flexible sitter	-.12	.01	.22	-.08	-.04	-.16	.21	-.05	.64	.09	-.05	.07	-.06	-.12	-.12	.14	.15	.21	.14	-.01	-.09	-.09	-.09	-.09	-.01	.11	-.05	-.03	-.05	.10				
	11. Disadv. sitting market	-.10	-.04	.18	.04	-.20	.00	.09	-.04	.03	.59	-.15	.31	.19	-.20	-.02	-.14	-.01	.04	.25	-.04	-.05	-.02	-.06	.15	-.07	-.12	-.09	-.10	.03	-.12				
	12. Reluctance to interfere	.20	-.13	-.03	-.20	.17	.08	-.04	.17	-.13	-.18	.64	-.19	-.08	.15	-.11	-.04	-.05	.12	.10	-.00	.01	-.00	.01	-.05	.02	.25	-.01	-.03	-.10	-.21				
	13. Guilt child's adjustment	-.18	-.41	.19	-.03	-.31	-.29	.03	.20	.11	.21	-.01	.06	.36	-.34	-.05	.02	.09	-.06	.11	-.11	-.03	-.02	-.07	-.05	.00	.22	-.06	-.09	.02	.04				
	14. Feeling people disapprove	-.13	-.23	-.02	-.05	-.20	-.10	.15	.26	-.03	.09	-.04	.27	.56	-.18	.13	.04	-.03	.04	.07	-.03	.16	.12	.04	.14	.02	.24	.12	-.10	.04	.09				
	15. Expect child can get along any S.	.13	.09	-.10	.10	.22	.10	-.03	-.01	.03	-.08	.07	-.46	-.31	.55	-.07	.13	-.01	.01	-.10	.14	.01	.07	-.03	-.04	.05	.04	-.07	-.03	.16	.16				
	16. Prefer businesslike relationship	-.17	.06	-.16	-.11	-.10	.02	-.10	-.14	-.08	.09	-.93	.04	.14	-.01	.58	-.07	-.19	.02	-.16	-.02	-.01	.02	-.09	.98	.20	-.04	.26	.13	-.09	.03				
	17. Inter-family closeness (revised)	.29	.07	-.04	.04	.13	.09	-.02	.24	.09	-.22	.20	-.18	.09	.12	-.17	.70	.04	-.14	.04	.10	.17	-.04	.19	-.09	-.03	.27	-.04	.01	.04	.40				
	SITTER SCALES																																		
S I T T E R T ₁	1. Sat mother's concern	.31	.04	-.22	-.10	.07	.06	.11	.12	-.01	-.10	-.02	-.04	.04	-.01	.15	-.00	.54	-.15	.01	.29	.13	-.35	.03	.23	-.23	-.12	-.14	-.07	.12	-.04				
	3. Economic need	-.20	-.10	-.05	-.01	-.02	.07	.14	-.10	.07	-.06	-.04	.05	.93	.13	.08	-.10	-.31	.76	.06	-.29	-.15	.24	-.14	-.20	.17	.22	.27	-.02	-.21	-.06				
	4. Expressive needs met	-.09	.00	.14	-.03	-.02	-.07	.09	-.04	.05	.16	.04	.04	-.00	.12	.05	-.09	-.00	-.02	.73	.00	-.02	.05	.03	.16	-.13	-.12	-.11	-.15	.04	.08				
	5. Approval of M's discipline	.05	.01	-.11	-.05	.01	.07	.09	.03	.01	.01	-.02	-.11	-.06	-.09	.17	.04	.26	-.13	.05	.55	.01	-.24	-.03	.20	-.10	-.51	.20	.14	.01	.08				
	6. Only certain children	.22	.04	-.08	-.13	-.10	-.10	-.18	.11	-.04	-.07	.14	-.09	.03	.04	-.01	.19	.05	-.18	.08	-.06	.70	.01	.39	.03	-.03	-.10	.03	.24	.14	.13				
	7. Dissat. M's long hours	-.07	.03	.13	.04	-.04	.10	-.05	.16	.04	.03	-.04	-.04	-.06	.08	-.19	.00	-.38	.09	.07	-.27	-.07	.44	-.04	-.23	.19	.15	.23	.07	-.18	.03				
	8. Disapproval of mothers working	.02	-.02	-.16	-.08	.09	.09	.02	.01	.07	.05	.01	-.09	.03	.04	-.17	-.05	.17	-.09	.04	.07	.28	-.07	.49	.01	-.14	-.14	.06	.22	.20	-.07				
	9. Role power	.22	.08	-.14	-.07	.11	.04	-.04	.01	-.06	.11	.09	-.04	-.17	.02	.06	-.01	.27	-.24	.13	.29	.03	-.22	-.13	.67	-.20	-.25	-.42	.05	.13	-.00				
	10. Emotional drain	.03	-.09	.14	.11	-.16	.02	-.17	.14	.02	.01	.95	.04	.07	.07	-.10	.10	-.27	.05	-.12	-.34	.04	.33	-.07	-.23	.55	.04	.25	.13	-.34	.14				
	11. Market disadvantage	-.23	-.14	.03	-.01	-.08	-.21	.18	-.01	.18	-.01	-.04	.08	.13	-.11	-.10	.21	-.21	.20	-.04	-.16	.01	.17	-.09	-.32	.16	.54	.11	-.10	-.34	.13				
	12. Role strain	-.13	-.04	.05	-.01	-.04	.00	.02	-.01	.05	-.10	-.08	-.02	.11	.04	-.08	-.01	-.18	.14	-.16	-.30	.04	.27	.24	-.55	.22	.18	.69	.23	-.02	-.14				
	13. Restricts hours	.02	.05	-.16	-.11	-.04	-.02	-.15	.05	.04	-.02	.03	-.11	-.15	.07	-.02	.03	.00	.02	-.01	.11	.33	-.11	.30	.03	-.11	-.09	.17	.62	.25	-.15				
	14. Sat. child's adjustment	.10	.07	.04	-.10	.14	-.05	.15	.24	.07	.02	.06	.00	-.15	.04	-.09	-.04	.12	-.12	.22	.17	-.02	.22	.00	.15	-.56	.11	-.19	.02	.54	-.18				
	17. Inter-family closeness (revised)	.15	.13	-.09	.10	.08	.18	-.03	.09	-.07	-.23	.01	-.08	.04	.04	.05	.55	.10	-.14	-.04	-.01	.23	-.07	-.03	.04	.04	.21	-.10	-.16	.00	.73				

Table 9.5 Factor Structure of Mother and Sitter Attitude Scales at T₃

		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
S	1.	Sat. M's concern										
S	10.	Emotional drain										
S	7.	Dissat. M's long hours										
S	5.	Approval of M's discipline										
M	4.	Economic need										
M	3.	Prefer work role over home role										
M	13.	Guilt child's adjustment										
M	14.	Feeling people disapprove										
S	6.	Only certain children										
S	13.	Restricts hours										
S	8.	Disapproval of m's working										
M	9.	Playmates reason for T.A.										
M	1.	Sat. S's concern										
S	14.	Sat. child's adjustment										
S	17.	Inter-family closeness (rev.)										
M	17.	Inter-family closeness (rev.)										
S	11.	Market disadvantage										
S	9.	Role power										
S	3.	Economic need										
M	10.	Need for flexible sitter										
M	8.	Complaints S's possessiveness										
M	7.	Job sat. and market advantage										
M	15.	Expect child can get along any s.										
M	6.	Confidence in sitters										
M	5.	M's assertion. . .										
M	11.	Disadv. sitting market										
M	16.	Prefer uninvolved relationship										
S	4.	Expressive needs met										
S	12.	Role strain										
M	12.	Reluctance to interfere										

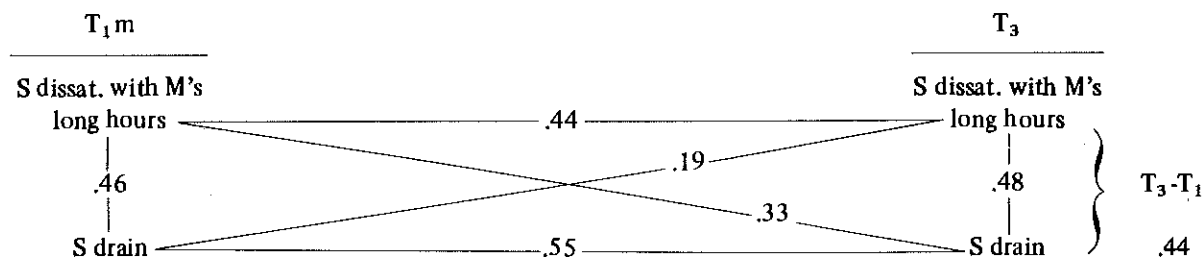
Table 9.6 Factor Structure of Mother and Sitter Attitude Scales T₃-T₁

			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
S	1.	Sat. M's concern	.85										
S	10.	Emotional drain	-.78										
S	5.	Approval of M's discipline	.75										
S	7.	Dissat. M's long hours	-.73										
S	14.	Sat. child's adjustment	.61					.37					
S	12.	Role strain	-.49					.33					-.33
M	4.	Economic need		.75									
M	9.	Playmates reason for T.A.		-.62									
M	7.	Job sat. and market advantage			.72								
M	8.	Complaints S's possessiveness			-.63								
M	10.	Need for flexible sitter			-.53						.33		
M	13.	Guilt child's adjustment				-.69							
M	3.	Prefer work role over home role				.63						.31	
M	6.	Confidence in sitters				.60							
M	5.	M's assertion. . .					-.72						
M	16.	Prefer uninvolved relationship					-.69						
M	12.	Reluctance to interfere						.71					
S	11.	Market disadvantage							-.79				
S	9.	Role power	.37						.62				
M	14.	Feeling people disapprove							.43		-.31		.32
S	13.	Restricts hours							-.40	.39	.33	-.38	
S	3.	Economic need								-.75			
S	6.	Only certain children		.47						.55			
S	4.	Expressive needs met	.34								-.67		
S	8.	Disapproval of m's working									.61		.33
M	15.	Expect child can get along any s.										-.77	
M	11.	Disadv. sitting market			-.44							.57	
S	17.	Inter-family closeness (rev.)											-.81
M	1.	Sat S's concern						.39					-.48
M	17.	Inter-family closeness (rev.)		-.36			.35	.39					-.42

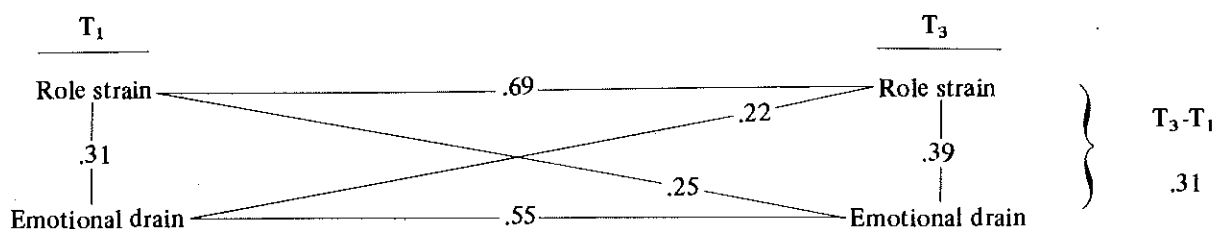
Table 9.7 Eigenvalues, Variances, and Communalities of Mother and Sitter Scale Factor Analyses (30 Variables, 11 Rotated Factors)

Eigenvalues:	F1	FII	FIII	FIV	FV	FVI	FVII	FVIII	FIX	FX	FXI
Mother-Sitter T ₁	4.01	2.95	2.05	1.91	1.77	1.66	1.52	1.25	1.22	1.09	1.00
Mother-Sitter T ₃	4.65	3.17	2.15	1.89	1.69	1.43	1.42	1.31	1.15	1.09	1.05
Mother-Sitter T ₃ -T ₁	4.14	2.24	2.04	1.86	1.58	1.44	1.38	1.34	1.23	1.17	1.09
Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance											
Mother-Sitter T ₁	.13	.23	.30	.36	.42	.48	.53	.57	.61	.65	.68
Mother-Sitter T ₃	.16	.26	.33	.40	.45	.50	.55	.59	.63	.67	.70
Mother-Sitter T ₃ -T ₁	.14	.21	.28	.34	.40	.44	.49	.53	.58	.61	.65
Communalities:											
Variable no.			T1			T3			T3-T1		
			h²			h²			h²		
Sitter											
1			.71			.80			.79		
3			.55			.69			.66		
4			.65			.59			.67		
5			.62			.63			.66		
6			.70			.76			.69		
7			.67			.74			.64		
8			.68			.69			.60		
9			.75			.80			.61		
10			.79			.84			.73		
11			.63			.70			.70		
12			.62			.78			.67		
13			.67			.61			.70		
14			.74			.73			.68		
17			.77			.83			.73		
Mother											
1			.68			.74			.70		
3			.80			.77			.68		
4			.61			.57			.68		
5			.72			.59			.65		
6			.59			.62			.51		
7			.64			.66			.59		
8			.75			.68			.52		
9			.60			.67			.51		
10			.67			.67			.58		
11			.53			.74			.72		
12			.77			.79			.55		
13			.76			.75			.63		
14			.78			.48			.68		
15			.72			.68			.72		
16			.47			.68			.64		
17			.79			.75			.69		

We saw above in the illustrative example that disapproval of mother's discipline may be a source of emotional drain for the sitter. The same may be said for sitter's dissatisfaction with the mother's long hours and lack of planfulness, but the difference between the cross-lagged correlations is not significant.



Role strain also appears to contribute to sitter's emotional drain but here the relationship is more reciprocal.



Factor II (Sitter and Mother T₁ Scales): M: Generalized User Role Satisfaction

Variable	Factor Loading
M expects child can get along any s	.82
M's guilt child's adjustment	-.71
M's confidence in sitters	.64
M disadvantage sitting market	-.34
M's feeling people disapprove working	-.32
M prefer businesslike relationship	-.31

The second factor at T₁ consists wholly of mother variables. They do not refer specifically to this arrangement but are general attitudes that tap a generalized user role satisfaction. By the end of the arrangement however, this factor has split into two separate clusters: Factor II which is best defined as work role satisfaction and Factor VIII which is general user role satisfaction. The content of these new factors is as follows:

Generalized Work Role Satisfaction (Factor II, T₃)

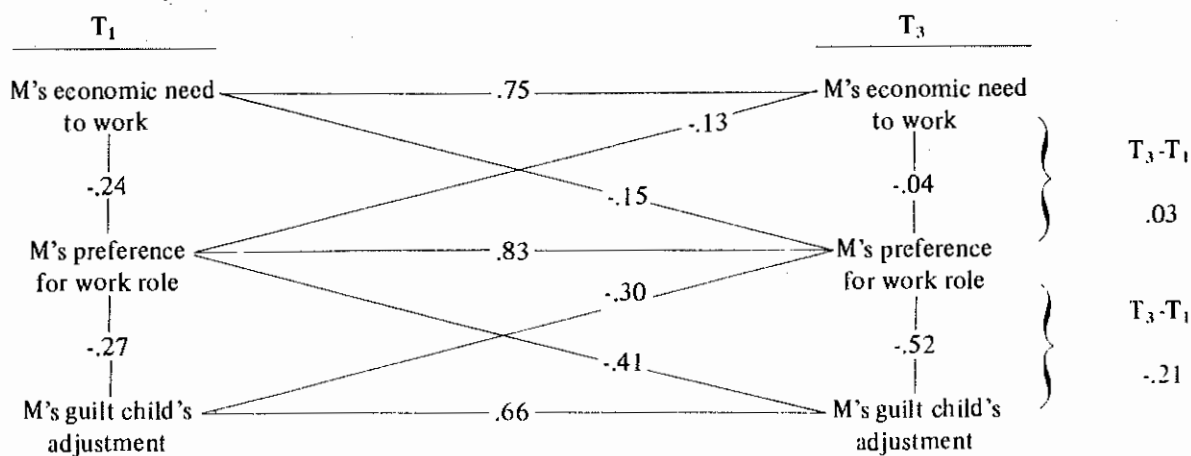
Variable	Factor Loading
M's prefer work role over home role . . . . .	.82
M guilt child's adjustment	-.70
M feeling people disapprove working	-.59
M job sat. and market advantage . . . . .	.34

Generalized User Role Satisfaction (Factor VIII, T₃)

M expect child can get along any s.	-.80
M confidence in sitters	-.64
M assertion sitters should.	-.50
M guilt child's adjustment . . . . .	.44
M disadvantage sitting market . . . . .	.43

Factor II at T₃ touches on all aspects of mother's satisfaction with her dual role as a working mother and as a homemaker; it includes her preference for working, her satisfaction about the adjustment of her child, an absence of feeling that people disapprove of her working and to a limited extent her job satisfaction.

One reason for the change in factor structure of the mother's general attitudes is the emerging importance of the strength of her preference for the work role which at the T₃ interview is picked up by Factor II as the highest loading item. A preference for the work role is a major motivation for working along with, but relatively independent of, economic need to work. These two motivations are correlated at the beginning of the arrangement but are independent at the end of the arrangement and as variables they do not change together. The preference for the work role however, has a reciprocal and increasingly strong relationship to



satisfaction with the child's adjustment (that is, negatively with the scale called "Guilt over child's adjustment"). The cross-lagged panel correlations suggest that the mother's preference for the work role contributes to her feeling about the child's adjustment and vice versa: both processes are important, such that by T₃ the correlation increases to .52 from .27.

The factor analysis of the change scores of Factor IV confirm this relationship showing the following three variables loading together:

M guilt child's adjustment	-.69
M prefer work role over home role	.63
M confidence in sitters	.60

It should be remembered that such correlations admit alternative interpretations. The mothers' reported confidence in sitters and denial of dissatisfaction over the child's adjustment may be rationalizations of mothers who prefer to work, but they also may reflect a better choice of caregivers and a genuinely improved adjustment of the child on the part of women who are working because they want to be. Such results would be consistent with Hoffman's findings (1963).

Factor III (Mother and Sitter T₁ Scales): Inter-family Closeness

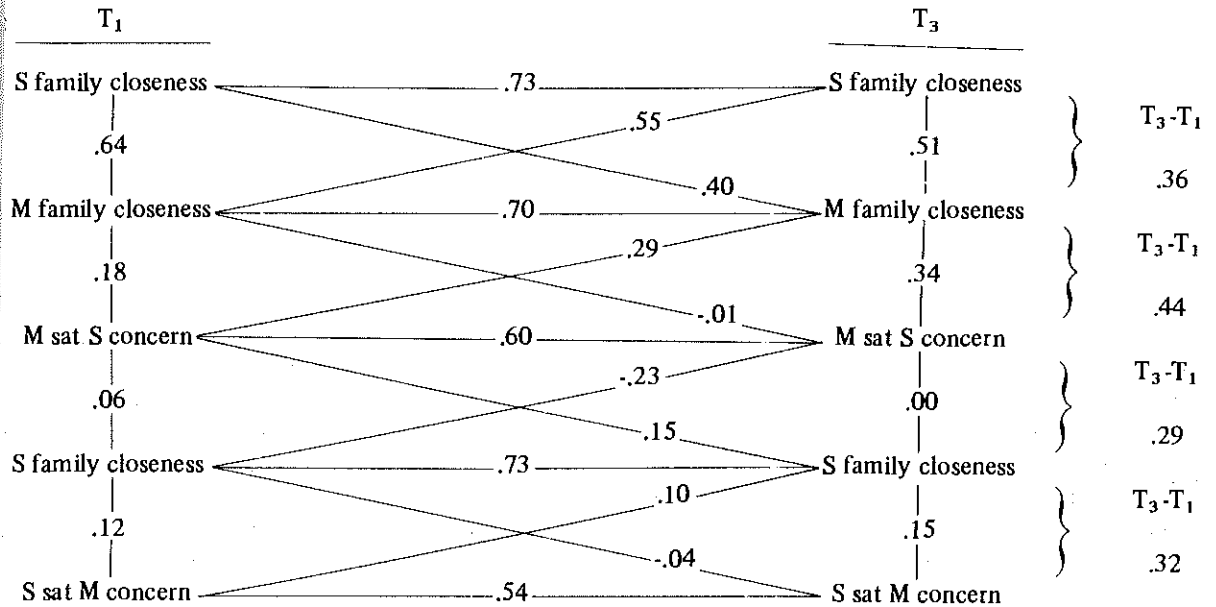
Variable	Factor Loading
S inter-family closeness (revised)	.86
M inter-family closeness (revised)	.85
S economic need	-.34

As would be expected the mothers' and the sitters' views of the closeness between their two families would be correlated and would show up on the same factor, and they do both at T₁ and at T₃. The changes in these variables are also correlated, $r = .36$ and they appear on a change factor together. However, on the change factor, mother satisfaction with sitter's concern for child also loads because it appears to play a key role in contributing to family closeness as suggested in the following cross-lagged panel correlations. These correlations suggest some curious hypotheses: that mothers' and sitters' views of family closeness become

Factor IV (Mother and Sitter T₁ Scales): Mother's Disadvantaged Position

Variable	Factor Loading
M job sat. and market advantage	-.75
M need flexible sitter	.54
M disadvantage sitting market	.52
M economic need	.44
S restricts hours	.31

slightly more desperate as time goes on, that satisfaction breeds family closeness but not vice versa³ and even that sitter family closeness leads to reduced mother satisfaction with the sitter concern for the child.⁴ The mothers' attitude appears to be a more active element in the interaction. The series of cross-lagged correlations now follows.



This cluster of variables defines a factor at the beginning of the arrangement that characterizes the mother's sense of constraint and disadvantage in the babysitting market as she makes a new arrangement. It links the kind of job she has to her needs for a flexible sitter and the relative ability she believes she has to find what she wants in child care. Her perceived economic need to work is also an element in this. Though the loading is low, there is a slight tendency for the mother to have made an arrangement with a sitter who reports being restrictive about the hours the child is in care—an incongruity stemming from the mother's disadvantaged position.

This factor is partially replicated at T₃, but by the time the arrangement is over the mothers' sense of disadvantage in the babysitting market has disappeared from the factor to be replaced by her complaints regarding the sitter's possessiveness, which by T₃ has a simple correlation of .27 with need for a flexible sitter and -.35 with job satisfaction and market advantage.

The factor of mother's disadvantaged position (T₃ version) also appears as Factor III in the analysis of change scores. It should be remembered from our earlier discussion of the changes in the mean scores that there was no trend here toward dissatisfaction.

The factor suggests the conditions under which the sitter's possessiveness becomes an issue for the mother, but the evidence was that it rarely did.

³r = .29 > r = .01; z = 2.32, p < .025, 2-tailed test.

⁴r = .15 > r = .23; z = 2.89, p < .005, 2-tailed test.

Factor V (Mother and Sitter T₁ Scales): Sitter's Advantaged Position

Variable	Factor Loading
S role power . . . . .	.77
S role strain	-.64
S market disadvantage	-.62
S economic need	-.55
M need flexible sitter	-.32

Here is a general factor comparable to the last factor but defining the advantaged position of the caregiver. A sitter who in her role as a caregiver has a sense of high power and low strain feels that it is easy to make the kinds of arrangements that she wants, perhaps she can afford to be choosy because she does not need the money. Thus, though the tendency is slight, she is apt not to sit for a mother who needs a flexible sitter. This factor is replicated at T₃ as Factor VI at which the time the variables define a factor that again shows the sitter freedom to choose her arrangements, having control of the day care situation, managing her dual role well, and not allowing a situation to develop in which she will be dissatisfied with the mother's irritating or exploitative behavior such as long hours and lack of planfulness (a new variable that enters the factor with a low loading). The change scores also produce a somewhat similar factor (Factor VII) which suggests that in her advantaged position, the sitter has been able to relax her restrictions about hours but the mothers they sit for are apt to feel that people disapprove of mothers working.

Factor VI (Mother and Sitter T₁ Scales): Restrictive Sitter

Variable	Factor Loading
S only certain children . . . . .	.77
S disapproval mothers working . . . . .	.74
S restricts hours . . . . .	.50

This factor which is defined by sitter's willingness only to take certain children, by her restrictiveness about the hours she will sit has a flavor of being particular and it is of interest that her disapproval of mothers working is also a part of this factor. By the time of the T₃ interview this factor has become stronger, reappearing as Factor III again having the flavor of a restrictive, judgmental sitter.

The T₃-T₁ changes that take place in this restrictive attitude of the sitter are more complex and are not defined by any one factor. One change factor (Factor VIII) finds sitter restrictiveness loading together with her lack of economic need as the dominant variable. Her assertion that she will only take certain children also appears on a change factor led by mother's economic need to work on the part of mothers whose reason for making this arrangement was not that of finding a playmate for their own children. A lack of inter-family closeness (mother's perception) also characterized this factor. This factor suggests a tendency on the part of sitters to become more particular in the context of an arrangement in which the mother's orientation is more economic and socially distant than towards the social needs of her children. The grounds for this

interpretation are weak and speculative however. On another factor the sitter's restrictiveness loads slightly on a change factor defined primarily by the sitter's feeling that her expressive needs are not met by babysitting and by her feeling of dissatisfaction with the mother's hours, excessive demands and lack of planfulness. On this factor the mother feels she needs a flexible sitter and the sitter feels a need to restrict hours, but again here the loadings are low.

**Factor VII (Mother and Sitter T₁ Scales): Mother's Control
versus Reticence**

Variable	Factor Loading
M's assertion sitters should. . . . .	.78
M's reluctance to interfere	-.74

A mother who feels that it is her place to dictate terms to sitters should have a high score on this factor, and this factor of reluctance appears again at T₃ as Factor XI. The change Factor VI reveals that mother's reluctance to interfere reflects a positive feeling about the sitter's concern for her child, the mother's perception of closeness between the two families, the sitter's satisfaction with the child's adjustment, and an element of sitter role strain which frequently is the price of a successful child care arrangement.

**Factor VIII (Mother and Sitter T₁ Scales): Child has Playmates;
All Pleased**

Variable	Factor Loading
M playmates reason for T.A. . . . .	.75
S sat. child's adjustment . . . . .	.50
S emotional drain	-.39
M sat. Sitter's concern . . . . .	.38
M reluctance to interfere . . . . .	.32
S market disadvantage	-.30

This factor is defined by playmates as the mother's reason for having this arrangement, by sitter's satisfaction with the child's adjustment, and a lack of feeling that this child is an emotional drain. The mother is satisfied with the sitter's concern for the child and she is reluctant to interfere. If the mother likes this arrangement because of having other children for her own child to play with, the children may all play together well so that the sitter feels her job is easier. In turn the mother doesn't want to interfere with an arrangement that is working well and where she is happy with the sitter's concern for her child. There is perhaps a slight tendency for this kind of arrangement to occur when the sitter feels in a good bargaining position in making arrangements. At the T₃ interview this factor reappears somewhat stronger as Factor IV in the mother's satisfaction with and confidence in the sitter.

**Factor IX (Mother and Sitter T₁ Scales): Mother's Perception:
Possessive Disapproving Sitter**

Variable	Factor Loadin
M complaints S's possessiveness . . . . .	.78
M feeling people disapprove working . . . . .	.77
M sat. Sitter's concern	-.50

Here one sees the relationship between mother's feelings about the sitter's possessiveness and other negative feelings about the sitter's attitude. It has been our impression that mothers feel this way when they are immature and dependent, saying "She's like a mother to me," yet also having all the ambivalence and negative reactions that go with dependent behavior. As we have indicated before, however, possessiveness on the part of the sitter did not prove to be an important source of dissatisfaction for the mother, and this factor disappears as a factor at T₃. It was perhaps an initial worry that did not materialize. Factors X and XI from the T₁ factor analysis also either disappeared as combinations at T₃ or changed in ways that already have been discussed.

Conclusion

A second major method of analyzing the process of change was to examine the correlational structure of stability and change in attitudes early and at the end of the arrangement. This was done by comparing factor analyses of attitude scores at T₁ and then again at T₃, as well as by means of a factor analysis of the change scores themselves. Cross-lagged panel correlations between pairs of variables were also compared to suggest hypotheses about the dominant directions of assumed causal influences.

In general mother and sitter attitudes emerge from the factor analyses as separate factors when analyzed at T₁, at T₃, and in changing from T₁ to T₃. One sees a picture of subtle changes in attitude from beginning to end of the arrangement with a context of relatively stable clusters of variables which include a general work-role satisfaction and a general user-role satisfaction for the working mother and a power or advantage factor for both mothers and sitters. A strong factor of sitter satisfaction with this arrangement appears as a stable, integrated cluster, while mother's satisfaction with this arrangement appears in many ways as contingent upon her life circumstances as her patterns of interaction with the caregiver. Factors of control and restrictiveness appear as issues of adaptation for both mother and sitter.

The analysis of change appears to reveal the presence of processes that lead to a consolidation of satisfactions with the arrangement, with some initial sources of dissatisfaction disappearing from a factor, while there is crystallization of the importance of other sources of dissatisfaction such as in the caregiver's feeling that caring for this child is an emotional drain. Sitter's initial level of emotional drain leads to dissatisfaction with the child's adjustment more strongly than the other way around. Playmates as mother's reason for the arrangement emerges as the dominant variable in a factor showing mutual satisfaction of mother and sitter. And the factor analysis of change scores and the cross-lagged correlations suggest that mother's increasing satisfaction with the sitter's concern for the child contributes to interfamily closeness, but not vice versa. Many of the processes of change identified in this chapter reappear later as predictors of stability or instability of the arrangement.

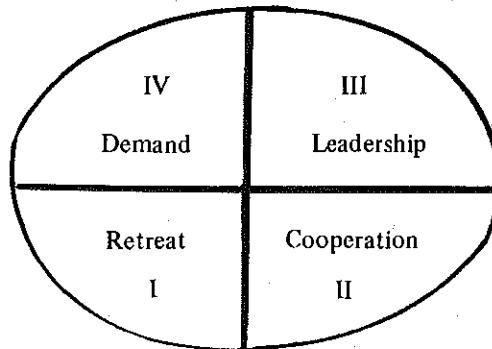
CHAPTER X

ADAPTIVE ORIENTATION

The measure referred to in this study as "adaptive orientation" derives in conception from the literature on interpersonal attitudes and behavior. It represents an attempt to develop for behavior within the family day care situation a two-dimension circumplex model similar to those found to characterize the basic dimensions of interpersonal behavior in dyadic relationships generally. For example, the work of Borgatta, Schaefer, Leary, LaForge, Gough, Becker and Foa, Foa having analyzed the similarity of much of this work.¹ In our model there is a power-powerlessness dimension that is somewhat akin to the dominance-submission dimension of some studies, but that is designed to tap whether the day care arrangement is approached from a position either of advantage or disadvantage in the social and economic exchange of the arrangement. The other is a dimension "maintenance behavior" which is akin to Gough's concept of sociability or Argyl's affiliative behavior and reflects elements of both warmth and cooperative behavior.

Thus we saw four types of adaptive orientation:

- 1) A powerless, retreatist, passive stance
- 2) An active, cooperative, affiliative behavior
- 3) An active, leadership type of affiliative behavior
- 4) A nonaffiliative, super-ordinative expectation of accommodation by others.



It was observed that the first type would say things like, "The best way to get along with a sitter is to keep your mouth shut." The second type says, "I make every effort to patch up misunderstandings." The third type says, "If there are problems, I suggest ways to work them out." The fourth says, "I won't keep a sitter who won't follow my instructions."

¹U.G. Foa, "Convergences in the Analysis of the Structure of Interpersonal Behavior." *Psychological Review*, 68 (1961), pp. 341-353.

