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## An investigation into the latchkey phenomenon and education's response

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## An investigation into the latchkey phenomenon and education's response

### Abstract

Children who stay alone while their parents work have recently been a source of concern to educators, child advocates, policymakers, and parents. The latchkey phenomenon will be examined in this paper by a review of current literature. The development of the latchkey situation will be traced, harmful effects based on research will be identified, and education's response to the latchkey situation will be investigated.

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE LATCHKEY PHENOMENON AND  
EDUCATION'S RESPONSE**

**A Research Paper  
Submitted  
In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Masters of Arts in Education**

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University of Northern Iowa**

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Entitled: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE LATCHKEY PHENOMENON AND  
EDUCATION'S RESPONSE

has been approved as meeting the research paper requirement for the  
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## ABSTRACT

Children who stay alone while their parents work have recently been a source of concern to educators, child advocates, policymakers, and parents. The latchkey phenomenon will be examined in this paper by a review of current literature. The development of the latchkey situation will be traced, harmful effects based on research will be identified, and education's response to the latchkey situation will be investigated.

## Chapter I

### Introduction

During the past three decades the most remarkable trend in the United States labor force has been the entrance of more and more women of young children (O'Connell & Bloom, 1987). Only 8.6 percent of mothers were employed in 1940 and at the end of World War II, 18 percent of mothers with minor children worked outside the home. Currently 57 percent of all mothers with children under 18 years of age and 45 percent of mothers with preschool children are in the workforce. (Gray, 1986).

As a result of this trend, working parents are faced with tremendous challenges in meeting their work responsibilities and in rearing their children (Coolsen, Seligson & Garbarino, 1986). The task of finding suitable child care arrangements exists both before the child enters school and after he has reached school age. In addition, child care is expensive, especially for low-income parents (O'Connell & Bloom, 1987). Thus, some parents have determined that leaving their children to care for



themselves after school to be an economical alternative to having them supervised by other adults.

The term "latchkey children" is currently being used both in the popular media and by researchers to describe those children who care for themselves and/or other children before and after school and during school vacations (Gray, 1986). The number of latchkey children in the United States ranges from a 2 million (Cole and Rodman, 1987) to 15 million (Long and Long, 1983) depending upon the methods of estimation. However, the figure most often used in reflecting the number of latchkey children in the United States was reported by the U. S. Department of Labor (1982) as six to seven million. Due to many economic and social changes in the United States, the trend for working adults to leave their children unsupervised is expected to continue (Galambos and Garbarino, 1983).

Research has turned up a myriad of negative effects for latchkey children such as loneliness, sibling hostility, fears, and risks of physical injuries (Long and Long, 1983). Others interested in the latchkey situation have determined that latchkey children appear to be growing and developing similarly to their nonlatchkey contemporaries (Robinson,

Rowland, Coleman, 1986b). Thus, the latchkey phenomenon has piqued the interest of parents, educators, and government.

Latchkey children have been termed the fastest-growing special interest group in the schools (Strother, 1986). Educators are interested in the impact self-supervision has on children's academic achievement, social competence, and psychological development. School involvement in the latchkey situation also stems from parental groups and community agencies requesting schools to institute programs for child care for school-age children (Strother, 1986).

#### Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to review the related literature and to supply current answers to the following questions: 1) What factors are related to the development of the latchkey phenomenon and what is the predicted trend for care of school-age children whose parents must work? 2) Is there evidence that the latchkey situation is harmful to children? 3) What is education's response to the latchkey situation?

### Definition of Terms

In this study the following terms will be used in the context as given:

Self-care child. A child between the ages of approximately 6 and 13 who spends time at home alone or with a younger sibling on a periodic basis. (Cole & Rodman, 1987).

Latchkey child. The same definition as self-care child. Negative stereotypes have already been associated with this term so Cole and Rodman (1987) introduced "self-care" to encourage a more objective view.

### Significance of the Study

Much public attention has been directed toward latchkey children in the last five years. In the popular press, the latchkey issue may have been misrepresented by sensationalized and manufactured conclusions based on emotional and subjective information. This study will endeavor to discover what empirical evidence concerning the effects of the latchkey situation is now available and what the implications are for educators.

### Procedures in Obtaining Literature

Initially, a computer search of the ERIC System and a psychology database was done by using the following descriptors: latchkey children, self-care, child care, day care, working mothers, working parents, mental disorders, emotional disturbances, behavior problems. The librarian stated that the term "latchkey" was included just recently (1985) as a descriptor so other sources would have to be consulted for older material. The Education Index exposed numerous journal articles, which in turn provided bibliographies for further resources. The card catalog was examined and several books also revealed bibliographies. It was felt comprehensive exploration of information was performed for a thorough review of the literature.

## CHAPTER 2

### Review of Related Literature

The purpose of this study was to review the related literature and to answer three questions concerning the latchkey phenomenon. This section of the paper will review the related literature exploring the development of the latchkey phenomenon, its effects upon children, and education's response to this situation.

#### Factors Related to the Development of the Latchkey Phenomenon

Although the "latchkey" has only recently become a well-known term, it actually has a long history. During the eighteenth century latchkey referred to the method of lifting the door latch to gain access into homes (Wolff, 1985). It came to be associated with children who had their own doorkeys to gain entrance into their own homes; these children were labeled "dorks" during the early 1900s. Zucker (1944) stated the terms latchkey and doorkey were revived in the 1940s to describe children who took care of themselves while their fathers were away at war and their mothers entered the labor market. The economic and social changes in the United States which took place during

the 1970s and 1980s led to a large number of women with young children entering the workforce and thus to the reemergence of the term latchkey.

#### Women Entering the Workforce

O'Connell & Bloom (1987) stated that there is no single explanation for the skyrocketing labor force participation rates of women, but rather a complex set of factors from which the trend arose. First, the labor shortages experienced during World War II drew women into the job market working in defense plants while fathers were absent in military service. The Children's Defense Fund (1982) reported 18 percent of women with minor children were working outside the home after the War in contrast to 8.6 percent in 1940. While this was a large increase in the number of mothers working, children of working mothers were still the exception.

O'Connell & Bloom (1987) stated a critical factor which influenced women entering the workforce was the introduction of the contraceptive pill in the late 1960s. The contraceptive allowed women to choose if and when to have children and led many women to postponement of childbearing to continue their preparation for careers. At this time the marriage

rates were declining and divorce rates climbing, giving women concrete needs to be economically independent.

A third factor which O'Connell & Bloom (1987) attributed to the influx of women into the labor market was the economic problems the Baby Boomers faced when they reached working ages. Since the labor market was overwhelmed by the Baby Boomers, there were not enough jobs with the wages these people expected to receive. Two incomes became necessary for these couples to attain the standard of living they desired.

Perch (1987) associated the technological changes in the United States with the trend of increase women's participation in the labor force. He stated that in the early 1900s married women spent an average of 84 hours per week in home production and family care. Technological advances gradually provided low cost substitutes for many of the chores in the home. Women needed fewer hours to complete homemaking tasks.

While women's movement activists might view mothers' participation in the workforce during the 1970s as a positive change in regarding the status of women in society, Kiger (1984) cited evidence which demonstrates that working mothers entered the labor force principally out of economic necessity and less

often for reasons of personal fulfillment. Waldman's (1979) study revealed that nearly three-fourths of working mothers during the 1970s were employed in traditionally female occupations, such as clerical and service work. These occupations were characterized by relatively low incomes and unstable employment.

O'Connell & Bloom (1987) cited the social revolution of the 1960s and 1970s as yet another agent in luring women to work. Old values were rejected, and one of the casualties was the prestige of the American housewife. The woman of the family came to be viewed as a servant to her children and husband, and earning money then became a means of enhancing her self-esteem.

