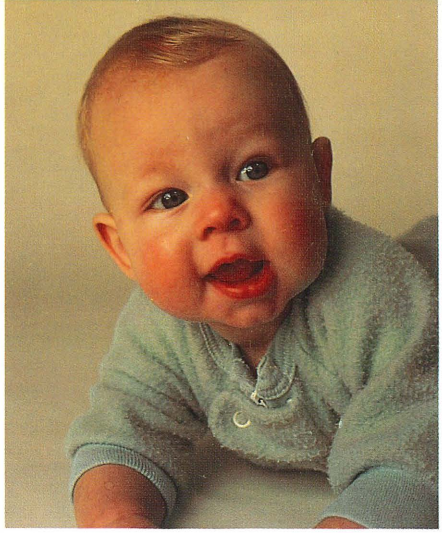


Stronger Families *or* Bigger Government?

The Challenge of Child Care

A BRIEFING MANUAL FOR POLICYMAKERS

Eagle Forum Education & Legal Defense Fund
316 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

STRONGER FAMILIES

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Edited by

Phyllis Schlafly

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STRONGER FAMILIES or BIGGER GOVERNMENT?

The Challenge of Child Care

Foreword

Those engaged in the development of public policies relating to the American family should consider how their proposals, once enacted into law, can impact on the lives of everyday people -- mothers, fathers and, most of all, children.

This Manual is published by Eagle Forum Education & Legal Defense Fund in the hope that it will enhance the perspective of policymakers on what is really important to children and their families, namely, more of mom and dad, flexible job opportunities, home-based entrepreneurship, tax relief, and control over their own lives.

The contributors to this Manual are experts in child development, pediatrics, child care, law, public policy, legislation, and parenthood. Their presentations were delivered at Eagle Forum's third major Conference on Child Care, held Friday, April 27, 1990, in the Rayburn House Office Building on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C.

Those urging us to establish a new bureaucracy to supervise daycare often ask, who will take care of the children if the

government does not act? Let's ask, instead, who is successfully and lovingly taking care of most preschool children today?

There are about 245 million Americans but only about 115 million wage-earners. That means 130 million Americans are not employed outside the home. Since only about 30 million receive some benefits directly from the government, who takes care of the other 100 million Americans?

They are taken care of by the world's most powerful institution: the family, where the motivating force is love. Our challenge is to strengthen and expand that force -- a goal that can better be achieved by free people spending their own hard-earned money than by government bureaucrats spending tax dollars.

Chapter 1

WILL WE STRENGTHEN FAMILIES OR BUILD BIGGER GOVERNMENT?

by Senator Phil Gramm

One of the nation's premier leaders in the field of taxes and federal fiscal responsibility explains the central issue of the 1990s: Will the coming "peace dividend" be used to enhance freedom to encourage stronger families or to build more failed government bureaucracies? He urges tax cuts for families so they can make their own choices about child care, housing, and education.

Senator Phil Gramm, United States Senator from Texas, is the author of two pieces of landmark economic legislation -- the Gramm-Latta Budget Act which mandated the 1981 tax cut and initiated the Reagan economic recovery program, and the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act, which enacted binding constraints on the Federal Government to balance the budget by Fiscal 1993.

Senator Gramm holds a Ph.D. in economics and was a professor of economics for twelve years at Texas A&M University. He is the author of several books, including The Role of Government in a Free Society (1982) and The Economics of Mineral Extraction (1980). He has written extensively in economics journals.

Phil Gramm was first elected to Congress as a Democrat in 1978 and was reelected twice. When the House leadership stripped him of his seat on the House Budget Committee in retaliation for

co-authoring the Reagan tax cut, Phil Gramm resigned from Congress and then won reelection to the same seat as a Republican, the first ever from the Sixth District of Texas. In 1984, he was elected to the United States Senate, and now serves on the Senate Budget Committee, the Senate Appropriations Committee, and the Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee.

Your topic for this seminar could not be more timely or more relevant to what is happening in the United States of America today. A great debate is going on in the world about a competition that involves government and individuals. The debate is occurring on the cold, frozen plains of the Soviet Union. The debate is often carried out with physical violence in capitals such as Beijing. But the plain reality is that the major debate about perestroika -- the major decisions about individual freedom -- will be made not in the Kremlin but behind the thick walls of the U.S. Capitol. I never cease to be concerned about the fact that, in this great land of ours -- in a country that was built with opportunity and freedom -- there is a tremendous hostility toward the very system that made America great in the first place.

The debate in the 1990s about families versus government, about where our investment will be made in the future, will probably come under the media heading of the "peace dividend." Don't get me wrong. If the lion and the lamb are about to lie down together, the world will be a lot safer if the United States

of America is the lion. But there is no doubt about the fact that what is happening in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union will trigger a tremendous response in the Congress in terms of reduction in defense spending.

My own view is that a more orderly process, a process based on hard negotiations with the Soviet Union which holds the Soviet Union accountable for what it is doing in places like Lithuania, would yield more long-term results in greater savings in defense than the process we are now following.

The peace dividend will come from reducing our troops in Europe, not from reducing our Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Our expenditure on strategic weapons is relatively small. While there is evidence that the Soviets are making some cutbacks in conventional forces, there is no evidence that the Soviets are making any cutbacks in nuclear forces, or that they have at all slowed down their modernization program, or that they have cutback in their expenditures on what we would call their SDI. SDI is more important than ever because, with a potential reduction in the number of nuclear weapons, SDI will be far more cost-effective against the limited arsenal that the Soviets might have.

The bottom line is, there will be a big peace dividend in the decade in the 1990s as defense spending is reduced.

Let me give you just a little history of American peace

dividends. In the whole history of our country, with one exception (and unfortunately that exception is the most recent in the history of our Republic), the process of American investment in security has always been the same. When conflicts have come, we have raised taxes, raised defense spending, and allowed government to grow. When the conflicts ended and the danger passed, we lowered defense spending, we reduced the size of the government, we lowered taxes. In essence, the American citizenry willingly gave resources collectively to the government, provided for national security, and then, when the danger passed, government gave those resources back to the American people.

That happened in World War I, it happened in World War II, and it happened in the Korean conflict; but it did not happen at the end of the Vietnam War. Unlike every other conflict in American history, at the end of the Vietnam War, none of the resources went back to the American people.

From 1970 to 1977, real defense spending by the American government declined by $380 billion (that is, in 1982 after-inflation dollars). By 1977 we were spending $71 billion less on defense than we spent in 1970. You would think that, with a seven-year $380 billion decline in defense spending, there would have been a dramatic change in the relationship between government and the people. You would think that, with defense spending nosediving, government would have declined, taxes would

have been reduced, and the deficit would have declined.

But none of those things happened! In fact, in the decade of the 1970s, as defense spending declined, domestic spending skyrocketed. Government grew by more than 11 percent a year despite the decline in defense spending. Taxes rose and the deficit increased by 400 percent. In fact, in the whole decade of the 1970s, the entire growth potential of the American economy was absorbed by government.

If you look at the real economic growth we experienced in the 1970s, and then you consider the absorption by government of those resources, you will find that, for all practical purposes, the entire growth in the decade in the 1970s went to one place, and that was the Federal Government.

I don't need to present a lot of data to convince you that <u>that</u> was not in the interests of the working men and women of America. Let me give you just one statistic. The average American worker after taxes, after inflation, was worse off in January 1980 than the average worker was in January 1970. There is only one other decade in American history that rivals the decade of the 1970s in terms of lack of achievement for the working men and women of America, and that was the decade of the Great Depression in the 1930s.

Today we are looking at a process of beating swords into plowshares. The debate has already begun. The White House,

however, is concerned that defense may be cut prematurely, that this will jeopardize our negotiations with the Soviets, and therefore, the White House is not eager to start the debate as to what we do with the peace dividend.

But the debate has already been engaged in the Congress. The dominant viewpoint, which we are hearing from the leaders of the Democratic Party, is that the peace dividend should be invested in government. You have heard proposal after proposal. For example, the national trust proposal of Senator Ted Kennedy is just a plan to invest hundreds of billions of dollars in government.

I think we ought to make note of the fact that, if we invest the fruits of the end of the Cold War back into government, we would create one of the great paradoxes in the history of mankind. We would be taking the fruits of a victory that was produced by freedom over government and would be investing those fruits of our victory, <u>not</u> in the system that generated the victory, but in the system that failed. Apparently, only Fidel Castro and the National Democratic Party in the United States believe that the answer is more government. Everybody else in the world has rejected that viewpoint. Yet this is what the debate is all about.

What is the alternative to investing the peace dividend in government? It is to do what we have done at the end of our

major conflicts in the past, and that is to gratefully give the money back to the people who won the Cold War -- the long-suffering American taxpayer. One way to accomplish this is through a "perestroika" tax cut. We need to invest the peace dividend in the one institution in America in which we can have absolute confidence. That institution is not American government; that institution is the American family.

By allowing each American family to invest in its future, we guarantee a sound investment in the future of America. I know there are those who say we need a nutrition program, and I say they are right; we do. But the nutrition program I support, the nutrition program that every American wants to be a beneficiary of, is not food stamps. The nutrition program I support is a program where people have opportunity and jobs, where people go to work and earn not only a paycheck, but also self-respect and dignity. They take that paycheck to the grocery store and use it to put groceries on the kitchen table. That is the nutrition program that we're in favor of because we want to let families invest in their future. You give any American family that nutrition program, and they'll let you keep the food stamps.

This approach provides a housing program, as well. It's not some big public housing project, which "everybody" owns and therefore nobody owns, which people destroy and take no pride in, but an economy that is growing with people keeping more of what

they earn to build up a nest egg to buy their own homes. That's the housing program that we're talking about. It means using the peace dividend to invest, not in public housing, but in private housing.

Using the peace dividend this way will give us an education program, too. It will let families save more of their money to send their children to Texas A&M University and other colleges and universities all over America. That's what we are for.

The fundamental question is: Do we want more government, or do we want more freedom? How are we going to promote happiness and fulfillment of our people? In my view, there is only one way. That way is to give people more opportunity and more freedom by using the peace dividend to invest in families, not in government. We are now working on my proposal for the peace dividend, and I assure you it is going to be debated. This year we are already talking about the initial transition.

My view is that, in the first year, we will apply the peace dividend to reduce the deficit. But next year, I want two fundamental changes in American tax law. I want to begin to raise the personal exemption and the standard deduction. Secondly, I want a child tax credit, refundable, so that American working families can take care of their own children, and so that we do not need a federal daycare program.

Let me say something about child care. I consider myself

somewhat of an expert on child care because my mama worked virtually every day of my life, first in a cotton mill and then as a practical nurse. I was raised by my grandmother who taught me many lessons, the most important of which is you don't get old by being dumb. You ought to listen to your grandmother, which I always did. My first son was born on May 28, and my wife worked up through May 25 teaching the spring semester. My second son was born on July 16, and my wife finished teaching the first semester of summer school on July 8. My children have been basically raised by their parents, but also in daycare programs from Montessori schools to licensed daycare, so I feel I know something about the subject.

I believe there is a child care problem, but it is not an absence of daycare. It is the difficulty that working families have in paying for it. This difficulty exists because government takes so much of their money. A decade ago, about 14 to 15 percent of families with children under school age had both parents employed outside the home. Today that figure is about 46 percent. Yet the tax burden on working families is substantially higher today than it was 20 years ago.

Our proposal is to have a refundable child tax credit so people can make their own child care decisions. If they are fortunate enough to have a grandma, and they want grandma to take care of the children, they can do it. If one of the parents

wants to stay home and raise the children, they can do it. If they want to use church-based child care, they can do it. If they want licensed daycare, they can do it. The important thing is that we enhance their freedom. The alternative proposed in Congress is to have the government, not families, make those decisions, and that is the fundamental debate on this issue. It is a difference we should never forget.

The debate of the 1990s is about freedom versus government. If the American people understand this issue, 75 percent of them are on our side. What a great paradox it is that, when the whole world is debating more freedom, here in Congress we are debating more government. A government which has failed in virtually every other area of domestic activity now has the arrogance to tell us that it can make better decisions about child care than families can.

If federally-controlled daycare really made sense, we would have long ago torn down the Berlin Wall from our side to get into Eastern Europe to enjoy its benefits. We all know that people tore down the Berlin Wall to get out of Eastern Europe. Why should we impose the same system on ourselves that the great mass of mankind all over the world is trying to free itself from? That is the fundamental issue.

The peace dividend will pay for tax reductions on families, and a lot more. When you are looking at $75 to $100 billion a

year, you're talking about a tremendous flow of funds. When we are talking about raising the personal exemption, and the standard deduction and giving a child tax credit, we are talking about initiatives which could be financed with those funds. My view is that we should begin with broad-based changes -- raising the personal exemption and the standard deduction, a child tax credit, and repeal of the earnings test under Social Security. If senior citizens continue to be employed, they now have to give up part of their Social Security for every dollar they earn. My idea is to propose these tax cuts as an alternative to the buildup in domestic programs proposed by the Democrats.

Let me tell you why this issue is so important to the future of America. America is not a great and powerful and rich country because the most brilliant and talented people in the world came to live here. America is a great, rich, powerful and happy country because it was here that ordinary people, like you and me, found opportunity and freedom that no other people on earth have ever had before.

If America is to continue to fulfill its destiny and be the leader for freedom and opportunity all over the world, we must have <u>more</u> freedom and <u>more</u> opportunity right here at home. If having more freedom and more free enterprise can be used to rebuild Eastern Europe, why can't we use it to rebuild our inner cities? Why can't we use it to empower our underprivileged who

are underprivileged because they have been captives of government programs that do not work?

We are engaged in a debate about government versus the family -- government versus individual freedom. We can't have both unlimited government and unlimited opportunity. You have to choose, and we should choose freedom. That's what the real debate is all about.

Chapter 2

WHAT ARE THE KEY ISSUES IN CHILD CARE LEGISLATION?

by Phyllis Schlafly

A lawyer analyzes the text and the consequences of the federal daycare legislation now pending in Congress. She reminds us of the promises made by our country's leaders at the start of the debate.

Phyllis Schlafly is the author or editor of thirteen books on subjects such as national defense, politics, education, and feminism. Her monthly newsletter, The Phyllis Schlafly Report, has been published continuously since 1967. Her semi-weekly syndicated newspaper column is carried in 250 newspapers and her syndicated daily radio commentary is carried on 250 radio stations.

Mrs. Schlafly is a member of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, by appointment of President Reagan. She is admitted to the practice of law in Illinois, Missouri, the District of Columbia, and the U.S. Supreme Court. She is president of Eagle Forum Education & Legal Defense Fund, founded in 1981, and of Eagle Forum, founded in 1975.

Mrs. Schlafly received her B.A. with Honors from Washington University in St. Louis, her M.A. from Harvard University, and her J.D. from Washington University Law School. She has an honorary LL.D. from Niagara University. She is the mother of six children.

A national advertising campaign for a certain cereal is based on the theme "the total difference." The boxes of cereal brand A and cereal brand X are the same size and the pop-crackle-crunch sounds similar; but, if you can believe the ad campaign, the nutritious ingredients are dramatically different. This is likewise true about the two bills which were so extensively debated in the House of Representatives in 1990.

Congress has been wrestling with child care legislation since the original Act for Better Child Care (ABC bill) was introduced in early 1988. The agonizing process of legislation produced the Dodd-Hatch bill (S.5) passed by the Senate in 1989, and a hybrid of two bills called Hawkins-Downey (H.R.3) passed by the House in 1990.

When the liberal Democratic leadership plowed ahead with its determination to set up a federal baby-sitting bureaucracy, House conservatives of both parties countered with their substitute, called Stenholm-Shaw. The difference between Hawkins-Downey and Stenholm-Shaw is so awesome that it simply cannot be compromised.

The choice is between going forward into the 1990s as a free people, with strong families paying lower taxes, or regressing into Swedish-style socialism, starting with babes in the cradle.

Hawkins-Downey would turn the public schools into baby-sitters. The bill would set up government daycare in public schools available to all three-and four-year-old children. This

proposal is the crux of the original ABC daycare bill and is what the overreaching bureaucrats seek most of all; and they do seek control of our very young children. This radical provision was not mentioned in the House debate, perhaps because it is too upsetting to be broadcast live over C-Span into the homes of grassroots America.

Hawkins-Downey would mandate before-and-after-school daycare for school-aged children, and it would be all-year-long, including summer vacations and holidays. One of the Congressmen asked, "What does before-and-after-school care mean on days when there is no school?" Stenholm-Shaw had no such mandate, but made money available for latchkey children <u>if</u> states choose to spend it that way.

Hawkins-Downey would discriminate against religious providers by prohibiting the use of certificates in religious daycare in two of the three programs funded by the bill, and it would permit the states to prohibit such use in the third program funded by the bill. Stenholm-Shaw, on the other hand, would allow certificates to be spent with full parental freedom of choice, in secular or religious daycare.

Both of these bills would allow "certificates" (that was the word used instead of vouchers) to be given to parents as an alternative to government-regulated, secular daycare. But the Hawkins-Downey certificates would have to be spent for daycare

prescribed and regulated by the bureaucrats, while the Stenholm-Shaw certificates could be spent with any provider chosen by the parents, including grandparents, neighbors, churches, or private-sector daycare.

Put another way, the Hawkins-Downey bill puts child-care decision-making in the hands of a giant new baby-sitting bureaucracy, while the Stenholm-Shaw alternative would keep it in the hands of the parents.

Under Hawkins-Downey, if the state allows certificates to be used in religious daycare, it must impose so many regulations that few if any churches would be willing to accept them. Thirteen states now exempt religious daycare from state licensing and regulations. In those states, if Hawkins-Downey is finally passed, religious providers that might receive certificates would be forced to comply with federally-approved state standards, or else the state itself would become ineligible for further federal funding.

The result would also be harmful in the other states that now regulate religious daycare. Hawkins-Downey forbids states ever to reduce their regulations without federal approval. This would wipe out any hope of religious daycare providers to repeal or mitigate current oppressive, unnecessary, unworkable or expensive state regulations on religious daycare.

The Hawkins-Downey bill would impose 160 new federal

standards and mandates, covering child-staff ratios, staff qualifications, training, and enforcement. States would be prohibited from ever changing their regulations without federal approval, which would effectively transfer daycare regulation from state control to federal control.

Stenholm-Shaw has no federal standards or regulations. All 50 states have set their own regulations (there are many differences among them), and Stenholm-Shaw recognized that those differences should be respected.

The Hawkins-Downey bill would transform Head Start into a full-day federal daycare program for non-poor children -- in other words, it would transform Head Start into a baby-sitting program for all eligible three-and four-year-olds. Stenholm-Shaw, on the other hand, would extend Head Start to more poor children, adhering to its true purpose of preparing disadvantaged children to enter school. That is a fundamental difference.

When you hear the Congressmen talk about more money for Head Start, you should to ask yourself, are they putting this additional money into giving more disadvantaged children a Head Start, which was the original purpose, or are they really trying to set up a daycare program for non-poor, non-disadvantaged children?

Stenholm-Shaw has a special provision to give an extra few hundred dollars of tax credit to very small children. This

provision became known as the "wee tots" provision, that is, for children under one year of age. It was a special nondiscriminatory provision to recognize the expenses connected with having a baby and to assure parental freedom of choice in the care of their babies. Hawkins-Downey has no such provision.

Congress had a full two weeks to study the text of the $20.5 billion Stenholm-Shaw bill, and it stood up very well under inspection. It's no wonder that the sponsors of the $28.9 billion Hawkins-Downey bill kept its text secret until 30 hours before the vote, and then had to crack the party whip in order to force its passage.

When George Bush campaigned for President in 1988, he promised a no-strings-attached non-discriminatory $1,000 tax credit for each preschool child. Like the famous line of the TV ad "Where's the beef?", the question parents are asking today is, "where's our $1,000 tax credit?" Parents want tax reduction in order to help pay the costs of their children, <u>not</u> a federal baby-sitting bureaucracy.

Those who advocate putting children into daycare institutions are really living in the Dark Ages of social policy. More and more, mothers who need employment income are seeking flexible options so they can spend more time with their children. Problems of drug abuse, teenage promiscuity, and low academic achievement are causing parents to look for family-friendly

employers and home-based options. The greatest growth in entrepreneurship in the nineties will probably be among mothers in the home, and modern technology is fortunately helping to make this possible.

We should look beyond the failed programs of the past toward a future in which families are able to grow strong once again. We should develop policies and programs that help make it possible for children to enjoy mother care and family stability combined with a rising standard of living.

Chapter 3

WHAT IS "QUALITY" CHILD CARE?

by Karl Zinsmeister

A noted author and consultant on social and demographic issues synthesizes the research on mother-child attachment: the theory, the evidence, and the reality. He concludes that, for the well-being of children and the future of our society, we dare not reject the evidence.

Karl Zinsmeister is a Washington, D.C. writer and an Adjunct Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. His articles have appeared in many publications, including The Atlantic, The Wilson Quarterly, Reader's Digest, The National Interest, and Policy Review. He also writes for national newspapers including The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, and USA Today. He is a contributing editor of Reason magazine, and he writes the "Demographic Report," a regular feature of The American Enterprise magazine.

Mr. Zinsmeister has edited one book on world population trends, and is currently writing a book called The Childproof Society: Are Americans Losing Interest In the Next Generation? He has served on several national advisory boards, including one at the Department of Education on teaching and schools, and has testified before several Congressional committees on demographic and family topics. He is a former assistant to Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Mr. Zinsmeister was educated at Yale University and Trinity College in Dublin, Ireland.

Lessons from Child Psychology Research

Let me begin by asking you to let your minds drift back about 45 years. Warfare and strife have slashed at human communities all over the globe. Among other effects, a great many families have been destroyed, and a large number of children have been separated from their parents. One of the big efforts of governments and charitable agencies during and after World War II was to sweep as many as possible of these separated and orphaned youngsters out of the camps and off the streets, and into clean, safe and orderly institutions.

When peace arrived, the World Health Organization commissioned a prominent English psychiatrist named John Bowlby -- who had made his mark with a book about the strong relationship between early maternal absence and juvenile delinquency -- to study the problems of these children separated from homes. His findings, published in 1951, were quite startling. Bowlby found that young children raised in institutions, where there were inadequate opportunities to develop enduring bonds with a single caretaker, frequently became depressed, anti-social, or even ill. This was true in even the most efficient and progressive operations.

Physically and mentally normal infants raised by nurses progressed slowly beyond the stage of primitive needs gratification. Children showed relatively little interest in

objects and in activity outside themselves. They took scant pleasure in discovery. On many levels, development that normally took place as a matter of course was retarded or distorted. In the worst cases, Bowlby found that youngsters withdrew completely and simply stopped taking an interest in life.

About the same time that this report was published, other researchers were making similar findings. For instance, Yale professor Sally Provence conducted ground-breaking studies in the mid-1950s of infants raised in foundling homes. She discovered that lack of parental care left them with significantly impaired physical and cognitive development, as well as diminished emotional responsiveness. When it became clear just how withered many such youngsters had become, most of the homes actually shut down.

Child psychoanalyst Selma Fraiberg has summarized the conclusions of these and several other investigations as follows:

> "Children who spent their infancy and formative years [in institutions] revealed the effects in an impoverishment of the personality. . . . [They] were unable in later years to bind themselves to other people, to love deeply, to feel deeply, to experience tenderness, grief or shame to the measure that gives dimension to the human personality. . . . These children as a group were consistently slower than the average in acquiring speech. . . . in many instances, the

language of these children revealed certain peculiarities . . . [being] self-related, personal and often quite unintelligible to others. . . . These unattached children were unstable children, highly vulnerable to all manner of mental pathology, and in later life they contributed to the ranks of the mentally disordered to a frighteningly large degree."