In view of the discrepancies frequently found, however, between what people say and what people do, the interviewers were asked to make a judgment about the adaptive orientation of the mothers and sitters that took into account actual patterns of behavior as well as the verbal expressions of their attitudes. The following instrument was used, employing verbs rather than adjectives in an effort to sensitize the interviewer to the behavioral aspects of the interpersonal transactions between mothers and sitters. The interviewer was asked to pick the verbs that best described the respondent she was interviewing as well as the adaptive behavior of the other party to the arrangement making inferences from the content of the interview with her own respondent. These ratings were done during the T₂ interview and the T₃ interview following that portion of the interview which the respondents were asked about how they dealt with the problems that arose in the arrangement, or more generally about what was discussed and not discussed between the two parties. See Box 10.1.

Data Reduction The results showed a close similarity between the leadership and cooperation categories and between the retreatist and demand categories. The retreatist mothers made demanding noises, and the interviewer ratings reflected this. Therefore the results were collapsed to one dimension by summing the total number of retreat and demand points for each party to the arrangement obtained by counting the verbs checked by the interviewers. Thus, we have at one extreme a maladaptive mode of behavior characterized by demanding but retreatist behavior and at the other end of the continuum an effective adaptive mode of behavior characterized by leadership and cooperation.

An extreme example of retreatist behavior is illustrated by the following excerpt: "I'm still taking my baby over there. . . I know that they beat her. . . But nothing ever happened to my oldest one. . . because she can tell me things. . . It was just when my oldest one was gone. . . that my baby came home with bruises." When asked by the interviewer what she did about it, the mother responded, "I knew that I would be switching and everything. . . and if I got her riled up — it's one of those things. . . I would have been stuck, because I would have had no one else. . . so it was a matter of having to bide my time." Both the powerlessness and the passivity are evident in this frail, tired young mother whose communicative efforts and interpersonal competence were not up to coping with the relationships within the day care arrangement.

The cooperative end of the scale is less dramatic to describe because problems are less likely to arise. The issues are less tense and the interviews have a flavor of both warmth and affiliative effort. Repeatedly in interview after interview the sitter describes the mother as a "nice person" and "easy to talk to," and vice versa for the way the mother speaks of the caregiver.

The distribution on this variable shows the caregivers rated with fewer retreat-demand points than the mothers, probably reflecting in part the difference in roles and life circumstances as much as differences between the two women in personality.

In the following chapter the sum of retreat and demand points combined for the T₂ and T₃ interviews as shown in the above distribution are used as predictors of the stability of the arrangement. The following analysis however, combines the mother and sitter retreat-demand points for each arrangement at T₃ in order to show in a simple way the relationship that effective adaptive behavior and maintenance of the arrangement has to satisfaction with the arrangement. It is clear that a retreatist mode of adaptive behavior does interfere with satisfaction with the arrangement. Table 10.1 shows this in terms of correlation and Table 10.2 shows the mean number of retreat-demand points for each of the 77 cases in the sample where the sitter's and the mother's satisfaction with the arrangement was clearly high or clearly low.²

²Cases falling with .25 standard deviation of the mean were eliminated to sharpen the differences among satisfaction groups; see also Chapter VI.

Box 10.1

ADAPTIVE ORIENTATION

To interviewers: Check the overall mode of adaptation that best fits respondent. Enter "1." beside the word which you feel best describes the respondent's usual behavior, "2" for the second best word, and "3" for the third. The words are grouped to show some similarities among those in each group, but there is no reason to suppose the words you select should or should not fall in the same group.

Retreat	Cooperation	Leadership	Demand
resigned	accommodated	hinted	resisted
shied	obeyed	persuaded	asserted
ignored	acquiesced	induced	insisted
avoided	obliged	guided	ordered
capitulated	helped	led	domineered

I. RETREAT

1. **resigned (herself)** – connotes submission or passive acceptance
2. **shied** – reacted negatively; was (or became) cautious, doubtful or unwilling.
3. **ignored** – suggests a deliberate disregarding; sometimes through stubborn refusal to face the facts.
4. **avoided** – suggests the display of conscious effort in keeping clear of something undesirable or harmful.
5. **capitulated** – implies surrender to a force that one has neither the strength nor the will to resist further.

II. COOPERATION

1. **accommodated** – implies a subordination of one thing to the requirements of another and suggests concession or compromise.
2. **obeyed** – gave into the orders or instructions of one in authority or control.
3. **acquiesced** – implies tacit agreement or restraint of opposition in accepting something about which one has reservations.
4. **obliged** – did a favor for; implies a ready, often cheerful desire to be helpful.
5. **helped** – to make it easier for a person to do something; to do part of the work of; ease or share the labor of.

III. LEADERSHIP

1. **hinted** – connotes faint or indirect suggestion that is however intended to be understood.
2. **persuaded** – implies an influencing of a person to an action, belief, etc. by an overt appeal to his reason or emotions.
3. **induced** – suggests a more subtle leading of a person to a course of action so that the decision seems finally to come from him.
4. **led** – implies a going ahead in order to show the way and figuratively suggests a taking of the initiative.

IV. DEMAND

1. **resisted** – opposed actively, fought, argued or worked against.
2. **asserted** – insisted on one's rights; stated positively with great confidence.
3. **insisted** – took a stand; made a strong demand.
4. **ordered** – often stresses peremptoriness; sometimes suggesting an arbitrary exercise of authority.
5. **domineered** – ruled (over) in a harsh or arrogant way; bullied, tyrannized, imposed one's own opinion and wishes.

Adaptive Orientation Retreat-Demand Points	Mother	Sitter
0	26	37
1	7	21
2-3	8	15
4-7	13	13
8-15	28	14
16-31	23	13
32+	11	3
	116	116

Table 10.1 Correlations between Maladaptive Behavior, Duration of the Arrangement, and T₃ Satisfaction with the Arrangement

Retreat/Demand	Duration (weeks)	(Sum of T₃ Ladders)	Satisfaction (Sum of T₃ Inter Sat. Ratings)
Ret/Dem	-.28	-.51	-.67
Duration		.31	.32
Ladder			.85

All correlations are significant at .01

Table 10.2 Combined Sitter-Mother Retreat-Demand T₃ Points for Four Satisfaction at T₃ Groups

Satisfaction	N	Retreat and Demand Mean	Standard Deviation
Sitter high, mother thigh	39	3.49	5.37
Sitter high, mother low	11	12.00	10.54
Sitter low, mother high	16	11.63	7.51
Sitter low, mother low	11	21.27	10.02

F = 18.29; p<.01
(at p<.01, F = 4.07)

The role of this adaptive orientation variable will become more important in the next chapter as a predictor of instability of the arrangement. Anticipating that analysis, Table 10.3 shows that early evidence of retreatist behavior by either party to the arrangement is predictive of subsequent dissatisfaction as a reason for the other party's terminating the arrangement.

Table 10.3 T₃ Correlates of Retreatist Behavior at T₂

	T ₂ Retreatism	
	by sitter	by mother
Sitter Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination (Factor II)*	.25	.34
Mother Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination (Factor I)*	.52	.16
Duration	-.30	-.27

*stability factors explained in Chapter XI

The same pattern is shown in Table 10.4; mother's retreatism is correlated with increasing sitter dissatisfaction with the mother's concern for the child, and sitter's retreatism is correlated with increasing mother's dissatisfaction with sitter's concern for child.

Table 10.4 Change Correlates of Retreatism

	T ₂ Retreatism	
	by sitter	by mother
Sitter Scale No. 1: Satisfaction with Mother's concern for child (T ₃ -T ₁)	-.16	-.42
Mother Scale No. 1: Satisfaction with Sitter's concern for child (T ₃ -T ₁)	-.38	-.22

Summary

Certain characteristics of interpersonal behavior were found an important key to making and maintaining a successful family day care arrangement. This domain of "adaptive orientation and behavior" is an intervening link between antecedent elements of personality or social experience and subsequent satisfaction with the arrangement. Interviewer ratings of four types of adaptive orientation were collapsed into a dimension that ranged from an active, affiliative approach involving cooperative and leadership behaviors to a passive, nonaffiliative approach involving powerless, retreatist, or demanding behaviors. The latter maladaptive mode of interaction in the mother-sitter relationship, strongly retreatist in flavor, was more characteristic of mothers

than sitters, though not commonly found in either group. Nevertheless, it is an interpersonal approach that is associated with increasing dissatisfaction — especially of the other party — that in turn became a source of instability of the arrangement. The conclusion is that an affiliative as opposed to a retreatist orientation is a key to making an arrangement with which both mother and caregiver will be satisfied.

CHAPTER XI

WHO TERMINATED THE ARRANGEMENT AND WHY

As explained in the introductory chapter, stability of the arrangement was to be defined by *duration* and *reasons for termination*. Both outcomes were measured at the T₃ interview. Duration, of course, is strictly a characteristic of the arrangement, while the reason given for termination may differ for mothers and caregivers. It was not known what kind of agreement to expect between the perceptions of these reasons by the two parties. Nor was it known how mutual their satisfaction or dissatisfaction might be.

As it turned out, there was a moderately high degree of agreement between mother and caregiver as to who terminated the arrangement and why, but changes in their general satisfaction with the arrangement were found to be independent of one another. It became clear during the process of coding the data that dissatisfaction and extrinsic reasons were related in a bi-polar fashion constituting alternative reasons for termination of the arrangement. A subsequent factor analysis confirmed the fact that for both mothers and sitters separately an index of reasons for termination ranged from dissatisfaction at one end to purely extrinsic termination reasons at the other end coupled with high satisfaction.

Before proceeding to the data reduction that was achieved by the results of the factor analysis, let us examine the original termination variables one by one, the distributions on some of which are findings in themselves.

Who Ended the Arrangement?

It is clear from Table 11.1 that approximately two-thirds of both the mothers and the caregivers reported the arrangement as having been ended by the mothers only.

Table 11.1. Who Ended the Arrangement?

	Sitter's View	Mother's View
Mother	74	79
Sitter	36	32
Both	6	5
	<hr/> 116	<hr/> 116

How close really was their agreement on this? Overall there was an 89 percent agreement, with 61 percent both agreeing that the mother ended the arrangement. See Table 11.2.

**Table 11.2 Who Ended the Arrangement:
Mothers View by Sitters View**

Mothers View	Sitter's View		
	Mother	Sitter	Both
Mother	71	5	3
Sitter	3	29	—
Both	—	2	3

89 percent agreement

Reasons Given for Why Arrangement Ended

Also coded was a variable that combined who terminated the arrangement and whether because of extrinsic circumstances or dissatisfaction, as seen by the mother and as seen by the caregiver. The results are shown in Table 11.3. This was a multiple choice code by the interviewer of the primary reason the arrangement ended at just this particular time. Although there might have been other reasons it would have ended in the near future if this event had not taken place, they were not included in this code. The results show fairly close agreement when the arrangement ended for extrinsic reasons but their perceptions are divergent regarding whose dissatisfaction it was that was the reason for termination. Each perceived her own dissatisfaction but not that of the other, and mutual dissatisfaction was rarely perceived although apparently it was there.

Table 11.3 Reason Arrangement Ended

Mother's View	Sitter's View						Sum
	Mother's Extrinsic Circumstance	Sitter's Extrinsic Circumstance	Unknown	Sitter's Dissatisfaction	Mother's Dissatisfaction	Mutual Dissatisfaction	
Mother's Extrinsic Circumstance	60	4	1				65
Sitter's Extrinsic Circumstance	3	21	1	4			29
Unknown							0
Sitter's Dissatisfaction				5			5
Mother's Dissatisfaction	6	1	2	2	1	3	15
Mutual Dissatisfaction			1	1			2
Sum	69	26	5	12	1	3	116

75 percent agreement

Our own judgments regarding the reasons for termination were coded in the office as follows:

Office Determined Reason for Termination

Extrinsic	76
Dissatisfaction one party but no action until extrinsic circumstances	15
Dissatisfaction one party	18
Mutual dissatisfaction	7
	116

This coding resolved some discrepancies, but adhered closely to how things were perceived by the two parties to the arrangement.

Because "extrinsic circumstances" is the most frequent main reason an arrangement ended, it is of interest to look at what some of these circumstances were. However, reasons for termination are difficult to place into mutually exclusive categories because of the sometimes complex patterns of people's lives. Although only the first answer to "Why did the arrangement end?" was recorded, more than one reason may be listed for some arrangements.

Change in mother's work role

- 9 mother quit work
- 6 mother's job ended
- 4 mother pregnant
- 1 mother ill

Change in sitter's work role

- 6 sitter went to work (or school -1)
- 6 sitter summer vacation
- 5 sitter quit sitting
- 6 accident or illness of sitter

Moved

- 22 mother
- 9 sitter

Change in child care

Child care in mother's home

- 4 summer only by relatives (father, 2 stepdaughter, sister)
- 4 grandmother came to live or for extended visit
- 2 child sent to live with grandmother (temporary due to father's accident, surgery)
- 3 father available to sit
- 7 summer sitter (high school girl) to come in
- 1 friend living in

2 nursery school

Another sitter (why?)

- 4 change in job, shifts, etc.
- 1 friend said would sit for free
- 1 child ill, doctor said to leave only where no other children
- 3 change in sitter's husband's schedule

Change in marital status (only those relating to reason for termination)

Mother

1 separated or divorced

3 remarried

Sitter

1 separated or divorced

2 remarried or husband returned

To summarize these results, working mothers are twice as likely as caregivers to terminate family day care arrangements because of changes in their basic life circumstances such as changes in work role or residence. Changes in marital status accounted for few disrupted arrangements. If the mothers changed their child care usage it was mostly for the child to remain at home. The following summary table presents the picture:

Changes as reasons for termination	Mothers	Caregivers
in work role	20	23
in residence	22	9
in marital status	4	3
in child care		
to home	21	—
to other sitter	9	—
to nursery school	2	—
	N = 78	N = 35

Dissatisfaction at T₃

The magnitude of the mothers' and sitters' dissatisfaction reported during the T₃ interview was also coded, and the results are shown in Table 11.4. The low correlation between their degrees of satisfaction shows that dissatisfaction is not always mutual by any means.

Table 11.4 Dissatisfaction at T₃

Mother's View	Sitter's View						Sum
	No dissatisfaction	Little dissatisfaction	Dissatisfaction re. way ended	Moderate dissatisfaction	Major dissatisfaction — recent	Major dissatisfaction — long	
No dissatisfaction	23	12	2	3		6	46
Little dissatisfaction	15	5		7	1	4	32
Dissatisfaction due to way ended			1	2		1	4
Moderate dissatisfaction	3	3	2	5	1	3	17
Major dissatisfaction — recent		1	1	2		1	5
Major dissatisfaction — long term	2	2	1	4	2	1	12
Sum	43	23	7	23	4	16	116

30 percent agreement
 $\gamma = .38$

(60 percent agreement for
 3-category collapsing)

Information about specific sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction were sought in the T₃ interviews. Check lists were supplied the interviewers to facilitate recording of some of the material they were asked to elicit about specific reasons for termination and areas of satisfaction and dissatisfaction at T₃ as obtained from the following T₃ questions:

3. "Why did the arrangement end?" "Did you talk about this with the Mother (sitter)?"
4. "Were there other reasons it ended?" "Was there any reason to be dissatisfied?"
6. "Why?" (did respondent rank arrangement at ladder rung chosen at this interview?)
7. "What was there you liked about this arrangement?"
8. "What didn't you like about it?"

The checklists provided the interviewers contained 39 items selected after a study of pretest interviews and panel study trial interview information about areas of potential dissatisfaction and reasons for termination, which were grouped for ease of use by interviewers into the following categories:

- a) convenience
- b) changed circumstances
- c) own dissatisfaction with the arrangement
- d) other's dissatisfaction with the arrangement
- e) family objections
- f) day care child's adjustment

These plus an "other" space for each category resulted in a total of 45 possible spaces to be checked here for any one or all of the following four columns:

- (1) Main reason for termination
 - (a) was this reason discussed with other party?
- (2) Any contributing reasons to termination (not ranked, just checked)
- (3) Mentioned as satisfactory aspect of the arrangement
 - (a) for this respondent
 - (b) for other party to the arrangement
- (4) Source of dissatisfaction
 - (a) for this respondent
 - (b) for other party to the arrangement

The specific information was obtained in order to describe arrangements at T₃ with some richness of detail; the task of data reduction for use in multivariate analyses purposely was left to the office staff.

When data collection was about three-quarters complete, all of the interviewer checklists were punched and tallied, including some unpaired cases not used in the final analyses. Frequencies were found not to be great enough for any one item or for some item categories for use in that original form.

The items were regrouped for coding into four categories which can be considered ordered from farthest to closest to the "heart of the arrangement."

1. *Extrinsic Reasons:* A change in mother's child care needs or the availability of the sitter. Moving, end of job, sitter not sitting over summer, or mother using a high school girl to come in for the summer are examples of circumstances extrinsic to the arrangement and responsible for termination. Use of this category usually implied a lack of dissatisfaction with the arrangement.

2. *Day Care Situation:* Dissatisfaction with some aspect of the arrangement not directly related to behavior of mother, sitter or child. For mother this could range from distance or transportation being too burdensome to dissatisfaction with the neighborhood or other children in the sitter's home; for sitter, amount of work more than expected, husband's objection to hours of this arrangement, or child the wrong age to fit in with her other children.

3. *Mother-Sitter Interaction:* Anger, resentment or disapproval of the other party's behavior or attitudes. Avoidance of discussion concerning details of the arrangement, unfair requests, attempts to exploit, not doing her share are examples of imbalances in reciprocity as perceived by respondents who were unhappy about some aspect of their interaction with the other party to the arrangement.

4. *Child-Oriented Reasons:* Concern about the child's adjustment, behavior, or other's care of him. Discipline problems, disapproval of other's child care techniques or neglect are child-oriented reasons that reflect on the other party's care of the child. (Another type of child-oriented concern coded here does not involve implied dissatisfaction of the other's relationship with the child, but direct concern, sometimes mutual concern, about the child's adjustment. Dissatisfaction frequencies were too small for this to be a separate category. Almost no arrangements terminated because of this and very few respondents were dissatisfied. However, many respondents, both mother and sitter, mentioned satisfaction with the child's adjustment.)

These four categories for source of (dis) satisfaction or reason for termination seem to be of the same level of generality, to have an implicit order from extrinsic to intrinsic to this arrangement, and best of all, the items supplied the interviewers fit into one or another category with minimal ambiguity. Only occasionally did the original interview notes have to be consulted in order to clarify an item for categorization. See Table 11.5.

Table 11.5 Frequencies for Reasons for Termination

	Mother	Sitter
Extrinsic only	69	79
Extrinsic and day care situation	16	6
Day care situation only	9	6
Extrinsic and mother-sitter	1	4
Mother-sitter only	3	3
Mother-sitter and day care situation	1	6
Extrinsic and child oriented	3	5
Child oriented only	3	1
Child and day care situation or child and mother-sitter	6	4
Child and day care situation and mother-sitter	5	2
	116	116

The Dissatisfaction Process: A Global Measure

The respondent's own rating of her global satisfaction with the arrangement at T₁ and finally at T₃ provided the basis for a variable that measures the process of dissatisfaction as an indicator of instability in the arrangement. Tables 11.6 and 11.7 show both the level of satisfaction and the changes in levels of the satisfaction from T₁ to T₃. Table 11.8 summarizes the gain or loss in satisfaction comparing mothers and sitters. It may be seen that the results are closely comparable if one defines gain or loss as a change of only one rung on the ladder scale, but that changes of two or three rungs on the ladder show more dissatisfaction among sitters than among mothers. For a description of how the ladder scale was used see Box 11.1.

Box 11.1

THE LADDER SCALE

The ladder used to assess respondents' overall satisfaction with their arrangements is the one developed by Hadley Cantril* in his study of human aspirations. The instructions were patterned closely after those he used, with the wording slightly different to fit each time period.

At each interview the ladder question was asked after the current state of the arrangement had been discussed in detail. At each interview the respondent was shown a ladder with rungs numbered from 1 to 10 and asked where she felt her arrangement stood in relation to the best and the worst family day care arrangement she could imagine. At the T₂ and T₃ interviews, however, the respondent was shown on which rung she had placed the arrangement before, so that her current evaluation would represent her overall change in attitude toward the arrangement.

*Hadley Cantril, *The Pattern of Human Concerns* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1965).

Table 11.6 Change in Mother's Global Satisfaction with the Arrangement (Ladder Scores T₃ by T₁)

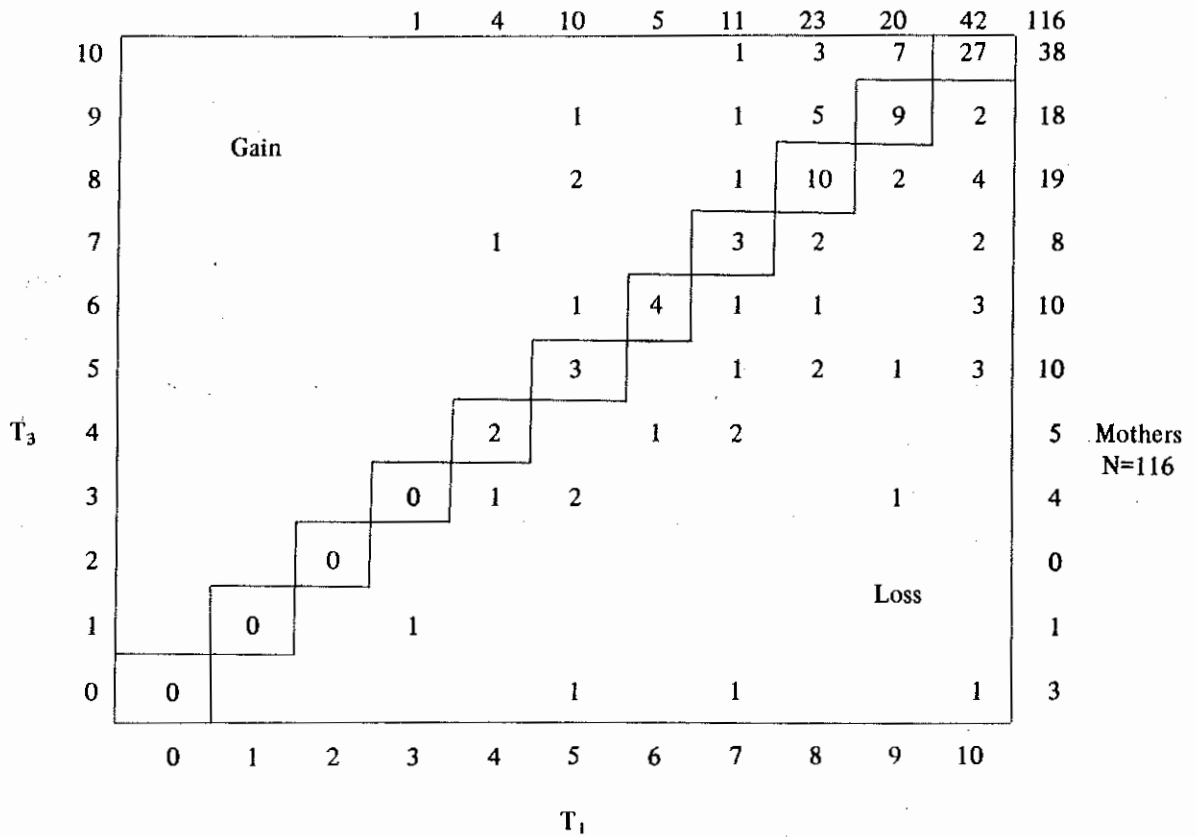


Table 11.7 Change in Sitter's Global Satisfaction with the Arrangement (Ladder Scores T_3 by T_1)

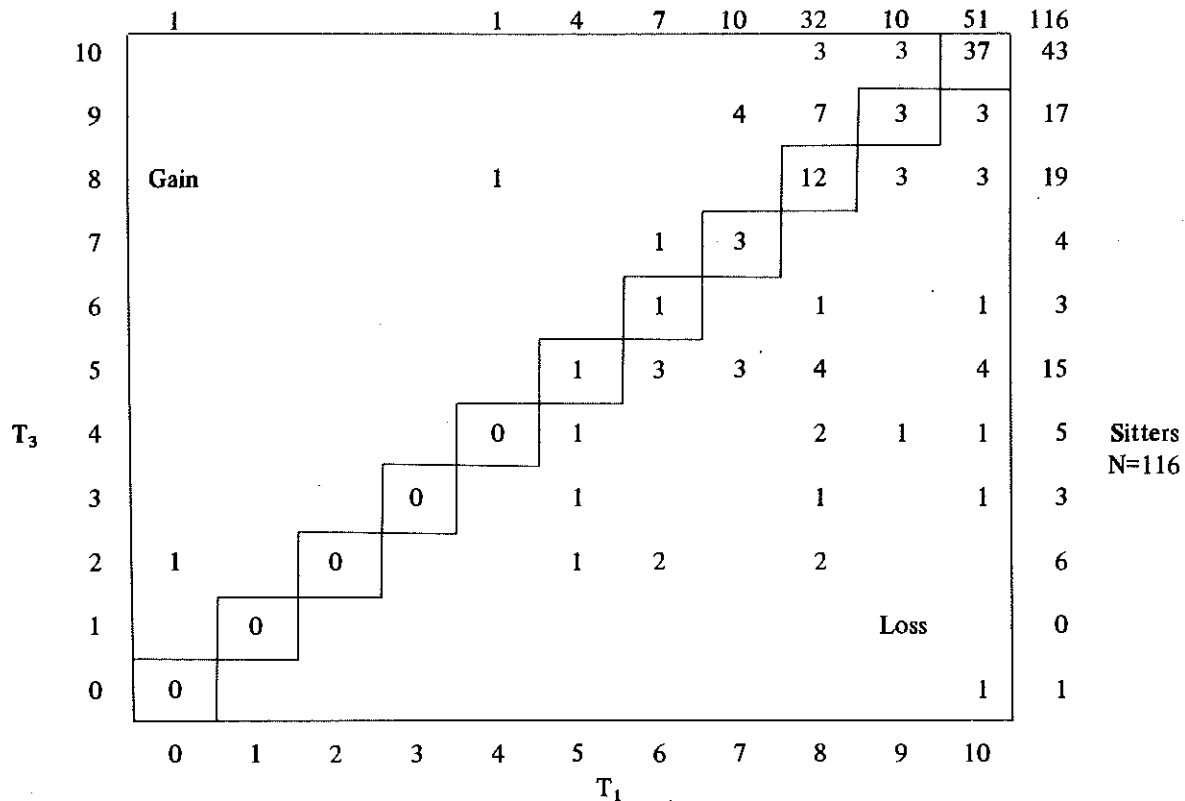


Table 11.8 Summary of Gains and Losses in Ladder Scale Scores (T_3 minus T_1) for Mothers and Sitters

		Mother	Sitter
Change of 1 or more rungs	gain	23	20
	no change	58	57
	loss	34	39
Change of 2 or more rungs	gain	15	9
	no change	80	78
	loss	20	29
Change of 3 or more rungs	gain	6	1
	no change	93	94
	loss	16	21

Table 11.9 cross-tabulates the change scores from the ladder scale with the office-determined reasons for termination of the arrangement, again showing the link between a growing dissatisfaction and reasons for terminating the arrangement. Also as a validity check, one can see that approximately 80 percent of the self-ratings showing no change from T_1 to T_3 were classified as terminating for extrinsic reasons only.

**Table 11.9 Office Reason for Termination by Sitter and Mother
Change Scores on Satisfaction This Arrangement Ratings**

T₃-T₁ Sitter Ladder Scale Change

Office Reason for Termination	+10	+9	+8	+7	+6	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	
Extrinsic							1		6	9	48	5	2	1	3	1						76
Dissatisfaction 1 party, no termination until extrinsic									2	1	3	1	2	2		2		1			1	15
Dissatisfaction 1 party										1	6	2	2	2	2	1	2					18
Mutual Dissatisfaction												2	2			2	1					7
							1		8	11	57	10	8	5	5	6	3	1			1	116

T₃-T₁ Mother Ladder Scale Change

Office Reason for Termination	+10	+9	+8	+7	+6	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	
Extrinsic							1	3	3	12	45	4	3	2	3							76
Dissatisfaction 1 party, no termination until extrinsic								1	1	2	5	1	3		1		1					15
Dissatisfaction 1 party										2	5	1	4	2		3		1				18
Mutual Dissatisfaction											3			2		1					1	7
							1	4	4	16	58	6	10	6	4	4	1	1			1	116

Duration

Duration ranged from less than a week to more than two years, with a median duration of 13.5 weeks or approximately three months and an interquartile range of 20 weeks (from 8 to 27 weeks). The distribution is shown in Table 11.10. The mean duration is 18.5 – five weeks longer than the median since the distribution is skewed toward long durations. Both averages are useful; it depends on whether one's interest is in estimating turnover of arrangements or the amount of child care service provided.

Table 11.10 Durations of the Arrangements

Duration	N	%
less than 1 month	13	11
1 less than 1 months	23	20
2 less than 3 months	21	18
3 less than 5 months	21	18
5 less than 8 months	13	11
8 less than 12 months	15	13
more than 12 months	10	9
	116	100%

median: 13½ weeks
 mean: 18½ weeks

Neither the median nor the mean, however, provides a broad enough perspective on the likely duration of arrangements, since one can predict the ultimate duration of an arrangement by how long it has gone on already. A life table of expected durations shows that the life expectancy of arrangements remains fairly constant even up to a year. From the life table analysis that follows, one can see that on the average an arrangement of any age will last about three months longer than it has already and that in terms of mean number of weeks one can at any point up to one year expect an average of five months additional child care service.

The life table method is widely used by actuaries for the computation of insurance premiums based upon the expected survival of individuals of a given age group. For example, males in the 60's are expected to live so many years; females of the same age a bit longer and so on. Premiums are adjusted accordingly. The method, however, is not restricted to the survival time of people but may be applied to the average duration of any unit. Table 11.11 shows a partial life table for duration of family day care arrangements based on the durations of the present sample which, it must be remembered, had already survived their first week of life to be in the study. The time period is a four-week block rather than the year of actuarial tables. Examples of complete tables and computational methods may be found in Chiang, *Introduction to Stochastic Processes in Biostatistics*.¹

¹Chin Long Chiang, *Introduction to Stochastic Processes in Biostatistics* New York: Wiley, 1968.

**Table 11.11 Partial Life Table for Duration
of Day Care Arrangements**

Age Interval (in 4-week periods*)	Number of arrangements ongoing at beginning of interval	Number of arrange- ments ending during interval	*Expected duration of arrangement weeks	
			Mean	Median
Weeks				
1-4	116	11	23.4	13.5
5-8	105	23	21.5	12
9-12	82	20	21.8	11
13-16	62	10	22.9	12
17-20	52	15	22.1	12
21-24	37	7	24.8	18
25-28	30	4	25.1	16
29-32	26	1	25.1	14
33-36	25	2	20.8	10
37-40	23	8	18.1	8
41-44	15	4	19.9	16
45-48	11	2	21.3	19
49-52	9	1	20.8	18
53-56	8	0	18.8	16
57-60	8	1	14.8	12
61-64	7	1	12.3	9
65-68	6	2	9.5	8
69-72	4	1	7.8	8
73-76	3	1	4.2	8

* The time period is a 28-day or 4-week interval. Overall mean 18.6 duration.

Still, the fact that three-quarters of the arrangements did not last more than six months calls indeed for some explanation, particularly since the previous study of current, on-going arrangements had a median duration of 6 months at time of interview and ultimately of more than one year. The question arises of how these previous results square with those of the present study? Well, if one enters the life table at the six-month age interval, the expected mean duration is an additional 25 weeks and the median duration for the six-month cohort is an additional 16 weeks for a total of approximately ten months. It would appear that the life table can offer a rough and ready estimate for the ultimate duration of a sample, given its duration at the point of sampling and data collection.