Currently 57 percent of all mothers with children under eighteen years of age and 53 percent of mothers with preschool children are in the workforce. (Trotter, 1987). These changes have had tremendous impact on the ways in which children are reared. Child care became a major issue of the 1970s and 1980s.

#### Child Care

Kiger (1984, p. 53) stated "A child's well-being and healthy development falls principally on mothers." Some helping professionals made a sweeping generalization about the relationship between childhood



and motherhood. This traditional perspective sometimes implies that mothers cannot work and properly care for their children (White, 1981). Thus, women in the 1970s and 1980s were confronted with the need to work and the guilt imposed upon them by traditionalists that it would not be in the best interests for their children to do so.

During this period of time, many studies were conducted regarding the effects of home-rearing versus out-of-home care on the child's emotional development, intellectual development, and social development. Several investigators (Cummings, 1980; Farran and Ramey, 1977; Kagan, Kearsley, and Zelazo, 1977) studied the child's preference for his own mother versus the primary caregiver. They concluded that children in out-of-home care still prefer their own mothers rather than the primary caregivers. The bond was not disrupted between mother and child nor relinquished to the caregiver. Cochran (1977) reported that the similarities in behavior between the two groups far outweighed any observed differences. The mother/child attachment was not found to be weakened or abnormal in the children attending day care. Pardeck, Pardeck, and

Murphy (1986) concur that day-care does not have a negative impact on a child's emotional development.

Belskey and Steinberg (1978) reported eight studies that found no difference between low-risk day care-reared children and matched home-reared children on measures of intellectual development. The research conducted with high-risk (low-income) preschool children demonstrated convincingly that an enriched day care environment can greatly benefit their intellectual gains (Golden, Rosenbluth, Grossi, Policare, Freeman, Brownlee, 1978; Pardeck et al., 1986).

O'Connell (1983) stated that it is not yet clear from current research whether or not the placement of a child in a group setting will result in a significant change in his/her social abilities. Finkelstein, Dent, Gallagher & Ramey (1978) reported that social behaviors in young children were more a function of age and development than of the type of child care setting. Johnson (1979) reached a similar conclusion and additionally suggested that social behaviors may be related more to the numbers of peers available to a child than the setting within the social interactions occur. Pardeck et al. (1986) stated that children experiencing day care seem to be more peer oriented and

less likely to interact with adults. Maturation, rather than group environment, seems to be the key ingredient in normal social development (O'Connell, 1983).

American working mothers were thus given the sanction to place children in day care facilities or other out-of-home arrangements knowing they were not directly harming their children intellectually, emotionally, or socially. They were and currently are faced, however, with the problems finding adequate and/or quality day care facilities at reasonable costs.

Long & Long (1983) reported that there were 19,000 licensed day care centers in the United States in 1980. Even when all forms of family day care arrangement are added to available center care slots, they only provide care for half of the children age 13 and under in families in which all parents in the home are employed full-time and who need some form of care during the day.

Trotter (1987) reported that at present there are three types of child care available for infants and pre-schoolers. The first is home care--somebody comes to your home or you take your child to a neighbor or a relative. About 31 percent of the day care in this

country is home care. The second type, 37 percent, is family day care--someone, almost always a woman, takes in four, five or six young children. Another 23 percent is center-based care--parents drop the children off at an organized day care center.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1986) reflected the fact that college educated women tend to transport their children to day care centers and babysitters' homes. Less educated women rely on relatives and neighbors for child care. In order for low-income mothers to work, they must rely on relatives to provide free babysitting.

Zigler of Yale University (Trotter, 1986, p. 36) stated,

There's a lot of mediocre child care out there and some absolutely horrible day care--children tied to chairs being cared for by women so senile that they can't care for themselves. So what we have developing is a two-tier system, with affluent people being able to afford to buy into the first tier and the rest having to accept mediocre or even dangerous care for their children.

Today a shortage of qualified day care teachers and workers is sweeping the nation's day care centers

(Fowler, 1986). The reasons are not difficult to understand. In the Chicago area, a four-year degreed teacher makes \$4 an hour. Fowler reported that the average day care worker in the United States earns \$8700; a day care teacher, \$9135; and the average day care director, \$12,313. Women who work in residential homes may earn even less and many receive no employee benefits (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984). Fowler (1986, p. 48) states, "Day care professionals suffer from low pay, range only two levels above dog groomers in public opinion polls, and have the highest turnover rate in the labor force."

These figures only reflect part of the child care economic problem. Costs for child care are expensive. Parents can expect to pay from \$50 to \$100 per week for out-of-home care (O'Connell & Bloom, 1987). The average national figure for day care tuition per week for a child aged three to five is \$55 (Fowler, 1986). A comparison of tuitions nationwide (see Tables 1 and 2, Appendix A) indicates current expenses to parents. Fowler (1986, p. 48) stated of working women, "Unless they are executive women with excellent incomes, they quickly learn that 30 to 40 percent of their earnings will go to pay for child care."

During the 1970s and 1980s large numbers of mothers were working and finding it increasingly difficult to find adequate supervision for their children. In addition, a high proportion of women's income was devoted to child care. The tendency for parents of school-age children to leave them unsupervised during those hours the children were not in school became a growing trend.

#### Emergence of Latchkey Children

Long and Long (1983) reported that there were two significant changes in the social structure which occurred since 1950 that have dramatically changed family rearing patterns in the United States. They are the large increase in the proportion of mothers who work and the increased numbers of children living in single-parent households. Add to these changes two other social changes, the decline of the support system provided by the extended family and the rise in family mobility, and one sees the basis for the rapid rise in the number of children left in self-care.

Robinson, Rowland, & Coleman (1986b) also reported that the numbers of latchkey children emerged as a result of changes in the American family. High incidences of separation and divorce produced single-

parent households and left record numbers of women as sole wage earners for their families.

Galambos & Garbarino (1983) contended that social changes in America in the last half century meant that there were fewer adult caretakers--neighbors, friends, relatives--in the child's environment. Smaller families meant that fewer teenagers were accessible to help care for and supervise children--either their own siblings or the children of neighbors. The diminished role of the small town and urban neighborhood in American life, as well as the emergence of modern urban environments, has resulted in social isolation, with fewer adults taking on responsibility for other people's children. Garbarino (1980) reported that the 20th century has also ushered in a trend toward age-segregated housing--young families in one area, the elderly in another, a trend that has further reduced the availability of "extra" adults in the neighborhood.

Long & Long (1983) suggested that sometimes the decision to leave a child unsupervised was abrupt, unplanned, and often traced to a precipitating event. Sometimes it is a family crisis, such as the death of a parent, divorce, or separation. Other times the stimulus is more mundane--a favorite babysitter moves

out of town or takes another job. Temporary self-care tends to become permanent.

Long & Long (1983) also stated that even though parents might not choose self-care for their children if they had a choice, once they had initiated self-care, they find it convenient. Thus self-care is perpetuated. Parents no longer have a transportation problem involved in getting a child from school to a day-care center; they no longer have to leave work at a specified hour and rush to a closing day-care center. Their children, home alone after school, can help with household chores and ease the burden for parents returning from work; and for some middle-class families, the extra money saved can be spent on clothing, food, or recreation.

Harris (1977) and Rodes & Moore (1975) demonstrated that parents with more than one child place priority on care for preschool children; the older children are often considered capable of fending for themselves. Again, family economics plays a large part in determining which children are supervised.

Long & Long (1983) found that in a substantial number of cases the precipitating factor to a change in child care arrangements was the children themselves.



By the fourth grade many children felt too old for a day-care center and asked to take care of themselves. Sometimes children are subjected to peer pressure and are teased by their friends who stay alone. In order to look older and more mature, children will ask their parents to let them stay home alone, even if they don't want to.

