



EMPATHIC PARENTING

Journal of the Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

Volume 10

Issue 2

Spring 1987

\$2.50



Psychopaths fail to know all those more serious and deeply moving affective states which make up the tragedy and triumph of ordinary life...

*Hervey Cleckley
The Mask of Sanity*

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The Daycare Debate

...If we want **real** solutions (to the working parent's dilemma) we must try to solve the **real** problem which is not "how can this woman pursue her chosen working life **and** rear her chosen family?" but "How can the vital people-function of parenthood be re-integrated into our society of workers?"...

...The most radical social change such a scheme would require is the change that would take us from the belief that children are the business of women-who-are-mothers to the realisation that children are the business of us all, and specifically of all people-who-choose-to-be-parents. As long as the work/parent dilemma is seen as a womens' problem solutions will continue to be sought, or scratched together, in a womens' world, leaving the world of men, still the real world of work, untouched. However honestly men seek solutions **for women**, a division between the sexes will prevent a true recognition of parenting as an issue for all people.

I believe that there are many men who genuinely accept the concept of equal responsibility for children and who would welcome the opportunity to act on it. Most of them are foiled by the work-ethic; by the pressures on them to perform as wage-earners and career-people and, sometimes, by feminism itself. Until recently childrens' needs have not formed a substantial part of the feminist platform; women have fought males at their traditional games but have scarcely sought to involve them in traditional female games. There is a growing recognition of the dangers of sexism both ways round and this is a trend which must certainly be encouraged. During an inevitably lengthy interim, women, still principally responsible for young children, can do much to prepare for a different, a gentler and a more child-orientated society. Today's boy-babies are tomorrow's men. Their education is critical to a future in which all human beings are people first and workers afterwards; a future in which new people take priority over any other product.

Penelope Leach

Excerpted from Motherhood or Career? by Penelope Leach. The entire article will appear in the next issue of Empathic Parenting.

EMPATHIC PARENTING:

Being willing and able to 'put yourself in your child's shoes' in order to correctly identify his/her feelings, and

Being willing and able to behave toward your child in ways which take those feelings into account.

Empathic parenting takes an enormous amount of time and energy and fully involves both parents in a co-operative, sharing way.

Letters

Dear Dr. Barker:

I guess you can tell that I have felt like using my typewriter this past week.

While cleaning up the mess of papers that I always seem to have around I found something that I had written after seeing you last summer. Actually I'm not sure when I did it or even whether or not I have already sent you a copy. If I did send you a copy, now you have two...

I've been thinking about my daughter Diane. As I have told you before I was pretty tough on her for a number of years. The change came pretty sudden, it seems that all at once I decided that I should not use corporal punishment on her or any of the children for that matter. I've been wondering if in her case she might have taken that as a sign that I had given up on her. I am sure that she felt that I was the only steady thing in her life since her mother was one day fine and the next day off in her own world some where in space. I tried many times to explain to her that I was wrong in the way I had been raising her so that she would not feel like I had given up. I'm sure that the actions would speak louder than words and perhaps the words didn't mean anything to her.

On the other hand, maybe my admission that I was wrong gave her a perfectly good reason to feel sorry for herself. I feel very sorry for her, she has a long hard road ahead of her. My hands are tied now and there is no way that I can help. I can't even sit and have a personal conversation with her now since I can't be alone with her. It must be really hard on her, to have no one to turn to, and I'm sure that is the case. I have felt for some time now that I had no choice, I had to give up on her, but I don't want to.

Diane must have felt some kind of hatred for me to make the accusations she did. I would rather believe that she did not know the effects that it would have on our lives, and that it was just another way of getting her own way without putting in the effort to go about it in the right way.

It has made a large difference in my life. I am still shy about hugging my other daughter. I can't do it anymore because Diane's charges were never settled one

way or the other.

There are times when I would like to kill her for what she has done and other times I would like to just hug her and leave the past in the past. More than likely, neither of the above will ever happen. I suspect that we will just grow further and further apart. The time will come when we are just strangers to each other. I have a couple of brothers and sisters who, due to problems with my parents, I haven't seen in ten or fifteen years. I hope that Diane doesn't drift that far from her brother and sister.

Sometimes I think that the psychopathic way is much better, in that not to love is not to care. Not to have either feeling is not to have hurt feelings. But then it is also not to have good feelings eh?

I would like to know what you think about my effort to learn Psychology. Do you think that my mental illness would inhibit my success? Would it help me?

I was talking to the supervisor at the Ministry of Community and Social Services last week about going back to school. He was more concerned with what you thought about it than how I felt about it.

By the way, he also mentioned that he had seen something about Oakridges* on TV Ontario last week. He seemed to think that I was the only person that ever got out of there. He also mentioned that I would likely still be there if it were not for the medication. I would like to have seen that show. He obviously got the impression from the show that once you're there, you're there for keeps unless you can be medicated to the point of near being unfunctionable. I am always amazed and humored by peoples' opinions of Oakridges and the so called Criminally insane.

This supervisor also wants to see your Journals, in particular the stuff that I had written for you. I haven't decided whether or not that is a good idea. I don't mind him seeing your Journal, but I'm not sure he could understand that what I have written has no effect on my life right now. He may feel that some of the problems I have had may interfere with the way I raise my children.

Well I guess that is enough writing for

EMPATHIC PARENTINGJournal of the Canadian Society for the
Prevention of Cruelty to ChildrenVolume 10 Issue 2 Spring 1987
(Date of Issue - April 1987)Editor: E.T.Barker, M.D., D.Psych., F.R.C.P.(C)
Editorial Consultant: Allan Jones
Layout and Composition: John Maxim
Sketches Courtesy: Louise Després-JonesPrinting: Bayweb Limited, Elmvale and
Midland Printers Limited, MidlandWith Vol. 7, Issue 3, Summer '84, EM-
PATHIC PARENTING (ISSN 0825-7531)
became the official title of what was
formerly the Journal of the Canadian Soci-
ety for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
(ISSN 0705-6591).EMPATHIC PARENTING, official publica-
tion of the Canadian Society for the Preven-
tion of Cruelty to Children, is published four
times a year (Winter, Spring, Summer and
Fall) and is mailed without charge to all
CSPCC members.EMPATHIC PARENTING is available as part
of Membership in the CSPCC.

Annual Associate Membership	\$10.00
Annual Supporting Membership	\$25.00
Annual Sustaining Membership	\$100.00
Annual Endowing Membership	\$250.00
Three Year Associate Membership	\$25.00

All Membership fees and donations are in-
come tax deductible. Registration No.
0457960-09-13.The Editor welcomes letters, suggestions
for content, articles, photos, drawings, etc.
for consideration. Opinions expressed in
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ly those of the CSPCC or the Editor.Copyright, Canadian Society for the Prevention
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Return postage guaranteed.Subscription orders, undeliverable copies,
and change of address notices should be
sent to CSPCC, 356 First St., Box 700,
Midland, Ontario, L4R 4P4. (705) 526-5647.Back Issues, when available, cost \$1.50
Indexed in the Canadian Periodical Index and
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EMPATHIC PARENTING

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Letters

now. I hope you find the article interesting.**

Sincerely
Name withheld by editor

**Ontario's Maximum Security Mental Hospital
**See Page 23*

Dear Elliott:

...I read with interest your paper "Psychopathy, Human Values, and Parenting Priorities". I consider the discussion about psychopathy valuable on many levels. For one, a parent or parent-to-be might consider a discussion of psychopathy unrelated to parenting if one considers only severe psychopaths as I expect most do. However, when psychopathy is viewed along a continuum with the dangers to society pronounced I guess their fear level might rise along with their interest and motivation to be better parents. Second, and maybe most important, I think you are on to something significant when you express the essence of psychopathy using the three interpersonal qualities of trust, empathy and the capacity to give and receive affection. So how can we measure these qualities in adults better than we can now???? Seems like a lifetime or two away. The consequences to society of partial psychopathy seems like a useful first step which just might help our cause of preventing emotional child abuse...

...You have got me listening to every song I hear now for lyrics that might be useful and reflect the essence of empathic parenting...

Sincerely
Brian Shipton, Ph.D
St. Augustin, P.Q.

Dear Dr. Barker:

...I believe that homemakers **should** be paid for their work. It doesn't make sense to me to pay daycare workers to take care of the children if a woman wants the job herself. It seems to me that it would be much more efficient to avoid the "middle man". If the children's mother was paid, she wouldn't feel the need to work outside her home. If the government is going to subsidize daycare, let it also subsidize women who want to look after their own

kids. Give women a real choice, by removing the economic necessity for both parents to hold outside jobs.

Now, at the risk of once again confusing the reader, let me take this argument one step further. Although I do believe mothers should be enabled to stay home with their children, I have to admit that economic necessity isn't the only reason some of us feel compelled to see our names on pay cheques. We live in a very materialistic society. Generally speaking, tasks that society values, people get paid for performing. The more the job is valued, the more pay is allotted. Childcare workers are among the poorest paid. Mothers run a close second, I guess.

Women who have held paying jobs prior to motherhood, are sometimes shocked at their loss of self-esteem once the pay cheques stop rolling in. Often, they return to their former careers, not because they don't enjoy being with their children full-time, but because they feel secure in a situation where their worth is reinforced in dollars and cents.

The message is, that worthwhile jobs are paying jobs. Compound this with the fact that mothers rarely get noticed for a job well-done (of course, if the kids get into trouble we all know where the finger of blame is pointed). The result is that mothers often seek outside work in order to be recognized. I have bought into this belief system. I need to have my work appreciated. I know, everyone does. Lots of men and women work hard in offices, stores and factories every day, and nobody gives them a pat on the back. But at least they get a salary which indicates having done something of value. Many of my ill-fated attempts at combining motherhood with securing an income have been as much for my self-image as for the benefit of the family budget.