For now, the best answer to the question of how long an informal family day care arrangement will last is as follows:

- anywhere from one day to several years;
- on the average, about three months; and
- at successive stages of survival, about three months longer than it already has.

In estimating the amount of service based on mean numbers of weeks duration, family day care can be expected to offer a mean of more than four months overall and a life expectancy approximately five months from any four-week interval up to a year.

A perspective on duration as an imperfect measure of stability begins to emerge; it is subject to drastic, extrinsic terminating events on the one hand and to forces of inertia on the other. The termination process appears to respond with delayed effect to the many varied sources of strain and disruption. Some arrangements are planned in advance for definite periods, while others, indefinitely made, may drag on and then end abruptly. Latent dissatisfaction may await some external pretext for terminating the arrangement. An adjustment or adaptation once established appears to continue as if by inertia. The longer it has gone on, the longer it will continue, though the factor of "inertia" may be seen as the result of sample attrition in which dissatisfied parties or those who lead more chaotic lives terminate their arrangements early, while the remaining sample demonstrate more stable arrangements.

Reasons for Termination Reduced to Two Factors

In view of the importance of obtaining satisfactory measurement of the dependent variable, as well as to gain an understanding of the structure of their interrelationships, a factor analysis was conducted that included the ten variables making up the domain of stability. The ten variables included duration, office-determined reasons for termination and parallel mother and sitter variables, two of which emphasized why the arrangement ended and two of which emphasized satisfaction/dissatisfaction only. One pair of variables measured the magnitude of dissatisfaction and how recent or of long-standing it was while the other pair were the change scores on the ladder scale ($T_3 - T_1$). It was hoped in this way to have a global outcome variable that emphasized the process of dissatisfaction. Variables measuring the level of satisfaction as rated by the respondent and the interviewer were not included in this analysis in order to avoid giving undue weight to the level of satisfaction per se rather than to the association between the dissatisfaction process and the manifest reasons for termination. The reasons for termination though were kept general, i.e., extrinsic versus dissatisfaction, so that multiple regressions of the criterion on specific sources of disruption of the arrangement would yield new information.

The simple correlations among the ten variables are shown in Table 11.12 and the factor loadings on the two resulting rotated factors are shown in Table 11.13. Only the first two factors had eigenvalues of greater than 1.00 (4.90 and 1.63), accounting for 65 percent of the total variance. The communalities are shown in Table 11.14.

Of the two rotated factors that emerged, one consists of mother's dissatisfaction with the arrangement versus extrinsic circumstances as reasons for terminating the arrangement and the other factor consists of sitter's dissatisfaction with the arrangement versus extrinsic circumstances as the reasons for terminating the arrangement. The simple correlations and the factor analysis confirms the cross-tabulations shown earlier to the effect that mother's dissatisfaction and sitter's dissatisfaction represent independent processes insofar as they are perceived by the two parties to the arrangement. On the other hand, the correlations and the factor analysis also confirms a moderate degree of consensus regarding the reasons for termination, reflecting the fact that most arrangements terminate for extrinsic reasons.

The third principal component consisted almost exclusively of duration which had a loading of .96. This unrotated factor, which had an eigenvalue of .94, accounted for an additional 10 percent of the total variance. Very little of the variance of duration was accounted for by the two rotated factors, and it would appear that duration represents an additional relatively independent dimension.

Table 11.12 Correlation Matrix of Arrangement Outcome Variables

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mother										
Dissatisfaction at T ₃	1									
Multiple reasons for termination	2	.78								
Why arrangement ended	3	.66	.75							
T ₃ -T ₁ Ladder scale	4	-.61	-.50	-.49						
Office reason	5	.64	.68	.81	-.44					
Sitter										
Why arrangement ended	6	.36	.43	.75	-.33	.68				
Multiple reasons for termination	7	.24	.42	.46	-.20	.60	.54			
T ₃ -T ₁ Ladder scale	8	-.18	-.22	-.36	.04	-.46	-.39	-.50		
Dissatisfaction at T ₃	9	.29	.28	.36	-.15	.61	.48	.60	-.63	
Duration	10	-.16	-.18	-.20	.17	-.18	-.14	-.13	.10	-.10

Table 11.13 Rotated Factor Structure of Arrangement Outcomes

Variable	Factor Loadings	
	Factor I	Factor II
1 Mother dissatisfaction at T ₃	.88	.12
2 Mother multiple reasons for termination	.85	.23
3 Mother view of why arrangement ended	.79	.42
4 Mother T ₃ -T ₁ ladder scores	-.78	.03
5 Office-determined reason for termination	.67	.63
6 Sitter view of why arrangement ended	.45	.62
7 Sitter multiple reasons for termination	.23	.78
8 Sitter T ₃ -T ₁ ladder scores	-.01	-.82
9 Sitter dissatisfaction at T ₃	.12	.85
10 Duration	-.27	-.08

Factor I: Mother Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination

Factor II: Sitter Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination

**Table 11.14 Communalities of the Factor Solutions for the 10 Variables
Included in Factor Analysis of Arrangement
Outcome Variables**

Variable	h ²
Mother dissatisfaction at T ₃	.782
Mother multiple reasons for termination	.775
Mother view of why arrangement ended	.791
Mother T ₃ -T ₁ ladder scores	.606
Office-determined reason for termination	.840
Sitter view of why arrangement ended	.587
Sitter multiple reasons for termination	.654
Sitter T ₃ -T ₁ ladder scores	.679
Sitter dissatisfaction at T ₃	.730
Duration	.080

Prediction of Arrangement Outcomes

Possessed now of three dependent variables:

- 1) mother's dissatisfaction versus extrinsic circumstances as reason for termination,
- 2) sitter's dissatisfaction versus extrinsic circumstances as reason for termination,
- 3) duration of the arrangement,

we are in a position to attempt to assess the sources of the stability and instability of the family day care arrangement. This will be done primarily by means of multiple regressions of these variables (taken separately) on predictor variables from early in the arrangement or from antecedent conditions, as well as by means of canonical correlations between the set of three dependent variables and selected sets of predictors. Since a stepwise multiple regression that would allow all of our predictor variables to enter would be cumbersome and difficult to interpret and would produce unreliable results, sets of predictors were taken a domain at a time. Analyses were conducted using the following sets of predictors:

- 1) Seven mother demographic factors
- 2) Seven sitter demographic factors
- 3) Five arrangement factors
- 4) Twenty-six T₁ mother and sitter variables including seven demographic and arrangement factors that had proven to be predictive in analyses 1, 2, or 3 plus the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale that was administered at the end of the T₃ interview.
- 5) Seventeen change scores (T₃-T₁) for mother and sitter scales plus the sum of the adaptive orientation scores from the T₂ and T₃ interviews.

6) All of the predictors from analysis 5 plus seven measures from the T₃ interviews regarding aspects of the arrangement that had gotten better, worse, or stayed the same and other such direct measures of perceived change (twenty-four variables).

7) The T₁ scales from analysis 4 measuring level, plus the change scores from analysis 6 (total of 50 predictors).

For all of these subproblems the F level to enter was set at 2.75; to delete 2.70. The stepwise multiple regressions are shown only to the first variable that contributes an increase of as little as a .02, and primary attention is given to those predictors contributing 5 percent or more. In Table 11.15 we have summarized the results of these analyses. The table shows the R² (rather than the multiple correlation) found for the three criterion variables in their multiple regressions on the seven sets of predictors.

Table 11.15 Summary of Multiple Regressions of Stability Criteria on Demographic Factors, Arrangement Factors, T₁ Scores, Adaptive Orientation, T₃-T₁ Change Scores, and T₃ Interview Reports of Change

	Duration R ²	M Dissat. (FI)	S Dissat. (FII)
1. Mother demographic factors	.06		
2. Sitter demographic factors	.10		
3. Arrangement factors	.06	R ²	R ²
4. T ₁ Scales and factors	.27	.38	.26
5. T ₃ -T ₁ and AO	.26	.59	.51
6. T ₃ -T ₁ and AO and T ₃ change data	.50	.67	.57
7. T ₁ and T ₃ -T ₁ and AO and T ₃ change data	.55	.69	.62

Prediction of Duration

First let us look at the prediction of duration. Table 11.16 and 11.17 show the relatively limited ability of the background variables of the mothers and sitters to predict duration of the arrangement. However, the mother's Factor III involving low education and occupation and a larger family as well as Factor V of low neighborhood SES together are predictive of shorter arrangements. For the caregivers the predictive factors are middle stage of family development, stability of residence (prior to the arrangement), and late stage of family development.

Table 11.16 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction of Duration from Mother Demographic Factor Scores

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
+	FIII: M's low ed, job SES	.20	.04	.04
+	FV: M's low neighborhood SES	.24	.06	.02

F = 3.30; p < .05

Table 11.17 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction of Duration from Sitter Demographic Factor Scores

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
+	FVII: S middle stage of fam. devel.	.24	.06	.06
+	FIV: Stability of residence	.29	.08	.03
+	FII: S late stage of fam. devel.	.32	.10	.02

F = 4.25; p < .01

The factors characterizing the arrangement also account for a limited amount of the variance of duration (26 percent). See Table 11.18. It is the school-age arrangement and the hours of care which contribute.

Table 11.18 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction of Duration from Arrangement Factor Scores

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
+	FII: School-age arrangement	.22	.05	.05
+	F1: Hours of care	.25	.06	.02

F = 3.89; p < .05

Demographic and arrangement factors enter again among the T₁ predictors shown in Table 11.19. Among the attitude scales sitter's satisfaction with the child's adjustment entered first. A general confidence in sitters contributed 5 percent and hours of child care 4 percent, which we interpret as reflecting the convenience to a working mother of having a caregiver who can be available to sit extra hours. A long-hour arrangement, however, tends not to add to the mother's satisfaction with the arrangement, as shown in Table 11.24. The sitter's Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability score which entered negatively may be somewhat situationally related to short duration because if the mother ended the arrangement early the sitter could well feel somewhat defensive at the T₃ interview when the Marlowe-Crowne was administered. The sitters rarely were not told exactly why the arrangement was terminated. How long this arrangement was planned for from the beginning was related to duration, as were one sitter demographic factor and one arrangement factor.

Table 11.19 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction of Duration from Initial Levels at T₁

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
+	S sat. child's adjustment T ₁	.25	.06	.06
+	SDEM VII: S middle stage of family development	.33	.11	.04
+	M general confidence s's T ₁	.39	.15	.05
+	ARRTI: Hours of care	.43	.19	.04
+	How long TA planned to last	.47	.22	.03
-	Sitter Marlowe-Crowne	.50	.25	.03
-	MDEM III: M low ed, occup with larger family	.52	.27	.02

F = 5.66; p < .01

Table 11.20 shows again the importance of the mother's perception of the inter-family closeness, the change in which accounts for 15 percent of the variance of duration. Similarly the next variable to enter is a change in the mother's expectation that the child can get along with any sitter which makes a negative contribution to duration. Mother's adaptive orientation also contributes 5 percent in a negative direction. The evidence here is that a demanding and retreatist combination of behaviors as opposed to cooperation and leadership leads to shorter arrangements.

Table 11.20 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction of Duration from T_3 - T_1 Change Scales, plus Adaptive Orientation

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
+	M family closeness T_3 - T_1	.39	.15	.15
-	M expect child get along T_3 - T_1	.46	.22	.07
-	Mother adaptive orientation	.51	.26	.05

F = 13.44; p < .01

It is significant that in the next multiple regression shown in Table 11.21 the same predictors had an opportunity to enter as in the last one. What happens, however, is that rather than the mother's maladaptive behavior entering as it did before, there entered as predictors a variety of specific sources of satisfactions and dissatisfactions reported at T_3 interviews increasing the final R² from 26 percent to 50 percent. It raises the possibility that the mother's adaptive capability is the key to the growth of an arrangement with which both she and the caregiver will be satisfied and that will be associated with stability of the arrangement. Further evidence in support of this hypothesis will be found in subsequent analyses.

Table 11.21 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction of Duration from all Change Data and Adaptive Orientation

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
+	M family closeness T_3 - T_1	.39	.15	.15
-	S: convenience worse	.50	.25	.10
-	M expect child get along T_3 - T_1	.56	.32	.07
+	M: distance worse	.60	.36	.04
-	M: children got along worse	.64	.41	.05
-	S approval discipline T_3 - T_1	.67	.45	.04
-	S amount of work worse	.69	.48	.03
+	S family closeness T_3 - T_1	.70	.50	.02

F = 13.15; p < .01

Finally, we turn to the summary multiple regression on all fifty of the variables now being allowed to enter. See Table 11.22. The strongest negative contribution is increasing inconvenience while the strongest positive element is an increase in inter-family closeness (mother's view). In view of the great number of arrangements that ended because of extrinsic reasons, the 6 percent contribution of plans for the length of the arrangement at T_1 is important. It lessens the impression that changes in people's lives are unplanned and unpredictable. The simple correlation between duration and plans was .25 which does indicate that while many arrangements end for extrinsic reasons, one or both parties may be aware from the beginning, or after a couple of weeks, of

the probable length of time involved. Overall, very little of the variance of duration in this analysis is attributable to demographic background characteristics of the mothers and the caregivers, while a substantial percentage is attributable to change and reports of change within the arrangement. The only T_1 predictor entering this regression is the initial level of sitter's feeling that caring for this child is an emotional drain.

Table 11.22 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction of Duration from Initial Level at T_1 , Adaptive Orientation, and All Change Data

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
+	M family closeness T_3-T_1	.39	.15	.15
-	S: convenience worse	.50	.25	.10
-	M expect child get along T_3-T_1	.56	.32	.07
+	How long TA planned to last	.61	.37	.06
+	M: distance worse	.64	.42	.04
-	M: children got along worse	.68	.47	.05
-	Sitter drain T_1	.70	.50	.03
+	ARRTI: Hours of care	.72	.52	.03
-	S approval discipline T_3-T_1	.74	.55	.02

F = 14.15; $p < .01$

Inter-family Closeness and Duration

Since change in mother's perception of inter-family closeness maintained its status as the first entering variable contributing 15 percent of the variance, it is worth noting that it is the change in family closeness and not the initial level that is predictive of duration. This raises the question of which is the likely causal direction of this relationship. Does closeness develop simply because of the acquaintance process and the exposure to one another through the passage of time? Or does increasing social interaction bring about an enduring arrangement? These two competing hypotheses were put to a test by means of path analysis; the results of which are shown in Table 11.23, hypothesis No. 2 showing the effects of family closeness on duration.

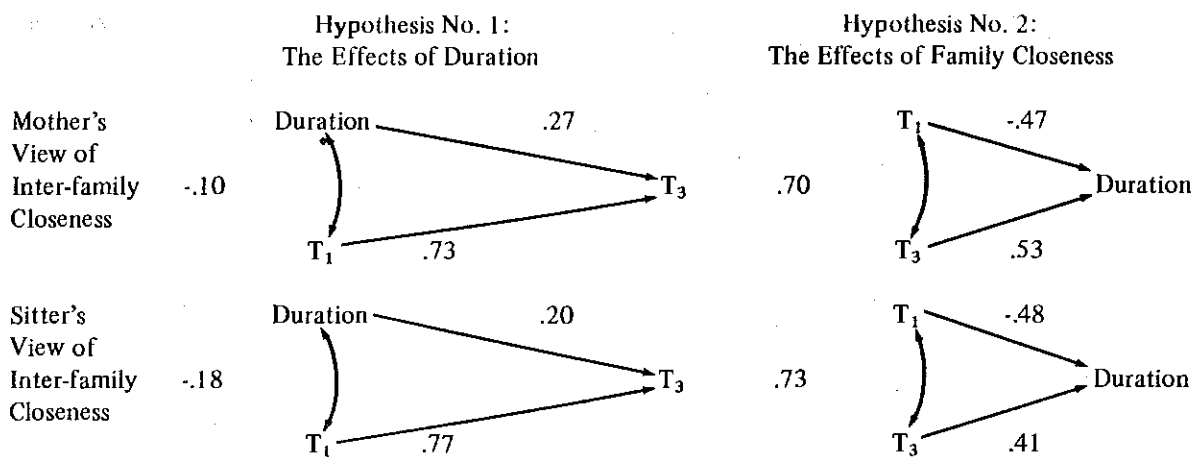
The double-headed arrows are correlations, the single-directional arrows are path coefficients. (Both models make the assumption that the relation between T_1 family closeness and T_3 family closeness is legitimately a correlational one because for the most part the level of closeness for the whole arrangement is set within broad limits by the prior relationship between the two women; and in any event the same correlational assumption has been made in both models.) The path coefficients were calculated also based on correlations that had been corrected for attenuation, using the appropriate alpha coefficients. This adjustment strengthens the results.

Hypothesis No. 2 emerges as the stronger relationship; inter-family closeness does appear to lead to longer arrangements. The assumption that duration leads to family closeness at T_3 receives much less support on the basis of this path analysis which is confirmed also by a multiple regression (to be reported later in this chapter) in which it is the change in family closeness that positively predicts duration. Mother's view and sitter's view of family closeness lead to similar results. The path coefficients suggest that duration is negatively related to initial family closeness and positively related to subsequent family closeness.

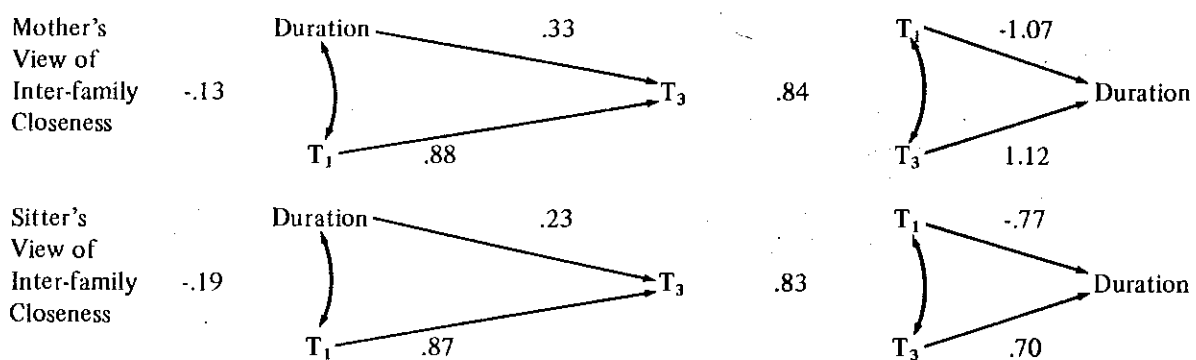
The Prediction of Mother's Dissatisfaction as a Reason for Terminating the Arrangement

We turn now to the prediction of stability Factor I which is mother's dissatisfaction as a reason for termination of the arrangement. The four multiple regressions are presented in Tables 11.24, 11.25, 11.26 and 11.27 and will be discussed in that order.

**Table 11.23 Inter-family Closeness and Duration
A Path Analysis**



Based on correlations adjusted for attenuation*



Correlations (Mother's View)

Correlations (Sitter's View)

	T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	Duration		T ₁	T ₃	T ₃ -T ₁	Duration
T ₁		.84	-.43	-.13	A		.83	-.52	-.19
T ₃	.70		.66	.22	D	.73		.44	.06
T ₃ -T ₁	-.30	.47		.50	J	-.40	.34		.40
Duration	-.10	.20	.39		U	-.18	.06	.33	
					S				
					T				
					E				
					D				

* $r_{xy} = \frac{r_{xy}}{\sqrt{r_{xx}r_{yy}}}$

**Table 11.24 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction
of Mother Dissatisfaction as a Reason for
Termination from Initial Levels at T₁**

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
-	Playmates reason TA T ₁	.32	.10	.10
+	SDEMI: low residential SES	.42	.18	.08
+	S family closeness T ₁	.47	.22	.04
+	ARRTI: Hours of care	.51	.26	.04
-	Sitter drain T ₁	.54	.29	.03
-	SDEMI: Late stage family devel.	.57	.32	.03
-	M sat. S's concern for child T ₁	.60	.36	.03
-	Sitter T ₁ ladder	.61	.38	.02

F = 8.07; p<.01

**Table 11.25 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction
of Mother Dissatisfaction as a Reason for
Termination from T₃-T₁ Change Scales, plus
Adaptive Orientation**

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
-	M sat. S's concern for child T ₃ -T ₁	.68	.46	.46
+	Sitter retreatist adaptive orientation	.73	.53	.08
-	S dissat. hours, etc. T ₃ -T ₁	.76	.57	.03
-	M preference work role T ₃ -T ₁	.77	.59	.02

F = 39.81; p<.01

**Table 11.26 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction
of Mother Dissatisfaction as a Reason for
Termination from all Change Data and
Adaptive Orientation**

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
-	M sat. S's concern for child T ₃ -T ₁	.68	.46	.46
+	M: M's relationship worse	.77	.59	.13
+	Sitter retreatist adaptive orientation	.79	.63	.04
+	S sat. M's concern for child T ₃ -T ₁	.81	.66	.03
-	M preference work role T ₃ -T ₁	.82	.67	.02

F = 45.02; p<.01

Table 11.27 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction of Mother Dissatisfaction as a Reason for Termination from Initial Level at T₁, Adaptive Orientation and all Change Data

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
-	M sat. S's concern for child T ₃ -T ₁	.68	.46	.46
+	M: M's relationship worse	.77	.59	.13
-	M sat. S's concern for child T ₁	.80	.64	.06
+	S sat. M's concern for child T ₃ -T ₁	.82	.67	.03
+	Sitter retreatist adaptive orientation	.83	.69	.02

F = 48.83; p < .01

Prediction from T₁ Data. Predicting from T₁ data, the working mother was less likely to terminate for reasons of dissatisfaction if she made the arrangement initially in order to have playmates for her child, if the sitter did not have low neighborhood SES, if the families were not too close to begin with (sitter's view), and if there were not too many hours of child care involved. Other variables of interest also contribute 2 or 3 percent each. The negative contribution of sitter family closeness is consistent with the cross-lagged correlations reported in the previous chapter, and is further evidence in support of the findings of the previous study *Child Care by Kith* in which the difficulties involved in making arrangements with friends were pointed out.

Several characteristics of the sitter were related to the mother's final satisfaction with the arrangement: the sitter's neighborhood, stage of family development, and hours of care, as well as sitter's satisfaction as reflected in her ladder score and feeling that this child was an emotional drain.

Predicting from Everything under the Sun. A similar picture was shown by the regressions presented in Tables 11.25, 11.26 and 11.27. Change in the mother's satisfaction with the sitter's concern for the child accounts for a whopping 46 percent of the variance in her dissatisfaction at T₃ as a reason for termination. An additional 13 percent is picked up by her T₃ statement that the mother-sitter relationship got worse and an additional 6 percent is contributed by her T₁ level on the scale of satisfaction with sitter's concern for the child. If the sitter's adaptive orientation is retreating and/or demanding the mother will be more dissatisfied, but in these three progressive stepwise regressions that predict mother dissatisfaction as a reason for termination, sitter's adaptive orientation tends to be replaced by elements of dissatisfaction. Further evidence of instability of the arrangement is that sitter's satisfaction with the mother's concern for her child predicts mother dissatisfaction.

Table 11.28 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction of Sitter Dissatisfaction as a Reason for Termination from Initial Levels at T₁

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
+	Sitter drain T ₁	.26	.07	.07
-	M prefer uninvolved T ₁	.38	.15	.08
+	M feels people disapprove T ₁	.42	.18	.03
+	Sitter T ₁ ladder	.46	.21	.03
-	SDEMI: Low residential SES	.49	.24	.03
+	Sitter strain T ₁	.51	.26	.02

F = 6.46; p < .01

Predicting Sitter Dissatisfaction as a Reason for Termination of the Arrangement

The four multiple regressions of the sitter dissatisfaction-termination factor are shown in Tables 11.28, 11.29, 11.30 and 11.31. The caregiver's T₃ dissatisfaction as a reason for termination is related to her initial feeling that caring for this mother's child is an emotional drain, her ladder score, and the strain of balancing the demands of the caregiver role. She is less likely to become dissatisfied if she sits for a mother who initially prefers an uninvolved businesslike relationship. See Table 11.28.

Table 11.29 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction of Sitter Dissatisfaction as a Reason for Termination from T₃-T₁ Change Scales, plus Adaptive Orientation

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
-	S sat. M's concern for child T ₃ -T ₁	.62	.38	.38
+	Sitter drain T ₃ -T ₁	.67	.44	.06
+	Sitter adaptive orientation	.69	.47	.03
+	M sat. S's concern for child T ₃ -T ₁	.71	.51	.04

F = 28.60; p<.01

Table 11.30 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction of Sitter Dissatisfaction as a Reason for Termination from all Change Data and Adaptive Orientation

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
-	S sat. M's concern for child T ₃ -T ₁	.62	.38	.38
+	S: convenience worse	.68	.47	.09
+	S: S-M relationship worse	.72	.52	.05
+	Sitter drain T ₃ -T ₁	.74	.55	.03
+	Sitter: hours worse	.75	.57	.02

F = 28.65; p<.01

Table 11.31 Stepwise Multiple Regression Prediction of Sitter Dissatisfaction as a Reason for Termination from Initial Level at T₁, Adaptive Orientation, and all Change Data

Direction	Predictor	R	R ²	R ² increase
-	S sat. M's concern for child T ₃ -T ₁	.62	.38	.38
+	S: convenience worse	.68	.47	.09
+	Sitter drain T ₁	.74	.55	.08
+	Sitter drain T ₃ -T ₁	.77	.60	.05
+	S: S-M relationship worse	.79	.62	.02

F = 35.44; p<.01

Predicting from the change data by themselves (Table 11.29), the largest contribution to her ultimate dissatisfaction is a declining satisfaction with the mother's concern for the child (38 percent). Adding an increased feeling of emotional drain and a maladaptive manner of dealing with problems that arise bring the R^2 up to 47 percent. Perhaps related to the feeling that this child is an emotional drain is the fact that the mother's increasing satisfaction with the sitter's concern for the child becomes a source of dissatisfaction for the caregiver. One gets a picture of a sitter who is taking more care of the child, finds this wearing, but is not able to face the mother with her dissatisfaction.

The next regression bears out the impressions of the previous one. Among the T_3 reports of change we find the sitter saying that the convenience of the arrangement became worse as well as the mother-sitter relationship and the hours. This rounds out the picture of the vulnerability of some caregivers and of the conditions under which they become dissatisfied.

The final regression simply adds detail to the picture. One notes, however, that the initial feeling of emotional drain strengthens over time; thus, T_1 plus T_3-T_1 emotional drain together contribute a total of 13 percent to the R^2 of the caregiver's ultimate dissatisfaction. Initial levels of drain probably reflect variations in the inner resources caregivers bring to the arrangement, while the subsequent change probably reflects the additional drain of actual child care, especially for the children in question. In general, most of the variance in the sitter's dissatisfaction at T_3 as a reason for termination can be accounted for by her growing dissatisfaction with the mother's concern for her child. The caregiver's dissatisfaction with the child's adjustment contributes little to this picture, probably because her interaction with the child is less problematic and more gratifying.

This difference between the predictors of mother's and sitter's dissatisfaction as a reason for termination seems to be important and was analyzed further in relation to T_3 interview data. In the T_3 interview respondents were asked what they liked and didn't like about the arrangement, such as how the children got along, the hours, convenience, the mother-sitter relationship. They were asked whether these things got better or worse or stayed the same, and then they were asked whether any of these things had anything to do with the arrangement's ending. For sitters, the mother-sitter relationship figured importantly in the termination of the arrangement, while for mothers, satisfaction with child's adjustment was important. These results are shown in two small multiple regressions of the mother and sitter dissatisfaction factors:

	R^2
	M's dissatisfaction-termination Factor I
Mother says she was satisfied with the child's adjustment . . . . .	.51
Mother says the mother-sitter relationship had to do with the arrangement's ending . . . . .	.15
	$R^2 = .66$

Comparable results were obtained by using a somewhat similar criterion variable. In the T_3 interview, respondents were asked if they would have this arrangement again, "Would you take care of Mrs. X's child again?" Or "Would you have Mrs. Y take care of your child again?" The question and the coding of the conditions under which the respondent would make this arrangement again provided a reasonably close approximation to the satisfaction factors (.73 for mothers and .66 for sitters).

	<u>R²</u>
	<u>S's dissatisfaction-termination</u>
	<u>Factor II</u>
Sitter says she was satisfied with the mother-sitter relationship . . . . .	.50
Sitter says the mother-sitter relationship had to do with the arrangement's ending . . . . .	.13
Sitter says she was satisfied with the child's adjustment . . . . .	.10
	<u>R² = .73</u>

The Role of Adaptive Orientation

Additional evidence of the critical way in which maladaptive modes of behavior contribute to the instability of the arrangement is supplied by a two-root canonical correlation between a set of eight predictor variables involving initial satisfaction levels at T₁ and the three stability variables: duration, mother and sitter dissatisfaction as the reason for termination. The evidence in Table 11.32 shows that sitter AO (that is, the sum of demanding plus retreatist behaviors) stands out as having the largest coefficient in its set in correlation with the linear combination of instability factors. Removal of this root leads to more complicated results in the second canonical root. Here the affiliative, cooperative sitter who feels already at the beginning of the arrangement that this child is an emotional drain is coupled with a demanding or retreatist mother. This unstable combination is predictive of mother satisfaction, sitter dissatisfaction and a shorter arrangement. We see in this a picture of a sitter paying an emotional price for her cooperative behavior in an arrangement with a working mother whose adaptive capabilities are less effective, with the result that though the mother may be satisfied, the caregiver's dissatisfaction is a reason for ending the arrangement prematurely.

Summary and Conclusion

The study of process culminated in a series of multiple-regression predictions of stability outcomes. The effort to account for the relative stability or instability of the family day care arrangement is summarized as follows:

1. On global measures of satisfaction, as on measures of the particular sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction reported above, we find a profile of generally high mean levels of satisfaction. This is true initially, shortly after the arrangement begins, and is sustained throughout despite some statistically significant but undramatic losses in mean levels over time.
2. This picture is consistent with the finding that three-fourths of the arrangements ended not due to dissatisfaction but for purely extrinsic reasons involving changes of job, residence, and need for out-of-home day care.
3. Nevertheless, dissatisfactions were important for many, and at least a little dissatisfaction was detected among three-fifths of the mothers and caregivers.
4. One finds that caregivers are more likely than mothers to be dissatisfied, perhaps because caregivers are less likely to be the ones to terminate the arrangement. Despite dissatisfaction sitters tend to continue caring

Table 11.32 Canonical Correlation Between Selected Predictors and the Three Stability Criteria

<p>Stability duration -.29 mo dissat factor .72 si dissat factor .51</p>	} .64	<p>-.12 Mother sat sitter concern T₁ .22 Mother guilt child's adjustment T₁ -.26 Mother prefer bus. relationship T₁ .83 Sitter AO retreatist .12 Mother AO retreatist .05 Sitter sat mother concern T₁ .18 Sitter drain T₁ .10 Sitter sat child's adjustment T₁</p>
Λ=.42; df=24; X ² =89.32, p<.01		
<p>duration -.24 mo dissat factor -.66 si dissat factor .74</p>	} .48	<p>.17 Mother sat sitter concern T₁ -.18 Mother guilt child's adjustment T₁ -.38 Mother prefer bus. relationship T₁ -.46 Sitter AO retreatist .64 Mother AO retreatist -.08 Sitter sat mother concern T₁ .79 Sitter drain T₁ .28 Sitter sat child's adjustment T₁</p>
Λ=.72; df=14; X ² =34.72, p<.01		

for a child until the arrangement is discontinued by the day care consumer. A working mother, if dissatisfied, can terminate the arrangement simply by not bringing the child, but a caregiver can terminate only by communicating her decision to the user. It would appear, too, that caregivers subscribe to a norm of providing service as long as the user wishes it. Thus, the relationship of satisfaction to duration of the arrangement is attenuated by variations in tolerance for dissatisfaction, especially on the part of caregivers.