According to Diffendal (1973), the lack of dynamic school-age child care facilities is caused in part by federal efforts and funds which have been focused only on the preschool child. Programs for school-age children are limited, and when available are often undifferentiated from preschool programs with which they are linked. This situation is unattractive to healthy twelve-year-olds.

The latchkey phenomenon is generally seen to be an issue brought about by the need for the mother, either single-parent or married, to work outside the home and the ensuing need economically for those mothers not to seek paid supervision for their children. These needs will still need addressing in the 1990s.

#### Trend for Latchkey Children

More school-age children than ever before have working mothers; Levine (1982) noted that by 1990, 18

million children ages 6 through 13, and 1 1/2 million five-year-olds will need after school care.

O'Connell & Bloom (1987) stated that most experts agree that women are permanent members of the American labor force. By the year 2000 it has been estimated that between 80 percent and 90 percent of women will be in the workforce (Elkind, 1986).

Robinson, Rowland, & Coleman (1986b, p. 13) stated, "The problem of latchkey children will not go away but will continue to escalate during the 1990s, presenting one of the biggest challenges of the future for all concerned about children and youth. The numbers of latchkey children can be expected to rise as current social and economic trends continue steady growth."

Lombardo & Lombardo (1983) predicted that there will be about 14 million young children with working mothers in the early 1990s, which should result in an increased demand for day-care programs, night-care programs, and after-school programs.

O'Connell & Bloom (1987) cited four demographic trends which point toward a continued demand for all types of child care services in the future. First, women are having children at older ages. This means

that they have accumulated several years of work experience before having children. Since they have this experience, they earn higher salaries and are willing to pay for child care. Second, O'Connell & Bloom predict fewer children per woman increases the odds that a substantial number of mothers will return to work shortly after giving birth. Again, there is a future supply of children in need of care. Third, women are acquiring more education and are developing values which deemphasize the role of the traditional housewife. Finally, the number of unmarried women with children (from divorce or unmarried mothers) will continue to grow.

The struggles that many American parents face in trying to combine careers and child rearing have raised issues for schools, employers, and public policymakers. Secretary of Labor William Brock admitted in 1986 (O'Connell & Bloom, 1987, p. 11),

It's just incredible that we have seen the feminization of the work force with no more adaptation than we have had. . . It is a problem of sufficient magnitude that everybody is going to have to play a role: families, individuals, business, and government.

With continued demand and nationwide concern over the child care dilemma, researchers have begun to focus attention on latchkey children to determine whether the alleged detrimental effects of self-care are myth or reality.

### Research on the Effects of the Latchkey Phenomenon

Both risks and benefits to children have been associated with the latchkey phenomenon. However, Robinson, Rowland, & Coleman (1986a) stated that controversy exists in popular and scientific literature over whether latchkey arrangements are detrimental to school-age children and that much of this conflict has been a result of sensationalizing by the popular press. This portion of the study will address the scientific research available at the present time.

### Risks to Latchkey Children

Garbarino (1980) has summarized four types of risks associated with latchkey children: 1) They will feel badly (e.g., rejected, alienated, afraid, cheated); 2) They will be harmed or treated badly (e.g., accidents, sexual victimization). 3) They will develop badly (e.g., academic failure, locus of control, self-esteem, social adjustment, interpersonal

relations); 4) They will act badly (e.g., delinquency, vandalism).

The issue of how children feel when they come home from school to an empty house has generated interest and concern especially by the popular press. Robinson, Rowland, & Coleman (1986b) noted that some mass media publications have sensationalized the latchkey child's self-care. They call this misrepresentation and confusion of the phenomenon "latchkeyphobia." Manufactured conclusions usually occur when little or no information is available about the subject.

However, a few studies have been conducted to determine children's reactions to staying alone after school. Long and Long (1983) studied 53 latchkey children and 32 adult-supervised children in grades one through six in an all-black parochial school in Washington, D.C. They reported that more than 30 percent of the children left alone and 20 percent left with siblings exhibited high fear levels and had recurring nightmares. Those specific fears stemmed from the idea someone might break into the house, noises, outdoor darkness, rain or thunder, and the cries and barks of animals.

Zill, Gruvaeus & Woyshner (1977) investigated 2,258 children between the ages of 7 and 11. Thirteen percent of the children said they were frequently scared. Their most common fears were of intruders and of going outside to play. The fear levels were the highest among the children from low-income areas and those of Hispanic origin who lived in high-crime areas.

Parents were questioned by the Council for Children in Charlotte, North Carolina, in 1984 to examine the local needs of child care (Robinson, Rowland, & Coleman, 1986a). Parents of 1806 children between the ages of 5 and 14 answered questions concerning child care arrangements before and after school and during holidays and summer months. Of the children who routinely cared for themselves, 23 percent were reported by their parents to be somewhat fearful or apprehensive when unsupervised.

Galambos & Garbarino (1983) studied 39 fifth-graders and 38 seventh-graders in a rural school district. Twenty-one of the children were latchkey, 29 were children of employed mothers but who were adult supervised, and 27 children of mothers who did not work outside the home. The socio-economic status of the three groups was similar, and the majority of parents

in all three groups had high school diplomas. The findings demonstrated that latchkey children were no more fearful than their supervised counterparts.

Rodman, Pratto, & Nelson (1985) compared 48 self-care children with 48 children in adult care to investigate whether the self-care arrangement has negative consequences for children. There were 26 matched pairs of fourth graders and 22 matched pairs of seventh graders from a large and heterogeneous school district in North Carolina. The pairs were matched on age, sex, race, family composition, and social status. No statistical differences in feelings (e.g., self-esteem, locus of control, or social adjustment) between children in self-care and those supervised by parents were found.

The State College of Pennsylvania classified calls made by latchkey children to "PhoneFriend", a telephone support service for latchkey children (Coolsen, Seligson, & Garbarino, 1986). During the first year of operation, PhoneFriend received 1370 calls. Of the total, 60 percent were classified as "just want to talk" or "bored," while 19 percent were classified as "lonely" and 15 percent as "scared," "worried," or "sad or crying." A majority of the volunteer responses (82

percent) were affective (i.e., listening and reflecting feelings).

Gray (1986) recently completed a report concerning the Balancing Work and Family Project, which was sponsored by the National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse. This project addressed the latchkey phenomenon and assisted parents in communicating with their children about self-care. The project involved eight states scattered across the nation in both urban and rural settings. One of the surveys during the project explored children's feelings regarding self-care. The sentence completion questions involved no prompts or choices. Gray reported that when asked to complete the sentence, "When I'm home alone, I feel:" 32.7 percent of the children responded with "scared." When asked to complete the sentence, "When I'm home alone, I wish Mom and Dad:" 70.8 percent of the children wished their parents were there or would come home. However, the sentence, "When I'm home alone, I feel:" also elicited the response "good." Gray stated that the incompatibility of answers points to ambivalence of the latchkey child about his situation.

Trimberger & MacLean (1982) studied the perceptions of children about their mother's



employment. They found that children who are alone after school tend to have more negative attitudes about their mothers' employment than children who are not alone. However, the results of this study also suggested that children who are unsupervised after school perceive their mothers as more interested in them than children who are supervised.

The second major area of potential risk to latchkey children is physical harm (i. e., accidents or sexual victimization). Long and Long (1983, p.70) stated,

By the very nature of their circumstances, latchkey children are always faced with risk. Dangers can generally be classed as threat of injury from accidents; the threat of fire, explosion, or other triggered or natural disasters; the threat of violence, such as burglaries, assaults or abuse; the effects of sickness; and nuisances such as obscene phone calls. While no segment of the population is free from any of these possible dangers, unattended children are particularly vulnerable. The younger the child, the greater the danger.