I would love to see the day when we value the ability to nurture, to teach, and to love, as much as the ability to bring home the all-mighty dollar. Then, and only then, will women have a real choice.

Sincerely,
Sue Pound
Brampton, Ont.

Excerpted from a paper entitled:

“How to succeed in the Business of
Creating Psychopaths Without Even Trying”

by Paul D. Steinhauer M.D., FRCP(C)

If we really believe that repeated separations and breaks in continuity are severely damaging to the developing child's capacity for relating to others, what can we do both to decrease as far as possible the number of separations and to minimize the damage done by those separations that are inevitable? Before proceeding, however, let us review briefly both the immediate and long-term reactions to separation. All too frequently workers and foster parents fail to recognize and appreciate the significance of separation reactions. There are four reasons that this occurs:

1. At the **cognitive** level, an incomplete understanding of the importance of the process and its manifestations in children of different ages.
2. At the **clinical** level, a failure to recognize the symptoms of aborted or pathological mourning, partly because of the masking effect of the child's defences.
3. At an **affective** level, the worker's inability to tolerate the child's distress and the feelings of impotence stirred up in her by the child's pain. This results in a selective inattention and denial if not an active discouragement of the child's using her to work through the mourning process.
4. At an **institutional** level, many

agencies fail to recognize the long-term importance of actively assisting children through the mourning process. As a result, a low priority is given to working through the feelings aroused by separations. Inadequate or one-shot-only in-service training around how to deal with separation sequelae and a failure to expect and support through supervision the dealing with separation phenomena are examples of this tendency. An additional factor is the budgetary restriction that, in many agencies, results in excessive caseloads which, both realistically and by providing a ready rationalization, tends to discourage workers from involving themselves in the necessary but painful working through of separation sequelae.

DESCRIPTION OF THE
PROCESS OF MOURNING

What do we mean by mourning? Mourning has been defined as the psychological process set in motion by the loss of a loved one. It refers to the gradual undoing of a long-standing attachment or, in psychoanalytic terms, to the gradual withdrawal of libidinal cathexis from a lost person (object).

Dr. Steinhauer is Professor of Psychiatry and Director of Training, Division of Child Psychiatry, Department of Psychiatry, University of Toronto, and Senior Staff Psychiatrist at the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto.

The copy of this 1979 paper that was forwarded to our office did not have with it detailed descriptions of the many references to the work of others which Dr. Steinhauer makes.

*I would urge interested readers to consult a more recent reworking of the same topic by Dr. Steinhauer in his book *Psychological Problems of the Child in the Family* (Steinhauer, P.D. and Rae-Grant, Q. New York, 1983, Basic Books) where the complete article as well as all references can be found.*

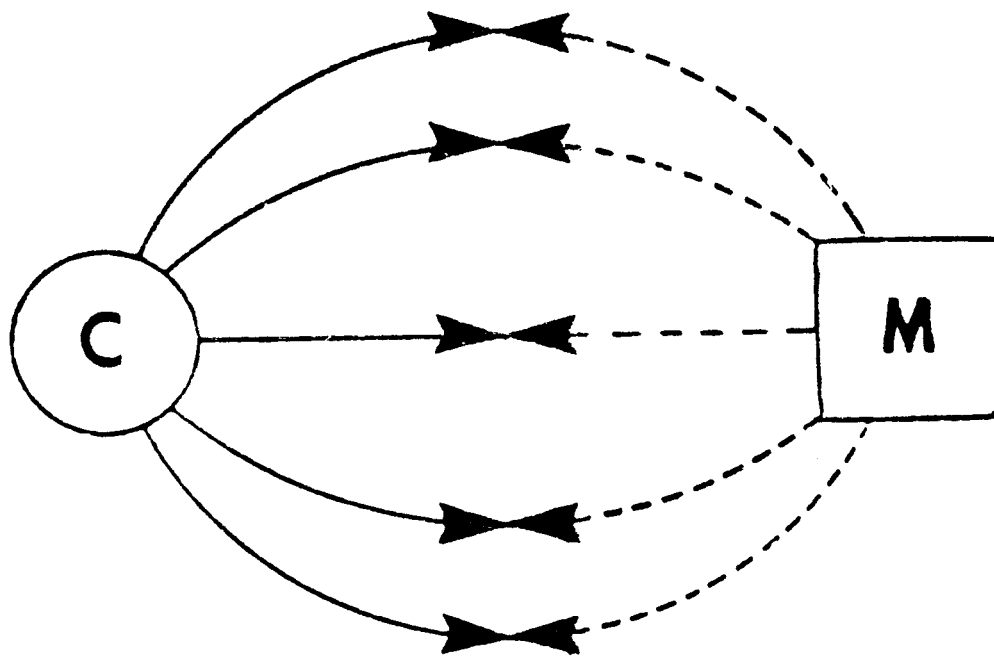
Special thanks to Dr. Steinhauer for permission to reprint this material.

This refers to the gradual process of dissolving the bonds of loving, caring and needing that bind the child to someone to whom he was attached and on whom he depended for his security. Mourning is aimed, ideally, at the giving up of the lost person. The purpose of mourning is to help the mourner accept a fact in the outer world (that someone he loves is lost) and to free him to make the corresponding change in his inner world (to help him gradually withdraw his love, interest, and investment from the lost person). This process of detachment or withdrawal of cathexis must be successfully completed if the child is to accept the reality of his loss and to be free to reinvest that loving, caring and needing through a successful attachment to a parent substitute. This process of detachment, also called the work of mourning, is accompanied by evidence of grief, a

clinical syndrome which includes signs of anger, pining, sadness and pre-occupation with the lost person.

Mourning will need to occur in any child separated from those with whom he has formed an affectional bond. With each subsequent separation the difficulties in successfully completing the work of mourning are more likely to be intensified and the process itself is more liable to be prolonged, distorted or aborted. A highly ambivalent relationship to the lost person will also interfere with the successful completion of mourning. Yet unless mourning is completed (i.e. unless detachment occurs) the child will not be free to form the new attachments to parent substitutes that are necessary in order to provide the security and ongoing stimulation needed for continuing development.

DIAGRAM I



PRIOR TO SEPARATION

Bowlby has described three stages in the mourning process:

1. Stage of Protest

This first stage, illustrated by Diagram II, lasts as long as the child feels that there is any remaining hope of being reunited with the mother (loved one(s)) he has lost. Typical of this stage is behaviour such as crying, kicking, screaming, threatening, bargaining, pleading or any behaviour that the child thinks may bring the return of the absent parent.

2. Stage of Despair

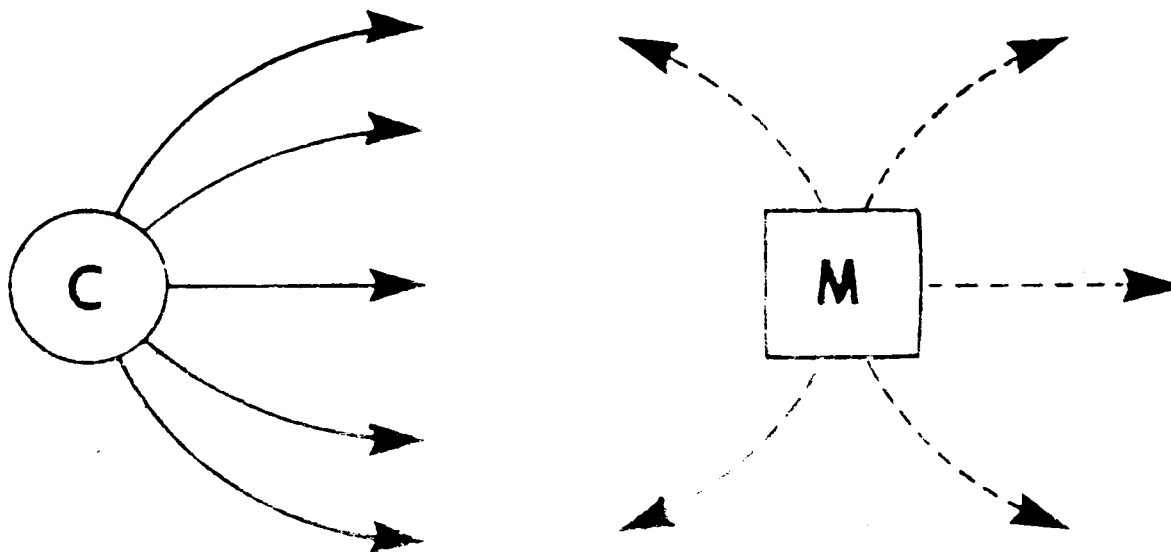
In the second stage, also illustrated in

Diagram II, the child remains listless, apathetic, lethargic, depressed and withdrawn. This is often misinterpreted by adults as if the child had lost interest in the parent(s) he has lost. This is not the case. The child, in this stage, has given up hope of the mother's returning and will allow others to care for him, but he has not yet reached the point where he is ready to accept a full relationship (i.e. an attachment) with a parent substitute.

