



EMPATHIC PARENTING

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

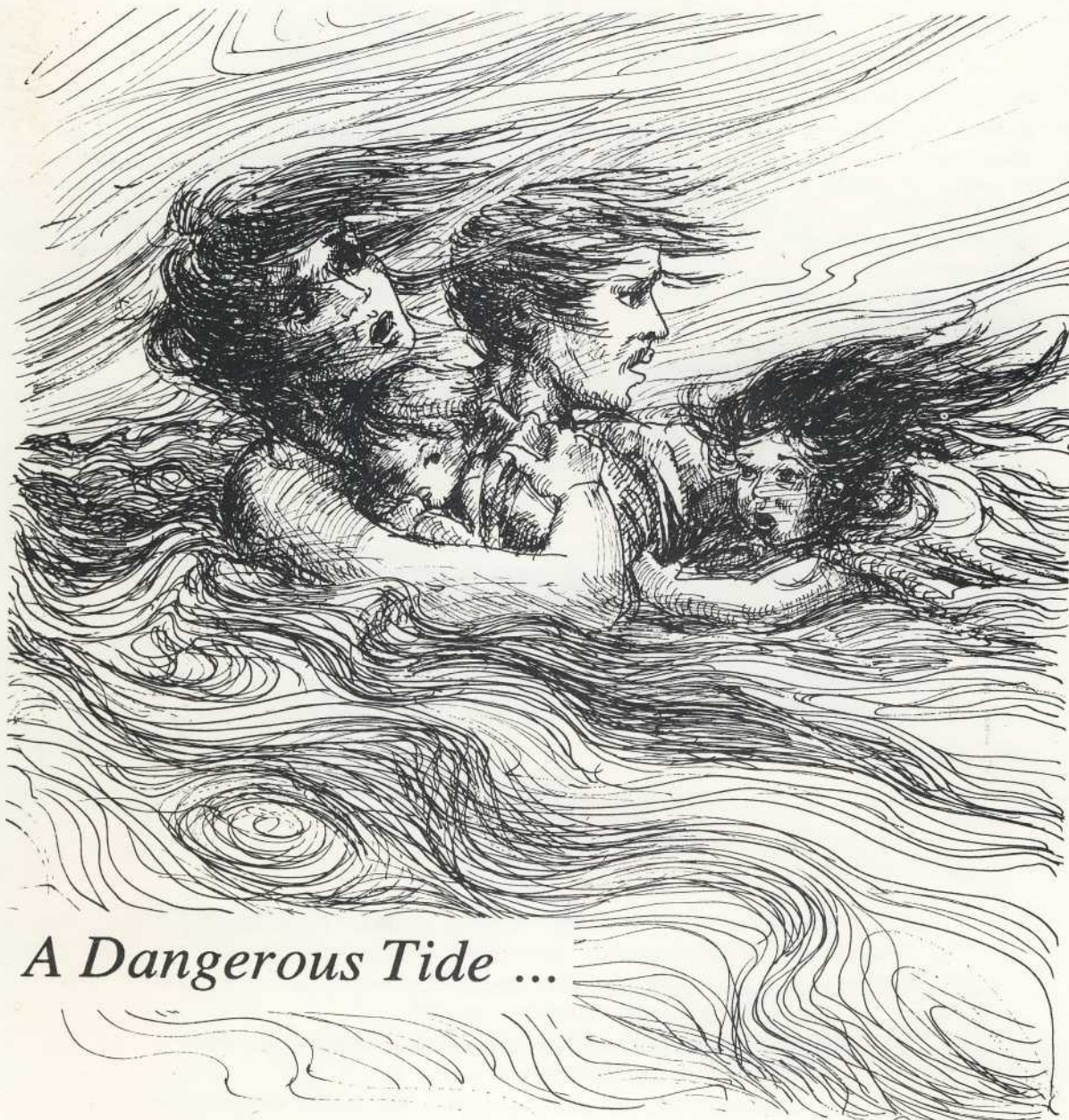
Volume 12

Issue 4

Autumn 1989

Selected Reprints: 1978-1989

Volume One of Two



A Dangerous Tide ...

adj '89

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The Fabric of our Society

"...In the area of child abuse, we have a case history of how our society deals with a social problem. The facts are made known early in the game. But then the issue is dramatized, publicized, politicized, bureaucratized, and professionalized, all in the name of dealing with the problem. It may well be that the original fact-finder reels back in disbelief when, years later, after the stampede, he looks at what has ensued and what has been ignored."

Leroy H. Pelton

"We must be willing to face the hard reality that preventing child abuse and neglect is possible only when we are ready to attack its sources in the fabric of our society and culture, rather than merely provide social and medical services to its victims..."

David G. Gil

"We should start with the idea of restoring value and significance to the idea of nurturing, recognize that all our children need it, and create programs and institutions that will help us give it to them..."

If we're worried about the cost, we might look at it this way: The less care a child has in the early years, the more society will have to pay for it later on."

Naomi Chase

EMPATHIC PARENTING:

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

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

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

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Prevention of Cruelty to Children
Volume 12 Issue 4 Autumn 1989
(Date of Issue - October, 1989)

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Sketches: courtesy Louise Després-Jones
Printing: Redwin Graphics, Midland, Ontario

With Vol. 7, Issue 3, Summer '84, EMPATHIC PARENTING became the official title of what was formerly the Journal of the Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (ISSN 0705-6591)

EMPATHIC PARENTING, official publication of the Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, is published four times a year (Winter, Spring, Summer, and Fall) and is mailed without charge to all CSPCC members.

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

All Membership fees and donations are income tax deductible. Registration No. 0457960-09-13.

The Editor welcomes letters, suggestions for content, articles, photos, drawings, etc. for consideration. Opinions expressed in EMPATHIC PARENTING are not necessarily those of the CSPCC or the Editor.

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Second Class Mail registration No. 4947. Return postage guaranteed.

Subscription orders, undeliverable copies, and change of address notices should be sent to CSPCC, 356 First Street, Box 700, Midland, Ontario, L4R 4P4. (705) 526-5647. Fax (705) 526-0214

Indexed in the Canadian Periodical Index and the Canadian Magazine Index, and available on-line in the Canadian Business and Current Affairs Database.

In This Special Issue...

The Fabric
of our Society

Inside
Covers

Review Volume One contains a selection of articles dealing with two aspects of "The Fabric of our Society" which have serious consequences for children: consumerism and arbitrary male dominance.

Although considerable progress has been made in identifying the deleterious effects that our patriarchal society has on women and children (and men), there has been no comparable indictment of the harm done by rampant consumerism and its underlying values of envy, selfishness, and greed.

Trying to prevent child abuse and neglect without addressing underlying problems in our society is like opposing breakdown products while favouring catabolism.

As always, it is easier to rationalize programs and solutions that do not require us to change personally in fundamental ways.

E.T.B.

A Dangerous Tide...

A confluence of social rivers is building up a dangerous tide. The river of work makes us see ourselves in terms of the jobs we do for money; it assigns us both external status and self respect relative to what we earn to spend on the things we produce. The economic river must flow faster and faster to maintain the growth economy on which it depends, so it sucks in more people to produce and consume more. The rip-race of the women's movement pours in to get a share for women -- as a group -- of all that there is for men -- as a separate group. And we are all carried along, swimming, dog paddling or floating with the current, but always in the same direction.

The tide throws up increasing numbers of casualties and for them we build a growing complex of canals into which they can be hauled by the helping professions which will tow them through the system and launch them again, into that river.

Among those casualties are all new people and their mothers. Human beings cannot give birth and nurture young in deep, fast-flowing water. So anyone who has a child must scramble out of the mainstream and into the hands of the professionals. There shee finds herself in the semi-stagnant canal-water and it is in this second-best environment that she must try to mother her baby. She may be fortunate enough to find herself a pleasant backwater where she in not too painfully conscious of the main tide of society passing her by. But it will suck at her. Soon she will be encouraged to leave her child, who still cannot swim, in the hands of those professionals, in order to be free to dive back in.

I believe that this tide must be diverted, that it must be flattened out so that society laps a quieter, wider shore with many choices of direction. We have let the tide build up. but that does not mean that we are committed to travelling with it, leaving our future people stranded. There are no laws governing human decision-making. Within wide limits we can choose what kind of society we want to have and it is still open to us to make one which is for people to manage and enjoy.

Excerpted and reprinted with permission from the book "Who Cares?" by Penelope Leach, published in England by Penguin Books, 1979. Dr. Leach is author of two popular books currently available in Canada, "Babyhood", and "Your Baby & Child" published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1983

In order to try and show the enormously humanizing effects which tiny tidal diversions might have, I have touched on many complex and wide-ranging issues -- such as national economics and trades union policy -- and I have specified minutiae ranging from town planning, through retailing to municipal gardening. Each and every one of these is a specialist area and in daring to write about it I have laid myself wide open to the experts who know so much more than I do. Of course many will criticize. But I hope that some of the experts who are struck by the undoubted inadequacy of my lay-ideas will react more positively by putting forward their own. If streets cannot be made safer and more suitable for small human beings in the ways that I have suggested, how can it be done? If professionals cannot undertake to act as go-betweens for new mothers, how can they be put in touch? The one thing that is certain is that all these things can be done, somehow, if enough people want them done.

We could make a society in which people cared enough about people to realize the primacy of new people.

We could make that a society in which those who chose to produce new people knew what being parents must involve.

We could ensure that the job those self-selected parents did was recognized and rewarded with a place at the top of our status hierarchy and our priorities' list.

We could teach everyone to recognize that inconvenience or unhappiness in the lives of parents reflects badly on their children who will be parents themselves next time around, and we could train professionals to devote themselves to helping parents through, rather than out of, the early years of child-care.

We could recognize that while child-care is for parents, parent-care is for everyone.

It could all happen. As a society of self-determining, interlinked human beings, we have the power to make it happen. But will only happen if we believe that babies' and small children's development depends on their happiness and that their happiness depends on their 'special' adults. And if we believe that their development and happiness matters. And if we care.

Where are we now in the issue cycle?

Political economist Anthony Downs has postulated a five-stage issue cycle.

1. **"The pre-problem state"** — When a condition exists but without mobilized public concern.
2. **"Alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm"** — public arousal and strong desire to do something to solve the problem, with the accompanying assumption that the problem has a "solution".
3. **"Realizing the cost of significant progress"** — the public comes to recognize that the solution will require some sacrifices, even if only higher taxes. Faith in technology may lull the public for some time, however, into thinking the solution is "free".
4. **"Gradual decline of intense public interest"** — a growing realization of how difficult any solutions will be dampens public commitment and eventually even interest in the problem. "The poor will always be with us" mentality takes over.
5. **"The post-problem stage"** — the issue moves into limbo where it is of concern to a handful of specialists and makes headlines only sporadically, though now with newly created institutions or specialists to keep it at least partially alive.

Downs¹ concludes that all issues are subject to this cyclical pattern.

Enloe² comments that **"Americans more than other people doom an issue at the start by presuming easy solution and limited social sacrifice."**

At what stage in the issue cycle are Canadians in relation to:

1. Child Abuse generally?
2. The prevention of permanent emotional damage caused by inadequate child care?

1. Anthony Downs, "Up and Down with Ecology - the 'Issue-Attention Cycle'," *Public Interest*, no. 28 (Summer 1972): 38-50.

2. *The Politics of Pollution in a Comparative Perspective: Ecology and Power in Four Nations*, by Cynthia H. Enloe, David McKay Company, Inc., New York ISBN 0-679-30275-1.

*No room was made for children long
before feminists got into the act...*

Can Yuppies Bear Children?

By Paul Sullivan

As the baby boom generation trudges along its inexorable path to the grave, everything it does is good copy. The reason is simple: baby boomers are the largest single demographic phenomenon in the world today, and they're endlessly fascinated by themselves.

So they reach adolescence, and society gets a bad case of acne: the Youth Culture of the '60s. They reach adulthood, find out they have to work for a living, and Yippie turns to Yuppie.

Now they've all discovered breeding, and the shock waves are being felt from the maternity wards to the psychiatrist's couch. The psychiatrists' couches are busy, because modern baby boomers are having a tough time throwing themselves into a successful career and family with equal measures of customary gusto.

When baby boomers have babies themselves, they discover that children, unlike jogging, racquetball, and other trivial pursuits, aren't as easily abandoned as a pair of \$60 running shoes.

In fact, children require a lifetime of commitment, and, unlike most other baby-boom pursuits, return few immediate tangible rewards. Now and then, children stimulate in their jaded parents the recognition that life itself is gratifying enough. But we're all so busy running ahead that we rarely have time for such vague, existential stuff.

As a card-carrying baby boomer, it turns out I'm dealing with my two kids the way I've dealt with everything else in my life — Me First, justifications and rationalizations to follow. And so they will.

The Busy-Dad Syndrome

First, let me say there is nothing new about the conflict between career and kids.

I suspect that every guy reading this remembers a dad who wasn't around as often as he should have been. We heard he was pulling down late duty at the office, or he had to go to a meeting, or to some exotic, faraway place like Toronto. Dad was a busy guy. He worked all the time.

It wasn't until we got old enough to be dads ourselves, after our mothers got a snootful of screwdrivers at some family function, that we learned Dad's absences often had as much to do with his propensity for sport as for work. But when we were six, it was enough to know that dads were rare and precious, and to be coveted.

Of course, when he was around, Dad was not always worth the wait. How many of us had dads who would drop the 5:15 martini for a session of catch or electric train? How many had dads who would give us a swell new game for Christmas: Parcheesi or Steeplechase, and then offer to play it with us "someday", even though we would stand there, clutching our wonderful new thing, all tousled hair and young boy smell, eyes beseeching a boon from the whimsical god of paternity?

Mom, of course, was around all the time. That was before the era of female emancipation. But Mom was in the same boat as us. She had to haggle for time. And when

**"...The broken promises
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It turns out I'm dealing with my two kids the way I've dealt with everything else in my life — Me First, justifications and rationalizations to follow.

the old boy got home, he would just as soon go golfing with the boys, and he was no more likely to take her along than us.

He was slippery, the old man. And the broken promises grew like piles of oily rags in the basements of our minds. "Next weekend" became his two favourite words. But no matter how tortured or dejected we became, we were never disillusioned. We kept coming back for more. Because we knew that those 11 minutes a week when we were actually, gloriously, the sole thing on his mind (not counting the times we were in trouble, which came to more than 11 minutes) were the best 11 minutes in the whole universe.

So I made a vow. When I got to be a dad, I'd have a lot more than 11 minutes a week for my very best boy. And now that I am a dad, I've kept it. My kids get as many as 13 minutes. Each.

The six-year-old boy with the tousled hair and the boy smell, standing there with the Parcheesi game, looks enough like me to remind me of that poignant ache. He's bad enough. But complicating the situation is a four-year-old girl who has the habit of wrapping her skinny little arms around her dad and pleading for him to stay home from work for the morning.

There's something terribly wrong about the way we live that we even have to make the choice. But we make it every day, and willingly, sometimes eagerly, abandon our children to the nursery school, the day care, the babysitter, and finally, to themselves.

Do We Dislike Kids?

As Germaine Greer says in her newest polemic, *Sex and Destiny*, we in the West simply do not like kids. The birthrate is falling, and the kids we do have are born into a world hostile to the idea that children are an asset, a blessing, fun to have around. We men have always known what to do when asked to choose between children and ourselves; now women, as they stride purposefully into the marketplace, power-dressed to the nines, are beginning to find that self-realization, North American style, doesn't mix with nurturing a family.

"The individuals whom we have painstakingly inducted into child-free society and

established there, with a lifestyle centred entirely upon achievement and self-gratification, have now to disrupt the pattern," says Germaine about the mere decision to have a child. "The sacrifice is enormous, and they are to expect no reward or recompense. If the management of childbearing in our society had actually been intended to maximize stress, it could have hardly succeeded better. The child bearers embark upon their struggle alone; the rest of us wash our hands of them."

Greer, for all her stridency, is not telling us anything we haven't seen with our own eyes, but *Sex and Destiny* puts the whole dirty secret out for public view. She contrasts our child-hostile world to many places on earth where kids are still thought of as the strength of the family, not bloody inconveniences.

Today in Canada, children are confined to McDonald's, Saturday-afternoon matinees, amusement parks, and schools. Before we had our children, I hadn't had a conversation with a kid since I was one. Occasionally, I'd run into one in the supermarket or on the street, but wherever I went, the environment had been carefully scrubbed of kids. That's okay until you have children; but when you have time, you descend into the subculture and become lost along with them.

I don't want this to read as nothing but a lament. Because one of the things you discover is that the subculture is as much fun as it was when you were a kid. Now that I'm in charge of a couple of kids, I get to go to summer fairs and skating rinks, see all the Walt Disney movies over again, and watch Sesame Street, which they didn't have when I was a kid. Sesame Street alone makes being a kid worth it.

Now and then I get a sneaky feeling that

"...No room was made for children long before the feminists got into the act..."



at this level, life is a lot more meaningful and fun than it is at the level of busy executive and concerned citizen. But it's a feeling that strikes only in the depths of the weekend, while I'm lounging on the river bank with my best boy after a bike ride and a soda. By Sunday afternoon, the adrenalin begins to pump in anticipation of tomorrow and the titanic struggle to get ahead, and the poor little things are reduced to tiny shadows of annoyance, inconsequential things that must be put to bed.

Management vs. Kids

There is no place more incompatible with children than one's place of work, especially if you see advancement as Something You'd Like to Go For. Those dewy-eyed, cowed devotees to their families must rush home every day at precisely 5 p.m., leaving the store to those of us who are prepared to toil on into the night for the greater glory of the firm and ourselves. It doesn't matter what the business, the cardinal rule is invariably the same. You must be prepared to put your job before God, Queen, Country, and above all, family.

“...a lifestyle centered entirely upon achievement and self-gratification...”

Family is viewed by management, no matter how enlightened, as a personality flaw. Management is only reflecting the Germaine Greer contention that the whole of society views breeding as something faintly Third-World and unhygienic; and unless you're willing to go along, you're dogmeat career-wise.

Look at Dustin Hoffman in *Kramer Vs. Kramer*. To hang on to one snotty-nosed five-year-old, he had to abandon his job as a big-time art director at a major New York agency, and go “back to the board” at another, smaller concern, where it was tacitly understood he would remain until he could get over this obsession with his kid.

“...The psychiatrists’ couches are busy because modern baby boomers are having a tough time throwing themselves into a successful career and family, with equal measures of customary gusto...”

The poor sap taught to achieve since he was a little kid is faced with the prospect of turning his back on everything he loves to attain the respect of his peers, job satisfaction, and a big enough salary to keep his family in the manner to which he thinks they are accustomed.

He looks at the inside postal workers of the world with disdain and a little pity. He has vice-presidents to conquer, and nothing, nobody, is going to stand in the way. Now and then, he feels a little guilty, but that’s a guilt that can be easily assuaged by the occasional ball game or bedtime story.

So far, this could be Gary Cooper’s dilemma in *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*. But there are a few twists and turns that bring this story into the 1980s. For instance, the emancipation of women.

At least, that’s what it’s called. Although virtually any man can testify that working your ass off for 50 years is hardly emancipation. But we hardly have a right to speak on the matter. Women have to cross the road to get to the other side, so they’re abandoning the nest in unprecedented numbers in pursuit of the same kinds of objectives I referred to above.

Female emancipation sets off a chain of events. Men can no longer depend on free

home care for their children, and as we’re not about to pick up the slack, we grumble, dig a little deeper, and pay professionals to look after our children, although many of them are professional only in that they take money. No one, at this point, is really sure what a childcare professional is. They’re busy finding out, and they’re finding out on our kids.