While Long and Long have no statistics to confirm

latchkey children have more accidents than nonlatchkey children, they reported that from 1963 to 1973 there was a 16 percent increase in the number of deaths from accidents among children in the 5 to 14 age group, and a decrease of 18 percent for children under the age of 5. They felt these accidents might be correlated with the great growth in the labor force participation rate of mothers and a substantial growth in care facilities for preschool children, but not for school-age children.

Jones & Haney (1984) assessed the fire safety knowledge and skills of children 7 to 10 years of age. They discovered that the children virtually had no knowledge of how to protect themselves in a fire emergency even though 67 percent thought they knew what to do. Coolsen, Seligson, & Garbarino (1986) felt that this report evidenced that children in self-care are at special risk for dying in fires. Wellborn (1981) reported that in Newark, N.J., one of every six calls made to the fire department were by unsupervised children.

Gray (1986) also noted that unsupervised children are more likely to become victims of sexual molestation by siblings. Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz (1980) found

that physical assault by siblings was three times as great as by parents--48 percent of siblings engaged in "severe violence" versus 14 percent of parents to children (aged three or older). Finkelhor (1979) found that 39 percent of the sexual abuse reported by girls and 21 percent of that reported by boys involved siblings. Wellborn (1981) stated that in Birmingham, Michigan and Atlanta, Georgia, police theorized that the rise in latchkey households has made children particularly vulnerable to attack and perhaps in part led to murders of children over a period of years.

Developmental risks to latchkey children comprise a third area currently being researched. Woods (1972) sampled 108 fifth-grade children in a black ghetto in Philadelphia. The results indicated that the girls who were unsupervised exhibited impoverished cognitive development--lower academic achievement and lower IQ scores compared to other children of working mothers who had adult supervision. Woods also reported some difficulty in school relations for the same group.

Gold & Andres (1978a & 1978b) studied white children in the low and middle incomes in the suburbs of a Canadian city. They discovered no significant differences between children of working mothers and

children of nonworking mothers in academic achievement and personality/social adjustment. These studies did not focus directly on the latchkey situation.

The Galambos & Garbarino (1983) study did focus on latchkey children. No significant predictors of academic achievement or school adjustment were found.

Are the actions of the self-care children different from the actions of supervised children? Steinberg (1986) surveyed 865 adolescents in grades 5-9 in suburban Wisconsin within a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds. While this study did not measure actual behavior of youth, it did assess adolescents' responses to hypothetical situations. The findings indicated that adolescents who are more removed from adult supervision are more susceptible to pressure from their friends to engage in antisocial activity. Girls who are supervised by adults are less susceptible to their friends' influence than are girls who are on their own; boys and girls who are at home alone are less susceptible than adolescents who are at a friend's house after school; and those, in turn, are less susceptible than adolescents who describe themselves as "hanging out." Self-care adolescents whose parents know their whereabouts are less

susceptible to peer influence than those whose parents are unknowing and/or uncaring about their whereabouts. Those who have been raised authoritatively are also less susceptible to peer influence than those raised in a lax situation.

#### Benefits to Latchkey Children

While this study did not uncover any scientific evidence that latchkey children reap benefits from self-care, several authors have suggested this situation may occur based on information obtained from the study of maternal employment.

Hoffman (1979) found that maternal employment encouraged peer interaction, independence, and responsibility. Researchers have shown that school-age children of working mothers have less stereotyped sex-role ideas than children of mothers who stay at home (Gold & Andres, 1978a). Kieffer (1981) suggested that children may learn earlier than they otherwise might to master self-help skills, take on responsibility, and solve problems.

Galambos & Garbarino (1983) pointed out that challenge often induces growth. They cited the Great Depression of the 1930s as an example that, for some at least, the negative outcomes were balanced by

beneficial consequences. Galambos & Garbarino also reiterated the notion that no social event affects all children or youth equally and in the same way.

Several authors suggested that research needs to catch up with the growing numbers of latchkey youngsters (Robinson, Rowland, Coleman, 1986a; Coolsen, Seligson, & Garbarino, 1986; Alexander, 1986; Cole & Rodman, 1987; Rodman, Pratto, & Nelson, 1985). Many of the same authors stated that the research should be directed at examining the various context in which latchkey children live. Galambos & Garbarino (1983) want research to make progress to the point where one can ask, "What characteristics in the latchkey child's environment affect that child's personal and social development?"

#### Education's Response to the Latchkey Phenomenon

Merrow (1985) lashed out at the nation when he stated that we sometimes use language to avoid responsibility for our actions. He feels that terms like "self-care" and "survival skills" are linguistic cop-outs which obscure a serious and widespread evasion of social responsibility. Merrow (1985, p. 8) calls for community action in the latchkey situation:

Back when only a few people had cars, society wasn't responsible for roads, drivers' licenses, and so forth. Today, nearly everybody drives, and society must be responsible for traffic control. Today, the vast majority of adults have to work outside the home, and most children are in some form of child care. That makes child care a social responsibility. Self-care and survival skills are verbal smoke screens. It's time for community action for all our children!

#### Reasons for School Involvement

As more parents, child development experts, policymakers, and other child advocates call for resources to decrease the risks and worry of the latchkey situation, there is now some competition over who "owns" the issue. However, Strother (1986) reported that many day-care specialists would like to see available resources going for the provision of high-quality child-care programs within a school base.

In a 1983 survey, the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women (Seligson, Genser, Gannett, & Gray, 1983) discovered that 75 percent of the parents felt that every community should have supervised recreational programs available to children during

after-school hours. Of those respondents, nearly 60 percent felt that the public schools should provide these programs.

Ed Zigler, one of the architects of Project Head Start and a researcher in the field of child development for over 30 years, stated, "I think we have to build a new school in America. We have to change the school system. We have to open schools earlier in the morning, keep them open later in the afternoon and during summer" (Trotter, 1987, p.34). Zigler feels that children should be in the care of adults and that by keeping the schools open the problem of latchkey children would be solved, along with the social problems caused by the situation.

Seligson (1986) also felt schools became involved in the provision of child care for school-age children because parent groups, community agencies, day-care providers, and school administrators seeking to establish child-care programs have identified the schools as logical sites for such programs. Many parents like the idea that their children will stay in the same place until it is time to come home.

Nieting (1983) believed that next to the family, the school is the central institution in children's



lives through which they experience cognitive and affective learning. Nieting concurs with many in the public and non-public sectors of education who advocate the linkage of school-age child care with elementary schools to complement, support, and extend the school's educational purposes.

Caldwell (1981) supported the use of public schools as the best place for extended day programs. Caldwell warned that many private schools are providing day care services and that if public schools do not respond to this competitive pressure, their enrollment of middle-class children will continue to decrease. Zigler and Hunsinger (1977) also cited declining school enrollments for support of the use of public schools for after-school care.

Robinson, Rowland, & Coleman (1986b, p. 109) summed up their position by stating:

The school environment is a large part of a child's life that is integrally tied to the home. Children bring to school all the joys and burden that accompany their self-care arrangements. Public schools must confront the latchkey issue at every level--before school, during school, after

school--because all levels affect the child's learning, development, and general well-being.

Teachers sometimes become emotionally involved with the latchkey issue. Robinson, Rowland, & Coleman (1986b) stated that with parents at work, teachers become the prominent adults in many children's lives. In effect, they become parent substitutes. Many of the teachers Robinson et al. talked to were concerned about those children who went home to empty houses and felt they wanted to do something about it. Long & Long (1983) found that teachers are torn about how to handle students who are dropped off early in the morning. School policies may forbid teachers from allowing students to enter the classroom before a certain hour; when it is cold or raining, teachers face a dilemma.