An even more worrisome result came from the work of child analysts Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham. After arriving in England with her father Sigmund Freud in 1938, Anna Freud helped set up the Hampstead Nurseries in London. During the War, the Nurseries provided care for infants and children who could not be looked after in their own homes, due to loss of a parent or some other reason. Freud and co-director Burlingham were already renowned child analysts, and strong believers in the importance of good early relationships to healthy personality development. They chose their staff carefully and set practices based on the very latest knowledge of child psychology. Conditions, all in all, were about as good as modern science and social concern could create.

What, then, were the results for their young charges? The truly crippling effects produced by average institutions were mostly eliminated. But in several vital areas, children reared under these prime group conditions fared less well than even the

typical child in a family. In speech, for example, the average Hampstead two-year-old was about six months retarded compared with the average child reared in his own home. The Hampstead children were more aggressive and had less control of their impulses. They were late in achieving their toilet training. They were less cooperative. To try to soften some of these effects, the nursery later grouped children into artificial "families," small groups of infants and toddlers with one or two adults serving as the exclusive "parents." Results were better, but still far from optimal.

So here we had a model institution, directed by two international authorities in child development as their contribution to the nation in a time of emergency, and the outcomes were less successful than those produced by a statistically average family with an average baby. This, incidentally, did not come as a surprise to either Freud or Burlingham. They had long recognized that professional wisdom, for all its usefulness, could not supplant intimate family ties as the basic spur to human development. Results like those of the Hampstead Nurseries stand not as criticisms of the techniques of the child development profession but rather as, in psychoanalyst Fraiberg's words, "an appreciation of the family as the point of departure for all sound psychological thinking."

The Child's Eye View

As results of the investigations by Bowlby, Freud and Burlingham, and others became known, institutional child-minding fell sharply out of favor. Many professionals thought they would never again see widespread group-based care for infants. Yet here we are, not much more than a generation later, and extensive non-parental care of even the extremely young is very much in evidence. The fraction of parents leaving infants less than one year old in hired hands has more than doubled since 1970.

In mulling over why this is happening, the first, very striking observation that has to be made is that none of the research findings just discussed have been overturned. In fact, as we will see, the centrality of the infant-parent bond has been formidably strengthened by the most recent research. We have also learned more about the importance of simple time spent together in creating that bond. We have discovered that even periodic separations of very young children from their parents can have unhappy effects if they extend very long or recur regularly. Though these findings have not been adequately communicated to the general public, the evidence is quite clear.

The second thing to be noted about our sudden drive toward more substitute care despite cautionary evidence is that while children's inner requirements have not changed a whit in the last generation, the perceived needs of adults <u>have</u> shifted,

dramatically. The result is that Americans now seem less willing to accommodate even the demonstrated requirements of their offspring. What is most often missing today when we -- either as individuals or as a society -- make our family choices is a consideration of the child's-eye view. What follows is a brief attempt to look at substitute child care from inside the crib and down on the carpet, in the light of what we know of the psychology of the small person.

The Psychological Basis of Attachment

In the early years of this century when the study of child psychology was just beginning, leading researchers discounted the significance of interaction between parent and child. They believed that infants' basic capacities were mostly innate and would unfold as a matter of biological course, more or less independently of environmental factors. This view was later overthrown by evidence from many sources.

The pioneering work of psychoanalysts such as Anna Freud and Melanie Klein helped to show the significance of early childhood relationships in forming personality. They stressed, however, the child's internal representation of the parent more than the parent's actual behavior. Classical psychoanalysts also believed that the central importance of the mother to the child probably stemmed from the fact that she was the source of food and comfort

early in their relationship. Somewhat later, behaviorists put forth the more radical claim that nearly all infant development is a response to external actions.

Growing out of, and far beyond, the psychoanalytic school was Bowlby's work. The centrality of the mother, he believed, stemmed not just from her role as provider, but from instinctual drives on the part of the child. Inspired, as he told writer Robert Karen, by the findings of scientists studying family relationships among animals -- who showed, for instance, that ducklings and goslings bonded to their mother by sight at birth, and that baby monkeys much preferred a cuddlable terrycloth-covered artificial mother to a bare wire version equipped with the same bottle -- Bowlby concluded that humans, too, have bonding behaviors and intergenerational cues derived from centuries of evolutionary experience.

Bowlby declared that a newborn clings to, cries for, sucks, and follows his mother instinctually, specifically to keep her nearby. With this behavior and other innate equipment -- such as the smile, babbling, and the gaze -- the infant seeks from the start to build up a strong mutual relationship of stimulation and response with the mother.

Through experience stretching over millennia, this maternal bond became the human offspring's key to entry into the world. Proximity to mother, which was essential to survival, was

innately satisfying to the infant, bringing deep feelings of peace and joy. It is something the child seeks naturally, even without appreciating why. If he is thwarted by an extended or ill-timed separation, the results can include anxiety, grief and serious depression.

Formation of the Infant-Parent Bond

Timing is critical in the formation of the infant-parent bond. From birth until sometime in the second half of his second year of life, a child has a primitive reasoning faculty that is not capable of fully understanding concepts such as self and other, cause and effect, departure and return. When objects or persons disappear from the child's sight in those first 18-20 months, so far as the child is concerned they no longer exist. Intermittent presence is extremely disorienting to an infant. Contingent love is hardly love at all.

When the person central to a child's sense of harmony and security is missing, the child feels a consuming tension. Babies do have mechanisms, we know, with which they can reassure themselves to some degree. That's why parents don't have to be stitched to the infant every minute. But those mechanisms break down if overloaded. For this reason, regular separations from parents in the period before the child gains knowledge of the outer world's permanence and predictability (later in his second

year) can be deeply disorienting -- much more than unpleasant -- for an infant. "The young child's hunger for his mother's presence is as great as his hunger for food. Her absence inevitably generates a powerful sense of loss and anger," writes Bowlby.

The child can, and ideally does, attach to more than one person. Familiar and regularly recurring faces are warmly welcomed by the baby. There is, however, a hierarchy of attachments. One central figure necessarily functions as a psychological "touchstone." In the vast predominance of cases, this will be the mother, for many reasons including biology (for instance, the ability to breastfeed). However, a recent study of children cared for at home by their fathers found that 100 percent of them established secure attachments to their mothers, which indicates that while parental care is vital, couples who so desire can probably successfully interchange mother-care and father-care.

Any person who hopes to occupy the central attachment role -- so important to the child's long-term well-being -- must meet several tests. First, this person must be regularly, continuously accessible to the child throughout the critical first two years. Second, this person must have an unqualified devotion to the child -- extending far beyond liking him, into palpable and unconditional interest in his subtle physical and

psychological signals. In addition to satisfying obvious needs, one has to want to understand the child, because acknowledgement of those small signals is what the infant recognizes as intimate attachment.

Sheer number of hours passed together is an important part of learning to read personality, but that alone is not enough. There are unattached children who have spent a lot of time with parents who were inattentive to little cues asking for help, for comfort, or for sustenance of some sort. In these cases, the absence or inconsistency of response has damaged the attachment relationship.

Third, the child must have this person largely to himself, one-to-one. An infant envisions the attachment figure as an extension of himself, and can't possibly understand the necessity of sharing her attention with others for major portions of his waking hours.

Finally, this person must stay in the child's life for many years. Having successfully attached to someone only to have that person disappear a year or two or three later is much better than never to have attached at all, developmentalists agree, but it can be extremely damaging, running counter to the whole idea that the attachment relationship, once formed, serves as a permanent "foundation stone of personality."

A child who forms a secure attachment with his parents then

has the internal basis for a positive lifelong view of himself and his world. He will be cooperative, have self-esteem, and be able to trust others. Barring some subsequent external disaster, he will have no problem establishing intimate relationships of his own as he grows into adulthood. But without the inner model of a successful parental attachment, the child is likely to be much less successful in each of these areas. Once the initial concepts of self and other (which attachment establishes) are set, they are extremely hard to alter. They can be slightly re-worked at adolescence or in early adulthood, but only with great difficulty.

Recent Findings Confirm Attachment Theory

Though they were sometimes pieced together on the basis of mere biological and psychological clues, the initial insights formulated by Bowlby and other early theorists of infant attachment (such as Rene Spitz, Anna Freud, Margaret Mahler, Mary Ainsworth, Sylvia Bell, Marcelle Gerber, J. L. Gewirtz, L. J. Yarrow, F. A. Pedersen, and Donald Winnicott) have held up remarkably well. In the last decade or so, hard evidence has been collected which confirms and extends attachment precepts in several directions.

For instance, in support of Bowlby's concept that infants actively pursue instinctual goals, particularly alliance with the

mother, researchers have recently discovered that from their very first days, newborns are independently sifting and sorting information and responding to stimuli. Studies have shown, for instance, that babies just a few hours old will suck a nipple harder to activate a recording of their mother's voice than they will for a stranger's. Findings like this disproved the earlier assumption that newborns were passive bundles, unable to perceive or seek out much from their environment.

We also now know that within three months infants can distinguish familiar faces from strange ones, differentiate among various facial expressions, and recognize shapes. One study showed that early infants kick their legs less for an unfamiliar mobile than for one they have seen before. Even very young babies, we have learned, can connect oral and visual images, and can connect pictures to appropriate sounds. In one experiment, one-month-olds became upset when pictures of their mothers were accompanied by recordings of someone else's voice.

"This shows us that early experience is vastly important, probably in ways that we don't understand yet," says child psychiatrist Linda Mayes. "The good news" flowing from this fresh knowledge of the capacities and sensitivities of infants, she points out, "is that if you provide a rich early experience for your baby, it's probably having an impact. The bad news is that we now have a better idea of all the things that can go wrong."

So far as infant attachment theory goes, the important implication of this evidence is that virtually all child developmentalists now accept as gospel the central attachment tenet: namely, that a baby's social progress is fundamentally influenced by parental response, and that, as clinicians at the Yale Child Study Center recently told the university journal, it is "futile to work with an infant apart from its parents."

Attachment and Daycare

A critical figure in bringing the evidence on attachment into the real world of parents and daycare centers was the American researcher Mary Ainsworth. She was a protege of Bowlby and a very important contributor in her own right to both the theoretical underpinnings and the clinical confirmation of attachment theory. Her breakthrough was in developing a sophisticated test that could objectively evaluate and score infant-parent attachments. Called the "strange situation" procedure, it involves observing a 12- to 20-month-old child in three-minute exposures to his parent, a stranger, and an empty room. The situations are repeated several times, and the child's behavior when reunited with the parent is carefully categorized each time. Insecurely attached children avoid physical and visual contact, or may approach but then turn away before

reaching the mother or father.

Like any clinical procedure, the test is not foolproof. But it is widely accepted as an accurate barometer of security and emotional development in children. It has been found to predict a very high fraction of developing psychosocial pathologies. It is especially valuable because it allows investigators to assess the effects not only of drastic separation and loss, but also of everyday parent-child interactions. As researchers have begun to use the procedure with increasing frequency and sophistication, one of the everyday groups where they have found clearly elevated levels of insecure attachment is between many daycare children and their parents.

When infants and toddlers are placed in daycare for extended periods, several studies show, many of them develop weak and insecure bonds with their parents. Weak attachments have been found in all types of substitute care settings: among poor, middle-class and wealthy children, in children who attended good institutions and bad institutions, and in children who had high quality, nanny-type care in their own home.

One study by child psychologist Jay Belsky found that nearly half the children who started 20 hours a week of substitute care before their first birthday developed a noticeably insecure attachment to their mothers. Another investigation (Wille and Jacobsen) found that 18-month-olds with poor attachments to their

mothers had experienced three-and-a-half times as much substitute care as children found to be securely attached (15.9 versus 4.5 hours per week). A study of children from stable, middle-class families by Chase-Lansdale and Owen found that boys were particularly susceptible to attachment problems when placed in non-parental care.

Vaughn, Deane and Waters found that children in non-maternal care who had been securely attached at 18 months "showed a deterioration in the quality of adaptation over the period from 18 months to 24 months." This led some experts to speculate that even if the effects do not show up immediately, separation may produce vulnerabilities that appear later, in the face of subsequent stress.

An experiment by researchers Barglow, Vaughn and Molitor examined 110 children of affluent, intact families in Chicago. Half were cared for full-time by a parent, and the other half had stable, very expensive, nanny-type caretakers (the "gold standard" of substitute care) beginning by the eighth month. Within a short while, half the infants left in non-parental care suffered from insecure attachments with their mothers, considerably more than the parental-care group.

What's happening, apparently, is that many infants interpret repeated separations from their parents as rejection, which they cope with by something like "avoidance," or turning off what has

become painful. Attachment of children to their parents, we have noted, is critical to later intellectual and emotional development. When these early bonds fail to form, experts believe, a variety of debilitating effects can occur -- ranging from lack of emotional depth in certain cases to what have been referred to as partial psychopathic symptoms in others. And it is not only poor attachment results that have sparked worries, but also evidence of a whole host of observable behavior changes among daycare children, many of them clearly undesirable.

Behavioral Effects of Early Daycare

A study of 5- and 6-year-olds who had spent part of their first years in the University of North Carolina's highly regarded daycare center found them more likely to hit, push, kick, threaten, swear and argue than parent-raised counterparts. Schwarz, Strickland and Krolick found that 3- and 4-year-olds who began daycare in their first twelve months were more physically and verbally abusive with adults and peers alike, compared to home-raised children. A study conducted in Bermuda found that every child in the test group who had gone into daycare in infancy ended up with a higher rating for maladjustment at ages 3 to 5 than children who stayed home or entered care later.

In a 1981 study by Barton and Schwartz, 3- and 4-year-olds who began daycare in infancy were rated by teachers and peers

alike as "more likely to cry," "more likely to be troublemakers," and "more likely to be loners." UCLA researchers following groups of children who experienced early non-parental care found that, at ages 5 and 6, the youngsters had more fears, were more "active," and threw more frequent and intense temper tantrums than children reared at home. A 1988 study of middle-class third graders in the Dallas area found that children who had spent extensive time in daycare were less popular, had lower grades and study skills, and less self-esteem.

One Swedish investigation of hospitalized children revealed that those who had received daycare beginning at one year of age showed more anxious behavior when they were hospitalized than those who had not. Research by Farber and Egeland indicates that the negative effects of extensive non-maternal care in infancy may include "less persistence," less compliance in following instructions, and significantly less enthusiasm than predominantly home-reared children.

It should be pointed out that individual circumstances such as a child's temperament and the status of his home can have a lot to do with how well he adapts to daycare. The number of hours the child actually spends separated from his parents makes a difference; so does the nature of the program. Age at enrollment seems critical; what might be disorienting for a child under 3 can often be handled adequately by an older preschooler.

Not all children will end up insecurely attached or with behavioral effects. We are talking about a portion of those youngsters experiencing extensive early daycare -- how large a portion we can't say, though it appears a majority may be affected in some way. There remains a lot we just don't know. Daycare on a mass scale is a very new phenomenon and we are only now beginning to observe its products as they grow up. It is ominous, however, to note that the most recent, and the most carefully done, studies tend to be the gloomiest ones.

Eventually, though, we must reach a point where research fails us. Quite simply, much of what we would like to know will never be within reach. Psychologist Erik Erikson argues that the pre-eminent value created in the first year of life is the capacity for trust. That is something no one can measure. But we instinctively know it is not likely to flourish in a world of changing caretakers and group anonymity. Psychoanalyst and lifelong clinician Fraiberg comments on this:

> "We are overly preoccupied these days with cognitive learning -- what a child learns to do, at what age. Fine, but there is another kind of learning -- the affective side: a child's emotional breadth and depth, a child's capacity to love, derived from the experience of love, obtained hour after hour, and not marred by repeated disappointments and losses."

Even if we limit ourselves, though, to evidence that is quantifiable and currently available, we already have ample reason to hesitate in our headlong plunge toward more childraising by hire. Employing the gray language of social science, one of this country's leading authorities on daycare research recently put it this way: "There is sufficient evidence to regard infant daycare, as we routinely know it and have it in this nation, as a risk factor."

Longstanding Warnings Against Early Daycare

The sad thing is, if only we had been more attentive, we could have realized all this a long time before our social structures became so heavily committed in the opposite direction. If over the last decade you took your cues only from the glowing endorsements of the activists and the "children's defense" groups, you would have been surprised to learn that, among doctors, child psychologists, educational theorists, the American Academy of Pediatrics and similar groups -- in short, among the people who can accurately be described as experts on what children need -- there has for many years been concern that significant amounts of non-parental care for very young children is unhealthy, and to be avoided where possible.

For instance, psychologist Claire Etaugh (a daycare advocate) calculated a few years ago that, of the 20 most

influential child care books published in the previous decade, only seven approved even grudgingly of both parents being employed while they had very young children.

One expert who has continued even into the 1990s to counsel against viewing childraising as a hobby is Penelope Leach, the noted British psychologist. Leach is the author of several classic childrearing handbooks, including what may be the most influential manual in America at the moment, Your Baby and Child. Although a strong advocate of women's rights, she is a leading opponent of the trans-Atlantic trend toward mothers leaving their small children to go off to a job. She speaks out regularly against group care for the very young, insisting that babies need the concentrated attention of their parents for at least two years. Someone caring for a child out of love will do a far better job than someone doing it for pay, she argues, and social arrangements and government efforts ought to aim to make full-time parenting easier. That should be our goal.

Burton White, former director of the Harvard Preschool Project and one of this country's leading authorities on the first three years of life, has also written explicitly on the subject of non-parental care. "After more than 30 years of research on how children develop well," he says, "I would not think of putting an infant or toddler of my own into any substitute care program on a full-time basis, especially a

center-based program." He continues, "Unless you have a very good reason, I urge you not to delegate the primary child-rearing task to anyone else during your child's first three years of life. . . . Babies form their first human attachment only once. Babies begin to learn language only once. . . . The outcomes of these processes play a major role in shaping the future of each new child."

Denying the Evidence

There are strong social and political forces today that find messages such as these threatening. It now takes considerable courage to state the conclusions of the child psychology literature forthrightly. Unfortunately, many authorities have muted their message in order to avoid the fearsome personal attacks that are directed at anyone who offends current pieties on this topic.

For instance, although Benjamin Spock has been on the record opposing infant daycare for many years, each edition of his classic Baby and Child Care has backtracked a little further in response to criticism from feminists. Nonetheless, Spock still points out that "even at 6 months babies will become seriously depressed, losing their smile, their appetite, their interest in things and people, if the parent who has cared for them disappears. . . . Small children . . . may lose some of their

capacity to trust deeply, as if it's too painful to be disappointed again and again."

Spock adds, "It is stressful to children to have to cope with groups, with strangers, with people outside the family. That has emotional effects, and, if the deprivation of security is at all marked, it will have intellectual effects, too." Until a child is three, Spock now argues, he needs individualized care from the same person. Only in certain cases where the daycare fits that description fully can it substitute "pretty well" for parental care.

I've been astonished to discover how many child care professionals, including even many who have lent their names to the drive for more publicly-funded "quality" daycare, will confess privately what they dare not say publicly: namely, that they are extremely uneasy about the push toward more and more out-of-home child tending. Their attitude, unduly cynical in my view, is that the current trend toward impersonal hired care represents "reality," that it is going to continue whether we like it or not.

Can We Accommodate the Evidence?

In my opinion, that is madness. It is certainly not how we solve other social problems in this country. Take elderly poverty: it is in many ways to be expected, given that many of

the aged cannot work and are sick. But we didn't just shrug our shoulders to its persistence in this country. We undertook fundamental social restructurings and made things work out differently. Likewise, the fact that many homeless individuals have serious mental or substance abuse problems has not led most Americans to conclude that we are just going to have to "be realistic" and learn to live with them in our doorways. Nor do I hear many people saying that, since the drug problem in this country is so entrenched, capitulation is the only solution.

Yet for some strange reason the manifest needs of today's vulnerable young children cause problem-solving American progressives to throw up their hands. Looking at the decline in parental care they say, "Let's find a second-best solution!" Controlling damage around the margins of this inauspicious social development is all that most of them have the nerve to aim for.

A recent statement from the group Mothers at Home points out that, "Almost everyone agrees that daycare of any kind is not the optimal way to raise a child. Yet, the full-time care of a loving parent -- once thought to be every child's birthright -- is now being derided as a Utopian dream." It truly is remarkable that anyone calling for revival and continuation of the child-rearing pattern which has sustained mankind from the beginning of our history right up to the present generation is suddenly certain to be described as "out-of-touch" -- or, worse, unfair.

A person who takes the psychological needs of children seriously today will quickly be accused of secretly wanting to keep women barefoot and pregnant in the kitchen. That prospect has intimidated many otherwise sensible child advocates into silence. The attacks of daycare apologists, however, are an unjustified diversion from the real issue. As one wise observer has put it, the question is not whether home is a woman's place, but rather whether it is the appropriate place for a baby. Women have taken a rightful position in the workforce of this country for many generations and will certainly continue to do so in the future. The concern of child advocates is not over female employment, but over the possibility that the work impulse -- which in recent years has exaggerated into a mania for both women and men -- may be in the process of overpowering all other legitimate forms of human self-expression.

Spending time observing and cultivating children became a controversial practice, liable to inflame a defender of female potential, only after we allowed it to be redefined as an uninteresting and unworthy undertaking. I ask you: Is the unfolding of an original human personality really the banality, the awful chore, it is frequently portrayed as? Nurturing children in their critical years is a natural and deeply humane impulse that produces satisfactions for the nurturer that are every bit as profound as those inspired in the recipient. Isn't

it possible that undertaking that exchange with your own blood ties for a period of years could compare favorably to spending that same period as, say, an accountant, or a bus driver?

And, the choice is almost never either/or. There are literally scores of ways of including a period devoted to childrearing within a full human life, with ample roles for fathers and for larger communities as well as mothers. But we must first acknowledge that producing a successor generation of high competence and noble values is a job very much worth doing. We must acknowledge that in some undertakings -- particularly undertakings of the heart and soul, of which childrearing may be the preeminent example -- there can be no shortcuts, no substitutes for personal presence. Human beings, after all, are not interchangeable parts.

Like it or not, children need what they need. We cannot overthrow human nature. So if there is a conflict between our current social patterns and what the evidence of generations of charting human development tells us we ought to be doing when our offspring are very young, well then, perhaps we ought to overthrow our social patterns. In practice, that job would not be nearly so revolutionary as that may sound, because -- and this is one of the dark secrets of the child care debate -- among the great mass of American mothers and fathers, most continue to recognize the early needs of their children, and choose to

organize their adult lives so that they can satisfy them.

But among American elites, the appropriate sentiments and the necessary experience are often totally absent. These are people who frequently don't have the slightest idea as to what a newborn even feels and smells like. Amidst them, within the influential upper reaches of our society, the most hopeless illusions can grow, illusions suggesting that it is possible to have children without ever changing your life, without ever taking the secondary step of becoming a parent. Such people are the last adherents of the old turn-of-the-century view that growing up is some sort of automatic biological process which merely has to be observed carefully and nudged occasionally from above.

