# THE WILEY BLACKWELL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF FAMILY STUDIES

**VOLUME II: D-H** 

Edited by CONSTANCE L. SHEHAN









# The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Family Studies

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Volume II D–H

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# Contents

volume I				
Editors				vii
Contributors				xi
Lexicon				lxxxiii
Timeline				xci
Introduction				xcv
Acknowledgments				xcix
Family Studies A-C				1
Volume II				
Family Studies D-H				507
			9.	
Volume III				
Family Studies I – P				1091
Volume IV				
Family Studies Q-Z				1635
1 L				2095
Index				/1195

# D

# Date and Acquaintance Rape

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Rape is a violent crime shrouded in mythology that can have devastating impacts on survivors. Decades of research from across the globe show that rape and sexual violence are commonplace in women's lives (Dirks and Troshynski 2015). More recent research documents that acquaintance rape of men is more prevalent than previously believed (Stemple and Meyer 2014). Additionally, research on LGBTQ and gender nonconforming individuals experience high rates of acquaintance sexual violence (Stotzer 2009; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2013). Over 90 percent of sexually violent perpetrators are men (Greenfeld 1997). Popular culture portrays rape as a violent crime typically involving a knife-wielding perpetrator jumping out from behind the bushes. But the reality is that people known to victims perpetrate the vast majority of rape. Reflecting the fact that women of college

age face heightened risk, this entry focuses on acquaintance and date rape as they are commonly understood within the United States: a sexual victimization experience of young women perpetrated by young men.

#### **DEFINITIONS**

Acquaintance rape refers to sexual assault committed by anyone who is not a complete stranger to the victim. It is performed through coercion, manipulation, or force; often, perpetrators use alcohol or drugs to facilitate the offense. For example, estimates for alcohol use among perpetrators of sexual assault have ranged from 34 to 74 percent (Abbey et al. 2001). Date rape is a form of acquaintance rape that involves a victim and a perpetrator who share some level of a romantic interest or relationship. Date rape typically refers to a rape that occurs on or at the end of a date. While the term is well known, date rape accounts for little more than a tenth of rapes on college campuses (Sampson 2003). A more recent addition to these terms is party rape, an acquaintance rape that typically occurs at a party where the victim may have had little to no interaction with the perpetrator prior to the rape (Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney 2006).

#### THE "DISCOVERY" OF DATE AND ACQUAINTANCE RAPE

While the FBI began collecting data on sex crimes in the 1930s, these official crime statistics - the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) - reflect only a small sliver of rapes perpetrated each year. In 1973, the FBI announced that rape was one of the most underreported crimes in the United States. Scholars have sought to understand the "dark figure" of unreported rapes not included in the UCR data through such instruments as the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), which collects data from victims independent from police reporting. While the NCVS data have consistently found that rape is twice as common as shown by FBI data, its methodology has been widely criticized for decades for undercounting as many as 100,000 rapes a year in the United States.

In the 1980s and 1990s, sociologists and psychologists conducted groundbreaking research to discover that between one-fourth and one-fifth of the women in studies of sexual violence experienced an attempted or completed rape. These studies dispelled the myth of stranger rape - they found that the victims knew over 90 percent of perpetrators. Further, these studies revealed that only 10 percent reported their assaults to the police. Psychologist Mary Koss, in collaboration with Ms. magazine, conducted a survey that found that one in four college women had experienced rape or attempted rape since the age of 14. The study's findings were the basis for a groundbreaking Ms. cover story and a book, Robin Warshaw's I Never Called It Rape (1994). Later, researchers would distinguish respondents by race to find that a fourth of African American women had been raped or suffered attempted rape over the course of their lives, compared to onefifth of white women. This intersectional research approach showed that women did not experience violence similarly and that some women were more likely to be targeted and receive less formal support in the aftermath of rape.

These studies demonstrated that sexual violence was common in women's lives and prompted new research about acquaintance rape. The startling findings posed a significant challenge to the persistent "stranger danger" rape myth. At the same time, while acquaintance rape became a useful term for understanding the realities of rape in women's lives, some worried that acquaintance rape would be a way of trivializing rape as "rape lite." Police and public view acquaintance rape as a private crime, the fault of the victim, less frightening, less serious, or the result of a drunken miscommunication. This view pervades popular culture and public policy discussions about sexual violence.