Productivity for both parents and children is another advantage to having extended-day services provided within the schools. Mills & Cooke (1983, p. 149) state:

Parents become more productive at work, as they realize that their children are assured high quality care without leaving the school grounds. These parents no longer have to leave their jobs for child care obligations to interrupt their work

schedules to telephone home to make sure children are safe. Children who attend the programs no longer feel isolated from the rest of society.

Schools may derive some benefits from establishing after-school programs. Wellborn (1981) reported that vandalism at three schools in Portland, Oregon, fell from \$12,000 in damages in one year to \$200 the next year when an after-school centers were established in the schools.

Seligson (1986) considered after-school child care a method of improving the school's image in the community; by offering these services, schools can expect renewed support from those that come to depend on the services. In addition, it may help to offset enrollment declines and provide a way of complying with court-ordered integration.

School involvement, then, has taken place recently because parents, child development experts, teachers, community agencies, and policymakers would like to see the extended day offered in schools. They view this as a logical, cost-effective, convenient measure to serve the needs of this specific group of children. Schools may also find some benefits in this involvement, but

certainly the disadvantages of the extended day are present.

### Barriers to School Involvement

Questions have been raised as to the nature, design, administration, legality, and economics of school-run programs.

School involvement sometimes entails only the providing of space and other resources to private groups and agencies in the nonprofit sector that administer the school-based child-care programs. Seligson (1986) found that sometimes these partnerships fail because of "sticky" administration details which could not be resolved. Concerns also arise over accountability and the legal liability of the school if a child is injured on the school premises after the end of the regular school day. No precedence has been set in many school districts and the school charters do not accommodate these issues at present.

Expense is a major area of concern for incorporating child-care in the schools. Financial stability is improved and operating costs are usually reduced when two or more groups share their resources (Robinson, Rowland, & Coleman, 1986b). The added burden of potentially increasing taxes has led many

schools to diminish the actual need for school-age child care (SACC) programs. Trotter (1986) reported that Zigler's argument in this area is that when Americans started universal education in the United States, it was decided that all Americans must pay for the good of the nation. For the same reason, therefore, all Americans now should be willing to pay taxes for child care.

Powell (1987) felt that generally programs are not too expensive for parents to support, except for low-income parents and that most families would be willing to pay for after-school care.

Most authors concluded that school-age child care programs should be designed in a manner much different from the school curriculum (Trotter, 1986; Coolsen, Seligson, & Garbarino, 1986; Alexander, 1986; Seligson, 1986). Schools must offer more than mere custodial care, and at the same time, academic learning should not be the main focus of the programs. Seligson (1986) stated that some schools that take the short cuts by putting one teacher aide in a classroom of 30 school-age children and pay the aide minimum wage. According to Alexander (1986) viable after-school programs must be a separate part of the school's services.

Alexander (1986, p. 7) stated,

After seven hours in an academic, often strongly teacher-directed environment, the school-age child needs many opportunities for physical activities, self-expression through arts and crafts, and socialization with peers, in a home-like setting with much of the flavor of a neighborhood.

Concerned parents, school administrators, and community agencies have overcome these barriers and created some efficient, quality public-school-based care programs.

#### Current Methods of School Involvement

Several examples of after-school child care programs can be cited to demonstrate that public schools are involved in meeting the needs of latchkey children.

Robinson, Rowland, & Coolsen (1986b) showed the diversity of ways in which schools are involved in after-school child care by explaining three successful programs. In the public elementary schools in Brookline, Massachusetts, 500 children are served by extended-day programs in eight of the schools. This is one of the first models in the United States in which parents administer the programs. The programs are

separately incorporated within each school and are supported primarily by parent fees and social services funding. The school provide in-kind contributions of space and other resources.

Robinson et al. (1986b) demonstrated that the school system itself can administer the program. In Arlington, Virginia, the school-age child care program began in 1979 with 66 students in three schools; by 1984, 1,150 students were served in 21 of the schools. This extended day program is school-administered, but parents are well represented by an active parent organization. Fees are based on a sliding scale by family income; the program's budget is not part of the county schools' budget. This program was established and is maintained by strong citizen influence.

A third approach to school involvement described by Robinson et al. (1986b) is found in Miami, Florida. Over 130 schools are providing after-school care for several thousand children. The programs are administered by both school districts and YMCAs and YWCAs. Parents' fees provide the largest percentage of income for these self-supporting programs. This approach has centralized the administrative functions

within the school but allowed existing community expertise to be utilized.

Long & Long (1983) found that the Afterschool Day Care Association, Inc., of Madison, Wisconsin, was initially a result of teacher union negotiations which resulted in shorter public school hours. Since this action drew attention to the latchkey situation, a need was discovered and programs were instituted. Unfortunately, some of the early programs failed. Armed with new information about which families it needed to serve and how to best fund the programs, the Association now operates nine programs in Madison public schools; all nine programs are open all day during school vacations. A financial advantage for this program is derived from volunteers from the University of Wisconsin Schools of Education and Family Studies; students receive course credit or obtain field work experience while reducing staff requirements at the program sites.

A limited after-school program in Columbia, Maryland is called a "cafeteria model" (Long & Long, 1983). Children from kindergarten through the sixth grade can enroll in one or two classes in a wide variety of interest areas on any weekday they choose.



Subjects include arts and crafts, cooking, journalism, foreign languages, dancing, etc. This program relies on a small number of paid supervisory personnel and a larger number of volunteers who teach of classes.

While all of these successful programs are established within the public school buildings, many modes of administration, variety of services, and sources of financial support exist among the programs. The school-age child care programs nationwide are basically of three dimensions: 1) schools and school districts providing all resources and administering the program; 2) outside agencies (e. g. parent groups, YMCA, community groups) providing the majority of the resources and administration, with the schools offering in-kind services (e. g. space, utilities, etc.); 3) a joint effort by both schools and outside agencies with equal distribution of resources and responsibilities. The examples of after-school programs provided here are representative of the successful efforts of schools, parents, and community leaders to work together toward solutions in the latchkey situation.

#### Summary

The latchkey phenomenon has been shown to be a result of several trends in the last several decades.

First, the participation of women in the labor force has increased dramatically. Mothers began to work outside the home for a variety of reasons, most of which were economic.

Research in the 1970s and 1980s revealed that children placed in day-care centers were not harmed developmentally. While mothers attempted to work and have their children placed in day-care centers, they found that quality child care at a reasonable cost in the United States is not easily found.

At the same time, social changes were taking place in the United States. The traditional American family was disintegrating--the divorce rate climbed and single-parenting by unmarried mothers increased. The rise in family mobility, fewer extended families, and diminished neighborhood environments left few adult caretakers for school-age children.

Parents themselves sometimes made the decision to leave their school-age children alone after school for economic reasons, convenience, or preference of the children. It is expected that there will be a continued participation of mothers in the workforce and that there will be large numbers of children in self-care in the future.

The research on latchkey children presented a wide range of concerns. While most authors do not view self-care as advantageous to children, some do not feel there are major threats to children's development. On the other hand, there are several studies which reported that there are four risks associated with latchkey children. They will: 1) feel badly; 2) be harmed or treated badly; 3) develop badly; 4) act badly. The main reasons for conflicting evidence lies in the methods employed in research and the limited number of studies made at the present time.

Schools have become involved in the latchkey issue because of logistics, parents' requests, benefits to the school systems, and social responsibility. While expenses, legal responsibilities, and design of the programs seem to inhibit the number of schools involved in extended day programs in the schools, many examples of successful programs can be found nationwide.

### Chapter III

#### Summary, Conclusions, and Implications

##### Summary

The purpose of this paper was to review the related literature and to: 1) trace the development of the latchkey situation and predict further trends; 2) identify any harm caused by self-care; and 3) describe education's response to the situation. These three issues were posed as questions and addressed in this paper. A summary of the information obtained from a review of the literature pertaining to these questions will be presented.