3. Stage of Seeking New Relationships

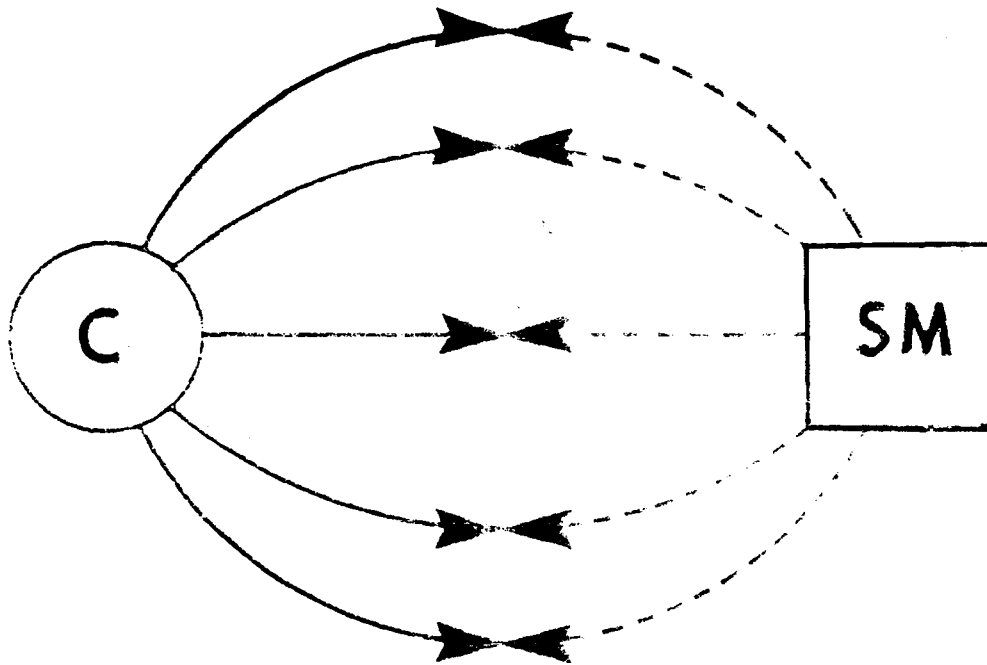
This stage is illustrated in Diagrams III and IV.

DIAGRAM II



SEPARATION
• STAGE OF PROTEST
• STAGE OF DESPAIR

DIAGRAM III



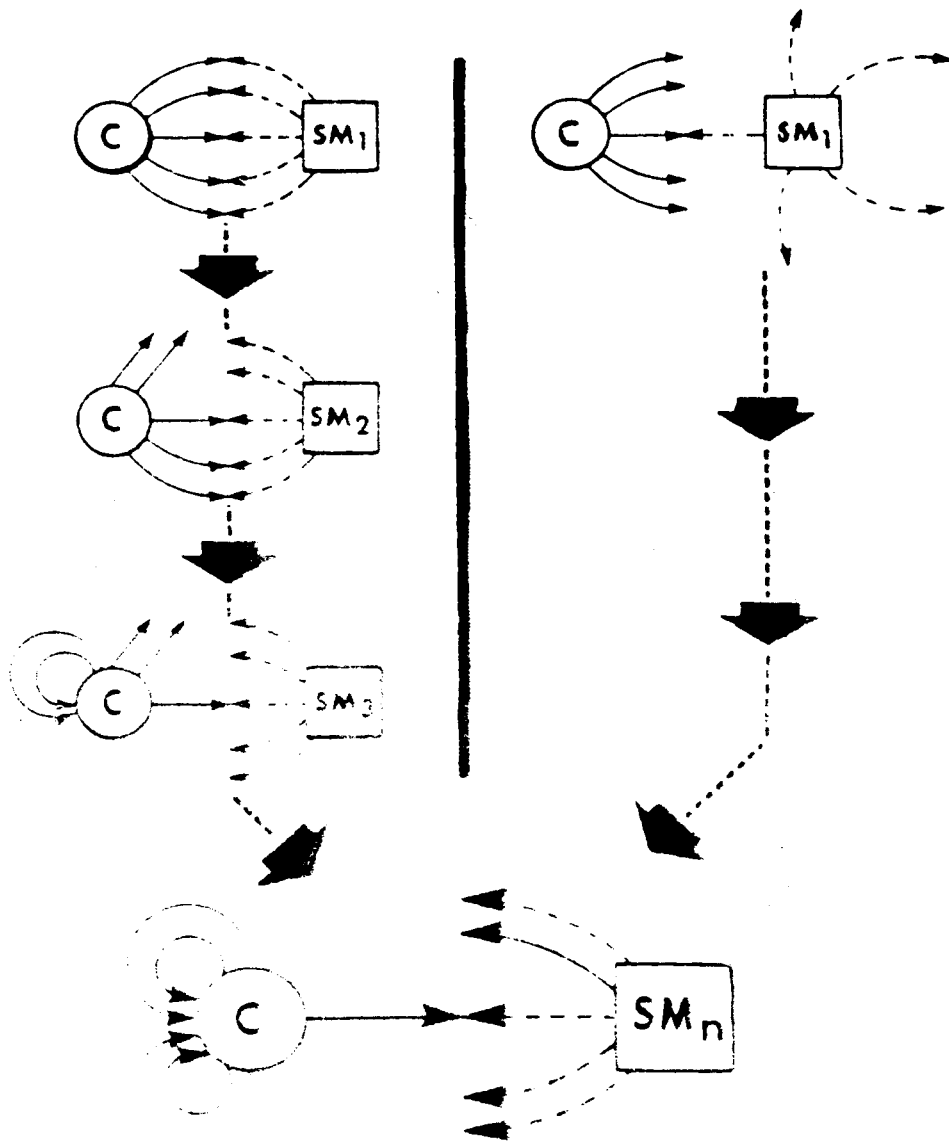
SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION

Diagram IV illustrates the situation that will exist if the child has available to him a particular parent substitute to whom, in time, he will form a new attachment. Anna Freud has drawn to our attention the importance of the critical period between the point of separation and that of provision of an adequate available mother substitute. The longer this period is in limbo, she writes, the more likely the separation is to result in permanent damage. The child's age is also a factor here; the younger he is the shorter the period of separation that can be tolerated before psychological abandonment will have occurred, thus precipitating the work of mourning.

Sometimes, however, the mourning process may be blocked or aborted by either internal or external factors. External

interferences would include the lack of an adequate available mother substitute within the critical period, or agency activities that interfere with attachment by delaying placement, by passing the child through unnecessary interim placements, by providing an inadequate parent substitute, or by failure to adequately prepare the child and parent substitutes for placement. Internal interferences would include psychological blocks that would interfere with the child's being free to bond even with an adequate available mother substitute. Examples would include the interference resulting from previous damage to the child either as a result of experiences while in his own family (privation) or from residual damage left over from repeated separations.

DIAGRAM IV



PATHOLOGICAL RESOLUTIONS

RESULTS OF INCOMPLETE OR ABORTED MOURNING*

Diagram IV illustrates the situation which results when there is no single, adequate, continually available person to whom the child can relate, or that in which the child is passed through a series of placements where he makes only brief attachments. In either case, the end result is a child who is afraid to put down roots, a child left unable to relate in depth or to form stable, long-term attachments. Such children either do not relate at all, or are shallow, superficial, totally narcissistic and manipulative in their dealings with others. Others are valued only when they satisfy the child's needs of the moment, to be discarded or turned upon violently as soon as they fail to do so. Alternately, such children combine exaggerated demands for closeness with an inability to tolerate intimacy and a need to keep others at a distance. Other associated long-term deficits include:

1. Persistent, Diffuse Rage

As Bowlby has stated, "There is no experience to which the young child can be subjected more prone to elicit intense, violent and persistent hatred of the mother figure than that of separation." Unless worked through, this rage, along with the defences called into play against it may be dammed up, generalized, displaced and diffused, distorting the developing personality, undermining and destroying potential relationships and dominating both mood and behaviour.

2. Chronic Depression

This is related to the degree to which basic needs for love and security remain unmet. While presenting at times as frank depression in the adult sense - overwhelming sadness; loneliness; hopelessness; self-destructive behaviour (including the use of drugs); suicidal thoughts or attempts - at other times it takes the form of a continuing apathy marked by pervasive lethargy; failure to develop or loss of interests; lack of drive or available energy; deteriorating

school performance; inability to get started or to follow through; global persistent pessimism which may alternate with bouts of acting-out and frequently antisocial behaviour which can be dynamically understood as depressive equivalents.

3. Asocial and Antisocial Behaviour

Two sets of factors, usually in combination, account for the frequency that asocial and antisocial behaviour are displayed by these children. Many children show superego defects. These result from discontinuity of relationships which keeps them from forming the stable identifications which are the basis of effective superego. As a result, they frequently show diffuse feelings of shame and worthlessness, and lack the appropriate capacity for guilt characteristic of the mature conscience. At the same time, these children almost invariably show severe ego defects. They might well be termed "short-fused" children. They lack the ability to bind tension, leaving them prone to immediate and explosive discharges of behaviour in response to the sweeps of rage to which they are so vulnerable partly because of the greatly intensified anger resulting from repeated deprivations and partly because the lack of continuity and consistency in their upbringing has failed to help them develop the necessary control over their affects. As a result they remain impulse-ridden and prone to acting-out.

4. Low Self-Concept

This is derived originally from the child's never having felt loved or cared about sufficiently to incorporate an inner picture of himself as a valued and worthwhile person. This original lack is aggravated by his compulsive though unrecognized need to set himself up for repeated rejections (i.e. repetition compulsion), thus proving again and again that there is nothing worthwhile or loveable about him.

5. Chronic Dependency

Many such children never reach the stage of achieving emotional self-

**A more comprehensive description of these long-term effects of incomplete or aborted mourning can be found on pages 73 - 75 of the book Psychological Problems of the Child in the Family by Steinhauer P.D. and Rae-Grant, Q. New York, 1983, Basic Books.*

sufficiency and independence. As if needing to obtain in their adult life what they were deprived of in their childhood, they may turn their exaggerated demands for nurture and support from one person or agency to another. When they eventually succeed in draining and alienating one source of supply they then turn to another, thus remaining emotionally, socially and often economically dependent.

A stage of permanent detachment occurs if and when the energy and love withdrawn from the original mother fail to find an adequate substitute within the critical period of time. As a result, this energy remains unavailable to form relationships with others, and is instead withdrawn and turned back onto the child himself.