5. The median duration was three months, and three-quarters of the arrangements studied were terminated within six months. However, a life table analysis showed that the life expectancy of arrangements remains fairly constant even up to a year. On the average, an arrangement of any age will last about three months longer than it has already. Sharply better results are shown by calculating the mean number of weeks of additional child care service one can expect at any age interval of the arrangement.

6. Instability of the arrangement was measured by means of three indicators: mother's dissatisfaction and sitter's dissatisfaction as reasons for terminating the arrangement, as well as number of weeks duration of the arrangement. These indicators were the result of factor analysis and provided three independent factors for outcome variables. The process by which mothers became dissatisfied was distinctly different from the dissatisfaction process for the caregivers.

7. Major predictors of sitter dissatisfaction as reasons for termination were: a loss of satisfaction with the mother's concern for the child; an increasing sense of inconvenience; an initial and increasing feeling that this child was an emotional drain. Dissatisfaction with the child's adjustment was not a contributor; rather sitter's concern focused on the attitudes and behaviors of the mother primarily. Sixty-two percent of the variance of sitter's dissatisfaction as a reason for termination was accounted for (not including predictors that contributed less than 2 percent).

8. Mother's dissatisfaction as a reason for termination of the arrangement was predicted primarily by: initial lack and subsequent loss of satisfaction with the sitter's concern for the child; and a worsening relationship between mother and sitter. However, if having a playmate for the child was a reason for having this arrangement, then this served to prevent the mother's dissatisfaction as a reason for termination of the arrangement. Though most mother-sitter pairs were mutually satisfied, there was evidence of nonmutuality, indeed of a kind of social dissonance, in which mother satisfaction appears to be coupled with, and perhaps at the expense of, sitter's dissatisfaction: sitter's initial global dissatisfaction (T_1 ladder); sitter's initial feeling that caring for this child is an emotional drain; and increasing sitter dissatisfaction with the mother's hours, demands, and lack of planfulness. Apparently also negative reactions to the caregiver contributed to the mother's dissatisfaction as a reason for termination: sitter's low residential SES; sitter's initial high degree of family closeness; sitter's tendency to respond to problems with a retreatist mode of adaptive behavior; and sitter's loss of satisfaction with the mother's concern for the child. Sixty-nine percent of the variance of mother dissatisfaction as a reason for termination was accounted for.

9. Turning to predictors of duration of the arrangement and accounting for 55 percent of the variance, we find the following characteristics:

Mother Characteristics

- SES
- How long the arrangement was planned to last
- If mother was not retreatist in her mode of behavior
- If she has a general confidence in sitters
- If mother begins to feel that child just couldn't get along with *any* sitter, but only with this one
- If the children don't get along worse as time goes on
- Increasing closeness between the two families (m's view)
- When the distance seems worse as time goes on

Sitter Characteristics

- Middle and late stages of family development
- Stability of residence
- If sitter does not express a high initial level of emotional drain at T_1
- If she does not score high in defensiveness on the Marlowe-Crowne Scale
- If sitter's initial satisfaction with the child's adjustment is high
- And if she did not come to feel more disapproving of mother's discipline (T_3-T_1)
- If there is an increasing closeness between the two families in the sitter's view (T_3-T_1)
- If the sitter finds the arrangement increasingly inconvenient

10. A retreatist mode of behavior by mother or caregiver *viz a viz* the other was usually manifested early in the arrangement and apparently led to dissatisfaction by the other party — dissatisfaction that became reason for terminating the arrangement.

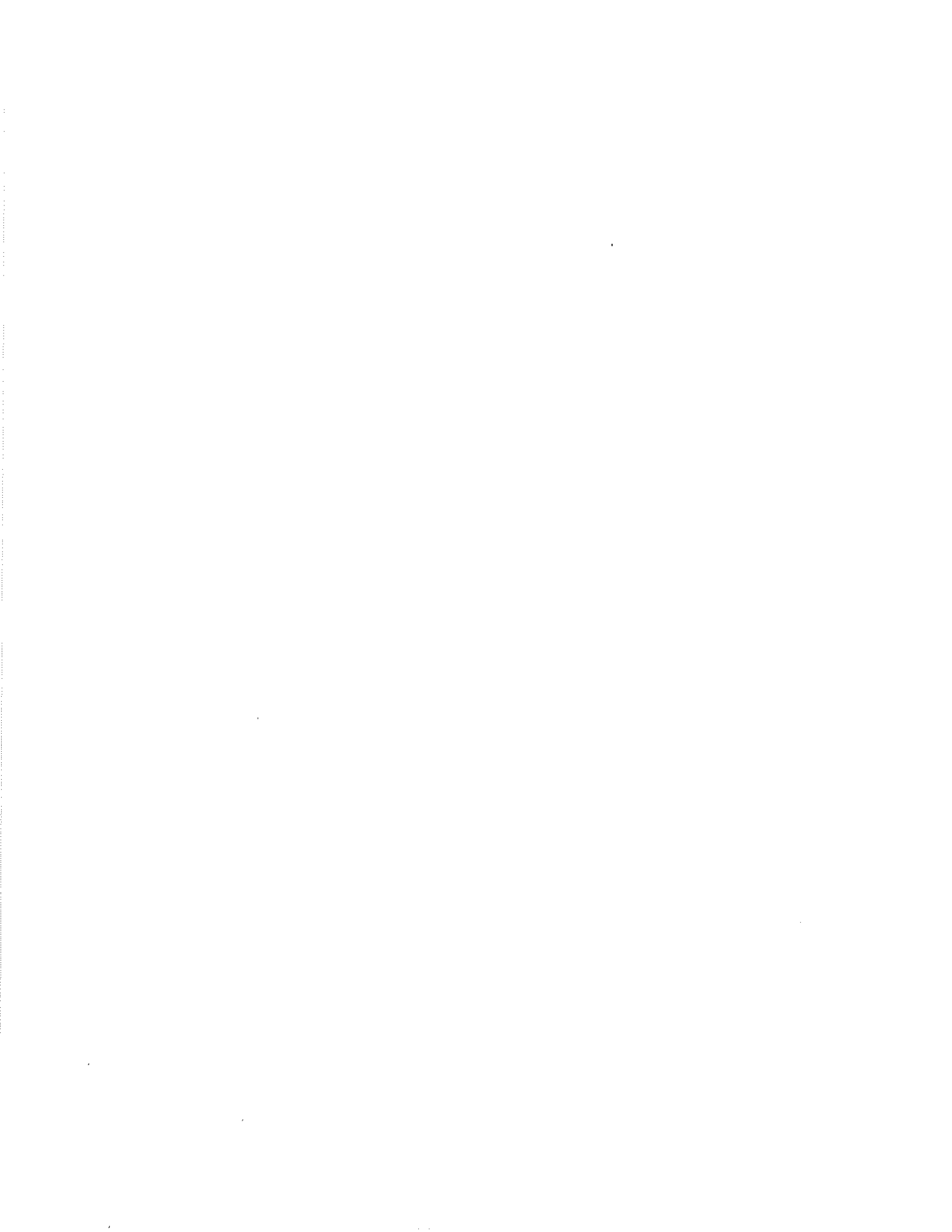
11. Replicating the results of *Child Care by Kith*, panel data also showed that the degree of social distance or inter-family closeness between mother and sitter is a balance that is associated with the duration of the arrangement; high initial closeness is associated with short durations while an increasing and subsequent closeness is an important contributor to an enduring arrangement. Also, going back a step in the process, cross-lagged correlations showed that satisfaction with the other woman's concern for the child contributed to inter-family closeness but not vice versa.

We asked "Who terminates the family day care arrangement and why?" The answer is: mostly the mothers and mostly for extrinsic reasons rather than dissatisfaction, yet analysis of the stability outcome suggests that

the social interaction between mother and caregiver can indeed be a source of dissatisfaction and disruption of the arrangement. Multiple regressions accounted for 55 percent of the variance of duration, 62 percent of sitter and 69 percent of mother dissatisfaction as a reason for termination, ignoring predictors that contributed less than 2 percent.

Required for a successful outcome seems to be an affiliative mode of adaptive behavior by both parties, with active attention by them to maintenance of the relationships involved. Retreatist behavior by one party leads to dissatisfaction by the other. In the positive direction, increasing satisfactions lead to increasing closeness between the two families, creating an additional bond that is associated with an enduring arrangement.

The dissatisfactions that are reasons for termination are distinctly different for mothers and sitters; critical for the mother is the adjustment of the child, critical for the sitter is her relationship to the mother, since she herself tends to be happy with the child unless the mother's discipline or other behavior is a matter of concern. Critical for both mother and caregiver alike is the other woman's concern for the child. Although mutual satisfaction characterizes most relationships, there is evidence also of mother satisfaction at the expense of sitter dissatisfaction, suggesting some sources of tension and instability that may be inherent in family day care. Perhaps such socially dissonant arrangements would be amenable to intervention were supportive services available or perhaps they would respond to greater general understanding of the interactional conditions that make for successful arrangements.



CHAPTER XII

CASE STUDIES

Introduction

This chapter presents a series of case studies. Each case presentation consists of two parts:

1. interview material about the way in which the arrangement was initiated, how it developed, and why it terminated;
2. a case profile consisting of:
 - a. mother demographic factor scores
 - b. sitter demographic factor scores
 - c. arrangement factor scores
 - d. typology classification of mother and sitter
 - e. adaptive orientation showing degree of retreatist behavior
 - f. mother attitude scales, raw scores, and standard scores at T_1 , T_2 and T_3 interviews
 - g. sitter attitude scales, raw scores, and standard scores at T_1 , T_2 and T_3 interviews
 - h. stability criteria: (i) factor scores on mothers' and sitter's dissatisfaction as reason for termination; (ii) number of weeks duration of the arrangement.

These case studies are not presented in the richness of clinical detail that might lead to full interpretations of the motivations and behaviors of the working mother and the caregiver. The case studies are designed to illustrate what the study is about. The case studies are intended:

- 1) To illustrate some of the more important measures used in the study. (For fuller discussion of the measures, the reader is referred back to Chapter III for the demographic factors, Chapter IV for the arrangement factors, Chapter VI for the typology classifications, Chapter VIII for the scales, and the distributions on them, and Chapter XI for the stability factors.) The case profile is designed to make it easy to see at a glance how typical or atypical a case is by inspection of the standard score. For example, a standard score of -1.1 means that the respondent scores a little more than 1 standard deviation below the mean for the sample on that scale (factor scores, of course, already come standardized with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1). The raw scores are also given (except on factors) so that one can see the absolute change in scale scores from beginning to end of the arrangement.
- 2) To illustrate key relationships that are the findings of the study. Although each case is an N of 1, nevertheless it may represent a relationship cited previously in the study such as that suggested by the correlation between initial satisfaction with the sitter's concern for child and subsequent inter-family closeness.

- 3) To provide evidence of the validity of the scales by showing their correspondence to interview judgments and interview data. The cases were not selected for presentation on the basis of scale scores, but on the basis that they represented the several types of arrangements anticipated by the typology. Thus the cases illustrate the fact that the diverse sources of data used in the study produced consistent results.
- 4) To reveal the variety of types of mothers, of sitters, and of arrangements found in the study. The typology was intended in a global way to distinguish arrangements that were importantly different in their social relationships. Methodologically, such a global typing of cases was useful as a conceptual framework, as a seat-of-the-pants characterization of arrangements as revealed by observation, experience, pilot studies, and clinical impressions. As an integrative working hypothesis, it guided a study that relied heavily on measurement and analysis of a great many variables.

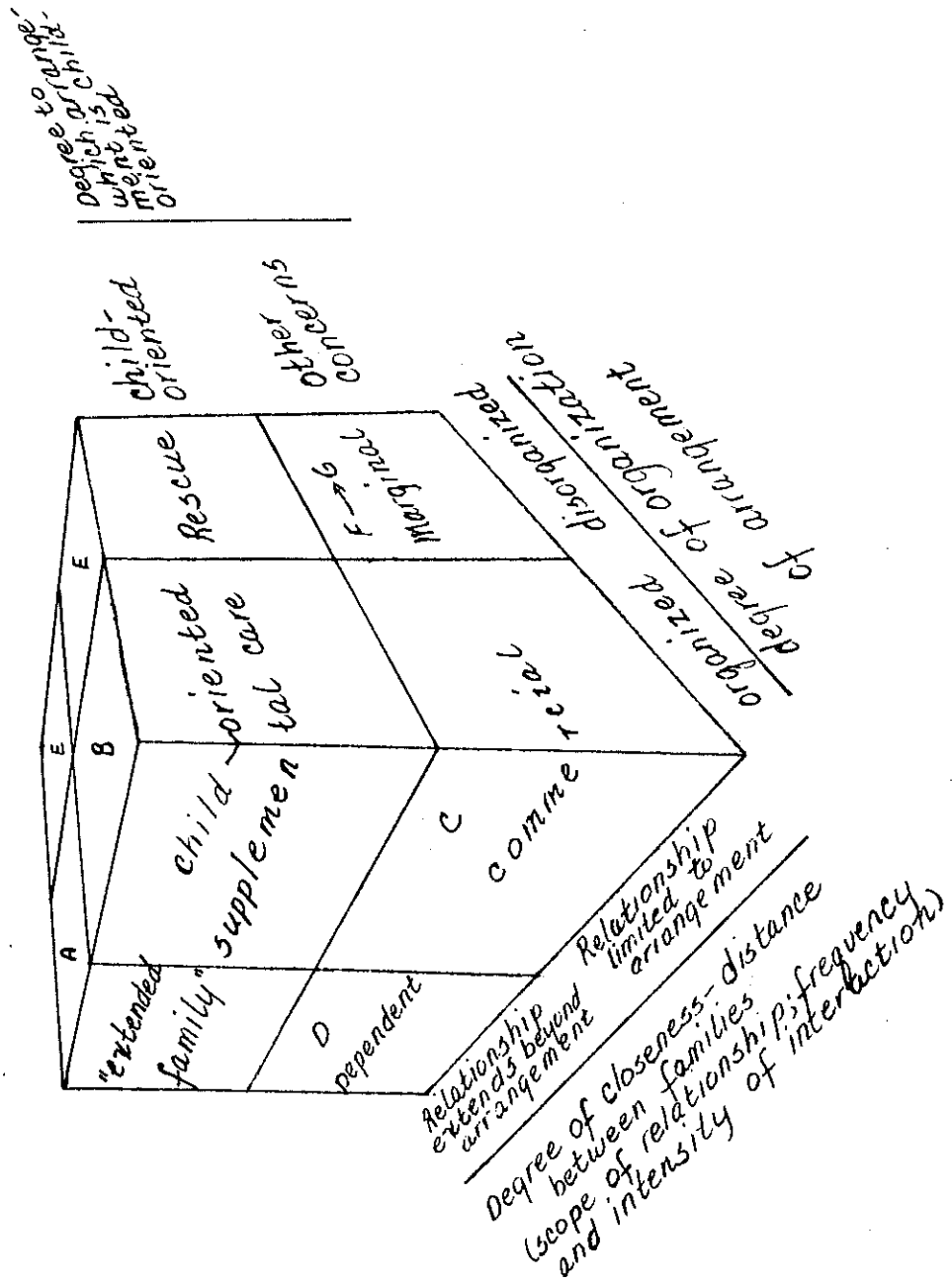
Developed early in the Field Study, the typology was modified on the basis of the first study reported in *Child Care by Kith*. A four-type typology with an implicit two-dimensional structure proved to be too parsimonious, failing to capture the one most frequent type encountered in the first study. It was a type that fell somewhere between types I – the extended family-like arrangement and II – the commercial arrangement, and became referred to during that study as the “high-type II’s.” This led to a redefinition of types for use in the longitudinal study, the “high-type II’s” becoming the type B of the present study.

The typology may be conceived as structured along three dimensions:

- a) *This dimension takes into account the social distance or friendship between the two families and it takes into account the scope and frequency of social interaction between the two families.* At one end are the arrangements between people who knew each other previously and consider themselves friends; their social relations extend to other areas of life than child care. At the other end of this dimension are the arrangements between strangers who, though they may develop friendly relations with one another, limit the scope of their relationship to the child care arrangement.
- b) *the degree to which the arrangement is child oriented.* This dimension involves the purpose of the arrangement and especially the warmth and motivations of the caregiver and attention to both the expressive and instrumental aspects of child care. At the other end of this dimension are arrangements in which child care became lost in a variety of other preoccupying concerns, such as mercenary attitudes or neurotic interpersonal involvements.
- c) *the degree of organization and planning regarding the arrangement.* The planfulness may be implicit and taken for granted as in Types A and D or explicitly articulated as in Types B and C. At the other end of this dimension are the chaotic arrangements, unplanned, poorly defined – a marginal situation for a child adrift between two worlds that are poorly integrated. These arrangements may be born of desperation and reflect the chaotic lives of the participants or may arise from overzealous caregiver concern for the child leading to a rescue operation in which a supplemental child care arrangement becomes too autonomous and usurps parental prerogatives.

The place of the types in the three-dimensional model is shown in Figure 12.1. In a way Type A might be thought of as the prototype of the family day care arrangement because of its analogy to the extended family. In turning beyond kinship resources, one usually turns first to friends or prior relationships. They represent an easy and useful way to introduce oneself to family day care. However, these relationships are less serviceable for the long haul; one soon turns to others when finding permanent child care. Experience in family day care teaches one that the benefits to be gained by not using relatives are also to be gained by not using friends.

Figure 12.1 The Typology in Three Dimensions



The benefits are those that accrue to the Type B arrangement which emerges as the dominant and most successful type of family day care arrangement. Not only is it the type that is found with greatest frequency, it is the type with the greatest potential for stability. It is an arrangement made between strangers; yet within the context of a contractual relationship, friendly relations emerge. Intended for the long haul, it is also well constructed to make the trip and is characterized by mutual satisfaction with the child's adjustment and with the other's concern for the child, with the mother's planfulness, and the mother's discipline among a reciprocity of balanced satisfactions. There may be a tinge of anxiety over sitter possessiveness but this is not allowed to get out of hand, and a variety of strains are considered part of the role.

The investigation of the typology, then, suggests a parsimonious theory of the stability of the family day care arrangement along the lines of the three dimensions of the typology. Stability may be said to arise from:

- 1) *an optimum degree of social distance.* Arrangements between friends may be of two kinds, those *started* between friends and those in which mother and sitter *become* friends. Only the latter have the requisite conditions for stability, while friends may only be used temporarily. The task of renegotiating a prior relationship from one of friendship or assumed friendship to one involving the exchange of money for services proves hazardous to the friendship and to the child care arrangement. On the other hand, a well-negotiated contractual relationship between strangers is consistent with friendly relations in which (Proposition No. 3) mutual satisfaction breeds a friendship that, in this context, becomes an additional bond of an enduring arrangement..
- 2) *an optimum maintenance effort by both parties to the arrangement,* that is an active, affiliative interpersonal approach as opposed to a retreatist failure to communicate or cope with problems that arise. Primarily the content of such communication will be about plans, the child's needs, illness, pleasant anecdotes, and a sharing of interest in the child. In emphasizing communication we are suggesting that the amount of communication be optimum; sufficient, but not too much, respecting the functions of ignorance that also may be necessary for successful diadic relationships. Retreatist behavior of one party to the arrangement leads to dissatisfaction of the other. A retreatist orientation is apt also to be associated with one's own dissatisfaction; it is the intervening variable in the satisfaction-dependence hypothesis according to which the feeling of dependence, necessity, compulsion, or duress results in making arrangements with which one will be dissatisfied; while under conditions of freedom of choice, one makes decisions with which one will be satisfied.
- 3) *a reciprocity of child-oriented concerns, behaviors, and satisfactions.* This must involve mutual satisfaction with the other's concern for the child. However, it also involves a reciprocity of diverse, dissimilar, and sometimes divergent satisfactions that, as stated in Proposition No. 2, perhaps are concealed from one another to some degree in the interpersonal situation. Some imbalance in satisfactions is consistent with instability; sitters tolerate more dissatisfaction without terminating the arrangement. Also, behind the reciprocity of diverse satisfactions lies a tolerance for wide variation in the social class characteristics of the other party, as noted in Chapter III. There appears to be a realistic acceptance of the complementary roles performed by the other party to the arrangement and little demand for similarity except in the other's child-oriented concern. (It should be pointed out that a definitive testing of similarity and complementarity theory as competing explanations of the matching process or of stability was not attempted.)

In Chapter VI, the evidence was presented that Type B is associated with mutual satisfaction of both mother and sitter and mutual satisfaction with duration of the arrangement. In Chapter XI, we also saw that these three dimensions are linked to one another in joint prediction of the stability criteria. Of course, the interviewer's typology judgment could not be expected to be an encompassing predictor of stable

arrangement; too much variation is associated with specific sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction and especially with extrinsic forces on which any arrangement is contingent, to say nothing about the unexplained sources of variation that we did not have the wit to measure. One kind of investigation that was not pursued successfully or fully was to explore the extent to which the different types showed different patterns of satisfaction, as we had expected they would. The results, as analyzed, support the view that the measures of sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction are relevant to all types and that the types do differ in degree of satisfaction on these measures. Ultimately a cluster analysis on a sufficiently large number of cases of each type would be required to test the typology satisfactorily. So far the typology appears to have been partially validated as an economical summary of the findings. And it did generate a fruitful set of explanatory hypotheses about the process by which stable family day care arrangements are made and maintained.

The Case Studies

The following case descriptions are disguised to protect the identities of respondents. All data shown in the case profiles, however, remain unchanged.

Arrangements Between Friends: The Type A Arrangement (and One Like Type D)

The following two cases illustrate arrangements between friends. In No. 24 a friendship was lost over the arrangement; in No. 5 dissatisfaction led to terminating the arrangement but the friendship was preserved. Both arrangements ended within eleven weeks.

No. 24 Friends who Lost Friendship. This was a 20 year old mother whose husband was in training, and her salary made up most of a \$6500 family income. They had one child — a toddler for whom they needed care five days a week from 7:30 to 4. They made an arrangement with an 18 year old friend whom the mother had known for several months. She liked having a sitter who was near her own age and the children already knew each other. Her sitter had a toddler of her own. Her husband was in his mid-twenties and earned a modest salary.

The child care arrangement was to last indefinitely but it was over in eleven weeks. From the sitter's point of view, problems developed about the mother's hours and lack of promptness in picking up the child, about getting along with the mother's over handling the child, and not being told when the child had a cold. She had no complaints about the child.

The mother was not retiring about her wishes, but was not successful in getting what she wanted. She liked aspects of the arrangement, especially companionship for the child who learned to share. However, by the T₂ interview, the mother's irritation was apparent over a number of issues: sitter won't change baby often enough or use bib she sent, sitter had moved farther away but it wasn't inconvenient yet, disputes over feeding instructions and too much conversation with mother's husband. One day sitter didn't feed him because she wasn't told what to feed him. Mother took back money saying, "You don't deserve this; and we won't be needing you any more."

The scales, consisting of respondent self-report data, were consistent with interview content in showing growing dissatisfaction from T₁ to T₂ and T₃. Mother's preference for an uninvolved, businesslike relationship (M Scale No. 16) reveals a striving toward social distance on the part of one whose arrangement grew out of a prior relationship. The degree of friendship or inter-family closeness, as perceived by both parties, dropped sharply after the T₁ interview.

PROFILE OF CASE # 24 friends who lost friendship

MOTHER DEMOGRAPHIC		SITTER DEMOGRAPHIC		ARRANGEMENT	
I Hi Family SES	.5	Low Residential SES	1.4	Hours of care	.3
II Change of Residence	-1.4	Late stage fam. devel.	-.7	Sch age arrang.	-.7
III M's low Ed & Occup	1.0	Economic stability	-.2	Pay	-.3
IV Early stage fam. devel.	.7	Stability residence	-2.4	Yng child, new work m.	.4
V. Low neighborhood SES	.5	Ed & occup SES	-.3	Full hse pre-sch.	-.7
VI Nice house; pre-sch fam.	-1.3	Nice house and neigh.	1.0	Age of mother:	20(-11)
VII M's hi earn & occup.	.1	Middle stage fam. devel.	.3	Age of sitter:	18(-13)

TYPOLOGY: mother: HDG, ADG, GCD sitter: DAB, DAB, CGD

ADAPTIVE ORIENTATION: mother: 19(.7) sitter: 14(1.1)

MOTHER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder scale
1. Satisfaction with sitter's concern for child
 3. Preference work role
 4. Economic need to work
 8. Dissatisfaction s's possessiveness
 11. Market disadvantages
 13. Dissatisfaction child's adjustment
 16. Preference for uninvolved, businesslike relationship
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
	10(.9)	6(-1.7)	0(-3.1)
	34(-.0)	21(-1.0)	20(-2.1)
	11(.8)	15(1.0)	8(.6)
	8(.5)	4(-.2)	8(.7)
	-6(.4)	-6(.3)	-6(.1)
	10(2.3)	-2(-.4)	6(1.8)
	0(.9)	0(.9)	-6(-.3)
	6(.9)	6(1.0)	6(.9)
	1(1.3)	-12(-.4)	-12(-.4)

SITTER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder
1. Satisfaction with mother's concern for child
 3. Economic need to babysit
 4. Expressive needs met by babysitting
 5. Satisfaction mother's discipline
 7. Dissat. mother's hours, demands, lack of planfulness
 10. Caring for this child is an emotional drain
 12. Role Strain
 14. Satisfaction child's adjustment
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
	10(.8)	9(.3)	8(.1)
	40(1.2)	24(-.1)	-8(-1.7)
	-11(-1.4)	-10(-1.1)	-10(-1.2)
	17(1.1)	12(.5)	8(.1)
	10(1.1)	-2(-1.0)	-10(-2.1)
	-19(-.3)	0(1.6)	11(1.8)
	-25(-.9)	-17(-.0)	-13(-.0)
	-10(-.8)	-10(-.7)	-6(-.5)
	13(.9)	15(1.4)	12(.8)
	15(2.4)	0(1.1)	-6(-.2)

STABILITY CRITERIA

Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination
Duration

Mother	Sitter
3.27	.31
<u>11(-.5) weeks</u>	

PROFILE OF CASE # 5 *friends who saved friendship*

MOTHER DEMOGRAPHIC	SITTER DEMOGRAPHIC	ARRANGEMENT
I Hi Family SES .8	Low Residential SES - 1.2	Hours of care .3
II Change of Residence -.5	Late stage fam. devel. -.5	Sch age arrang. .8
III M's low Ed & Occup 1.2	Economic stability -.1	Pay 1.5
IV Early stage fam. devel. -1.4	Stability residence -.8	Yng chld, new work m -1.4
V. Low neighborhood SES -1.4	Ed & occup SES .2	Full hse pre-sch. -1.4
VI Nice house; pre-sch fam. -.2	Nice house and neigh. .7	Age of mother: <u>26(.5)</u>
VII M's hi earn & occup. -.5	Middle stage fam. devel. .7	Age of sitter: <u>26(-.4)</u>

TYPOLOGY: mother: A, A, A sitter: A, A, A

ADAPTIVE ORIENTATION: mother: 1(-.9) sitter: 1(-.6)

MOTHER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder scale
1. Satisfaction with sitter's concern for child
 3. Preference work role
 4. Economic need to work
 8. Dissatisfaction s's possessiveness
 11. Market disadvantages
 13. Dissatisfaction child's adjustment
 16. Preference for uninvolved, businesslike relationship
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
	7(-.7)	7(-.1)	7(-.3)
	40(1.4)	40(.9)	30(1.1)
	8(.6)	12(.8)	5(.4)
	-16(-1.7)	-16(-1.5)	-12(-1.1)
	-6(-.5)	-6(-.3)	-8(-.8)
	3(1.0)	1(1.0)	4(1.4)
	-4(-.2)	0(.9)	0(.8)
	5(.6)	5(.7)	2(-.3)
	8(2.1)	5(1.6)	9(2.0)

SITTER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder
1. Satisfaction with mother's concern for child
 3. Economic need to babysit
 4. Expressive needs met by babysitting
 5. Satisfaction mother's discipline
 7. Dissat. mother's hours, demands, lack of planfulness
 10. Caring for this child is an emotional drain
 12. Role Strain
 14. Satisfaction child's adjustment
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
	10(.8)	10(.8)	10(.9)
	41(1.3)	42(1.3)	34(.8)
	-10(-1.2)	-11(-1.3)	-11(-1.4)
	11(.4)	15(.9)	5(-.3)
	4(-.1)	7(.5)	3(.1)
	-23(-.9)	-25(-1.1)	-27(-1.4)
	-21(-.9)	-27(-1.2)	0(1.1)
	-4(-.0)	-7(-.4)	-7(-.7)
	9(-.0)	8(-.2)	4(-.8)
	24(3.3)	24(3.6)	21(3.0)

STABILITY CRITERIA

Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination

Mother -.36 Sitter .79

Duration

10(-.6) weeks

No. 5 Friends who Saved Friendship. This arrangement involves a 26 year old mother and a sitter of the same age. Their husbands are both older by a few years. The sitter's children are a little older than the mother's which were 3 (a girl) and 6 (a boy). Sitter's husband makes \$8000 as a carpenter while mother's husband earns \$9000, and she makes half that much.

One year previously, mother and sitter had both worked at the same place, and their friendship led to this arrangement. Actually mother's husband approached sitter with the suggestion. She agreed and called to offer saying that she "knows what it's like to be a working mother and how important it is to have confidence in a sitter." There was no need to discuss physical care or disciplinary aspects of the arrangement because they knew each other so well and had similar standards of child rearing. Plans were indefinite as to how long the arrangement was to be.

By the time of the second interview, however, the sitter was beginning to feel some fatigue and did not plan to continue babysitting after this arrangement which she continued only to help her friend. At the same time the mother realized this arrangement "wasn't perfect" and began looking for another sitter, though she did not discuss this yet.

The arrangement was terminated at ten weeks by the sitter because she felt she could not handle the mother's 6 year old boy and it wasn't being fair to him. When she picked up the children, the mother noticed that the sitter had frequent headaches and asked if it was related to having the kids. Sitter admitted that it was, and mother suggested that the arrangement terminate. They had agreed before it began that if any problems arose they would end the arrangement. They could be open with each other, and communication remained good.

The mother felt at a disadvantage in the babysitting market; she found a new sitter but was not satisfied, and sitter meanwhile decided not to continue giving day care. Despite some growing dissatisfaction, the bonds of friendship were preserved, as shown by consistently extreme scores on the inter-family closeness scales.

From Strangers to Friends: The Type B Arrangement

Three cases illustrate the process by which comparative strangers make an arrangement, maintain the relationships, become increasingly satisfied, and are rewarded by a bonus of growing friendship. Two of these (Nos. 30 and 46) were the longest arrangements in the study; they were still going on after almost two years and the T₃ interviews were completed as if the arrangements had been terminated. The two differ sharply in socioeconomic circumstances, arrangement characteristics, and on whether or not sitter's possessiveness becomes an issue in a long-term family day care arrangement. The third case (No. 75) in this group also has the characteristics of stability although it terminated in 24 weeks for extrinsic reasons. All three cases represent the B and BC types initially, and the two long-term ones were typed A or BA by the time of the T₃ interview.

No. 46 Strangers to Friends No 1. This 24 year old mother and her husband both had a college education and together had an income of \$1100 per month. She was a secretary for an insurance company. They had one daughter 7 months old when this arrangement began. The sitter, 26, and her husband, 30, and a laborer, lived in the same neighborhood as the mother. Their family income was \$400 per month. They had three children of their own ranging in age from 3 to 8.