Men's rights and conservative groups fomented a fierce, well-funded, and wellorganized backlash arguing that a feminist agenda exaggerated the data, trading on the myth of rape lite. Critics challenged the findings, using anecdotal evidence or misogynistic framing of "rape crisis feminism." They sought to discredit survivors' acquaintance and date rape experiences and dismiss them as nothing more than next day regrets after "bad nights," emphasizing that stranger rape was the "real" kind. Trading on rape myths of the minor effects of acquaintance rape and racist and classist framing of dangerous "others" - poor men and men of color - as rapists, these myths also continue to have popular support among the public and criminal justice officials.

This criticism also focused on research methodology. When survey respondents are asked if they have experienced rape, they typically say no. When young men are asked if they have engaged in rape, they too, say no. The variance in research results, from one in four to one in five, reflected survey questions about behaviors that constitute forced or coerced sex. Such questions also reveal much higher rates of sexual violence and rape supportive beliefs among men. Decades of research continue to replicate the findings across samples, reflecting what many scholars refer to as a "rape culture" - the disregard and even celebration of sexual violence through rape supportive beliefs, images, and actions (Buchwald, Fletcher, and Roth 2005). Rape culture helps to keep acquaintance and date rape a hidden and common experience. Deeply rooted in other systems of oppression - sexism, racism, homophobia, ableism, and xenophobia - rape culture works to hide the reality of acquaintance and date rape in the lives of survivors and blocks their ability to receive justice (Dirks 2015). It excuses and supports illegal and profoundly harmful behaviors.

#### **PREVALENCE**

While the majority of research on acquaintance rape has focused on college-age women, studies document the ubiquity of acquaintance and date rape among high-school students, women in the community, and in other institutional settings such as the military. Research on sexual victimization demonstrates that rape is just the tip of the iceberg in understanding women's routine experiences of gender-based violence and is inclusive of other offenses such as stalking, intimate partner violence, sexual harassment, hate crimes, and state crime such as police brutality (Richie 2012). It also shows that men are much more likely to experience acquaintance rape than previously thought, and further suggests that there is a heightened risk for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer (LGBTQ) or gender nonconforming individuals. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2013), among women, bisexual women experience the highest rates of rape. Gay men are 10 times more likely to be raped than their straight male peers. Approximately half of trans-identified individuals have been raped. Transgender individuals report a significant fear of rape and murder. Nationally reported cases of the murder of trans women of color suggest the basis for these fears. However, the dynamics at play in sexual violence against LGBTQ individuals, perpetrated by female offenders, and or by men against other men, is an area greatly underexplored by research to date.

Rape is the most common form of violent crime on US college campuses, and acquaintance, date, and party rape comprise over 90 percent of campus sexual assault (Sampson 2003; Krebs et al. 2007). Students who go to college, particularly first- and second-year college students, are more likely to be raped than their noncollege peers, and women aged 16-24 are at the greatest risk of rape among women of all ages. The most common sexual victimization of college men is unwanted touching or kissing in the absence of rape (Fisher, Daigle, and Cullen 2010). Researchers have identified a "red zone" for acquaintance rape in the first weeks of a college semester as perpetrators take advantage of new students' unfamiliarity with campus and a heavy party scene. Research on college acquaintance rape shows that perpetrators are most likely to attack on or near campus, at night, in the victim's residence, at another person's residence, or at a fraternity house (Fisher, Daigle, and Cullen 2010). Having experienced sexual violence in childhood or adolescence, exhibiting social behaviors (such as attending parties or joining a sorority), and alcohol consumption are all associated with heightened victimization risk. However none of these factors cause rape; only perpetrators do.

#### RAPE MYTHOLOGY

Rape myths are false beliefs about sexual violence that enjoy wide support among the public. For example, popular myths portray rapists as knife-wielding strangers lurking in the bushes; psychopathic; more likely to be men of color; and that rape always involves physical violence or force. Additionally, misogynistic rape myths also suggest that women are "asking for it" by their manner of dress, appearance, or location; say no when they mean yes; lie about acquaintance rape after consensual sex because they regret it; or that they consent to sex by agreeing to go to dinner, kiss, or even getting married. Rape mythology forwards the idea that rape does not occur within LGBTO communities or that men or trans-identified individuals cannot be raped. Rape myths also stereotype men as unable to prevent themselves from raping others, often rooted in evolutionary biology terminology. These myths enforce the falsehood that survivors, instead of perpetrators, cause rape. They also silence survivors. One of the primary myths about acquaintance rape is that of the "nice guy" involved in a drunken miscommunication.