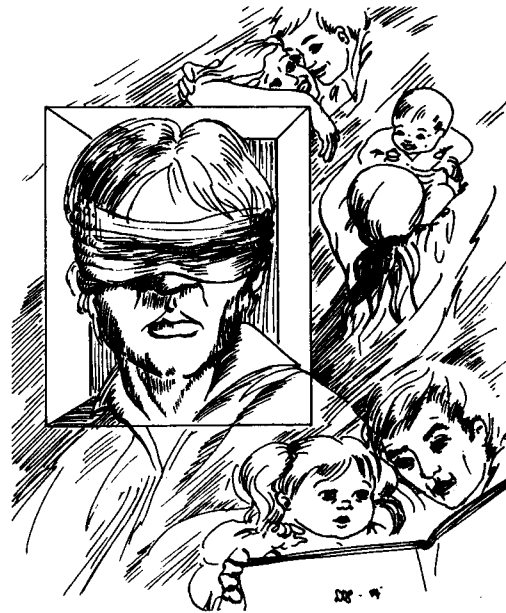
- a) Love and energy withdrawn from others may be re-invested in the child's own body. Initially, this may result in excessive autoeroticism (thumb-sucking, rocking, masturbation). Such children remain vulnerable to hypochondriasis and psychosomatic complaints later in life.
- b) The love and energy may become invested in the child's self-image causing him to become increasingly narcissistic. The narcissistic child is con-

cerned only with himself and his own needs. Shallow, superficial and self-centred, he will use others for what he can get, giving as little of himself as he can get by with. He may be totally plastic, relating in an "as if" manner by feeding others what he thinks they expect rather than expressing what he really thinks, feels or wants.

- c) His love and energy may become over-invested in his own inner world of fantasy, which then assumes more importance for him than external reality. This will lead to a progressive withdrawal and an increasing turning for gratification to fantasy rather than to real experiences or other people.

These alternatives are not, of course, mutually exclusive. Together they represent the end result of the process set into motion when a child is forced to submit to the trauma of repeated separations. Let me repeat again: the longer the interval between loss of contact with child's own mother and the time of permanent attachment to a substitute mother, the greater the hazard of severe and permanent damage leading ultimately to a child who is asocial and/or antisocial, incapable of trust, warmth or true intimacy with others...□

"...incapable of trust, warmth or true intimacy with others..."



Developmental Psychopaths

Excerpts from a paper by Jacobus Reicher...

...Without exception, the histories of our patients reveal trauma during their early years, e.g., separation from mother-figures; uncaring, neglect and deprivation; inconsistent disorganized family patterns. Real separations are rather easy to determine. Their invalidating influence during the first years of life is abundantly proven. The most severe consequence is the feeling of the unreliability of others and of the self. The resulting prejudice is difficult to correct, and impresses itself as a delusion: "I am unacceptable and unworthy of being loved by anyone. Other people must be distrusted." The basic assumptions are: basic insecurity and basic distrust, and this disturbs the process of socialization...

They have learned to observe, to assess and to appraise people and situations and are talented in evaluating the needs and wishes of other people. They are capable of discovering the fears and weaknesses of their fellow-beings. As children they are clever, precocious, lively and roguish, and develop into quick appraisers, first-class judges of human nature and cunning manipulators of the situation-at-hand. At first sight one is impressed by their apparent adaptability. This alertness, reactivity and switchability is related to an inability to form attachments and relationships. Their reality-testing seems excellent, in that they rapidly change their attitudes. Their distorted judgement is not readily observable. Relationships last as long as the partner continues to remain interested, attentive and admiring. They do not attach themselves out of fear for separation, and feel safer as loners, choosing to trust no one, rather than to risk the anticipated vulnerability which a relationship brings...

Separation and threats of separation have their strongest influence between the ages of six months and three years. The symptoms of developmental psychopathy can be traced back to fixations in the first half of the second year of life. Such fixations have severe consequences. Impulsive behaviour remains habitual. The motor and visual apparatuses remain the principal communication-pathways, and talking remains a way of doing (a motor-activity). Thinking remains concrete and bound to matter. The symbol-function of language does not sufficiently develop and cannot serve as a regulating force. Causality remains magical. Integration of different stimuli fails, especially under stress. Learning disabilities (consequences of retardation in the language and of the inability to use time as an important abstract category) sometimes lead to pseudodebility. Yet, in

everyday life they are smart children, who have a start in motor skills and a feeling for situations. Their personal tragedy is being overestimated and then falling short of expectations. One thinks the world of them and they are feared. As children, their play deteriorates into bloody seriousness. In play and everyday life they do not observe the rules of the game. Early in life they had already become scapegoats. However, their cleverness encourages admiration and envy, which supports their illusions of grandiosity. Their opportunism and assessments of people make partners in relationships lenient. They remain unattached people, thus encouraging engagement and intermeddling. Unattached people are evidently a challenge, demonstrably to those who consider themselves as helpers (for example, social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, and nurses...

** Jacobus W. Reicher is Head of the Department of Psychotherapy and Supervision, Dr. S. van Mesdagkliniek, Engelse Kamp V, Groningen, Netherlands.
Copyright © 1979, Pergamon Press Ltd., Psychodynamically Oriented Treatment of Offenders Diagnosed as Developmental Psychopaths: The Mesdagkliniek Experience, International Journal of Law and Psychiatry, Volume 2, Pg. 98, 1979. Reprinted with permission.*

A whole continuum of severity...



The Psychopath in Modern Society

by Russell Fleming M.D., FRCP(C)

I think the main problem with psychopaths is a relationship failure. Psychopathy is a disorder that has to do with the failure of the very early relationships with parents, when children first learn to trust and feel confidence in their personal relationships. It's as if they were so damaged by the early rejections and the early failures that they simply become immune to the effect of emotions and personal relationships, and they develop a style in which they look after themselves, NUMBER ONE, and they have no particular concern for any other person...

The psychopath in modern society is the subject of some attention and debate, and is certainly something that we talk about where I work. I suppose we have all seen individuals who are aggressive and a bit manipulative and lacking a full range of feelings of concern for other people. Individuals with those kinds of attributes might be seen to be succeeding better than someone who is concerned about moral values or ethics and that sort of thing. This leads to speculation that a certain amount of psychopathic tendency might be of value for almost anybody to survive in a modern society. It's even been suggested that for example a psychiatrist who is treating a difficult patient would be better off if he is just a little bit psychopathic in his own right. That way he would be less upset when the psychopathic patient disappoints him and

opts out of therapy etc.

Well unfortunately, I think there are pressures in our society which produce some advantage for people who have certain tendencies that we would see as psychopathic. This of course occurs in all shades from white through grey to black. That is, there is a whole continuum of severity in terms of how much psychopathic quality a certain individual may have. For example, someone who is a reasonably average family man with a wife and three kids at home, who works as a used car salesman. He may be a better used car salesman if he tells the customer certain things about the car, or if in a skillful way he presents his product in a way that he can sell it for the best possible price. The best way to do that, I suppose, is to be charming, personable, very sincere, mislead the customer just a little, maybe not tell him the whole truth about the vehicle, and therefore make a better living through tendencies which would clearly be classified as psychopathic. Well the same kind of thing can be applied to a whole variety of occupations, right up to and including being the president of whatever large corporation or the president of a large country. You need certain characteristics which enable you to truck all over people and not be too terribly concerned that you may be hurting them.

I guess the problem with all of that is that

Dr. Fleming is Director of the Forensic Unit in the Maximum Security Division of the Mental Health Centre, Penetanguishene, Ontario. In this capacity, he has been examining and treating psychopaths for the past fifteen years and has testified several hundred times on insanity, dangerousness and other medico-legal issues in the Supreme Court of Ontario.

Presented here is an excerpt from the sound track of an interview of Dr. Fleming videotaped for a special lecture on psychopathy produced by WLU Telecollege Productions Inc.

it can also be connected to a lot of difficulties in our society. There are in fact too many people with psychopathic tendencies or tendencies like that. I think it leads to a lot of the problems we have, and I think it is a rather sad commentary on our times that we place a premium on that kind of production and that kind of behaviour as opposed to placing more value on things like the warmth and closeness of family relationships and the rewards of being a reasonably empathic, well-rounded person who is successful and happy at his job, at the same time having a broader view of what his personal place is in the whole scheme of things.

We've talked about that a great deal in connection with patients we see here who are not always classed as psychopaths, but some of whom display repeatedly these kinds of qualities. But, again, there is a difference between the kind of person that we see that is charged with criminal offences and the kind of person in the community who has psychopathic qualities which make them more capable of doing their kind of job. The people that we see are less capable, in some way the misfits, people who had a job and sold whatever it was very well for a short time but then their drug abuse habit got to them and they just didn't have the stability to carry on.

The thing that alarms me is that this larger group of people is, I believe, increasing in numbers. I don't think that our society ought to simply consider building larger prisons to house our casualty

population so that the rest of us can go on increasing the gross national product every year, increasing our own middle-class consumptive efforts, because in the final analysis you really can't take it with you, and there isn't really a lot of point. I saw at one point recently jokingly a plaque card on a desk, and it speaks to sort of middle-class consumption values, and basically said "the guy who has the most toys when he dies, wins". Well, psychopaths are people who have a psychopathic quality about their upward mobility or their strategy to get to a better position than they are at now. They may well end up being the guys with the most toys when they die, but what really will be the point. If we don't begin to focus on some of those problems, and they're not easy problems, but if we don't begin to focus on some of that, complex modern society is going to take us to a point where everybody will become immune to problems like acid rain, nuclear war, etc. because those are just things that we accept as being part of the aggressive type of society in which we live. If you listen to any newscast, the concern on the newscast is did the dollar go up or down, where the gold fix is, and whether or not there is a tax increase with the next budget. It's a chronic preoccupation right across everything, and it's only when some sort of catastrophe happens, only when some out of the ordinary thing happens, people can actually put all of that aside and begin to look at more empathic, more human, more traditional values...□



**He who has
the most
toys when
he dies,
wins.**

Infant Day Care: A Cause for Concern?

by Jay Belsky

The Pennsylvania State University

Every essay on day care invariably begins with an opening comment regarding the social changes we have all witnessed during the past two decades. These changes - and their consequences vis-a-vis child care - are not news to readers of *Zero to Three*. One point worth noting, though, involves the rapid growth of employment not simply for women in general, or for those with young children in particular, but specifically for those with infants under one year of age (Klein, 1985). Not only is this the fastest growing sector of the employed-mother labor market, but the most recent statistics reveal that virtually one of every two women with a child under one year of age is now employed (Kamerman, 1986).