Question #1: What factors are related to the development of the latchkey phenomenon and what is the predicted trend for care of school-age children whose parents must work?

The latchkey phenomenon developed over several decades. Originally the term "latchkey" referred to children who had their own doorkeys in the early 1900s. The term reemerged during the 1970s when large numbers of mothers began entering the workforce.

There was a complex set of factors which caused the increased number of women in the United States to work outside the home. World War II drew some women

into the labor market, but the larger numbers began appearing in the 1960s. Reasons for the influx were attributed to: 1) contraceptives which allowed women freedom of choice in childbearing; 2) economics--a labor market overwhelmed by Baby Boomers; 3) technological changes which freed women's time from household chores; 4) society's new attitudes about women's roles; 5) an increase in single-parent households headed by mothers.

Women were confronted with the need and desire to work and the guilt imposed on them by traditionalists who felt mothers cannot work and properly care for their children. Studies on day-care arrangements during the 1970s and 1980s found little or no difference in development of children who were cared for by parents and those who were placed in group environments. Even with this reassurance, working mothers were placed in the dilemma of finding adequate care facilities for their children.

The shortage of quality day-care facilities in the United States exists primarily because of lack of national financial funding. Expenses to support a child-care programs are high even though most staff receive inadequate wages; many parents cannot pay the

rates charged by the centers. Once their children were in school, many parents began to contemplate self-care for their children.

Several authors referred to social changes that also brought about the self-care arrangements. The child's environment is no longer comprised of close adult relationships. Fewer extended family relationships exist; families move more often; a change in the concept of neighborhoods has resulted in social isolation. All of these social trends have reduced the number of possible caregivers for school-age children.

Parents have found convenience in having their children home after-school. The need for transportation to day-care facilities is eliminated, and children can help with household duties. The extra money not spent for supervision is a benefit even for middle-class parents. In addition, the children may be the ones urging parents toward self-care.

The trend for women to enter the workforce and remain permanent members will continue in the 1990s. The reasons cited for this are: 1) women are having children at older ages; 2) fewer children per woman are predicted; 3) women are acquiring more education and developing values which de-emphasize the role of the

traditional housewife; and 4) single-parenting will continue to grow. As a result, there will be a continued demand for child care services of all types.

Question #2: Is there evidence that the latchkey situation is harmful to children?

While the media has to some degree sensationalized the latchkey situation, many authors concluded that there were indeed risks associated with self-care. These risks are categorized: 1) They will feel badly; 2) They will be harmed or treated badly; 3) They will develop badly; 4) They will act badly.

Studies have shown that some children who are left alone will exhibit high fear levels and have recurring nightmares. These fears were specific: intruders, noises, darkness, rain or thunder, animal sounds. Loneliness was reported in two of the studies.

Physical harm is a risk to a latchkey child, but no authors produced evidence that latchkey children are harmed by accidents more than other children left alone. Children in one training program were found to have much less knowledge about fire emergencies than thought by themselves or by their parents. Likewise, while generalizations are made about sexual victimization of unsupervised children, there is no

evidence to demonstrate latchkey children are at a higher risk than other children left alone.

In the area of development of latchkey children, conflict was revealed in the evidence of academic achievement/social adjustment of latchkey children. The samples for these studies, however, were taken from diverse socioeconomic environments. Several authors stated that this factor needs to be controlled in future research.

Again, not much research has been conducted regarding the actions of latchkey children. Only one study could be located, and this measured responses to hypothetical situations. The findings indicate that adolescents who are more removed from adult supervision are more susceptible to pressure from their friends to engage in antisocial activity.

Advantages, based upon empirical evidence, of latchkey children could not be found. Several authors alluded to the fact that challenge and extra responsibilities may foster growth and problem-solving skills at an earlier age.

Research must catch up to the growing numbers of latchkey children. At the present time, it is



difficult to make assumptions about the risks and benefits of this group.

Question #3: What is education's response to the latchkey situation?

Many parents, child development experts, policymakers, and other concerned child advocates want action in the form of quality after-school care for latchkey children. Schools have become involved because of the clamor of these groups to establish this care within the schools. Many of authors felt the programs should be school-based because it is a convenient, logical, cost-effective way of meeting most of the needs for after-school care. Schools may also benefit by the extended-day practice. Teachers would not have to struggle with early arrival of children to school. Less vandalism by children gathered after school and improved school image have also been cited as advantages to the schools.

Some school districts are not eager to add "baby-sitting" to their responsibilities. Expense to districts is a major source of reluctance; raising taxes for this need brings less enthusiasm for districts which are already overburdened. An increase

in accountability and liability is another barrier to instituting extended-day programs.

Several authors felt that the child-care programs must be much different from the school curriculum, but at the same time, not just a custodial service. Again, some schools do not want the added burden of designing the program and curriculum.

The examples of schools which have included school-age child care within their framework generally fall into three categories: 1) those that are contained completely within the school or school district; 2) those that use school space but are administered/supported almost completely by outside agencies; 3) those that are administered/supported in partnership by the schools and outside agencies.

### Conclusions

Conclusions drawn from this study are: 1) the latchkey phenomenon was a result of social and economic changes in the United States during the past 35-40 years which affected women's roles, family economics, and the nation's attitudes towards care of children of working mothers. The trend for mothers to enter the workforce is still increasing, and there will be a continued demand for all types of child care; 2) risks

are associated with self-care, but one must be very careful in inferring the latchkey population is at risk. Not enough evidence within controlled environments is available. Until such time as research catches up, it is appropriate to be cautious about the risks associated with latchkey children but not obsessive; 3) schools are involved in helping to establish after-school child care programs and are actively seeking help from other agencies to meet this need.

#### Implications for Further Study

Two major implications for further study in the latchkey situation are apparent: 1) new research must be conducted with consideration given to environmental context, and 2) exploration of who is responsible for the care of the latchkey population.

There is a definite lack of empirical research on latchkey children. This shortage has been compared to the earlier history during the 1950s and 1960s on employed mothers and the effects of day care. At that time, many were expounding the detriments of day care to children despite the limited evidence. As it was learned later, day care is not a developmental barrier to children. Likewise, while the media in the past few

years has indicated many risks for latchkey children, the research has yet to be extensively conducted.

Researchers have not been able to identify the latchkey population accurately and efficiently. Parents of latchkey children tend to keep a low profile because of the negative stereotypes which have already developed. They may not be willing to admit they leave their children unattended for fear of criticism by the community or even for fear of the consequences of child neglect. Therefore, the latchkey population is not readily accessible for study. In addition, researchers have been concentrating on formal care arrangements and may not be attuned to the widespread existence of the latchkey arrangements.

Not only is evidence unavailable, but the existing research can be criticized on the basis of the variables used. The most frequently used independent variable in the present studies is supervisory arrangement for school-age children. While this is a critical factor, many have ignored the environmental context in which the children live. The grim reports by some researchers have been documented in high-crime, urban areas. Other reports have been conducted in relatively safe, rural or suburban locations. These

environmental differences must be controlled for in future studies before pervasive conclusions can be drawn. Most studies also used the dependent variables of personality, social adjustment, and academic achievement (see Appendix B). More information is necessary concerning the behavioral components of latchkey children and the actual physical harm which may be caused by self-care. These issues must be addressed in future studies.

The responsibility for child care in the United States might be another area for exploration. Is it the responsibility of our society as a whole to see that the next generation is properly cared for; is it the schools which should care for the children after school; or is it only a family matter?

The Soviet Union has made the decision that it is a national obligation. Child care issues are addressed on a national level. The child care system there serves about 18 million children and is nationally regulated with uniform standards (Gehan, 1988). The Soviets have developed on-site programs in most of their primary schools in addition to an elaborate system of youth centers, which offer a variety of educational and cultural programs for youth.