The truth is, the process of finding a place within the increasingly complex confines of modern society without losing one's psychological strength and balance is a miraculously difficult undertaking. Every new aspirant -- every young child -- deserves a full measure of direction and support from the two people who are best equipped to help him on that journey: his mother and father.

Chapter 4

IS DAYCARE DANGEROUS TO YOUR HEALTH?

by Cynthia Worrell-White, M.D.

A pediatrician and specialist in infectious diseases describes the health risks unique to the child in daycare, and the devastating effects of infection on the children, their families, and their caretakers. The problem of daycare diseases has no known solution.

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Dr. Cynthia Worrell-White earned her B.S. with high honors in Zoology at the University of Arkansas. Her M.D. is from the University of Arkansas School of Medicine. She did her pediatric residency at the University of Arkansas Medical Center, followed by a fellowship in pediatric infectious disease at the University of North Carolina.

There is a considerable body of medical information in

professional medical journals, both in this country and around the world, which shows that children in daycare centers are prone to more infections and more complications of infections than those in home care. Some of these infections occur because of increased contact with more germs, and some occur because children are uniquely more susceptible to particular infections. Let me illustrate these two factors.

First, the child is uniquely susceptible. He comes into the world essentially sterile -- unless he has acquired some infection while in his mother's womb. At the time he is born he begins to acquire normal bacteria on his skin, within 24 hours in his nose and throat, and within 48 hours in his intestine. A state of disease can occur at any time when he acquires some abnormal bacteria or virus or fungus which disrupts this normal state of affairs.

Some of these infectious diseases are especially threatening for a child or young infant, because at an early age he is relatively immunodeficient; he has not yet developed his immune system. Even a minor challenge under two to three months of age with a common respiratory or intestinal infection can become life threatening, resulting in blood infection, called sepsis, or in meningitis. This has been shown to occur more often in daycare centers than in home care. Because of the risk of such serious complications of any illness with fever in the child under two

months of age, prudent and standard pediatric practice demands that all such babies be admitted to the hospital.

Consider for a moment the dilemma of a young mother employed outside the home. It is common practice for her to return to work when the baby is six weeks old. If she places her baby in a daycare setting at that time, he is still in that high risk age. If he catches a cold or a stomach virus in the next several weeks and has a fever, he will be admitted immediately to the hospital where he will quite rapidly undergo a blood culture, a spinal tap, a urine culture, and possibly a chest X-ray. He will then quickly begin intravenous antibiotics which must be continued for a minimum of two to three days. If he is shown to actually have a more serious infection in his blood or spinal fluid, he may then stay in the hospital, possibly in an intensive care unit, on continued intravenous antibiotics anywhere from 10 to 21 days, depending on the type of bacteria causing his illness.

The reason these immediate steps are taken in evaluating and treating such infants with fever, even though they show no other symptoms, is that they are at an increased risk of quickly growing worse and dying if treatment is delayed during their immunodeficient state. No one has calculated the emotional and financial cost involved on a national level due to this common problem and the common practice it demands.

The infant or young child up to two to three years of age is

also uniquely more susceptible to some complications of common respiratory illness even as he is becoming more able to develop his immunity. Such young children, by their very nature, are smaller than older children -- and so are their inner ear canals; therefore their ears more easily become stopped up, thereby trapping bacteria and developing pus, resulting in painful ear infections. Their bronchial tubes are also smaller, and when they become congested with the same virus that causes a cold in an older child or adult, children under age three get bronchiolitis and they wheeze. This commonly requires hospitalization for infants under six months of age, and may even result in death, particularly for infants under three months of age.

Secondly, children in daycare centers have more infections because of increased contact with more germs. I remind those of you who have had children, or who have been around small children, that a toddler is unique in yet another way. He becomes rapidly mobile but also is incontinent. The diaper industry has tried to solve this dilemma by putting him in ever more absorbent diapers -- even the best of which sometimes leak, alas, especially if he has diarrhea. He, therefore, has the ability to contaminate his environment.

Likewise the toddler with a cold does not seek out a box of tissues to wipe his runny nose; he probably lets it run.

Toddlers put their hands in their mouths. They put their commonly shared toys in their mouths. Infections are most often spread by the hands. Respiratory infections are spread from respiratory secretions on the hands to the face. Intestinal infections are spread from fecal soiling on the hands to the mouth. Handwashing is not something that comes automatically to young children. They do not know to wash their hands after they are soiled with nasal mucous or saliva from sucking their thumbs. They do not know to wash their hands before eating.

The more germs they come in contact with, the more germs they are going to share, and the more sickness they are going to have. The more people they are around (and especially the more children they are around who have similar habits), the more illness they are going to have. They will have more days of misery; there will be more sleepless nights for everyone at home; there will be more trips to the doctor, and to the drug store, and possibly even to the hospital. One or the other parent (usually the mother) must miss work; his or her employer must miss a key employee on the job; or perhaps, in the worst scenario, the young insecure child who only wants his mommy when he's sick must miss that person who embodies warmth and security and must suffer his misery "alone."

Having given you a picture of the young infant or child in daycare centers and described how he is uniquely prone to

infections in that setting, let's turn now to some of the medical literature which shows irrefutably that these risks become realities. To do so we need to define the types of child care settings in the United States today.[13] They include:

Daycare Centers: licensed organizations to provide custodial care for more than five children. They are licensed and regulated by states and may have up to several hundred children enrolled.

Daycare Homes: where one caregiver provides care in his/her home for two to six children from other households. These may be state licensed but they are usually not regulated.

Preschool and nursery school: where child care is provided in a structured, primarily educational environment and children are more than four years old.

Mothers Day Out: is similar to daycare except that parents use these facilities less frequently and for shorter periods.

Cooperatives: where child care is provided by parents who alternate in caring for their own children, as well as other enrolled children. The number and ages of the children may vary.

Home Care: where a child is cared for in his own home with only his own siblings.

Of course, there are additional variations where children are cared for by some other relative at little or no pay, perhaps

with other children who are related.

Let us consider the many infectious diseases which occur in daycare centers. The majority of those studied have centered around diarrhea, upper respiratory tract infection, otitis media, hepatitis, cytomegalovirus, invasive *Hemophilus influenzae* type b (Hib), and immunization-preventable diseases.

Dr. L. K. Pickering in 1987 summarized four patterns of disease occurrence and disease spread among children in daycare centers and their contacts:[13]

First, there is infection affecting the children, the daycare center staff, and the household or close family members. Numerous studies have shown in this category such diarrheal agents as *Shigella*, *Salmonella* and *Campylobacter*, which cause outbreaks, Rotovirus and other viruses, and parasites such as *Giardia* and *Cryptosporidium*. (The last two are now recognized as common causes of severe debilitating and life threatening diarrhea in patients with AIDS.) Respiratory viruses such as Respiratory Syncitial Virus (RSV), Parainfluenza virus, Adenovirus, Influenza virus, Rhinovirus, and Coronavirus also have been shown to cause infections in children in daycare centers, their daycare workers, and their households and the community.

As early as 1949, Dr. L. Hesselvick[9] showed that children less than two to three years old attending daycare centers have

more respiratory infections than those in home care.

This was further shown by Dr. Katherine Strangert in Stockholm reporting as early as 1976.[16] She compared children in daycare centers, home care, and family daycare homes. She studied their incidence of respiratory illnesses. The one-year-old children in daycare centers had significantly more febrile illnesses per child, more days of cough, and more days of runny nose than the matched children in home care. Also, children in daycare centers had significantly more lower respiratory tract infections (i.e., pneumonia and bronchitis) and they had more antibiotic treatment than children in home care. Her data in 1976 showed that, if children age six months to two years go from home care to either daycare centers or family daycare homes (with four to six children), they have more respiratory illnesses.

In 1972 Dr. Frank Loda[11] found at the Frank Porter Graham Day Care Center in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where I studied Pediatric Infectious Disease, that children less than one year old had an increased rate of respiratory illnesses averaging 9.6 illnesses per child per year. Dr. D. W. Fleming found in 1987)[5] that 31 percent of all upper respiratory infections among daycare attendees were attributable to daycare attendance.

Numerous outbreaks of diarrheal disease also occur in daycare centers. I'd like to refer today to one study by Dr. R. E. Black in 1977, working with the Bureau of Epidemiology,

Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta.[4] He found that an intestinal parasite, *Giardia*, which causes diarrhea was present in 29 to 54 percent of the children in various daycare centers.

This was significantly higher than the 2 percent in age-matched children not in daycare centers. Further, the children in the daycare centers then spread it to other family members. This is now recognized to be quite common. Dr. A. V. Bartlett in 1988 showed that rates of diarrhea in 21 daycare centers were significantly higher than in daycare homes or households not using daycare.[3]

The second pattern of disease occurrence in daycare centers is with infections which are not apparent in the children themselves but likely to be apparent in their adult contacts, even causing community-wide outbreaks, such as Hepatitis A. Such was the case in Maricopa County, Arizona in 1978-1979.[7] In 1981, the incidence of Hepatitis A in the U.S. population was 11.2 per 100,000. However, in approximately that same year, the rate in Maricopa county was 99.4. By contrast, the rate among daycare children was 2,200; among daycare center staff the rate was 12,100; and among household contacts of daycare children the rate was 4,000 per 100,000 population during that outbreak. This was interrupted only with a massive campaign of immune serum globulin or gammaglobulin shots.

The third pattern of disease occurrence in daycare is

limited to the children themselves, such as otitis media or middle ear infection -- something we pediatricians see very commonly. Also, chickenpox and invasive *Hemophilus influenzae* type b disease (especially meningitis, as well as pneumonia, bone and joint infections), though certainly spread to siblings and others at home, affect children in daycare at a higher rate. Dr. Fleming showed that 66 percent of all ear infections among all full-time daycare attendees were attributable to their daycare attendance.[5] This experience, though not documented with numbers, is shared by all pediatricians and by mothers who put their children in daycare. There is a dramatic increase in the number of upper respiratory illnesses, which seem to lead to the common problem of middle ear infections. Why is this so important?

Dr. Ellen Wald has shown that 22 percent of children in group daycare had chronic or recurring ear infections, requiring tubes in their ears with surgery by the second year of life, compared to only 3 percent in home care. Dr. Jerome Klein, presenting data at the 10th National Pediatric Infectious Disease Seminar, gave information from his studies in Boston which showed that recurrent otitis media before the third birthday subsequently resulted in decreased verbal I.Q., decreased performance I.Q., and decreased full-scale I.Q. when children were tested at seven years of age.

Reviewing the problem of *Hemophilus influenzae* type b meningitis in daycare centers, Dr. Haskins and Dr. Kotch in a special supplement issue of Pediatrics in June 1986, reviewed studies from multiple daycare centers.[8] They calculated eleven secondary cases of Hib meningitis among the possible 980 children who were exposed in the daycare center but were not the primary cases. This gave an attack rate of 1,100 cases per 100,000 population, a rate that is greater by a factor of 24 than the population rate for all children less than four years old.

In this same review, a study in Monroe County, New York showed that the relative risk of all invasive Hib disease -- meaning meningitis, pneumonia, bone and joint infections -- among children less than one year of age in daycare was 12.3 times that of children not in daycare. The risk fell, but continued to be 7.2 and 3.8 times higher, among one-year-old and two-year-old children up until the age of three. These data show the significant increased risk for the child in a daycare center. The same Pediatrics supplement further reported that contact children who were in the home, if less than six years old, had 585 times the risk of the general population for acquiring Hib meningitis. In other words, the little brothers and sisters at home had a risk 585 times as great if one child in the daycare had Hib meningitis.

Next, let us consider the fourth pattern of occurrence of

infection in daycare centers. According to Dr. Richard Whitley of the University of Alabama, also reporting at the 10th National Pediatric Infectious Disease Seminar, infection may be inapparent or mild in children attending the daycare center and in their adult contacts, but may have serious consequences for the fetus of a pregnant mother, aunt, neighbor or daycare worker and for certain immunosuppressed persons who may be in their households or their community, such as those with cancer or HIV infection or perhaps a recent transplant recipient who is immunosuppressed.

An example of this type of infection is cytomegalovirus (CMV) which peaks in daycare-center children at two years of age (the toddler again; he's sharing). Children in daycare centers have been shown to shed CMV for two years or longer after acquiring it, continuing to expose pregnant women who may be in their environment. Surveys have shown that up to 80 percent of children in daycare centers excrete CMV in their urine and saliva. Serum antibody to CMV has been found to be 50 to 100 percent in the workers in daycare centers and the parents of children in daycare centers. The pregnant woman who has no antibody to CMV, and acquires the virus from a child with a silent inapparent infection, may have a baby with congenital CMV infection, which can cause birth defects, mental retardation and even death. CMV infection in the young child usually causes no illness in the child in daycare, though in the older child or

adult it can cause a mononucleosis-like illness.

Another virus recently causing concern is Parvovirus B19, which usually causes a mild rash in a child. However, if a pregnant woman is exposed to this virus, it may cause miscarriage or stillbirth. The extent of this problem has not yet been fully studied, but the Journal of the American Medical Association in April 1990 showed that the risk of infection during an outbreak in Connecticut was increased among teachers and daycare workers who had contact with younger children and with greater numbers of ill children. B19 infection is an occupational risk for personnel working with young children. The incidence of this problem is small from a public health standpoint, but real to the individual daycare worker who is pregnant.

Another risk in daycare centers that is being addressed in the 1990s is the risk of children with HIV infection attending daycare centers. The risk of spread should be non-existent if there is no transmission of blood and no sexual contact. A child with AIDS can attend as long as he is not too sick and if he is old enough to know better than to bite and is in a classroom where other children do not bite. Each case is handled individually. The daycare workers, as well as school personnel and health care workers and all daycare workers, usually don't know which children have AIDS, so they have to treat all children the same. But they must know how to handle bleeding safely when

it occurs accidentally.

Probably the most common recognizable risk of the child with HIV infection attending daycare is the risk to himself. He is immunosuppressed, and the diseases which are most likely to cause death in these little children who are the innocent victims of this disease -- the diseases they die with -- are the common childhood diseases -- respiratory viruses, diarrheal illnesses, *Hemophilus influenzae*, and some of the immunization preventable diseases if these children are inadequately immunized.

Finally, handwashing is well recognized by all daycare workers as crucial in interrupting the spread of infection, but handwashing is something that realistically cannot be practiced 100 percent of the time in the midst of the minor crises going on all about you. Dr. A. V. Bartlett showed in 1988 that, when handwashing has been reinforced in daycare settings, temporarily handwashing becomes a more regular practice and diarrhea rates go down. But when the on-going observation and the surveillance end, this practice will begin to lapse, become less than perfect, and the rates of diarrhea go back up again.[3]

In summary, daycare centers pose a significant health risk to infants and young children, especially when they are still in diapers and still putting things in their mouths. These children, once infected, then pose a further risk to those caring for them and to those at home and those in the community.

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Chapter 5

THE WORKPLACE OF THE FUTURE:

WILL IT BE FAMILY FRIENDLY?

by Virginia L. Thomas

A legislative consultant on business and labor issues explores the opening of options and attitudes that can make the workplace more compatible with family needs.

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Mrs. Thomas previously worked for five years for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, where she managed numerous legislative issues involving employment which are important to the business community. She provided testimony to Congressional committees, and arranged several coalitions on business issues. She has appeared on many national television talk programs; on the Today show, for example, she debated Berry Brazelton, a leading advocate of federal involvement in child care.

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Balancing work and family -- creating "family friendly" workplaces -- both these commonly referred to goals sound

desirable; but we all know that they are difficult to achieve in the real world.

It is becoming increasingly challenging for employees to cope with the demands of professional careers, child rearing, home management, job relocation, and other long-term stresses. There are increasing and brand new pressures on each member of a family. A new corporate culture is developing concerning what employers can ask from employees who need to keep an eye on a parent, a parent-in-law, a sick child, or a young child.

Most consider this balancing act still to be a women's issue, but maybe it isn't. In two studies at DuPont, men's reports of certain family-related problems nearly doubled from 1985 to 1988. Men seem to be able to assert their desires and needs to be with the family much more routinely.

Despite the growing mismatch between the rules of the employment game and the needs of the players, it would appear that a majority of companies have not made significant efforts to accommodate changing families. How serious can this be? After all, employees still do get to work and get their jobs done. Somehow the plumber manages to find the key. We know that children and the elderly are somewhere. Why start worrying now?

Nonetheless, companies are beginning to show signs of worrying and employees, often times, are forcing these matters into the workplace. Inflexibility does have an adverse effect on

productivity. In a study at Merck in 1984, employees who perceived their supervisors as unsupportive on family issues reported higher levels of stress, greater absenteeism, and lower job satisfaction.

I will not dictate or suggest any one best solution for companies, but will simply present a wide assortment of possibilities for us to consider and to present to companies wishing to be "family friendly" in the future.

Very little discussion seems to take place about the practical implications of the strain between work and family. When there is discussion, it typically centers on the role of the state or the Federal Government to dictate leave benefits or to create a massive new federal daycare program. This is ducking the harder, more creative and more responsive solutions that need to be struggled with.

That is partially due to the corporate culture of the past which rewarded employees who sacrificed their families for the company. Epitomized by the employee who is motivated primarily by the organization's values and needs, who accepts geographic relocation cheerfully despite the difficulties created for children and a spouse, and who places ultimate value on climbing to the highest possible rung on the corporate ladder, this employee who is later in top management is likely to have trouble relating to the employee who <u>is</u> concerned about the balance

between home and work. This executive will interpret the need for balance as "low motivation" or "weak commitment."

Another reason companies are hesitant to address family issues in the workplace is that family issues can be complex, individual and intensely personal. Personal and family problems may be the last topic many top executives want to see discussed in the workplace.

What are the remedies? Well, here are just some.

First, let's look at home-based work. Equipment-based work in the home or "telecommuting" has been relatively slow to take hold in the corporate world. Certain industries, such as cottage handicrafts, translation services, free-lance journalism, direct sales, and telephone marketing, often operate out of workers' homes. More recently, businesses have also begun employing telecommuters for transcribing, computer programming, technical writing, and other jobs requiring minimal supervision.

One company that hires skilled computer programmers and technical writers to work at home is the Learning Company. This small, northern California computer firm contracts with telecommuters to produce educational software and manuals, and pays them by the job. Gallup and Harris polling firms also routinely hire home workers across the nation for telephone work. For workers whose family responsibilities do not coincide with the traditional workday, telecommuting can allow them full-time

employment at the most convenient hours for them.

Blue Cross and Blue Shield's South Carolina office began an experiment in telecommuting in 1978, when a manager took claim reports home to key into a computer. A few years later, the office hired 14 more "cottage keyers" to key and code claim reports. The company was surprised to find that, for paid hours, these workers were about 25 percent more productive than their office counterparts and had zero turnover in five years. Considered part-time workers, these employees were not eligible for the same benefit programs as full-timers; but paid by the claim, they may have ended up with a higher monetary income than hourly or salaried claims processors.

Next, let's talk about changing the corporate culture -- a project for which there could be many possibilities. Here we must challenge rigid scheduling, expectations for non-work hours, and outmoded career definitions.

Organizations need to help employees define the boundaries between work and home. Unfortunately, in many work settings, part of the current culture is to enhance productivity -- to do more with less staff. That means the work day is spilling over into personal time, and work/family boundaries become more blurred, not more defined.

The company should recognize the sanctity of the home and adopt policies, however minor they may seem, that show

sensitivity to the family, such as not scheduling long-distance meetings on Mondays or Fridays, or travel on the weekends. Employees should not be called at home on business unless it is an emergency. Breakfast meetings and late afternoon meetings might be something to avoid so as to allow for personal transitions from home to work. Allowing the employee to unwind from work can increase the employee's availability to the family and improve the employee's effectiveness the next day.

Organizations can also make boundaries less rigid and more flexible, such as making sure there is time off for teacher conferences and important school events, for doctor and dental appointments, for soccer championships, sudden illnesses, school closings due to snow, or a breakdown in daycare arrangements.

In November 1988, Eastman Kodak announced a new work schedule program that permits four kinds of alternative work schedules: (1) permanent changes in regular, scheduled hours, (2) supervisory flexibility in adjusting daily schedules to accommodate family needs, (3) temporary and permanent part-time schedules at all levels, and (4) job sharing.

In 1988, IBM expanded its flextime program to allow employees to adjust their workdays by as much as two hours in either direction and adopted an extended leave-of-absence policy permitting up to a three year break from full-time employment with part-time work in the second and third years. The company

has also been experimenting with work-at-home programs. Early in 1989, it introduced family-issues sensitivity training for more than 25,000 managers and supervisors. As a bonus, IBM lets strong performers take computer terminals home. Lap top computers and modem links have been the technological edges needed to better accommodate needs for flexibility.

According to some research provided to the Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, there is a current trend in employee benefits toward more flexibility in benefits. Rather than committing to a particular benefit level, employers increasingly are looking at a total level of compensation; employees then help determine the form and structure of the total benefit package. Such plans offer potential for employers to control costs, while offering employees the opportunity to better meet individual needs and circumstances. This research for the Department indicates that support for employed families appears to be playing an important role in this emerging era of employee benefits.

Employee satisfaction with benefit programs as a whole has declined since 1970. Opinion Research Corporation data show dissatisfaction to be related to the belief that many traditional plans no longer fit the demographic configuration of employees' households. The kind of change employees say they want is not more benefits, but more choice. A 1986 study by Buck Consultants

found that 70 percent of Americans say they would prefer to pay more out-of-pocket for the opportunity to configure benefits to fit their personal needs.

There are so many possibilities when we consider family friendly benefits or policies. When you look at the area of dependent care, which includes infants, children, adolescents and the elderly, we can see that cafeteria plans are a growing type of employee benefit. We can see the increasing phenomenon of flexible spending accounts or salary reduction plans, which sometimes include employer contributions but other times are just a salary reduction plan that is currently nontaxable, and only taxed when you withdraw it later for dependent care purposes. Traditional benefits that have been used as family supports include: pensions, life insurance, health insurance, and disability income insurance.

Companies can show greater flexibility in the organization, hours, and location of work and creation of career paths which allow for family responsibility as well as professional ambition. Maternity leave, parental leave, adoption leave, sick leave for parents, and sick leave for children are all beneficial arrangements on a personal and individual company basis.

Companies can validate family issues as an organizational concern, as well as through training. We already see employee assistance plans, programs to promote the health of employees,

and relocation assistance. Why not more sensitivity to family issues?

Let's take the issue of part-time work. Studies show that a third to a half of women with young children want to work less than full time for at least a while, despite the loss of pay and other benefits. Yet, a study published in the Harvard Business Review indicated that managers at all levels tend to show firm resistance to part-time work. They seem to regard the 40-hour work week as sacred and cannot imagine that anyone working less than that would be contributing in any useful manner. Part-time work is not necessarily a half day job. It can mean a four-day work week or a 30-hour work week.

Let's think about relocation. Why not provide the option to formally bring the family into the workplace to review the facts involved in a transfer? The family will then have first-hand factual information about the new location and it can be made a "family decision" rather than an employee decision.

Providing company resources for the family -- recreational or educational -- is another option. Purchasing home computers or joining particular clubs can often be family benefits rather than employee benefits.

Company "Family Days" can do a lot for morale. Family members can be invited into the workplace and taken on a tour, wined and dined by management, and given the chance to see more

clearly what Dad or Mom does on a daily basis and how it fits into the company's plans.