When it comes to considering the care which the infants of these mothers receive, it is imperative that we understand what we are talking about - and we are not, for the most part, talking about day-care centers. The overwhelming majority of infant care is provided in private homes - in 1982, a full 77%; not even 10% of infants whose mothers are working are to be found in centers (Klein, 1985). Moreover, tremendous diversity characterizes infant care in

private homes. The most recent statistics describing the care of children under three years of age reveal that (as of June, 1985) 45% of these infants and toddlers were cared for by a relative (27% in own home, 18% in relative's) and 24% were cared for in family day care (Kamerman, 1986).

The diversity of arrangements that constitutes the reality of infant care in America today poses serious challenges to scientists who seek to discern the "effects" of day care on young children (to say nothing of its effects on their families). After all, families that use day care and those that do not may differ from each other in a myriad of ways, as families that use one type of care may differ from families using another type. Thus, the very concept of "effects of day care" appears misplaced, as between-group comparisons are plagued with a host of confounds that cannot be teased apart by most statistical or design controls. How are we to know whether so-called "day-care effect" are effects of day care or of being in families that have others share in the rearing of their infants? We

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Reprinted from Zero to Three, Bulletin of the National Center for Clinical Infant Programs, September 1986.

must recognize that comparisons between day-care-reared and home-reared infants represent comparisons of early development in contrasting ecologies rather than "effects" of day care in the pure, casual, or experimental sense of the word.

Having cautioned the reader regarding the nature of conclusions that can be drawn from research regarding any "effects" of day care, I feel compelled to make a final introductory comment before proceeding to consider the developmental correlates of nonmaternal care initiated in the first year of life. This has to do with the political and personal contexts in which research on day care is conducted, reported, and discussed. Day care is a very emotionally-charged topic, especially when we are talking about babies. The moment a poor scientist stumbles on evidence suggesting a potentially negative effect of day care and reports it, a host of ideologues are raising questions, criticizing methodology, mounting ad hominem attacks, or simply disregarding the data entirely in their pronouncements. As I went to testify before Congress in the fall of 1984, people warned me not to raise concerns about infant day care because of their political implications. I decided, however, to behave as a scientist and present the evidence as I regarded it. My own personal sense is that few individuals are truly open-minded about infant day care. Politicians, like many others, are either for day care or against it; they sift through the research looking for ammunition for their arguments while finding fault with, and thus dismissing, any evidence that reads the other way.

Scientists, of course, are susceptible to similar biases, however much we try not to be. This fact was brought home to me recently in a most vivid way as part of a correspondence with a colleague whose work on and opinions about day care I admire and respect immensely. In sharing with me her plans to carry out a meta-analysis of research bearing on the influence of day care on infant-mother attachment, this mother of a young infant in sitter care wrote to me that "I think historical and cross-cultural data can be used to support the position that shared caregiving, which is what day care is, is not detrimental to child development" (emphasis added).

Since holding a point of view, either consciously or unconsciously, and for whatever reasons, prior to the analysis of

the evidence may involve a considerable risk of bias entering into the reading of such evidence, I feel it is important to make several facts clear about my circumstances: I am the father of two darling and demanding young sons who spent their entire infancies in the primary care of their mother and who did not start preschool (on a three half-day a week schedule) until they were 2½ and 3 years of age. Because I am not sure that this family reality of mine does not influence my reading of the scientific evidence, I share it here.

Concern with the development of infants in day care: A 15-year perspective

In the early 1970s, prevailing cultural attitudes led to the belief that exclusive maternal rearing, particularly during the early years, was essential for healthy psychological development. The principal organizing question of day care research thus became "Does rearing outside of the confines of the family in a group program adversely affect intellectual, social and, especially, emotional development?" This specific interest in the developmental consequences of day care, and particularly a concern for negative effects, derived from policymakers' and scientists' feeling of obligation to protect the public from harm. If day care proved detrimental to child development, they would not want to be in the position of advocating policies to promote, or even support, the group-rearing of young children beyond the confines of the family. If such early rearing experience was found to disrupt the normative course of early childhood, the best interests of the public would be served if mothers or fathers did not work unless it was absolutely essential.

When I reviewed the literature on the effects of day care in 1977 (Belsky & Steinberg, 1978) and again in 1980 (Belsky, Steinberg, & Walker, 1982), I found little if any evidence of detrimental effects of nonmaternal child care on infant development. This was especially the case for model, university-based, research-oriented programs. Only one conclusion could be reached: infant day care need not disrupt the child's emotional development.

In terms of most day care research, emotional development has been conceptualized in terms of the quality of the affective tie linking child to mother. This focus upon the attachment relationship was based upon a great deal of theory suggesting that the emotional security which this bond promoted in the child would affect his/her future well-being, particularly his/her feelings about self, others, and capacity to form relationships. In order to study the effect of day care on the security of the infant-mother attachment relationship, researchers employed the Strange Situation, a laboratory procedure in which the baby is subjected to a series of brief separations and reunions with mother and stranger and his/her behavior is observed.

Early studies of infant day care which employed this procedure or some variant of it revealed not only that day care infants were as likely to get distressed as home-reared children when confronting a stranger or being separated from mother, but also that they clearly preferred their mothers as objects of attachment. Caregivers, then, were not replacing mothers as the source of infants' primary emotional bonds, and this was, and still is, regarded as a good thing - especially since the evidence also indicates that day-care infants can and do form healthy affectional ties to individuals who respond to their needs in their day care environment.

It is of special significance that in all the initial work done on infant day care, and on which the preceding conclusions were based, attention was paid to whether or not the infant became distressed upon separation and whether or not s/he approached and interacted with a strange adult. In the years which followed the first wave of studies of infant day care, it became abundantly clear that the most revealing and developmentally meaningful aspect of the infant's behavior in the Strange Situation was his/her orientation to mother upon reunion following separation, something which simply had not been considered in the early studies. Indeed, attachment researchers now distinguish between three types. Infants who positively greet their mothers (with a smile or by showing a toy) and/or who approach mother to seek comfort if distressed are characterized as having secure attachments. Those who fail to greet mother (by averting gaze) or who start to approach mother but then turn away are

considered to be anxious-avoidant in their attachment; and those who seek contact yet cannot be comforted by mother and who cry in an angry, petulant manner or hit away toys offered by mother are considered anxious-resistant in their attachment relationship.

In numerous studies these patterns of secure and insecure attachment relationships have been found to be predictive of individual differences in later development, such that those infants who are characterized as having secure attachments look, as a group, more competent than their age-mates whose attachments to mother are characterized as insecure (Bretherton, 1985; Lamb et al., 1985). All of this is not meant to imply that the child's future development is solely or unalterably determined by the nature of the infant-mother attachment bond, but merely to indicate why a focus upon reunion seems so important to understanding the developmental correlates of infant day care.

Another Look at the Evidence

In the time since my initial reviews of the day care literature, a number of additional investigations have been reported which not only have raised concerns in my mind about the developmental correlates of non-maternal care initiated in the first year of life, but have also led me to re-examine earlier research. It is not my intention to provide an exhaustive summary of my current reading of the evidence (see Belsky, 1986), but rather to outline my thinking.

In my 1980 review, only a single investigation raised any real concern in my mind regarding infant care. Vaughn and his colleagues (1980), studying a sample of low-income caucasian women and their firstborn in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, found that infants who were reared in what appeared to be low quality, if not frequently changing, child care arrangements were especially likely to show a particular pattern of attachment to mother if they had been enrolled in care in the first year of life. Specifically, they were disproportionately likely to display a pattern of avoidance in which they refused to look at or approach mother when reunited with her after brief

Each time I have gone back to my files of day care reports, disturbing evidence keeps accumulating.

separations in the Strange Situation paradigm.

In addition to the Minnesota study which first raised some concerns in my mind, several other findings in the literature in 1980 could also have been regarded as potential evidence of negative effects. For example, Ricciuti (1974) found that at one year of age day-care-reared infants cried more in response to separation than did a home-reared group. In another study of a very small sample, Rubenstein, Howes, and Boyle (1981) observed that children who were in day care during the first year of life had more temper tantrums than those cared for at home by mothers on a full-time basis. In my writings I have consistently, and I believe wisely, cautioned against overinterpreting such group differences, particularly because they emerged in a context in which virtually all other measures revealed no differences. We should look for trends and patterns, I counselled, and not be swept away by a single variable, especially when other studies fail to discern a similar day care-home care difference that could be interpreted as an effect of day care.

When it came time for me to review the literature again in 1982, I found that a few more studies revealed what could conceivably be viewed as evidence of negative effects of day care on the development of infants (see Belsky, 1984). In fact, each time I have gone back to my files of day care reports, first to prepare my congressional testimony in 1984 and then to prepare a talk to the American Academy of Pediatrics in 1985, I have found that disturbing evidence keeps accumulating. I am not talking about a flood of evidence, but at the very least a slow, steady trickle.