While the citizens of the United States may not want this sort of intervention and regulation placed upon its system of child care, they do need to be fully aware of the present difficulties surrounding child care and the newest dimension in that issue--latchkey children. It is essential, therefore, that data are accurately gathered regarding the scope of the need, the demand for the services, and the ensuing responsibility for those services.

#### Implications for Schools and Teachers

It has been shown that some schools have taken an active interest in the latchkey situation. While programs have not always been initiated by school personnel, more and more schools are being drawn into consideration of extended-day programs. School administration must be responsive to the people who are looking for solutions for their children needs. Re-evaluating negative attitudes toward child care and use of school facilities would be the first step for administrators to take. Subsequently, a willingness on the part of the school to share resources must be communicated clearly to the community.

School principals could initiate or facilitate a needs assessment for school-age child care for their

respective buildings. Administrators could serve as a latchkey advocates to publicly acknowledge the child-care needs through speaking engagements to professional organizations and local and state branches of government.

In-service training for counselors and teachers would be a means by which school administration could help teachers gain the necessary knowledge and skills they need to work effectively with latchkey children. Providing funds and time for teachers to attend workshops and conferences on this issue would be an alternative to or in addition to in-service training.

If an extended-day program was established, administrators could recruit volunteers from within the school system to help directly with the supervision/teaching of the school-age children; this would reduce the number of adults needed and reduce costs necessary for a higher staff ratio. High school student groups could take on special projects with the children, or individual high school students may wish to gain job experience by volunteering their time.

As stated in the review of the literature, teachers have an emotional stake in the latchkey children. It is difficult for them to avoid noticing

the children who need special care. Teachers' willingness to assist in various ways should not be overlooked by school officials.

Teachers can serve in almost the same capacities as administrators when directing their efforts toward school involvement, needs assessment, and community awareness, but their importance to latchkey children extends much farther. Teachers have the opportunity to observe children daily in many different situations to get a picture of the child's emotional makeup. Sensitive teachers can identify children's feelings by behavior cues; certain behaviors may signal to the teacher that the latchkey child is fearful, lonely, or bored. Taking a few minutes a day to express those feelings to the teacher may make the difference in the child's academic work for that day. If additional intervention is necessary, the teacher is in the position of referring the child to the school social worker, counselor, or psychologist.

Classroom activities for younger latchkey children could include instructions in safety and telephone skills, films, and special speakers. The topic of self-care can be dealt with as a class rather than singling out the latchkey children since most of the



information would be universally helpful to children. Take-home materials could be selected by teachers and perhaps purchased by PTAs for distribution to families. Suggestions also have been made for teachers to help establish "hotline" telephone services for either homework assistance or for the "comfort" of an adult to talk to.

Regardless of the level at which schools and teachers are presently involved, their attention will undoubtedly be focused more on the latchkey situation in the future as further research is conducted and needs are assessed.

#### Closing Statement

The care of school-age children is a responsibility, whether it be the parents', the schools', or society's in general. While at this time sweeping generalizations cannot be made about the development of latchkey children, it is an issue which should not be totally ignored. Garbarino (1981) stated, "We know that some children will thrive on the opportunity of being a latchkey child. Others will just manage to cope. Still others will be a risk, and still others will be harmed." Educators are accessible

to those latchkey children who might be harmed by the situation.

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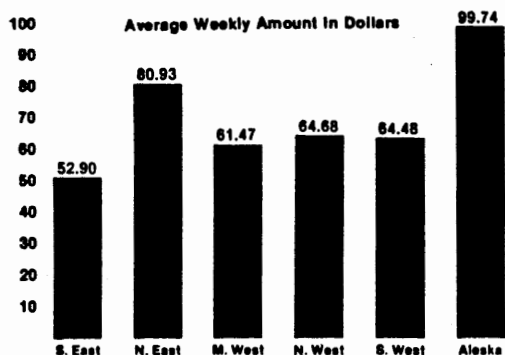
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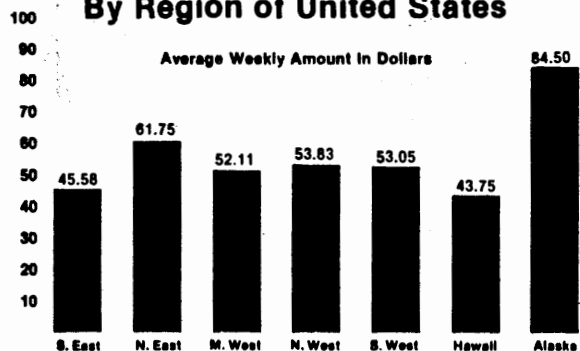
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## APPENDIX A

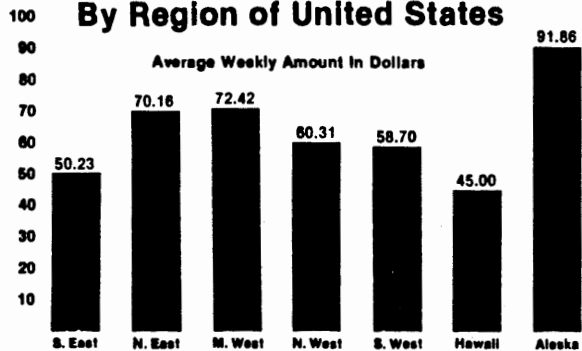
### Infant Care (to 18 months) By Region of United States