CEOs can go on record as being in support of family flexibility, but supervisors are never evaluated with criteria to judge whether or not they have been successful at this goal. IBM, Johnson & Johnson, Merck, and Warner-Lambert have all established training programs to teach managers to be more sensitive to work and family issues. The training lays out the business case for flexibility, reviews corporate programs and policies, and presents case studies that underline the fact that there are often no right answers or any rule books to use as guides in the complicated circumstances of work and family.

Another item to talk about is employee surveys. No one knows exactly how many people, women in particular, leave workplaces because of cultural rigidity.

A needs assessment should always be conducted to determine the need for, the interest in, and the desire for benefits or programs or policies that are family oriented. Based on the results of that assessment, the most appropriate options should be selected. Specialists are available to help with that process.

A company can consider establishing a management-employee committee or task force to assist in planning programs, doing needs assessments, or bringing to fruition the family-sensitive

policies and programs.

We would be naive if we did not recognize that there is a reluctance to adopt a total system perspective for examining the effect of the work/family interaction on productivity, work quality, and employee involvement; or to consider the host of cultural, historical, sociological and political factors which contribute to the avoidance of that topic.

Yet, the workplaces of the future will comprise an even greater number of families who need and demand supportive services and structures in the workplace in order to enhance their participation.

Perhaps even more important is the fact that fertility levels in the United States are below replacement levels. As we watch what is happening, we see that, for the most part, the higher a woman's educational level, the more likely she is to be employed and the less likely she is to have children. The choice to have a family is complex, yet one study shows that two-thirds of women under 40 who have reached the top echelons in our largest institutions are childless. If we fail to alter the messages and the opportunities we offer young men and women, and if they learn to see a demanding work life as not compatible with a satisfying family life, we could easily create an economy in which more and more leaders trade family for career success.

The boundaries between work and family are real and need to

be acknowledged and discussed with more flexibility in mind. Some boundaries are as impenetrable as was the Berlin Wall for so many years. Other boundaries can be just a picket fence between two neighbors. The kinds of boundaries we create between work and family can be either permeable or impenetrable. They can help define separate entities while permitting interchange between them, or they can be the source of constant friction and frustration.

Our goal -- whether on a personal level or through our involvement in shaping governmental policies -- should be to facilitate flexibility and create a picket fence over which we can communicate, not a Berlin Wall.

Family friendly workplaces will not be the product of federal policies that oversimplify, mandate, stipulate, and regulate. Family friendly workplaces can be the result of employees and employers who challenge some traditional thinking and seek new options. Persuasion, persistence and patience can and will yield more and more family friendly workplaces for the future.

Chapter 6

WEEDING OUT BAD IDEAS AND GENERATING GOOD ONES

by William R. Mattox, Jr.

A commentator and consultant on social policy explains the purpose of family impact statements, and then evaluates various proposals on workforce participation and benefits in relation to family needs.

William R. Mattox, Jr. is Director of Policy Analysis at the Family Research Council. He has testified at Congressional and Labor Department hearings, written a number of articles about work and family issues, and served as editor of the Family Research Council's bi-monthly publication, Family Policy. He formerly worked for a U.S. Senator, a U.S. Congressman, and in the Office of the U.S. Secretary of Defense.

Mr. Mattox graduated summa cum laude from the University of Georgia's School of Journalism and has done graduate work in sociology at the University of Maryland. He lives in Washington, D.C. with his wife, Jill, and their two children.

When it comes to home repairs, not only do I lack the mechanical ability to fix most common household items, but I usually lack the wherewithal even to determine what caused

something to break. Just as I am dependent on repairmen who can both identify root problems and fix them, our nation is dependent on government, business, and community leaders who can identify the roots of social problems and craft appropriate measures to address them.

The child care bills passed by both the House and Senate in the 101st Congress give clear testimony to what happens when policymakers fail to diagnose a problem correctly, when policymakers fail to address the root causes of a particular social problem -- in this case, growing economic pressures and rigid employment structures that make it difficult for families to carry out their childrearing responsibilities.

Several years ago, a White House task force chaired by Gary Bauer examined ways to help government leaders define and address social problems that affect the family. Bauer's task force concluded that, just as the Federal Government studies the environmental impact of various proposals, efforts to assess the impact of policy initiatives on the family also would prove useful.

Bauer's task force believed that family impact studies would serve as a filter, a screen, to weed out potentially damaging policies -- including those that may have a superficial allure. It believed that impact studies would help identify good ideas which strengthen the autonomy and viability of the intact, two-

parent family by asking questions such as:

Does the policy serve to reinforce the stability of the home, and particularly the marital commitment that holds the home together?

Does the proposal strengthen or erode the authority of the home and, specifically, the rights of parents in the education, nurture and supervision of their children?

Not long after the Bauer report was released, President Reagan issued an Executive Order calling on all federal agencies to begin assessing the family impact of various policy recommendations. Had such a review mechanism been in place back in the 1950s, '60s and '70s, it is likely that the destructive erosion of the income tax exemption for dependents (which resulted largely from benign neglect) would not have occurred. As it is, families today find themselves significantly overtaxed.

In 1950, a median-income family of four paid only two percent of its annual income in federal income and payroll taxes. Today, a median-income family of four sends 24 percent of its earnings to the U.S. Treasury.

The overtaxation of America's families has contributed significantly to growing economic pressure on families with children. Faced with such pressure, parents today are devoting more of their time to wage labor and less to rearing children than did parents a generation ago. Data collected by University

of Maryland sociologist John Robinson show that the average parent today spends 40 percent less time with children than the average parent did in 1965. Other studies show that some time-honored family rituals, such as eating the evening meal together or taking an extended summer vacation, are also being squeezed.

Unfortunately, concerns about the economic autonomy of families and the amount of time parents spend with children have received insufficient attention in the current child care debate. While social liberals have tried to put a happy face on "communal forms of childrearing," some economic conservatives have embraced socialized child care, believing it will enhance America's economic competitiveness.

For example, one U.S. Senator recently defended the Act for Better Child Care, arguing that efforts to enable parents to spend more time at home with their children could produce a sort of "brain drain" that would have a negative effect on the economy.

This is a shortsighted argument, for it shows no apparent concern for the long-term social and economic fall-out associated with rearing children outside the family unit. Such thinking smacks of what Bush budget advisor Richard Darman calls "now-nowism" -- that propensity to sacrifice long-term economic and cultural progress for the sake of short-term financial gain.

Darman believes "now-nowism" is a serious malady afflicting

corporate America. A brief review of some recent developments in business employment policies would certainly support his contention. Many business policies which are being promoted today as "pro-family" or "family-friendly" are anything but that. They are much more concerned with an individual's absence from the workplace than his or her absence from the home. Consider, for example, daycare for sick children. I can imagine no more inhumane policy than asking families to treat a young child suffering from some sort of illness as though he were laundry -- dumped off at a commercial establishment on the way to the office and retrieved at the end of a long work day.

Yet programs offering daycare for sick children are expanding -- in part because feminists are helping to assuage corporate guilt. For example, Du Pont, which funds a daycare center for sick children affectionately titled, "Sniffles and Sneezes," recently made Working Mother magazine's list of the Top Ten companies for employed mothers.

The growth in business-sponsored daycare programs for sick children is part of a larger trend towards corporate daycare services. Some people look upon corporate-sponsored daycare as a constructive idea -- the sort of response that the business community ought to take to help families. I do not share their perspective. In fact, I am almost as concerned about corporate-sponsored daycare as I am about government-run daycare. I can

imagine a situation where an employer comes to one of his employees at 5 o'clock, after the employee has already put in eight or nine hours, and says, "I need you to stay late to complete this project tonight -- but, don't worry, our on-site day care center will see to it that your child gets fed and diapered."

Perhaps I am overly paranoid, but my reading of the child labor abuses and sweatshop conditions that were common during the early stages of the Industrial Revolution leads me to believe that there is reason to fear a situation where the priorities of the corporation dictate family patterns and lifestyles. I am in no way advocating insensitivity to legitimate management interests; I am instead voicing concern about the abuse or misuse of the corporation's influence over family priorities.

For example, the Washington Post reported recently that the Marriott Corporation had hired Bob Keeshan of Captain Kangaroo fame to conduct "parenting seminars" for its employees. According to the Post, part of the Captain's presentation was devoted to allaying parental concerns about the lack of time they were spending with their children.

The Marriott and Du Pont examples point to the need for a review mechanism -- similar to that found in the Federal Government -- which assesses the impact of corporate policies on the family. Of course, having such a review framework is only

half the solution. While family impact statements can serve as a filter for weeding out bad ideas, they do not have the capacity to serve the equally important task of generating new ideas that strengthen family autonomy and parental freedom.

Accordingly, one of our society's greatest challenges today is to develop a forward-looking vision of work and family life in America that takes the strengths of both the 18th and 19th century agrarian family model and the 20th century breadwinner-homemaker model and adapts them to the technological and economic realities of the 21st century.

In going back to the future, high priority should be given to revitalizing home-based economic production. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, the home was the center of economic production in America. Family members typically worked together on the home estate as merchants, artisans, or farmers. Men and women each had significant economic roles. Childrearing responsibilities were shared by mothers, fathers, and extended family members.

Industrialization changed all that. It centered economic production outside the home, taking workers (particularly men) away from their spouses and children for the better part of the day. Similarly, employment-driven geographic mobility took nuclear families away from larger kin networks.

There is reason to believe that the rise of an information-

based economy could help the pendulum swing back towards home. Clearly, an information-based economy -- linked together by computers and fax machines and satellite telecommunication -- makes home-based wage labor more viable and employment-driven geographic mobility less necessary.

A growing number of businesses are hiring home-based workers or permitting employees to split job time between home and office. In addition, home-based entrepreneurship is rising. Still, home-based employment opportunities are being stifled by local, state, and federal regulations which prohibit certain forms of homework and by tax policies which permit deductibility of home office expenses only when office space is used exclusively for income-producing activities. This latter deterrent is particularly onerous for families with children, since they have greater demands on their housing space than do other homeowners.

Apart from giving workers greater control over where they do their work, emphasis should be placed on giving workers greater control over when and how much wage labor they perform. Many businesses have adopted plans offering flextime, compressed work weeks, part-time work, and job sharing. Others should follow suit. There is no reason why flexible scheduling -- which helps parents organize work schedules around family needs -- cannot proliferate as the economy becomes more and more information-

based.

Along similar lines, attention should be given to promoting cafeteria benefit plans, which give employees an opportunity to choose from a menu of options those benefits that best meet their family needs. Flexible benefit plans give employees a greater voice in decisions affecting their compensation, and they promote equity in compensation. This is important, for many so-called "family friendly" employee benefits are of little or no benefit to families who care for their own children.

Aside from making work arrangements more flexible, we need to re-order work and family responsibilities throughout the life cycle. It seems rather bizarre to me that Americans tend to work greater hours during the stage in life when they are most apt to have childrearing responsibilities and fewer hours (if any at all) during their twilight years of life when they are least apt to have childrearing responsibilities. Indeed, the trend has been increasingly toward early retirement and the expansion of leisure among people aged 55 to 70. This has been caused, in part, by business practices and social security laws which discourage senior-citizen employment.

Arlene Rossen Cardozo, author of the recent book, Sequencing, argues that we need to alter lifestyle patterns so that people "do it all" over the course of their lifetime, instead of all at once. Cardozo, and fellow "sequencing"

advocate Edith Fierst, often point to Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor and former United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick as examples of mothers who took time off while their children were young and then accelerated their career involvement after their children were "well-launched."

Spreading work and family goals over one's productive life span has particular appeal to me because of my own father's example. My father always dreamed of going to law school but felt that family considerations should take priority while his five children were young. Several years ago, after the last of his children had flown the nest, my father retired from his job as a college administrator and enrolled in law school. (He even scored high enough on the LSAT to receive a scholarship.) Earlier this year, at the ripe young age of 59, my father graduated from law school. He now looks forward to many years of productive activity in what promises to be a most fulfilling second career.

I enjoy telling my father's story, not just because I admire what he has accomplished, but because I think it makes an important statement about the role of fathers in childrearing. I can assure you that I am no advocate of androgyny or gender blending, but I do believe that fathers are more than just economic providers -- or at least they should be. The welfare state can provide a meal ticket, but it cannot replace a father's

presence in the home. I agree with Nicholas Davidson, who argued in a recent essay that father absence is the greatest social catastrophe in America today. Accordingly, a primary objective of any effort to reform work and family patterns in America should be, in the words of the Hebrew prophet Malachi, "to turn the hearts of fathers to their children."

In closing, I have a confession to make. Even though I have spent the last three years working against socialized daycare legislation in the U.S. Congress, I would be willing to support government funding of daycare services if I could be assured that the only daycare providers hired by the Federal Government were caretakers like Mary Poppins.

A couple of years ago, when I watched "Mary Poppins" with my daughter, I was surprised to find that the movie offers anything but a ringing endorsement of substitute childrearing. As movie buffs will no doubt recall, Mary Poppins did not view her mission as one of supplanting the role of Mr. and Mrs. Banks. Instead, she believed her job was to help the career-obsessed banker and his suffragette wife see what joy could be found in spending time with their children. Once the wind changed -- and the Banks family began flying kites together in the park -- Mary Poppins departed, her mission accomplished.

If the child care bills being trumpeted by so-called "children's advocates" were designed to hire daycare providers

who, like Mary Poppins, were interested in working themselves out of a job, no family impact study could find that anti-family. But Marion Wright Edelman is no Mary Poppins. The legislation she and other "children's advocates" continually trumpet are bills designed to supplant the role of parents.

This is unfortunate, because all the time and creative energy that liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, spend squabbling over misguided daycare proposals could be better spent working together to promote better ideas -- ideas like sequencing, home-based employment, flexible scheduling, cafeteria benefit plans, tax relief for parents, and others that facilitate the parental rearing of children.

Chapter 7

HOW TO HARNESS THE FUTURE FOR FREEDOM

by Congressman Newt Gingrich

A strategic thinker of the conservative movement suggests ways that technological progress and innovative ideas can combine to build economic prosperity and family stability, and create opportunities for the home entrepreneur.

Congressman Newt Gingrich is now in his sixth term as the U.S. Representative from the Sixth District of Georgia, which includes the Atlanta airport area. His peers recognized his leadership talents in electing him House Minority Whip.

Congressman Gingrich has become one of the leaders of the conservative movement because of his speeches all over the country in which he uses his profound knowledge of American political history to analyze and recommend successful objectives, strategy, and tactics for today. His innovative approach to issues has won him a reputation as an outstanding thinker of our time.

The 1986 Almanac of American Politics reported that, as the co-founder of the Conservative Opportunity Society group of Republicans in the House, "Gingrich played a major role in changing . . . the content of the ideas that shape American politics." He has been described by the New York Times as "a thoughtful analyst . . . who gushes with ideas." The Wall Street Journal said his ideas will "have important political implications for both parties."

He received his B.A. from Emory University, and his Master's and Ph.D. from Tulane University. He was a teacher of political science at West Georgia College before he made the decision to come where the action is -- to Congress.

For at least 15 years, we have had the potential to allow people to work at home, technologically that is. If you look at the entrepreneurs who have been doing it, the potential to do an extraordinary amount of work without physically leaving your home already exists. For example, we can talk with each other without moving, but we don't do it for many reasons, some of them cultural. We are still used to seeing each other physically, so we will fly somewhere to sit in a room for an hour to have a meeting, even though we all know what all the others look like. For about five percent of the cost, we could have spent the same hour on the telephone or in a conference environment.

We still talk about dialing the telephone. When was the last time you dialed a telephone? There are still a few places in America that have dial phones, but in most places nowadays you punch a number in, not dial it. Our language indicates how our culture lags behind technological progress.

Second, an enormous built-in bias against technological progress is connected with the labor unions. Unions can only organize large groups; they don't make sense in small groups. The unions have a tremendous vested interest in slowing down the future because, the more the future looks like an information industrial age, the more it looks decentralized, and the worse it is for big centralized systems like unions.

The same thing is true for the government. Bureaucracies,

remember, were invented by Bismarck when male clerks used quill pens. Just think about that concept. This institutional arrangement of activity is pre-computer, pre-electric typewriter, and even pre-typewriter. Yet this is the base of all modern government from your local school board to the Department of Defense.

Bureaucracies hate decentralization because decentralization is fast, fluid, mobile, innovative and, therefore, doesn't fit into a regulatory system. That's why the Health Care Financing Administration, which is the enemy of innovation, the enemy of decentralization and the enemy of volunteerism, is a major threat to all American health care. It has a built-in bias in favor of ultimately ending up with five hospital chains which control all health care. Then the administrators could meet in one room and plan health care. That would, of course, stifle all creativity, all innovation, all new developments, all rational behavior at a local level, but the administrators would feel better because they would meet in <u>their</u> room.

Isn't it bizarre that perestroika works in Warsaw but not in Washington? And that perestroika works in Prague but not in Pittsburgh? Isn't it strange that, as long as we pass the Iron Curtain going East, we recognize the fact that large centralized bureaucracies are dumb? Yet, some people say, let's build another bureaucracy here. So, they build impediments to allowing

people to work at home and to have home entrepreneurships.

A third factor is the large incentive in the tax system in favor of concrete infrastructure but virtually no incentive in favor of electronic infrastructure. Let's take an example. As part of our response to all the current craze to mandate benefits, what if we simply say that anybody who has a child and wants to stay home with the child can have up to a $5,000 tax credit to purchase something to be economically productive at home? Let's say you're a typist and you work out a deal with your boss to stay home for the next six months. You would need an electronic system to type on your word processor at home instead of at the office.

Suppose the government said: We'll subsidize that because we want to maximize the ability of parents (mothers) to be economically productive while staying home. This would change the whole internalized dynamic of the game. Suddenly, it would be as desirable to be a small business as a large one.

Similarly, we need much greater incentives for a co-operative kind of health insurance. There are enormous disadvantages to leaving employment with a big corporation or a government, where you have a group health policy, and going out on your own where you may not have any coverage. Instead of talking about government health insurance, we should find ways to maximize incentives for private alternatives.

Modern centralization in some ways started around 1895 when the Progressive movement brought European ideas to Wisconsin and other parts of the United States. That was when German socialism arrived at our shores and started to accelerate.

The ideological breaking point did not come until 1980. The Nixon Administration was the least liberal government we had before then, but it was not a conservative government. It was an attempt to build a conservative government within a liberal framework.

It is hard to remember now how radical Bill Buckley was -- how far out of the framework of the national establishment he was -- when he first began to explain the modern world in terms of American politics. It has taken us this long to reverse the momentum of the Left, so we haven't really had a second or third generation effort yet.

All of a sudden with the rise of Reagan and the collapse of Carter (remember, with some help from Carter, Mondale and Dukakis), we started a new era in a new framework. Since the liberals took what turned out to be something like 70 years to build up their establishment, I don't know that we ought to feel too badly that it has taken us a little while to sort out our policies.

We badly need task forces to go out and interview successful entrepreneurs at home, find out what they need to be more

productive, and come up with new ideas and new proposals. Then they can come to the Congress and suggest that we modify a tax law or a federal labor regulation this way or that.

Then, suddenly, you may find allies who, although they may not share your passion on other issues, nevertheless understand how their economic future economically fits into your future instead of the AFL-CIO's. A highly decentralized America, which maximizes the ability of people to be productive in their own environments, which they control, is much closer to our model of the future than to the future of the Left.

There are many complexities to this approach, and we all need to explore them with a lot of people. Solutions are not always obvious or easy. Here is one example of this thinking.

We should create part-time work in the school system, particularly in rural areas. We should introduce bills that allow schools to hire the local pharmacist to teach chemistry one hour a day, and not require them to go back and take "Mickey Mouse" education courses. A pharmacist probably knows 20 times more chemistry than the current chemistry teacher so, when that chemistry teacher leaves, maybe we can hire the pharmacist to teach chemistry. We'll make him an apprentice teacher the first year, and we'll pay him extra as a master teacher, just as though he were an assistant football coach.

We already know how to pay supplements for things that are

really important, like sports. It just never occurred to us to pay supplements to master teachers. This idea also tends to break up the union mentality which asserts that every worker is the same and refuses to reward merit. The union doesn't make sense unless all workers are considered the same.

When you start creating possibilities for a one-hour-a-day job, you increase the potential for motherhood. In the late 20th century, as we see the 1970s-caricature of feminism receding, we're finding out that a lot of the younger generation want both. In the '90s, many women want both a career and to be an active mother. They don't want to be told it is either/or.

Likewise, we want both a healthy environment and a good economy. We don't want to be told it is either/or. We want both to crush the drug trade and to retain our civil liberties.

The American people are starting to understand their political system. We don't want to be told that we just have a series of bad choices. We don't want to hire politicians to give us bad choices. The American people are looking for ways in which modern technology can be a synthesis that leads to good choices.

I've always been convinced that the explosion of technology and electronic opportunities, which Alvin Toffler and John Naisbitt described, in the long run favor us because we believe more in human freedom than the Left does. Conservatives don't

believe in regimentation and, properly thought through, we can come up with a model of activism.

Phyllis Schlafly is sometimes caricatured as a throwback to a 19th-century model of women who don't want to be actively involved -- even though she is totally active and is a national television figure who is networked electronically into every state. She is, in fact, totally modern in her ability to be active while expressing values that are timeless. This is the context we want to think through, so that we end up with our competitive version of employed women and our competitive version of motherhood.

What is the traditional family in the electronic age? How do we get it to work, and how do we make it successful? All these goals require a lot more thinking. We know that the bureaucratic welfare state and its permissive attitudes do not work.

We do not aspire to be the conservative wing of the bureaucratic welfare state. We represent the people who plan to replace the bureaucratic welfare state. Our replacement for the bureaucratic welfare state can be characterized as a triangle -- the triangle of American success. One side is entrepreneurial free enterprise, one side is technological progress and innovation, and the bottom side of the triangle is basic American values of which the most important is honest hard work. If you

ask Americans what is the most important characteristic of being an American, most will tell you it is honest hard work.

Can you imagine running into the bureaucracy of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and saying that Honest Hard Work is our new slogan? Can you imagine going into Washington, D.C. public housing, where every fifth apartment is not usable, and saying that Honest Hard Work is our new slogan?

Chapter 8

HOW YOUNG MOTHERS CAN "HAVE IT ALL"

by Caroline Hull

A newsletter publisher and former personnel director describes the advantages of combining motherhood with a home-based business. She identifies home-based options and urges flexibility as the watchword for the future.

Caroline J. Hull writes and publishes Connexions: Networking Newsletter for the Mother at Home. This unique publication focuses on exploring options of home-based businesses and providing resources for mothers who wish to raise their children at home but need outside income.

Mrs. Hull also maintains a computerized networking database registry called HOMEbase, which is designed to match mothers who need paid employment with employers who offer this option, and also to help home-based mothers in business connect with others who are similarly involved. She is co-founder of MATCH (Mothers Advocating Taking Careers Home), a support and advocacy group for mothers who choose to be primarily home-based in order to raise their children, but want to continue their income-producing career connections.

Mrs. Hull received her B.A. with honors in English and American Literature from the University of Kent at Canterbury, England. She had a successful career as personnel director for a British-based international computer company. Transferred to the United States, she set up and directed the New York City office and then four additional branches.

She is now the full-time, at-home mother of four children under six, providing networking services for women who are creatively seeking ways to pursue career options while raising their children at home.