Consider first the fact that, at the same time that Vaughn and his colleagues (1980) were following their Minneapolis sample at two years of age and Farber and Egeland (1982) were discerning no significant dif-

ferences between day-care and home-reared infants, another study provided further evidence of a pattern of avoidance associated with early substitute child care.

This study of middle-class infants in Michigan revealed that those babies who began day care (in a variety of arrangements) in the first year of life displayed greater avoidance of their mothers in the Strange Situation separation procedure (Schwartz, 1983) at 12 months of age than did home-reared infants. This heightened avoidance was also chronicled by Wille and Jacobson's (1984) investigation of 45 18-month-olds from the Detroit area; when studied with their mothers in the Strange Situation, those children displaying insecure-avoidant attachment patterns were found to have experienced more than three times as much extra-familial child care as their securely attached (to mother) counterparts (15.9 hours/week versus 4.5 hours). And, in still another study, this one of affluent families in the Chicago area, Barglow (1985) found higher rates of avoidance as well as decreased rates of proximity-seeking and contact maintenance for those infants experiencing good quality, stable "other-than-mother" care in the home than for a comparison group whose mothers did not work outside the home during the baby's first year.

These newly emerging data, it is of interest to note, turn out to be quite consistent with trends in the more general day care literature concerning preschoolers. As Clarke-Stewart and Fein (1983) observed in their comprehensive review of the evidence appearing in the most recent edition of the authoritative *Handbook of Child Psychology*, "children in day care are more likely than children at home to position themselves further away from mother, and to ignore or avoid mother after a brief separation. The difference is not observed in every child or every study, but the

consistent direction of the differences is observed." (p. 948). There is, then, an emerging pattern here in which we see supplementary child care, especially that initiated in the first year, whether in home or in centers, sometimes associated with the tendency of the infant to avoid or maintain a distance from the mother following a series of brief separations. Some, as I have already indicated, contend that such behavior reflects an underlying doubt or mistrust about the availability of the mother to meet the baby's needs and, thus, an insecure attachment. Moreover, since it is known that heightened avoidance of the mother is related to a set of developmental outcomes such as noncompliance and low frustration tolerance which most developmentalists would regard as less than desirable, some are inclined to conclude that the quality of the mother-child bond and thereby, the child's future development may be jeopardized by nonmaternal care in the first year of life.

Other scientists read the very same evidence in a very different way. Even though they observe the same pattern of avoidance among infants in day care, they interpret this not as a deficit or disturbance but rather as positively adaptive and possibly even precocious behavior. Since day care infants experience many separations, they reason, it is sensible for them not to orient toward mother. In addition, because the tendency for children as they get older is to remain more distant from their parents, the avoidance of mother among day-care-reared 12-18 month olds is seen as evidence of early maturity: "In children receiving care exclusively from mother, avoidance may be a pathological response reflecting an interactive history with a rejecting mother, while for children in a day care greater distance from, or ignoring of, mother at reunion may be an adaptive response reflecting a habitual reaction to repeated daily separations and reunions. In these latter children, greater physical distance from mother and apparent avoidance may, in fact, signal a precocious independence." (Clarke-Stewart & Fein, 1986, p. 949).

Which interpretation is correct? I concur with Clarke-Stewart and Fein (1983) that "there is no way to determine at this point if the apparent avoidance of mother observed in day care children in some studies is a disturbed or adaptive pattern" (p. 949;

emphasis in original). But this very uncertainty leads me to wonder about the meaning of other data regarding the subsequent social development of those children who experienced nonmaternal care in the first year.

The Long Term Development of Day-Care-Reared Infants

The very first investigation of the social development of preschoolers with infant day-care histories involved the developmental follow-up at three and four years of age of children who began nonmaternal, group care toward the end of their first year at the Syracuse University Infant Care Center (Schwarz et al., 1974). When compared to a group of children reared exclusively at home until entering a preschool day-care program, those with infant care histories were found, four months after entering the preschool, to be more physically and verbally aggressive with adults and peers, less cooperative with grown-ups and less tolerant of frustration. When the children from the Minnesota studies, which first linked infant care with insecure-avoidant attachment, were studied at two years of age, somewhat similar results emerged. Although Farber and Egeland (1982, p. 120) were led to conclude on the basis of their analysis of the problem-solving behavior of the Minnesota toddlers that "at two years of age the effects of out-of-home care were no longer striking" and "that the cumulative adverse effects of out-of-home care were minimal," careful scrutiny of the data leads a more cautious reader to a different conclusion. Not only was it the case that toddlers whose mothers began working prior to their infant's first birthday displayed significantly less enthusiasm in confronting a challenging task than did children who had no day care experience, but it was also the case that these day-care-reared infants tended to be less compliant in following their mothers' instructions, less persistent in dealing with a difficult problem, and more negative in their affect. A more thorough analysis of these same data by Vaughn, Deane, and Waters (1985) further revealed that although 18-month attachment security was a significant advantage to the children who were home-reared as infants

when studied at 24 months, the securely attached infants who had entered day care in their first year looked more like toddlers with insecure attachment histories (from home- and day-care groups) than like home-reared children with secure infant-mother relationships. That is, early entry to day care in the first year appeared to mitigate the developmentally beneficial effects of a secure attachment that is so often noted in studies of home-reared middle- and lower-class children.

What is most notable about these findings from the Syracuse and Minneapolis studies, and even from other investigations (see below), is that the very child development outcomes associated with early entry into supplementary child care are the same as, or at least similar to, those that have been implicated in the attachment literature as the (undesirable) child development outcomes correlated with early insecure attachment to mother. Indeed, the tendency of the early day care infants in the Minneapolis and Syracuse studies to be less compliant at two years of age leads me to wonder whether I was too ready in early reviews to explain away Rubenstein, Howes, and Boyle's (1981) similar findings regarding the significantly more frequent temper tantrums and decreased compliance of 3½ year olds who had been in supplementary care in their first years.

Other studies in the literature which do not focus specifically on attachment also raise concerns about infant day care. These studies report results that are not inconsistent with the notion that infant care may promote anxious-avoidant attachments. For example, a study conducted in Bermuda involving virtually all two year olds on the island found that "children who began group care in infancy were rated as more maladjusted (when studied between three and five years of age) than those who were cared for by sitters or in family day care homes for the early years and who began group care at later ages" (McCartney et al., 1982, p. 148). These conclusions, it is important to note, were based upon analyses which controlled for a variety of important background variables, including child's age at time of assessment and mother's IQ, age and ethnicity. In a retrospective investigation of eight to 10 year olds who varied in their preschool experiences, Barton and

Schwarz (1981) also found that day care entry prior to 12 months was associated with high levels of misbehaviour and greater social withdrawal, even after controlling for the educational level of both parents.

Finally, and perhaps most noteworthy, are results emanating from a longitudinal investigation of kindergarten and first graders reared since they were three months old in an extremely high-quality day care center at the University of North Carolina. Comparison of these children with others reared for varying amounts of time in nonmaternal child care arrangements initiated sometime after the first year of life revealed that children who received center-based care in the first year of life, in contrast to those receiving care any time thereafter, were rated: "...as more likely to use the aggressive acts hit, kick and push than children in the control group. Second, they were more likely to threaten, swear and argue. Third, they demonstrated those propensities in several school settings - the playground, the hallway, the lunchroom and the classroom. Fourth, teachers were more likely to rate these children as having aggressiveness as a serious deficit in social behavior. Fifth, teachers viewed these children as less likely to use such strategies as walking away or discussion to avoid or extract themselves from situations that could lead to aggression" (Haskins, 1985, p. 700).

Conclusion

What are we to make of the evidence just summarized? The first point which must be made before drawing any conclusions is that not every study of infant day care reveals a heightened risk of insecure-avoidant attachment or of aggression, non-compliance, and disobedience. Nevertheless, it is clear that if one does not feel compelled to draw only irrefutable conclusions, a relatively persuasive circumstantial case can be made that early infant care may be associated with increased avoidance of mother, possibly to the point of greater insecurity in the attachment relationship, and that such care may also be associated with diminished compliance and cooperation with adults, increased aggressiveness, and possibly even greater

It is certainly not inconsistent with attachment theory that repeated separations in the first year of life, as routinely associated with day care usage, might affect the emerging attachment relationship...

social maladjustment in the preschool and early school-age years.

What is most noteworthy about these very possibilities is that they are strikingly consistent with basic theoretical contentions of attachment theory. It is certainly not inconsistent with attachment theory that repeated separations in the first year of life, as routinely associated with day care usage, might affect the emerging attachment relationship, and even disturb it from the standpoint of security (or at least avoidance). Further, the theory clearly assumes that avoidance reflects some doubt on the part of the infant with respect to the availability and responsiveness of the mother and may well serve as a coping strategy to mask anger. Finally, the theory clearly assumes that an avoidant attachment places the child at risk (probabilistically) for subsequent social difficulties, with diminished compliance and cooperation, increased aggressiveness and even maladjustment being, to some extent, expectable outcomes (or at least subsequent correlates).

The point of this essay, and my reason for writing it, is not to argue that infant day care invariably or necessarily results in an anxious-avoidant attachment and, thereby, increased risk for patterns of social development that most would regard as undesirable, but rather to raise this seemingly real possibility by organizing the available data in such terms. I cannot state strongly enough that there is sufficient evidence to lead a judicious scientist to doubt this line of reasoning; by the same token, however, there is more than enough evidence to lead the same judicious individual to seriously entertain it and refrain from explaining away and thus dismissing findings that may be ideologically disconcerting. Any one who has kept abreast of the evolution of my own think-

ing can attest to the fact that I have not been a consistent, ideologically-driven critic of nonmaternal care, whether experienced in the first year of life or thereafter. Having struggled to maintain an open mind with respect to the data base, so that the evidence could speak for itself, I know how difficult a task this is. I am well aware, too, that my gender and the more or less traditional nature of my family structure could bias my reading of the evidence.