Sitter had one other day care child, a 4 year old boy. The mother answered the sitter's newspaper ad. They were strangers when the arrangement began. The sitter was sitting for extra money, she wanted a child to care for, and she had wanted a playmate for her own child. She had not considered taking a baby but later decided, "It's the best possible kind of arrangement." She felt the mother was easy to talk to and liked the quality of

PROFILE OF CASE # 46 *from strangers to friends #1*

MOTHER DEMOGRAPHIC		SITTER DEMOGRAPHIC		ARRANGEMENT	
I Hi Family SES	.7	Low Residential SES	.2	Hours of care	.8
II Change of Residence	-.6	Late stage fam. devel.	-.7	Sch age arrang.	.0
III M's low Ed & Occup.	-1.0	Economic stability	.2	Pay	-.3
IV Early stage fam. devel.	.6	Stability residence	-.3	Yng child, new work m	1.3
V. Low neighborhood SES	.6	Ed & occup SES	-1.0	Full hse pre-sch.	-.5
VI Nice house; pre-sch fam.	.7	Nice house and neigh.	.8	Age of mother: <u>24(-.1)</u>	
VII M's hi earn & occup.	.4	Middle stage fam. devel.	-.1	Age of sitter: <u>26(-.4)</u>	

TYPOLOGY: mother: BC, B, AB sitter: B, B, AB

ADAPTIVE ORIENTATION: mother: 0 (-1.0) sitter: 0 (-.7)

MOTHER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder scale
1. Satisfaction with sitter's concern for child
 3. Preference work role
 4. Economic need to work
 8. Dissatisfaction s's possessiveness
 11. Market disadvantages
 13. Dissatisfaction child's adjustment
 16. Preference for uninvolved, businesslike relationship
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
10	(.9)	10 (.9)	10 (.9)
44	(.6)	44 (.5)	55 (1.3)
-11	(.1)	0 (-.1)	13 (1.0)
-11	(.3)	-9 (-.9)	-7 (-.6)
-3	(2.1)	-6 (.3)	-8 (-.8)
-8	(-1.0)	-9 (-1.0)	-10 (-1.2)
-9	(-.8)	-10 (-1.0)	-15 (-1.8)
4	(.2)	2 (-.3)	-2 (-1.5)
-9	(.1)	-8 (.1)	10 (2.1)

SITTER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder
1. Satisfaction with mother's concern for child
 3. Economic need to babysit
 4. Expressive needs met by babysitting
 5. Satisfaction mother's discipline
 7. Dissat. mother's hours, demands, lack of planfulness
 10. Caring for this child is an emotional drain
 12. Role Strain
 14. Satisfaction child's adjustment
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
10	(.8)	10 (.8)	10 (.9)
39	(1.1)	41 (1.2)	42 (1.3)
-5	(-.3)	-2 (.3)	-3 (.1)
12	(.5)	15 (.9)	10 (.4)
10	(1.1)	10 (1.0)	11 (1.4)
-26	(-1.3)	-27 (-1.3)	-27 (-1.4)
-31	(-1.7)	-31 (-1.7)	-32 (-1.7)
-27	(-2.0)	-14 (-1.2)	-8 (-.8)
12	(.7)	15 (1.4)	15 (1.4)
-18	(-.9)	-15 (-.4)	-6 (-.2)

STABILITY CRITERIA

Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination Mother Sitter
-.70 -.63

Duration *49+ ongoing (3.7) weeks*

care the mother gave the child. The mother felt the baby would adapt to the sitter's household and that she and the sitter shared the same philosophy -- "When he's tired he sleeps, when he's hungry he eats." The mother was pleased that the "hours worked out so that we didn't interfere with the family when her husband is home."

At the second interview the sitter's other arrangement had ended, and she had no new children. She said, "I couldn't have it any better." She was pleased that she had the freedom to take the baby places with her. The mother found working sometimes tiresome but broadening. She liked family day care now, but when the child is older she thought she would like an "educational setting." She admitted that sometimes she was late picking up the child but this was because of her ride home from work. Talking to the sitter was easy.

At the end of the study the arrangement had lasted nearly two years and was still continuing. The sitter had one new day care child. The mother and sitter became casual friends and occasionally visited each other. The sitter felt the mother was very considerate, she gave the mother advice when she asked questions, they always discussed the child but details were no longer necessary. The mother felt that she and the sitter communicated well and had a mutual love for the day care child. The sitter cooperated in toilet training and weaning from a bottle and washed the diapers. "This wasn't necessary, but I think it's wonderful," the mother said. She was especially pleased with the way the sitter expressed herself since the child was learning to talk while at the sitter's. The mother said the child adjusted to other adults and other children, and this experience makes an only child more independent.

As revealed by the attitude scales, the sitter became increasingly satisfied with the child's adjustment, and sitter sustained a high degree of satisfaction with the mother's concern for child, for her discipline of the child, and for her consideration about hours, demands, and planfulness. The emotional drain of caring for this child was minimal, but there were other costs; she felt increasing strain from the competing requirements of family and sitter roles.

The mother also became increasingly satisfied with the child's adjustment and with the sitter's concern for the child. Initially, just after making this arrangement for her 7 month old baby, she had complaints about the sitter's possessiveness, but these feelings evaporated as time went on. By the end of the arrangement, the mother scored very high on the scale of inter-family closeness. This perception was somewhat one-sided, although from the sitter's view the relationship did steadily shift from social distance toward closeness.

No. 30 Strangers to Friends No. 2. This is an example of a young, inexperienced mother and an older, experienced sitter. The mother and her husband, both 19, lived in a small neat apartment with the 4 month old baby boy. Answering a newspaper ad, they made an arrangement with a sitter, 36, and her husband, 39, who had six children of their own ranging in age upwards from 10 years old, one of whom left home. Sitter's husband earned around \$400 per month. They lived in a modest older neighborhood. There was one other child in day care (age 2) and four other children were cared for irregularly.

The sitter named the price, \$3 a day + .50 a day to pick up and deliver the children, and the mother agreed. An indefinite time was planned for the arrangement. The mother was pleased with the sitter's standards of child rearing, that the child got love and attention, that he was dry and ate well. The mother was free from worry about her child and was glad there were other children at the sitter's.

At the time of the second interview the sitter stated she had terminated the other day care arrangement, and she expressed negative feelings only toward sitting in general because of the long hours. Her family was positive about her babysitting. Since the sitter picked up and delivered the child, she sometimes had trouble getting to the mother's house on time in the morning. The sitter said the mother is easy to talk to. At this

PROFILE OF CASE # 30 *from strangers to friends #2*

MOTHER DEMOGRAPHIC	SITTER DEMOGRAPHIC	ARRANGEMENT
I Hi Family SES <i>1.2</i>	Low Residential SES <i>.0</i>	Hours of care <i>.3</i>
II Change of Residence <i>.4</i>	Late stage fam. devel. <i>2.2</i>	Sch age arrang. <i>2.1</i>
III M's low Ed & Occup <i>.4</i>	Economic stability <i>-.3</i>	Pay <i>.1</i>
IV Early stage fam. devel. <i>1.2</i>	Stability residence <i>1.1</i>	Yng chld, new work m <i>1.0</i>
V. Low neighborhood SES <i>.2</i>	Ed & occup SES <i>.1</i>	Full hse pre-sch. <i>-1.5</i>
VI Nice house; pre-sch fam. <i>-2.7</i>	Nice house and neigh. <i>-.3</i>	
VII M's hi earn & occup. <i>.1</i>	Middle stage fam. devel. <i>1.5</i>	Age of mother: <i>19 (-1.4)</i>
		Age of sitter: <i>36 (.8)</i>

TYPOLOGY: mother: *BC, BC, BA* sitter: *CB, CB, BAE*

ADAPTIVE ORIENTATION: mother: *0 (-1.0)* sitter: *1 (-.6)*

MOTHER ATTITUDE SCALES

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
Ladder scale			
1. Satisfaction with sitter's concern for child	<i>9 (.4)</i>	<i>9 (.2)</i>	<i>10 (.9)</i>
3. Preference work role	<i>38 (.2)</i>	<i>53 (1.1)</i>	<i>53 (1.2)</i>
4. Economic need to work	<i>15 (1.1)</i>	<i>14 (1.0)</i>	<i>20 (1.5)</i>
8. Dissatisfaction s's possessiveness	<i>8 (.5)</i>	<i>-1 (-.3)</i>	<i>-8 (-.7)</i>
11. Market disadvantages	<i>-6 (.5)</i>	<i>-6 (.3)</i>	<i>1 (3.3)</i>
13. Dissatisfaction child's adjustment	<i>-6 (-.6)</i>	<i>-8 (-.8)</i>	<i>6 (1.8)</i>
16. Preference for uninvolved, businesslike relationship	<i>-1 (.7)</i>	<i>-8 (-.6)</i>	<i>-9 (-.8)</i>
17. Inter-family closeness	<i>2 (-.2)</i>	<i>6 (1.0)</i>	<i>3 (.0)</i>
	<i>-5 (.5)</i>	<i>-9 (-.0)</i>	<i>11 (2.2)</i>

SITTER ATTITUDE SCALES

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
Ladder			
1. Satisfaction with mother's concern for child	<i>7 (-.9)</i>	<i>9 (.3)</i>	<i>9 (.5)</i>
3. Economic need to babysit	<i>31 (.3)</i>	<i>32 (.5)</i>	<i>32 (.7)</i>
4. Expressive needs met by babysitting	<i>0 (.6)</i>	<i>-5 (-.2)</i>	<i>-8 (-.8)</i>
5. Satisfaction mother's discipline	<i>13 (.6)</i>	<i>19 (1.4)</i>	<i>17 (1.3)</i>
7. Dissat. mother's hours, demands, lack of planfulness	<i>5 (.1)</i>	<i>7 (.5)</i>	<i>4 (.3)</i>
10. Caring for this child is an emotional drain	<i>-21 (-.6)</i>	<i>-18 (-.3)</i>	<i>-21 (-.9)</i>
12. Role Strain	<i>-21 (-.3)</i>	<i>-17 (-.0)</i>	<i>-14 (-.1)</i>
14. Satisfaction child's adjustment	<i>7 (1.4)</i>	<i>3 (.8)</i>	<i>4 (.6)</i>
17. Inter-family closeness	<i>13 (.9)</i>	<i>10 (.2)</i>	<i>11 (.6)</i>
	<i>-20 (-1.1)</i>	<i>-12 (-.1)</i>	<i>-5 (.4)</i>

STABILITY CRITERIA

	Mother	Sitter
Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination	<i>-.51</i>	<i>-.95</i>

Duration *99+ ongoing (3.72) weeks*

interview the mother was very satisfied, saying it was "a good arrangement," "her child was in good hands" and she never worried. She would prefer to have her child in a center when he is older or someone in her own home to care for the child now but is satisfied with family day care.

The arrangement was still going at the time the study ended. The sitter had four new day care children for a total of ten children in care, five during the day and five during the swing shift. The mother had moved and had a new job, and the arrangement still continued. The sitter said that the mother was very considerate, she listened to the sitter, and the child was more fun as he grew older. The mother said, "The sitter spoiled the child but I would much rather have this than neglect." The mother said she could learn from the sitter and took child-rearing advice from her. The sitter's husband didn't want her to discipline the child because he was too attached to him. The sitter ranked the arrangement 9 on the ladder scale; "four parents do not equal a perfect 10 because conflicting views occur with two parents but with four this is even more so. We must be mature enough to come up with the best solutions." The mother ranked it a 10; "I got to know the sitter better."

The closeness between these two families grew; the husbands became friends and the sitter's son dated the mother's sister. The families saw each other at times unrelated to child care.

Scale data show that the mother's increased satisfaction with the sitter's concern for the child and with the child's adjustment, which occurred early in the arrangement between the T₁ and T₂ interviews, was accompanied by preference for an uninvolved businesslike relationship, yet was followed ultimately by increased closeness between the two families. Conforming cues from the interview, the scale scores for mother's dissatisfaction with sitter's possessiveness became extremely high relative to other family day care arrangements, although it should be pointed out that in absolute terms the level of dissatisfaction appears to be quite low. Possessiveness never did emerge as a serious bone of contention in family day care and to the extent that it did become relatively important it appeared to reflect the kind of ambivalence engendered in a young and inexperienced mother who becomes dependent on an older and more experienced caregiver.

No. 75 Strangers to Friends No. 3. Similar trends are found in this case which is mentioned briefly only to show that the process can take place in less time. A response to a newspaper ad, this arrangement also began between stranger; was marked by increasing satisfaction that was mutual and by mother and sitter becoming friends. The arrangement terminated after 24 weeks for purely extrinsic reasons when the child's grandmother was visiting perhaps permanently.

The mother, 22, divorced and working for the telephone company, had a 2 year old girl. Her sitter had two children ages 2 and 4. Babysitting brought the caregiver \$900 a year. The mother described the sitter's as a homelike atmosphere where her child gets "tender loving care," the children play well, and the sitter's husband enjoyed the children. The sitter was willing to give the little girl breakfast when the mother overslept and also kept her at nights occasionally, for which the mother paid extra. During the arrangement the mother moved in order to be closer to the sitter.

Cash and Carry: The Commercial Type C Arrangement

Most of the arrangements studied were relatively child-oriented, as assessed by the interviewers as well as by the mothers and sitters themselves in their responses to scale items. Some, however, had a predominantly commercial flavor in which the interests of the child were lost in other concerns. Case No. 109 was extreme in this respect.

No. 109. Described by the interviewer at the beginning of this arrangement as shy, submissive, burdened, and depressed, this 22 year old sales clerk and divorced mother of one child, a toddler, lived with another

PROFILE OF CASE # 75 *from strangers to friends #3*

MOTHER DEMOGRAPHIC		SITTER DEMOGRAPHIC		ARRANGEMENT	
I Hi Family SES	-.5	Low Residential SES	-.5	Hours of care	1.2
II Change of Residence	.8	Late stage fam. devel.	-.4	Sch age arrang.	-.7
III M's low Ed & Occup	-.3	Economic stability	-.5	Pay	-.6
IV Early stage fam. devel.	.3	Stability residence	-2.4	Yng chld, new work m	-.6
V. Low neighborhood SES	-.3	Ed & occup SES	-.1	Full hse pre-sch.	-.3
VI Nice house; pre-sch fam.	-.4	Nice house and neigh.	.4	Age of mother:	22(-.6)
VII M's hi earn & occup.	.4	Middle stage fam. devel.	.2	Age of sitter:	24(-.6)

TYPOLOGY: mother: BC, B, ABC sitter: BC, B, CBA

ADAPTIVE ORIENTATION: mother: 0(-1.0) sitter: 1(-.6)

MOTHER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder scale
1. Satisfaction with sitter's concern for child
 3. Preference work role
 4. Economic need to work
 8. Dissatisfaction s's possessiveness
 11. Market disadvantages
 13. Dissatisfaction child's adjustment
 16. Preference for uninvolved, businesslike relationship
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
1	9 (1.4)	9 (1.2)	10 (1.9)
3	35 (1.0)	40 (1.3)	46 (1.9)
4	-17 (-1.3)	-15 (-1.3)	-6 (-.5)
8	18 (1.5)	14 (1.0)	17 (1.6)
11	-5 (1.0)	-5 (1.8)	-2 (2.0)
13	-4 (-.3)	0 (.8)	-10 (-1.2)
16	-6 (-.2)	-5 (-.1)	-14 (-1.7)
17	3 (-.1)	4 (1.4)	-1 (-1.2)
	-18 (-1.1)	-14 (-1.6)	-7 (-.2)

SITTER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder
1. Satisfaction with mother's concern for child
 3. Economic need to babysit
 4. Expressive needs met by babysitting
 5. Satisfaction mother's discipline
 7. Dissat. mother's hours, demands, lack of planfulness
 10. Caring for this child is an emotional drain
 12. Role Strain
 14. Satisfaction child's adjustment
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
1	9 (1.2)	9 (1.3)	10 (1.9)
3	26 (-.2)	30 (.3)	34 (.8)
4	0 (1.6)	10 (2.4)	4 (1.5)
5	6 (-.3)	5 (-.4)	-3 (-1.3)
7	2 (-.5)	-3 (-1.1)	-2 (-.7)
10	-16 (1.1)	-15 (-.0)	-21 (-.9)
12	-13 (1.8)	-18 (-.2)	-14 (-1.6)
14	0 (1.5)	-6 (-.3)	5 (1.7)
17	11 (1.4)	10 (1.2)	12 (1.8)
	-9 (1.1)	-10 (1.1)	11 (2.0)

STABILITY CRITERIA

	Mother	Sitter
Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination	-.67	-.73
Duration	<u>24 (1.12) weeks</u>	

older woman who also worked. Her sitter lived next door, though they were unacquainted until the mother responded to the sitter's ad. The sitter, 24, was new to the role, but was taking an unusually large number of day care children — four other children under 6 years of age. She kept an immaculate home and restricted the day care children to the basement and yard. Defensive about discussing money, she charged \$15 a week for this child, plus \$2 extra for food, and earned \$55 weekly, bringing her family income to almost \$7,000.

Initially cool and wary, the sitter was difficult to approach and was reluctant to make an appointment that would disturb her soap operas. Sitter was seen as self-centered and as having a very impersonal attitude towards the day care children. Already by the time of the T₁ interview, the mother started wondering if the sitter had any personal interest in children, though she was impressed with sitter's cleanliness. At T₂, sitter reported negatively about the child. "Don't like that child, not friendly, anti-social, not pretty, looks stupid."

Too inassertive to tell her real reasons, mother planned to end arrangement by telling sitter she was moving. Mother had many complaints: "Didn't watch child closely enough," diaper rash, and too many other day care children — "Thought there'd be one and there were 7." Mother's in-laws who picked up the child didn't like the sitter and convinced mother that she should quit.

Subsequently the mother moved to a new and more attractive living situation where the woman with whom she and her daughter boarded also took care of her daughter. No longer depressed, even happy and vivacious, mother was pleased with her new sitter who was warm and motherly. She seemed to have learned a great deal from the unsatisfactory arrangement she had made. She spoke of discussing "values first," asking for and giving references, and finding out about the person.

The sitter became less wary by the T₃ interview; did not refuse to be taped as previously. Still defensive, she appeared more as insecure and even as reaching out for friendship. She was continuing to do babysitting.

Scale scores show this sitter as having a high economic need to babysit, and as highly dissatisfied on almost every scale: feeling of emotional drain, the child's adjustment, mother's discipline, and others. Dissatisfaction, both mother's and sitter's, was a reason for termination of this arrangement which lasted 7 weeks.

Resistance to Help; the Rescue that Failed: The Type E Arrangement

No. 21. This case illustrates a mother's rejection of caregiver efforts to help a child who needed attention. This young mother made an arrangement for her only child, an 18 month old boy, with an experienced, 28 year old sitter who had four children of her own. The mother answered the sitter's newspaper ad; they began as strangers. The sitter was giving care for extra money and to have a playmate for her youngest. "The (mother's) child is younger than I wanted, but it has worked out well." She would "treat him like one of mine." She really didn't need the money she said; she wants "to make sure some working mother doesn't get poor babysitters." She feels she could help children who need good care and training. She felt that the mother was very young and avoided discipline, but was easy to talk to.

Then the sitter discovered that the child was deaf; he did not talk the way other children his age did, responding only to gestures. But "the mother didn't seem to pay any attention to anything I told her about the child." The sitter also felt she was becoming too attached to the child and the child to her, which was the reason she gave the mother for terminating after 25 weeks, though she also said she ended the arrangement because of her busy summer schedule. She felt that the boy needed professional help, yet she had to tell the mother about the problem and when to take him to a doctor. She also was bothered to find out that the mother wasn't paying more attention to the child during periods of unemployment.

PROFILE OF CASE # 109 Cash and Carry Commercialism

MOTHER DEMOGRAPHIC

SITTER DEMOGRAPHIC

ARRANGEMENT

I Hi Family SES	-1.8	Low Residential SES	.1	Hours of care	.5
II Change of Residence	.9	Late stage fam. devel.	-.4	Sch age arrang.	-.7
III M's low Ed & Occup	-1.2	Economic stability	.2	Pay	-.7
IV Early stage fam. devel.	.1	Stability residence	-.5	Yng chld, new work m	-.8
V. Low neighborhood SES	.7	Ed & occup SES	-.4	Full hse pre-sch.	1.3
VI Nice house; pre-sch fam.	.9	Nice house and neigh.	.5		
VII M's hi earn & occup.	-.1	Middle stage fam. devel.	-1.1	Age of mother:	22 (-.6)
				Age of sitter:	24 (-.6)

TYPOLOGY: mother: CF, CG, C sitter: C, C, CG

ADAPTIVE ORIENTATION: mother: 6 (-.5) sitter: 20 (1.9)

MOTHER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder scale
- Satisfaction with sitter's concern for child
 - Preference work role
 - Economic need to work
 - Dissatisfaction s's possessiveness
 - Market disadvantages
 - Dissatisfaction child's adjustment
 - Preference for uninvolved, businesslike relationship
 - Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
	7 (-.7)		4 (-1.5)
	25 (-.6)	←	-12 (-1.8)
	-18 (-1.4)		-13 (-1.0)
	18 (1.5)	→	15 (1.4)
	-7 (-.1)		-7 (-.4)
	-2 (.1)		-2 (1.3)
	6 (2.1)	→	4 (1.5)
	4 (.2)	→	-2 (-1.5)
	-11 (-.2)	→	-17 (-.9)

SITTER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder
- Satisfaction with mother's concern for child
 - Economic need to babysit
 - Expressive needs met by babysitting
 - Satisfaction mother's discipline
 - Dissat. mother's hours, demands, lack of planfulness
 - Caring for this child is an emotional drain
 - Role Strain
 - Satisfaction child's adjustment
 - Inter-family closeness

8 (-.3)	6 (-1.4)	3 (-1.8)
21 (-.7)	6 (-2.5)	4 (-1.0)
10 (2.5)	6 (1.7)	8 (2.2)
9 (.1)	7 (-.1)	2 (.7)
-13 (-3.4)	14 (2.0)	-13 (-2.4)
-9 (1.0)	2 (1.8)	2 (1.1)
-8 (1.5)	6 (2.7)	18 (2.7)
10 (1.7)	2 (.7)	8 (1.1)
3 (-1.4)	-5 (-3.0)	-7 (-2.9)
-24 (-1.4)	-17 (-.6)	-19 (-1.1)

STABILITY CRITERIA

Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination

Mother 2.0 Sitter 1.1

Duration

7 (-.7) weeks

PROFILE OF CASE # 21 Resistance to Help; the Rescue that Failed

MOTHER DEMOGRAPHIC		SITTER DEMOGRAPHIC		ARRANGEMENT	
I Hi Family SES	- .8	Low Residential SES	- 1.0	Hours of care	- .1
II Change of Residence	.7	Late stage fam. devel.	- .5	Sch age arrang.	- .4
III M's low Ed & Occup	.2	Economic stability	- .2	Pay	- .02
IV Early stage fam. devel.	.3	Stability residence	- 1.3	Yng child, new work m	.3
V. Low neighborhood SES	1.4	Ed & occup SES	- .4	Full hse pre-sch.	- .8
VI Nice house; pre-sch fam.	- 1.7	Nice house and neigh.	.2	Age of mother:	<u>20 (-1.1)</u>
VII M's hi earn & occup.	- .4	Middle stage fam. devel.	.5	Age of sitter:	<u>28 (-1)</u>

TYPOLGY: mother: BC, B, C6 sitter: CB, B, BCE

ADAPTIVE ORIENTATION: mother: 21 (.8) sitter: 5 (-.0)

MOTHER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder scale
1. Satisfaction with sitter's concern for child
 3. Preference work role
 4. Economic need to work
 8. Dissatisfaction s's possessiveness
 11. Market disadvantages
 13. Dissatisfaction child's adjustment
 16. Preference for uninvolved, businesslike relationship
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
	10 (.9)	10 (.9)	10 (.9)
	59 (1.7)	56 (1.3)	47 (.9)
	-23 (-1.8)	-17 (-1.5)	-25 (-1.9)
	17 (1.4)	18 (1.4)	18 (1.6)
	-9 (-1.2)	-9 (-1.4)	0 (2.9)
	-5 (-.4)	-5 (-.2)	3 (1.2)
	-1 (-.7)	9 (2.5)	6 (1.9)
	2 (-.5)	3 (.1)	2 (-.3)
	-16 (-.8)	-10 (-.2)	-21 (-1.4)

SITTER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder
1. Satisfaction with mother's concern for child
 3. Economic need to babysit
 4. Expressive needs met by babysitting
 5. Satisfaction mother's discipline
 7. Dissat. mother's hours, demands, lack of planfulness
 10. Caring for this child is an emotional drain
 12. Role Strain
 14. Satisfaction child's adjustment
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
	10 (.8)	10 (.8)	10 (.9)
	24 (-.4)	16 (-.8)	-12 (-1.9)
	-4 (-.1)	-4 (-.1)	-8 (-.8)
	6 (1.3)	3 (-.6)	4 (-.4)
	6 (1.3)	1 (-.5)	0 (-.4)
	-23 (-.9)	-13 (-.2)	-6 (-.4)
	-19 (-.0)	-10 (-.8)	-6 (-.6)
	-15 (-1.4)	-9 (-.6)	-4 (-.3)
	7 (1.5)	7 (-.4)	2 (-.2)
	-10 (-.1)	-9 (-.2)	-10 (-.2)

STABILITY CRITERIA

Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination

Mother: - .6 Sitter: 1.7

Duration

25 (.2) weeks

The scales show that both women rated the arrangement high; the sitter “because I liked the child so much,” and the mother because she liked the relationship between sitter and child. Yet the mother’s retreatist behavior led to sitter dissatisfaction with mother’s concern for child. The mother herself came to score high on complaints about sitter possessiveness, and mother’s perception of the friendship cooled, too.

Chaotic Life – Chaotic Arrangement: The Arrangement Goes from F to G

No. 85. This is the case of a mother whose desperation and chaotic life led her to make one unsatisfactory arrangement after another. “I have had about a thousand babysitters. It seems like that many. I’d say at least fifty. I’m not kidding.” Despite high economic need to work and feeling disadvantaged in the babysitting market, this mother reported high satisfaction. She is an example of those mothers who find it especially difficult to find day care (market disadvantage) and who take any arrangement they can find. One child had problems that contributed to these feelings; the young mother had a 2 year old with a chronic congenital illness in addition to a 5 year old boy.

But the mother also was described by the interviewer as approaching things in a retreatist manner, avoiding problems or decisions. She seemed overwhelmed by life. The house was a mess. Harassed, tired, and depressed, she appeared bored by the interviews, hit the children without results, and spoke rejectingly to and in front of the children: “Drop dead,” “wish I could get rid of you,” “I wanted to have him live with my sister, but my brother-in-law couldn’t stand to have him,” “would love to kill you.”

She picked a young inexperienced sitter who had no children, which is atypical. She never had had experience raising children of her own. The sitter said she was not sitting for the money since her husband made enough, but she wanted companionship, she wanted to help others, and she liked children. She also wanted her husband to get used to having children around before they had any of their own.

The mother answered the sitter’s newspaper ad. The sitter said she agreed to the arrangement because the mother “sounded desperate.” They agreed on the sitter’s price of \$5 a day although the mother was not happy with this amount.

Despite a bored, indefinite quality, the mother was very happy with the sitter who “likes children,” had planned activities, and made the children mind, which she could not do herself. The mother hardly ever expressed dissatisfaction except for a complaint that the younger child did not get toilet trained as she had expected, and a feeling that the child was wild at home because he got too much freedom at the sitter’s.

For the sitter it was another matter. She was dissatisfied with the mother in many ways; her late hours, “wishy-washy discipline,” care of the children, and her uncommunicative attitude despite talking so much about her job. “She has no respect for herself, so as a result the children have no respect for her.” The sitter told the mother about the younger one’s hyperactivity; the mother took the child to a doctor, and tranquilizers were prescribed.

The strain got progressively worse, and the arrangement was terminated after 16 weeks by the sitter who was pregnant. She said this made it possible to end it without telling the mother how much she disliked the whole arrangement. She was “going out of her mind” and “wanted to keep her sanity.” Also her husband urged her to stop babysitting these children. Sitter thought that her complaints were getting petty, but that everything began to annoy her; she would dread the arrival of the children. However, she couldn’t terminate the arrangement until she had a good excuse – pregnancy.

PROFILE OF CASE # 85 Chaotic Life -- Chaotic Arrangement

MOTHER DEMOGRAPHIC		SITTER DEMOGRAPHIC		ARRANGEMENT	
I Hi Family SES	.5	Low Residential SES	-.8	Hours of care	-.6
II Change of Residence	.6	Late stage fam. devel.	-.2	Sch age arrang.	-1.6
III M's low Ed & Occup	.8	Economic stability	.9	Pay	.9
IV Early stage fam. devel.	-.2	Stability residence	-.6	Yng child, new work m	.1
V. Low neighborhood SES	1.1	Ed & occup SES	-.8	Full hse pre-sch.	-.03
VI Nice house; pre-sch fam.	.4	Nice house and neigh.	-1.2	Age of mother: 22(-.6)	
VII M's hi earn & occup.	-.3	Middle stage fam. devel.	-.3	Age of sitter: 22(-.8)	

TYPOLOGY: mother: F, G, G sitter: BC, C, CB

ADAPTIVE ORIENTATION: mother: 39(2.4) sitter: 2(-.4)

MOTHER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder scale
1. Satisfaction with sitter's concern for child
 3. Preference work role
 4. Economic need to work
 8. Dissatisfaction s's possessiveness
 11. Market disadvantages
 13. Dissatisfaction child's adjustment
 16. Preference for uninvolved, businesslike relationship
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
	10 (.9)	10 (.9)	08 (.1)
	37 (.2)	34 (-.2)	30 (.1)
	10 (.8)	-1 (-.2)	1 (.0)
	15 (1.2)	13 (.0)	15 (1.4)
	-6 (-.5)	-6 (-.3)	-9 (-.3)
	8 (2.0)	3 (1.4)	-1 (-.5)
	-10 (-1.0)	-9 (-.8)	-9 (-.8)
	-4 (-2.6)	3 (.1)	-2 (-1.5)
	-16 (-.8)	-16 (-.9)	-22 (-1.3)

SITTER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder
1. Satisfaction with mother's concern for child
 3. Economic need to babysit
 4. Expressive needs met by babysitting
 5. Satisfaction mother's discipline
 7. Dissat. mother's hours, demands, lack of planfulness
 10. Caring for this child is an emotional drain
 12. Role Strain
 14. Satisfaction child's adjustment
 17. Inter-family closeness

	6 (-1.5)	3 (-3.1)	2 (-2.2)
	2 (-2.6)	-33 (-4.7)	-29 (-2.9)
	-4 (-.1)	-4 (-.1)	-3 (-.1)
	17 (1.1)	13 (.7)	4 (-.4)
	-5 (-1.9)	-15 (-3.1)	-10 (-2.0)
	4 (2.8)	17 (3.5)	23 (2.8)
	0 (2.6)	3 (2.4)	26 (3.4)
	5 (1.1)	13 (2.0)	6 (.9)
	-1 (-2.3)	3 (1.3)	1 (-1.3)
	-11 (-.2)	-21 (-1.1)	-16 (-.8)

STABILITY CRITERIA

Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination

Mother: -.1 Sitter: 2.4

Duration

16 (-.3) weeks

The response data from the scales show the mother's high satisfaction despite her retreatist orientation, feeling of disadvantage in the babysitting market, and high economic need to work. The mother's retreatist behavior, however, is associated with a very dissatisfied sitter.