Men perpetrate the vast majority - between 93 and 99 percent - of acquaintance and date rape against both women and men. Research on college rapists poses a significant challenge to the myths (Sanday 2007). Findings from such research show that college rapists are classmates, friends, boyfriends, ex-boyfriends, or other acquaintances of the victims. Studies examining college rapists find that a small percentage - 4-6 percent of young men on college campuses - admit to engaging in behaviors that constitute rape and that they commit over 90 percent of the rapes on college campuses (Lisak and Miller 2002). Most admit to doing so on multiple occasions; two-thirds are serial offenders who will rape, on average, six times during

their college career (Lisak and Miller 2002). Studies examining men who rape in the military find nearly identical characteristics (McWhorter et al. 2009). Far from the "nice guy" myth fueled by thinking of acquaintance rape as a drunken miscommunication or bad hookup, research shows that men who rape are calculated, prolific serial offenders. These young men use alcohol not only as a weapon to overcome their victims, but also to excuse their own behavior and defend their acts of sexual aggression.

Men who engage in acquaintance, date, or party rape are much more likely to believe rape supportive myths; endorse strict gender roles; hold adversarial views toward women; and exhibit signs of narcissism, sadism, and a lack of empathy, than men who do not commit sexual assault. While focusing on this small percentage of young men may seem an excellent way to prevent sexual violence, scholars also find that between a fourth and a third of young men admit that they would engage in sexual assault if they were promised impunity, and men who report having male friends who support sexual aggression are more likely engage in sexually aggressive behaviors such as rape and abuse themselves (DeKeseredy and Schwartz 2013). Rape mythology significantly contributes to rape itself as well as underreporting and ongoing trauma of victims.

#### **SURVIVORSHIP**

Rape is a significant source of a trauma in survivors' lives, and, contrary to popular belief, rape by an acquaintance is more traumatizing than rape committed by a stranger. Research shows that acquaintance rape is a particularly traumatic form of sexual violence because it shatters trust and confidence along with stealing survivors' dignity and causes significant trauma. Acquaintance rape can cause both short-term and lifelong effects, including posttraumatic stress disorder, depression, loss of self-esteem, suicidal tendencies, traumatic amnesia, and negative, chronic physical health outcomes. The neurobiology of trauma helps to explain their symptoms; survivors' recollections of attacks are often fragmented, come back in waves and are difficult to recall in linear fashion to officials to whom they report. These facts show that advocates and officials should take this into consideration before arguing that victims are not credible witnesses to their own experiences.

In the aftermath of rape, reestablishing safety and well-being presents acquaintance rape survivors with a complex set of needs. One-third of acquaintance rape survivors tell no one about their experiences, a situation created in part by feelings of self-blame and shame. Acquaintance rape shatters trust and can lead to difficulties within peer groups, as the survivor's friends often know the perpetrator. Survivors can experience alienation and a social implosion; peers may distance themselves from the survivor, intensifying the pain of disclosure. Peers, loved ones, police, and other officials may suggest that survivors could have prevented the attack.

Survivors who receive empathy and support from loved ones and professionals are more likely to recover. Only a fraction of survivors will report their rape to officials such as the police or campus administrators. Many survivors do not report because they do not label their experiences as rape or sexual assault, although they conform to every legal definition, or blame themselves for being alone with the assailant, or drinking, or using drugs. Those who do report risk institutional betrayal - being ignored by individuals who are tasked with their protection, which survivors describe as a "second rape." Medical, mental health, criminal justice personnel, and college officials are more likely ignore or blame acquaintance and date rape survivors than victims attacked by strangers and members of a marginalized group, including women of color, LGBTQ survivors, or undocumented immigrants, as well as men, than cisgender female, white, and straight victims. These groups are therefore, and reasonably, less likely to report.

#### PREVENTION AND REFORM

Most rape prevention tips instruct women to protect themselves from rape. These proscriptions support victim-blaming; even to the extent that they protect an individual who follows them, they only encourage perpetrators to seek other victims. A growing trend, however, calls on men to be allies who disrupt troubling forms of masculinity and violence (Katz 2006). However, despite decades of activism, media attention, and legal reforms, sexual violence has not declined in a meaningful way in either the general population or on college campuses.