Mashed Food and Duckies

Equally catastrophic is what it does to the relationship. For one thing, more and more wives are inclined to put off child rearing until their careers are well underway. Which means that you’re likely to be too old to be a young father, and she’s even less capable of coping with the lost sleep, the stretch marks, and the descent into the sub-culture. She and her sisters have fought the good fight for more than 100 years, only to be stuck back in a world littered with baby feces, mashed food and duckies.

If the 20-year-old male is disinclined to cope with this stuff, the 30- and 35-year-old males are even less inclined. We’re right in the middle of the race for vice-president, and while we’ll go to the Lamaze classes and attend the blessed event, there’s no way we’re going to take on the added burden of looking after the fruit of our loins.

This can lead to disenchantment on the part of the wife.

And, although you hate to say it, wives lose some of their allure when they get pregnant. Not necessarily because they walk and look like plastic inflatable penguins, but because they’ve become somebody’s mother, somebody *else’s* mother.

It’s a phenomenon that psychologists have already well documented. Men are more likely to fool around after their first child is born than at any time other than their mid-life crisis. Your partner and lover turns into a baby maintenance specialist, and all that stuff she used to tolerate — working late at the office, getting up early to run, golfing on the weekends — that’s over now, as you’re expected to at least

“We men have always known what to do when asked to choose between children and ourselves; now women...are beginning to find that self-realization, North American style, doesn’t mix with nurturing a family.”

“...children cannot be solved like other consumer dilemmas...children, unlike contentment, cannot be bought...”

dabble in the arts of diaper changing, feeding, and kootchie-kooing.

It's the kind of behaviour that can turn a guy right off, and more than one formerly faithful husband goes looking for that pre-infant allure someplace else, leaving Mom at home with the apple of their eye.

But who do they think we are anyway? It's us or them.

I thought I might be able to get through this mentioning the word “Yuppie” once. But I find that here is a perfect place for it.

The Yuppie couple believes the secret to life is buying quality. Not ordinary quality, but exotic quality. Yuppies have children the same way they have cars, the smart way.

In this respect, Yuppie is just a new word for fool. Because the Yuppie will find out that children cannot be solved like other consumer dilemmas. It doesn't matter how many books you read, or how much money you have, or what kind of baby car seat you buy, or what Montessori school you send them to, children are not like all the other commodities they encounter. Children, unlike contentment, cannot be bought. Children are the Yuppie Achilles heel. They disturb the unruffled calm. They shatter the illusion of competency. Children are the worm of guilt in the apple of complacency.

Not that they get any thanks for it. Yuppie children are certainly better dressed than the offspring of ordinary schmos. They look healthier. They know how to read when they're four. They play with creative, non-sexist, attention-grabbing toys. But they're not any more loved or respected.

Abandoned by both Mommy and Daddy, the average Canadian kid is becoming more and more a creature of TV, of the toys he plays with, his little pals, and society at large. They're not Our kids any more, they're Theirs. When we have them, which is rare in itself, we let them slip away.

I can see the signs, day after day. My boy will sit with the only adult friend he has who will talk to him for hours — his Speak and Spell — learning to spell frantically so the machine will tell him nice things such as: You are Correct. Perfect Score.

My daughter would like to know just about everything, and is not above asking all the questions, all day long. How are teddy bears made? How do you make windows? Who is the Sandman? I don't have

time for these questions, so I buy her another Barbie Doll, even though I swore I'd never get her one of those things. After I buy her off, it's the feeling of complacency that wells up inside like flatulence that disturbs me the most.

Who do I blame? Myself? Poor vessel that I am, I'm not capable of making such bold choices in isolation from my peers. The fundamentalists blame feminism for the breakdown of the family, but as Germaine acidly points out, no room was made for children long before the feminists got into the act. Feminism, like Yuppiedom, is just another inappropriate response to the puzzle of misery in the midst of plenty.

I suppose I could blame Rene Descartes, who's been held responsible for the illusion that we are rational beings the moment he uttered the phrase, “I think, therefore I am.” Poor Rene.

I usually end up blaming my kids. For being too noisy, for getting up and going to bed at the wrong times. For wanting me to be with them. For wanting me to love them at least as much as I love myself. For being alive.

At least I count myself more fortunate than those sad mortals who are still trying to decide if children fit into their lifestyle. The answer is, of course not, dummy. But have them anyway. They're our last link, to Mother Earth. If you don't have them, the state will have to go into the business of having kids. As the state does most everything for us now, child-bearing is a natural extension. People spawned in stainless-steel wombs are not likely to get involved in hand-wringing about anything.

○ Brave New World, indeed. □

PAUL SULLIVAN is a Winnipeg-based television producer. Reprinted with permission from Influence magazine.

“...I usually end up blaming my kids for wanting me to love them at least as much as I love myself...”

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

**You Can Never Get Enough of What
You Didn't Want in The First Place**

...At present, families are disintegrating at a rapid rate under the impact of economic pressures that force both father and mother into the workforce, easy divorce, constant mobility and rootlessness, and the new ethic of selfishness. The task of caring for and initiating children is increasingly turned over to professionals, as both mother and father choose to centre their identity in the economic rather than the familiar.

More accurately, the crisis in the family goes along with a modern redefinition of "economic". The word "economic" originally meant the art and science of managing a household. Under the impact of the omnivorous market-mentality, it changed its meaning and became "the production, distribution, and consumption of commodities." The subversion and destruction of the family can be measured in the distance between these two definitions — between home economics and corporate economics...

...No number of products, money, or abstract goods satisfies us. This is the fundamental mistake we make in substituting the economic for the familiar as the root of identity. Economic man is driven by insatiability because, as my friend Anne Valley Fox says, "You can never get enough of what you didn't want in the first place." Beyond the level of comfortable survival, goods become a substitute for the primal goodness we were denied — familiarity, intimacy, kindness...

Sam Keen

The Passionate Life: Stages of Loving

Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1983

pp 211-212

The Poverty of a Rich Society...

...We know that millions of Americans in rural as well as urban areas are ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clothed. We could be so incautious as to suppose that these areas are the centre of poverty in our society. Yet how many gleaming, cheerful, well-centered faces one sees among men and women whose livelihood is meager; and how many clouded, petulant, craving faces among those who seem to have everything! Which of the two is poorer? And if Want cries out so painfully, so balefully, from the squalor of ghettos, how much of this sense of want is the simple need for more adequate food, housing and clothes; and how much results from inner deprivations and distortions that can hardly be distinguished from those of the pampered rich?...



...how many gleaming, cheerful, well-centered faces one sees among men and women whose livelihood is meager...



**It is the luxurious and
dissipated who set the fashions
which the herd so diligently follow.**

**Thoreau
page 18**

The Poor Rich:

The Children of the Super Rich

by Roy R. Grinker, Jr., M.D.

In recent times there has been an increase of interest in the problems of minority groups. One group that has been grossly neglected has been the children of the super-rich. These individuals are not ordinarily thought to be a group in need, and very little has been written about them, except by Wixen (1), who adventitiously found himself treating a difficult group of patients with few guidelines. Having been in the same situation, I will present in this paper observations on my own experiences with members of this group.

THE PATIENTS

Background

The super-rich are defined here as individuals with personal fortunes of many millions of dollars and for whom a loss of large sums of money is a relatively insignificant event, other than as a blow to one's pride or judgement; the children of the super-rich may themselves have total control over the spending of \$10-20 million. They usually come to treatment out of whim, boredom, a desire to do the "in" thing, or, usually, at someone else's insistence, often following behavior that is considered by society, parents, or friends as bizarre or "too far out". They lack motivation or anxiety as a rule and do not seem to suffer greatly. They may be single or married, in or out of school, young or old, but all evidence one or more of the following symptoms: chronic mild depression; emptiness; boredom; superficiality; low self-awareness; lack of empathy; intense pursuit of pleasure and excitement; the belief that they can only be happy with people like themselves;

disinterest in work; superficial or absent values, goals, and ideals; and the belief that buying, spending, travel, or other use of their wealth will solve all their feelings of frustration. In short, they are not ideal patients. They do not suffer greatly and are not introspective; they see action as the main solution to whatever moods they do feel.

Once they enter treatment, these patients have to be eased into looking at themselves and staying in treatment. This is a difficult process inasmuch as the typical therapist tends to be middle-class, intellectual, and upwardly mobile and intensely values the work-ethic. He or she may see the patient with depreciation or have such intense countertransferences that his feelings lead to frustration, anger, and contempt (2).

The group to which I refer in this paper are generally not the children of hard-working immigrant parents who "have made it rich" in the new country but are the grandchildren of that group, who were not very good parents but were good models. The parents, the second generation, are usually closer to their own parents in values and ideals, having lived with poverty or financial struggle and work-ethic attitudes. They, too, may struggle hard, although their goals may be power or fame as well as amassing more wealth. Generally, the parents of the patient group have been close to their own parents and, although often clinically ill, suffer primarily from typical neurotic conflicts, such as depression, phobias, compulsions, oedipal neuroses, and the like. Often raised by servants, this second generation still had much close contact or at least knowledge of their parents and their values.

We are most grateful to Dr. Grinker and the American Psychiatric Association for permission to publish this article in the Journal. It is reprinted from the American Journal of Psychiatry, Vol. 135, No. 8, pp. 913 - 916, Aug. 1978. Copyright 1978, The American Psychiatric Association. The last section of the article entitled Therapy and Prognosis has not been included.

“ . . . surrounded by friends and servants who often value money and possessions more than anything else.”

Their children, on the other hand, the third generation, although also usually raised by servants, tend to see little of their parents, have fewer and less clear role-models with which to identify, are much more aware of the immense monies available, and are surrounded by friends and servants who often value money and possessions more than anything else. In general, their parents are busy and socially active, travel a great deal, and leave the child-rearing to servants, who are often fired when the parents jealously feel that their children are too attached to them. Thus, there is also a great turnover in parenting figures. Not only do these children have great freedom, but they have relatively little consistent discipline. Their relationships with friends are relatively superficial and, because their friends usually have the same background, tend to reinforce their values, or, rather, lack of values.

Of course, society is replete with individuals who totally contradict the above general schema. For example, the five Rockefeller children have not become like those in my patient sample, although they have had some similar child-rearing and life experiences and thus have had the potential for becoming depressed, bored, and lacking in values and goals. Instead they have been hardworking and committed individuals in the fields of government, banking, and philanthropy. To say they have no problems at all would be incorrect, but to say that they are like the patients above would also be untrue. These kinds of people have ethics, morals, values, and ideals and have made intense commitments to goals. Others have not been so fortunate.

Pathology

The individuals to whom I refer are patients with severe narcissistic character pathology, who have scant awareness of self and others, who have not traversed Mahler's separation-individuation phases (3), who cannot tolerate frustration, and who are unconsciously so overwhelmed by the

dangers of flooding by anxiety, rage, shame, or guilt that they operate with every possible defense, so that they are like emotional zombies. Thus, for them, to perceive any real feelings is to risk fragmentation into a psychotic-like state or to be overwhelmed by more affect than they can bear.

In addition, we see chronic failures, symbiotic attachments of great ambivalence, and absent, perverse, or compulsive sexuality. The so-called sexual object (other) often functions as a transitional object, providing a sense of unity and relieving tension.

With the majority of these patients, the source of the problem is not money but the parental relationship. These are deprived children: they have had no valuing, interested parents. What the family has gained in money it has lost in feeling and at times even common sense; some of the most simple sensible child-rearing practices are beyond the parents' imagination (4).

The patients show evidence of the typical narcissistic character: easy frustration, self-centeredness, shallowness, rage, vindictiveness, lack of shame or embarrassment, low empathy, little tenderness, and, of course, great difficulty in entering a meaningful relationship with a therapist. They are indecisive; have few interests except clothes and beautiful cars and people; lack involvement with others or have relationships that are abruptly and regretlessly broken off; use rigid defenses of isolation, repression, denial, and reaction-formation; project, displace, externalize, and rationalize with magnificent skill; use projective identification and splitting; have magical-omnipotent expectations; and are megalomaniac, hypochondriacal, and exhibitionistic.

These patients are encouraged or condoned by their parents in their self-indulgences, and little is done or said that makes them feel that their own perception of the world is different from others' or unreal, thus allowing them to

“With the majority of these patients, the source of the problem is not money but the parental relationship. These are deprived children. . . .”

“Raised primarily by shifting parental surrogates, they tend to feel unloved and unvalued and have no stable sense of self. As their care-taking objects shift, their willingness to invest in meaningful relations diminishes.”

view the therapist and his or her goals with contempt. They internalize few self-regulating mechanisms.

THE PARENTS

Before therapy, the parents do not seem to understand the deficiencies in their children. One father, whose 30-year-old daughter had not one single friend or activity, said to me, “Thank God, she’s not a lesbian,” and that was his only concern.

During treatment, parents often tend to undermine the therapy, accusing the therapist of their own interest in money or feeling threatened by reflections of themselves or the accusations of their children.

Certain qualities of the parents often become clear. They may be jaded and see the world as corrupt or exploitative, viewing money as power and job or other interests as unimportant. Even when the parents are hard workers, they do not expect a similar work-ethic in their children. Their focus is always on what one is, not on what one does or how one does it. The many exceptions include those families in which creativity or hard work is an independent tradition.

Often the parents are unavoidably away. More often, they are not interested in their children, are self-absorbed and immature, and tend to repeat patterns of their own childhood experiences, including frequent absences and shifting parent-surrogates.

I do not intend to convey a picture of uniformity in the parents. Rather, it is through their nonoptimal frustrating of their children’s wishes or absence as role-models and their lack of interest in their children as developing humans that a fairly homogeneous picture of true parental deprivation emerges (2). Those parents who use money as a weapon or as a token of love create further distortions in their children’s characters.

Wixen (1) described the source of these patients’ pathology as a condition he calls “dysgradia”, a failure to have and to identify with a chronological series of significant role models and images during childhood and adolescence, through which

various values, attributes, goals, and styles of thinking, feeling, and behavior become internalized as the anlage of character, interpersonal, and intrapersonal traits. This means the absence of important individuals during development and/or the absence of meaningful interaction with them.

I concur with Wixen’s concept, but I cannot give it the central place in my view of the defects in the character structure of the children of the super-rich. My experience suggests that these patients do experience stepwise exposure to role images or models, but that they go through the motions of responding to these roles after their egos are already severely damaged and thus are unable to make use of what is presented to them. Although “dysgradia” is a valid concept, it is, I believe, incomplete. These patients’ disorder is explained more fully by their lack of a good mother-child symbiosis (4) and a conflict-free separation-individuation phase (3), which lead to the normal development of narcissism (5), which in turn leads to a normal range of self-esteem (6) and identifications (7) and an identity that includes value in work (8).

ETIOLOGY

There are multiple determinants to this form of pathology, but the primary issue is a developmental failure as opposed to a regressive phenomenon. The concept of relative trauma explains both the differences in intensity and the particular cluster of symptoms. These children come from what Wixen calls a “golden ghetto”. Raised primarily by shifting parental surrogates, they tend to feel unloved and unvalued and have no stable sense of self. As their care-taking objects shift, their willingness to invest in meaningful relations diminishes. Whatever rage they may feel becomes internalized as depression, and they tend to become shallow and stereotyped in behavior. They tend to avoid those who evoke envy, such as close family groups, and those who evoke shame or frustration, such as people who work.

Their similarity to children of the poor is startling. The poor are a special group and suffer from discrimination; often their parents provide inadequate childrearing or are despised by their children and are therefore poor models for adult behavior. The parents of the poor are often absent, depressed, action-oriented, angry, and antisocial. The poor tend to feel frustration, hopelessness, and boredom, cluster in groups of people like themselves, have a low tolerance for frustration and little empathy, and have a poor sense of self. There is a greater tendency toward antisocial activity in the poor, but otherwise the similarities in character are far greater than the differences.

Rich patients are different from other patients in that they are self-indulgent yet well accepted socially. In fact, they are objects of envy, act out for others, and are often idealized; by social sanction they are given permission to be impulsive in a seemingly safe environment. On the other hand, they are also deprived of adequate parenting and role-models, are impulse-ridden, show severe ego-weaknesses, and have absent or conflicting values...■

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“A man is rich in proportion to the things he can do without.”

Henry David Thoreau

The Poverty of a Rich Society...

...In *The Dark Eye in Africa* Laurens van der Post writes that the difference between the outwardly poor and ignorant peoples of Africa and the outwardly prepossessing Europeans was once described to him by a longtime observer as the difference between being and having. It seemed to him that those who are short on being develop the craving to have, while in those having fewer possessions, being can more often, more fully, come to the fore. By being, the African veteran meant all things connected with simple joy in living: thankfulness, hopefulness and love of life; and enriching communion with the inexhaustible, self-renewing wonder of cosmic nature...



...those who are short on being develop the craving to have...

The Poverty of a Rich Society...

...One can picture two men walking a road. Both are destitute of home, money, job, food. They stand at zero-security and wealth. Yet one is a have, the other a have-not. The latter is gloomy, angry, resentful. The former is glad for life, glad for sun and air, glad for kind thoughts that arise in his heart towards a bird singing. From the inner fullness of his outer nothing he is ready to offer a friendly greeting, a listening ear, a helping hand. Can we not imagine how on his further journey he will find friends, and work to do, and cause to be thankful to life in ever new ways? But will not his momentary companion continue to find life disappointing?...



...one is a have, the other a have-not.

Excerpted from "The Poverty of a Rich Society," Proceedings No. 31, by John F. Gardner, © The Myrin Institute, Inc., 1976. Copies of the complete version may be obtained from the Myrin Institute, 136 East 64th Street, New York, N.Y. 10021 for \$1.50 each.

Special thanks to Dorothy and Mike Chambers for drawing this book to the attention of the editor.

CSPCC Journal Spring 1984

To Have or To Be?

Erich Fromm's thesis in this remarkable book is that two modes of existence are struggling for the spirit of humankind:

THE *HAVING* MODE,

- which concentrates on material possession, acquisitiveness, power, and aggression and is the basis of such universal evils as greed, envy, and violence; and

THE *BEING* MODE,

which is based in love, in the pleasure of sharing, and in meaningful and productive rather than wasteful activity.

Dr. Fromm sees the *having* mode bringing the world to the brink of psychological and ecological disaster, and he outlines a brilliant program for socioeconomic change that could really turn the world away from its catastrophic course.

Presented here are excerpts from the book *To Have or To Be?* by Erich Fromm, published by Harper and Row, Copyright © 1976 by Erich Fromm. Reprint permission granted without fee courtesy Harper and Row Publishers Inc.

What Is the Having Mode?

The Acquisitive Society — Basis for the Having Mode

Our judgements are extremely biased because we live in a society that rests on private property, profit, and power as the pillars of its existence. To acquire, to own, and to make a profit are the sacred and unalienable rights of the individual in the industrial society.* What the sources of property are does not matter, nor does possession impose any obligations on the property owners. The principle is: "Where and how my property was acquired or what I do with it is nobody's business but my own; as long as I do not violate the law, my right is unrestricted and absolute."

This kind of property may be called *private* property (from Latin *privare*, "to deprive of"), because the person or persons who own it are its sole masters, with full power to deprive others of its use or enjoyment. While private ownership is supposed to be a natural and universal category, it is in fact an exception rather than the rule if we consider the whole of human history (including prehistory), and particularly the cultures outside Europe in which economy was not life's main concern. Aside from private property, there are: *self-created property*, which is exclusively the result of one's own work; *restricted property*, which is *restricted* by the obligation to help one's fellow being; *functional*, or *personal*, property, which consists either of tools for work or of objects for enjoyment; *common* property, which a group shares in the spirit of a common bond, such as the Israeli *kibbutzim*.