More on Retreatist Behavior and the Protective Role

The following two cases further illustrate the problems of exercising a protective role in the mother-sitter relationship. One case shows a mother worried about the sitter's care, while the other case shows a sitter seriously concerned about neglect and abuse by the mother. A retreatist approach in both instances interfered with appropriate action being taken.

No. 107 Toddler Injured; Parents Uncertain. This case illustrates the uncertainty that parents experience when their child receives injuries at the sitter's home and the difficulty they have in trying to assess whether a caregiver will be careless.

Because the arrangement lasted only three weeks the second and termination interviews were the same. The arrangement ended because the child, a toddler, broke her arm at the sitter's. The child stayed all night at the sitter's because of poor weather, and she fell from a bunk bed when the sitter's children were making their beds. The sitter wasn't in the room and did not know the arm was broken although she knew the child fell. The child's arm was swollen and bruised but the sitter hadn't looked under the child's clothing and was not aware. When the child's father picked up the child that morning the sitter told him that the child fell. After the child returned home the parents noticed that there was pain and noticed the bruise and swelling. The child spent two days in the hospital, and the mother quit work to stay home with the girl.

The sitter did not like the responsibility of caring for this child; she said that the day care child was clumsy and got hurt a lot. The mother "admitted" the child was "clumsy" but was still concerned that she got so many bruises there. She felt the sitter should have notified them sooner.

Nevertheless, both the mother and the sitter rated the arrangement at the top of the ladder scale at termination, both stating that the other was easy to talk to, though the mother admitted that she would check a sitter out more closely next time. This arrangement ended within three weeks, but the mother's dissatisfaction was recorded early, before the injury occurred that precipitated termination. Both mother and sitter scored high on retreatist behavior.

No. 86 Mother Abuses Child; Sitter Helpless. This case illustrates the helplessness and dissatisfaction of a caregiver faced with evidence of child abuse and exploitive behavior by the mother. The mother, 23, divorced and working as a bookkeeper, had one child, a 2 year old girl. Her sitter, 30, also divorced, had four children of school age and took three other day care children, one of whom came after school. She reported a total monthly income of \$350. Her home was in poor repair. The sitter needed money badly and ran a newspaper ad which the mother answered; they were strangers to one another when the arrangement began.

The mother, characterized as retreatist by the interviewer, reported having had 20 or 30 previous arrangements, and in the present case she made an arrangement with which she was immediately dissatisfied.

At the second interview, the sitter had complaints. The mother was late picking up the child, didn't call if she would be late, and often the mother's roommate or boyfriend would leave the child in the morning. On the other hand, the mother became happier about the sitter. She trusted the sitter's discipline, found the sitter easy going and calm, and her child liked the sitter.

PROFILE OF CASE # 107 Toddler Injured; Parents Uncertain

MOTHER DEMOGRAPHIC	SITTER DEMOGRAPHIC	ARRANGEMENT
I Hi Family SES .6	Low Residential SES -1.4	Hours of care .2
II Change of Residence 1.1	Late stage fam. devel. -.4	Sch age arrang. .5
III M's low Ed & Occup .6	Economic stability .5	Pay .2
IV Early stage fam. devel. .6	Stability residence -.2	Yng child, new work m. .9
V. Low neighborhood SES -1.3	Ed & occup SES -1.1	Full hse pre-sch. -.7
VI Nice house; pre-sch fam. -.8	Nice house and neigh. .1	Age of mother: <u>29 (-3)</u>
VII M's hi earn & occup. .2	Middle stage fam. devel. 1.1	Age of sitter: <u>28 (-1)</u>

TYPOLOGY: mother: B C, C sitter: CB, C

ADAPTIVE ORIENTATION: mother: 40 (2.5) sitter: 20 (1.9)

MOTHER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder scale
1. Satisfaction with sitter's concern for child
 3. Preference work role
 4. Economic need to work
 8. Dissatisfaction s's possessiveness
 11. Market disadvantages
 13. Dissatisfaction child's adjustment
 16. Preference for uninvolved, businesslike relationship
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
	10 (.9)		10 (.9)
	40 (.4)		32 (.2)
	-4 (-.3)		-9 (-.7)
	-7 (-.9)		-12 (-1.1)
	-9 (-1.2)		-6 (-.1)
	7 (1.8)		2 (1.1)
	1 (1.1)		4 (1.5)
	4 (.2)		4 (.3)
	-16 (-1.8)		-16 (-1.8)

SITTER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder
1. Satisfaction with mother's concern for child
 3. Economic need to babysit
 4. Expressive needs met by babysitting
 5. Satisfaction mother's discipline
 7. Dissat. mother's hours, demands, lack of planfulness
 10. Caring for this child is an emotional drain
 12. Role Strain
 14. Satisfaction child's adjustment
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
	10 (.8)		10 (.9)
	38 (1.0)		36 (1.0)
	-11 (-1.4)		-12 (-1.6)
	20 (1.5)		20 (1.6)
	4 (-.1)		6 (.6)
	-22 (-.8)		-26 (-1.3)
	-25 (-.9)		-28 (-1.3)
	-16 (-.5)		-21 (-2.3)
	14 (1.1)		14 (1.2)
	-10 (-.1)		-16 (-.8)

STABILITY CRITERIA

Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination

Mother .2 Sitter .4

Duration

3 (-.9) weeks

PROFILE OF CASE # 86 Mother Abuse Child, Sitter Helpless

MOTHER DEMOGRAPHIC		SITTER DEMOGRAPHIC		ARRANGEMENT	
I Hi Family SES	- 1.8	Low Residential SES	- 1.8	Hours of care	.2
II Change of Residence	.9	Late stage fam. devel.	-.2	Sch age arrang.	1.2
III M's low Ed & Occup	.1	Economic stability	- 3.3	Pay	.1
IV Early stage fam. devel.	.6	Stability residence	1.1	Yng chld, new work m	-.2
V. Low neighborhood SES	-.3	Ed & occup SES	- 1.5	Full hse pre-sch.	.0
VI Nice house; pre-sch fam.	-.3	Nice house and neigh.	.3	Age of mother: <u>23 (-3)</u>	
VII M's hi earn & occup.	1.1	Middle stage fam. devel.	2.0	Age of sitter: <u>30 (1)</u>	

TYPOLOGY: mother: FC,CG,G sitter: CF,CG,C

ADAPTIVE ORIENTATION: mother: 30(1.6) sitter: 8(.4)

MOTHER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder scale
1. Satisfaction with sitter's concern for child
 3. Preference work role
 4. Economic need to work
 8. Dissatisfaction s's possessiveness
 11. Market disadvantages
 13. Dissatisfaction child's adjustment
 16. Preference for uninvolved, businesslike relationship
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
	5 (-1.8)	8 (-.4)	8 (1.1)
	1 (-2.3)	20 (-1.1)	16 (-.5)
	11 (.8)	14 (1.0)	10 (.7)
	12 (.9)	16 (1.2)	10 (.9)
	-2 (2.7)	-3 (1.9)	-5 (1.6)
	1 (.7)	-1 (.6)	-1 (.5)
	-2 (.6)	-6 (-.2)	-3 (.3)
	0 (-1.8)	3 (.1)	1 (-.6)
	-4 (.7)	-12 (-.4)	-9 (-.0)

SITTER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder
1. Satisfaction with mother's concern for child
 3. Economic need to babysit
 4. Expressive needs met by babysitting
 5. Satisfaction mother's discipline
 7. Dissat. mother's hours, demands, lack of planfulness
 10. Caring for this child is an emotional drain
 12. Role Strain
 14. Satisfaction child's adjustment
 17. Inter-family closeness

10 (.8)	7 (-.9)	0 (-3.0)
24 (-.4)	2 (-1.9)	-32 (-9.1)
4 (1.4)	9 (2.2)	-3 (1.1)
3 (-.7)	13 (.7)	5 (-.3)
0 (-.9)	0 (-.6)	-4 (-1.0)
-27 (-1.4)	15 (3.3)	23 (2.8)
-19 (-.0)	-27 (-1.2)	-18 (-.5)
13 (2.1)	18 (2.6)	20 (2.5)
15 (1.4)	15 (1.4)	14 (1.2)
-21 (-1.2)	-24 (-1.4)	-24 (-1.6)

STABILITY CRITERIA

Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination

<u>Mother</u>	<u>Sitter</u>
-1.8	2.6

Duration

13 (-.4) weeks

The arrangement was terminated after 13 weeks because the child was badly burned at home in the bathtub and was in the hospital. The sitter was distressed and critical. The hours had been too long, the mother's payment checks bounced, the amount of work increased, the mother avoided talking about the child, and the child often had many bruises. Most of the sitter's contacts were with the mother's boyfriend who was often drunk when he picked up the child. "The mother was finky," and the arrangement was the "worstest." The mother's explanation of the reason for termination was that the child had been burned and needed intensive care. She also complained that other sitters had had more time to spend with the child.

The sitter felt overworked and exploited by the mother and she felt guilty that she hadn't reported the mother to the police because of the child's bruises, before the arrangement terminated. Some unknown person had called the police and the child was no longer in the mother's custody. The mother's boyfriend was the one who had burned the child.

The Donovan Cluster

The final case study is presented in greater detail. It is a sitter of disreputable appearance whose day care home would be manifestly unlicensable on grounds of dirt, unsafe conditions, and too many children of her own, some of who had come to the attention of juvenile authorities. Economically marginal, the family often was known to many social agencies, including the welfare department. Yet this sitter was unusually responsive to the plights of mothers and to the emotional needs of their children. The panel study arrangement was classified as type B consistently by both interviewers. Her home was a crash pad day and night, as she went out of her way to help out others at some sacrifice to herself and her own family. Seen as flexible, yet reliable, experienced yet non-judgmental, poor yet willing to wait to be paid, this remarkable woman attracted mothers whose chaotic lives and experiences with welfare and the law made them skittish about social agencies and shun formally organized day care services. In a stop-gap way, she served as a front line of defense against neglect and abuse. She brought some measure of stability to unstable lives and hence a relatively stable child care situation after repeated changes.

The case is important because it illustrates well that, for all its faults, neighborhood family day care exists because it is a solution. We wondered, "What is it about this woman that attracts these mothers and brings some measure of stability into their lives?" During the year and a half that the panel-study case was followed, this sitter also sat for eight other mothers at one time or another. We followed all 9 of this cluster of arrangements as a special case study. The sitter was interviewed about each arrangement by one of the sitter interviewers, and one of the other interviewers interviewed each of the nine mothers. The full, regular study interviews were completed only on the first arrangement, and a more open-ended approach was taken on the others.

The sitter interviewer reports as follows:

It was a Charles Addams house that I approached in January, 1969, for my first interview with Mrs. Donovan. Situated on the corner of two very busy streets, on an arterial highway in northwest Portland, the large box-like house was in a commercial area with older rundown rooming houses. It had no yard, was in poor repair and ramshackle in appearance. Pieces of plastic taped the broken windows, there were whole steps missing with nails protruding every few feet. Pieces of bicycle equipment covered the front porch along with a broken stroller and rocking chair that was minus a rocker. The garbage strewn about the back door attracted cats scrounging for tidbits in the rubble.

After noticing the doorbell was broken, I knocked several times before a bearded psych^ededically dressed young man answered the door. He was gracious and when I inquired as to the whereabouts of Mrs. Donovan,

pointed to the door. The entrance hall was dark and dreary, and dirty. I tried to pick a safe path through the toys and debris that littered the hall. Plaster was falling from the walls and stringy, dirty curtains hung unevenly and poorly fitted at the narrow side windows next to the door. A woman I would have judged to be about fifty years of age answered the door. This was Mrs. Donovan, actually 37 years of age. Her nails were chewed to the quick and she had dark circles around her eyes. She was dressed in a faded ill-fitting housedress, slightly torn. Her hair was just about shoulder length, pulled back in a haphazard fashion, with hunks of it falling forward into her face. She appeared gaunt and weary, but was openly friendly and hospitable, almost eager, in her anticipation of the interview.

A monotone, droning voice suggested a life of many pressures. She made no apologies for her disorderly and chaotic home, though there was scarcely a square inch of the large living room area that didn't have pile upon pile of junk. There were diaper bags, empty and half-full baby bottles, playpens with sleeping babies, dirty dishes, and glasses of sour milk sitting on the floor. A few toys, some whole, some broken, soiled clothes, clean clothes and various other items that appeared rather junky. Avon products were stacked three and four items deep on the mantle. Books and newspapers were piled in crumpled fashion all over a torn and tattered conch. Furniture was scant. A depressing old overstuffed chair had a spring popping out with a rag over it to keep the children from hurting themselves. A black and white TV set with a fuzzy picture, two decrepit couches, and a desk piled high with scraps of paper, True Confession magazines, dishes and screw drivers. A disconnected phone was hidden under some debris waiting to be connected for the umpteenth time due to unpaid bills. There were no rugs on the floor, only large grocery cartons that the children were playing with and having a great time.

At the end of the living room was a small room that had metal bunk beds and also served as a "play room." A small bath, appalling in appearance, uncleanness and scent, was sandwiched between this room and the kitchen. It was minus a doorknob and the toilet, seldom flushed, had brown rings at every level. The kitchen reminded me of an old TV commercial portraying the disorganized and harassed housewife. It was a large farm-style kitchen with long counters that went across the entire side of the room. There were dirty dishes stacked in every available nook and cranny across the entire counter, all the way up to the bottom of the cupboards. In the middle of the room was a small formica table with four chairs, badly ripped and with the stuffing mostly gone, very uneven and very uncomfortable to sit on.

Above the table was a picture of a young boy at the helm of a boat in a storm. Christ was standing behind him with his arms about him, helping him to guide the ship.

The house had two floors, a basement, and an attic. On the two upper levels lived 18 people. The attic had two sleeping areas, and the second floor five bedrooms and a two-part bathroom. These two floors outside of the immediate Donovan family were occupied by hippie-type young adults and teenagers, several living together without the "cumbersome legality of marriage." There was also a single room to the left of the front door on the first floor where a couple lived. They had one child who was placed in a foster home. They had both recently left the State Hospital and had no place to live so Mrs. Donovan "took them under her wing" and gave them cooking privileges in her kitchen because "so few people understand what it's like to be in such a position."

When I first met them, Mr. Donovan, 37 years old was self employed in trucking. Mrs. Donovan, 37, had just begun to build up a babysitting clientele. They had moved to Portland from San Jose the previous August and at this time were not on welfare. Their combined annual income was between \$2000 and \$3000 with approximately \$28 weekly from babysitting.

The oldest boy was 16 and had dropped out of school at the 9th grade. He had been "in trouble" while they lived in San Jose and had been "on and off drugs" since that time. He had been working for his father for one month at the time of my first interview.

The second oldest child was a girl, 15, who had dropped out of school in 10th grade. She was at home helping her mother and at times worked with her father at the shop.

Then came a girl, 14, who was living at home and was an 8th grader.

A boy, 13 and in 7th grade, but was already skipping school so much that the counselor has been working with him and the family came next.

A boy, 11, and in the 5th grade, was living at a residential treatment facility. He had appeared several times at juvenile detention after running away from home.

A 9 year old girl was deaf.

An 8 year old girl was in 2nd grade, a 6 year old boy was in kindergarten, and two children were at home, a boy 5 and a girl 3.

During the very unstable married life the Donovans had lived in California and Idaho and more recently in Oregon. They were separated for two years during this time with the husband moving to California. He finally persuaded Mrs. Donovan to move to California to join him but that lasted for only three months. She then moved to San Jose. During this time she worked as a community aide for the Office of Economic Opportunity. She received no child support payments, nor was there any communication from Mr. Donovan. It was at this point that she decided to have divorce papers drawn up. During this period she went on ADC. Her husband finally showed up again and begged her to take him back. They moved to Portland where he tried starting a trucking service. He continued to get deeper in debt while she attempted to help him at the shop, babysit, and care for her family of ten children. Mrs. Donovan went to the family counseling agency and requested marriage counseling. Although she went several times herself, her husband refused to go. Mrs. Donovan soon felt, as did her counselor, that she was coping as well as possible under the circumstances.

My first panel-study interview with Mrs. Donovan was to see how mothers and sitters found each other in a private arrangement, how they handled the details, problems, etc., what they were looking for in an arrangement and how things measured up or didn't measure up to their expectations. Mrs. Donovan led me into her unbelievable kitchen for this interview and for all those to follow. When I started to put my notebook on the table Mrs. Donovan quickly wiped the table off with a musty dirty dishrag. Just as we started the interview a young man in his 20's, bearded and with his sleeping bag thrown over his back came into the kitchen to say goodbye to Mrs. Donovan and thank her for letting him "have a pad" for the night. He was a Vista worker from San Jose and she warmly invited him back any time.

The T₁ interview finally began amid many interruptions. The mother had found Mrs. Donovan through the Day Care Neighbor Service.* The Mother was going to school and tutoring on the side. She called Mrs. Donovan on the phone on January 19, 1969, to make arrangements for her 16 month old boy. Depending on the mother's schedule, the babysitting hours were set up for 9 to 3:30 or 10 to 6, Monday through Friday. Mrs. Donovan talked this over with her husband and he was agreeable because they desperately needed the money. Mrs. Donovan's parents help her out financially once in a great while, but they really can't afford to very often. There was no discussion of how long the arrangement would last. They decided on a price of \$3 a day. Mrs. Donovan's philosophy, however, is to have people pay according to their circumstances because she "realizes people's circumstances vary and every penny counts." They discussed the practical aspects and

*The Day Care Neighbor Service provided consultation to selected neighborhood women who had their own contacts with local caregivers and helped out working mothers by making referral suggestions. The mothers in turn made their own selections and arrangements.

individual handling of the child. The mother provided the food, brought a playpen and any additional clothing that the child needed. She gave Mrs. Donovan a list of emergency phone numbers and wrote a list at the beginning of each week as to what her schedule would be. Mrs. Donovan offered to help potty train the child and Mrs. B. was appreciative of this.

The arrangement began on January 22, 1969, and so far no problems have arisen. Mrs. Donovan rated the entire arrangement at a 10 on the ladder scale. Mrs. Donovan stated during the interview that she would like to go back to school at night to finish her high school education. She feels she could do typing or something of this sort at home for additional income. At the moment they already owe two months back rent. For available sitting she would volunteer to pick up and deliver, babysit at any hour, in or out of the house, and keep children all night.

At the T₂ interview on February 25, 1969, I found out that she had been caring for children 22 years, off and on. The longest arrangement was three years and the shortest three weeks. The longest period of time she did not do babysitting was three years. She plans to continue babysitting until all of her children are in school. Her reasons for staying at home at this time were due to the trouble that her older children tended to get into. When asked what her reasons were for babysitting, satisfaction was rated number one and money number two, even though her babysitting income is an absolute necessity and they couldn't get along without it. I asked her what there was about babysitting that she liked and her reply I feel is the main reason that so many mothers are drawn to her. "It fulfills my need to be needed and I like to be useful. I was lost right after we moved here because I had worked as a community aide in San Jose for OEO. I would have liked to have been a nurse because you help so many people. I contacted an employment agency when I first arrived, either to help care for older people, or especially to help with new babies. I think I could be competent in this area. I babysit for Sunday morning and Sunday evening services at the church and the only thing that bothers me about babysitting is to have to follow through on discipline which the parents have requested when I feel it is not right for the child. An example of this is a 5 year old in my evening group. The parents seem very strict, which he rebels against. The poor little fellow is hungry for attention. It's a big conflict because you know what his needs are. He resents the discipline you have to maintain in a church, but you lose his respect if you can't control him. I believe in limits and restrictions, but mix in a lot of love and as much of letting them do what they want to, if it doesn't hurt them or others. I like children, especially little ones and the feeling of helping children who need good care and training. I guess I was meant for babysitting."

Her family, especially the children, don't seem to mind her babysitting. In fact they actually seem to enjoy the children. The 13 year old girl is gentle and loving. The oldest boy changes diapers without resentment and gets quite attached to individual children. The four older children feel Mrs. Donovan is too lenient at times with day care children. Mrs. Donovan says she lets the parents of day care children know ahead of time that the older children may sit occasionally if she has an appointment.

The day of the T₂ interview she had two appointments with the welfare department. Her husband was "leery" of this because he was "afraid they might tie up my business." Mrs. Donovan's reply to this is "he has a personal problem there. He's always on the defensive." At this point, however, there was little food and they owed back rent. She had expected to have to make out a requisition "like other counties," but was surprised when they gave her cash plus back rent allotment. She made a future appointment for Food Stamps because she was pressed for time. By this time she had also switched the younger children from the Head Start program to the Community Center because it had been such a long trip for her to make each day with them.

Again her rating of the panel study mother was high at the T₂ interview, describing the mother as "considerate, cooperative, a good mother, and she is easy to work for." I asked her what type of children were the easiest to care for and she said "children that are well loved at home, and this boy certainly is." There were

no problems to her knowledge and she feels there was no reticence on either of their parts to bring things up if they should arise.

The arrangement ended due to the mother's finishing school and moving to a new locality to teach. This appears to have been one of Mrs. Donovan's longest and most stable arrangements.

The following excerpts from interviews with Mrs. Elsie Donovan, including her verbatim comments (in quotation), reveal her style of life and how she responds to her family, to the mothers for whom she babysits, and to their children:

About her Husband and Marriage

- “He’s been in and out. But he’s not supposed to be here. I guess I’ll have to talk to my lawyer again. He claims all the trouble we’re having with our 12 year old boy and the reason he was taken away from us was because we were separated. He just won’t recognize that the boy needs help and the best thing that could have happened to him was his being sent to the residential school. They have the boys earn points to reach certain levels. He’s a likeable kid and . . . the counselor thought he was doing quite well.”
- Interviewer writes: I received a letter from Mrs. Donovan, informing me of a new arrangement and the fact that she had surgery. She invited me to stop by for a visit. She looked haggard, tired, depressed, had lost weight, and was still having a hard time recovering physically and emotionally from the surgery she had in June. She had been pregnant and miscarried so had a D and C and tubal ligation at the County Hospital. When asked how she felt about that, she said, “just fine. Thirteen pregnancies in 18 years, that doesn’t give you much leeway.” Her husband had been served divorce papers by this time and was not to stay at Mrs. Donovan’s home, but “because his ego was hurt and his shop was broken into in July he was having a rough time financially and I let him sleep on the couch several nights.” He kept trying to talk her out of the divorce but she said, “not this time.”
- Mrs. Donovan refers to her husband and one of the mothers for whom she babysits: “I mean he’s been dating her and everything and living with her and I felt kind of funny about it in a sense, but we’ve never gotten really, you know what I mean, to talk woman to woman like. She said she’d keep him happy until after the divorce is over, because he openly told her that if it wasn’t for her he’d forgive me and come back. And I don’t want that.”
- Toward the end of the Study after Elsie Donovan’s divorce, interviewer writes: During this interview, I noticed that her personal appearance was better. Her hair had been cut. She had a permanent. There was a twinkle in her eye and she seems happier now. The children like her new boyfriend and Elsie said he doesn’t smoke or drink. She goes out two or three times weekly, two or three hours at night, due to the fact that he goes to work at midnight. She mentioned the fact that her ex-husband may move to Pendleton and she hopes so. She feels that there would be less pressure on all of them. Jim, the oldest boy, loaned him enough money for a new truck.

About her Style of Life

- Mrs. Donovan takes in a stranger: “They just moved up from New Orleans. My husband found them hitchhiking just outside Salt Lake City. He picked them up and now he’s working for my husband and she’s helping me. They feel a little funny staying with us right now, because they don’t have any money. She’s helping me, but I said to her, ‘Don’t worry about it until things kind of smooth out and you decide what you want to do.’”

- Interviewer describes Mrs. Donovan's new house and neighborhood: This was the first interview since she moved into another house. It is in approximately the same northwest area but about a mile away from the previous house. Although the rent is less the house is in somewhat better shape and has a fenced-in back yard. It is still in a grim commercial area with warehouses, railroad tracks and overcrowded housing abundance. As Mrs. Donovan's oldest son said, "In this whole area of hundreds of people I've only found seven that aren't on welfare." The new house is also box-like, has four bedrooms and a full basement. It's the first time in the 1½ years that I've known her that the dishes were done and the kitchen was fairly neat. Mrs. Donovan likes her new house, but said there are still a lot of money problems but not the pressures that there were at the other house. However, she misses the various types of people that walked in and out of her house at her previous address.

About her Own Children

- There are still various family problems to iron out. The 10 year old still is running away and Mrs. Donovan said, "I am afraid we'll end up losing him too." They were looking for help for him through social services. One night some transients picked him up, hopping a box car. Fortunately they recognized that he was terribly young and took him to the police station where he ended up at Juvenile Detention. The judge told her if it happened again that it would mean his being sent to a foster home. Mrs. Donovan said, "He's running away from something subconsciously." The counselor suggested they might try to get a bike for him since he often ended up stealing bikes. The 14 year old is now going to the Teen Center at the church and seems to be enjoying it. The boy at the residential school is still doing well and hopes to be out in June.
- More on her own family: The 7 year old had a herniotomy in May and a daughter had her arm operated on in June. Another daughter is scheduled for eye surgery at the County Hospital to relieve the pressure on her eyes. The daughter who was married recently, did get a job with Job Opportunities, temporarily, the plans lasting longer than they had expected. Elsie had made extensive plans for the summer. Four of the kids were enrolled at day camp. They have a handicapped program which would be especially good for one. Through the papers she had investigated a YMCA Big Brother program. She has still got the papers and will be contacted for an interview. During this time she hoped to take her own child and day care children to the park during the summer and go on picnics and really hopes to spend a more relaxed summer than she has in years.
- She was delighted over one thing that happened in her family. Jim had gotten a steady job at a gas station nearby and now had his own apartment. She felt that this would be a steady thing. Her ex-husband had come by to tell her that he was asking Betty to marry him, but if she said no, he would ask a divorcee with children whom he and Elsie had known in the past.

About Babysitting

- Elsie speaks of one of the mothers: "She did tend to take advantage of me at times like leaving him here for supper and not calling me in advance. We became very good friend, so I would let it go and not say anything. Her hours were long and I could understand it being hard to come home dead tired and fix a meal. I can understand both sides, mothers and sitters. In a sense though I used her too and I made sure she provided the food. If I was out of something, I'd speak up and tell her what I needed. She would give me groceries a couple of times a month to offset eating here, like margarine, bread, peanut butter, jelly and fruit. That way it helped fill in and I didn't feel I was overstepping my bounds because our income was so limited."

- About another couple she sits for: Mrs. Donovan said, “He doesn’t work for anybody. He would if he could, but he’s not well enough.” There are two children, each from different marriages. Mrs. Donovan charges her \$2 because, “I know her budget couldn’t even afford that. They are on a very limited income, I mean, really poor.” . . . “They seem like concerned parents, like how they behave you know. In a sense they act like they love them, but to me I feel they’re really not too close to them. . . I know they’re doing the best they can. I feel so sorry for them. I wish I had some way of living in a smaller town because then I would have ways or means of getting things or doing things that I don’t have now. When I’m concerned about somebody it bugs me because they need clothes badly and they really can’t afford them”
- When discussing all of her arrangements and mothers on October 27, Mrs. Donovan said of one mother, “She is very responsible for a person in her situation with a baby all by herself. I find her baby comes above everything. We communicate well. She always checks with me to see if I have enough of everything, diapers, milk, etc., and wants to know if there are any problems. She gets along well with all the children and is especially fond of our deaf child.”
- About one of her favorite arrangements, “She is a very good mother and her first concern is for her child.” . . . “The child is happy here and I think she misses a man. She loves my husband, but then all young children do.”
- “Jeanelle still owes me a little money but that’s no problem. I’ll keep track of her and I think she’ll pay me. She always has.”
- “Even for new parents. . .they’re doing a wonderful job for not really knowing what they are going. They asked my advice about teething, eating, and what I would do. They volunteer what they are doing and ask my advice. When I first got the baby he was working nights. She went to work at 4:00 p.m. at Tektronix and got off at midnight. The last of the three weeks she was working days and going to work at 7:00 a.m. Because they live in Beaverton and she is working so far away, he brings the baby in at 6:30 and he picks him up at 4:30 or 5:00. They bring all the diapers and food and everything he needs. I took the baby to the doctor for them two weeks ago for his shots, because she had been off with illness. She had the flu and they couldn’t get in. The doctor didn’t make appointments after 4:30 so she was really stuck. She was working clear out in Beaverton and couldn’t come in so she asked me if I would mind taking him in. I was tickled to death. That way I got to meet the doctor and find out a little bit more about the baby. And baby’s doing fine now. He’s average weight. You feel like you can really communicate with the parents then. If there are any questions I could ask them, or any problems, if I need anything, all I have to do is say so.”
- “I guess I have my own money problems, too. I was just getting by the last two months because Tommy’s mother spent too much over Christmas, and she’s a month behind. This would help to catch me up. I understand she’s going to pay me in full now, but I really needed it last month, so I was about a hundred dollars short and was just really kind of scraping by. Just paid the water bills and little things like that upset me.”

The sitter interviewer concludes:

A “Good Samaritan” according to Webster’s is “one ready and generous in helping fellow beings in distress.” This is the picture of Elsie Donovan as seen through the eyes of most working mothers who use her for babysitting. She is warm, open, and amiable. There is a lack of rigidity and schedule, but on the other hand a real reliability despite a semblance of chaos. Her love and patience with children, especially from one to four,

is genuine and touching in the midst of the helter-skelter life she leads. One has the feeling that due to numerous distractions, safety factors are not one of the primary concerns. Examples are matches available and small objects around to be swallowed. She seems to treat all the children without partiality and only interferes with their interaction if she feels that one may get hurt. Food for the day care children is usually good because the day care mothers provide it. She changes the little ones religiously, and although they may have dirty clothes after a day in this untidy house, they always seem happy and content. I have seen her hug and physically love every one of them.

The family in one form or another is constantly on the brink of disaster. There is a lack of privacy, constant confusion, ever-present chaos, and incredible noise at all times. Interruptions during an interview are too numerous to keep track of. Yet there is order amidst the chaos, such as napping and diaper changing. She is meticulous in keeping appointments or calling me when she says she will. She is persistent and plodding in searching for help for her family through agencies. Early initiation into sex occurs with non-verbal permission.

She attracts mothers that are desperate, poverty stricken, under marital stress, unmarried mothers, hippies, social dropouts, from a marginal society. They trust her. She has a strong mother-hen image, keeping all those in trouble under her wings. She cherishes her friendships, and the one reason we were able to reach every mother in this cluster was due to the fact that they viewed her as honest, sincere, and truly concerned about them and their personal problems. When she asked them to participate and cooperate with us, the doors automatically opened. She understands poverty and can sympathize with each and every one of them. The trend in all the arrangements seemed to be mother-centered families. Being accepting, non-judgmental, and tolerant is part of her whole way of life. One of her quotes when I questioned her being exploited in an arrangement was, "Little extras really don't bother me too much. You have to expect these things of people in the circumstances they're under."

The Mothers who Brought their Children to Mrs. Donovan.

Of the nine working mothers who used Elsie Donovan and are described in this cluster of cases, only the mother whose arrangement occurred first was included in the regular panel study of independent arrangements. Consequently only her case profile is presented and the case profile for Elsie Donovan is presented only with respect to this arrangement. The mother interviewer reports as follows:

Ginny Brooks was the only college graduate in this cluster of nine mothers. She had just received her college degree qualifying her to teach in high school. She also had been to Europe which makes her somewhat more cosmopolitan than the others. A tall, slim, and pretty 23 year old girl, her husband of 29 had a modestly paying civil service job and she tutored to make ends meet when she was going to school.

Their apartment building is on a very busy intersection and there is no yard or play space. She led me into her living room in the basement of the building, and although it had only one window, it was a cheerful room but very messy as it was strewn from top to bottom with toys of all kinds. The furnishings are shabby.