It is certainly true that the very same evidence that I have presented for purposes of raising concern (not alarm) and encouraging others to reconsider the developmental correlates of infant day care could be organized in a different manner. This not only should be, but has been done, and very well indeed (Clarke-Stewart & Fein, 1983; Hoffman, 1983; Rubenstein, 1985). It is also the case that virtually any one of the studies cited above could be dismissed for a variety of scientific reasons. But in the ecology of day care, perfect field research seems almost impossible; moreover, it would seem that the more perfect it is, the less generalizable it might be.

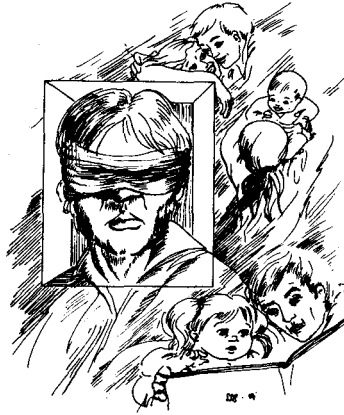
This complexity inherent to infant day care research underscores a most important point that also cannot be sufficiently emphasized. When we find infants in care we are not only likely to find them in a variety of arrangements usually resulting from their mothers working outside of the home, but also for a variety of reasons and with a variety of feelings and family practices associated with these care arrangements. Thus, infant day care refers to complex ecological niches. This means, then, that any effects associated with care are also associated with a host of other factors. Thus, it would be misguided to attribute any effects associated with nonmaternal care to the care per se, or even to the mother's employment.

Under a variety of imaginable conditions...it seems likely that the risk associated with early care would increase.

Not to be lost in this discussion, however, is the fact that the correlates of day care which have been chronicled (i.e., avoidance, aggression, noncompliance, withdrawal) have been found across a host of ecological niches and caregiving milieus. Thus, these "effects" or correlates of early supplementary care have been found in samples of impoverished (Haskins, 1985; Vaughn et al., 1980), middle-class (Rubenstein, Howes, & Boyle, 1981), and upper-class families (Barglow, 1985), and with children cared for in unstable family day care (Vaughn et al., 1980), high quality centers (Haskins, 1985; Schwarz, Strickland & Krolick, 1974), poor quality (McCartney et al., 1982), and even in-home, babysitter care (Barglow, 1985). Such variation in the developmental outcomes associated with nonmaternal care in the first year, lead me to conclude that entry into care in the first year of life is a "risk factor" for the development of insecure-avoidant attachments in infancy and heightened aggressiveness, non-compliance, and withdrawal in the preschool and early school years. Under a variety of imaginable conditions, particularly pertaining to the quality and stability of the care arrangement, the temperamental vulnerability of the child, and the economic-social stresses to which the family is subjected, it seems likely that risk associated with early care would increase. □

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CONSUMERISM, ARBITRARY MALE DOMINANCE, AND DAYCARE

There are two powerful and dangerous social forces underlying the need for daycare: consumerism, and arbitrary male dominance. The former lures parents into believing that they need to be making more money rather than caring for their children. The latter drives women away from nurturing their children to gain emancipation via the marketplace. The problem is that the shared, discontinuous, and changing caretakers almost inevitable in substitute arrangements for the nurturing of infants and toddlers puts at risk development of their capacities for trust, empathy, and affection. No one sees these deficits because they don't show up clearly until adulthood, and even then they are not measurable like an intelligence quotient is. What is worse, their absence can actually be an asset in a consumer society which often rewards the opposite values. But the capacities for trust, empathy, and affection are in fact the central core of what it means to be human, and are indispensable for adults to be able to form lasting, mutually satisfying co-operative relationships with others. In a world of decreasing size and increasing numbers of weapons of mass destruction it is dangerous for these qualities to become deficient. What is needed is greater understanding of the pragmatic nature of the values of trust, empathy, and affection; means of measuring the degree of their presence or absence in adults; more rapid progress in the elimination of arbitrary male dominance; and closer examination of the destructive aspects of consumerism.

Abstract from the article CONSUMERISM, ARBITRARY MALE DOMINANCE AND DAYCARE by E.T. Barker in the Journal of The Canadian Association for Young Children. Winter/Series 1984-85, pp. 75 - 83.

The basic needs of the family...

Don't worry you won't get pregnant.
I won't finish.

If I get pregnant, he'll have to marry me.
If you get pregnant I'll marry you and
we'll live happily ever after.

If only we had a baby, everything would
be great.

These statements are often said and
heard by sexually active teenagers. These
statements may or may not be true. For
some families, they are and for some they
are far from the reality of our world.

In most communities there are few
educational facilities to teach people the
role of parenting. The responsibilities are
enormous. Expecting parents really should
consider whether or not they are emotional-
ly ready to care for children. The mother
should be ready to take on the most impor-
tant job in the world, a job that only mother
can do, to love and care for her child. Rais-
ing a child to be a loving, trusting and car-
ing person is a job that is meant for a lov-
ing, caring and emotionally stable person.

Most any job that you might take on
whether it be a bank teller, a store
manager, a labourer or any other job -
believe me - you are replaceable. As a
parent you cannot be properly replaced.
You may find a day care to take physical
care of your children and they may do a
good job of it. But no day care or nursery
can give your children the love and sense
of security that you as a parent can give.
A day care worker or nurse may adore your
child, he/she is such a lovely child, only you
as a parent can really love the child in good

times and bad.

Our society is hell bent on getting every
person alive a job out of the home. Even
our teenagers are told to get out in the
world and work for the little bit of time they
have off school during the summer, get out
there and make that almighty buck, the hell
with taking time to enjoy life, to get to know
your family, to spend time interacting with
friends.

We spend millions of dollars on hi-tech
computers and machinery to relieve the
man hours needed to put out the highest
production possible, and then spend
millions of dollars trying to put everybody
to work! It seems the most important thing
on everybodies minds is job creation. In
fact we should be spending less time on
the job and more time with our families and
friends.

When the family decides to have a child,
they should decide on one of the parents
being home with that child for the first five
or six years. Once that decision is made
a budget should be decided on to ensure
that after your child is born the attending
parent is not forced by economic reasons
to obtain work out of the home.

The number of working people working
outside the home and the number of hours
spent on the job should be based on the
basic needs of the family not on the
number of televisions needed or the
number of cars.

Basic needs of the family are love and
affectionate parents with a high knowledge
of good parenting. □

(For information about the author see page 2)



**Our society is hell
bent on getting
every person alive
a job out of the
home.**

We teach and learn the importance of being clever, being first, but miss the essential creative joy of children and family life.

I've made enough mistakes in life to qualify as an expert. So I'm going to write about two of the most interesting, in the hope that maybe somebody can learn from them.

My first mistake was taking my work too seriously - a common problem for men, and now women too. I could probably have produced more and enjoyed it more, if I had worked less, as I now do.

My second mistake was getting bogged down in one love affair after another. It went on year after mindless year. Oh, it was pleasant enough, at times wonderfully exciting. And I learned a lot about myself and about relationships.

So how can such worthwhile experiences be called mistakes? Because they kept me from something even better. They distracted me from being really creative and happy.

I've discovered, since getting married five years ago, just what being creative and happy is.

Let me give you three examples. When I look into my son's eyes, so blue and trusting and open, it melts my heart to think that he was created out of our love. And when I roll around on the floor in a mad tussle with my daughter, I realize nothing in this life is as pure as the laughter of an innocent 15-month-old. And when I shared the birth last week of our infant daughter, and saw her nuzzling at her mother's breast, I was stunned by what God had created through us.

I'd like to say some more about children, since they may be in danger of going out of style. Styles are funny things, aren't they? When we turn on our TV, we are enticed with the pleasures of a new car, or a Caribbean holiday, or a lawn without dandelions. Well, I've tried 'em all (except the lawn without dandelions), and none of them come close to the joy or creativity of having children.

The media of course isn't the only form of mass distraction. Mass education too often tells kids it's important to get a high-paying job, it's important to be clever and to be first. When do they learn that developing loving relationships gives much more joy, that nurturing children is far more creative? Oh well, they say, kids can learn that outside of school. But they don't always. As we get more exposure to mass media and mass education, we tend to get less interested in having children.

And this has resulted in a paradox. In a land flowing with milk and honey we've been in a baby bust for over 10 years - as anyone can see by looking at all the schools that are closing. If this fashion continues for another few years, the population in Canada will start declining - as it has already in several European countries.

One of the few voices being raised against this fashion of the small or non-existent family is Julian Simon, a man who once worked hard to discourage people from having children, in the name of progress. In his book *The Ultimate Resource*, he writes of his "Road-to-Damascus" conversion to the opposite view:

"I remembered reading about a eulogy delivered by a Jewish chaplain over the dead on the battlefield at Iwo Jima, saying something like, How many who would have been a Mozart or a Michelangelo or an Einstein have we buried here? And then I thought, Have I gone crazy? What business do I have trying to help arrange it that fewer human beings will be born, each one of whom might be a Mozart or a Michelangelo or an Einstein - *or simply a joy to his or her family and community, and a person who will enjoy life?*"

Tom Wonnacott

(Reprinted from the United Church Observer)

I see that in relating my own mistakes, I couldn't help but discuss the mistakes of the society that to some extent formed me. I was lucky, however. The home and church I grew up in were nourishing enough so that finally I came around, to discover the joys of marriage and children. I mourn for those not so fortunate, who fiddle away their lives doing pleasant but trivial things like making and spending money.