The norms by which society functions also mold the character of its members (social character). In an industrial society these are: the wish to acquire property, to keep it, and to increase it, i.e., to make a profit, and those who own property are admired and envied as superior beings. But

the vast majority of people own no property in a real sense of capital and capital goods, and the puzzling question arises: How can such people fulfill or even cope with their passion for acquiring and keeping property, or how can they feel like owners of property when they haven't any property to speak of?

Of course, the obvious answer is that even people who are property poor own *something* — and they cherish their little possessions as much as the owners of capital cherish their property. And like the big property owners, the poor are obsessed by the wish to preserve what they do have and to increase it, even though by an infinitesimal amount (for instance by saving a penny here, two cents there).

Perhaps the greatest enjoyment is not so much in owning material things but in owning living beings. In a patriarchal society even the most miserable of men in the poorest of classes can be an owner of property — in his relationship to his wife, his children, his animals, over whom he can feel he is absolute master. At least for the man in a patriarchal society, having many children is the only way to own persons without needing to work to attain ownership, and without capital investment. Considering that the whole burden of childbearing is the woman's, it can hardly be denied that the production of children in a patriarchal society is a matter of crude exploitation of women. In turn, however, the mothers have their own form of ownership, that of the children when they are small. The circle is endless and vicious: the husband exploits the wife, she exploits the small children, and the adolescent males soon join the elder men in exploiting the women, and so on.

The male hegemony in a patriarchal order

*R.H. Tawney's 1920 work, *The Acquisitive Society*, is still unsurpassed in its understanding of modern capitalism and options for social and human change. The contributions by Max Weber, Brentano, Schapiro, Pascal, Sombart, and Kraus contain fundamental insights for understanding industrial society's influence on human beings.

“Perhaps the greatest enjoyment is not so much in owning material things but in owning living beings. In a patriarchal society even the most miserable of men in the poorest of classes can be an owner of property — in his relationship to his wife, his children, his animals, over whom he can feel he is absolute master.”

“At least for the man in a patriarchal society, having many children is the only way to own persons without needing to work to attain ownership, and without capital investment.”

has lasted roughly six or seven millennia and still prevails in the poorest countries or among the poorest classes of society. It is, however, slowly diminishing in the more affluent countries or societies — emancipation of women, children, and adolescents seems to take place when and to the degree that a society's standard of living rises. With the slow collapse of the old-fashioned, patriarchal type of ownership of persons, wherein will the average and the poorer citizens of the fully developed industrial societies now find fulfillment of their passion for acquiring, keeping, and increasing property? The answer lies in extending the area of ownership to include friends, lovers, health, travel, art objects, God, one's own ego. A brilliant picture of the bourgeois obsession with property is given by Max Stirner.* Persons are transformed into things; their relations to each other assume

the character of ownership. “Individualism”, which in its positive sense means liberation from social chains, means, in the negative sense, “self-ownership”, the right — and the duty — to invest one's energy in the success of one's own person.

Our ego is the most important object of our property feeling, for it comprises many things: our body, our name, our social status, our possessions (including our knowledge), the image we have of ourselves and the image we want others to have of us. Our ego is a mixture of real qualities, such as knowledge and skills, and of certain fictitious qualities that we build around a core of reality. But the essential point is not so much what the ego's content is, but that the ego is felt as a thing we each possess, and that this “thing” is the basis of our sense of identity.

“Considering that the whole burden of childbearing is the woman's, it can hardly be denied that the production of children in a patriarchal society is a matter of crude exploitation of women.”

*Stirner, Max. 1973. *The Ego and His Own: The Case of the Individual Against Authority*. Edited by James J. Martin; translated by Steven T. Byington, New York: Dover.

This discussion of property must take into account that an important form of property attachment that flourished in the nineteenth century has been diminishing in the decades since the end of the First World War and is little evident today. In the older period, everything one owned was cherished, taken care of, and used to the very limits of its utility. Buying was "keep-it" buying, and a motto for the nineteenth century might well have been: "Old is beautiful!" Today, consumption is emphasized, not preservation, and buying has become "throw-away" buying. Whether the object one buys is a car, a dress, a gadget, after using it for some time, one gets tired of it and is eager to dispose of the "old" and buy the latest model. Acquisition — transitory having and using — throwing away (or if possible, profitable exchange for a better model) — new acquisition, constitutes the vicious circle of consumer-buying and today's motto could indeed be: "New is beautiful!"

Perhaps the most striking example of to-

day's consumer-buying phenomenon is the private automobile. Our age deserves to be dubbed "the age of the automobile", for our whole economy has been built around automobile production, and our whole life is greatly determined by the rise and fall of the consumer market for cars.

To those who have one, their car seems like a vital necessity; to those who do not yet own one, especially people in the so-called socialist states, a car is a symbol of joy. Apparently, however, affection for one's car is not deep and abiding, but a love affair of somewhat short duration, for owners change their cars frequently; after two years, even after just one, an auto owner tires of the "old car" and starts shopping around for a "good deal" on a new vehicle. From shopping around to purchase, the whole transaction seems to be a game in which even trickery is sometimes a prime element, and the "good deal" is enjoyed as much as, if not more than, the ultimate prize: that brand-new model in the driveway.

"In turn, however, the mothers have their own form of ownership, that of the children when they are small."

"The circle is endless and vicious: the husband exploits the wife, she exploits the small children, and the adolescent males soon join the elder men in exploiting the women, and so on."

Several factors must be taken into account in order to solve the puzzle of the seemingly flagrant contradiction between the owners' property relationship to their automobiles and their so-short-lived interest in them. First, there is the element of depersonalization in the owner's relationship to the car; the car is not a concrete object that its owner is fond of, but a status symbol, an extension of power — an ego builder; having acquired a car, the owner has actually acquired a new piece of ego. A second factor is buying a new car every two years instead of, say, every six increases the buyer's thrill of acquisition; the act of making the new car one's own is a kind of defloration — it enhances one's sense of

control, and the more often it happens, the more thrilled one is. The third factor is that frequent car buying means frequent opportunities to "make a deal" — to make a profit by the exchange — a satisfaction deeply rooted in men and women today. The fourth factor is one of great importance: the need to experience *new* stimuli, because the old stimuli are flat and exhausted after but a short while. In an earlier discussion of stimuli (*The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*), I differentiated between "activating" and "passivating" stimuli and suggested the following formulation: "The more 'passivating' a stimuli is, the more frequently it must be changed in intensity and/or in kind; the more 'activating' it is, the

longer it retains its stimulating quality and the less necessary is change in intensity and content." The fifth and most important factor lies in the change in social character that has occurred during the past century and a half, i.e., from the "hoarding" to the "marketing" character. While the change does not do away with the having orientation, it does modify it considerably. (This development of the marketing character is discussed in Chapter VII.)

The proprietary feeling also shows up in other relationships, for example toward doctors, dentists, lawyers, bosses, workers. People express it in speaking of "my doctor", "my dentist", "my workers", and so on. But aside from their property attitude toward other human beings, people experience an unending number of objects,

even feelings, as property. Take health and illness, for example. People who discuss their health do so with a proprietary feeling, referring to *their* sicknesses, *their* operations, *their* treatments — *their* diets, *their* medicines. They clearly consider that health and sickness are property; their property relationship to their bad health is analogous, say, to that of a stockholder whose shares are losing part of their original value in a badly falling market.

Ideas and beliefs can also become property, as can even habits. For instance, anyone who eats an identical breakfast at the same time each morning can be disturbed by even a slight change in that routine, because his habit has become a property whose loss endangers his security.



The picture of the universality of the having mode of existence may strike many readers as too negative and one-sided; and indeed it is. I wanted to portray the socially prevalent attitude first in order to give as clear a picture as possible. But there is another element that can give this picture a degree of balance, and that is a growing attitude among the young generation that is quite different from the majority. Among these young people we find patterns of consumption that are not hidden forms of acquisition and having, but expressions of genuine joy in doing what one likes to do without expecting anything "lasting" in

return. These young people travel long distances often with hardships, to hear music they like, to see a place they want to see, to meet people they want to meet. Whether their aims are as valuable as they think they are is not the question here; even if they are without sufficient seriousness, preparation, or concentration, these young people dare to *be*, and they are not interested in what they get in return or what they can keep. They also seem much more sincere than the older generation, although often philosophically and politically naive. They do not polish their egos all the time in order to be a desirable "object" on the

“They do not polish their egos all the time in order to be a desirable “object” on the market. They do not protect their image by constantly lying, with or without knowing it; they do not expend their energy in repressing truth, as the majority does.”

market. They do not protect their image by constantly lying, with or without knowing it; they do not expend their energy in repressing truth, as the majority does. And frequently, they impress their elders by their honesty — for their elders secretly admire people who can see or tell the truth. Among them are politically and religiously oriented groups of all shadings, but also many without any particular ideology or doctrine who may say of themselves that they are just “searching”. While they may not have found themselves, or a goal that gives guidance to the practice of life, they are searching to be themselves instead of having and consuming.

This positive element in the picture needs to be qualified, however. Many of these same young people (and their number has been markedly decreasing since the late sixties) had not progressed from freedom *from* to freedom *to*; they simply rebelled without attempting to find a goal toward which to move, except that of freedom from restrictions and dependence. Like that of their bourgeois parents, their motto was “New is beautiful!” and they developed an almost phobic disinterest in all tradition, including the thoughts that the greatest minds have produced. In a kind of naive narcissism they believed that they could discover by themselves all that is worth discovering. Basically, their ideal was to become small children again, and such authors as Marcuse produced the convenient ideology that return to childhood — not development to maturity — is the ultimate goal of socialism and revolution. They were happy as long as they were young enough for this euphoria to last; but many of them have passed this period with severe disappointment, without having acquired well-founded convictions, without a centre within themselves. They often end up as disappointed, apathetic persons — or as unhappy fanatics of destruction.

Not all who had started with great hopes ended up with disappointment, however, but it is unfortunately impossible to know what their number is. To my knowledge, no valid statistical data or sound estimates are

available, and even if they were available, it is almost impossible to be sure how to qualify the individuals. Today, millions of people in America and Europe try to find contact with tradition and with teachers who can show them the way. But in large part the doctrines and teachers are either fraudulent, or vitiated by the spirit of public relations ballyhoo, or mixed up with the financial and prestige interests of the respective gurus. Some people may genuinely benefit from such methods in spite of the sham; others will apply them without any serious intention of inner change. But only a detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of the new believers could show how many belong to each group.

My personal estimate is that the young people (and some older ones) who are seriously concerned with changing from the having to the being mode number more than a few dispersed individuals. I believe that quite a large number of groups and individuals are moving in the direction of being, that they represent a new trend transcending the having orientation of the majority, and that they are of historical significance. It will not be the first time in history that a minority indicates the course that historical development will take. The existence of this minority gives hope for the general change in attitude from having to being. This hope is all the more real since some of the factors that made it possible for these new attitudes to emerge are historical changes that can hardly be reversed: the breakdown of patriarchal supremacy over women and of parents' domination of the young. While the political revolution of the twentieth century, the Russian revolution, has failed (it is too early to judge the final outcome of the Chinese revolution), the victorious revolutions of our century, even though they are only in their first stages, are the women's, the children's, and the sexual revolutions. Their principles have already been accepted by the consciousness of a great many individuals, and every day the old ideologies become more ridiculous. ■

The Poverty of a Rich Society...

...Without making distinctions between those who have money and those who do not, we can say of most Americans at the present time that they suffer from a hunger of the soul, which they try to satisfy by eating too much, smoking and drinking too much, buying too much, looking at too much TV, and rushing around more and faster than necessary. Their unfulfilled hunger drives them to self-destructing life-habits and the growing gap between what they need from life and what they succeed in getting opens them to anguish and despair that they try to suppress by sedatives, stimulants, and mind-changing drugs in enormous amounts, at enormous cost...



...we can say of most Americans at the present time that they suffer from a hunger of the soul, which they try to satisfy by eating too much, smoking and drinking too much, buying too much, looking at too much TV, and rushing around more and faster than necessary.

How Cultural Values Reward Neurotic Behaviour

...Finally, we must consider our economy, increasingly gambling its success or failure on consumption by the installment plan. Has anyone since Veblen asked what would happen to such an economy if the masked neurotic ingredients in human nature were by sudden magic to be eliminated? What would happen to the fashion cults, the beauty cults, the food and drink and tobacco cults with their exploitation of orality, the excretory cult, the cleanliness cults, the size cults, the height cults, the strip-tease cults? Consider the exploitation of hypochondriasis through the drug houses and even our more elite publishing houses. Take also the endless whetting of consumer craving, the exploitation of the "gimmies" of childhood by transmuted them into the "gimmies" of adult life. Consider the ministering to neurotic needs through size and power: the knight of old replaced by Casper Milquetoast in General Motors armor, complete with chromium, unneeded size, unused seating capacity, and a pointless, illegal, and unusable capacity for speed. Or consider the search for happiness anywhere else than where one is, whether it is an adolescent with his hot-rod, or the travel industry selling vacations on the installment plan.

To repeat, what would happen to our economy if we were to get well? And what does the exploitation of neurosis by so many forces in our culture do to the neurotic process itself? Is this a culture that breeds health? Is this a culture that we can afford to be complacent about? Or have we allowed the enormous creative potential of private enterprise to be enslaved to neurotic processes in industry, exactly as the creative process in art, literature, music, even science, has become the slave of neurosis?

Lest we think that I am singling out our culture, our economy for attack, I repeat that I do not believe that human ingenuity has yet devised any political or economic system that does not exploit, intensify, and reward much that is neurotic (potentially even psychotic) in human nature. If the profit-driven economies exploit subtle manifestations of neurotic self-indulgence and short-term needs, so do totalitarian systems, whether Fascist or Communist, exploit power needs and power fantasies in an even more primitive fashion, rewarding the sadistic lusts and the paranoid components of human nature... ■

Excerpted with permission from an article entitled 'The Eagle and The Ostrich' by Lawrence S. Kubie, M.D. which appeared in the Archives of General Psychiatry Vol. 5, No. 2 August 1961. At the time of writing Dr. Kubie was on the faculty of the New York Psychoanalytic Institute, Clinical Professor of Psychiatry (Emeritus), Yale University School of Medicine, Director of Training, The Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital, and Clinical Professor of Psychiatry, University of Maryland School of Medicine.

The Poverty of a Rich Society...

...No doubt it is materialism that so robs American souls of security, hope, and enduring forms of enjoyment. Materialism devours, as sensuality does. But the hollowing out of human hearts by mechanistic thinking, the atrophy of human wills by over-dependence upon machines, can be concealed for a time, so long as at least material abundance prevails. Women in a shopping centre, with money in their pocketbooks, may not be at all of the opinion that they are hungry for more than what presents itself on the store shelves. Men who can buy a bigger, faster car every year or two may scoff at the idea that the car leads away from the satisfaction of their more fundamental desires. While it lasts, material opulence certainly has power to delude us into thinking dark is light, down is up, ugly is beautiful, and bankruptcy of soul is fulfillment...



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Consumerism

"The Western World as we have heavily illustrated throughout this book, has almost wholly accepted the illusion of material progress as a guarantor of happiness. The common denominator of materialism is an uncritical acceptance of the glittering competitive and success-oriented consumer life as the only reality."

The dominant message found in all the corporate ads is BUY, BUY, BUY. The collective impact of this message has had its effects over the past fifty years of intimately linking our most basic needs to consumer items and channeling all our energies into the marketplace.

Henry Ford, who introduced the Model T in 1909, probably would have died of a stroke if he had looked into a crystal ball and seen the May, 1973, issue of *Playboy*, which featured a pictorial on sex and the automobile. In the photo-spread we see a woman, apparently in ecstasy, stroking a steering wheel. The editors of *Playboy* seem to think that the automobile was primarily invented to get sex off the porch swing and on to wheels. Possibly so, but Ford basically wanted to produce effort-saving and practical cars for ordinary people like himself. Even if the first car on the road did more than just revolutionize transportation, *Playboy* shows us that in our modern world people driving their "babies" don't always need human beings to love. We might also add that if Cotton Mather, a true spirit of orthodox Protestantism, who viewed business as a vital calling and a part of religion, had foreseen the

future development of huge religious amusement parks he probably would not have been so eager to sprinkle holy water on economic success.

The early American was continuously blasted by the aphorisms, verses, lectures, or fables of the great apostles of individualism. Benjamin Franklin, for example, spent much of his life talking about his rise from obscurity to affluence. One must add Ralph Waldo Emerson to this group, as well as Phineas T. Barnum. Both praised the virtues of material success.

Perhaps more than anyone else, Horatio Alger is responsible for the American rags to riches saga. In his 135 books, he always portrayed his hero as someone who achieved success through his diligence, honesty, perseverance, and thrift. If you worked hard and saved your money you succeeded.

Despite the ideology of the self-made man, the last decade of the nineteenth century, and certainly the early years of the twentieth were increasingly difficult times for American culture. The growing American corporations appeared to be slowly changing the criteria for personal success. Henry Ford was able to maintain a commanding lead over his competitors by

Presented here are excerpts from the book *Open Reality-The Way Out of Mimicking Happiness* by Richard Altschuler and Nicholas Regush published by G.P. Putnam's & Sons, New York. Copyright © 1974 by Richard Altschuler and Nicholas Regush. Reprint permission granted without fee courtesy The Putnam Publishing Group.

The corporate consumer system has imposed its own domination of reality and its own definition of the "good life" on all of us. The mass media have imposed on us a conception of reality which defines for us what happiness is, what the "good life" is, what the human being is potentially capable of achieving, in fact, all that we hear, say, and think. Simple observation shows they have been extremely successful. But in the process they have left us believing that happiness can be achieved only by continually buying new products and services.

simply offering his customers the fundamental assurance that his cars would get them to their destination and back. After the basic mechanical features of the automobile became more reliable and production problems were overcome, the consumer needed an innovative jab. In 1927, when General Motors introduced the LaSalle, the first "styled" car, Ford lost his number-one position. Henry wanted back in and came out with his restyled Model A. We all know what has happened since.

As corporate development mushroomed, the consumer increasingly became a passive observer of the technological process, but at the same time he also became more of a challenge for the producers' selling imagination. In 1900 there wasn't any American magazine with a circulation approaching a million. By 1947 there were at least forty-eight. *Reader's Digest*, with a circulation of over 9½ million in 1951, along with its competitors bombarded readers with incentives to work harder and harder in order to buy more and more goods. The

work-to-buy ethic was being generously instilled into the American consciousness. The Gospel of Success was being democratized. This essentially meant that since everyone was being sold on the illusion that opportunity for success was equal, everyone was fair game.