She is a soft spoken person. I liked her relationship to her son. She threw him in the air and hugged him and seemed to enjoy him. She preferred to teach retarded children and the reason was that things weren't as structured as in the regular classroom and it wasn't as necessary to set up elaborate lesson plans. I got the feeling from what she said and from the disarray in the living room that she was perfectly comfortable in the midst of disorganization.

She learned Elsie's name through the Day Care Neighbor Service. She made the arrangement by telephone. They agreed on the price Elsie named, \$3.00 a day or \$1.50 a half day with Ginny supplying the food because

Elsie's husband was out of work and Elsie had ten kids. The hours were different every day and Elsie was agreeable to this. Ginny was happy because there were children there for her son to play with but not too many, as most of the other children were at school while he was there. She said her boy was happy there and her only dissatisfaction from the start was that he came home "grubby with his nose dirty, but it is O.K." She said that sometimes Elsie's oldest children would babysit but that Elsie always told her in advance.

By the second interview her only worry about the arrangement seemed to be that Elsie had no yard and she wondered how the children would get out and play in the summertime. She is the only mother in all this group who mentioned to me that Elsie's first house was on a busy street with no yard, so Elsie's move made a better arrangement for there was some backyard and the street was not nearly so busy. She also worried slightly about the fact that Elsie had cats and that her son's constant infections and colds may have been due to allergies to these pets so Elsie promised to keep the cats away from him. She said one of the greatest benefits was that she could leave her son there whenever he was sick which would not be true of all sitters. She said, "After all, he probably got it there anyhow from the other kids."

Had it been difficult to keep the arrangement with Elsie going for a whole year and a half? No, Elsie "made it maximally easy." She was always available and took him no matter what. Elsie always told her she didn't have to pay on time. She shook her head. "We are sort of marginal ourselves right now and she needs the money much more than we do!" Elsie's generosity seemed inexplicable to her.

She compared Elsie to a sitter she had used previously for three months. She said the other sitter had been more regimented but that Elsie's lack of schedule is "kind of the way we like it." She also said the other sitter was cleaner and neater but that "Dirt just doesn't bother me." He "was not as comfortable there" as at Elsie's. She was aware of Elsie's divorce and of the many problems Elsie had with her children. She said these matters came up matter of factly, that Elsie just never complained. Why not? It was "just her nature." Ginny never learned all of the names of Elsie's children except for the two whom her boy talked about; she seemed neither very curious about Elsie's life nor analytical about it.

Ginny Brooks was different from the other eight mothers in a number of respects. Her arrangement lasted longer than the others, one and a half years, and was more stable on a day-to-day basis. Two mothers had known and used Elsie Donovan longer but did not use her so regularly. Her homelife was relatively stable; she had a husband who held the same job for five years and no marital problems were apparent. Also she had remained at the same address longer than the others (3½ years) and she was better educated than the others with better economic prospects.

The other mothers were alike in many ways especially in the pressured circumstances of their lives:

1. There was much marital strife in their lives. Three were divorced or in the process, one had a previous marriage, one was on her third marriage, and one was a marriage of separation and threatened divorce. During the year and a half that the cluster was followed, there was only one new marriage, but at least a few affairs.

2. The women in the group held steadier jobs than their husbands and the husbands depended wholly or substantially on their wives' income. One husband flunked out of school and was not seeking employment, one was disabled, seldom worked except at odd jobs, one had no particular training and was job hunting and had been unemployed before, one had been laid off from several jobs and "had to be pushed," and another held infrequent jobs bringing in about half of what his wife did.

3. The mothers in the group also had some job problems though minor compared with their men. One either was fired or quit her job, another was laid off at least two jobs, but three had had raises.

4. Most of them had to work or felt that they did, with the exception of one who was relying on welfare "when it isn't suspended; and getting by with a little help from her friends."

5. Most of the mothers had jobs of modest earnings -- factory assembly line, kitchen help, hotel maid and secretary-clerk and billing clerk.

6. All the mothers had economic problems. Seven of the nine mothers had been welfare clients at one time or another. One had been on welfare since her daughter was born and she went to work when her daughter was a few months old, and gradually as she earned more, her welfare payments diminished. One was on welfare at the beginning of the study but was suspended because of high enough income. One was receiving social security benefits along with her husband. One had previously been on welfare for several years, but had received training through welfare and had not been on it for some time.

7. Several of the mothers had had indirect brushes with the law. One had been in jail several months and four others had had a husband, boy friend, or brother in jail.

8. All were renters who moved frequently. All were involved with at least one move in one and a half years, four moving once, three moving twice, and one moving six times. Most had transportation problems. Two started out not having cars and got them during this period. Four had no cars and depended on bus or friends, while three did have cars.

What did these mothers require in a babysitting arrangement? They all had their own individual demands such as playmates, long hours, short hours, irregular day-to-day basis, discipline or potty-training varied from mother to mother. Whatever they wanted from an arrangement in general they were in accord in citing particular benefits of the arrangement with Elsie Donovan:

- that her rates were reasonable. They all said they could name their own price, although one did not.
- that she didn't pressure them into paying on time, that sometimes her older children babysat. None of them was bothered by this. In fact they all seemed to think it was a benefit.
- that their children were happy there (with one exception who mentioned trouble with the older Donovan children).
- that there were other children for their own children to play with.
- that Elsie would go out of her way, if she could, to pick up their children at home or at school.
- that they could leave the children there any time, including on weekends, and that Elsie didn't complain if they were not on time in picking up the children.
- that she would take children to their regular doctor's appointments or would take them on her own to the well-baby clinic.
- that she liked children. Day care children were treated as well as her own. She babysat for money but she loved kids.

How did these mothers regard this sitter and their own personal relationships with her? All of them were strangers at first and developed friendships with her. They all liked her despite their criticisms of her. She was "warm and friendly," an "angel," a "good samaritan," a "mother-hen." These terms were used again and again

to describe her. The mothers were grateful to find someone who so filled their needs, but most of them also were expressing a genuine fondness for her as a person.

They saw her as a non-judgmental person. She was described as a "not uppity" person who treated everyone the same, children and adults. She was seen as accepting and uncritical.

They saw her as being a pressured person like themselves. She had the same economic, marital, family and housing problems, only worse. This can be summed up in one refrain heard more than any others, "She understands our problems." At the same time they did not see her as a complainer or as a martyr either. Some of them admired her because they could see her pressures, but she didn't unburden herself to them.

They all said she was generous. She was so anxious to please them that it was easy to exploit her and some did — one in the price of child care, one in leaving her child too long, others in not paying her on time, and another in not bringing enough milk. Those who did not exploit her, simply were not the exploiting kind, such as one who said, "I could have paid \$2.50 a day, but I wouldn't sit for less than \$3.00 myself." Even those who used or possibly exploited her, expressed admiration for her generosity.

There was a feeling among the mothers of being taken care of. She was perhaps one of the most reliable supports in their lives when they could not count on husbands, jobs, or housing; but they could always depend on her. So it was easy for them to overlook defects in the arrangement. Some of them expressed the idea that they "just left it to her." She did inspire confidence and trust immediately and a great deal seemed to be taken "on faith." At least three mothers regarded her in a motherly way, two when they suddenly were on their own after divorce and needed all the support they could get.

What were some of the criticisms that were expressed about this sitter? Some criticized the dirt, the messiness, the confusion. Some said the supervision was nil. One said the children didn't get enough to eat. However, there was not common agreement in these areas; indeed such criticisms were not mentioned by all.

All of the husbands in the group were more critical of Elsie's appearance than were the wives. In fact the women just didn't mention how she looked, except for one who described Elsie as having "let herself go." But the men were outspoken on this score, although they liked her too, except for one whose attitude was condescending.

The dirtiest housekeepers did not comment on the dirt at Elsie Donovan's. Those mothers who did comment on the dirt, tended to be cleaner in their own housekeeping and were defensive about the dirt at Elsie's. Two became especially critical *after* they quit using her, while one continued to defend her because the place was so hard to keep clean. Three of the mothers, though clean housekeepers themselves, were in revolt against what they regarded as middle-class values and the standards of their own parents. "Dirt doesn't matter." They thought there were more important things than worrying about dirt; rather they dreaded harsh discipline, structure, and rigid schedules. They responded to Elsie's lack of schedule and said that it fit into their own way of handling their children. Indeed she seemed to fulfill needs of their own.

Many mothers mentioned that Elsie had trouble with her older children, but not one questioned whether the quality of her care might have contributed to her children's later problems or might affect their own children. Most regarded her problems in this with great sympathy, laying a lot of blame on her husband. There was a universal feeling that he was not a help to her at all and probably caused a lot of her problems with the children. Thus they did not have to worry about Elsie's caring for their children. Yet little rationalization was offered; it simply was not a source of worry.

PROFILE OF CASE # 29 Donovan Case

MOTHER DEMOGRAPHIC	SITTER DEMOGRAPHIC	ARRANGEMENT
I Hi Family SES <u>1.1</u>	Low Residential SES <u>1.8</u>	Hours of care <u>-.7</u>
II Change of Residence <u>-1.4</u>	Late stage fam. devel. <u>1.0</u>	Sch age arrang. <u>3.2</u>
III M's low Ed & Occup <u>-.0</u>	Economic stability <u>.2</u>	Pay <u>-.0</u>
IV Early stage fam. devel. <u>.2</u>	Stability residence <u>-2.0</u>	Yng chld, new work m <u>.6</u>
V. Low neighborhood SES <u>.2</u>	Ed & occup SES <u>1.0</u>	Full hse pre-sch. <u>-.4</u>
VI Nice house; pre-sch fam. <u>-2.9</u>	Nice house and neigh. <u>-2.8</u>	Age of mother: <u>23 (-3)</u>
VII M's hi earn & occup. <u>-2.2</u>	Middle stage fam. devel. <u>4.9</u>	Age of sitter: <u>37 (-9)</u>

TYPDLOGY: mother: B, B, BC sitter: B, B, BG

ADAPTIVE ORIENTATION: mother: 3 (-7) sitter: 1 (-6)

MOTHER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder scale
1. Satisfaction with sitter's concern for child
 3. Preference work role
 4. Economic need to work
 8. Dissatisfaction s's possessiveness
 11. Market disadvantages
 13. Dissatisfaction child's adjustment
 16. Preference for uninvolved, businesslike relationship
 17. Inter-family closeness

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃ (or T ₂₋₃)
	8 (-2)	8 (-4)	9 (1.5)
	36 (1)	31 (-4)	31 (1.2)
	18 (1.4)	20 (1.4)	13 (1.0)
	-6 (-8)	-6 (-7)	-1 (-9)
	-6 (5)	-6 (9)	4 (1.0)
	-1 (3)	1 (1.0)	3 (1.2)
	-7 (4)	-3 (3)	-5 (1.2)
	6 (9)	4 (4)	2 (-1.5)
	-6 (4)	-14 (-6)	-2 (1.8)

SITTER ATTITUDE SCALES

- Ladder
1. Satisfaction with mother's concern for child
 3. Economic need to babysit
 4. Expressive needs met by babysitting
 5. Satisfaction mother's discipline
 7. Dissat. mother's hours, demands, lack of planfulness
 10. Caring for this child is an emotional drain
 12. Role Strain
 14. Satisfaction child's adjustment
 17. Inter-family closeness

	10 (8)	10 (8)	10 (9)
	29 (1)	33 (6)	36 (1.0)
	7 (1.9)	7 (1.9)	8 (2.2)
	16 (1.0)	14 (8)	11 (5)
	9 (9)	9 (9)	8 (9)
	-18 (-2)	-13 (2)	-17 (-6)
	-16 (4)	-23 (-7)	-19 (-6)
	0 (5)	-2 (2)	2 (4)
	5 (-9)	6 (-7)	11 (6)
	-14 (-5)	-19 (-9)	-4 (5)

STABILITY CRITERIA

	Mother	Sitter
Dissatisfaction as Reason for Termination	<u>-.66</u>	<u>-.62</u>
Duration	<u>72 (2.4) weeks</u>	

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

As we stated in Chapter I the aim of this study was to investigate sources of stability and instability of the family day care arrangement. Of primary interest were two questions: 1) To what extent is private family day care an inherently unstable form of social arrangement? 2) Can an analysis of the sources of instability tell us in which direction to look in planning for policies or direct interventions that could have a stabilizing effect on this kind of child care arrangement?

The Issue of Inherent Instability. The answer to the first question must be a qualified "no." First let us see why not, then the qualifications. The private family day care arrangement is not inherently unstable because:

1) Most of the users and givers of this form of care are satisfied with their arrangements at the start and remain so.

2) Most arrangements end for extrinsic reasons and not for dissatisfaction and would last longer were it not for changes of work role, of residence, or of changes to child care usage where the child remains at home. Many satisfactory arrangements do last for years.

3) In general there appears to be a complementary fit between the basic life circumstances of the mothers and the caregivers. The economic need of the working mother who must join the labor force and find a child care resource fits with the relatively low economic need of the sitter who can afford to stay home. And the young family of the working mother who has children under six complements the somewhat older family of the caregiver.

4) The family day care arrangement has a manifest feasibility that derives from its many faceted convenience for the working mother. This convenience is based on the physical proximity of the caregiver's home nearby in the neighborhood, but also on the capacity of the caregiver and her family to accommodate with flexibility the idiosyncratic needs of the family of the working mother, such as her hours and work schedule, and the age range of her children.

5) Based on individual values and preferences, family day care offers a choice permitting an individualized selection process to take place. This study documents the wide variation tolerated in this selection process probably by means of a mechanism that allows for the achievement and maintenance by each party of the desired degree of social distance, cooperation, and control of the social interaction.

6) Most users and givers of family day care appear to have the social competence to manage the relationships involved and to achieve what they want in an arrangement despite the strains that are also involved.

7) A substantial proportion of mothers and caregivers work out mutually satisfying arrangements, the reciprocity of benefits giving stability to their relations.

Yet the “no” answer to our first question of whether family day care is inherently unstable must be *qualified* because:

1) For many users family day care is an option not of preference but of little choice for lack of other alternatives, especially to work part-time or stay home.

2) A number of users of family day care do become dissatisfied and terminate for that reason.

3) A number of caregivers also became dissatisfied although they are less likely to end an arrangement despite dissatisfaction.

4) A source of difficulty arises from the selection process involving poor judgment, pressure to make an arrangement quickly under harassing conditions, and uncertainty about how to approach, assess, and evaluate a prospective resource.

5) Arrangements between friends are destined to be brief or else fraught with tension.

6) Once the arrangement has begun, selection factors become of less importance than maintenance factors. Adaptive abilities involving how two parties to the arrangement can communicate with one another about problems that arise appear to be a key to having a successful arrangement. Yet there are those who lack the interpersonal competence to maintain the relationship and achieve an arrangement with which they or the other party will be satisfied. It is not clear from our study to what extent this retreatist mode of behavior represents an incapacity of personality, a general pattern of behavior that cuts across many social roles, or a lack of learned ability to communicate and cope with family day care roles in particular for which the culture has few clear norms and expectations.

7) An inherent source of instability or at least a potential source of exploitation, is to be found in conflicting benefits for mothers and caregivers – mother satisfaction associated with sitter dissatisfaction on such issues as hours, demands, and feeling of emotional drain.

Intervention. Insofar as private family day care is an unstable form of arrangement, the study suggests which are the major sources of instability, and thus directs our attention to the most fruitful issues to address in our intervention programs. It is beyond the scope of this monograph to suggest in detail how family day care arrangements should be reached, what kinds of interventions should be employed, and what other specific programs and policies could increase the rates at which optimum child care arrangements are made or decrease the rates at which unsatisfactory child care arrangements are made. We have already tried to address such questions in previous publications.¹ The results of this last study, though, reinforce our conviction that the private world of family day care needs a system of supportive services and policies designed both to strengthen its considerable potentials and to improve it where it fails to function well for the families involved.

The solutions to many of the problems of family day care are not day care solutions per se. For example, many working mothers and their children would be better off if they did not have to work at all, and for them the solution is not one of day care but of an adequate family income while the children are small. Likewise, much of the discontinuity of care associated with family day care has been traced in this study to external

¹See References – Project Publications.

causes such as mobility, marital disruption, job change, and the pressures of a marginal economic life. The strain and emotional drain associated with family day care could be reduced by shorter hours of care, which means changes in employment policies and part-time work opportunities for women. The day care experience would be improved by the general improvement of neighborhoods as a childrearing environment. The quality of care in family settings of all kinds would benefit from programs that generally improve the quality of family life and the ability of parents to be effective influences in their children's lives.

In addition there are supportive services that could address the day care arrangement itself or any of the parties to the arrangement. Our Field Study has demonstrated the need for information and referral services which if decentralized to the neighborhood level through a network of neighborhood women and backed up by expert consultation services could improve not only the processes by which informal child care is arranged but also the processes by which problems are dealt with and arrangements are maintained.² A great many of the kinds of problems that arise to plague the mothers and caregivers are problems of information and judgment, of attitude and understanding, of communication and effort that would respond to the supportive assistance of a natural system of service delivery such as we demonstrated in the Day Care Neighbor Service. Likewise, the Community Family Day Care Project in Pasadena, California has demonstrated the strengths, as well as ways of improving, family day care as a childrearing environment.³

The practical relevance of the present study is primarily that of revealing the viability of the family day care arrangement and the bases of that viability, while at the same time identifying those sources of weakness that are amenable to change in a favorable way either through social policies or through intervention by services. We have identified difficulties that arise from the lives of the caregivers, from the lives of working mothers, and that arise from the conflicting roles and social interactions between mother and caregiver. We also have drawn attention to the subtle balance that assures successful relations between mother and caregiver. The outcome for the child depends on that balance, and it behooves any intervention program to avoid giving undue weight to the interests of either party. Especially risky probably are programs that strengthen the power of the caregiver in the transaction to an extent that weakens consumer choice, influence, or responsibility.

Another risk lies in trying to organize and deliver family day care within the framework of a formal, direct service. We should recognize and accept the fact that family day care has demonstrated its viability on a scale that equals the use of kin for child care. Without help it has functioned remarkably well. Seen as a natural demonstration project launched by the American family, it deserves rather high marks. On the other hand, it has weaknesses as this study points out. We are persuaded, however, that the way to implement a family day care program on a large scale is through a neighborhood approach that relies on informal arrangements and offers supportive services. What does that mean?

- It means recognizing that family day care is a neighborhood phenomenon and that the cultivation of family day care resources requires a neighborhood approach.
- In staffing patterns, this means shifting from a caseload pattern to a territorial pattern, assigning census tracts and working a beat, a geographic area.

²Alice H. Collins and Eunice L. Watson. *The Day Care Neighbor Service: A Handbook for the Organization and Operation of a New Approach to Family Day Care*. Portland: Tri-County Community Council, 1969.

Arthur C. Emlen and Eunice L. Watson. *Matchmaking in Neighborhood Day Care: A Descriptive Study of the Day Care Neighbor Service*. Corvallis, Oregon: DCE Books, 1971.

³June S. Sale and Yolanda L. Torres. "I'm Not Just a Babysitter" – *A Descriptive Report of the Community Family Day Care Project*. Pasadena: Pacific Oaks College, 1971.

June Sale, et al. *Open the Door... Sec the People*. Pasadena: Pacific Oaks College, 1972.

- It means developing contacts and relationships in the neighborhood, becoming acquainted with the various networks of persons who relate to child care and using those networks, supporting them, relying on them to do your recruiting, as well as for information and referral.
- It means providing formal information and referral resources but not relying exclusively on a formal system.
- It means staff not trying to do it all themselves but having a multiplier effect for their efforts by relying on neighborhood networks.
- It means changing one's concept of available resources: not trying to maintain a list of homes that is not up to date but maintaining through the neighborhood networks an ongoing system of recruitment that can be called into play.
- It means not getting hung up on universal certification that allows a certification bottle neck; rather it means having the courage to work with the child care arrangements people make themselves and to save regulatory efforts for high risk cases, differentiating overloaded homes from the typical family day care home.
- It means allowing a free market place for the day care consumer; for the welfare department it means voucher not vendor payments; and paying going rates for care but supplementing with subsidized supportive services.
- In the balance between accountability and trust, it means acting in such a way as to strengthen the natural accountability that transpires when informed consumers exercise influence on the services purchased and when caregivers are given the consultation and support they need to do their job. It does not mean blind trust but an active attentive trust that those who have parental responsibility or supplementary child care responsibility will do the best they can and will do even better if they have the help they need.
- It means recognizing the special benefits afforded by the informal child rearing environment when full-day care is needed and using formal centers primarily for time-limited child development programs.
- It means recognizing that family day care is an indispensable resource for some families, yet not a universal resource for everybody; especially it will not be viewed as a substitute by all school-age families nor by large families needing home care.
- Lastly, it means continued research for a neighborhood-by-neighborhood assessment of diverse day care needs and resources.

This longitudinal study revealed more problems than did our previous study. In general it was a sample of less stable arrangements. However, our conviction about what should be done about the private family day care arrangement has only been confirmed. It is no use trying to ignore, prevent, or completely to remake this widespread social invention in the image of what you or I might think is good for kids. One cannot disregard why this form of care exists and how it fits into the lives of the families involved.

We did not directly study the effects of family day care on children; rather we studied the perception and evaluation of it by the caregiver who provided it and by the consumer who used it. We did this because, in the

last analysis, it is their attitudes to which we must pay attention; it is their behavior that determines what happens to the children.

This study was an effort to understand the conditions under which mothers and caregivers will make arrangements with which they will be satisfied, and we think the evidence supports the view that day care consumers make the best arrangements they can or know how to under the circumstances of their lives and that caregivers offer a service that compares favorably with family care generally.

It must be remembered that the day care reported in this study was achieved without benefit of social agency assistance or supervision, without regulation or educational program, against considerable odds, such as long hours, low pay and the competing demands of work and family life these women managed to create an informal system of child care that has much to recommend. It is a creative social achievement.

Much could be done to strengthen it, but the supports it needs are subtle. We think that the most fruitful attitude to take toward neighborhood family day care is not to ruin it by some fancy bureaucratic overkill — that is by licensing, supervising, or training it to death. Rather we should support it in careful and perhaps largely indirect ways that respect the reasons for its viability. It will take a high order of professional discipline not to interfere with, yet to strengthen, such natural systems of informal care and service.

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APPENDIX A

PANEL STUDY ATTITUDE ITEMS IN ORDER OF PRESENTATION

These items, parallel for mothers and sitters, were used as repeat measures at the T₁, T₂ and T₃ interviews.

PANEL STUDY
MOTHER ITEMS IN ORDER OF
PRESENTATION

THIS ARRANGEMENT (Items 110-262: Attitudes Toward Particular Arrangement)

- 110. I knew the sitter as a friend before we began the arrangement.
- 112. Our families often get together.
- 114. I only see my sitter when I pick up or deliver my child.
- 116. My child has the opportunity to learn to play with other children at the sitter's.
- 118. She is the sort of person you can tell your problems to.
- 120. I appreciate the way my sitter sticks to a routine with my child.
- 122. One reason I have this sitter is that our children are friends.
- 124. My sitter has had a very rough time most of her life.
- 126. She expects too much of me.
- 128. I'm not sure my sitter likes my child.
- 130. My child sometimes seems confused about which of us is his mother.
- 132. My sitter understands my child's moods.
- 134. We enjoy getting together.
- 136. I get tired of her telling me her problems.
- 138. We agree about a lot of things.
- 140. I can drop my child off at the sitter's any time I need to.
- 142. By being with this sitter my child learns some important things that he wouldn't at home.
- 144. She takes an interest in me personally.
- 146. She knows how to make the children mind.
- 148. We have a lot in common.
- 150. I think my sitter will usually do more for my child than she has to.
- 152. I get the impression that my sitter doesn't always feed my child the things I want him to have.
- 154. It is good for my child to have a chance to play with her children.
- 156. My child picks up bad habits at the sitter's.
- 158. My sitter seems to have too many things on her mind to pay enough attention to my child.
- 160. My sitter is too nervous.
- 162. Sometimes I think my sitter doesn't care about children at all.
- 164. My sitter has my child visit her or comes to see him even when she is not sitting.
- 166. It's impossible to tell the sitter what my plans are because I don't know myself.
- 168. The babysitter is fair with my child.
- 170. If I had it to do over, I'd choose this sitter again.
- 172. My sitter is one of my closest friends.
- 174. I don't like the way she tries to tell me what to do.
- 176. The babysitter lives too far away to be convenient.
- 178. She lets my child run wild.

- 210. I like the neighborhood my sitter lives in.
- 212. My sitter is like a mother to me.
- 214. My sitter charges too much.
- 216. Our families are so close it is as if we were relatives.
- 218. I don't think she approves of my working.
- 220. She's someone you can count on in an emergency.
- 222. Sometimes I'm afraid that she's coming between me and my child.
- 224. I like the way my child and sitter get along.
- 226. My sitter and I keep on pretty good terms.
- 228. Our children play together all the time.
- 230. I wish my sitter would spend more time doing things with my children.
- 232. I just don't have time to stop and chat as often as the sitter wants to.
- 234. She is considerate of me.
- 236. I rely on her for personal advice.
- 238. This is the best sitter for my child that I know.
- 240. I am satisfied with her housekeeping.
- 242. I feel she takes advantage of me.
- 244. Her friendship means a lot to me.
- 246. I would be happier if I could depend on my babysitter more.
- 248. I have trouble with my child because the sitter spoils him.
- 250. She gets too possessive with my child.
- 252. We have a lot in common in what we expect of my children.
- 254. She takes a real interest in my child.
- 256. My sitter doesn't seem to keep a close enough eye on what my child is doing.
- 258. Sometimes she ignores my instructions.
- 260. My sitter and I sit and talk to each other for hours.
- 262. She doesn't give the children enough to do.

GENERAL OPINION (Items 264-528: Attitudes toward Working Mother/FDC User Role)

- 264. There are many people in my neighborhood who would be willing to give child care.
- 266. My children usually like going to a babysitter's home.
- 268. I wish my job were more interesting.
- 270. If I want a sitter, I have to take what I can get.
- 272. I simply can't afford to lose my job.
- 274. I have a neighbor or relative who is available in an emergency.
- 276. I think it's best to keep babysitting arrangements businesslike.
- 278. I make every effort to patch up misunderstandings with the sitter.
- 310. You can usually trust a sitter to do a good job.
- 312. My child appreciates me more since he started going to a sitter's.
- 314. Working keeps me from feeling bored.
- 316. I worry about losing contact with what my children are doing when I work.
- 318. I like the way my child has learned to be more self-sufficient from being in another home part of the day.
- 320. I have to work in order to make ends meet.
- 322. It's difficult for my children to "take to" a sitter.
- 324. If I lost this job I could always get another.
- 326. I think most sitters try to do what is best for the children they sit for.
- 328. I get behind on my housework because I work.

330. I would only want to leave my child at a place where there is another child he enjoys.
332. I do have some choice about whether to work or not.
334. If there are problems about how to care for my child, the sitter and I should work them out together.
336. Most days I wish I didn't have to go out to work.
338. I leave my child(ren) with a babysitter because I don't have any other choice.
340. My child seems afraid to let me out of his sight since he has been going to babysitters.
342. Babysitters usually understand if a mother can't pay on time once in a while.
344. Usually I don't have a hard time finding a job.
346. Babysitting for a friend makes for too many problems.
348. Keeping a babysitter is hard.
350. If I lost my sitter, I would have to stay home.
352. My family seems to get along better at home when I am working.
354. I prefer sitters who do not try to involve me in their lives.
356. It is hard to find a babysitter whose hours work out with my own.
358. I prefer a sitter who is interested in helping me and my child.
360. I feel lucky to find any job at all.
362. Since I have had a sitter my child loses his temper more often.
364. I am happier when I am working.
366. The closer the friendship between mother and sitter, the better the arrangement.
368. My children usually don't like their babysitters.
370. It is important that both sitter and mother work out in detail what they expect of each other.
372. It's hard trying to hold down a job and raise children at the same time.
374. I have a list of alternates if this arrangement fails.
376. If child care problems come up, my employer usually lets me off.
378. I always try to do whatever I can to keep things going smoothly.
410. It is easier for sitters to be patient than it is for mothers.
412. I would rather have my child at the home of a sitter than at a day care center.
414. I would rather leave my child with a sitter than with a relative or a member of my own family.
416. I would rather have a babysitter come in to my own home than have my children go out.
418. I would not keep a sitter who did not follow all instructions I gave her.
420. Sometimes I have to have my child stay late at the sitter's.
422. Most babysitters try to be friendly with the working mother.
424. I like the daily routine of going to work.
426. I wouldn't dare do anything to upset my sitter.
428. The best way to get along with a sitter is to keep your mouth shut.
430. I expect to become good friends with my sitters.
432. My children get along with anybody.
434. Most employers think working mothers are more trouble than they are worth.
436. There are a lot of jobs available that I can do.
438. It is not fair for mothers to ask sitters to treat their children in a special way.
440. I think other people look down on me for being a working mother.
442. When I work, I feel I'm doing something more worthwhile than just staying home and taking care of children.
444. I don't know how to find another sitter.
446. A mother should insist that a sitter carry out the mother's way of handling the child.
448. If a sitter can't be flexible, I won't hire her.
450. My child and I have more fun when we are together since he has been looked after by babysitters.
452. If really necessary, I could quit work and stay home.
454. It is all right with me when sitters would rather not get too involved with the mother.

456. It's hard to find a babysitter who really enjoys taking care of the children.
458. For me, working is not an absolute necessity.
460. You have to put up with a lot in order to keep a sitter.
462. I think most babysitters give care just to earn money.
464. It bothers me that I can't have the kind of child care arrangement I would really like.
466. If my child did not like the sitter, I would find out why before deciding to change.
468. I'm careful not to impose on my sitter.
470. I would rather work than stay home.
472. I make it clear to the sitter that she has to be completely reliable.
474. Babysitters always like my children.
476. Unless a sitter did something to really hurt my child, I would not interfere with her way of handling him.
478. I can't always let the sitter know ahead of time when I have to change my plans.
510. Often I wish I could stay home and be just a housewife.
512. One reason I enjoy my job is that I like the people I work with.
514. I feel guilty about leaving my child with a sitter when he cries for me.
516. I always have trouble finding a sitter.
518. My family couldn't get by if I didn't work.
520. I like the kind of work I am doing.
522. Too many babysitters don't care enough about the children they give day care for.
524. I think my child would be easier to handle if he didn't have to go to the babysitter's at all.
526. I think most babysitters look down on mothers who work.
528. On the whole, I think I can be a better mother if I work.

PANEL STUDY
SITTER ITEMS IN ORDER OF
PRESENTATION

THIS ARRANGEMENT (Items 110-310: Attitudes Toward Particular Arrangement)

110. Her children are neat and clean.
112. Our families often get together.
114. I only see the mother when she leaves or picks up her child.
116. I often let the day care child "help" me with household tasks.
118. The mother is the sort of person you can tell your problems to.
120. It would be easier for me if the mother were more concerned about her children.
122. One reason I babysit for this mother is that our children are friends.
124. This mother has had a very rough time most of her life.
126. The mother expects too much from me.
128. She takes a real interest in her child.
130. I wish her hours were more regular.
132. The children are too much for me.
134. The mother and I enjoy getting together.
136. I get tired of the mother telling me her problems.
138. We agree about a lot of things.
140. Her child seems bored when he is here.
142. She doesn't let me know when she changes her plans.
144. The mother takes an interest in me personally.
146. Her children seem to mind her.
148. The mother and I have a lot in common.
150. Even though I get along with most children, I just can't make myself like this one.
152. The mother doesn't keep up her end of the bargain.
154. She seems to have fun with her children.
156. Taking care of her child is more of a drain than I expected.
158. The mother is always interested in what I have to say about her child.
160. The mother doesn't seem to understand how busy I am all the time.
162. Sometimes I think the mother doesn't care about her child at all.
164. I often visit with this child or have him visit me even when I am not babysitting him.
166. I don't expect her to tell me what her plans are because she doesn't know herself.
168. I think the mother resents the attention I give her child.
170. If I had it to do over, I would be willing to take her child again.
172. The mother is one of my closest friends.
174. Her child just won't mind me.
176. The mother tries to pick up her child when she says she will.
178. The mother seems pretty critical of me.