Since the 1960s, scholars, activists, and feminists have pushed sexual violence issues to the forefront of national and international media attention. Additionally, they have ushered in rape shield laws, gender-inclusive policies, updated definitions of rape, and required alterations to evidence requirements. Reformers continue to push for policy initiatives and legislative reform and have claimed successes in the passage of legislation such as the Violence against Women Act (1994).

Student-led activism has headed the charge to create safer conditions on campus, opening up broader discussions on sexual violence and civil rights. Dating back to the 1970s, events such as the Clothesline Project, Take Back the Night, and the performances of *Vagina Monologues* raise awareness of sexual violence. Early college anti-rape organizers provided safe spaces for survivors to speak out, and requested escort programs and self-defense classes. Colleges responded

with forms of "security theatre" including emergency blue lights and rape whistles on campuses - practices that (ineffectively) address the tiny portion of stranger rapes, but do very little to address prevalent acquaintance rape. Recent activism focuses on holding institutions accountable with powerful social media campaigns and networked activism, drawing national media attention to call for federal oversight for what they argue is the sad state of colleges' treatment of sexual assault survivors (Dirks 2015). Rather than focus exclusively on acquaintance rape, they have turned their focus to colleges' legal obligations to keep students safe on campus and students' legal rights to an equitable education not marred by sexual violence.

Anti-rape activism has shed light on the issue of rape by acquaintances, particularly in college settings, in the United States. To expand the movement and ensure that it is not co-opted by state interests, reformers will have to look past an exclusive focus on acquaintance rape in certain settings and begin to fight for safety, accountability, and justice for all survivors and all forms of violence. With a vision toward ending sexual violence altogether, reformers seek a culture of safety, justice, and healing.

SEE ALSO: Dating; Gender and Sexuality; Hooking Up in the United States; Internet Dating; Intimate Partner Violence; Marital Rape; Media Representations of Sexuality; Rape; Sexual Aggression; Sexual Coercion; Teen Dating Violence in the United States; Violence against Women Act; Violence against Women: An International and Interdisciplinary **Journal** 

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## **Dating**

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For many, dating may be considered the modern-day equivalent of courtship. While some dating relationships may lead to marriage, there is no longer the assumption that couples who date will eventually marry one another. In fact, many couples can "date" or be in a relationship with one another for decades and have no intention of getting married. These long-term cohabitants exemplify the changes that have occurred in the meaning and purpose of dating in most western countries. This entry addresses these changes in terms of how couples meet, dating protocols, age and dating, and the overall changes in the meanings of dating.

#### THE MEET CUTE

In the media, the term "meet cute" is used to describe when a couple meets for the first time in a highly romantic and unlikely way. Most couples do not have the equivalent of a meet cute when they are first introduced to or meet a new dating partner. Traditionally, couples would have met either by happenstance or by being set up by a friend or family member. In the early twenty-first century, couples are still likely to meet a prospective partner in these ways; however, as women entered the workforce and higher education, both men and women have been provided with a wider area from which they can draw for prospective partners. In addition to the more traditional routes of meeting prospective partners, couples of all ages have used online dating services to try to find prospective partners (Smith and Anderson 2014). It is estimated that 11 percent of people living in the United States have online dating profiles and a survey of couples married between 2005 and 2012 indicated that one-third of them met online (AFP RELAXNEWS 2013; Smith and Anderson 2014).

#### DATING PROTOCOLS

Boy meets girl. Boy asks girl out. Boy pays for dinner and a movie. The evening ends with a goodnight kiss. These events describe what is held to be the typical protocol that a couple follows when going on a first date. The standard protocols for dating are highly gendered and expect men to pay, hold doors open, and treat women as the "fairer sex" (Torabi 2014). For that matter, women are expected to play a more genteel role in the interaction. Either way, neither party should discuss past relationships, they should be on their best behavior, and they should

not disclose too much about themselves too soon.

Dating protocols have evolved to take into account the efforts of gender equality movements and growing recognition of men and women as equals. This may mean that couples will split the bill for the date or the woman might even pay. These changes exemplify how dating protocols have become more accepting of women taking a more assertive role in their personal relationships; however, the changes in dating protocols may be due in part to interactions that women have had on dates (e.g., the expectations from men regarding how the interaction should proceed).