Vance Packard was not the first to attack the Great Success Story. When *The Hidden Persuaders* was published in 1957, however, public attention was more aroused than ever. Packard heavily documented his argument that two-thirds of America's largest advertisers had geared their campaigns to a depth approach, using strategies inspired by what was called motivation analysis. Consumers were seen as bundles of daydreams with hidden yearnings, guilt complexes, and irrational emotional blockages. Using research techniques that were designed to reach the subconscious mind, it was hoped that advertising would mass-produce customers for the Corporations just as the Corporations mass-produced products. Packard tells of a

We deceive ourselves in thinking that the Corporations' wares hold the true potential for happiness. Have the Corporations convinced us — in every aspect of our lives, such as with sex, leisure, education, politics, marriage, religion — that happiness is a consumable commodity? The authors strongly argue yes. They illustrate their argument with the use of testimonies by consumers from all walks of life showing how these people have become victims of the Corporations and have, in fact, been mimicking happiness, a happiness that does not exist. In the midst of this mimicry, our environment is deteriorating, mental illness, homicide, suicide, and divorce rates are soaring, anxiety grows worse, our spiritual poverty intensifies, and we go deeper into debt.

scene from Lorraine Hansberry's Broadway play, *A Raisin In The Sun*, in which the son, a reflection of modern ideas, cries out: "I want so many things, it drives me crazy...Money is life!" The task of the motivation man was to carefully sort out what drove this young man crazy and package the solutions into pretty bottles and boxes. Packard raised very disturbing questions about the kind of society these manipulators were creating through their ability to contact millions of people through the mass media. He questioned the morali-

ty of playing upon hidden weaknesses and frailties such as anxieties, aggressive feelings, dread of nonconformity, and infantile hang-ups to sell products. And he questioned the morality of manipulating small children even before they reached the age when they were legally responsible for their actions. Packard also severely criticized social scientists: He claimed that having found the study of irrationality very lucrative, they were flying out of ivory towers hoping to land big booty with the new marketeers.



All societies are rapidly becoming consumer societies in which the production and acquisition of consumer goods and services is viewed as the ultimate sign of human progress.

The advanced consumer societies such as the United States, Canada, Japan, and West Germany are now world models of progress, despite the multitude of problems which plague these countries: pollution, spiritual poverty, meaningless work, broken families, anxiety, mental illness, alcoholism, drug abuse, crime, political corruption, and mass confusion as to who one is and what one has to do to be happy.

David Riesman, author of *The Lonely Crowd*, described the emerging consumer as "other-directed", as one who gauged everything he did in terms of the expectations of other people. Riesman claimed that the other-directed type reflected the rapidly increasing consumption mania. Fromm echoed this interpretation saying, "Human relations are essentially those of alienated automatons, each basing his security on staying close to the herd, and not being different in thought, feeling or action. While everybody tries to be as close as possible to the rest, everybody remains utterly alone, pervaded by a deep sense of insecurity, anxiety and guilt which always results when human separateness cannot be overcome." Thorstein Veblen, critic of the conspicuous consumption of the American *nouveau riche* of the late nineteenth cen-

ture, pointed out that the mass-circulation newspapers, films, radio, the rise of mass political parties, and the special interests of advertisers all anaesthetized the masses with what he called laughing gas. And Herbert Marcuse describes the media-dominated modern citizen as having a "happy consciousness." Happy consciousness enabled a person to see his own behavior as steadily progressive, always coming closer to the cherished good life. The glorification and perpetuation of the corporate state had become a built-in condition, a string fastened around one's neck so tightly that a vested interest in the system was fostered and the need for gobbling up every new gadget, instrument, and fashion became as "natural" as the need to breathe...



“...theorists like Erich Fromm commented that alienation was becoming total, that it pervaded the relationship of Man to Man, Man to his work, and Man to the things he consumed.”

Packard's greatest attack, though he did not phrase it this way, was on the illusion of consumer sovereignty: The idea that the consumer himself told the producer what he needed and the producer complied. The reverse was happening, but because of the great stress on individualism in America, Packard's thesis was a very difficult one for people to fully accept. The reaction for the most part was very similar to that of the Midwestern farmer who comes to New York City, looks at the Empire State Building, shakes his head, and says, "I see it but I don't believe it."

The doctrine of consumer sovereignty was given its greatest criticism by John Kenneth Galbraith. Writing in *The New Industrial State*, Galbraith explained that since the turn of the century Corporations were increasingly concerned with managing demands of consumers. "The one man in ten" was carefully planned on the drawing board. Galbraith referred to the control or management of consumer demand as a growing industry in itself, made up of communication networks, merchandising specialists, advertising agencies, research, and other related services. The early Gospel had been transformed into a Great Machine whose primary function was to sell goods. Consumer sovereignty was again seen to be illusion, and only those afraid to face new realities could cling precariously to the idea of the free consumer.

According to sociologist C. Wright Mills, people in the 1950's were increasingly told by carefully designed mass media formulas who they were, what they should be, and how they could succeed. These formulas were not geared to the development of a sensitive human being. People were becoming increasingly lonely and simultaneously mimicking media happiness. In Brecht's play *In the Jungle of Cities*, one person says, "If you crammed a ship full of bodies

till it burst the loneliness inside it would be so great, they would turn to ice..." The modern consumer-citizen was becoming increasingly alienated, and theorists like Erich Fromm commented that alienation was becoming total, that it pervaded the relationship of Man to Man, Man to his work and Man to the things he consumed.

There is hardly a family that is not under the constant, everyday pressure about "what the house needs next". If it is not a new TV it is a new dishwasher, if not this, then new rugs or curtains or having the den remodelled, or redoing the bathroom. For many couples who are estranged but will not face up to it, all of this consumerism and household planning often serves the function that a child does — it keeps the couple "together". That is, it fosters the illusion that they are on an adventure together, pooling their wits and energies to reach a common goal. Because of this, it is not uncommon to see married couples in their luxuriously decorated bedrooms — which they have put so much into that a harem chieftain would be envious — uninterested in loving one another, sleeping there like two celluloid movie stars, cold and plastic.

Many couples feel compelled to show they have made it together by what they have accumulated. When the debts begin piling up, and economic strain becomes a constant feature of the relationship, rather than cut back on the good life, the husband, as mentioned before, begins to work more, or, as is a growing necessity these days, the wife begins to work. The cycle is apt to grow more vicious if, rather than admit that their way of life is the source of the problem, the wife — who is forced to work to help pay the bills — identifies with ideologies to justify her activity, and adds to the problem by getting farther and farther away from its root.

“These formulas were not geared to the development of a sensitive human being.”

“Many couples are in trouble because there has been an historical oppression of women — particularly economic — in the male-dominated household.”

It is important to get this argument clear in the context of the issues raised by women's liberation. Many couples are in trouble because there has been an historical oppression of women — particularly economic — in the male-dominated household. Along with this, women have been assigned the relatively menial tasks of household chores which can be, depending on the woman, enough to make a brain rot. The revolution of roles is therefore progressive insofar as it attempts to allow creative women to express their creativity, and insofar as women free themselves from the forced economic dependence and the host of identity problems that are an adjunct of this.

To become an independent breadwinner and to express creative talents requires in most instances that the woman seek employment outside the home. So the new problems arise and must be dealt with: Who cleans the house? Who takes care of the kids? Who controls the bank book? And so on.

Most married women today are working out of economic necessity, particularly wives of blue-collar workers, but this is by no means restricted to that class. Many blue-collar men earn more than the clean-nailed white-collar male heads of households.

The major argument given by the women's movement leaders centers around expression of self, not economic necessity. When expression of self is viewed in the abstract it sounds very appealing — and it is also very misleading. It is the highest ideal for all women and all men to seek and express the unique self that is repressed in modern societies. But how to do it?

How many men can find expression of self in their work? Sociological study after sociological study shows that work is not a

central life interest for the great majority of men. Our society offers witless, repetitive, meaningless, boring, exploitive jobs in most instances, and most women, unfortunately, when they do work are consigned to the typewriter or some kind of front work which exploits their looks or congeniality.

It is patently absurd, then, to press the argument and foster the grand illusion that meaning can be found in the work world that should not theoretically be able to be obtained through intimate contact with family members. But yet, the undeniable fact is that in many households there is no meaning to be found, either. This is the impasse that women's liberation should be focussing on.

The relationship between men and women must be examined within the total context of a society such as ours, which tyrannically and with startling ingenuity sells dreams in the marketplace and fosters an outmoded work-to-buy cycle to make these dreams a reality. This is not the nineteenth century. We are living in a highly technological society which holds a vast potential for providing us with the necessities of life and at the same time freeing us from stupid, meaningless work. The emphasis should be to utilize this technology so that we have less jobs and more time to relate to each other as human beings and benefit from our true creative expression.

The confusion which is rampant among married couples misplaces the emphasis and fosters the illusion that the role problems between husband and wife can be solved in the abstract. The illusion of liberation is kept going by resorting to more mindless consumerism through fashion and vacations, while underlying all of this is a dulling of the senses and closing of awareness through alcohol, tranquilizers,

“It is patently absurd, then, to press the argument...that meaning can be found in the work world that should not theoretically be able to be obtained through intimate contact with family members.”

“The problem of women being dependent on their husbands and discriminated against is a real one...”

and barbiturates.

A good example of this confusion can be seen in the activities of the National Organization of Women (NOW), which, in attempting to solve a problem of women, actually perpetuates the reality which is at the root of the problem.

NOW recognized that women do not get credit as easily as men, and they sought to rectify the problem. As reported in the *New York Post* (September 27, 1971) the reasoning of NOW went like this: We want a woman to be able to get credit in whatever name she chooses — married, maiden, professional, or whatever. “There is a practical side to this,” a NOW spokeswoman explained. “This way, if a couple becomes separated or divorced, she will have maintained her own credit rating, and will not be at the disadvantage of having to reestablish credit...What the liberated woman wants today is a credit card in her own name, rather than having adjunct credit extended because her husband is deemed a good credit risk. And little by little this is coming to pass.”

The problem of women being dependent on their husbands and discriminated against is a real one, but the credit problem is real only insofar as it is the cause of the problem we are talking about. By pushing for credit for women, without detailing its pitfalls, women who identify with NOW will see this as a goal to be achieved and will fight for credit. The credit problem, however, is part of the problem of a society which pressures people to extend themselves beyond their means without carefully considering the possible negative repercussions. NOW, therefore, may be unwittingly aiding the Corporations in their relentless desire to sell us as much as they possibly can. Credit is one of their more ingenious means.

The “young mama” — the image of the modern, whole, married woman pushed by *Redbook* — is the prototype of the independent woman who presents no challenge to the existing reality of the good life. She is a Corporation’s dream. Flipping through *Redbook*, one finds page after page of glossy ads comprising about 70 per cent of the magazine, a smattering of anxiety-producing stories dealing with marriages in trouble and the new morality, and a smattering of articles such as “How to Redecorate Your Home”, the last-mentioned being merely another version of

corporate advertising. The total impact is a not-too-subtle definition of what the young, normal, married woman should do to affirm her identity and self-image. In the process she is made a nervous wreck with a constant barrage of questions such as “Are you sure your Tampon keeps you odor-free?” While pondering this important question, the rest of the appearance industry does its work of creating anxiety and offering “solutions”. And here it is important to look at, in some detail, another major source of strain on married couples in our society, the fear of growing old and losing sex appeal. As with singles, the husband-wife relationship is highly affected by the physical appearance industry, which has convinced us that it is shameful to grow old, be anything less than thin, smell human, or dress in outdated apparel.

A college student, commenting on the growing rift between his parents told us: “My mother has been gray since her early teens; this never really bothered my father until recently when so much fuss was being made about the ease of colouring one’s hair. He begins to wonder what my mother would look like in black hair or in a black wig (wigs being so acceptable today). My mother, in turn, begins to feel bad that my father no longer seems to be happy with the way his wife looks. Also, there is so much emphasis on being thin for beauty’s sake (as well as for health reasons) that in order to please my father, my mother secretly attends an exercise class at the Elaine Power’s Figure Salon.”

The mother of this family secretly attempts to slim herself down. Whatever her motive, secrecy is the symptom of shame. The husband, under the bombardment of ads, is beginning to indicate his need that his wife mimic youthfulness which, in turn, causes unhappiness.

The middle-aged couple is often in a pitiful position in a society which makes one ashamed to age. They suddenly find themselves with wrinkles, gray hair and sagging skin, and begin comparing themselves to images of youthfulness presented in the ads. They gradually begin to look upon their aging as an affliction which can be washed away, creamed away, dressed away, but not accepted.

It may be argued that if one looks younger one feels better, but this logic only holds in a society where one’s self-worth is identified with appearance. In the bedroom,

the middle-aged couple — if they have had the courage to wash the gook off their faces and heads — are confronted with each other as they really are — the wigs off, the colours off, the sheen off, and only a strong love for each other and understanding of the aging process will keep them from rolling over and dreaming of that young stud or piece of ass who they know

they can get to — or at least masturbate to.

A married woman told us, "I'm losing interest in my husband with every hair he loses. It was getting so that I was ashamed to be seen with him, an old man — that's how he began to look as he got balder and balder. So I made him get a 'Joe', that's a wig. If I wasn't going to stray from the nest he just had to become a young man again."

My aunt and uncle, now married for twenty-five years, seem to have lost complete interest in one another and tend to rely on consumer goods for fulfillment rather than relating to one another. My aunt has become completely absorbed in decorating and furnishing the house with material goods. She has every interior decorating magazine in the house that one could possibly have and at the same time is addicted to the idea that she will be happy once her house is decorated as elegantly as the entrepreneurs describe in the decorating magazines. My uncle, on the other hand, is a do-it-yourself nut and likes to buy tools and gadgets to repair cars and to work on the house. Here, the masterminds of the tool and gadget market have fulfilled and created his need at the same time by offering him peace and security by letting him concentrate on his tools and machinery in his little world. In this way, he is freed from the strains of an interpersonal relationship with his wife.

Here, with this estranged couple, we see several of the units inherent in our way of life which inevitably perpetuate and heighten our problems:

- (1) the reliance on media definitions of what is fulfilling;
- (2) the belief (addiction) to the idea that happiness will follow if one adheres to the corporate-controlled media reality;
- (3) along with happiness is the belief that peace and security and consumer goods are organically related;
- (4) the rechanneling of the human-human relationship into the consumer realm.

...*Newsweek* pointed to the return of "the good old days" and cites this example of a thirty-four-year-old Connecticut housewife who says: "My whole life revolves around driving my husband to the station, the kids to school, the kids to the dentist, the kids to hockey practice, the kids to ballet classes, the kids to a birthday party. Sometimes I feel as though I'm on a treadmill. I'm glad the energy crisis happened. I think, perhaps naively, that if I spend less time chauffeuring, I can go back to painting and get to know my children better."

Newsweek suggested that many people may use the crisis as a way of restoring community and family life. John Kenneth Galbraith is quoted as saying that "if the energy crisis forces us to diminish automobile use in the cities, stops us from building highways and covering the country with concrete and asphalt, forces us to rehabilitate the railroads, causes us to invest in mass transportation and limits the waste of electrical energy, one can only assume the Arab nations and the big oil companies have united to save the American Republic."

Hopeful as this sounds, it is utter nonsense. Galbraith has lost sight of the much wider crisis and the fact that these recent developments must be viewed from within the context of our entire way of life. The Connecticut housewife has an edge on Galbraith. At least she intuitively feels that she is being naive.

Time's perspective in its December 31, 1973, edition was somewhat closer to the essential point: "...as more Americans stay at home instead of taking to the open road, they will buy more liquor, books, television sets, swimming pools and, say some pharmaceutical executives, more birth control pills." More important is that if the consumer stops compulsively buying because

of a temporary recognition of the nation's economic and energy problems, and waits for a better day when he can go on a rampage again, very little will be gained. Furthermore, to believe that any major restructuring of life in the consumer society will come about as the result of an energy shortage without a major transformation of consumer consciousness is to ignore the cold hard facts of American corporate capitalism and the degree to which we have become enslaved to its principal message...

Can we really be so naive to believe that we can turn the clock back, erase the developing patterns of postindustrial society, and build a new way of living, thinking, and feeling without a profound behavioural change, a basic restructuring of our values about the total viability of our consumer society and the manner in which happiness has been defined? Can we really believe that we all will come to our senses because of an energy shortage and that the corporate world will not continue its tactical warfare on our consciousness in newer and more sophisticated ways?

The Western World, as we have heavily illustrated throughout this book, has almost wholly accepted the illusion of material progress as a guarantor of happiness. The common denominator of materialism is an uncritical acceptance of the glittering competitive and success-oriented consumer life as the only reality. The Corporations, their advertising appendages, and the mass media have skillfully created consumer illusions, as our everyday cultural world has built a screen in the human mind, shielding us from our possibilities as a species. Our well-conditioned interests in, and overwhelming concern with the world of material objects and gadgetry leads us to depend on technical solutions to all our problems. ■

"In this well-written and freshly conceived approach to modern alienation, Altschuler and Regush make the strong point that industrialized societies have dug themselves a big hole called consumerism and fallen into it..."

—*Publishers Weekly*

Making a lot of money may be your only way to make it through life...

The Four Illusions of Money

and the non-money truths they hide

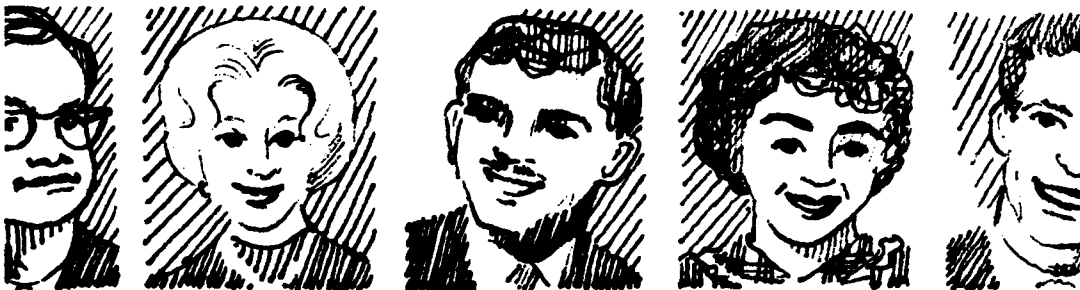
by Michael Phillips, Rasberry and Andora Freeman

1. "A lot of money will let me be free to do what I want."
2. "People with a lot of money command more respect from others."
3. "I need more money for my family."
4. "Money is necessary for security in old age."

THESE STATEMENTS ARE ILLUSIONS. They are inaccurate perceptions of the world we live in.

When we look at the average graduating class of high school students, we are distressed to know that nearly all of them hold these values: they seek "a lot" of money as a lifetime goal. Less than five per cent of these students will become wealthy. The remaining 95 per cent will shape their lives around these inappropriate values.

How do you feel about these four statements? Read them over and see if you find them completely agreeable. For most people they are.



1. "A lot of money will let me be free to do what I want."

You can really feel this way when you're working at a job that you don't like, when you're unhappy with the way things are going in your life, and when there is some object, experience, or service you desperately want to buy.

The alternative is to deal with these feelings, directly and positively. Write down the specific things you want to do with your life. Describe the things you need to shape the kind of person you want to be (the experiences you need, knowledge, skills, talents, etc.). Make sure what you write down doesn't include money itself. When you look at your list you'll find that there is a way to accomplish all of it in your lifetime without any more money than you now have. Most things require that you actively pursue them and LEARN in the process. If you want to be a world traveller, join the crew of a sailing ship and be useful in a way you know now. Later you'll be useful as a sailor and have the necessary great stories to tell at night about hitting sharks on the nose in the Bahamas.

What you may find from the list that you make is that having a lot of money may allow you to achieve goals a little sooner, but the effort of going out and earning money to make something happen sooner is not worth the time, and more importantly the person you may become may have lost vigor and joy.

Back in the late '50s a young woman who desired a doctorate degree won over \$100,000 on a TV quiz show. Years later, in reflecting on the effect of the prize money, she said it made little difference in her life although it may have accelerated her degree by a few years. She was a strong woman and knew what she wanted to do with her life. She's Doctor Joyce Brothers.

Her experience is not uncommon. People who know what they want to DO with their lives go ahead and do it. They don't make

the money first doing something else. It often turns out that money and the possessions which go with making lots of money are responsibilities and restrictions that inhibit freedom. The possessions unrelated to your livelihood are often amassed to help you feel better about yourself.