### Preschool Care (2½ to 5-years-old) By Region of United States



### Toddler Care (18 mo. — 2½ yrs.) By Region of United States



### Any age Child-Flat Rate By Region of United States

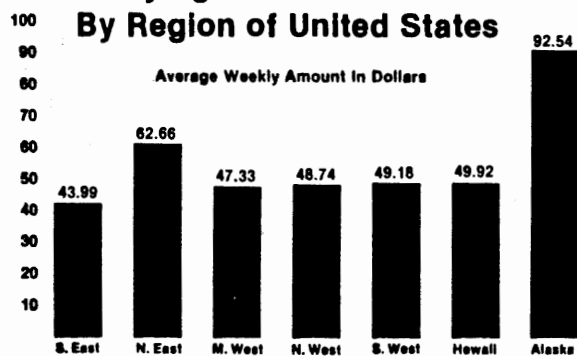


TABLE 1

# A Comparison of Tuitions in United States Child Care Centers\*

70

State	Annual Registration Fee	AVERAGE WEEKLY RATES					Summer Camp
		Infant	Toddler	Preschool	Full Day Flat Rate	Before/After School	
Alabama:	\$10.00	\$42.50	\$42.50	\$40.00	\$28.00	Unknown	
Alaska:	\$26.43	\$99.74	\$91.86	\$84.50	\$92.54	\$42.23	
Arizona:	\$23.42	\$55.50	\$56.79	\$47.73	\$43.57	\$29.75	
Arkansas:	\$32.50	\$45.17	\$40.00	\$35.94	\$47.69	\$19.50	
California:	\$31.69	\$70.51	\$67.53	\$59.37	\$60.23	\$24.88	\$69.72
Colorado:	\$25.36	\$88.33	\$67.54	\$60.42	\$54.27	\$33.34	\$67.40
Connecticut:	\$18.75	\$75.00	\$72.13	\$69.10	\$68.75	\$32.50	\$75.00
Delaware:	Unknown	\$65.00	\$58.75	\$55.00	\$55.00	Unknown	
Florida:	\$36.05	\$49.93	\$49.65	\$45.37	\$47.20	\$25.33	\$35.00
Georgia:	\$18.92	\$51.16	\$51.35	\$47.19	\$44.58	\$21.37	
Hawaii:	\$40.40	Unknown	\$45.00	\$43.75	\$49.92	\$18.25	
Idaho:	\$25.00	\$73.80	\$69.75	\$74.67	\$44.53	Unknown	
Illinois:	\$22.20	\$68.83	\$67.35	\$58.78	\$55.84	\$33.14	\$76.67
Indiana:	\$19.67	\$63.75	\$54.92	\$49.25	\$45.67	\$30.00	
Iowa:	\$16.67	\$60.95	\$49.13	\$51.00	\$46.45	\$27.86	\$40.00
Kansas:	\$20.00	\$56.81	\$53.28	\$48.69	\$43.24	\$22.69	\$59.42
Kentucky:	\$19.00	\$56.72	\$50.16	\$47.34	\$42.19	\$24.69	
Louisiana:	\$20.56	\$46.31	\$40.94	\$39.31	\$43.82	\$17.43	
Maine:	Unknown	\$65.00	\$60.00	\$50.00	\$40.00	Unknown	
Maryland:	\$27.50	\$70.00	\$73.00	\$60.25	\$57.47	\$35.76	\$74.00
Massachusetts:	\$37.31	\$99.51	\$91.64	\$80.85	\$83.94	\$41.20	
Michigan:	\$16.83	\$84.67	\$65.22	\$56.11	\$53.22	\$29.58	
Minnesota:	\$18.85	\$73.22	\$66.34	\$59.93	\$59.64	\$38.50	\$50.00
Mississippi:	\$18.75	\$45.33	\$41.17	\$38.17	\$33.09	\$20.00	
Missouri:	Unknown	\$59.86	\$53.75	\$46.56	\$41.62	\$20.00	
Montana:	Unknown	Unknown	\$50.00	\$50.00	\$48.33	\$20.00	
Nebraska:	\$ 5.00	\$60.20	\$52.20	\$49.40	\$36.59	Unknown	
Nevada:	\$17.57	\$55.00	\$51.25	\$49.17	\$54.14	\$20.00	
New Hampshire:	\$20.00	\$85.00	\$82.50	\$68.75	\$51.43	Unknown	
New Jersey:	\$25.00	\$87.38	\$65.75	\$62.35	\$64.40	\$38.75	\$65.00
New Mexico:	\$30.00	\$65.50	\$55.50	\$55.08	Unknown	\$32.00	
New York:	\$17.50	\$78.75	\$76.50	\$64.29	\$73.23	\$38.33	
North Carolina:	\$19.38	\$45.86	\$43.50	\$40.97	\$43.20	\$25.10	\$40.50
North Dakota:	\$47.50	\$55.00	\$55.00	\$50.00	\$48.50	\$21.00	
Ohio:	\$24.68	\$55.30	\$53.72	\$50.28	\$47.29	\$24.07	
Oklahoma:	\$14.17	\$64.33	\$61.75	\$51.81	\$42.50	\$23.83	\$45.67
Oregon:	\$15.33	\$69.58	\$70.71	\$51.96	\$49.31	\$22.08	
Pennsylvania:	\$22.19	\$80.27	\$69.05	\$59.45	\$54.24	\$23.33	\$50.00
Puerto Rico:	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	\$100.00	Unknown	
Rhode Island:	\$20.00	\$90.00	\$80.00	\$63.33	\$75.00	Unknown	
South Carolina:	\$20.00	\$40.50	\$36.75	\$39.00	\$36.73	\$20.79	
South Dakota:	Unknown	\$42.50	\$42.50	\$45.00	\$42.42	Unknown	
Tennessee:	\$45.00	\$57.67	\$50.88	\$43.86	\$40.63	\$26.20	\$54.00
Texas:	\$29.86	\$54.19	\$50.57	\$47.78	\$45.35	\$26.48	
Utah:	\$10.00	\$62.50	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	
Vermont:	\$50.00	\$67.50	\$59.00	\$54.33	\$52.94	Unknown	
Virginia:	\$24.38	\$75.33	\$74.23	\$61.88	\$50.52	\$34.66	\$65.00
Washington:	\$24.44	\$82.54	\$73.88	\$65.19	\$63.11	\$30.14	\$61.06
West Virginia:	Unknown	Unknown	\$45.00	\$45.00	Unknown	Unknown	
Wisconsin:	\$15.67	\$70.85	\$63.97	\$55.82	\$63.28	\$16.57	
Wyoming:	\$42.50	Unknown	Unknown	\$40.00	\$45.00	Unknown	

\*Based on data made available by 1,155 *Child Care Center* subscribers, June 1986 - February 1987. Please refer to July 1987 issue of *Child Care Center* for additional information.

TABLE 2

<i>Studies</i>	<i>Independent Variables</i>	<i>Dependent Variables</i>	<i>Sampling Procedure</i>	<i>Number in Sample</i>	<i>Return/Agreement Rate (%)</i>	<i>Age or Grade</i>	<i>Family Composition</i>	<i>Geographic Location</i>	<i>Method</i>	<i>Selected Results</i>
Galambos & Garbarino 1985	Supervisory status Mother's employment status School grade Child's sex	Academic achievement School adjustment Orientation Fear level	Nonprobability	77	33	Grades 5 & 7	Single- and two-parent homes	Rural eastern	Standardized tests	Unsupervised children did not differ significantly from supervised children
Galambos & Garbarino 1983	Supervisory status Mother's employment status School grade Child's sex	Academic achievement School adjustment Orientation	Nonprobability	77	33	Grades 5 & 7		Rural eastern	Standardized tests	Unsupervised children did not differ significantly from supervised children
Gold & Andres 1978b	Supervisory status	Academic achievement Social adjustment Sex role Personality	Nonprobability	50 (subsample)	58 (total sample)	9 & 10 years	Two-parent homes	Canadian city suburbs	Standardized tests	Unsupervised boys did not differ significantly from supervised boys except on one sex role subscale (unspecified)
Long & Long 1982	Supervisory status	Fears Home relations	Nonprobability	85		Grades 1-6	Single- and two-parent homes	Eastern city	Interview	Unsupervised children experienced more fear and less flexible home routines
Rodman, Pratto & Nelson 1985	Supervisory status School grade Child's sex	Self-esteem Social adjustment Locus of control	Nonprobability	96	72 (grade 4) 66 (grade 7)	Grades 4 & 7	Single & two-parent homes; grandparent's home	Southern city and suburbs	Standardized tests; teacher ratings	Unsupervised children did not differ significantly from supervised children
Trimberger & Maclean 1982	Supervisory status Child's sex Mother's employment (years) Child's position in family Time home alone	Child's feelings about mother's employment	Nonprobability	51	100	9-12 years	Two-parent homes	Canadian city	Standardized tests	Unsupervised children perceived their mother to be more interested in them but had more negative attitudes toward their mothers' employment Unsupervised children did not feel significantly more negatively affected by their mother's employment
Steinberg 1985	Supervisory status School grade Socioeconomic status Mother's employment	Susceptibility to peer pressure Self-reliance Identity Decision making	Random cluster	865	94	Grades 5-9	Single- & two-parent homes	Midwestern city suburbs	Standardized tests	Generally unsupervised children did not differ significantly from supervised children Specifically children most removed from adult supervision were most susceptible to peer pressure Specifically children of authoritative parents were less susceptible to peer pressure
Vandell & Corasaniti 1985	Supervisory status Family demographics	Peer relations Academic skills Family relations Self-confidence	Nonprobability	349		Grade 3	Single- & two-parent homes	Southwestern city suburbs	Sociometric ratings; teacher, parent, and self ratings	Unsupervised children from two-parent and single-parent homes did not receive lower peer, teacher, or parent ratings
Woods 1972	Supervisory status	Academic achievement Social adjustment Personality Records of accidents, illnesses, and delinquency	Nonprobability	108		Grade 5		Eastern city	Standardized tests; teacher ratings; records	Unsupervised girls had lower academic achievement and social adjustment than supervised girls