As western society has become more liberal in its attitudes toward dating and sexual relations outside marriage, this has led to the assumption that as a new relationship progresses it will eventually involve a sexual component. This means that, following a socially acceptable amount of time for getting to know one another, a couple is expected to become sexually acquainted with one another. Popular culture has used a baseball reference to exemplify the evolution of a relationship with regard to the "bases" that a couple gets to (Alice 1998). It is important to note that not every individual or couple wants to partake in a sexual relationship. The determination of whether or not a dating relationship will involve a sexual component is something that should be established early on. This is especially important as changing social norms have led to the assumption that, should the man pay for everything on a date, a woman should show her appreciation through a sexual favor (Emmers-Sommer et al. 2010). Not everyone expects that this should be the outcome in the situations when men pay, but it does create a power differential in the relationship early on. It also holds strong implications that women can be bought for a specific price and that dating is an exchange in power as opposed to an equal relationship.

One aspect of dating protocols that has not necessarily evolved over time is the assumption that all couples follow the same protocols. Not every couple comes from the same cultural background or experiences, to the extent that they will have different outlooks on what should occur when a couple dates. Specifically, not every religion or culture is accepting of premarital sex or romantic contact between couples. Additionally, most role models and expectations for dating protocols follow gendered and heteronormative examples to the extent that they are not inclusive of the variation that exists across couples. This means that couples who find themselves outside the heterosexual norms that are prevalent in societies worldwide (i.e., individuals who experience same-sex attraction, bisexuality, or pansexuality) do not have examples of "typical" dating protocols or how to navigate relationships. The same could be said for couples who are in interracial or interfaith relationships.

#### AGE AND DATING

Most perceptions of dating tend to focus on the dating behaviors of teens and individuals in their twenties and thirties; however, dating is something that can occur throughout the lifetime (Regan et al. 2004). The age at which young men and women can start dating is rather subjective. While some may consider 16 to be an appropriate age, it is common for teens to date at younger ages. It is important to note that, whereas younger children may consider themselves to have a boyfriend or girlfriend, they are not considered to be dating someone in the manner in which most of society would define dating. While most may start dating in their teens or early

twenties, dating can continue throughout the lifetime.

As the age of first marriage has increased, individuals may find themselves dating for the company of others longer than they might if they were marrying younger. Dating provides the opportunity to determine what characteristics someone may find desirable in a prospective partner and what they cannot tolerate. Regardless of the age, individuals may use dating as a means to vet prospective partners.

Individuals who find themselves without a partner after having had a long-term relationship may have mixed feelings about dating. Regardless of whether a relationship ended amicably, if a relationship ends it can be daunting for individuals to consider dating again. Following a breakup or a divorce, dating represents moving on from the past relationship and having to determine how to navigate the dating scene and relationships after having potentially been out of the dating world for a while. Dating following a breakup or divorce may also be impacted by whether or not the individual has children, and individuals may have to balance still having the former partner in their life.

For individuals who have lost a partner, dating can be just as difficult, if not harder, than it may be for someone who has ended a relationship. With death, there may not have been the ability to seek closure in a relationship and whether or not someone's partner would want or expect one to find another partner. Losing a partner knows no age, but older individuals may find dating more difficult than younger widows or widowers due to the fact that their pool of eligibles has shrunk and they may not have as many social situations available in which to meet other singles in their age range.

Age is not a hindrance to dating. Individuals can date from their early teens

all the way through to the final years of their lives. The intended outcomes of these dating relationships may change depending on the ages of the couple, but all are arguably looking for a prospective partner and happiness.

# CHANGES IN THE MEANING OF DATING

Dating is no longer considered to be the means to an end in many societies. That is, dating is not considered to be a step in the process toward courtship and marriage, but it can be a distinct event in someone's life. This means that individuals can date purely for the pleasure or experience of it without the assumption that a serious relationship will result.

Dating can be a casual activity in which individuals are looking to enjoy the company of others without getting too serious (i.e., serial monogamy). This may be seen with someone who goes out on informal dates with various individuals either to try to meet a potential partner or because he/she is interested in these individuals and the dating may eventually lead to friendship. Alternatively, dating could follow the traditionally trajectory of being a means for couples to get to know one another before they pursue a more formalized relationship by getting married. Last, the meaning of dating has evolved to encompass couples who form a serious relationship with one another but have no intention of getting married. This may mean that these relationships have a specific shelf life (e.g., a few years or a few decades) or that the couples are serious about one another but do not feel the need to marry (i.e., couples who are together for the long term and may choose to cohabit or not).