Despite the much heralded advances made over the past 30 years, many of which have had the concomitant effect of diminishing the status of mothers who choose to stay home, particularly those who give up careers to do so, it seems that the would-be "liberation" of women has, in some measure, merely led us into a different kind of bondage -- the oppressive shackles of the "superwoman" myth. Millions of women are waging war on a daily basis against the constant and overburdening pressures imposed by career and family obligations, unaware or unconvinced, along with their employers, that there <u>are</u> indeed other options that deserve consideration.

Many women, too many in my view, are still given "full-time or no-time" ultimatums. The picture is changing slowly. In a recent survey conducted by Metropolitan Mothers At Work which looked at current benefits and alternative work schedules, most of the 103 companies surveyed offered part-time and/or flex-time options. However, only six offered a work-at-home option. I will look specifically at this last option -- home-based business and home-based work, discussing why it is gaining popularity and why it is such a terrific choice for mothers.

Despite statistics that quote anywhere up to 75 percent of mothers in the paid workforce, it is clear on further analysis of these figures that they include a large number of women who are not working full-time in the paid workforce. In fact, statistics

support the fact that a growing number of women are engaging in home-based work -- either as entrepreneurs or, less commonly, paid by an employer to work from their homes. I consider myself to be a full-time at-home mother and a part-time businesswoman. In the course of my work, I constantly hear from many others who have opted for this approach.

The overriding, uniting factor among home-based mothers is the desire to combine mothering and career in a way that will not compromise their ability to spend quality and quantity time with their children. At a time when horror stories about daycare have become almost commonplace and the steady rise in crime, drug use and suicide among the nation's teens has been documented, people are starting to ask themselves if, in the frenzy to "have it all," will it "all" have been gained at the expense of the next generation?

Another factor is that with the relatively recent proliferation of manuals on childrearing and improved understanding of the social and emotional needs and development of infants, the current generation of mothers has access to better information than ever before and so understands the paramount importance of those first 3 to 5 years of a child's life. Those of us with children who have already made their first irrevocable move toward independence as they enter kindergarten know how fleeting are those few short pre-school

years. Time spent well then is an investment in the future of the child and in the parental-child bond, and time which, if not fully taken advantage of then, cannot be reclaimed.

However, women are not necessarily prepared for the consequences of giving up their careers and staying home. As products of the women's movement and its ideology, we have bought the superwoman myth and made no provisions, either financially or psychologically, to be at-home mothers. Even the overwhelming desire to be with the child doesn't disguise the ambivalence felt about giving up hard-earned careers and years of education, or about facing the often dramatic financial consequences resulting from this decision. Because of this pervasive notion in society that women must strive to "have it all" and that the role of full-time housewife or homemaker is hardly worthy of consideration, young couples when planning their families seldom even consider this path -- assuming that the woman's pregnancy and the birth of their child will be merely a hiccup in an otherwise tidy and well-ordered lifestyle.

So, the new at-home mother often falls prey to a host of unpleasant realities -- loneliness and isolation in neighborhoods where she may be the only one at home; loss of self-esteem and prestige and being subjected to such ego-elevating responses as "oh, you're just a housewife?" Very often she will feel guilt and a sense of loss over a career and education she spent years

pursuing, or opportunities lost through leaving the formal workplace. One new mother wrote to me from Schenectady, New York: "I am a new mother who decided to stay home with my baby. It seems that ever since I quit my job I have lost contact with everyone and I have also lost respect from everyone. Could you please send me any information on how I can work and still be with my baby?"

Frequently, the prestige that accompanied a successful career will be replaced by a discomfiting sense of inadequacy as she compares herself unfavorably with media images of motherhood, which portray perfect mothers and perfect babies in perfect homes or professional women seemingly juggling work and family with humor and aplomb. Add to this a social environment that has not been supportive of women in the home for some time, and it is easy to see why the average woman -- career-oriented and often unprepared for mothering -- would rush back to her job; and in fact that is exactly what many women do.

However, an increasing number are finding that, through developing and running a home-based business or seeking some type of home-based work, they can regain the sense of control and self-esteem they felt lacking. For some couples, this may tilt the economic scales sufficiently so that the mother doesn't <u>have</u> to go back a job. An Arlington mother says, "I have to work from home. If I don't, I have to go back to work full-time and put

the kids in daycare. I don't want to do that. I really don't have a choice."

In a recently published issue of Connexions, I profiled several local mothers who are successfully combining home-based work with at-home mothering. The activities run the gamut from word-processing companies to cleaning services to publishing and public relations. Most talk in glowing terms about home-based work and what it provides them in personal satisfaction and fulfillment, the financial contribution they are able to make to the family budget, the advantages of being able to control and customize their work schedule, and the opportunity to keep career skills current and sometimes even acquire new ones. An Arlington mother says, "I like staying home and working for myself. I like the flexibility and the freedom and having complete control."

Flexibility is a key issue for these women and John Naisbitt, social researcher and author concurs: "Flexibility should become the motto for personnel policies in the 1990s." Naisbitt also suggests that corporations will have to provide "flexible work arrangements in the whole range of professional, technical, clerical, manufacturing jobs -- part-time, job-sharing, contract work and home-work arrangements."

There is no doubt, however, that despite the benefits of working from home, stresses and obstacles are inherent in running a home-based business, as in running any business enterprise.

Indeed, many women would choose to work for an employer, rather than start their own entrepreneurial ventures, if this option were more commonly available. Many mothers rely on existing job skills and career experience, but an equal number establish a business in a completely different field, often engaging in work they would not have considered in their formal career days.

But financial viability often has to take precedence over job satisfaction, at least in the early years. The payoff comes later when, successful and well-established, they can take pride in their accomplishments as businesswomen and the fact that they are still at home with their children. Mothers in home-business will usually agree that working from home is not necessarily an easy choice, but then again, neither are the other stark alternatives. The right balance is an elusive quest, and often manageable only on a day-to-day basis flexing between the needs of business and children, depending on which is the needier at that moment.

The primary problems are those that face all of us in this fast-paced society: time and money. On top of these for the home-based individual, are the arbitrary regulations, bureaucratic red tape, and often antiquated zoning ordinances which can stymie the most creative of spirits and prevent the establishment of a business that would actually have negligible impact on the neighborhood. Home-based mothers are unable to

benefit from the tax credits given to "working" mothers for daycare expenses, even though they are caring for their children full time in most cases while they work. Some women's efforts are jeopardized by groups such as the unions which, failing to understand the complexity of the problem, issue blanket declarations condemning the "sweat-shop mentality" of cottage industries.

Home-based mothers and others are organizing to deal with many of these issues. Networking groups, guilds and activity-specific associations are springing up throughout the country. These groups benefit from strength in numbers. Typically, they adopt voluntary agreements to charge prevailing market rates which avoids the exploitation of isolated individuals at the mercy of the unscrupulous employer. Additionally, they are sources of lead-sharing and referral, helping individual members to build up their businesses without expensive advertising or promotional expenses.

Finally, the mentoring aspect should not be underestimated -- mothers who have been successful in their mothering/business blend are anxious to pass on their wisdom and guidance to those just starting out.

What else could be done to make this very viable option more accessible to more young mothers? A number of initiatives could be taken, but two would be especially helpful. First, we should

educate employers about the proven benefits of home-based work and spread the word about innovative programs implemented by corporations such as AT&T, Xerox, Control Data and American Express, among others. Studies have shown that productivity dramatically increases when people work from home -- by as much as 20-30 percent. Additionally, it is a creative way of dealing with staff shortages and capitalizing on a well-educated and conscientious labor market -- the stay-at-home mother looking for additional income. For small to mid-size companies especially, it is an attractive way to keep costs down and growth up, as overhead is much lower with home-based workers.

Secondly, the formation of a specialized Home-Based Business desk as part of the activities of an agency such as the Small Business Administration could play a pivotal role in disseminating information and providing resources to help the home-based entrepreneur.

When asked to reflect on the choice they have made, mothers who have taken the home-based route talk positively about the effects of this decision. In addition to the improvement in their feelings about themselves, many highly praise the integration they have achieved between work and home, each with fluid boundaries and horizons. The business started by Mom often becomes an opportunity for family involvement. At a time in society when it seems that resources and funds are directed into

programs that emphasize family disunity, opportunities for productive activities that bind the family together are not to be dismissed lightly. There is a sense of pioneering -- an excitement about redefining the frontiers of family and work.

As I look around this area particularly, it strikes me that there is an irony as we build bigger and more elaborate houses. They are no longer homes in the fullest sense of the word because we spend less and less time in them. Rather they are monuments to a culture that recognizes material accomplishment over familial commitment and closeness. Nowhere is this more evident than with the issue of latch-key children. At a recent television special on this topic, an hour was spent discussing how to minimize the effects on children as young as eight years old who are left alone in their houses every afternoon, with barely a deferential nod to the question of how we as a society have become so blasé about the needs of our young. A home-based businesswoman and mother from Bethesda says, "It is so important for me to be here at 3:00 p.m. when they get home from school. It is my home-based business that allows me to be here for them in a way that few other options would." Another mother of three girls, ages 14, 10, and 8, feels that "I'm more needed now than ever before. I'm lucky to still be here at home."

Is there a trend here? Will we see more women choosing this option during the next decade? There is no doubt that the trend

to home-based work generally is on the upswing. As our economy becomes increasingly information-based and the technology to service it ever more sophisticated and affordable, the production-line mentality spawned by the industrial era will be replaced by a more humane, more personal, yet equally effective model. As networks replace hierarchies and small clusters make sprawling conglomerates seem cumbersome, the horizon looks bright for the small businesswoman or man.

Some sources estimate that as many as 50 percent of American businesses will be owned by women by the end of this decade. Many of these will have been started from home with young children running around underfoot. Home-based business for mothers not only bridges the career gap, but it offers them the potential to be all they can be in the best possible way.

Chapter 9

MOTHERS SPEAK OUT -- WILL WE LISTEN?

by Heidi Brennan

A management training consultant illuminates the perspective of a modern woman, torn between the demands of motherhood and the paid workforce. She discusses the media stereotypes, the false expectations, and the hopes and needs of mothers in today's culture.

Heidi Brennan is the co-executive director of Mothers At Home, a non-profit educational organization which publishes a magazine called Welcome Home. She co-authored Mothers Speak Out on Child Care, a concept paper which addresses the child care issue from the perspective of mothers who care for their own children. Her presentation summarizes this paper.

Mrs. Brennan has four years' experience in counseling teens and young adults in academic, educational, and personal concerns. She has specialized experience in crisis counseling with an emphasis on sexual assault. For five years, she has had fulltime and ongoing experience in management training and consulting for both profit and non-profit organizations.

Mrs. Brennan earned her B.A. at Georgetown University and her Master of Education at American University in Educational Administration and Counseling. She is the mother of three very young children.

We have a problem in our society today with the strict dichotomy between work life and home life. That's not a problem Americans always had. Recently, I had the opportunity to peruse Tocqueville's Democracy in America -- one of those books I tried to avoid in college because I was worried about exams, but is much better reading when you're about age 37 with three kids. Writing in the early 19th century, he had some powerful things to say about families and specifically about mothers. It made me feel a tremendous amount of pride about what American mothers have always contributed to our country as nurturers, community builders, and entrepreneurs. They are still struggling to do those things. We mothers are independent, committed, and motivated, and I hope those qualities continue to exist within us.

I used to teach time management, and I can assure you that I did not understand it until I had children. Most mothers at home today would say that they only really improved in time management after they had children. That's not to say they get all their goals accomplished and everything goes like clockwork, but believe me, they don't waste time. Furthermore, children give you flexibility training, an essential attribute of good management.

Within our culture, there is an attitude that only paid work effort is productive. Ignored is the fact that mothers at home are productive; they are productive when they are rearing their children. They are also productive in their many volunteer efforts. Our society has trouble valuing those things because they are essentially immeasurable. The whole debate on child care and American productivity often ignores those efforts.

Our organization, Mothers At Home, was founded in 1984 by three women with a vision of helping mothers at home speak to each other, in a way not possible through today's media. Linda Burton, Cheri Loveless and Janet Dittmer started Mothers At Home locally in northern Virginia. Before they knew it, thousands from around the country had subscribed to the publication Welcome Home. They were also sending us letters that were so powerful in their emotional content, and sorrowful about their struggles to achieve and to communicate, that it stirred them to create an organization to address these issues.

When I go somewhere and introduce myself as co-director of Mothers At Home, people often want to put me into a box. They want to picture me as a character from the Ozzie and Harriet show. Our founders encountered the same problem. A

news reporter once asked them if they were feminists. One, a career homemaker and mother of six, said, "Of course I'm a feminist. I've always been. I've always been working for women's issues in some way." Another, mother of five, said, "In no way am I a feminist. I think it is outrageous. I have nothing to agree with the feminists on." The third said, "What is a feminist? I can't even relate to that."

I was a child in a family with an employed mother. My parents were divorced. So I see myself as breaking stereotypes, too, because I know what it is like to live in a family where there is not full-time parental care. However, we were fortunate enough to have my grandmother live with us and she helped care for my sister, my brother and me when we were very young. As we grew older, she grew feeble and we cared for her in turn. There is something that cannot be replaced in society when you have that family relationship, helping to nurture each other throughout our lives. This gives you an idea of how diversified our organization is.

Unfortunately, legislators today are under pressure across the country to end our nation's child care woes. They are rushing to give precisely the kind of daycare that most mothers do <u>not</u> want. The fact is, mothers are quietly seeking other solutions. Millions of mothers are looking for

ways to combine work and family life so they can nurture their children with more time than they have had in the past two decades. Some are quitting full-time employment altogether, with plans to reenter at some point in the future -- perhaps five years, perhaps 15, perhaps 25 years. Some mothers are seeking part-time employment, and some mothers are seeking home-based work. Those options are all consistent with the tradition of American women.

Unfortunately, legislators continue to have three misconceptions about mothers at home. The first is that most mothers today need substitute care.

The second and more subtle misconception is the way the needs and desires of mothers are portrayed in the media. I think most of you, if you watch television or pick up a newspaper, have a hard time finding yourself in any of those portrayals.

The third misconception is that our only answer to the child care dilemma is for government to provide more so-called "quality" daycare.

The first misconception is based on misused statistics. Reports which assert that most mothers are in the workforce are based on Department of Labor statistics. But the DOL figure about employed mothers includes mothers who work part-

time as little as one hour a week, mothers who work seasonally as little as one week a year, mothers who work from their homes, mothers who provide daycare for other mothers, and mothers who work without pay for family-operated enterprise at least 15 hours per week in agriculture or small businesses that are family-owned and family-operated.

The DOL figure also includes mothers who work full-time but have flexible hours. An example would be a mother who is a flight attendant or a pilot who works a weekend, two-day or overnight shift, and whose husband cares for the children while she is away. Those may be called full-time positions, but they don't require daycare. The DOL figure also includes mothers who are unemployed but looking for work and mothers who are on maternity leave.

Unfortunately, coverage during the last two decades has divided us into two distinct camps: a shrinking minority of mothers at home and the majority of employed mothers. This coverage fosters the attitude that mothers at home are universally politically conservative, but I can tell you from studies done on our reader population, they are across the spectrum in political and economic views.

Media coverage promotes the fallacy that mothers who are at home are always married to high-wage earners. Surveys of

our organization show that the median family income for single-wage-earner families is approximately $28,000 a year.

Media coverage also assumes that we are ideologically committed to the view that women belong in the home. People seem to have a picture that you are chained to your kitchen, yet the mothers at home across the country are the most active people I know. They are out doing things in the community, in their schools, and with their children. They are making an active choice to be highly involved in those roles.

At the same time, media coverage gives us a picture of employed mothers as well-educated women, either pursuing self-fulfillment or struggling to work for economic reasons. From the thousands of letters we have received, we know that we have single mothers, mothers who through divorce or widowhood are at home raising their children and working home-based businesses. We have very conservative women who have for years balanced career and family with very time-consuming careers. We have heard from ardent feminists who marched with Gloria Steinem and, as soon as that first baby was born, stayed home and now are fighting for that right, as well.

We feel obligated to speak for all those mothers because

they are all expressing one desire -- to spend more time with their children. If anything unites them today, it is not the choices they make concerning child care, it is the inner turmoil they feel about how best to combine family life and work life -- how to be there for their children.

Unfortunately, they find support lacking in both places. They find it lacking in the home and they find it lacking in the workplace. Today's mothers are a generation of women who were unprepared for children. That may not be fair because I do have friends who knew what they were getting into. But I can say for myself, and for many mothers we hear from, that we were led to believe that motherhood could be hired out.

When I went to college, the idea was presented that, of course, you'll find substitute care because you won't find child care a very interesting job to do. This is the story of women who had no real idea what caring for a child would be like. We just assumed that somehow we'd have the baby, we'd feed it, we'd hold it a little bit, put it to sleep, and that's all it really entailed. We assumed that, if we simply hired a nice person to come into our homes, a little "quality time" in the evening was all our child would need.

One mother wrote us, "I've always strongly supported the women's movement and consequently was totally unprepared for

the depth and strength of emotional commitment I felt for my daughter. I never even considered not returning to work, so I was not prepared financially when I didn't want to resume my job. I'm angry, frustrated, and hurt."

Unfortunately, mothers like this have been influenced by the hype of the '70s and '80s which says that "having it all" means splitting your time between your children and your work. Supposing that caring for children was somehow easy and comes naturally, many women felt overwhelmed. Many women, who spent so much time on their education and training, suddenly felt so incompetent as a mother. Many mothers, faced by the overwhelming feelings of incompetence, often return to the workplace because they feel that "surely someone else can do this better than I."

As these mothers who return to the workplace and search for so-called "quality care," they are assured by the popular literature, the media stereotypes, and well-meaning friends that they will simply adjust. But that search for quality care is not what they have been led to expect. Search as they might, they can't quite find it.

Mothers face many different problems in searching for substitute care. Some have few realistic options; others have many. The unfortunate thing is that what they are

searching for oftentimes is not something they can hire. They discover that daycare is not what they really want for their children -- certainly not full-time institutional daycare. They are most often looking for a better blend of time with their children, for substitutes more family-like, possibly for a shared child-care partnership, either within their family or within their community.

We have heard from mothers who have coordinated job sharing arrangements where they also share caring for each other's children. They become, in a sense, an extended family.

These mothers also find that what children need is not what they expected. One mother explained to us, "I was extremely confused by the negative behavior my daughter was exhibiting while being cared for by a relative, and it became more intense when I placed her in a daycare center at the age of three. Neither her pediatrician nor the daycare center agreed with me that my daughter's behavior was caused by daycare. Therefore, I was shocked and angered to realize exactly what my daughter was missing when I did quit my job. I honestly hadn't realized that my presence and interaction with my daughter were essential to her growth and development."

We've received many letters like that. When you receive so many letters, you begin to ask questions: What are we doing in this country? How are we really helping mothers? What do mothers want? We know that mothers are asking for more time at home.

A recent Lou Harris poll found that 82 percent of Americans believe it is best for young children to be cared for by one or more parents or by extended family members. A Cornell University study found that two-thirds of all mothers employed full-time would prefer to work fewer hours so they can devote more time to their families. A recent USA Today survey found that, if money were not a factor, 73 percent of all two-parent families would have one parent stay at home with the children.

Unfortunately, the media do not explore these reports. The media prefer to report that finding quality full-time daycare is the answer to mothers' woes. Accepting what mothers want and children need is very difficult for us, and yet there are many creative alternatives to daycare. Family-friendly employment options are an important part of supporting families. Making the federal tax code career-neutral is critical. It would be an outrage if the so-called "peace dividend" does not go to families in the form of an

expanded child tax credit to all families.

Even the women's movement of the Soviet Union is arguing for more time for mothers in the home. This trend is evident all around the world, but we can't seem to publicly acknowledge it in our country.

Strengthening the family's economic security is a major issue. It has to do with economic resources. It has to do with affordable housing, an issue that must be addressed in local communities. For example, it is important to look at zoning regulations. What is it that prevents housing from being more reasonable in cost and access? We need affordable insurance packages and tax-free savings plans. No one needs to save more than families. Savings plans are an important strategic element of any kind of plan for the family.

Community programs need to be redirected. One of my pet peeves is that women's centers limit themselves to addressing the issue of how to find good daycare, when they could be addressing the issue of how to develop a home-based business and a community business network. That would not only help mothers, but also help others who want home-based businesses. For example, this could be helpful to those whose handicaps make access to many workplaces difficult.

America urgently needs better opportunities for home-

based work. Forty percent of our readers have home-based businesses. Even more would like to have them. We will be starting a new publication in the coming year, Making Money At Home, which compiles all our columns from past issues on how to make money at home, with updated lists of resources. We believe this is the trend of the '90s.

We must improve homemakers' security and opportunity. At the present time, there is a disincentive for a mother to stay home for even a portion of her life. The fact that we cannot deduct contributions to an IRA (Individual Retirement Account) beyond $250 is an insult. I know many, many mothers who are outraged that their lack of full-time employment prevents them from being allowed to contribute. Yet, it will cost as much for a homemaker's retirement as for her husband's.

We need support for low-interest loans to homemakers who seek further education. Our society should encourage job re-training to prepare for the workforce of the future, and yet I have heard from homemakers who have encountered discrimination against their plans for further education. They have reared their children and want to re-enter the paid workforce, but they find that business loans are for women and men under the age of 35.

We must encourage businesses to recognize skills which are developed outside of paid employment. Women who devote a significant portion of their time to rearing children can bring a certain maturity, an ability to organize, to communicate effectively, to plan strategically -- qualities that no corporation can ever really train a worker to have. I organized job training programs, and I can tell you that the most important thing that employees bring to an organization is the set of skills they developed early in their lives and which they have enhanced in all aspects of their life, not just on the job.

It is a disgrace that homemakers re-entering the workforce face continuous discrimination about the kinds of skills they have built successfully in their homes. We must reverse the corporate culture that says that homemakers aren't worth anything unless they receive remedial attention. Homemakers can be proud of what they do, and we should accord them respect and recognize their assets.

I feel particularly concerned about the career homemakers who, through widowhood or divorce, find themselves having to re-enter the workforce before they are prepared to do so. They are really suffering at least two crises -- the crisis of loss of stability plus the crisis of finding that

everything they devoted themselves to, everything they committed themselves to do, is not valued in today's society (even though they knew it was valuable). It is vital that we change the culture on this key point. We must not ignore the issue of the displaced homemaker.

Legislation can be important, but leadership is more important. I'd like to close with a quote from Linda Burton, who authored with co-founders Cheri Loveless and Janet Dittmer the book What's A Smart Woman Like You Doing At Home? She says, "While I and most of my friends were saying that our minds were too good to stay at home and raise our children, none of us ever asked the question, then what sort of minds should be raising our children? Minds that were not very good? My carefully worded advertisements for child care literally came back to haunt me. I was looking for someone loving, tender, reliable, responsible, nurturing, intelligent, and resourceful. I had wanted someone with a driver's license, good English, a sense of fun, and an alert lively manner. I wanted someone who would encourage my children's creativity, take them on interesting outings, answer all their little questions, and rock them to sleep. I wanted someone who would be part of the family. Slowly, painfully, after really thinking about what I wanted for my

children and rewriting advertisement after advertisement, I came to the stunning realization that the person I was looking for was right under my nose. I had been desperately trying to hire me!"

Chapter 10

WILL FEDERAL LEGISLATION INCREASE OR REDUCE OPTIONS?

by Vernon L. Holloman, Jr.