Of course, if I had been wiser younger, I could have learned much sooner how important it is to forgo lesser pleasures and pursue the essential joys. All I needed to have done really was to listen to Jesus' parable of the lost treasure: "The Kingdom of heaven is like a buried treasure which a man found in a field. He hid it again, and rejoicing in his find went and sold all that he had and bought that field." □



GETTING RESPECT

A PARENT WHO RESPECTS HIMSELF will feel no need to demand or command respect from his child, since he feels no need for the child's respect to buttress his security as a parent or as a person. Secure in himself, he will not feel his authority threatened and will accept it when his child sometimes shows a lack of respect for him, as young children in particular, are apt to do. The parent's self-respect tells him that such displays arise from immaturity of judgment, which time and experience will eventually correct.

Demanding or commanding respect reveals to the child an insecure parent who lacks the conviction that his way of life will, all by itself, over time, gain him the child's respect. Not trusting that respect will come naturally, this parent has to insist on it right now. Who would wish to form himself in the image of an insecure person, even if that person is his parent? Unfortunately, the child of insecure parents often becomes an insecure person himself, because insecure parents cannot inculcate security in their children or create an environment in which the children can develop a sense of security on their own.

To be disciplined requires self-control. To be controlled by others and to accept living by their rules or orders makes it superfluous to control oneself. When the more important aspects of a child's actions and behavior are controlled by, say, his parents or teachers, he will see no need to learn to control himself; others do it for him.

How parents in other cultures try to inculcate self-control in their children can be instructive. Consider, for example, a

study designed to find out why young Japanese do much better academically than Americans. When the researchers studied maternal behavior they saw clear differences between the Japanese and Americans. Typically, when young American children ran around in supermarkets, their mothers - often annoyed - told them, "Stop that!" or "I told you not to act this way!" Japanese mothers typically refrained entirely from telling their children what to do. Instead they asked them questions, such as "How do you think it makes the storekeeper feel when you run around like this in his store?" or "How do you think it makes me feel when my child runs around as you do?" Similarly, the American mother, wanting her child to eat what he was supposed to eat, would order the child to do so or tell him that he ought to eat it because it was good for him. The Japanese mother would ask her child a question, such as "How do you think it makes the man who grew these vegetables for you to eat feel when you reject them?" or "How do you think it makes these carrots that grew so that you could eat them feel when you do not eat them?" Thus from a very early age the American child is told what to do, while the Japanese child is encouraged not only to consider other persons' feelings but to control himself on the basis of his own deliberations.

The reason for the higher academic achievement of Japanese youngsters may well be that the Japanese child in situations important to his mother is invited to think things out on his own, a habit that stands him in good stead when he has to master academic material. The American child, in

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Special thanks to Dr. P.D. Carter for drawing this article to the attention of the editor.

contrast, is expected to conform his decisions and actions to what he is told to do. This expectation certainly does not encourage him to do his own thinking.

The Japanese mother does not just expect her child to be able to arrive at good decisions. She also makes an appeal to her child not to embarrass her. In the traditional Japanese culture losing face is among the worst things that can happen to a person. When a mother asks, "How do you think

it makes me - or the storekeeper - feel when you act this way?" she implies that by mending his ways the child does her, or the storekeeper, a very great favor. To be asked to do one's own thinking and to act accordingly, as well as to be told that one is able to do someone a favor, enhances one's self-respect, while to be ordered to do the opposite of what one wants is destructive of it.



PREVENTING MISBEHAVIOR IN THE SHORT-RUN

WHAT IS A PARENT TO DO IN THE short run to prevent a child from misbehaving, as children are apt to do from time to time? Ideally, letting a child know of our disappointment should be effective and should lead the child to abstain from repeating the wrongdoing in the future. Realistically, even if a child has great love and respect for us, his parents, simply telling him of our disappointment, or showing him how great it is, will not always suffice to remedy the situation.

When our words are not enough, when telling our child to mend his ways is ineffective, then the threat of the withdrawal of our love and affection is the only sound method to impress on him that he had better conform to our request. Subconsciously recognizing how powerful a threat this is, some parents, with the best of intentions, destroy its effectiveness by assuring their children that they love them no matter what. This might well be true, but it does not sound convincing to a child, who knows that he does not love his parents no matter what, such as when they are angry at him; so how can he believe them when he can tell that they are dissatisfied, and maybe even angry at him? Most of us do not really love unconditionally. Therefore any effort to make ourselves look better, to pretend to be more loving than we are, will have the opposite effect from the one we desire. Sure, our love for our child can be so deep, so firmly anchored in us, that it will withstand even very severe blows. But at the moment when we are seriously disappointed in the child, our love may be at a low point, and if we want the child to change his ways, he might as well know it.

The action to take is to banish the child from our presence. We may send him out of the room or we ourselves may withdraw. Whatever, the parent is clearly indicating, "I am so disappointed in you that I do not wish, or feel unable, to maintain physical closeness with you." Here physical distance stands for emotional distance, and it is a symbol that speaks to the child's conscious and unconscious at the same time. This is why the action is so effective.

Sending the child out of sight permits both parent and child to gain distance from

what has happened, to cool off, to reconsider. And that does help. But it is the threat of desertion, as likely as not, that permanently impresses the child. Separation anxiety is probably the earliest and most basic anxiety of man. The infant experiences it when his prime caretaker absents herself from him, an absence that, should it become permanent and the caretaker not be replaced, would indeed lead to the infant's death. Anything that rekindles this anxiety is experienced as a terrible threat. Hence, as long as the child believes, however vaguely, that his very existence is in danger if his prime caretaker deserts him, he will respond to this real, implied, or imagined threat with deep feelings of anxiety. Even when he is old enough to know that his life is not in real danger, he will respond to separation from a parent with severe feelings of dejection, because to some degree he will feel as if he were endangered. The difference is that at an older age the fear is not of physical but of emotional starvation.

If we should have any doubt that physical separation can be an effective expression of our disgust with a child's behavior, we can look to our children themselves to set us straight. The worst that a child can think of when he is disgusted with his parents is that he will run away. He makes such a threat because he is convinced that it is so terrible that it will compel us to mend our ways. Clearly, a child understands very well that when we threaten to distance ourselves from him physically we are threatening to distance ourselves from him emotionally. That threat makes a very deep impression.

We must be honest about our strong emotional reactions to our children's behavior, showing our children how deeply we love them, on the one hand, and, on the other, letting them know when we are disappointed in them, provided we do not become critical or punitive. This is all just part of being ourselves. We need not make any claim to be perfect. But if we strive as best we can to live good lives ourselves, our children, impressed by the merits of living good lives, will one day wish to do the same. □

PARENTS SENSIBLES

Journal de la Société Canadienne
pour la Prévention de la Cruauté envers les Enfants

Tome 10

Numéro 2

Printemps 1987

LE DEBAT DES GARDERIES

Si nous voulons de vraies solutions, au problème du dilemme des parents au travail nous devons tenter de résoudre le vrai problème. Ce n'est pas celui du "comment une femme peut poursuivre sa vie de travail choisie et élever sa famille choisie?" mais bien "Comment la fonction humaine vitale qu'est celle d'être parent devienne intégrée à notre société de travailleurs."

Le plus radical des changements qu'un tel schéma exigerait est celui qui nous amènerait de la croyance que les enfants sont l'affaire des "femmes-qui-sont-mères" à la réalisation que les enfants sont l'affaire de tous, et spécifiquement de toutes "personnes-qui-choisissent-d'être-parents". Aussi longtemps que le dilemme travail/parents est perçu comme le problème des femmes, les solutions continueront à être recherchées, enfouies dans un monde de femmes, laissant à l'écart le monde des hommes, encore le vrai monde du travail. Bien que les hommes cherchent en toute sincérité des solutions pour les femmes, une division des sexes empêchera une reconnaissance réelle du fait qu'être parents c'est une question pour tous.

Je crois qu'il y a de nombreux hommes qui acceptent véritablement le concept de responsabilité égale pour les enfants et qui accueilleront l'occasion d'agir davantage. La plupart d'entre eux échouent face à l'éthique du travail. Par la pression que l'on fait sur eux pour qu'ils produisent comme gagne-pain et gens de carrière et parfois par le féminisme lui-même. Depuis peu de temps les besoins des enfants n'étaient même pas une partie substantielle de leur plate-forme politique; les femmes ont cherché à faire la lutte aux mâles dans les cadres de leurs jeux traditionnels sans chercher à les impliquer dans les jeux traditionnels féminins.

Il existe une reconnaissance croissante des dangers du sexisme, des deux côtés, et c'est justement une tendance qui doit être encouragée.

Dans un entre-temps inévitablement long, les femmes, toujours principalement responsables pour les jeunes enfants, peuvent faire beaucoup dans la préparation d'une société différente, plus douce et plus orientée vers l'enfant. Les bébés-garçons d'aujourd'hui sont les hommes de demain. Leur éducation est indispensable à un avenir dans le lequel les gens nouveaux ont priorité sur tout autre produit.

Extrait de "Mère ou Carrière" par
Penelope Leach. L'article entier
paraîtra dans le prochain volume
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Recognizing that the capacity to give and receive trust, affection and empathy is fundamental to being human.

Knowing that all of us suffer the consequences when children are raised in a way that makes them affectionless and violent, and;

Realizing that for the first time in History we have definite knowledge that these qualities are determined by the way a child is cared for in the very early years.

CREDO



WE BELIEVE THAT:

- The necessity that every new human being develop the capacity for trust, affection and empathy dictates that potential parents re-order their priorities with this in mind.
- Most parents are willing and able to provide their children with the necessary loving empathic care, given support from others, appropriate understanding of the task and the conviction of its absolute importance.
- It is unutterably cruel to permanently maim a human being by failing to provide this quality of care during the first three years of life.

THERE IS AN URGENCY THEREFORE TO:

- Re-evaluate all our institutions, traditions and beliefs from this perspective.
- Oppose and weaken all forces which undermine the desire or ability of parents to successfully carry out a task which ultimately affects us all.
- Support and strengthen all aspects of family and community life which assist parents to meet their obligation to each new member of the human race.