Check your list again and see how many possessions are listed there. Most possessions on your list are abundantly available. Many things can be borrowed from friends who are willing to share. That includes everything from a ski condominium in Snowmass to an Aston-Martin race car. With a good network of friends, nearly anything is possible. The alternative to investing your energy in making money is developing strong friendships. This means being an interesting, trustworthy and helpful person yourself.

When you are unable to locate something you need among your friends, consider renting the piece of equipment. Finding and restoring "discards" can be an alternative to save both money and resources. Perhaps you have possessions you can trade to a friend or neighbour in exchange for something more useful. Service bartering can be an even more rewarding experience. It costs no more than time and energy spent with a friend. If you have a skill, share it with others.

In writing and examining your values it's helpful to talk to someone who is wise. The wisdom of millions of our ancestors has been very consistent on this point, and wise people constantly pass it on to us. The goal of amassing (getting a lot of) money is traditionally called "greed" and regardless of your motives in getting the money (freedom, charity, or anything else) the results will not be what you hope for. Instead the wise teachers of tradition tell us to go ahead and do the things we want and become good at them. In that lies our freedom.

"Describe the things you need to shape the kind of person you want to be..."

2. "People with a lot of money command more respect from others."

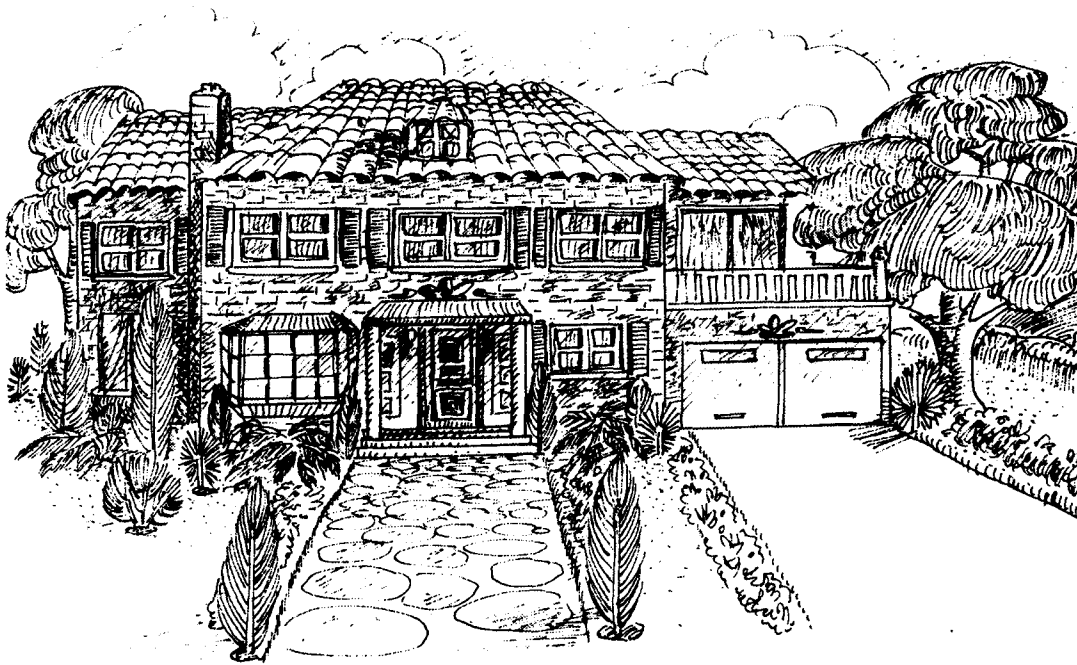
If you know that the first statement about money and freedom is false, then it will help you to see the fallacy behind money equating respect. In looking at the big cars and the big houses we often believe that their owners can do much more than we can. If indeed the people with big cars and houses can do more than we can, then it probably isn't their money, it's other qualities that they may have such as knowledge, experience, and friends. It isn't their money. A common experience in business is the person who builds a successful company, goes broke, and then builds up a new company again starting from scratch.

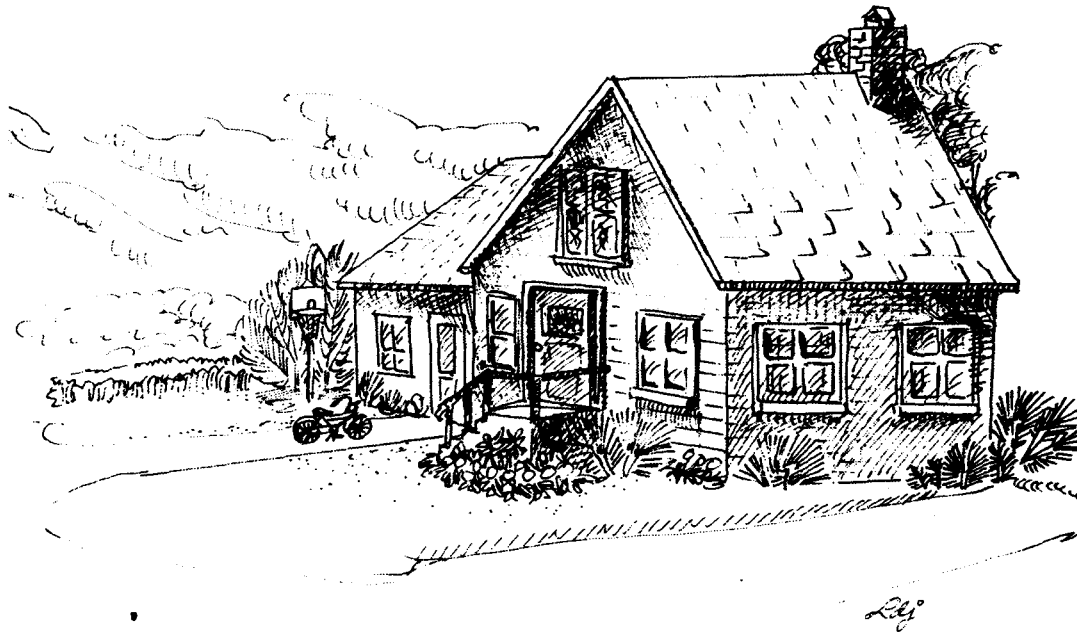
If we believe we personally want respect, it helps to make a list of the qualities we

want to have, qualities that lead others to respect us, qualities that we want our children to have or our friends to have. Do words such as loyal, honest, and generous occur on your list? A careful examination of these qualities reveals that each of them has to do with how we conduct our daily lives and not how much money we have.

Now make a list of the people you love, Bob, Annie, Carole, and David. Examine the list to see if it's ranked in the order of how much money they have. There is probably no relationship between love and the amount of money they have. The same criteria we apply to others can be applied to us. Money isn't a reason for friendship or respect.

3. "I need more money for my family."





Why shouldn't people be generous with their families! This seems like reasonable parental behavior. It's when people use this concept as an excuse for doing something that they would rather not do that it is a fallacy. When someone works at a job that they find unpleasant, monotonous (too demanding), stressful, or frustrating and say they do it for their family, they're talking nonsense.

Many people work long hours, develop ulcers and live with great stress because they believe their family benefits. Stop and ask your family what they want. Would your children rather have a Winnebago camper (which may mean the main wage earner works a lot of overtime) or would they rather have you at home to spend time together or go on a camping trip with ordinary sleeping bags and tents? **Give your family the choice between those possessions and the time and peace of mind you are diverting from them to earn it.**

Another useful technique is to look at a picture of two houses — one a glamorous mansion, the other a modest home with a bicycle near the front door. Which one of the houses has a happier family? Most people would say "I can't tell" when the question is posed this way because we know in our hearts money and possessions have nothing to do with happiness.

4. "Money is necessary for security in old age."

Michael is blessed with a father who is a living contradiction of this. When he was 65, his father retired from teaching anthropology and social sciences with a modest pension and Social Security income of \$300 a month. He sold his home and all his belongings, including a lifetime collection of tools and books which brought almost no revenue. He bought a van in England and proceeded to drive east with his wife (Michael's parents were divorced 15 years earlier). He got teaching jobs along the way and stopped anywhere he found interesting.

Driving as far east as they could go, they ended up in Malaysia where they bought part of a South China Sea island near Singapore for \$2,000. They now live part time on their island with a sandy beach, coconut trees, fresh fish, and lots of Malaysian and Chinese friends. They live on less than \$100 a month and save the rest for numerous trips they take to all parts of the world including back to the U.S. One of the most surprising benefits is that they see many of their old friends from all over the world regularly. Everyone wants to visit their tropical paradise for a vacation. With Singapore nearby, they have all the comforts of a major international city with its cuisine, culture, and excitement.

Michael's father could live on any amount of money. In the seven years since he retired he hasn't touched his savings. How about health care and medicine? One of his closest friends is chief of a major research hospital in Malaysia that is better than 98 per cent of the hospitals in the U.S. Friendship is more powerful than money.

From the Grey Panthers to people in retirement villages the ones who are happy in their old age are the ones that have the same qualities that Michael's father has, being friendly and flexible. Money makes no difference at all. With friends, especially ones of all ages, you can solve the problems that arise, whether it's tax increases, inflation or legal hassles — problems that other people can't handle because times have changed and their lifetime experiences and contacts are inappropriate. Friends also provide vitality, emotional support and new friends — which is especially valuable after age 75 when one out of ten

old friends dies each year.

Flexibility in attitude is also essential as your body becomes less reliable. We all know old people who say, "Close the window, the draft is terrible," "I can't sleep in that bed, it's too soft," and "I don't like to be around those kinds of people." With that attitude, who wants to be around THEM?

Michael's mother, who is also a positive example for him, has been living on her own for the last 20 years. She built a small contemporary house for herself and has always been gregarious and flexible. Even past seventy, she's involved in the politics of her city, art-related projects, and is the local fund raiser for the ACLU. (Any of her friends can call her for help on anything and she'll do it.) When she comes to visit San Francisco, several of Michael's friends always insist on spending time with her and showing her around. She travels regularly, often being invited on global trips just for her company and knowledge. You don't hear her complaining about comfort issues or how terrible the world is today.

The three of us have worked with many older people who had lots of money. In a case where the husband had earned the money we frequently find that the husband is confident and secure but the wife is anxious and often hysterical. He has earned the money in the first place and knows he could do it again even in his old age; the woman has no such experience and dreads the day when her husband will die and she has to face the world alone. No amount of money that we have seen can calm this kind of fear.

How do you prepare for old age? How do you prepare for inflations, wars, and depressions of the future? By being the kind of person other people want to be around. Competent, helpful, flexible, curious, generous, and experienced in dealing with the world.

The Moral

If you have friends and make an effort to be an interesting person, money is irrelevant. You can have a great deal of freedom and respect during your life and security in your old age. However if you are a loner, rather selfish, with narrow interests in life, then making a lot of money may be your only way to make it through life. ■

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Ex-banker, Michael Phillips is the Author (with Salli Raspberry) of "The Seven Laws of Money", and "Honest Business", available from Random House, 400 Hahn Road, Westminster, MD 21157.

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

Volume 7

Issue 2

Spring 1984

It's Difficult

...Striving to live simply in a world which tells us differently is a challenge worth pursuing. It is difficult to turn down the enticements of owning more and more, even though the family budget is skyrocketing. It is difficult to turn down the lure of numerous involvements outside of the home when it means night after night of meetings, leaving the family behind. It is difficult to slow down the exciting pace of building a business or pursuing a career when it means little contact with your little people at home. Families require that turning down, that slowing down, and the rewards are far more fulfilling than the quick pace spiral set by society...

Marie Luttrell
British Columbia Council
for the Family

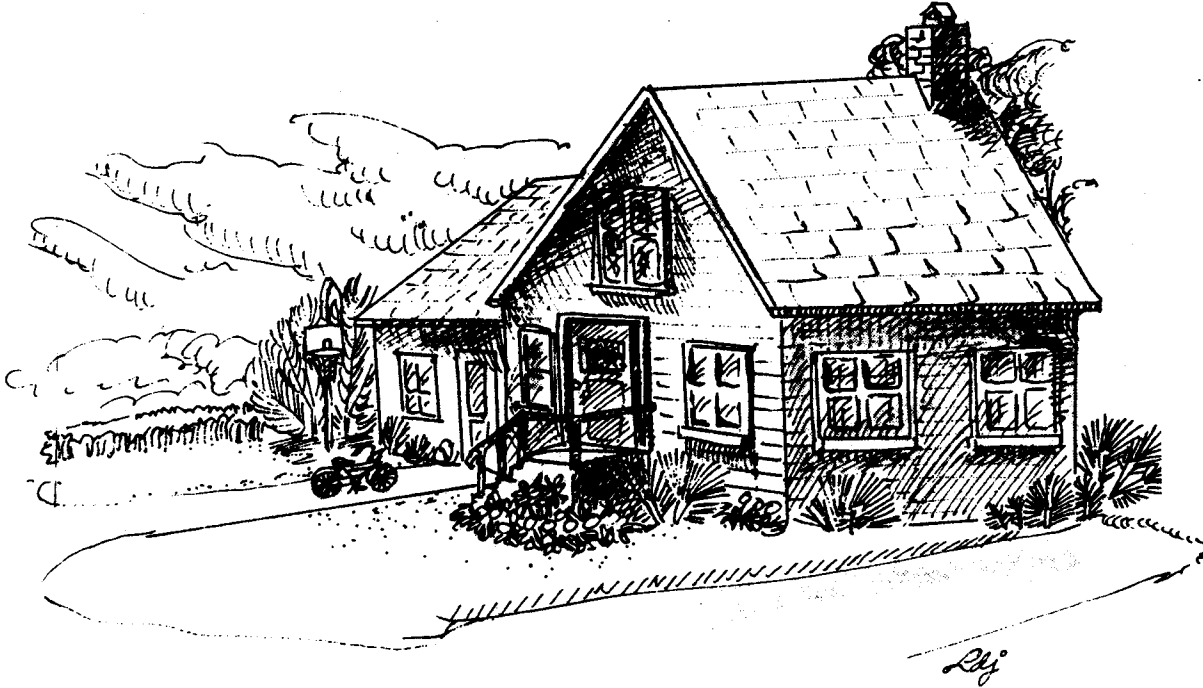
Consumerism, Materialism & Kids...

Thanks for the Recession

Newsweek Magazine July 25, 1983

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We had a choice. I could put the kids in a day-care centre and go back to work in a hardware store to boost our income, or we could sell our home.



We had built the house ourselves and built into it a lot of dreams.

Special thanks to Liz Goodwin for drawing this article to the attention of the editor.

CSPCC Journal Autumn 1983

Through our economic crisis we discovered that you can lower your standard of living and be happy — probably happier than you are now.

Cynthia Hollander

A few years back we had a new three-bedroom home, a new car, a TV, a stereo and all the other expected accompaniments of a typical up-and-coming family. Then the recession hit, the stork delivered and bad luck stomped through our lives spewing car repairs, appliance repairs and hospital bills in its wake.

I had quit work two years before when our son was born, with no great sacrifice to our financial situation. My husband, a skilled carpenter, always had plenty of work, so my salary was just gravy — extra money for savings or indulgences. Our daughter had just been born when interest rates skyrocketed and work became scarce. There was nothing being built for 50 miles.

We had a choice. I could put the kids in a day-care centre and go back to work in a hardware store to boost our income, or we could sell our home.

It was a tough decision on first thought. We had built the house ourselves and built into it a lot of dreams. But finally it came down to this: which was more important to our kids — having their own bedroom and a new colour TV, or having a mother?

What was more important to us — training our children ourselves instead of letting

others impose their morals and life-styles, or a dishwasher and thick carpets?

Put like that, the decision wasn't hard to make. We sold the house for what we could get, bought a mobile home and cut expenses to the minimum. Now, two years later, my husband is working full time again and I am one of the few Americans who can thank Mr. Reagan for the recession.

Through our economic crisis we discovered that you can lower your standard of living and be happy — probably happier than you are now.

We are better people than we were two years ago when we were crying over the loss of our home. Hard times have taught us a valuable lesson that we all recite idiotically but few of us really believe: material possessions do not make you happy. For every material thing we gave up, we gained something of greater value.

For example, take the TV. Ours quit working right after the birth of our son. Thank goodness we didn't have the money for a new one right then. My children actually think when they are asked what they want for Christmas instead of regurgitating a commercial slogan. They sing songs instead of jingles. On the rare occasions when they watch TV at a friend's home, they are appalled when someone is hit in the

We are better people than we were two years ago when we were crying over the loss of our home.

For every material thing we gave up, we gained something of greater value.

face and horrified at cruelty and violence.

It is true that at times we are treated like freaks because we don't have a TV. I've been asked, "How do you raise kids without a television?"

My answer: "Better."

Thanks, Mr. Reagan, for the recession. I might never have had the courage to dump the junk box without a push from you.

We didn't have the money for new furniture when we moved into our trailer, so I refinished an old table and chairs. We couldn't afford a dishwasher, so I washed dishes by hand. These projects inspired the first articles I sold to magazines, fulfilling my dream of being a free-lance writer. I think it might have been a little more difficult selling articles on choosing a dining-room set with unlimited funds. Cutting back forced me to learn new skills and appreciate the fine points of old ones. It gave me confidence in myself and confidence in the stability of my family.

Thanks Mr. Reagan, for helping me find untapped resources I did not realize I had.

Without the fetters of mortgages and unessential family demands, my husband decided to work for himself. He has been successful but has avoided the consuming drive for more and more. He takes the time to be a good father and husband, which to

me is so much more important than bringing home an even bigger cheque.

Thanks for letting my husband, Leonard, know that his value to us is not measured by income.

What we have learned is the definition of necessity. Before, we took it for granted that we would work to buy the things "necessary" for a happy family. Today we ask ourselves, "Is this worth working for or would we rather do something else with our time?"

Recently we discussed putting in air conditioning, then we stopped to think. Do we really want to work just to pay outrageous utility bills? No. We would rather stay home and take the kids fishing when it is hot.

What we have gained is an appreciation of time. I can't say that money is not important. It is. But how I spend my time is equally important. I've got friends who tell me how lucky I am to be able to stay at home with my children.

"I would just love to spend the time with my own kids," they will say, "but I just have to work." Then they straighten their new skirt, climb into their second car and go home to a microwave dinner.

I just smile and say, "Bull."

We have each chosen what we value. Time will tell which had true worth. ■

"I would just love to spend the time with my own kids," they will say, "but I just have to work."

I just smile and say, "Bull."

EMPATHIC PARENTING

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

Volume 11

Issue 1

Winter 1988

When There Are No Values

MONEY, MONEY, MONEY is the incantation of today. Bewitched by an epidemic of money enchantment, Americans in the Eighties wriggle in a St. Vitus's dance of materialism unseen since the Gilded Age or the Roaring Twenties. . . .

The point is not that the money society has triumphantly driven out all the solid, estimable values, like the shaggy barbarians at the gates of Rome. Rather, the money society has expanded to fill the vacuum left after the institutions that embodied and nourished those values — community, religion, school, university, and especially family — sagged or collapsed or sometimes even self-destructed.

Now we live in a world where all values are relative, equal, and therefore without authority, truly matters of mere style. Says Dee Hock, former chief of the Visa bank-card operation: "It's not that people value money more but that they value everything else so much less - not that they are more greedy but that they have no other values to keep greed in check. They don't know what else to value". Or as University of Pennsylvania sociologist E. Digby Baltzell puts it: "When there are no values, money counts. . . ."

Myron Magnet
page 26

EMPATHIC PARENTING:

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

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

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

Adult Qualities We Value?

Is it the objective of our child care practises to develop the capacities which make this type of adult behaviour possible?

"Hurt not others in ways that you yourself would find hurtful."