A longtime professional in the licensed daycare industry explains that federal daycare legislation would replace a thriving industry, successfully regulated by the 50 states, with a socialist monopoly run by the bureaucrats -- a social pattern which is already proven to be a failure.

Vernon Holloman is general manager of the Holloman Child Development and Education Center Inc., in southeast Virginia, a facility licensed to serve 600 children per day.

He is president and executive director of the Proprietary Childcare Association of Virginia. He has also served on the board of the National Child Care Association. Sponsored by the National Association of Life Underwriters, Mr. Holloman has been heard on child care issues on 216 radio stations coast to coast. He has appeared nationally on various media programs including CBN Straight Talk.

Mr. Holloman holds a B.M.E. from Berklee College, Boston, Massachusetts. He will soon release his first publication entitled Marketing and Cost Approach Analysis for the Child DayCare Service Industry.

The U. S. Congress is at the very brink of passing into

public law the most sweeping child care legislation this nation has ever seen. The proposed provisions will affect every licensed daycare provider in the country and have the capability of literally dictating what will be taught in every established daycare environment. Never before has Congress given so much authority to bureaucrats over our children's lives.

Two critical areas of the legislation have repulsed the private proprietary community and the religious sector of the industry. Those areas are the outrageously discriminatory, anti-religious language prohibiting the teaching of sectarian programs, and the inclusion of federal daycare regulations.

Consider for one moment just whose money it is that the Federal Government is spending. Clearly, the tax dollar base belongs to "we, the people." "We, the people" are guaranteed by the Constitution the undeniable right to freedom of religion. If tax-based dollars paid by "we, the people" flow back to us in the form of vouchers, and "we, the people" use these vouchers to pay for tuition at religious seminaries under the G.I. Bill or to pay for daycare, how is the Federal Government violating any person's freedom of religion?

It is the private citizen making the choice, not government, so why does the Hawkins-Downey daycare bill (the current version of the ABC bill) include anti-religious language? Why the existence of a sectarian prohibition? What are the proponents of

the bill really trying to get at? And what about the freedom of speech issue? If the Hawkins bill is going to prohibit sectarian programs, isn't this clearly violating a private educator's freedom of speech?

Public educators operate within a public system which adheres to certain policies, and employees of that system agree to adhere to those teaching policies. In the private sector, policies may be different, especially in the areas of religious education. In private daycare centers, as in private schools, religious education may be the status quo. Does the Federal Government have the right, through vouchers expended by parents, to dictate what will be taught in the private sector and thereby violate the private educator's freedom of speech? If so, then how does the Federal Government justify tax dollars flowing to religious seminaries via the G.I. Bill?

At the heart of this debate is the universal question of choice. "We, the people" are free because we have choices. The guarantees of freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and other constitutional rights really guarantee us freedom of choice. Congress should likewise be concerned about ensuring choice. Ironically, however, the pending daycare legislation will seriously limit parents' child care choices. These choices will be limited primarily because the Hawkins approach was conceived in a think tank of social scientists who favor, in their own

words, a "social revolution." The Hawkins concept is built not on free enterprise and capitalism but on just the opposite: socialism.

I am a graduate from the Boston area. A lot of this socialized daycare talk was heard around the Boston community in the late '70s and early '80s. It was talked up in the universities. I caught wind of it then, and so I've watched it build through the years.

The Swedish model of socialized child care, which is being tried just down the Capitol beltway in Fairfax, Virginia, is not working. It's not working in Sweden and it's not working in Fairfax, Virginia. It's not working because of runaway costs and bureaucratic inefficiencies, which have resulted in unprecedented tax increases and local tax revolts. You need only to have read the past few months of the Washington Times, the Washington Post, Forbes, or the Wall Street Journal to learn about the recent tax revolts and unrest among private citizens and business owners in the northern Virginia area.

The problem with socialized anything is that government attempts to provide the service and pay for it via taxation. Then, in a perverted sense of fairness, this same government attempts to make all these services exactly the same for everyone. This is what Socialism calls "the great blanket." Next, the employees of this government system unionize and demand

higher wages and fewer hours, further increasing costs, so taxes are increased to pay for the services, thereby depleting the family's expendable income, which in turn further limits possible choices.

The result is that parents are strapped both by high taxes, which deplete personal income, and by outrageously expensive, mediocre daycare services dispensed by a government monopoly. That is what is wrong in Sweden; that is what is wrong in Fairfax, Virginia; and that is what is wrong with the approach of the proposed federal daycare bills.

Parents, children and private industry would be better served if Congress enacted legislation based largely on tax credits, deductions, and enhancements. There should be larger dependent care deductions allowed for a variety of human services. There should be creative tax enhancements for private developers and investors who would be willing to place their dollars at risk in daycare center start-ups, convalescence centers, and health-care nursing homes. Child care legislation should also include provisions so that low-income persons can make full use of private sector choices.

Let's stimulate private enterprise in these areas and stop hindering its growth and development with out-dated yesteryear tactics. Let's also shift our thinking about social services from hand-out theories to genuine hand-up practices. Socialism

doesn't work because socialism is an economic nightmare. You need only look across the Atlantic to see living examples of its failures -- income taxes in the 60 to 70 percent bracket, outrageous property taxes, not to mention people standing in line waiting for services such as routine medical operations.

While no governmental system is perfect, our system of democracy, coupled with the principles of capitalism and free enterprise, yield two essential by-products for the consumer -- competition and choice. In a socialized environment, government monopolizes the service and then taxes and regulates the private offerers out of existence. This is exactly what is happening in Virginia.

In Chapter X of Title 63.1-195 of our Virginia Code, our state laws exempt all government daycare operations from complying with the minimum standards for licensed daycare centers. So, as a licensed proprietor center owner, I must comply with those regulations and pay taxes to the state government, which then unfairly competes with my business by <u>not</u> complying with those regulations and by using my tax revenues to run a government operation. A current movement is trying to change this onerous burden. After 10 years of lobbying, I can tell you we are all eagerly awaiting the day when that will happen.

Another part of the federal daycare approach which will

affect parents' options and choices is the inclusion of federal regulations. Based on the current provisions of the ABC and Hawkins-Downey daycare bills, it appears clear that these regulations will be enforced fiscally. This means that, as a provider, if you do not comply you get nothing, and in some states you may not be able to operate. As far as the private sector is concerned, this will have the same effect as mandated standards. While the daycare industry is not opposed to state regulations, which is the current status quo, it does have very grave concerns about federal regulations.

Federal regulations make better sense in interstate commerce, air travel, broadcasting, and auto safety, which all cross state lines and affect a broad base of jurisdictions. This is not so in daycare. The provision of daycare is largely dependent on the economics of the locality. Throughout the United States, wherever you find population growth and a thriving economy, you will also find a multitude of daycare options. In less populated areas, you'll find less.

This is true in all industries, and it comes as no surprise in daycare. Again, in my home state of Virginia, our Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission (better known to us as J-LARC) recently concluded an exhaustive study of daycare, and its regulations and provisions. Also known as House Document 3 of our 1990 General Assembly, this thorough report concluded that

"there does not appear to be a general state-wide shortage of child care in the Commonwealth," and further concluded that 96 percent of parents surveyed indicated that they were satisfied with the quality of care their children were currently receiving.

As expected, those areas with the greatest supply of daycare were also the areas with the greatest need. This simply means that the theory of supply and demand works in daycare, and that private industry is keeping in step with parental demands. For these primarily economic reasons, daycare is best regulated by each state, which is better equipped to ascertain its local economic needs. Besides, the states already have the regulatory systems set up and running, and there is no indication that these systems are broken.

David Pearson, a colleague and editor of Child Care Review magazine of Metairie, Louisiana, in his April-May, 1988 issue, did an outstanding job of calculating the actual cost which would be incurred by parents in each state if federal regulations become reality. The hardest hit states would be those in the south and southwest -- ironically, the very states with the highest percentage of children in licensed daycare. In some instances, the cost increase would be $25.60 per week, per child -- and that's clearly substantial.

As a result of such increases not based on realistic local economics, children would be forced out of regulated licensed

daycare into unlicensed, informal, underground care arrangements. In such instances the federal regulations intended to protect children would, in fact, be placing these children at risk. All regulations are double-edged swords. Every regulator wrestles with the almighty question: where do we draw the lines and set the parameters?

It appears clear that government regulations work best when they are limited to such areas as health, sanitary, and safety concerns. Whenever regulations exceed these basic areas, they always invite rivalry, objections and debate. It is clear that the proponents of the federal ABC daycare approach will have a set of so-called model standards, which will dictate everything from child-staff ratios, number of bathrooms, square-foot requirements, program curriculum, and teacher training. To use a phrase that's popular around here, "read my lips."

The proprietary and religious daycare providers will not tolerate any attempts to dictate curriculum content or establish monopolies in teacher training or center accreditation. We will expect maximum variables, options and choices in each of these areas.

It is my opinion, as a child care professional and industry representative, that the federal ABC or Hawkins-Downey daycare approach will work only as long as bureaucrats are able to make it work. It will serve some children but not very many, and

certainly not as many as the Stenholm-Shaw approach would have served. The proprietary and religious sectors will not embrace the provisions and, in fact, will work to stop their implementation at the state and local levels. Most of the money will be spent within the bureaucracy, and very little will reach the real world.

There are better ways to write daycare legislation which will really reach and serve children and their parents. But first, Congress must stop listening to the National Academy of Sciences, the Children's Defense Fund, and the National Association for the Education of Young Children. Liberal socialism is <u>not</u> for my two children, ages 4 and 6, and I hope not for yours.

Chapter 11

THE CHALLENGES OF A FAMILY PROVIDER

by Deanne Dixon

A family daycare provider, also known as a neighborhood daycare mother, gives a perspective on this occupation, which fills such a necessary and socially useful role in the lives of so many families and so many communities.

Deanne Dixon has been a family daycare provider for ten years and a member of the Maryland State and the Montgomery County Family Day Care Associations. She has also been a public school teacher and a longtime teacher of young people in her church.

A mother of five children, Mrs. Dixon has also worked as an artist, tutor, author, bookkeeper, and leader in several community organizations. As a result of her parenting and daycare experience, she had the uninterrupted daily responsibility of preschoolers for 21 years.

Honoring mothers and motherhood was once a norm in our society. As I grew up, no one questioned my career goals of working until my first child was born and then devoting myself to raising a fine large family.

Somehow, by the time I became a mother, the rules changed.

A woman became embarrassed to admit she stayed home with children and was "only a housewife". If a mother rocked her sick child for a day or played in the park with children for an afternoon, she felt like she "got nothing done." Mothers began to believe that a smart woman should be bored at home and should be pursuing an outside career. Women accepted two opposite notions: first, that other people more suited to menial labor should be watching the children, and second, because of a mother's inadequate child-rearing skills children would be better off trained by child development professionals. Mothers lost pride in mothering, confidence in their "mother's intuition," and awareness of the enormous contribution they were making to society. Many women with choices began looking for success in other fields to compensate for lack of honor in the home.

In my years as a teacher and daycare provider, I have seen many women who hold this low esteem of their role as a mother. I found it ironic that I -- a mother of five -- was afforded more respect for my labor when I became a daycare provider for five. The change was not the work, it was the pay. I was no longer a mother staying home doing nothing; I was working and contributing to society! Although the esteem in which society holds substitute mothering is not very high, it sometimes seems higher than society's esteem of fulltime mothers at home.

I would like to speak on some of the benefits of family

daycare to the provider who would like to have a home-based business, the clients who are seeking care for their children, and the community which promotes services for its employed members.

Family daycare, an occupation most likely to be performed by a woman who is also a fulltime mother, is an important home-based business opportunity. Potential income for providers can be high. Gross earnings over $20,000 per year are not unrealistic in a metropolitan area. Actual net income is lowered by taxes (including 13.02 percent social security self-employment), business and regulatory expenses, and rate subsidies which providers are prone to give to close friends, relatives and needy families. Nationally, the average daycare income has been ranked second to lowest in an extensive list of professions. In Montgomery County, Maryland, the average is close to $9,000 per year. Many caregivers are in the $1,000 to $2,000 range.

A significant factor in the amount of money a provider earns is the approach she takes toward her job, whether she sees it as an informal arrangement with a friend or relative, or whether she considers it a profession in which she tries to maximize her hourly income. Getting licensed is definitely the turning point when many providers raise their prices and increase the number of children in care.

Although income is often low, mothers feel that taking in

children has advantages for them: people-oriented work, humorous and rewarding experiences, work for which they are qualified (since most are already experienced fulltime mothers), variety and activity in their days, a sense of growth and accomplishment as they meet challenges, no commuting, no expensive wardrobe, being their own boss, tax deductions for certain home improvements, a source of companions for their own young children, and most importantly -- not having to put their own children in daycare.

One of the unexpected benefits to me as a provider was to see the enjoyment and growth my own children experienced with little kids in the home. They became wonderful with younger children and I believe they will be far better parents for the experience.

For a parent seeking child care, family daycare is often inexpensive, convenient and flexible. Infants and toddlers, who are developmentally not ready for large group experiences, need a home-like environment as they make their transition to the outside world. The transition is smoothed when the provider is a relative, family friend or neighbor.

Daycare mothers often provide additional services similar to an extended family. For example, I gave free night care for Joey while Dad took Mom to the hospital to have another baby. Joey was comfortable because he knew me and my home.

Parents often benefit as they seek the advice and insights of a daycare mother. This is one of the most rewarding aspects of the job to the provider. Because of their experience, providers can teach safety, health, nutrition and childrearing principles. They can give feedback on how the child's development compares to others of the same age group.

I have reassured many a parent about a child's confusing behavior. For example, Sarah's mother asked me if Sarah should see a speech therapist. She had recently developed a remarkable stutter. I spoke with Sarah and watched the mother agonize as her daughter struggled with nearly every word. I suspected a little manipulation was being practiced by this precocious three-year-old. I suggested that the mother (who was on her knees before Sarah's face, urging on every word) avoid rewarding her negative behavior and break eye contact every time Sarah stuttered. Sarah's mother later reported that the same evening, when Sarah stuttered while performing before her adoring crowd in the living room, every parent and grandparent suddenly looked out the window. Sarah stopped stuttering as quickly as she started it. I knew Sarah and her family; with a different child I might have made a different suggestion.

One provider who was also a pediatric nurse, required her parents to come early for pickup every four or five weeks. During the extra minutes, she would serve a refreshment and give

child care instructions. She observed that the parents often feel guilty about things they aren't doing. She discouraged their letting the children watch TV in the morning before coming and explained why it is not good. She suggested they take the child out for a 10 or 15 minute walk and play with him. She advised them to eat breakfast together and talk. Clients are receptive to this peer support which reinforces their role as parents.

At different times I cared for an autistic boy and a quadriplegic girl because their parents had such difficulty finding care. Their handicaps were challenging but the experience proved valuable. As we watched, talked with, entertained and cared for the two, all who entered our home seemed to grow in appreciation of and concern for special-needs families.

Family daycare homes often provide settings which reinforce the values parents want for their children. Some of my clients were very open in saying they choose our daycare home because they liked how my children were developing. They wanted the close family example for their children.

After I stopped doing daycare fulltime, I just couldn't say no to Joe. Little 8-year-old Joe started with us before his parents were divorced. We were probably the only stable thing in his life for a time. He loves my boys who taught him to wrestle,

collect baseball cards and shoot baskets. My daughter helps him with art and homework and he teases her about her favorite singing group. His mother's low income qualifies her for daycare vouchers, but she is too proud to apply. She insists on paying me, so we settled on about half the normal rate and we delight in having him.

Family daycare provides valuable services to a community. Because of low overhead, family daycare does not present the financial risk of a daycare center. Family daycare homes can come and go without much of a financial investment. In my county, banks are reluctant to make start-up loans to centers because the center's profit margin is only about one percent. I am concerned that our government may become over-committed to a segment of daycare that can't support itself and will require a constant subsidy.

A family daycare provider in my neighborhood stopped her business a year ago and referred her children to a nearby daycare center. She believed they would benefit from already knowing each other. The center director was very grateful for the new clients because she had slots for 85 but had only 10 children in her program. Locally there are high vacancy rates in centerbased care for toddlers and older children. The real shortage is in available infant care -- the children who most need the companionship of their own mothers.

Family daycare brings life to those communities in which most parents are gone during the day. Where I live, there are very few women at home. When you have a family daycare on blocks here and there, you have children out in the yard making some noise and you have a feeling of life in the community. By increasing the presence of adults, daycare is said to help cut down on vandalism and break-ins.

Family daycare moms may be the only example of a mother caring for little children in some neighborhoods. I enjoyed the visits of my children's friends to our daycare home. Some had never been around little children. Even teenagers can ask with astonishment, "where are the baby's teeth?" A few friends played with the children under my watchful eye and became prized babysitters on weekends. I could give referrals to the parents with confidence, and the children felt comfortable with sitters they already knew as friends.

I've shared with you some of the advantages of family daycare to providers, to parents seeking child care, and to communities. Clearly, family daycare is an important home-based business opportunity for thousands of American mothers.

As with all businesses, there are downsides to family daycare. The work is hard, stressful and long. Working fulltime usually means 55 hours a week. Burn-out often occurs between 5 and 7 p.m. when the last child is waiting to be picked up and you

are earning $2 per hour -- you are still required to be present and responsible when you would normally be feeding your family, supervising homework, or driving on an errand. Daycare takes unending patience and constant alertness. The risks can be awesome. It's hard on your home. It requires the support of your family to tolerate cots, playpens, gates, toys and a weary mom at the end of the day.

Foremost is the conflict you feel as you learn to love each little child. You want the parents to do what's best for the children. You know the little ones are just marking time until Mother or Father comes back. They miss their parents and often cry for them. Their self-esteem comes from being cuddled and adored by the most important people in the world -- their parents. A provider is not their parent and cannot fill that void. I can't help but question the values of parents who choose to leave their children for long hours.

Some providers observe that children in part-time care and their parents are happier, and that part-time parents are better parents. It seems that the longer the parent is away from the child, the less attached they become. Many parents away full-time extend the hours of care and expect more and more services, such as breakfast, dinner and even bathing. Nina, a registered provider of eleven years, observed, "It is common among full-time daycare children -- and I mean the majority -- for the

parent to have the child in bed within an hour of pick-up time, or by 7 p.m."

Sometimes it seems that parents don't want to know what daycare is really like. Nina confides that, when parents come to interview, she says all the right things. She tells them how she will enrich their child's life with songs, paint and outings. The parents equate this with quality. Nina says, "I'd like instead to be honest and say, I will not love your child as much as you do, or as much as my own children. Some days I may yell and scream. Another child is going to bite your child. I am not going to do nearly as good a job as you would if you were home."

It is my wish that all society, especially mothers, would recognize that one of the greatest of life's challenges, responsibilities, accomplishments and joys is raising a child.

A religious leader, David O. McKay, said in 1953: "She who rears successfully a family of healthy, beautiful sons and daughters, whose influence will be felt through generations to come, deserves the highest honor that man can give, and the choicest blessings of God." It is time that our society recognize not only the importance of mothering in the home, but also the importance of mothering by family daycare providers.

Chapter 12

WE MUST RESPECT FAMILY RIGHTS

by Robert P. Dugan, Jr.

A leading spokesman for the religious community explains the perspective of those who believe that child care belongs within the scope of First Amendment and other parental rights.

Dr. Robert P. Dugan, Jr. has been director of the Office of Public Affairs of the National Association of Evangelicals in Washington, D.C. since 1978. He initiated and edits a monthly newsletter called NAE Washington Insight. He is a popular and frequent spokesman for evangelicals in the media and on the lecture platform.

Dr. Dugan is currently a member of the board of trustees of several evangelical associations, including the Denver Conservative Baptist Seminary and the Justice Fellowship. He is a past president of the Conservative Baptist Association of America, a former chaplain of the Colorado State Senate, and he served on the Advisory Committee on Ethical Values of the U.S. Information Agency and on the National Committee of the Year of the Bible.

He received his B.A. from Wheaton College in Illinois and his Master of Divinity from Fuller Theological Seminary in California. He is an ordained Baptist minister. His honorary degrees include Doctor of Divinity from Denver Conservative Baptist Seminary, Doctor of Humane Letters from Geneva College, and Doctor of Laws from Roberts Wesleyan College.

Our National Association of Evangelicals has just completed

its biennial Washington Insight Briefing. Our special guest at the final session was Representative Charles Stenholm of Texas, the leader in devising an alternative to the Democratic leadership daycare bill. We supported the Stenholm bill, which was co-sponsored by Representative Clay Shaw of Florida, because it supplied a maximum of options for parents about child care.

Congressman Stenholm told us that he developed five criteria for federal child care legislation: (1) recognize that parents are better decisionmakers than the Federal Government as to how their children should be cared for, (2) child care legislation should not be biased against stay-at-home parents, (3) child care legislation should not be biased for or against any type of provider, be it church or synagogue, for-profit care, or care by friends or relatives, (4) the Federal Government should not establish new daycare bureaucracies but rather should build on proven programs, and (5) the Federal Government, already $3 trillion in debt, does not have limitless resources for daycare assistance; and therefore, those families with the greatest needs must be given priority, and the maximum effectiveness must be squeezed out of each dollar spent.

It is hard to argue with those criteria. However, one of them, from our perspective, could be slightly improved and that's the first one, which says that parents are better decision-makers than the Federal Government. I would revise it to say

parents are the proper decision-makers as to how their children should be cared for. They are the correct persons to make those kinds of decisions and, in order to do that, they must have a full range of choices in how to rear their children. We feel very strongly about that.

Most Americans can quote the magnificent line from the Declaration of Independence that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Our Founding Fathers would probably be dumbfounded to learn that they could have helped us 214 years later had they inserted a parallel clause in the Declaration stressing responsibilities as well as rights. Actually, they could not have imagined this to be necessary in the development of this nation. They could have given us a hand today had they included a line that we are "assigned by our Creator certain untransferable responsibilities, and that among these is the responsibility of parents to rear their own children."

Have you pondered the disproportionately long amount of time that human parents spend rearing their children in comparison to animal parents? About 25 percent of the average life span is spent by parents rearing their children, whereas birds spend a few days and then go off to a lifetime of flying independently of their parents. Humans need such a long time because human

beings, made in the image of God, need to be trained not merely for physical survival, but also for moral decision-making. That takes years and years, and child care is a very important segment of that.

Congressman Stenholm quoted a New York Times columnist who argued that parents receiving an earned income tax credit might blow the money on booze or cable TV rather than on care for their children. Stenholm replied, "With all due respect to those making that argument, I must say that, having now spent more than eleven years in Congress -- years in which the national debt has tripled to over $3 trillion -- I find the implication that the Federal Government manages money better than most parents an unconvincing proposition."

Child care is not just a matter of the management and astute use of dollars. The question is: whose right is it to rear the children and to make these choices? Congressman Bob McEwen focused on this issue in a March 28 speech in the House of Representatives. Two irreconcilable House bills were headed toward a showdown on the House floor. The Hawkins-Downey approach reflected the belief that social service bureaucrats in Washington, not parents, should choose how children are raised. It sought to replace religious values with secular values in institutions by using tax dollars to help the secular institutions and penalize the religious institutions.