Regardless of the path that a couple may choose in their dating relationship, it is evident that the meaning and purpose of dating have changed over time. Couples now have a greater degree of flexibility in their pursuit of a relationship than they have had in the past. While heteronormativity and gender norms are still prevalent in dating protocols and dynamics, their influence is fading to open the door for greater degrees of equality within relationships.

SEE ALSO: Courtship; Internet Dating; Mate Selection; Pool of Eligibles

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### **Day Care**

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Since the 1990s, day care has become increasingly popular as a childrearing institution in many countries, such as Australia, Canada, Germany, Japan, Mexico, Norway, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The women's movement has played a role in the increased use of day care, because of the demand for equal opportunities by women who have joined the workforce and the growing trend of women and men sharing childrearing responsibilities. The downward economic trend since 2008 has also played a role in the increased use of day care, making it impossible for many families to survive on one income. In addition, increases in nonmarital parenthood and in the number of one-parent families in which the parent must work mean that families are seeking out alternative care for their children.

Day care is often thought of as care for children in a facility that has teachers, directors, and supervisors. However, another form of day care is often overlooked, that of in-home day care or family day care. Providing care for a group of children in someone's home or care for a child by his/her mother or father in their home environment are both considered to be in-home day care. In the United States, a law passed in 1935 with the New Deal started a nationwide program of Aid to Dependent Children, later changed to Aid to Families with Dependent Children (Sagi et al. 2002). This program allowed unemployed single mothers to garner income support for their basic needs to care for their children at home. The Family and Medical Leave Act, passed in 1993, provided protection and continuation of health benefits for people working in companies of 50 or more employees to allow parents, especially mothers, to care for their newborn infants. However, this law did not replace lost income during a mother's absence from work, so many families could not afford to participate in these opportunities (Sagi et al. 2002). Such laws are primary among the reasons why mothers return to work, even mothers of infants; they simply cannot afford to be out of work.

Quality child care is typically determined by a number of factors, such as the size of the group of children served, the teacher-child ratio, the education and training of care providers, and observations of the day-to-day experiences of the children (NICHD Early Child Care Research Network 2006). Thus, higher quality care includes small groups of children, lower teacher-child ratios, and more educated and better trained providers. For example, asking about basic employment requirements for center staff is important, as well as the nature of the daily routine, so as to determine the fit of the setting with the needs of the child and his/her ability to learn. Parents with more resources (e.g., two-parent households in which both parents have higher education and are employed) are more likely to select higher quality day care than those in low-resource families or single-parent households, because they have more time to seek out such care and conduct observations of the daily experiences provided to children. Single parents may lack this necessary time.

In addition, determining whether a center is licensed by the appropriate authority can provide some insight into the quality of care. According to US national data, in 2003 there were 312,254 licensed facilities of which 107,286 were licensed child care centers (Greenspan 2003). Not all US states have the same licensing requirements. These requirements are used to monitor the health and safety of children in a facility, whether it provides in-home or out-of-home care. Licensing prevents harm to children – for example from

spread of disease or building safety hazards (fire, tornado, etc.) - and ensures quality supervision. Some US states additionally ensure developmentally or age-appropriate activities. Licensing also regulates the staff. In the United States, nationwide licensing requirements recognize five staff roles: director, master teacher, teacher, assistant teacher, and aide. For example, almost all 50 states require staff to complete a certain number of hours of training annually, depending on their role. Background checks are required in all 50 states; however, the level of the background checks varies by state. Inspections are done according to state regulations, and most states require a yearly inspection. Research indicates that there has been an increase in states making positive changes to their licensing requirements, with the goal of improving the quality of care and enhancing children's learning and development (Greenspan 2003). These positive changes may lead to positive behavioral changes in children within the day care setting.

Research suggests that day care is associated with children's problem behaviors (McCartney 1984). However, the quality of day care attenuates problem behaviors such that, when there are fewer children per teacher, teachers are more engaged with individual children and the center is less chaotic. Less chaos is linked with decreases in children's acting-out behaviors. Young children need caregivers who are nurturing, responsive and empathetic to their needs, which is less common in the out-of-home day care setting, where there are too few adult caregivers. In high-quality day care centers, caregivers are able to give children more one-on-one time and have interactions that will benefit them developmentally.

In addition to attenuating problem behaviors, quality care facilitates language and vocabulary development. For underresourced, single-parent, mother-headed