**Udanavarga
(Buddhism)**

"As you wish that men would do to you, do so to them."

**Luke 6:31
(Christianity)**

"Do not unto others what you would not have them do unto you."

**Analects 15:23
(Confucianism)**

"Do naught unto others which would cause you pain if done to you."

**Mahabharata 5:1517
(Hinduism)**

"No one of you is a believer until he desires for his brother that which he desires for himself."

**Sunan
(Islam)**

"That which is hateful unto you, do not impose on others."

**Talmud, Shabbat 31a
(Judaism)**

“We must be willing to face the hard reality that preventing child abuse and neglect is possible only when we are ready to attack its sources in the fabric of our society and culture, rather than merely provide social and medical services to its victims.”

David Gil

The informal Economy

by David Ross and Peter Usher

In no former society did the family, household or community play as subservient a role in production as is the case in modern industrial society. Such informal activity is downgraded partly because no pre-industrial society has ever spawned as large and powerful an economic institution as the modern corporation. The transformation is perhaps all the more remarkable in view of its rapidity. Industrialization has been a dominant form of production for no more than six or seven generations in any part of the globe, and for many fewer in Canada. Yet so pervasive has industrialization and its values become that we view any society which has not yet undergone that process as backward, unfortunate and poverty-ridden. We dismiss any alternative to it in the future as utopian fantasy. Our notions of work, income and success, and of progress, modernity and development, are thoroughly rooted in the values of the industrial state.

As the dollar shrinks and unemployment grows, and as we become grudgingly accustomed to the possibility that tomorrow may not bring more than we have today, we hear a lot of talk about “the economy”.

This economy is carefully monitored. Every day the media tells of its performance as indicated by the value of the dollar, of gold, of commodities and of stock market shares. We are further informed of its performance every week by the bank rate, every month by the unemployment rate and the consumer price index, and every quarter by the balance of payments and trade, and the gross national product (GNP). And every

day yet another economist forecasts how these indicators might perform in the next six months or a year, and by implication, how well off we can expect to be.

Yet what we commonly call “the economy” is not the economy as a whole, but only market or business activity. What is supposedly measured by the use of these indicators is not the total of economic activity, but only those goods and services produced for market exchange or in return for taxes, as well as the rate and efficiency at which the various factors of production — land, labour and capital — are employed to those ends.

It is important to think about an economy in terms of the nature and quality of the relationships which result from particular forms of organization...

Economists debate among themselves about how useful or effective these indicators are, and they continue to devise new ones. These indicators are attractive because they can be quantified in tangible units of measurement: man-hours, tonnes, hectares, and especially, dollars. Economists may also debate how comprehensive these measures really are — for example, how much unrecorded or illegal economic activity goes unaccounted for.

Yet there is a vast amount of legal productive activity which is not intended for market exchange, not normally measured by the conventional indicators, and of which we read very little on the business page.

Consider, for example, the production of such essentials as food, clothing, shelter and heat for one's own use or for exchange within one's family or community. Consider childrearing, housework, and home maintenance and renovations (if these services are not hired out). A study done for Statistics Canada estimates that the household production section would contribute another 40-50 per cent to the GNP if recorded.

Moreover, how much of our growth in GNP is simply the substitution of formal for informal production. Has economic growth in recent decades been as great as our measures suggest? A family meal at McDonald's is accounted for by GNP, but the meal at home is not. The same criticism applies to day-care activities, home renovation, in fact all activities once performed in the home but now contracted out commercially or supplied by governments.

There is also a broad range of volunteer and community work which does not enter the market. There are emerging forms of cooperative, collective, and community enter-

prise and unconventional small business activity that fit uncomfortably within the traditional economic frameworks, analyses and measuring devices.

We are all aware of these non-market activities, but we don't ordinarily think of them as economic. Yet obviously they produce goods and services which are of value to people. All of this activity, which lies outside the institutional market system and, hence, largely beyond the conventional framework of measurement, monitoring and regulation is sometimes referred to as the informal economy in contrast to the formal or market economy.

What is the informal economy?

Recognition of the informal economy — activities with tangible outputs not fully measured by the GNP — has gained some currency in recent years. In practice, the term is often confusingly used to describe at least three distinct phenomena.

One is economic activity which is deliberately concealed because it involves theft, black marketing or tax avoidance. This sector is also referred to as the underground or black economy. A second is the domestic sector of pre-industrial or non-industrial economies: for example, subsistence agriculture, inshore fisheries and the hunting economies of native peoples. This domestic sector is an important part of Third World economies, as well as of life in some rural and northern parts of Canada. Its maintenance continues to be a central concern of many rural and native Cana-

For peoples' needs are satisfied not only by commodities but also by their relationships with other people.

The paramount principles guiding firms and corporations are accumulation, profitability, productivity, efficiency and control.

dians today. The third involves both the production of goods and the provision of services in our homes and at the community level, generally not on a cash basis. These activities are neither illegal nor remote, and occur daily to some degree in every household.

Our discussion focuses on this third type of informal economy, which is distinguished by the following. It embraces those parts of the economy in which goods and services are exchanged informally and without money transactions. When money is involved, it is to provide sustenance and not to increase profits — the will to accumulate capital for its own sake is not present. It is unquantified, unrecorded, uncounted and often invisible. It includes the activities that men, women and children perform to make their homes and communities more satisfying places. It is work that people do for one another in the community without thinking about monetary gain.

Neglecting informal activity

The lowly state in which the productive and essential activities of the informal economy are held is reinforced by economics and sociology texts. They often suggest that the role played in modern industrial society by households, which represent the largest sector in the informal economy, is limited to selling its factors of production to larger economic organizations (firms, governments) and purchasing goods and services that these organizations produce.

The conventional wisdom is that production is performed by firms rather than households. Households' economic func-

tions are limited to consuming the output of firms, and giving birth to children, rearing and training them. Finally, the household nurtures the adult worker. The success of the household as a social unit is now commonly judged by the quality of the labour (the "human" capital) it provides to the larger institutions, and by the quantity of goods and services it can buy back.

But how are we to interpret the knowledge that households and the business community each purchased around \$25 billion worth of capital goods, or durables, in 1980? Which is the major producing sector? If a household buys a refrigerator or a car it is labelled capital "consumption", yet if a firm buys these identical items the purchase is labelled "capital" investment. In both cases, however, the same output is produced. The only difference is that the firm sells its output and the household does not. This hardly seems to be a worthwhile criterion to categorize activities as being either productive or consumptive.

It is not only the family or household sector that has seen the importance of its productive activities diminished. The same has happened to the community, which we are now inclined to recognize, if at all, as a purely social phenomenon. Macroeconomics deals with the economic functioning of nations, and the role of the state in regulating that function. Microeconomics deals with the behaviour of the basic units — firms and households — where the former is understood to be a producing unit and the latter a consuming one.

Nowhere in this scheme is there an economic function for the community, yet for most people, their most important and direct social relationships, beyond immediate family, are in some form of community associated with either work or neighbourhood.

Do these principles apply to the functioning of the family or the community?

What we must focus on in choosing different institutional forms of production — corporate, government, co-op, skill exchange — is the type of social patterns and behaviour associated with the production process.

If we ignore community in our analyses, how do we account for the rapid growth in small, neighbourhood consumer and producer co-operatives, or producer collectives dependent on people banding together? How can we account for the resurgence of interest in bartering and the setting up of skills exchanges. Where is the locus of initiative and support for community development enterprises if not in the community? And what about garage and lawn sales, and community flea markets? Finally, how do we account for the quarter million person-years donated freely to volunteer work in Canada in 1980 if we do not recognize the productive importance of community?

In no former society did the family, household or community play as subservient a role in production as is the case in modern industrial society. Such informal activity is downgraded partly because no pre-industrial society has ever spawned as large and powerful an economic institution as the modern corporation. The transformation is perhaps all the more remarkable in view of its rapidity. Industrialization has been a dominant form of production for no more than six or seven generations in any part of the globe, and for many fewer in Canada. Yet so pervasive has industrialization and its values become that we view any society which has not yet undergone that process as backward, unfortunate and poverty-ridden. We dismiss any alternative to it in the future as utopian fantasy. Our notions of work, income and success, and of progress, modernity and development, are thoroughly rooted in the values of the industrial state.

So enraptured are we by industrial organization, technology and the market that it rarely occurs to us that anything of value is done or produced without them. What people do on the job is production and work; what they do away from it is consumption and leisure. Work is rewarded by wages, consequently what is not so rewarded is not real work. "What do you do for a living?" is the question we most often ask on making someone's acquaintance, for it is by knowing his or her job and salary that we believe we obtain the most useful infor-

mation on which to pass judgement. Those who are unemployed — detached from wage work — feel compelled to answer this question apologetically, regardless of what they might actually be doing with their time, or what kind of people they are.

The social side of production

There are many ways to characterize and judge an economy or producing sector. The ones we are most familiar with are economic: the nature and volume of production (output); the amounts and combinations of labour, capital and resources required (inputs); the amount of employment; and the income, rents, revenues and profits generated (the returns to the various inputs). We might also think of the structures or institutions which characterize an economy.

In any economic activity, however, people enter into relationships, voluntarily or otherwise, both with other individuals and with the institutions — companies, banks, co-ops, government agencies, or whatever — that are also engaged in that activity. So it is also important to think about an economy in terms of the nature and quality of these relationships which result from particular forms of organization. For peoples' needs are satisfied not only by commodities but also by their relationships with other people.

One of the underlying beliefs of modernization and development, as we apply these concepts to both the less "advanced" sectors of our own economy as well as to the Third World, is the idea that the rationale and organization of an industrial state should become more and more pervasive. Lester Thurow, the American economist, recently wrote that "Man is an acquisitive animal whose wants cannot be satiated," reiterating a notion of economic man that has dominated western thought since Adam Smith. The implication is that

Then instead of choosing preferred economic structures simply on the basis of economic criteria — profitability, efficiency, export potential, etc. — we will choose also on the basis of the social behaviour they generate.

the more we become true “economic men”, the better the system works. But are we at heart “economic men”?

To what extent has 20th century man been moulded by the dominant economic institutions and the principles that seem to effectively motivate industrial production? And should these principles prevail in all spheres of our daily living?

The paramount principles guiding firms and corporations are accumulation, profitability, productivity, efficiency and control. And the principles guiding much government action are not radically different in nature. Do these principles apply to the functioning of the family or the community? Bad enough that workers are treated as, and behave, simply as factors of production between 9 and 5. Must that also be the case at home and in the neighbourhood?

What goes unnoticed in traditional economic analyses, and perhaps by all of us, is the social and personal impact that different economic institutions have. We aren't born as economic man, we are trained into the role by a special set of 20th century economic institutions. Families do not behave like corporations, even though they both produce things. And it is small wonder that many executives and assembly-line workers alike have to stop off for a martini or beer on their way home in order to make an adjustment in their behaviour and attitudes before they step through the front door. In the workplace they are single-dimensional factors of production intent on making profit, at home they are multi-dimensional people responding to a variety of situations prompted by motivations other than profit and efficiency.

What we must focus on in choosing different institutional forms of production — corporate, government, co-op, skill exchange — is the type of social patterns and behaviour associated with the production process. Then instead of choosing preferred economic structures simply on the basis of economic criteria — profitability, efficiency, export potential, etc. — we will

choose also on the basis of the social behaviour they generate.

Where do we go?

We do not claim that the informal economy serves the sum total of human wants and needs “better” than the formal, or that it is more “desirable” or should become an alternative to the formal. We do believe, however, that the informal economy is just as vital to our social well-being as the formal, and that public policy has tended to ignore and neglect the informal economy and its contribution to Canadian society.

Economic policy today is conducted with almost no appreciation for the informal economy. And in our view, sensible economic or social policy cannot possibly be arrived at if only part of the economy is being understood and considered.

There is a tendency among policy makers to think of the informal economy as belonging to the private sphere and therefore not to the public one. Hence government should say nothing about it. There are even those who believe that the informal economy is primarily the sphere of women and children, while business — the formal economy — is for men.

When consideration is given to informal activity it is through social, rather than economic, policy. Family allowances, child tax credit and day-care subsidies are social, while industrial incentives and subsidies are economic. In this view, economic and social matters are generally unrelated except insofar as greater productivity in “the economy” allows us to “pay” for social well-being.

In fact, the two economies are very much related, and economic policies designed for the public sphere have a host of implications, intended and unintended, for social

...it is suggested that the informal economy be of greater significance to economists and to public policy makers (and to the rest of us) than is now generally so.

policy in the so-called private sphere.

To take just one example. If McDonald's Restaurants buys a cooking range it can deduct some of the cost from its revenues because it is considered a capital investment. But if a household buys the identical cooking range it cannot deduct any of the cost from its income because it is considered to be consumer expenditure. The result is that society, through the tax system, is subsidizing McDonald's to produce family meals, thereby giving it a competitive edge over the household that chooses to cook its meals at home.

Here, then, is the case of an economic policy decision having a direct effect on the functioning of the household economy (or public policy affecting private practice).

Therefore, our policy proposals will spring from the belief that the formal and informal economies are not unrelated enclaves, and do not represent public and private spheres which can be treated as though there were no connection between the two. Consequently, it is suggested that the informal economy be of greater significance to economists and to public policy makers (and to the rest of us) than is now generally so. If the formal economy is not the engine that drives the entire system, and if growth, vitality and well-being (or their opposites) in it are not proportionately reflected in the informal sphere, then it cannot be assumed that what is good for the formal economy is good for the whole economy.

We are examining the implications of public policies for the informal economy in such areas as resource allocation and management, taxation, redistribution, property arrangements, the regulation of com-

merce and industry. The philosophy that guides our policy recommendations is one of enabling and encouraging the informal sector to develop and strengthen itself.

Because community and household economic activity is informal and personal means we will not propose that governments assume greater responsibility for or control over the informal economy. A "Department of the Informal Economy" would contradict the entire basis of our thinking. A strong and viable informal economy depends on it not being subject to the same kind of complex professional management and industrial organization that governs the formal economy.

At the same time, however, we don't think central governments can simply withdraw from the funding of social programs on the grounds that local communities can or should be solely responsible for these matters. The main question is how to redistribute the nation's income between the formal and informal sectors without complicating the redistribution process by imposing the agendas of large public or private bureaucracies.

Many of our present formal economic arrangements are not, as often believed, neutral with respect to the informal economy (as illustrated by the McDonald's example), but rather serve to make participation and production in it more difficult. They make it difficult not only for narrow economic reasons, but also because they undermine the social basis of the informal economy, and so diminish the social meaning and significance of these activities. ■

Reprinted with kind permission from the Vanier Institute of the Family publication TRANSITION — Toward a more familial society, Vol. 13, No. 1, March 1983. Drs. Ross and Usher are consultants to the Vanier Institute. This article was adapted from the introduction to their forthcoming book on the subject of the Informal Economy.

Familial Economics-

Economics as if Families Matter

Taking a cue from the late E. F. (Fritz) Schumacher, author of the book **Small is Beautiful***, the Vanier Institute of the Family for several years now has been investigating "economics as if families matter".

This analysis began in earnest in 1976, culminating in the publication of a VIF working paper, **Towards a New Work and Income Orientation**. A seminar in political-economic questions from a familial-community viewpoint followed in 1977. In 1978 the Institute published its discussion paper, **Some Reflections on the Evolution of Canada's Political Economy and Implications for Families and Communities.****

***Small is Beautiful** looks at the economic structure of the Western world in a revolutionary way. For Dr. Schumacher maintains that Man's current pursuit of profit and progress, which promotes giant organisations and increased specialisation, has in fact resulted in gross economic inefficiency, environmental pollution and inhumane working conditions. Dr. Schumacher challenges the doctrine of economic, technological and scientific specialisation and proposes a system of Intermediate Technology, based on smaller working units, communal ownership, and regional workplaces utilising local labor and resources. With the emphasis on the *person* not the product, **Small is Beautiful** points the way to a world in which Capital serves Man instead of Man remaining a slave to Capital.

****Available in English or French \$1.50 from The Vanier Institute of The Family, 151 Slater Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H3.**

CSPCC Journal Spring 1980

EMPATHIC PARENTING

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

Volume 12

Issue 2

Spring 1989

Re-socialization of Men

The real culprit in all this, of course, is the inflexibility of men. It comes back to that over and over again. Men are inflexible as fathers when they either do not assume more responsibility for care or do not provide support that they are committed to and put women in the position of starving or working outside the home. Then there are men in policy-making positions who are very inflexible and define child care as a woman's problem. Part and parcel of any childcare initiative needs to be a major initiative in male re-socialization. Otherwise, it's women and children who pay the price.

Dr. James Garbarino
President
Erikson Institute for
Advanced Study in Child Development

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

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

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Volume 12

Issue 1

Winter 1989

Creating a Better World

"I believe, however, that women will never be satisfied with a life that is an economic imitation of men's lives. Women must find a new way, a way of the spirit, and they must insist on an economic reality that acknowledges the concerns of the heart. If women are satisfied only to find success as men have found it, in the traditional marketplace separate from the home, we will never create a better world. When women polarize over daycare and at-home mommies, they polarize over a male model of the separation of work and family that has not worked for men and is not now working for women. It doesn't work, not because we need more daycare centers, but because the current social reality we emulate has no heart."

Peggy O'Mara

Editor, Mothering Magazine
Box 1690, Santa Fe, N.M. 87504

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James Robertson* on the Institutionalization of Home

"...It is not difficult to envisage developments in reproductive technology, such as test-tube babies, which, together with contraception, would relieve women wholly of their traditional biological role in child bearing. Nor is it difficult to envisage forms of social organization in which the responsibility for child rearing would be altogether removed from parents of either sex. This combination of technological and institutional developments would, at least in theory, allow for total sexual permissiveness and total equality between the sexes.

"This is the scenario for the future envisaged by sexual revolutionaries like Shulamith Firestone.¹ She looks forward to a form of cybernetic communism, in which each person could choose his lifestyle freely, changing it to suit his tastes without seriously inconveniencing anyone else; no one would be bound into any social structure against his will, for each person would be totally self-governing as soon as he or she was physically able. There would be nothing restricting love and sexual freedom. Even the incest taboo would fade away, and people would develop a natural

polymorphous sexuality. All close relationships would include a physical element, and our present concept of exclusive physical partnerships would disappear from our psychic structure. Wealth would be distributed and services of all kinds would be provided by the institutions of society, on the basis of need, independent of the social value of the individual's contribution to his fellows.

The diagrams suggest what this technologically based scenario could imply.

**JAMES ROBERTSON was born in Yorkshire in 1928. He was educated in Yorkshire and Scotland, and at Oxford University. After two years in the Army and one year in the Sudan, he joined the Colonial Office as an administrative civil servant. In 1960 he accompanied Mr. Harold Macmillan, then Prime Minister, on the 'wind of change' tour of Africa. From 1960 to 1963 he worked in the Cabinet Office as private secretary to the Head of the Civil Service and secretary of the Cabinet, Lord Normanbrook. He then spent two years in the Ministry of Defence.*

Robertson left Whitehall in 1965 to become a consultant in computer systems analysis and management science. In 1968 he set up the Inter-Bank Research Organization (IBRO), and remained its first director until 1973.