By contrast, the Stenholm-Shaw bill, as McEwen went on to say in his speech, contained three indispensable parental choice provisions, all of which are absent from the liberal left position. Under Stenholm-Shaw, each parent receiving assistance would be (1) guaranteed the right to a certificate, (2) guaranteed the right to use the certificate among a wide variety of providers including grandparents, neighbors, churches and private-sector daycare programs, and (3) guaranteed the right to use certificates in daycare programs that include religious activities. Stenholm-Shaw recognized our constitutional right of free exercise of religion: the parents' right to use financial assistance to choose religious daycare. This must not be denied unless a compelling state interest justifies the denial.

A couple of years ago when I was speaking in the state of Washington, I was asked to speak at a certain church one evening. When I arrived, I was surprised to find a plaque on the wall indicating that this was the Spokane church affiliated with a small school called the Inland Empire School of the Bible. I knew that this was the school in the Witters case, which resulted in a Supreme Court decision in 1986. Larry Witters was a blind student who wanted to use state of Washington Vocational Rehabilitation funds to attend the Inland Empire School of the Bible so that he could study to be a minister. The state denied him those funds because it said they would be used for a

sectarian religious purpose. The state argued that the blind student couldn't use tax money to train for the vocation he chose. The National Association of Evangelicals joined in a friend of the court brief to the Supreme Court.

In a brilliant consensus of common sense and reason, the Supreme Court unanimously ruled in the Witters case that the state of Washington was wrong in denying those funds. As part of its decision, the Supreme Court declared that aid which ultimately flows to religious institutions does so only as a result of the genuinely independent and private choices of the aid recipients. Under this taxpayer-funded program, aid goes to individuals, not to institutions. The decision to support religious education is made solely by the individual, not by the state. The Witters case answers all the questions of those who wonder about the constitutionality of this procedure.

The Stenholm-Shaw daycare bill would have allowed the same kind of choice -- a choice critical to genuine freedom for America's families. Stenholm-Shaw lost on the floor of the House by 30 votes. If 16 Congressmen had switched their votes, it would have passed; it was that close. Then, the liberal Hawkins-Downey daycare bill was rammed through to passage by the House leadership. It is fatally flawed. While the House-passed and the Senate-passed bills both include some reference to vouchers, the bills do not protect full parental choice. They limit

parental options, not expand them. The bill permits states to prohibit the use of vouchers for religious daycare. Members of Congress who want to justify themselves to their constituents say, "we voted for vouchers for religious daycare," but they don't say that this legislation allows states to prohibit their use for religious care.

Additionally, if a state wants to allow the use of vouchers for religious daycare, it would be required to impose a host of new regulations. More than a dozen states now choose not to regulate religious daycare; if they stick to that policy, that would mean no vouchers for religious daycare. If those states cave in and impose regulations, then we would have objectionable church-state entanglement. These are some of the apparently unsolvable difficulties and problems with federal legislation on daycare.

In 1971 Congress passed the Comprehensive Child Development bill aggressively promoted by child developmentalists who wanted to take over childrearing in America. President Richard Nixon promptly vetoed it. President George Bush has been on record as favoring child care legislation, but his approach is through tax credits which would meet all our criteria and which would not discriminate against any kind of family or religious care. Now, the question is whether the Congressional product, which violates some of the President's key criteria, will be modified enough in

a conference committee to win his support, or whether he will veto the bill as he has promised several times.

We hope that the President will keep his commitment to veto, thus honoring the broad range of parental choices which do not hinder our free exercise of religion.

Chapter 13

NETWORKING PRESSURES FOR THE SWEDISH MODEL

by Elizabeth Ruppert, Ph.D.

A professional in child development and public policy describes the vast network of taxpayer-funded bureaucrats who are promoting a plan to impose the "Swedish Model" on America but without disclosing their longterm goals. She gives us a look at plans to expand the welfare state to the middle class.

Dr. Elizabeth Ruppert started her professional career as an educator and journalist. She then held a series of significant positions in the field of child development. She was a Washington Liaison to the Society for Research in Child Development; Special Assistant to the Executive Director of the International Year of the Child: Federal Interagency Effort; a Research Associate with the U.S. Department of Education's National Institute of Education; a Research Policy Analyst for the U.S. House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families; Special Assistant to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' Associate Commissioner for Families and Youth; and a Special Assistant to the Deputy Assistant Secretary, Office for Educational Research and Improvement, of the U.S. Department of Education.

Dr. Ruppert's civic activities include appointments to the Fairfax County Mental Health and Retardation Board and the Fairfax County Child Care Advisory Council. She has also served on the board of the Northern Virginia Mental Health Association.

Elizabeth Ruppert received her Ph.D. from American University in Washington, D.C.

We are here today to consider a paradox in American society on the nature of the family in the twenty-first century. The central question dominating the debate is whether professional bureaucrats or parents will control the family. Opposing groups debating the issue fall into two categories -- 1970s "Swedish" sociopolitical reactionaries and twenty-first century Americans.

I view the "Swedish Model" network from the two perspectives relating to this paradox. The first is as a professional involved with the network through positions held with the Society for Research in Child Development, federal executive agencies, and the U.S. House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families. The second is as a former citizen representative to the Fairfax County (Virginia) Child Care Advisory Council, which is a Technical Assistance Affiliate of the National School Age Child Care (SACC) Network sponsored by the Wellesley College Research Center for Women.

My comments are based on my research, "Setting the Corporate Family Agenda in the United States," done in consultation with child development specialist and sociopolitical analyst, Geri Smith. My research on the Swedish Model network began in 1981 while I was a member of the Fairfax County Child Care Advisory

Council. It was motivated by a respected attorney-constituent who criticized my Council vote in favor of supporting a grant from the Wellesley Center that made the county its Technical Assistance Affiliate.

Taken aback by the intensity of her comments, I used my professional knowledge and contacted the project officer for the Wellesley grant at the U.S. Department of Education. Citing the researchers' right to non-disclosure of intent, he refused information and suggested that I call the Wellesley Center project officer. She offered no information. That evening, I received a phone call from the chair of the Fairfax Council, who occupied a position representing a "phantom" professional association rather than a magisterial district, reprimanding me for my inquiry. Suspecting that the citizens of my Dranesville District were being used by professionals as research subjects, I decided to investigate the National School Age Child Care Network.

My research came half circle in the mid-eighties when I received a three-year appointment as a research associate to the National Institute of Education. From that vantage point I was able to access relevant Wellesley Center files and be a participant in Swedish Model network meetings such as the 1984 Swedish/American Working Family Seminar sponsored by the Swedish Embassy in collaboration with the U.S. Coalition of Labor Union

Women. The research came full circle in 1987 with the appearance of the Act for Better Child Care Services (ABC bill). It was at that point that I was able to confirm that Wellesley's Fairfax County Technical Assistance Affiliate was a national research demonstration site for the Swedish Model daycare legislation in Congress. My thought was confirmed: County taxpayers had been used as research subjects. Perhaps more important -- the research on the experimental ABC bill had failed in its demonstration site.

After a general discussion of the ABC legislation, my first goal will be to define the Swedish Model network in the United States. Those of you who have attempted to explain a policy network know that the strength of such a network is that, because of its web-like nature, it lacks a beginning or end point and thus defies exact explanation. I believe a policy network can best be understood through the historical development of an issue, and the identification of interlocking issue-advocacy organizations and their similar policy goals. I will examine the National Academy of Sciences from its birth in 1863 to the issuance of its 1990 child care policy to show how the Academy has been empowered to build an official government/professional/union coalition to use federal, policy-mandated research demonstration grants, such as that from the Wellesley Center in Fairfax County, to set up an intergovernmental infrastructure to

accommodate the Swedish Model in the United States.

My second goal is to point to the failure of the Swedish Model in its Wellesley Center research demonstration site in the Washington, D.C. area. The failure of this model ABC program is significant because the D.C. area has the highest percentage of employed mothers in the United States. Finally, I shall conclude with recommendations.

Head Start, the ABC Bill, and the New Class

Six groups are central to the Swedish Model network which seeks passage of national daycare legislation:

1. The National Academy of Sciences (NAS) serves as the "brain center" for its broad social science, academic and professional union network that seeks to change the major social institutions of the home, school, community and workplace.

2. The Child Care Action Campaign (CCAC) acts as the interlocking directorate for professional, trade and government unions, social science/child care entrepreneurs, and national media. It is the public relations agency for setting the Swedish Model policy agenda through media campaigns and its National Advisory Council. By networking its resources through its media campaigns and state-affiliated National Advisory Council, the CCAC hopes to pass Swedish Model legislation in all 50 states. In terms of child care, its purpose is to "build a case" for

uniting the nation's public, private and church daycare programs into a single regulated network.

3. Wellesley's SACC program is a major national unifying agency that provides a single training and technical assistance program throughout the network.

4. The National Association for the Education of Young Children prescribes the "voluntary" national regulations determining eligibility of daycare centers for resource and referral services. As a professional union, it also hopes to achieve increased jobs in the daycare and family services industry. Wages for these jobs are slated to be determined on a nationally regulated pay scale.

5. The Children's Defense Fund (CDF) serves as the principal lobbying organization for the ABC Coalition.

6. The newly formed, professionally dominated Parent Action Committee hopes to unite America's parents into a union-like grassroots movement promoting so-called consumer demand for middle-class welfare programs leading to the implementation of the Swedish Model.

The American/"Swedish" legislative package currently before the U.S. Congress includes three principal components: Parental leave, a national daycare system, and parent education. This tripartite national system is modeled after the much touted, but failed, Swedish family policy. It is the economic system that

has given Sweden the highest tax rate in the world. The impending failure of the Swedish welfare state led Swedish Finance Minister Olof Feldt, in February 1990, to officially suspend the Swedish Model amidst labor strife that has closed banks and threatened to paralyze transportation, communication, health, schools, child care, and social work agencies.

Swedish-American Anton Wahlman recently commented in the Washington Post that, as Swedes in Stockholm watched the turmoil in Eastern Europe, people were saying, "We need a revolution against taxes, regulations and government as well." So much for the happy Nordic "working family" model as presented through the CCAC news media campaign depicting an idyllic partnership between the family and the central government which acts as the mediating structure balancing the family, corporations, unions, and social service agencies.

The U.S.-"Swedish" reactionaries advocate a professionally regulated family policy and favor passage of the proposed Act for Better Child Care Services, which is a retreaded version of 1970s legislation. The legislation currently before Congress calls for the expansion of Head Start from a program targeted for the poor into a universal entitlement program through a Head Start/daycare "wrap around" system which would extend federal control over all the nation's public, private, corporate, and church-based care programs.

The first director of the Head Start program and an architect of the current Department of Health and Human Services "wrap around" program calling for the homogenization of America's daycare centers, Edward Zigler, estimates that the ABC legislation would ultimately cost from $75 to $100 billion annually. As in Sweden, funding would come from public/private partnerships financed via parent fees, national, state and local revenues, and corporate contributions. Zigler suggests that the bulk of funding would come from increased local property taxes and parent fees paid on a sliding fee scale. Bureaucratically determined local property tax rates, the reactionaries hope, will provide an almost endless flow of taxpayer dollars into our national "Swedish" daycare network.

In keeping with the "Swedish"-cloned Head Start model, the federal "wrap around" program would expand existing self-supporting daycare institutions for paying families into ones dependent on tax-subsidized auxiliary programs. These programs, dubbed "interagency services" by the legislation, would be coordinated by daycare institutions accredited by the federally approved National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) that would, in turn, broker the services exclusively to children of "working" or "corporate" families. Tax-subsidized interagency services would include social, medical, human, nutritional, transportation, recreational and cultural services.

Again, as in Sweden, tax-subsidized interagency services would be denied to children of (1) taxpaying families opting for non-NAEYC (federally) regulated daycare centers, (2) taxpaying "parent-at-home" families, and (3) taxpaying "career sequencing" families.

Not all Americans favor the oppressively pessimistic and totalitarian vision of the Swedish Model; quite to the contrary. Optimistic twenty-first century Americans advocate a parent-centered family policy that would take advantage of today's communication technology which promises to forge a "technological homestead" that can enable parents to combine work and family responsibilities without government intrusion. Such parents endorse corporate family benefit plans that support the employee's right to choose the child care arrangements of their choice. While vehemently supporting educational partnerships between corporations and business to strengthen curriculum and build America's international competitiveness, they oppose partnerships that would intrude into family decisions and values.

In economic terms, the difference between the sociopolitical reactionaries and twenty-first century Americans boils down to this: The former seek to institute a bureaucratic daycare infrastructure built on a Head Start/daycare "wrap around" program designed to expand the Head Start program into a universal entitlement program. In so doing, they hope to create

jobs for service industry workers represented by such professional unions as the National Association for the Education of Young Children and the American Psychological Association. Boston University's Professor Brigitte Berger refers to the beneficiaries of such programs as "new class" professionals who are dependent on tax dollars for their livelihood.

Twenty-first century parents would reject the expensive "new class" bureaucratic child and family services infrastructure in favor of subsidies for poor and low-income families through Head Start and free shopping vouchers. They would encourage a family tax policy that would enable middle-class Americans to choose the child care arrangements of their choice.

NAS Involvement in Family Policy Agenda Setting

I shall now turn to the role played by the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) Committee on Child Development and Public Policy in setting the Swedish Model family policy in the United States. According to NAS President Frank Press, the Academy plays a "unique role" as scientific adviser on policy issues to the U.S. Congress and its executive agencies. Historically, we can trace this unique role into family policymaking through five primary events.

The <u>first</u> was the establishment of the NAS by an Act of Congress in 1863, to "whenever called upon by a department of the

Government, investigate, examine, experiment, and report upon any subject of science or art."

Not all scientists view the NAS policy-advising role favorably. Even in 1864, John Henry, a charter member of the Academy, wrote a friend, ". . . there would be a great danger of its [NAS] being perverted to the advancement of personal interests and to the support of partisan politics." As we shall see, this criticism has increased with the addition of the social sciences to the Academy.

The second event was the creation of the National Research Council (NRC) in 1916. The NRC enabled the work of the Academy to expand by allowing other scientists to work with those on the Academy through commissions, committees, and special panels related to specific issues. In 1956, Executive Order 28859 further expanded the NRC, noting that, "The Government shall be represented on the Council by members who are officers or employees of specified departments and agencies of the executive branch of Government." This linking of the Academy's National Research Council to federal agencies and special-interest groups further strengthened the ties between the executive branch and the social scientists in setting research directions designed to drive Congressional legislative initiatives.

The third event leading to the Academy's family-policymaking role was the creation of the NAS Commission on Behavioral and

Social Sciences and Education. The Commission's work "is focused on bringing the knowledge, analytical tools, and methods of behavioral and social sciences to bear on the nation's major problems in an effort to understand them and to assist in their alleviation . . . and to effect communication . . . including collaboration with the appropriate scientific societies and professional associations." The Commission was thus empowered to link its mandate to federal agencies and professional associations, such as the National Association for the Education of Young Children, in order to carry out policy-mandated research demonstration projects in local communities in the absence of informed public debate.

Controversy surrounds the notion that NAS social scientists should use their research to "bear upon the nation's major problems . . . to assist in their alleviation." In an exchange with Frank Press, social scientist and former Head Start researcher Robert Pitchell recommended that "the Academy ought to get out of the business of sponsoring and funding all social science research that has as its goal policy advocacy to governmental agencies and the public at large." Pitchell suggested that social science research at the Academy be limited to a non-policymaking role because policy involves values that cannot be measured. The danger of eliminating values from public debate is that the single value system of the social scientists

could prevail in public policy.

The fourth event was the establishment of the Committee on Child Development Research and Public Policy in 1977; it was reorganized under the Commission in 1980. Past president of the Foundation for Child Development Orville Brim wrote in the article "Translating Research into Policy for Children: The Private Foundation Experience" in the American Psychologist: "For the past five years the Foundation has supported the Committee on Child Development Research and Public Policy of the National Research Council." He explained that the Committee is composed of representatives from the research and policymaking communities, and that the "Committee works to coordinate and increase the use of the results of basic and applied research in the formulation of public policies affecting children and families."

According to Brim, the Committee was formed to answer the call of the NRC's earlier Advisory Committee on Child Development "to develop a significantly broader and more policy-oriented approach to research than has been followed in the U.S." In order to avoid the philosophical differences generated by the open debate that resulted in the failure of its predecessor, the Committee simply adopted the well-known Swedish Model family policy. Using Sweden as its research model, the NAS formed its Panel on Work, Family and Community chaired by Columbia

University's Sheila Kamerman. Dr. Kamerman is a longtime critic of U.S. family policy and an ardent supporter of an income transfer program based on the failed Swedish Model.

The fifth event was the formation of the Panel on Child Care Policy by the Committee on Child Development Research and Public Policy. In March 1990 the Panel released its report "Who Cares for America's Children? Child Care Policy for the 1990s." It was funded by the Ford Foundation and the Foundation for Child Development. Participants in panel workshops that made recommendations for the Report included representatives from such Swedish Model advocacy network groups as the School-Age Child Care Project, the Children's Defense Fund, National Association for the Education of Young Children, Bank Street College, Work/Family Directions, Wheelock College, Child Care Law Center, Fairfax County (Virginia) Office for Children, and the Department of Psychology at the University of Virginia.

In March 1990, the NAS report was used by several members of the U.S. House of Representatives as social science evidence necessitating passage of the Act for Better Child Care Services. In response to criticism that the NAS Report advocated a single, unified daycare system, Ms. Gail Porter of the NAS vehemently denied the charge, stating that it recommended local "choice" in child care arrangements. However, a close look at the social science jargon used in the report reveals that NAS is

recommending a highly regulated national system.

The report recommends the strengthening of "the infrastructure of the child-care system." Tools of "coordination" for the infrastructure include: resource and referral services (broker-regulator); wage and training requirements; a public and corporate vendor-voucher program "linked" to state or "other regulated forms of care"; and the establishment of "family daycare systems." National, state and local resources are to be "planned and coordinated" by an "institutional structure that serves as a focal point" across agencies. Finally, "uniform national child care standards" are to be established as a "guide" for all states for "improving" the regulation and licensing of their programs.

This would not be decentralized local control as Ms. Porter suggests. It would be Congressionally-legislated private control by the elite social-scientists and "corporate-family" entrepreneurs who provided the predominantly federally funded research base that "created a need" for a unified national system. Apparently, through passage of the ABC bill, these professionals are to be empowered and enriched by a network of bureaucrats "linked" to government unions and the National Association for the Education of Young Children and its state and local affiliates.

Failure of the ABC Demonstration Project

Let us return to the NAS Panel on Work, Family and Community that was formed in 1979. The Panel interlocked its "Swedish" agenda with the U.S. Department of Education's National Institute of Education (NIE) and with the Women's Education Equity Act Program (WEEAP) in order to establish a national legislative model for what is now the proposed Act for Better Child Care Services (ABC bill).

Joining forces in a Family, School, Work and Community project, the NAS Panel and the National Institute of Education set up the research model for a national daycare system through the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, which served as coordinator for the Women's Education Equity Act Program's Educational Publishing Center. According to its 1989 Annual Report, the Wellesley Center was established in 1974 with a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The Center is legally a part of Wellesley College and all funds are received as grants and gifts to the College. It is funded primarily through foundation, corporate and government grants and is governed by a Board of Overseers chaired by the president of Wellesley College.

The legislative mandate of the NIE and WEEAP was to create equity among income groups and between the sexes in the public schools. The Home, School, Work and Community project used the equity mandate to justify putting the Swedish Model into local

communities through research demonstration grants. As in Sweden, equity was defined to mean that all men and women would enter the workforce and that all children would be educated through a single public daycare and educational system.

The FY 1982 Research Area Plan for Family and Community Studies from the National Institute of Education followed the suggestion of Susan Berresford of the Ford Foundation "that a renewed drive [for national child care on the scope of the 1970s Mondale/Brademas legislation] should focus on before- and after-school care for school-aged children, rather than on care of pre-school children, as the most politically expedient and least emotionally-laden entree into the debate." Once established, through federal research grants and a Head Start "wrap around" program, the national SACC program could be "extended downwards" to the age of three, with the public school serving as the "hub" of home-based care serving infants and toddlers.

Fairfax County was a recipient of one research grant from the Home, School, Community and Workplace agenda that was brokered into the county from the NIE through the Wellesley Research Center's National School Age Child Care Project. The broad national network profits from the expansion of bureaucratic services through its role as policy broker and consultant to state and local governments and corporations. The consultants to policy advisory boards recommend a national unified daycare

system that could put all child care programs within their political infrastructure. These social scientists have created a new concept in welfare programs that could be termed the "Wellesleyfare state" in which public/private partnerships support an ever-expanding entrepreneurial bureaucracy funded primarily by local property taxes.

The SACC research was a simple equity-based, behavior-technology project asking: If the Office for Children (OFC) could form a county agency (OFC)/public school partnership offering school-age daycare exclusively to public school children of employed parents and broker special tax-subsidized programs through the SACC program, could bureaucrats create a consumer need for the SACC program?

The theory behind the behavior-technology experiment was that, if an ever-expanding number of tax-subsidized "interagency services" were to be exclusively through SACC, taxpaying parents could be coerced to use public daycare rather than private or religious care or parent-at-home care. By expanding the single public daycare program downward to infancy, social scientists would hope to achieve income equity, as it were, through daycare and social services.

The ABC research demonstration project implemented by the Wellesley Center failed in three central areas: (1) child care "choice," (2) the Head Start "wrap around" program, and (3) the

"sliding fee" funding mechanism.

1. By a vote of 8-1, the Board of Supervisors knocked down the provision of the SACC experiment that religious and private school children be excluded from receiving county services. The Board believed that the precedent of making tax-paid services dependent on attendance at the public school denied the families of private/religious schools their First Amendment rights.

2. The second failure strikes at the central organizational and funding structure of the ABC bill, which assumes that the Head Start program will provide the core financial stability of the SACC county agency/public school partnership as other programs "wrap around" it. The Fairfax County Parent Policy Council did not wish to be homogenized by a transfer from the Department of Community Action to the Wellesley/Fairfax Affiliate. Thus, the Head Start Council refused to sign the petition for federal funds. When the Parent Policy Council took the county to court, the county attorney stopped the SACC's impending defeat by withdrawing the county's request for federal Head Start funds, claiming that the county would transfer the program to the Wellesley/Fairfax Affiliate and pay for it with county funds. Because the Head Start legislation states that its funds can be used only to "supplement [and] not supplant local funds," Fairfax County has been refused Head Start funds.

The failure of the ABC research demonstration project raises

the question of whether publicly funded middle-class programs can be "wrapped around" Head Start. It would seem that, by definition of its ability to fund a middle-class program, a local community does not need federal funds to finance a disadvantaged program, given that the disadvantaged should be of higher priority.

3. The third failure speaks to the "sliding fee" scale mechanism financing the Swedish Model, in which user fees for daycare for those above a given income are to supplement the user fees of those below that income level. Upper-income consumers of the Fairfax Technical Assistance Affiliate have rebelled at paying more for care than lower-middle-income users. Upper-income users claim there should not be a disparity in fees charged users, and that the general tax fund should increase its support of the SACC program. This issue has not been resolved.

While the proliferation of recent agenda-setting literature inspired by the Child Care Action Campaign's media diffusion campaign, coupled with the NAS report "Who Cares for America's Children? Child Care Policy for the 1990s," would indicate that Americans are eager to embrace a Swedish family policy model, the unpublicized experience of the Wellesley/Fairfax Affiliate and its broader based community would contradict such claims. Indeed, a tax revolt has broken out in Fairfax County, and recently the chair of the Board of Supervisors warned county

bureaucrats that the county faces a $65 million budget shortfall for the fiscal year beginning July 1991 unless school and county officials cut their budgets by 2 percent this year. The school board budget, the chair recommended, should be cut by 4 percent next year.