210. Her child seems to have fun at my house.
212. I am like a mother to her.
214. The main reason I sit for this child is that I worry what would happen to him if I didn't have him.
216. Our families are so close it's as if we were relatives.
218. The mother seems concerned about only herself.
220. She is someone you can count on in an emergency.
222. Some days I really feel ready to give the children up.
224. I sometimes wish the mother weren't so dependent on me.
226. The mother and I keep on pretty good terms.
228. Her child gets on my nerves more often than I'd like.
230. I see a lot of this mother because we enjoy each other.
232. I wish her child had a better time at my house.
234. The mother and I handle the child in about the same way.
236. She relies on me for personal advice.
238. I am just the right sitter for this child.
240. It would be better if the mother let me have a freer hand in disciplining the child.
242. I feel like the mother takes advantage of me.
244. The mother's friendship means a lot to me.
246. I get tired of trying so hard to keep the mother happy all the time.
248. I have trouble with her children because they are so spoiled.
250. The mother is very cooperative.
252. We have a lot in common in what we expect of her children.
254. I get tired of the mother not sticking to the hours we agreed upon.
256. I would be sorry to see the children go.
258. I wish she gave her children more attention.
260. The mother and I sit and talk to each other for hours.
262. She is a good mother.
264. I don't think the mother approves of me.
266. I like the way her children behave.
268. She lets her child get away with too much.
270. The child seems to mind better for me than for his mother.
272. I am becoming less satisfied with the mother.
274. I like the way the mother treats her children.
276. I get tired of the mother talking about her trouble with the child at home.
278. Her child is a real pleasure to be around.
310. I am satisfied with the hours I take care of the child.

GENERAL OPINION (Item 312-528: Attitudes Toward Working Mother/FDC Giver Role)

312. It's hard to get babysitting jobs because there are a lot of women in my neighborhood who do babysitting.
314. Most mothers are very friendly.
316. I use whatever kind of discipline the mother tells me to.
318. There are things I enjoy doing with the day care children that I wouldn't do if they were not here.
320. If I want to do babysitting I have to take what I can get.
322. I make clear to the mother what I expect of her if I take her child.
324. If I weren't doing babysitting I'd get bored.
326. Day care arrangements last as long as I would like them to.
328. I can get along with any child.

330. I only want day care children that my own child enjoys.
332. I need to babysit because it provides me with a steady source of income.
334. Mothers are usually considerate of sitters.
336. I get tired of having extra children around.
338. I try to do things for a child the way his mother does.
340. I would give day care only to children I enjoy.
342. If a mother can't pay on time, I don't mind waiting.
344. I find that my babysitting is sometimes hard on my own family.
346. I am very particular about whom I sit for.
348. If I feel it is better for a child, I would do everything I could to persuade a mother to continue the arrangement.
350. I think of babysitting as a business that should be run efficiently.
352. I won't sit for a mother who doesn't do what she says she will.
354. Although I enjoy being around children, the money I make is more important to me.
356. Mothers shouldn't work unless they absolutely have to.
358. It doesn't really do most children harm to spend the day away from their mothers.
360. I can afford to be choosy about whom I sit for because sitters are hard to find.
362. Mothers impose on sitters.
364. I am happier when I am taking care of children.
366. The closer the friendship between mother and sitter, the better the arrangement.
368. If I didn't give day care, I doubt if I would get a job outside of home.
370. It is important that both mother and sitter work out in detail what they expect of each other.
372. I do babysitting even though I don't especially need the money.
374. A child should learn that other people don't always treat him the way his mother does.
376. I enjoy giving day care because of the affection the children give me.
378. Mothers are always pleased with the way I have things fixed up to take care of children.
410. I'm not really satisfied with the amount of money I can make babysitting.
412. In many cases, I think sitters end up giving the child the affection he ought to be getting from his mother.
414. It doesn't seem to bother my husband (family) to have extra children around.
416. I think working mothers want a babysitter to teach their children things that are a mother's job to do.
418. I have a nice house and yard for taking care of children.
420. I would not keep a child who didn't get along here.
422. I make it clear to the mother that it is really inconvenient for me to babysit after a certain hour.
424. I can't find as many day care children as I need to have.
426. The mother and I work out together what each of us does in an arrangement.
428. I do babysitting because I don't have any other choice.
430. I expect to become good friends with the mothers I sit for.
432. I want day care children who will behave themselves here.
434. I would enjoy giving day care more if the arrangement would last longer.
436. I think most working mothers make every effort to cooperate with the sitter in caring for the child.
438. I don't want to get too attached to day care children.
440. I feel criticized for doing babysitting.
442. I enjoy giving day care because it makes me feel that I'm needed.
444. I don't know how to find people to babysit for.
446. My husband gets upset sometimes because he feels that I do more for mothers and children than I need to.
448. I like to keep at least one child all the time.
450. I think a day care giver is usually not paid enough.

452. I think several hours a day is too much for a child to be away from his mother.
454. It's all right with me when mothers would rather not get too involved with the day care giver.
456. I find that often the mother expects the sitter to do too much.
458. It's hard to get the kind of children I want to care for.
460. One of the nicest things about doing babysitting is getting to know the mothers.
462. It's hard not to get too attached to day care children.
464. Mothers are not very reliable about paying me.
466. I can't have children who stay late.
468. I wouldn't babysit for a mother I didn't like.
470. Most mothers are good about letting me know about changes in their plans.
472. My own children pick up bad habits from the day care children.
474. Mothers don't understand that a babysitter has too much to do just taking care of children to play with them all the time.
476. Once I take a child, I'll keep him as long as I am asked.
478. One of my biggest problems with day care is getting along with the mothers.
510. I just can't manage to keep the house the way I want to with children around all the time.
512. A sitter should try to get along with all kinds of children.
514. Sometimes mothers say they will bring their children and then they don't show up.
516. I would continue day care only for a child who likes me.
518. My family could not get by without the money I make taking care of children.
520. I think a sitter should tell the mother if she thinks the child is not cared for properly at home.
522. Mothers give me adequate instructions.
524. I feel sad to lose the day care children when the mother ends the arrangement.
526. My husband (or family) doesn't approve of my doing babysitting.
528. I take children whether they are sick or not.

APPENDIX B

MOTHER AND SITTER ATTITUDE SCALES

As described in *Child Care by Kith*, these scales were developed on a previous independent sample by means of a series of overlapping factor analyses and item analyses designed to create internally consistent sets of discrete items. Alpha coefficients are presented, as well as means and standard deviations, medians and ranges, at T₁, T₂ and T₃.

Scale 1

MOTHER SCALES

MOTHER'S SATISFACTION WITH THIS SITTER'S CONCERN FOR CHILD

- 170. If I had it to do over, I'd choose this sitter again.
- 224. I like the way my child and sitter get along.
- 254. She takes a real interest in my child.
- 158. My sitter seems to have too many things on her mind to pay enough attention to my child.
- 128. I'm not sure my sitter likes my child.
- 246. I would be happier if I could depend on my babysitter more.
- 252. We have a lot in common in what we expect of my children.
- 138. We agree about a lot of things.
- 238. This is the best sitter for my child that I know.
- 150. I think my sitter will usually do more for my child than she has to.
- 230. I wish my sitter would spend more time doing things with my children.
- 162. Sometimes I think my sitter doesn't care about children at all.
- 132. My sitter understands my child's moods.
- 262. She doesn't give the children enough to do.
- 168. The babysitter is fair with my child.
- 220. She's someone you can count on in an emergency.
- 464. It bothers me that I can't have the kind of child care arrangement I would really like.
- 240. I am satisfied with her housekeeping.
- 152. I get the impression that my sitter doesn't always feed my child the things I want him to have.
- 270. If I want a sitter, I have to take what I can get.
- 460. You have to put up with a lot in order to keep a sitter.
- 428. The best way to get along with a sitter is to keep your mouth shut.

Number of items = 22

Possible range of scale scores = ±66

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-6 to +61	-10 to +63	-35 to +65
Median score	38	40	33
Frequency <0	3	2	16
≥0	113	87	100
Mean score	34.47	36.89	27.20
Standard deviation	14.86	13.84	22.13
alpha	.87	.90	.94
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .91			

Scale 3

MOTHER SCALES

MOTHER'S PREFERENCE FOR WORK ROLE OVER HOMEMAKER ROLE

- 364. I am happier when I am working.
- 470. I would rather work than stay home.
- 528. On the whole, I think I can be a better mother if I work.
- 510. Often I wish I could stay home and be just a housewife.
- 424. I like the daily routine of going to work.
- 314. Working keeps me from feeling bored.
- 442. When I work, I feel I'm doing something more worthwhile than just staying home and taking care of children.
- 336. Most days I wish I didn't have to go out to work.
- 352. My family seems to get along better at home when I am working.
- 450. My child and I have more fun when we are together since he has been looked after by babysitters.

Number of items = 10

Possible range of scale scores = ± 30

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-26 to +25	-23 to +27	-25 to +26
Median score	2	2	0
Frequency <0	52	42	55
≥0	64	47	64
Mean score	.19	1.81	.42
Standard deviation	13.05	12.81	13.21
alpha	.89	.91	.91
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .91			

Scale 4

MOTHER SCALES

MOTHER'S ECONOMIC NEED TO WORK

- 518. My family couldn't get by if I didn't work.
- 458. For me, working is not an absolute necessity.
- 332. I do have some choice about whether to work or not.
- 320. I have to work in order to make ends meet.
- 452. If really necessary, I could quit work and stay home.
- 272. I simply can't afford to lose my job.

Number of items = 6

Possible range of scale scores = ± 18

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-18 to +18	-18 to +18	-18 to +18
Median score	2	3	-2
Frequency <0	53	40	64
≥0	63	49	52
Mean score	2.23	1.94	-.22
Standard deviation	10.73	11.59	11.11
alpha	.93	.96	.96
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .96			

Scale 5

MOTHER SCALES

MOTHER'S ASSERTION THAT SITTERS SHOULD DO WHAT MOTHERS SAY

- 418. I would not keep a sitter who did not follow all instructions I gave her.
- 358. I prefer a sitter who is interested in helping me and my child.
- 446. A mother should insist that a sitter carry out the mother's way of handling the child.
- 472. I make it clear to the sitter that she has to be completely reliable.
- 370. It is important that both sitter and mother work out in detail what they expect of each other.
- 334. If there are problems about how to care for my child, the sitter and I should work them out together.
- 278. I make every effort to patch up misunderstandings with the sitter.

Number of items = 7

Possible range of scale scores = ± 21

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-2 to +21	-3 to +18	-2 to +20
Median score	11	10	10
Frequency <0	2	1	2
≥0	114	88	114
Mean score	10.67	9.92	9.97
Standard deviation	4.64	4.10	4.02
alpha	.59	.59	.51
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .70			

Scale 6

MOTHER SCALES

MOTHER'S GENERAL CONFIDENCE IN SITTERS

- 310. You can usually trust a sitter to do a good job.
- 474. Babysitters always like my children.
- 326. I think most sitters try to do what is best for the children they sit for.
- 422. Most babysitters try to be friendly with the working mother.
- 522. Too many babysitters don't care enough about the children they give day care for.
- 348. Keeping a babysitter is hard.
- 456. It's hard to find a babysitter who really enjoys taking care of the children.

Number of items = 7

Possible range of scale scores = ± 21

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-9 to +16	-10 to +19	-9 to +19
Median score	3	6	4
Frequency <0	29	14	24
≥0	87	75	92
Mean score	3.45	5.87	4.23
Standard deviation	5.69	6.18	5.96
alpha	.61	.78	.71
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .71			

Scale 7

MOTHER SCALES

MOTHER'S JOB SATISFACTION AND JOB-MARKET ADVANTAGE

- 520. I like the kind of work I am doing.
- 268. I wish my job were more interesting.
- 344. Usually I don't have a hard time finding a job.
- 512. One reason I enjoy my job is that I like the people I work with.
- 360. I feel lucky to find any job at all.
- 376. If child care problems come up, my employer usually lets me off.
- 324. If I lost this job I could always get another.
- 436. There are a lot of jobs available that I can do.

Number of items = 8

Possible range of scale scores = ± 24

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-10 to +24	-6 to +24	-7 to +24
Median score	14	12	12
Frequency <0	7	5	4
≥0	109	84	112
Mean score	11.28	11.79	11.16
Standard deviation	6.54	6.3333	5.75
alpha	.66	.73	.68
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .72			

Scale 8

MOTHER SCALES

MOTHER'S COMPLAINTS ABOUT SITTER'S POSSESSIVENESS

- 222. Sometimes I'm afraid that she's coming between me and my child.
- 130. My child sometimes seems confused about which of us is his mother.
- 250. She gets too possessive with my child.

Number of items = 3

Possible range of scale scores = ± 9

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-9 to -2	-9 to +1	-9 to +1
Median score	-7	-6	-6
Frequency <0	116	87	113
≥0	0	2	3
Mean score	-6.81	-6.49	-6.25
Standard deviation	1.81	1.89	2.17
alpha	.50	.66	.66
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .74			

Scale 9

MOTHER SCALES

PLAYMATES FOR CHILD AS MOTHER'S REASON FOR HAVING THIS ARRANGEMENT

- 154. It is good for my child to have a chance to play with her children.
- 330. I would only want to leave my child at a place where there is another child he enjoys.
- 116. My child has the opportunity to learn to play with other children at the sitter's.
- 142. By being with this sitter, my child learns some important things that he wouldn't at home.

Number of items = 4

Possible range of scale scores = ± 12

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-6 to +12	-5 to +11	-8 to +12
Median score	5	6	5
Frequency <0	6	4	14
≥ 0	110	85	102
Mean score	5.38	5.74	4.83
Standard deviation	3.55	3.08	3.79
alpha	.48	.51	.53
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .65			

Scale 10

MOTHER SCALES

MOTHER'S NEED FOR A FLEXIBLE SITTER

- 478. I can't always let the sitter know ahead of time when I have to change my plans.
- 166. It's impossible to tell the sitter what my plans are because I don't know myself.
- 420. Sometimes I have to have my child stay late at the sitter's.
- 356. It is hard to find a babysitter whose hours work out with my own.
- 140. I can drop my child off at the sitter's any time I need to.
- 448. If a sitter can't be flexible, I won't hire her.
- 468. I'm careful not to impose on my sitter.
- 210. I like the neighborhood my sitter lives in.

Number of items = 8

Possible range of scale scores = ± 24

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-16 to +11	-17 to +16	-16 to +12
Median score	-3	-3	-2
Frequency <0	79	51	70
≥0	37	38	46
Mean score	-3.03	-2.44	-2.09
Standard deviation	5.79	6.33	6.62
alpha	.38	.63	.61
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .67			

Scale 11

MOTHER SCALES

MOTHER'S DISADVANTAGE IN THE BABYSITTING MARKET

- 264. There are many people in my neighborhood who would be willing to give child care.
- 374. I have a list of alternates if this arrangement fails.
- 350. If I lost my sitter, I would have to stay home.
- 444. I don't know how to find another sitter.
- 516. I always have trouble finding a sitter.
- 274. I have a neighbor or relative who is available in an emergency.

Number of items = 6

Possible range of scale scores = ±18

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-13 to +10	-13 to +9	-13 to +16
Median score	-2	-4	-4
Frequency <0	78	69	83
≥0	38	20	33
Mean score	-2.63	-3.94	-3.71
Standard deviation	5.46	4.91	5.39
alpha	.55	.59	.60
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .72			

Scale 12

MOTHER SCALES

MOTHER'S RELUCTANCE TO INTERFERE WITH SITTING'S WAY OF HANDLING CHILD

476. Unless a sitter did something to really hurt my child, I would not interfere with her way of handling him.

438. It is not fair for mothers to ask sitters to treat their children in a special way.

Number of items = 2

Possible range of scale scores = ± 6

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-5 to +6	-4 to +5	-6 to +6
Median score	1	2	2
Frequency <0	30	17	26
≥0	86	72	90
Mean score	1.23	1.73	1.33
Standard deviation	2.67	2.42	2.78
alpha	.23	.51	.57
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .58			

Scale 13

MOTHER SCALES

MOTHER'S FEELING OF GUILT ABOUT CHILD'S ADJUSTMENT TO BABYSITTING

- 362. Since I have had a sitter my child loses his temper more often.
- 524. I think my child would be easier to handle if he didn't have to go to the babysitter's at all.
- 266. My children usually like going to a babysitter's home.
- 368. My children usually don't like their babysitters.
- 514. I feel guilty about leaving my child with a sitter when he cries for me.
- 340. My child seems afraid to let me out of his sight since he has been going to babysitters.

Number of items = 6

Possible range of scale scores = ±18

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-15 to +11	- 6 to +9	-17 to +9
Median score	-6	-6	-6
Frequency <0	96	72	87
≥0	20	17	29
Mean score	-4.93	-4.87	-4.52
Standard deviation	5.32	5.43	5.69
alpha	.62	.70	.70
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .72			

Scale 14

MOTHER SCALES

MOTHER'S FEELING THAT PEOPLE DISAPPROVE OF MOTHERS WORKING

- 218. I don't think she approves of my working.
- 526. I think most babysitters look down on mothers who work.
- 440. I think other people look down on me for being a working mother.
- 462. I think most babysitters give care just to earn money.

Number of items = 4

Possible range of scale scores = ± 12

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-12 to +5	-12 to +6	-11 to +8
Median score	-4	-4	-3
Frequency <0	97	73	96
≥0	19	16	20
Mean score	-3.91	-3.76	-3.66
Standard deviation	3.27	3.58	3.30
alpha	.50	.62	.56
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .50			

Scale 15

MOTHER SCALES

MOTHER'S EXPECTATION THAT CHILD CAN GET ALONG WITH ANY SITTER

432. My children get along with anybody.
 322. It's difficult for my children to "take to" a sitter.

Number of items = 2

Possible range of scale scores = ± 6

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-5 to +6	-4 to +6	-5 to +6
Median score	2	3	2
Frequency <0	17	11	18
≥0	99	78	98
Mean score	1.76	2.20	1.76
Standard deviation	2.64	2.28	2.32
alpha	.51	.53	.27
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .58			

Scale 16

MOTHER SCALES

MOTHER'S PREFERENCE FOR UNINVOLVED, BUSINESSLIKE RELATIONSHIP WITH SITTER

454. It is all right with me when sitters would rather not get too involved with the mother.
 354. I prefer sitters who do not try to involve me in their lives.
 276. I think it's best to keep babysitting arrangements businesslike.

Number of items = 3

Possible range of scale scores = ± 9

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-4 to +9	-5 to +9	-7 to +9
Median score	4	3	3
Frequency <0	13	14	21
≥0	103	75	95
Mean score	3.38	2.73	2.95
Standard deviation	2.87	3.12	3.40
alpha	.51	.64	.76
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .63			

Scale 17

MOTHER SCALES

REVISED MOTHER'S VIEW OF INTER-FAMILY CLOSENESS IN THIS ARRANGEMENT

- 112. Our families often get together.
- 172. My sitter is one of my closest friends.
- 134. We enjoy getting together.
- 216. Our families are so close it is as if we were relatives.
- 260. My sitter and I sit and talk to each other for hours.
- 114. I only see my sitter when I pick up or deliver my child.
- 164. My sitter has my child visit her or comes to see him even when she is not sitting.
- 122. One reason I have this sitter is that our children are friends.

Number of items = 8

Possible range of scale scores = ± 24

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-24 to +15	-23 to +17	-24 to +19
Median score	-12	-11	-11
Frequency <0	101	75	95
≥0	15	14	21
Mean score	-9.38	-8.76	-8.75
Standard deviation	8.23	8.31	8.91
alpha	.81	.84	.85
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .89			

Scale 1

SITTER SCALES

SITTER'S SATISFACTION WITH THIS MOTHER'S CONCERN FOR HER CHILD

- 120. It would be easier for me if the mother were more concerned about her children.
- 250. The mother is very cooperative.
- 262. She is a good mother.
- 158. The mother is always interested in what I have to say about her child.
- 218. The mother seems concerned only about herself.
- 162. Sometimes I think the mother doesn't care about her child at all.
- 272. I am becoming less satisfied with the mother.
- 128. She takes a real interest in her child.
- 258. I wish she gave her children more attention.
- 264. I don't think the mother approves of me.
- 138. We agree about a lot of things.
- 274. I like the way the mother treats her children.
- 154. She seems to have fun with her child.
- 226. The mother and I keep on pretty good terms.

Number of items = 14

Possible range of scale scores = ± 42

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-7 to +42	-33 to +42	-32 to +42
Median score	29	28	26
Frequency <0	2	4	15
≥0	114	85	101
Mean score	27.87	26.12	19.90
Standard deviation	10.03	12.64	16.70
alpha	.90	.94	.95
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .94			

Scale 3

SITTER SCALES

SITTER'S ECONOMIC NEED TO BABYSIT

- 518. My family could not get by without the money I make taking care of children.
- 332. I need to babysit because it provides me with a steady source of income.
- 372. I do babysitting even though I don't especially need the money.
- 354. Although I enjoy being around children, the money I make is more important to me.

Number of items = 4

Possible range of scale scores = ± 12

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-12 to +11	-12 to +10	-12 to +9
Median score	-4	-5	-5
Frequency <0	83	67	82
≥0	33	22	34
Mean score	-3.29	-3.83	-3.71
Standard deviation	5.42	5.73	5.33
alpha	.79	.85	.84
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .83			

Scale 4

SITTER SCALES

SITTER'S EXPRESSIVE NEEDS MET BY CARING FOR CHILDREN

- 364. I am happier when I am taking care of children.
- 318. There are things I enjoy doing with the day care children that I wouldn't do if they were not here.
- 376. I enjoy giving day care because of the affection the children give me.
- 442. I enjoy giving day care because it makes me feel I'm needed.
- 324. If I weren't doing babysitting I'd get bored.
- 448. I like to keep at least one child all the time.
- 524. I feel sad to lose the day care children when the mother ends the arrangement.
- 462. It's hard not to get too attached to day care children.
- 256. I would be sorry to see the children go.

Number of items = 9

Possible range of scale scores = ± 27

	T₁	T₂	T₃
Range of actual scores	-13 to +23	-14 to +23	-13 to +23
Median score	9	9	8
Frequency <0 ≥0	16	11	21
Mean score	8.34	7.91	7.16
Standard deviation	7.61	7.98	7.82
alpha	.74	.79	.75
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .83			

Scale 5

SITTER SCALES

SITTER'S APPROVAL OF THIS MOTHER'S DISCIPLINE

- 146. Her children seem to mind her.
- 234. The mother and I handle the child in about the same way.
- 268. She lets her child get away with too much.
- 270. The child seems to mind better for me than for his mother.
- 338. I try to do things for a child the way his mother does.

Number of items = 5

Possible range of scale scores = ± 15

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-13 to +15	-15 to +14	-13 to +15
Median score	5	6	3
Frequency <0 ≥0	18	19	36
Mean score	4.50	3.97	2.33
Standard deviation	5.08	5.97	6.33
alpha	.66	.79	.79
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .84			

Scale 6

SITTER SCALES

SITTER'S WILLINGNESS TO BABYSIT ONLY FOR CERTAIN CHILDREN

- 340. I would give day care only to children I enjoy.
- 420. I would not keep a child who didn't get along here.
- 516. I would continue day care only for a child who likes me.
- 330. I only want day care children that my own child enjoys.
- 346. I am very particular about whom I sit for.

Number of items = 5

Possible range of scale scores = ± 15

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-10 to +13	-9 to +15	-10 to +15
Median score	5	5	6
Frequency <0	20	17	16
≥0	96	72	100
Mean score	4.74	4.48	5.09
Standard deviation	5.10	5.81	5.43
alpha	.67	.81	.77
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .77			

Scale 7

SITTER SCALES

SITTER'S DISSATISFACTION WITH THIS MOTHER'S LONG HOURS,
EXCESSIVE DEMANDS, AND LACK OF PLANFULNESS

- 130. I wish her hours were more regular.
- 310. I'm satisfied with the hours I take care of her child.
- 254. I get tired of the mother not sticking to the hours we agreed upon.
- 160. The mother doesn't seem to understand how busy I am all the time.
- 224. I sometimes wish the mother weren't so dependent on me.
- 176. The mother tries to pick up her child when she says she will.
- 242. I feel like the mother takes advantage of me.
- 142. She doesn't let me know when she changes her plans.
- 126. The mother expects too much of me.

Number of items = 9

Possible range of scale scores = ± 27

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-27 to +4	-27 to +17	-27 to +23
Median score	-17	-18	-15
Frequency <0	111	80	97
≥0	5	9	19
Mean score	-26.47	-15.21	-10.49
Standard deviation	7.40	9.22	11.80
alpha	.78	.89	.91
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .90			

Scale 8

SITTER SCALES

SITTER'S DISAPPROVAL OF MOTHERS WORKING

358. It doesn't really do most children harm to spend the day away from their mother.
 452. I think several hours a day is too much for a child to be away from his mother.
 166. I don't expect her to tell me what her plans are because she doesn't know herself.
 356. Mothers shouldn't work unless they absolutely have to.

Number of items = 4

Possible range of scale scores = ± 12

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-7 to +11	-4 to +12	-7 to +12
Median score	2	2	2
Frequency <0	25	16	19
≥0	91	73	87
Mean score	2.47	2.66	2.27
Standard deviation	3.82	3.80	4.15
alpha	.37	.45	.50
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .57			

Scale 9

SITTER SCALES

SITTER ROLE POWER VS. POWERLESSNESS

- 522. Mothers give me adequate instructions.
- 470. Most mothers are good about letting me know about changes in their plans.
- 526. My husband (or family) doesn't approve of my doing babysitting.
- 514. Sometimes mothers say they will bring their children and then they don't show up.
- 426. The mother and I work out together what each of us does in an arrangement.
- 458. It's hard to get the kind of children I want to care for.
- 320. If I want to do babysitting, I have to take what I can get.
- 464. Mothers are not very reliable about paying me.

Number of items = 8

Possible range of scale scores = ± 24

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-4 to +20	-10 to +21	-9 to +22
Median score	10	11	9
Frequency <0	3	5	6
≥0	113	84	110
Mean score	9.88	10.40	9.17
Standard deviation	5.52	6.21	6.27
alpha	.52	.69	.68
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .76			

Scale 10

SITTER SCALES

SITTER'S FEELING THAT CARING FOR THIS MOTHER'S CHILD
IS AN EMOTIONAL DRAIN

- 132. The children are too much for me.
- 248. I have trouble with her children because they are so spoiled.
- 266. I like the way her children behave.
- 378. Mothers are always pleased with the way I have things fixed up to take care of children.
- 228. Her child gets on my nerves more often than I'd like.
- 276. I get tired of the mother talking about her trouble with the child at home.
- 278. Her child is a real pleasure to be around.
- 156. Taking care of her child is more of a drain than I expected.
- 528. I take children whether they are sick or not.
- 222. Some days I really feel ready to give the children up.
- 110. Her children are neat and clean.

Number of items = 11

Possible range of scale scores = ±33

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-31 to +12	-31 to +8	-32 to +26
Median score	-19	-19	-16
Frequency <0	113	85	97
≥0	3	4	19
Mean score	-18.69	-17.38	-12.58
Standard deviation	7.23	8.21	11.47
alpha	.73	.79	.86
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .76			

Scale 11

SITTER SCALES

SITTER'S DISADVANTAGE IN THE BABYSITTING MARKET

- 312. It's hard to get babysitting jobs because there are a lot of women in my neighborhood who do babysitting.
- 424. I can't find as many day care children as I need to have.
- 444. I don't know how to find people to babysit for.

Number of items = 3

Possible range of scale scores = ± 9

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-9 to +5	-9 to +6	-9 to +5
Median score	.5	-.5	-.6
Frequency <0	90	77	100
≥0	26	12	16
Mean score	-3.84	-4.34	-4.38
Standard deviation	3.71	3.28	3.35
alpha	.58	.62	.68
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .64			

Scale 12

SITTER SCALES

**SITTER'S STRAIN FROM COMPETING REQUIREMENTS OF FAMILY
AND SITTER ROLES**

- 510. I just can't manage to keep the house the way I want to with children around all the time.
- 450. I think a day care giver is usually not paid enough.
- 456. I find that often the mother expects the sitter to do too much.
- 410. I'm not satisfied with the amount of money I can make babysitting.
- 344. I find that my babysitting is hard on my own family.
- 362. Mothers impose on sitters.
- 446. My husband gets upset sometimes because he feels that I do more for mothers and children than I need to.
- 334. Mothers are usually considerate of sitters.

Number of items = 8

Possible range of scale scores = ±24

	T₁	T₂	T₃
Range of actual scores	-21 to +13	-18 to +20	-21 to +20
Median score	-4	-5	-2
Frequency <0	78	61	63
≥0	38	28	53
Mean score	-3.90	-4.21	-1.35
Standard deviation	8.07	8.38	8.60
alpha	.74	.78	.79
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .82			

Scale 13

SITTER SCALES

SITTER'S RESTRICTIONS ABOUT BABYSITTING HOURS

- 422. I make it clear to the mother that it is really inconvenient for me to babysit after a certain hour.
- 466. I can't have children who stay late.
- 322. I make it clear to the mother what I expect of her if I take her child.
- 352. I won't sit for a mother who doesn't do what she says she will.

Number of items = 4

Possible range of scale scores = ± 12

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-8 to +12	-6 to +11	-6 to +12
Median score	4	5	5
Frequency <0	16	15	12
≥0	100	74	104
Mean score	3.90	4.06	4.78
Standard deviation	3.92	4.29	3.92
alpha	.46	.64	.58
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .67			

Scale 14

SITTER SCALES

SITTER'S SATISFACTION WITH THIS CHILD'S ADJUSTMENT

- 174. Her child just won't mind me.
- 240. It would be better if the mother let me have a freer hand in disciplining the child.
- 210. Her child seems to have fun at my house.
- 140. Her child seems bored when he is here.
- 232. I wish her child had a better time at my house.

Number of items = 5

Possible range of scale scores = ± 15

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-5 to +15	-7 to +15	-7 to +15
Median score	10	10	10
Frequency <0	5	4	9
≥0	111	85	107
Mean score	9.11	9.19	7.83
Standard deviation	4.37	4.36	5.13
alpha	.76	.79	.81
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .74			

Scale 17

SITTER SCALES

REVISED SITTER'S VIEW OF INTER-FAMILY CLOSENESS IN THIS ARRANGEMENT

- 172. The mother is one of my closest friends.
- 112. Our families often get together.
- 114. I only see the mother when she leaves or picks up her child.
- 134. The mother and I enjoy getting together.
- 260. The mother and I sit and talk to each other for hours.
- 216. Our families are so close it's as if we were relatives.
- 164. I often visit with this child or have him visit me even when I am not babysitting him.
- 122. One reason I babysit for this mother is that our children are friends.

Number of items = 8

Possible range of scale scores = ± 24

	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃
Range of actual scores	-24 to +24	-24 to +24	-24 to +21
Median score	-11	-13	-10
Frequency <0	96	74	93
≥0	20	15	23
Mean score	-9.46	-10.07	-8.41
Standard deviation	10.07	10.36	9.84
alpha	.88	.92	.88
Original alpha for independent sample for which scales were constructed .89			