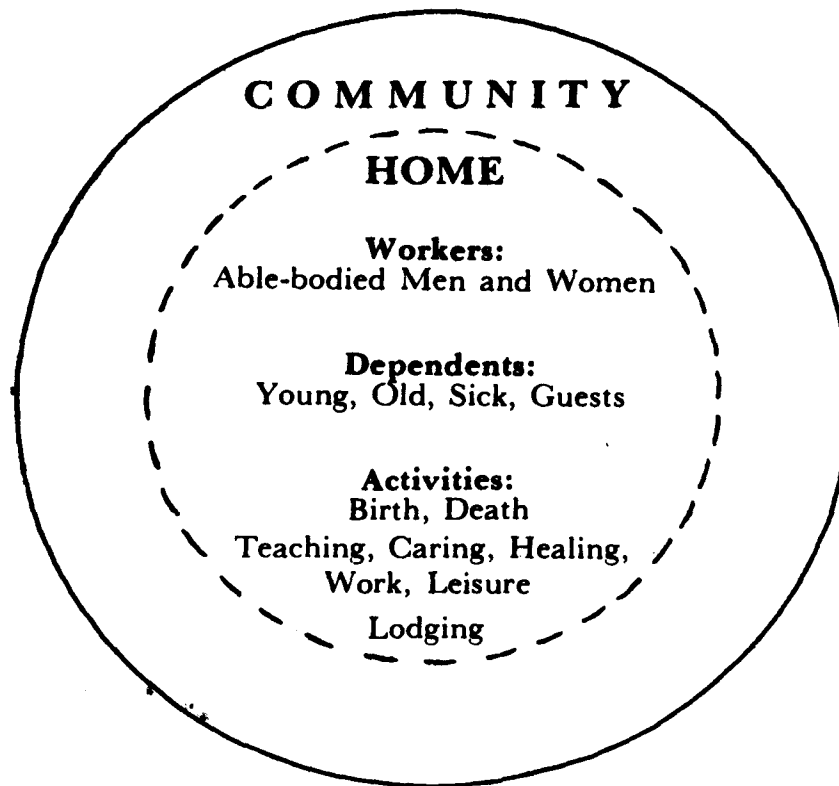
In 1968 Robertson submitted an influential memorandum to the Fulton Committee on the Civil Service. In 1968/69 he was appointed to advise the Procedure Committee of the House of Commons about parliamentary control of public expenditure and taxation. In 1971 his book was published on the 'Reform of British Central Government'. In 1972 he led the IBRO team that reported on 'London's Future as an International Financial Centre'.

Excerpted from the book "Power, Money and Sex" by James Robertson — A MARION BOYERS BOOK. Copyright James Robertson. Reprint permission granted without charge by the author. Other books by the same author include "Profit or People? The New Social Role of Money" published in 1974, and most recently "The Sane Alternative" published by River Basin Publishing Company.

1. Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex*. Paladin 1972.

Model 1: Integration

THE HOME IN THE COMMUNITY



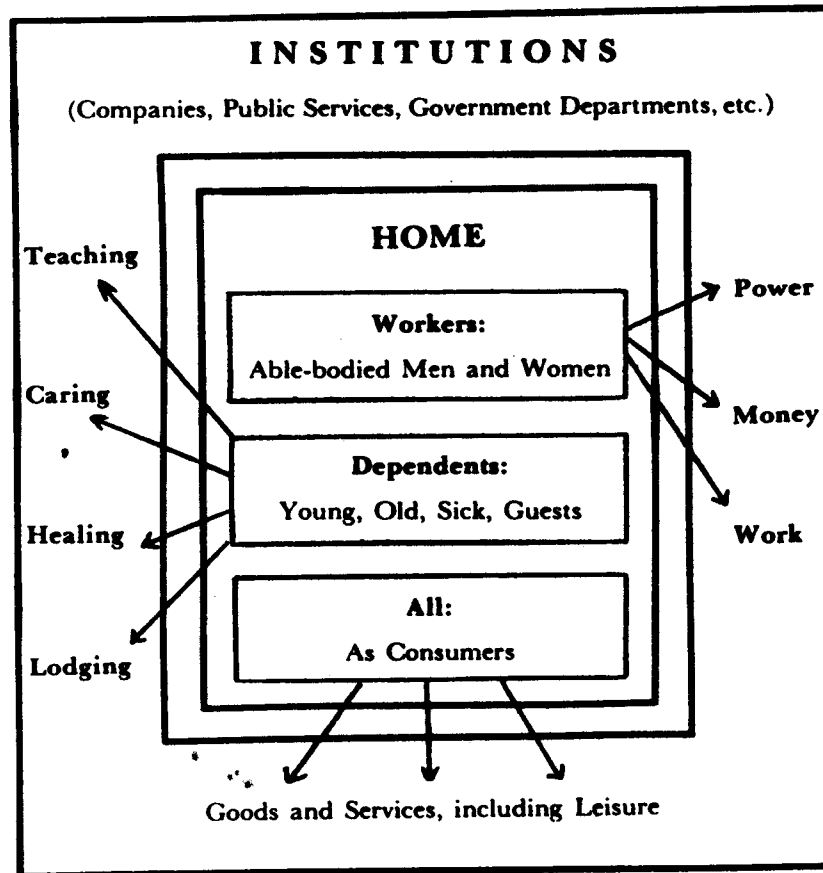
Model 1 refers to a society in which the dividing line between home and community is difficult to define.

Model 1 refers to a society in which the dividing line between home and community is difficult to define. Such a society is warm and organic. The home is open to extended family and friends and neighbours. In it and around it take place all the important activities of our lives. It contains, in the able-bodied members of the household community, male and female alike, the providers of goods and services and care; and it contains — in the young, the sick, the elderly, and in guests and travellers — those who depend upon the able-bodied.

Model 2 suggests a society in which all the important activities of our lives have moved out of the home. This society is cold and clinical. Children are born in laboratories, brought up in public nurseries, and educated in schools and universities; old people go to old folks' homes for geriatric care; sick people and dying people go to hospitals; able-bodied people go to factories and offices to work; travellers are expected to go to hotels and boarding houses. Unrestricted sexual freedom in an institutionalized society would presumably

Model 2: Fragmentation

THE HOME IN INSTITUTIONALIZED SOCIETY



Model 2 suggests a society in which all the important activities of our lives have moved out of the home.

even mean that people normally go out for sex, to specially organized meeting places, clubs and brothels.

In the last four or five hundred years human societies, especially in Europe, North America and other parts of the developed world, have been moving continually away from Model 1 towards Model 2. So much do we tend to take this for granted, that economists now assume that only the institutionalized activities of the kind of society shown in Model 2 should be

given any value. Only activities of that kind should count as contributing towards such things as 'national products', 'national income', and 'national wealth'. For example, if we all stopped buying vegetables from shops and supermarkets and grew them ourselves instead, the economists would detect a fall in national product and national income, and worry even more than they do already about the unsatisfactory rate of economic growth. Among the facts of life for economists is that growth re-

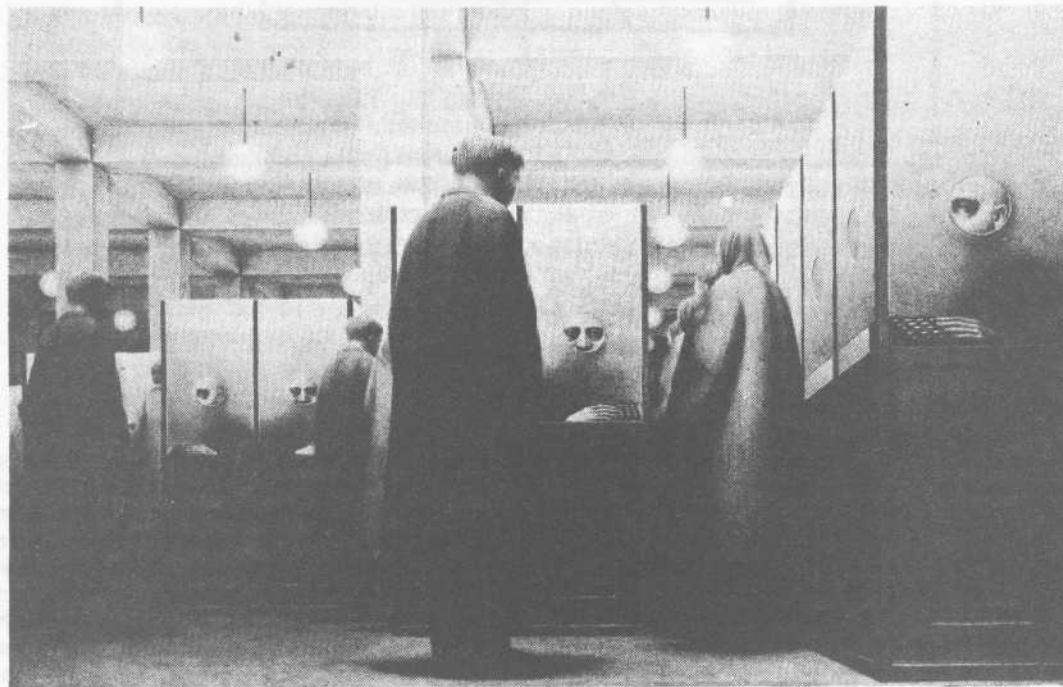
quires us to grow less food, and indeed to do less of everything for ourselves. The Daniel Bell/Shulamith Firestone² scenario implies that, taking the courage of these convictions in both hands, we should deliberately accelerate the transition away from a Model 1 society and complete its transformation into Model 2.

Shulamith Firestone avoids explaining precisely how we would move from the transitional form of society that exists today into the kind of cybernetic communism she envisages for the future; 'the specifics need not concern us here', she says. In this she is very wise. In the well known words of the Irishman in the story, 'I wouldn't start from here' if I were hoping to reach her destination. There are so many built-in features of present day culture and society, including the inherited attitudes and behaviour of men and women, that will block the social arrangements she has in mind.

The same could, perhaps, be said about all radical proposals for change. However, there are more important arguments against this kind of cybernetic communism. In the first place, there would be little room in it for the special qualities of men and women — logic and tenderness, reason and love, the head and the heart — which, in the right balance can constitute a fabric of civilized personal relationships in a sane

society. Moreover, bringing in technology to deal with the task of reproducing the species, in order to create a completely free society, would in fact involve society's final institutionalization and the final atomization of the individual. All his functions, all the contributions he or she can make to the well-being of himself and his fellows and to the future destiny of his species — the future of the world he lives in — would have been stripped from him, expropriated. This would be the logical conclusion — the *reductio ad absurdum* — of the view, put forward by Marcuse in *Eros and Civilization* but later rejected by him in *One Dimensional Man*, that automation and production technology can relieve human beings of all their tasks and that, being thus relieved, people will then be free to realize themselves and to create happiness for themselves and each other. It fails entirely to take account of the fact that self realization and happiness grow out of creativity and caring relationships with other people. A Model 2 society may aim to relieve people of their burdens; in fact, it would deprive them of their capacities. It may aim to make them free; in fact, it would make their alienation complete..." ■

2. Daniel Bell, *Toward the Year 2000*. Houghton Mifflin, 1968.



GOVERNMENT BUREAU, by George Tooker (egg tempera on gesso panel). Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y. George A. Hearn Fund, 1956. Our thanks to Mr. Tooker and the Metropolitan Museum for permission to reprint without charge. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Exit the Frog Prince

Men regard themselves as individuals and look to their own motives to justify or reprove their behaviour...They are blind to their participation in sustaining oppressive arrangements in human relations.

Dearest Prince,

I have not quite decided whether I should leave you. I know you are confused and anxious. You keep looking at me with that "what-ever-happened-to-the-princess-I-married" look. Your confusion is understandable. In the past few months, years, I have literally self-destructed. Disintegrated my false self, in order to reassemble my true self. Your self, unfortunately, is tailor-made for that old, false self. You are accustomed to playing "hero"; suddenly you're a "heavy".

Like many other men, you have difficulty seeing yourself as an oppressor because you have difficulty seeing yourself as a member of a class. Men regard themselves as individuals and look to their own motives to justify or reprove their behaviour. They suppress their symbolic role in an apolitical illusion of personal innocence: "I have never discriminated against women or bullied them, so why should I be accused?" They are blind to their participation in sustaining oppressive arrangements in human relations. They have accepted the way things are, and in that acceptance is an act of complicity — regardless of their own personal motives. Their individualistic view inevitably seduces them into interpreting efforts to redress the situation of women — "affirmative action" plans, etc. — as threats to their own individual rights. The hue and cry about "reverse discrimination" is a pathetic wall of self-centredness as the last lifeboats on the Titanic are loaded.

In working through my own liberation I

have experienced much anger and a great deal of fear. But I am beginning to emerge on the other side of that, now. I can begin to look beyond myself to be concerned in a new way about others. My anger has changed to anguish — anguish especially about you. In so many ways, your situation is worse than mine. Your self-deception is deeper and more profound.

I know you instinctively regard the "woman problem" as a question of giving them time and space enough to "catch up" with men. You don't see yourself as having a problem, too. White, middle-class American males always think that everything is someone else's problem — the blacks have a problem, women have a problem, chicanos have a problem. You don't recognize your own socialized masculinity as a problem, as the root of all the other problems.

In a sense everyone's liberation depends on the liberation of white males, precisely because they have the power to prevent women and minorities from seeking a broader range of alternatives if they do not play the game by the rules of the masculine value system. Unless you can admit that you are the problem and begin the task of liberating yourself and dismantling the male-ordered system, many so-called "liberated" women will be seduced into a patriarchal, elitist, one-dimensional, masculine role. We will simply have a new set of "half-persons" who happen to be female.

From the book KISS SLEEPING BEAUTY GOODBYE by Madonna Kolbenschlag. Copyright © 1979 by Madonna Kolbenschlag. Published by Doubleday and Co., Inc. Reprinted with kind permission from Doubleday.

Special thanks to Al Farthing for drawing this book to the attention of the editor.

You don't recognize your own socialized masculinity as a problem, as the root of all the other problems.

In many ways, you are more fragile than I. I know if I leave you, it will crush you beyond anything I will suffer. By being a good wife, mother, mistress, servant, handmaid, Girl Friday — and little else — I've made you all the more dependent on me for your sense of well-being. The impression of autonomy that you project to others is a well-practiced reflex. But you are not a truly free person. The heteronomy I struggle with binds me primarily to persons and to the demands they make on me. The heteronomy you have to exorcise is more abstract, insidious and pervasive. Independence will not necessarily free you to the extent that it will free me. I had to recognize that I had no being of my own. You have to recognize the extent to which your being is dependent on affirmation by women and by your "inferiors". Your dominance, your assumption of the natural superiority of the male sex, is really an attempt to guarantee the continued presence of those on whom you depend for your identity as a male.

As women, we are constantly made aware of our immanence, of our contingency, of the social and biological parameters that circumscribe our being*— we need few reminders of what it means to be female. Men, on the other hand, enjoy a more individuated transcending role. Thus, their awareness of their masculinity — in a patriarchal society — requires the recognition and confirmation of their supremacy. One can't be a Chief unless there are Indians who provide evidence of it, willingly or unwillingly.

The masculine role is at the same time more restrictive, more abstract and more artificial than the feminine role. Liberating yourself from it will perhaps be more difficult than my exodus from the feminine mystique. Girls grow up with a greater exposure to a same-sex parental model than

boys. In the relative absence of his father and care-taking male models for direct imitation, a boy absorbs a culturally rather than concretely defined masculine role: from his mother and teachers, from his peers, from television and other sources of conventional stereotypes. Thus, the role is more abstract and more demanding, more total and more distorted. Deviations from it are more critical; dilemmas abound. Being a man demands independent, aggressive, physically active, ambitious behaviour. Educational and societal values tend to be more feminine, emphasizing politeness, obedience, passivity, cleanliness, etc. These double-binds increase as a boy changes into a man, intensifying inner stress and conflict. Growing up male exacts a terrible price, ultimately requiring capitulation to the absolute heteronomy of the masculine ideal.

As a conditioned male you must undergo a mutilation of spirit that amputates some of your deepest human capacities. Feelings are perhaps the most serious threat to the masculine ideal. You are expected to play the role of the independent strong achiever, always in control, always deliberate, calculated. You are expected to be task-oriented, undistracted by personal matters. You are expected to repress any responses that might impede your efficiency in achieving your goals. And so you listen neither to your feelings, nor to your body. You do not sense the approach of illness or register the whispers of your own mind. You often do not hear what others are trying to say; you translate non-verbal messages poorly. Your belief in your own self-sufficiency makes you resistant to the idea of seeking help from someone else. Physically and emotionally, you ignore the pain that signals your innermost desire for health and growth. Not surprising that some psychologists compare the behaviour of

In a sense everyone's liberation depends on the liberation of white males.

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many men to that of autistic children: the characteristic fear of being touched, of expressing feelings, of relating intimately, with a compensating fixation of inanimate objects.

Sometimes you show very little respect for words; you are impatient with the process of communication and reflection. Your muteness and your silence are often testimony to your worship of will and action. You say you thrive on competition. I'm not so sure. All I know is, it drives you to do things you wouldn't do if you were in your right mind. Sometimes you even compete with your own kids.

In subtle ways you consistently invalidate the experience, the tasks of women. You play the "professional" and demand freedom from simple human tasks — at the cost of your humanity. You hide from life through "specialization". You want your work to be an escalator to success with as few deviations as possible. Oh, I envy your confidence in yourself. But I know it's only skin-deep. You're sure of yourself in the few roles — jobs you've mastered. Left without them, you collapse like a jellyfish in a heap of inadequacy. You haven't learned the art of living. You wear a public face easily, but you're very insecure in intimate situations. You know what mask, what language to use when, but you're out of sync with your inner self.

I would like to free you of your compulsive workaholism, your "breadwinner" fixation. But I can't share that load unless you relieve me of some of the burden of homemaking and child rearing. Can you learn to work less, earn less, spend more time with the kids — and be happy? If you can't then I can't be happy either. Can you stop measuring yourself by the size of your paycheck?

I want to be an equal partner with you in supporting our home and in building a world. I think I should work, but I don't want to betray myself in "liberating" myself into the marketplace. I know I have to learn how to cope with competition. But I don't want to be infected with it, as you are. If my professional advancement is going to depend on conforming to the male model of achievement (compulsive-accretive production, narrow specialization, manipulation of data, the ability to walk over others on the way up, "chutzpah" and hustling, a cool and stoic demeanor), then I would be a fool to remake myself in your image.

Your institutions are like your automobiles — extensions of your ego. So pervaded by the masculine consciousness that they have become lethal instruments, harmful to all forms of human life. Your hospitals, schools, universities, governments and churches are all corporations, factories. All in bondage to the idea of male supremacy, that might makes right and wealth dictates policy, where workers are excluded from ownership and decision making, and profit becomes synonymous with survival. Most of your institutions are still modelled on the plantation — a few privileged white-male professionals supported by a huge substructure of underpaid, underprivileged, largely female labour force.

When I work in these institutions, I have to endure high visibility as a woman and low visibility as a professional and as a person. My comments are frequently ignored at committee or board meetings. But if you make the same proposal a few minutes later, it's accepted enthusiastically. You are conditioned to notice my face, figure, clothes, manner, but have very little talent for observing and judging capacity. In fact,

Feelings are perhaps the most serious threat to the masculine ideal.

Can you learn to work less, earn less, spend more time with the kids — and be happy?

you are exceptionally stupid when it comes to making judgements about women. Probably because you prefer to surround yourself with "safe" types who will not attempt to challenge or change anything. The fact that they often turn out to be incompetent or lacking in conviction seems to have escaped you.

I'm tired of cloaking my competence with a veneer of coyness — so as not to castrate my male peers. I'm tired of having to let you win — whether it's in checkers or politics. Do I have to spend my entire life coddling male egos? (High school and college were a prolonged ordeal of this kind of dishonesty.) When are you going to recognize your paranoia of competent, assertive women for what it is? An infantile reflex against Mom. Look at me: I'm not your mother, your older sister, your baby sister, your first-grade teacher, your servant, or your pet — I'm your peer. I'm a person.