The Fairfax County, Virginia tax revolt over property taxes and the sliding fee scale in the SACC demonstration site throw into question the suggestion by Edward Zigler that Americans are ready to ante up $75 to $100 billion in property taxes and daycare user fees.

Recommendations

1. The role of social scientists at the National Academy of Sciences should be reconsidered with a view to eliminating the policymaking role it plays in local communities through its agenda-setting powers and bureaucratic/union network.

2. Given the fact that the Washington, D.C. area has the highest percentage of employed women in the nation, and given the failure of the Act for Better Child Care Services research demonstration site in Fairfax County, an unbiased (non-SACC/Fairfax County) study should be conducted to determine its effects on the local daycare industry.

3. The issue of the Head Start program "wrapping around" publicly funded, middle- to upper-middle-class programs should be explored. If local tax dollars subsidize middle- to upper-

middle-class programs, do Head Start funds supplant local funding for disadvantaged programs? Given the decision by HHS not to award Head Start funds to Fairfax County, what are the implications, if any, for Head Start and tax-subsidized middle-class programs?

4. The Head Start program should be continued with its emphasis on assisting the disadvantaged with the integrity of Parent Policy Councils.

5. The ABC legislation calls for public/private partnerships that would finance and regulate child care. Such partnerships draw most heavily on tax dollars. Yet, they are not necessarily accountable to elected officials. Before legislating ABC, the Congress should define the constraints of such partnerships in terms of their power (1) to make child care policy and (2) to tax citizens.

Chapter 14

MEDIA PRESSURES FOR FEDERAL DAYCARE

by Cliff Kincaid

A veteran media critic exposes the way that major media corporations and personalities not only show their bias on television and in the press, but even make personal contributions and appearances to promote federal daycare.

Cliff Kincaid is a journalist, media commentator, and co-author of the book Profiles of Deception. He hosts a daily three-hour talk show in Washington, D.C., on WNTR Radio, which is also carried in several other cities. He has appeared on numerous national televison and radio programs, and for a time was a substitute host on CNN's Crossfire.

Mr. Kincaid reports on media issues for the New York City Tribune and Human Events. He is heard on Accuracy in Media's radio commentary program, Media Monitor, which airs on 250 radio stations. He is the Washington columnist for Between the Lines, a newsletter that monitors the press and Hollywood.

He received his degree in journalism from the University of Toledo.

Conservatives frequently complain that the major media are biased in favor of those demanding federal daycare. Actually, the situation is much worse than commonly believed. One of the main groups promoting federal daycare not only gets incredibly

favorable publicity from the media, but is itself funded by the media!

The so-called Children's Defense Fund (CDF), the $6 million-a-year high-profile organization, is what I'm talking about. Of course, it vigorously lobbied for Senator Christopher Dodd's (D-Conn.) notorious ABC (Act for Better Child Care) bill. The Children's Defense Fund, in its own annual report for 1988, tells of having received hundreds of thousands of dollars from major corporations, including media companies. It received more than $50,000 from Exxon alone.

Other corporations or foundations that poured money into this organization include the Aetna Life and Casualty Foundation, the American Express Foundation, the AT&T Foundation, the General Mills Foundation, the Cummins Engine Foundation, General Motors, Mobil Oil, Xerox, Zayre, Sears, and IBM.

Media grants to the CDF came from Time Inc., the Discovery Cable Channel, Black Entertainment Television, the MCA Foundation, Warner Communications, and two local Washington television stations, WJLA and WUSA.

One of the most interesting grants to the CDF came from the Washington Post Company, which publishes the Washington Post, as well as Newsweek, and owns TV stations. Yet the Post did not disclose that it had a financial interest in the CDF when it ran a column on June 20, 1989 by CDF President Marian Wright Edelman

which was simply titled, "Pass That ABC Child Care Bill." The question that needs to be asked is, "Whatever happened to the public's right to know?"

The CDF annual report reveals that its representatives met with the editorial boards of major publications including Newsweek, the Christian Science Monitor, the Boston Globe, the New York Times, and the Atlanta Constitution. And surprise, surprise, the foundations of the New York Times and the Boston Globe are listed in this same annual report as having given the CDF contributions of around $10,000 each.

The same annual report -- it's no secret; it's publicly available -- also reveals that donations to the CDF were given by Jane Pauley, then co-host of NBC's Today Show, as well as by her husband, "Doonesbury" cartoonist Garry Trudeau.

Interestingly, in boasting about its own "national public education campaign" on behalf of federal daycare, the CDF says that its representatives appeared on several major news programs, including -- surprise! surprise! -- the NBC Today Show.

Isn't there something fishy about all of this? Something stinks.

It seems as if the media are paying their sources of information to report what they themselves want to print and broadcast.

On the other hand, conservative groups such as Eagle Forum

that oppose the ABC bill must buy their advertising space and, even then, the media have a First Amendment right to reject it for any reason whatsoever. And they call this a "free" press. But it gets worse. Not only are the major media companies and other corporations making grants to the CDF, but media personalities are themselves helping to raise money for that group!

The CDF held a fundraiser in Washington, D.C. on November 30, 1989, which included among others Katharine Graham, chairman of the board of the Washington Post; Ed Bradley, correspondent for CBS' 60 Minutes; Charles Kuralt of CBS News; Jim Lehrer, co-host of the MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour on public television; Jane Pauley, then co-host of the NBC Today Show, and her husband, cartoonist Garry Trudeau; and finally, Susan Stamberg, anchor on National Public Radio. Dan Rather had agreed to attend, but apparently he had another commitment.

These and other media figures on one night alone in Washington, D.C. helped the CDF raise a reported $400,000. They attended despite the fact that all these news organizations are supposed to have ethical guidelines prohibiting their employees from associating with political causes.

I contacted Jim Lehrer of public television, and I asked him why he had gotten involved with the CDF. He said his involvement should not be construed as support for its position on child

care. However, Lehrer said he is "sensitive" about appearing at political events and that he checked beforehand to make sure that the group did not take a stand on issues like abortion. He said he was "vaguely aware" of the CDF's position on child care -- just "vaguely aware" of it. Yet, Lehrer is a man who appears on public television every night who is supposed to be on top of the news. He also claimed that he doesn't endorse a group's position on the issues just because he appears at one of its fundraising events.

Needless to say, this is an embarrassing position for someone like Jim Lehrer to be in. Indeed, MacNeil-Lehrer Productions (MLP) has its own policy which tells its staffers that they should not "engage in any activity that would compromise or appear to compromise MLP's commitment to unbiased reporting."

The CBS program 60 Minutes was represented at the CDF fundraiser by correspondent Ed Bradley. This was no surprise either because 60 Minutes had already aired a "puff piece" on CDF President Marian Wright Edelman. The story included a brief interview with conservative Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), but Hatch, a co-sponsor of the ABC bill, made only favorable comments about Marian Wright Edelman. The story was narrated by correspondent Harry Reasoner, but Bradley actually concluded the segment with words to the effect that, if Congress wanted to

honor Marian Wright Edelman's work on behalf of children, they could do so by passing the ABC bill.

Such a blatant conflict of interest didn't bother Don Hewitt, executive producer of 60 Minutes. He told me that he didn't see anything wrong with Ed Bradley going to a CDF fundraiser after the group had received a plug on 60 Minutes.

He said: "The Children's Defense Fund? It doesn't sound to me like any kind of subversive organization that nobody should go near." Hewitt even questioned why child care is a controversial issue. So there we have a man in his position acting ignorant, or pretending to, about the two different sides of this controversial and sensitive issue.

The NBC Today Show was represented at the same fundraiser by Jane Pauley, then co-host of the NBC Today Show. The Today Show has had "repeated segments" with promoters of federal daycare such as Betty Friedan and Congresswoman Pat Schroeder (D-Col.) but nothing at all on the other side.

Pauley has since left the show -- not because of her one-sided interviews or involvement in political causes -- but because of the unfeminist reason of not looking as young and pretty as Deborah Norville.

Appendix A

DAYCARE REGULATION VERSUS CIVIL LIBERTIES

by Margaret Harris

This report, written by the Legislative Chairperson of the Child Day Care Association Inc., an association of in-home providers headquartered in Tariffville, Connecticut, shows how overregulation of family daycare by the state of Connecticut is unjust, irrational, and violative of constitutional rights, yet is expected to be a model for implementation of federal daycare regulation.

This report is limited in scope to Title IV of H.R.3, known as the Hawkins-Downey bill, and is presented by the Legislative Committee of Child Day Care Association Inc. of Connecticut.

Title IV substantially parallels the Connecticut child care situation. It has three important concepts which are unique within U.S. industries regulation:

1) Lead Agency replaces regulatory agency and has substantially broader power and greater resources. (Sec. 658D)

    a) It grants money to support and training organizations, including provider association. (Sec. 658G(b)(1))

b) It grants money to referral systems. (Sec. 658E(c)(2)(A))

c) It utilizes regulatory agents isolated and separated from other regulatory systems of the state. (Sec. 658D(4)(B))

2) The regulatory concept of administrative warrant is replaced with a general warrant (Sec. 658D(4)(B)(ii)) in the case of family child care providers. (Sec. 658K(6)) "Family child care provider" is so broadly defined as to cover a mom taking care of only one neighbor's child, a situation ordinary in the running of a family home.

3) State Advisory Committee on Child Care reflects "Child Day Care Council of Connecticut." (Amendment Sec. III) This Council is a badly failing group of individuals, appointed by the Governor, representing primarily the executive branch and grantees of the Lead Agency. They adopt, as their own, reports of the Lead Agency.

In an effort to access the effects of this system on the civil liberties of at-home child care providers, it is helpful to look at the consequences in Connecticut. Connecticut is not completely unique in the structure of its laws and regulations, but it has uniquely funded its regulatory system. The citizens of Connecticut spend half of every child care dollar on governmental monitoring. This has resulted in an abuse of the civil liberties of the child care providers. ABC will create

this same situation in many other states which have adopted the program but lack the funding to implement the monitoring.

The system has given rise to a series of problems which have serious constitutional implications and which sketch a picture of secret policing activities generally considered inconsistent with democratic societies.

The physical evidence is found in the data banks of Connecticut's Lead Agency. (Department of Human Resources) Provider files average more than 200 pages and contain: a general medical release signed by each member of the provider's family; a consent for general searches of her home and grounds, including areas not used for daycare, i.e., bedrooms, medicine cabinets, closets, attics, garages, etc.; an agreement to cooperate fully and answer any questions of any agent of the commissioner. Files include the results of interrogations about the intimate aspects of her life including her relationship with her husband, her parents, her siblings, any former spouses, neighbors, her religious and political activities, as well as her hobbies and any other interests. She is asked if she has ever been in any therapy and assessed for her candor and openness. The questioner makes observations about her home, her housekeeping standards, her general appearance, etc. These become part of her permanent daycare file.

In addition to the above, the files also contain any

complaints. The Lead Agency continues to resist defining "complaints." The following are some examples of complaints listed in family daycare provider files in Connecticut.

1) A family provider in Clinton called the town health official to ask for assistance in handling a case of head lice. The health official reported this to the Lead Agency. The state agent recorded the call as a complaint against the provider. In a routine request for her file, under Connecticut's Freedom of Information Act, the provider secured a copy of the complaint. She sent it to the health official who in turn wrote to the agency stating that he had made no complaint, but that his call had been intended as a commendation. The provider was unable to get the record corrected until she filed against the agency in Superior Court two years later. (Note: A new law, passed in 1989, effectively conceals the identity of the "complainant.")

2) A parent, concerned that the family daycare home her child attended in West Hartford was not sufficiently sterile to protect young children, called the agency and complained that she was concerned about the provider's "housekeeping standards." Two agents of the commissioner went to the home on an "unannounced visit." They considered the home too clean and orderly to be a proper environment to promote the healthy play of children and it was recorded in their

supervisor's notes, in her file, that the provider is "obsessive-compulsive." The supervisor is a social worker who has since been promoted to a central position coordinating all policing activities of the agency. The provider currently has a personal data suit in Hartford Superior Court.

3) A mother looking for home daycare for her infant called the Lead Agency asking for help in locating a provider in her town. The agent began listing names and numbers. When one name was said, the caller stated, "I heard that she locks children in the basement." Even though the provider had no basement, this complaint has been in her file for five years. She currently has a personal data suit filed in Superior Court, Middletown.

4) An angry mother called the agency to complain that her child's provider was serving spaghetti to the children every Tuesday. The agent logged a complaint in the provider's file. When an attempt was made to retrieve this complaint, under the state's Freedom of Information Act, the Agency claimed it was protected data since it was a child abuse or neglect complaint. The Freedom of Information Commission ruled against the Lead Agency and released the complaint.

5) An agent of the commissioner arrived at the door of a Danielson provider. The provider let the agent in and the

agent proceeded to do a complete search of the home. The provider assumed the visit was random and sat down with the agent and answered about twenty minutes of questions. She was then told that the visit was in response to a complaint. The provider asked "by who" and "what for" and was then asked by the agent, "Well, do you know any reason someone would complain on you?". This provider has currently filed a personal data suit in Hartford Superior Court.

The Act for Better Child Care, promoted by Senator Chris Dodd, of Connecticut, is the final payoff of one of the most fraudulent political promotions ever undertaken. The bill is generally structured in a way that will promote chaos in the private sector while allowing the public sector to run away with money purported to enhance the family's options for their children.

The money will be used to encourage more individuals to open daycare facilities with no consideration of the needs of providers and children for an efficient and stable environment. Money will be available in loans for start-up but will be payable immediately upon termination of the daycare activity. The system is structured for glut and will make it impossible for providers either to earn enough to repay their loans or to get out of the business.

The foundation of law must be in reality. Several untested

and erroneous premises are the building blocks of this legislation:

First is that the quality and availability of homes for daycare children will be enhanced by regulation. We have no evidence that suggests that the quality, availability, group size or children's activities vary between parent-regulated homes and state-regulated homes. The evidence appears to be to the contrary.

Second is that requiring developmental training of staff enhances the quality of daycare. While there are indications that this is true of individuals working in centers, this does not seem to generalize to the home situation. These two populations are very different. The center personnel are of the same population as workers in fast food chains and other minimum wage jobs. The family daycare provider is a woman whose main interest is to stay at home and raise her children. She then adds children of the neighborhood into her home and family. Her motivation is different and she represents the general population of women in the home.

Of the five thousand home providers maintained on Connecticut's DHR books, only six hold the CDA (Child Development Associate). The CDA is a national credentialing program which is the training preferred and advocated by the promoters of the ABC

and Hawkins-Downey bills. The training has the effect of re-identifying the family provider as a professional involved in the business of child care, efficiently shuffling papers and young helpers.

Last year the most tragic incident happened in a daycare family home where the provider was apparently unaware, for several hours, that a three year old had made her way into the family car. The day was very hot and the child died. The provider was one of the six providers with the CDA training. The provider was utilizing the help of young teenagers who were watching over the children as she attended to other business. It is unlikely that a mother caring for her own children along with her neighbor's children could have found herself in such a position. In fact, we know of nothing similar.

We strongly suggest that home providers be allowed to continue to operate their homes in the traditional manner that has promoted a record unmatched by private, church or state corporate child care. Toward that end, we make the following constitutional assertions:

1) H.R.3 violates the First Amendment of the Constitution (free speech, free press and freedom of religion). It is asserted that the broad powers allowing the Lead Agency to advance one daycare association over another, to search and otherwise harass individual providers without probable

cause, will necessarily have the effect of stifling free speech and association. It is already a common complaint of providers in Connecticut that they are afraid to make Freedom of Information requests concerning information on themselves for fear of retaliation. Religious freedom has also been an issue for providers wishing to set up in-home religious daycare. The Lead Agency has informed them that they should not "get carried away."

> "In order to survive constitutional challenge, regulatory measures in the area of the First Amendment cannot be employed in purpose or effect to stifle, penalize or curb exercise of such rights, but must be highly selective because even though government purpose in regulatory activity is legitimate and substantial, purpose cannot be pursued by means which broadly stifle fundamental personal liberties when the end can be more narrowly achieved." (Shelton v. Tucher (1960), 364 U.S. 479, 5 L Ed 2d 231, 81 S Ct 247)

2) H.R.3 violates the Fourth Amendment (to be secure in one's home and papers from unreasonable searches). H.R.3 requires unwarranted, surprise, random, general searches of family homes involved in activities ordinary in the function of a family home. (Sec. 658D(4)(B)(ii)) While the legislation has a limit in the requirement of searches "during normal hours of operation," nothing in the legislation is a limiting requirement, there is no limit in the conduct of the searches, nor is there any limit in the conduct of interrogations, nor are there limits to specific areas which

would exclude areas of the home unused by children. Nothing in fact prohibits the regulators from searching and or interrogating a provider who is ill and not attending children when the regulator arrives. To engage in and even require such searches without a "clear and present danger" will clearly undermine the Fourth Amendment rights of over one million American families who assist their working neighbors.

3) H.R.3 violates the Fifth Amendment (the right against self-incrimination). The purpose of the Fifth Amendment is to protect the private innersanctum of the citizen's feelings and thoughts. Clearly, interrogations on any subject which can be administered in an atmosphere of surprise and powerlessness violates the Fifth Amendment. Nothing in H.R.3 puts any limits on the interviewing techniques utilized by the states' Lead Agencies and funded by this legislation.

4) H.R.3 violates the Sixth Amendment (the right to be informed of the nature and cause of an accusation). H.R.3 requires individual states to maintain a record of parental complaints and to make information regarding substantiated parental complaints available upon request. (Sec. 658D(4)(J)) The law fails to define "complaint" or "substantiated" or any process for the provider to defend

against false accusations. The language is unlimiting. The state can maintain other complaints including anonymous complaints and could make them public utilizing federal funds. (Note: In Connecticut the provider cannot access the complaint or know the origin of the complaint before she is required to react to the questioning of the state's investigating agent. Additionally, she is unable to learn the results of the investigation.)

5) H.R.3 violates the Ninth Amendment (which guarantees those rights inherent to citizenship in a democracy which are not specifically enumerated in the Bill of Rights).

> "The fundamental integrity of the family unit has found protection in the Ninth Amendment and is subject to intrusion only where "compelling" government interest arises and protecting the child from harm is requisite in government interest." (Re S (1978, Okla) 581 P 2d 884)

This law, which requires the regulation of family providers also, of course, requires of parents that they place their children only in the state's regulated environment, and as such violates the parents' rights under this Amendment to direct the upbringing of their children.

6) H.R.3 violates the Fourteenth Amendment (the right to due process and equal protection). This amendment protects citizens from overly broad or vague regulation of law. We believe that the structure outlined in H.R.3 will

necessarily lead to overly broad and vague law and regulation in the states' systems.

We recommend that every federal legislator ask Senator Dodd for a copy of the regulations that currently govern family daycare providers in Connecticut, and that they count the number of times the phrase "not limited to" is written when citing the neighborhood mom's responsibilities to her regulators. We further suggest that the federal legislators may wish to ask Senator Dodd for his state's complaint procedure or grievance procedure or anything designed to get a neighborhood mother a fair hearing from the Lead Agency short of a trip to Superior Court.

Appendix B

SEMINAR SPEAKERS

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Senator Phil Gramm
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Washington, DC 20510

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Eagle Forum Education & Legal Defense Fund is a nonprofit educational organization which conducts research, studies, seminars and surveys on the civic, legal, economic, moral and social rights of traditional families. It seeks to promote fair treatment for traditional family values in the economy, the media, the schools and universities.

Constitution Programs. Eagle Forum has an outstanding program honoring the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution. It includes a Constitution Slide Program called "We the People" which has been shown by nearly 500 local Bicentennial chairmen to local groups reaching a half million Americans and is now also available on video and audio cassettes; a one-minute musical radio spot called "Standing Proud for the Constitution," which aired on 700 radio stations during 1987; and a 40-minute video called "American Inventors," which describes how American prosperity is the result of the eocnomic freedom established by the U.S. Constitution. All three projects were officially "recognized" by the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution as having "exceptional merit with national significance, and substantial educational and historical value."

Phonics Reading Program. Some 5,000 parents have been helped to teach their own children to read by Eagle Forum's Headstart Reading Program to combat illiteracy.

Educational Conferences. Eagle Forum has sponsored and conducted numerous educational conferences and seminars featuring addresses by national experts on such topics as Child Care and Daycare, Comparable Worth, Federally-Mandated Parental Leave, and Parents' Rights in Education.

Parents Advisory Center. Eagle Forum supports and counsels parents in defending the rights of their schoolchildren. Eagle Forum's monthly publication called *Education Reporter*, the "newspaper of education rights," is a major line of communication for news about public school curricula and how parents are asserting their rights.

Fulltime Homemaker Awards. Each year, Eagle Forum gives a Fulltime Homemaker Award to a national winner and to a winner in each of the 50 states in order to recognize the socially useful work done by the mother who forgoes paid employment to give her children fulltime care.

Radio Commentaries. Eagle Forum's nationally syndicated three-minute-a-day radio program is carried on 250 stations and has been running for more than six years. During 1987, this series included 130 commentaries on the U.S. Constitution. Eagle Forum also sponsors a one-hour call-in radio program on education on Saturdays, received via satellite by 50 stations.

Video Productions. Eagle Forum has produced and distributed original videos on important subjects, including the U.S. Constitution, Parental Rights in Education, and Strategic Defense.

Publications. Among Eagle Forum's publications are *Who Will Rock the Cradle?*, a volume of the addresses given at two conferences on Child Care sponsored by the organization, and *Equal Pay for UNequal Work*, a volume of the addresses given at one of the organization's conferences on Comparable Worth.

Eagle Forum Education & Legal Defense Fund is a publicly supported educational organization described in Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. It was founded in 1981 as an Illinois not-for-profit corporation and maintains offices in both Alton, Illinois and Washington, D.C.

New Thinking on Child Care...

"A government which has failed in virtually every other area of domestic activity now has the arrogance to tell us that it can make better decisions about child care than families can."

Senator Phil Gramm

"What is really important to children and their families is more of mom and dad, flexible job opportunities, home-based entrepreneurship, tax relief, and control over their own lives."

Phyllis Schlafly

"Millions of mothers are looking for ways to combine work and family life so they can nurture their children with more time than they have had in the past two decades. Some are quitting full-time employment altogether, with plans to reenter at some point in the future -- perhaps five years, perhaps 15, perhaps 25 years. Some mothers are seeking part-time employment, and some mothers are seeking home-based work. Those options are all consistent with the tradition of American women."

Heidi Brennan

"The overriding, uniting factor among home-based mothers is the desire to combine mothering and career in a way that will not compromise their ability to spend quality and *quantity time with their children. An increasing number of women are finding that, through developing and running a home-based business or seeking some type of home-based work, they can regain the sense of control and self-esteem they felt lacking."*

Caroline Hull

"Every young child deserves a full measure of direction and support from the two people who are best equipped to help him on that journey: his mother and father."

Karl Zinsmeister

"Family friendly workplaces will not be the product of federal policies that oversimplify, mandate, stipulate, and regulate. Family friendly workplaces can be the result of employees and employers who challenge some traditional thinking and seek new options."

Virginia L. Thomas