I'm tired of lobbying for shared responsibility, equal pay, promotions and job opportunities. Women have always wanted these things, unless they've been brainwashed beyond repair. We won't get these things, however, until men realize that they have to give up something — power, advantage — in order for us to be equal. Until you promote women's liberation, there won't be any. It isn't going to happen by natural evolution — your present position is too comfortable. You play the "anointed" role, as if authority always had to be given to the oldest son. It might be easier to take if you simply acknowledged the lust for power and the insecurity that underlies your need to be in charge. But you keep referring your status to some fundamental principle of cosmic order, or worse yet, as "God's plan for the human species". The possibilities of human destiny, human structures and human relationships are infinitely more

varied than this. Stand back and let the future unfold.

But let us not be naive. The mere presence of women in new jobs, in management positions — in greater numbers — is not necessarily going to make a difference. Misogyny and patriarchy run deep, in women as well as men. Much more fundamental changes in social structures are needed if human persons are to develop to their full spiritual maturity.

The look on your face tells me I am guilty, too. Yes, I hate myself for the subtle ways in which I seduce you into being a traditional male — how do we unlearn these old scripts? How can I begin to show you that your personhood means more to me than your masculinity? Will the world around us still convince you otherwise?

I am torn between my resentment of your protective paternalism and the real need I have of the security of your love, your help and your confidence in me. But please, no more Pygmalion postures. I'm trying to reclaim my responsibility for myself, for my own growth and maturity. If I fail, I fail. On the other hand, I don't like being ignored either. You find it easy to promote, help and encourage — to nurture — other men. But you leave women to their own devices. Your distance forces me to work twice as hard to prove myself.

In countless ways we need each other as models for change. But I don't want to be what you are, and you wouldn't want to be what I have been. Can we become something new together?

I am perturbed by your isolation from other men. Oh, you maintain a certain easy acceptance of each other. You can always depend on your cronies for assistance, commiseration. But you have no really intimate male friends, one or two "soul friends", to whom you could open your heart. Am I the only one you can achieve

Can you stop measuring yourself by the size of your paycheck?

I don't want to be what you are, and you wouldn't want to be what I have been. Can we become something new together?

that kind of intimacy with? That's too much for one person to have to provide.

You seem unwilling to admit the presence of "love" in your relationships with other men. Although I suppose if you did, I might instinctively reflect jealousy or suspicion — I've been conditioned too.

I'd like to have some friendships with other men that don't necessarily involve sex. I know I'm capable of this kind of relationship, but I can't seem to find many men who are. Most of them assume that sex is the terminal point of all relationships. And then there's the problem of your possessiveness and jealousy.

I worry about your influence on our children, on the young people we care for. You treat the boys so differently from the girls. Your hyperanxiety about your son is already affecting him. If you were around more, perhaps your daughter would be better off too.

All of these anxieties and frustrations have brought me to a point of decision about you. My own anger and depression finally forced me to transform my life. What will it take to transform yours? Is rejection the only way to open your eyes? Do I have to leave you, abandon you to your self-serving universe? If we go our separate ways, there will be pain and loss. The tapestry of relationships that we have woven with our lives will be rent. If we remain together, we may succumb to the bribes of our old way of life and be diminished that much more. Either way there is risk.

Change will no doubt be more precarious for you than for me. It will be a more lonely, more alienated path. In shedding the husk of your reflected masculine glory, you will discover what many women already know — what it means to be a no-thing. Women in the process of a consciousness

breakthrough usually experience rage and frustration. Our behaviour is often overtly anti-male. Men undergoing the same process will experience more of a feeling of loss. Anger and resolve motivate a woman to sustain her changed consciousness and evolve new relationship patterns. As she withdraws from male hegemony she will often discover the support and encouragement of other women who will reach out to her in her struggle. You, on the other hand, are likely to suffer the loss, not only of the women to whom you can no longer relate in the old way, but also the loss of your male buddies — because you have betrayed the masculine code. You will be alone, you will be tempted to revert to the old patriarchal and macho scenarios. You have everything to lose by continuing the struggle; I have everything to lose by giving it up.

I want you to know that I understand what is at stake for you. I want you to know that I can support you in that death and rebirth process — it is the price of reclaiming your humanity and your own soul. I can be your companion. My conversion to feminism is an unfinished, incomplete experience unless it leads to your liberation. We can walk beside each other and support each other. We need not be spouses — in fact, it might be better if we weren't. Believe me when I say that I want you to be different (in spite of the fact that I sometimes behave instinctively to the contrary). If I give up my princess ways, will you give up your princedom?

I know I will have to steel myself to accept the consequences. If you begin to take on more responsibility for home and children, I will have to sacrifice some of my patriarchal prerogatives there. If you begin to shed the "team" mystique at work, take a stand on sensitive issues, work fewer

In shedding the husk of your reflected masculine glory, you will discover what many women already know — what it means to be a no-thing.

If you begin to shed the "team" mystique at work, take a stand on sensitive issues, work fewer hours, I will have to bear with the consequences in loss of promotions, lower pay, job changes, whatever may come.

hours, I will have to bear with the consequences in loss of promotions, lower pay, job changes, whatever may come. I'll have to bear with insecurity and loss of status without putting guilt on you. You'll have to stop putting guilt on me for abandoning the "imperial motherhood" role in the home and the Girl Friday role in the office.

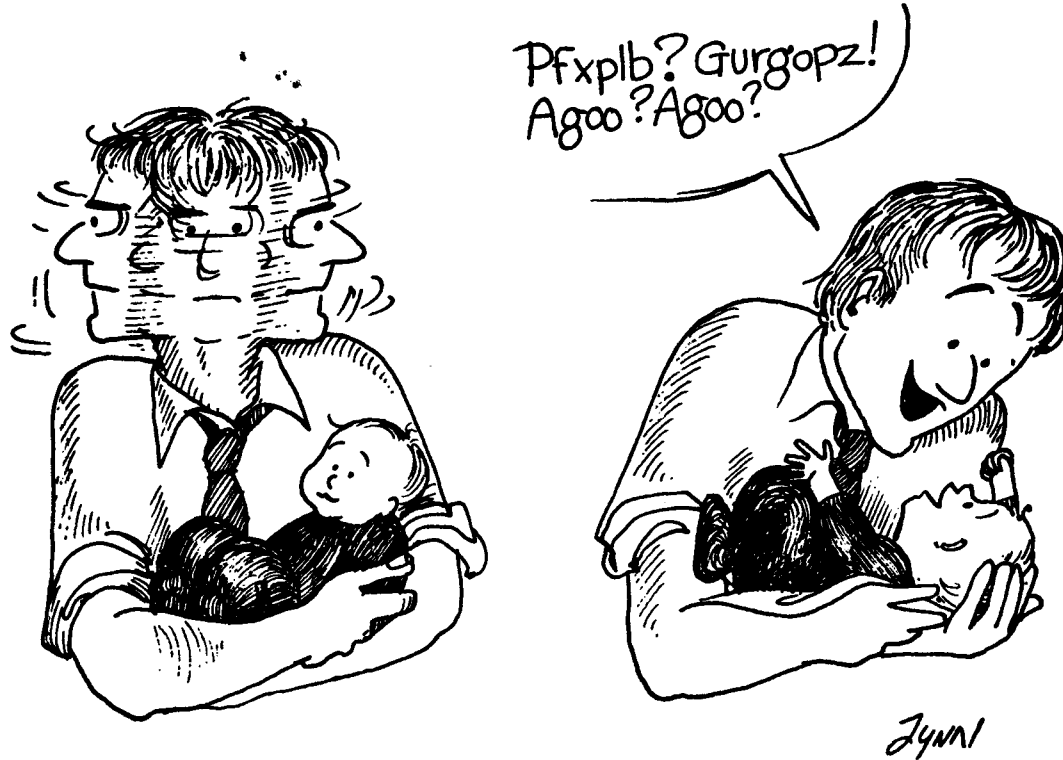
Perhaps the most difficult change of all will be admitting that neither of us can be all things to the other. If we are married, we will have to allow others to be a part of our lives, individually and together. We will need more than other supportive couples, mirror images of our own dyad. I will need women and men as friends; you will need men and women as friends.

We have to be committed to this transformation. These changes will come slowly and painfully. We will have to bear with different rhythms of growth in each other. We

will have to persevere in them in spite of the pressures of society. We will have to explode and upset our life together, occasionally, in order to find new ways to keep ourselves growing. This commitment to each other's liberation and growth should be our best reason for being together. If that is not a part of our continuing compact, then even if I love you, I must leave you.

You came into my life once and awakened me from sleep, rescued me from servitude, led me through the forest safely. I can do nothing less for you. Can we walk out of the fairy tale into the future together?

With love and hope,
Sleeping Beauty,
Snow White,
Cinderella,
Goldilocks
and Beauty



The Prevention of Sexism

by George W. Albee

Sexism is defined and described as a form of psychopathology — delusional and dangerous to others. An examination of the origins of sexism suggests religious and economic causation. The prevention of sexism goes beyond consciousness raising among psychologists to social and political efforts to create a just society.

To apply the logic of psychological science to the pervasive problem of sexism, the proper linear steps are (a) to define the problem or condition; (b) to study the distribution of the condition — a process that usually requires an assessment of prevalence across social classes, age groups, cultures, and historical time periods; (c) to formulate hypotheses about causes arising out of these observations; and then (d) to propose action to eliminate causes or to render them less damaging or less virulent.

This approach considers sexist prejudice, sexist attitudes, and sexist behavior in individuals and groups to be a form of psychopathology. **Sexism, like other forms of prejudice, can validly be regarded as a species of delusion — false beliefs rooted in emotional and personal needs.** But like other forms of psychopathology, we must look for causes beyond only individual psychodynamics — we must look to the dynamics of the larger societal context, especially as we attempt to formulate primary prevention programs.

First, we will define sexism, examine the damaging consequences of sexism on women and on men, and attempt to identify the causes of sexism to allow formulation of approaches to prevention. We will then consider, in order, approaches involving tertiary prevention, secondary prevention, and primary prevention.

Excerpted from the article The Prevention of Sexism by George W. Albee, published first in the Journal Professional Psychology, Volume 12, No. 1, Feb. 1981. Reprinted/Adapted by permission of the Publisher and Author. Copyright 1981 by The American Psychological Association.

DEFINING SEXISM

Sexism means ascribing superiority or inferiority, unsupported by any evidence, in traits, abilities, social value, personal worth, and other characteristics to males or females as a group. The "standard of excellence" usually is the white male.

Most commonly sexism involves perceiving and acting toward females as if they are categorically inferior. This places sexism in the pantheon of prejudices alongside racism, ageism, and other political pathologies defended as part of natural eternal cosmic truths revealed and supported by religion and science. The hand that writes the truth has long been attached to the "masculist" patriarchal body. And whether the writer has been engaged in producing scripture, literature, scientific treatises, or law — or painting pictures or writing songs — the result is the same: Kings rule by divine right, slavery is a natural consequence of the superiority of the masters and the inferiority of the slaves, and women are born to be objects deprived by nature of autonomy and freedom and subservient to the master sex.

Sexism is woven into the texture of our lives and damages both the sexist and the target group. Not only are many forms of psychopathology produced in the victims of sexism, but sexism itself is a form of psychopathology. Traditionally, a major criterion of mental disorders is the judgement that the person is so irrational and emotionally out of control as to be dangerous to others. According to this definition, **sexists (along with anti-Semites, antigays, racists, and bigots of all kinds) should be defined as emotionally disturbed.**

Whenever a group representing an identifiable segment of humankind is singled out as the object of discrimination or of exploitation, the exploiters justify the discrimination and exploitation by claiming that all members of the target group are somehow defective or subhuman. Examples of this process abound. Whether it was blacks imported from Africa to work on the southern plantations or the Eastern Europeans long enslaved by the Nordics (which is where the word Slav comes from), the excuse was always the same: Every member of the group was seen as inferior. The Nazis' justification for persecuting the Jews sounded like the English arguments for excluding Eastern European Jews half a century before. We need not review the whole sad sorry historical litany of the endless exploitation of humans by humans except to underline the one common feature — that subjugated people are said to be different in kind and that the difference is a defect.

Individual members of groups that are the objects of prejudice and are mistreated tend to live a powerless, pathological existence. Understandably, members of the

group often accept the prejudiced view of themselves. Social learning theorists point out that symbolic models portrayed at home, on TV, and in books and magazines are important sources of sex stereotyped attitudes. The descriptions become self-fulfilling prophecies. Members of the group begin to live and behave in ways that are expected of them, and they become caught up in self-perpetuating behavior, thereby reinforcing the prejudices.

Psychologist Phyllis Chesler (1973) eloquently describes the result:

Women are impaled on a cross of self-sacrifice. Unlike men, they are categorically denied the experience of actual supremacy, humanity and renewal based on their sexual identity — and on the blood sacrifice, in some way, of a member of the opposite sex. In different ways, some women are driven mad by this fact. Such madness is essentially an intense experience of female biological, sexual, and cultural castration, and a doomed search for potency. (p. 31)

Whether the woman's defect — her fatal flaw — is explained on the basis of Freudian chauvinism (penis envy), on observable physical differences (the weaker sex), or on historical guilt (Eve caused the Fall), the result is the same. We see profound and debilitating suffering in the victims, acceptance by some of them of the values and beliefs of their oppressors (see Morgan's *Total Woman*, 1973), and widespread learned helplessness and despair. We also hope to see a spirit of resistance and revolution emerge that gathers strength through mutual support, encouragement, and the enlistment of significant numbers of defectors from the oppressor group... ■

George W. Albee is Professor of Psychology at the University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont 05405. He is General Editor (with Justin M. Joffe) of a series of volumes (published by the University Press of New England in Hanover, NH) on the primary prevention of psychopathology. These books result from the annual conference on primary prevention held at the University of Vermont each June. He was Chair of the Task Panel on Primary Prevention for President Carter's Commission on Mental Health. Twenty years ago he was Director of the Task Force on Manpower for the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health established by the Congress and President Eisenhower. His research and scholarly activities have been in the area of primary prevention, the psychopathology of prejudice, and human resources affecting the delivery of psychological services.

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The Biosocial Side of Parenthood

by Alice S. Rossi

...The arguments set forth in this essay may rankle those whose version of sexual equality requires females to model their lives on male patterns, placing great emphasis on work and little emphasis on family and home. But I am no stranger to criticism. In 1964 I wrote an article in the journal *Daedalus* called "Equality between the Sexes: An Immodest Proposal". By later feminist standards my argument for equality was mild indeed, but the reaction of traditionalists in 1964 was not. I was considered by some a monster, an unnatural woman, and unfit mother. My husband, also a sociologist, received an anonymous condolence card lamenting the death of his wife.

My theme was simple enough. For the first time in known history, I wrote, motherhood had become a fulltime occupation for adult women and motherhood was not enough. For the psychological and physical health of mother and child, for the sake of the trembling family unit, and for the progress of society, equality between men and women was essential and inevitable.

Older women, who were past career choices, resented my article; younger women felt reprieved. I know for certain that my essay lowered the birth rate by at least 12 children, and increased the number of Ph.D.s accordingly.

Last year I wrote another article for *Daedalus*, one that represented an evolution of my views. I said that cultural determinism had gone too far. In the effort to debunk the wrong-headed beliefs that had debased women for so long, the environmentalists had got themselves into an untenable position. Instead of replacing outdated biological theories with new, accurate knowledge, they were forced to deny that there are any physiological differences between men and women. This view is as foolhardy as the view that sex differences are caused only by physiology.

Once again I found myself being screamed at — this time by the very people whose cause I had supported for nearly two decades. I was accused of selling out, of betraying my commit-

Excerpted from the article "The Biosocial Side of Parenthood" by Alice S. Rossi, which appeared in the June 1978 issue of Human Nature. The ideas contained in this piece are developed more fully by the author in her article "A Biosocial Perspective on Parenting", Daedalus, Vol. 106, 1977 pp. 1-31, and even more thoroughly in a book written by Alice Rossi and Jerome Kagan entitled "The Family" published by W.W. Norton in 1978. Reprinted with kind permission of the author. Special thanks to David Cayley for drawing this article to the attention of the Editor.

The mother-infant relationship will continue to have greater emotional depth than the father-infant relationship because of the mother's physiological experience of pregnancy, birth, and nursing.

ment to political and economic equality for women, of pandering to conservatives who believe in Man the Aggressor and Woman the Doormat. In this area, as in any research that has serious implications for how we run our lives, commitments are strong and tempers short.

But I believe that contemporary efforts to break up traditional family systems are doomed unless aspects of our biological heritage are acknowledged and then, if we wish, compensated for. The mother-infant relationship will continue to have greater emotional depth than the father-infant relationship because of the mother's physiological experience of pregnancy, birth, and nursing. A society that chooses to overcome the female's greater investment in children must institutionalize a program of compensatory education for boys and men that trains them in infant and child care. (Even then, women may still have the stronger bond with their offspring.) Conversely, any goal that sets women equal to men in the military or in strength-related fields will also require compensatory training for women. Any slackening of such compensatory training — for generations to come — will quickly lead to a regression to the sex-role tradition of our long past, as so many social experiments of this century have shown.

This point of view upsets environmentalists, but we cannot just toss out the physiological equipment that centuries of adaptation have created. We can live with that biological heritage or try to supersede it, but we cannot wish it away. I think we should aim for a society better attuned to its environment, more respectful of natural body processes and of the differences between individuals, more concerned for its children, and committed both to achievement in work and in personal intimacy. This version is more radical, and more human, than one of an equality between the sexes that denies differences. □

Alice S. Rossi is professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. She took her Ph.D. in sociology at Columbia University in 1957 and has done extensive research on marriage, the family, and sex roles ever since. Her articles include analyses of job discrimination against women (and what women can do about it), barriers to women in the scientific professions, and the issues involved in abortion laws.

*In 1964, when her three children were still young, she began writing essays on behalf of sex-role equality, including "The Case against Fulltime Motherhood", and the infamous Daedalus plea for fair treatment of women. She is also the author of *The Feminist Papers: from Adams to de Beauvoir and Academic Women on the Move*. Rossi has served as vice president of the American Sociological Association, where she helped organize the Women's Caucus and a division on the sociology of sex roles, and she was a member of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year.*

Can a woman today proclaim herself a feminist and at the same time advocate the necessity and integrity of motherhood as a career?

What is a feminist today? Is it the need to pursue "self-actualization", the right to work alongside men with equality and impunity, the right of control over our bodies and what is inflicted upon them, the opportunity to stand confident and strong as females who comprise more than half the world's population responsible for the continuation of humankind, the right to gainful employment and productivity? It is indeed all this and more. Women today stand at a crossroads — bridging the gap between the tyranny and objurgation of the past and the freedom that promises and embodies a better world for all.

But what of motherhood? Can a woman today proclaim herself a feminist and at the same time advocate the necessity and integrity of motherhood as a career? The answer should be and is a resounding "yes".

Today's society and all too often, hopelessly, feminists locate a woman's most significant activity outside the home, a mentality which questions and to some extent denies a woman the possibility of self-actualization through motherhood. Men, and especially women today, who consciously choose to have children and devote themselves lovingly to the care and nurturing of those children are insidiously shamed into believing that they have compromised their own advancing careers, their social aspirations, their expectations, and have capitulated to sexist and antiquated values. In so doing, they and most especially the mother have deprived themselves of their rightful experience of parenting.

It is my belief that the woman who chooses to make motherhood her career exemplifies feminism in its most basic form. Feminism speaks for people and who more importantly than our children? There can be no substitute (not even the best daycare centre, the most loving grandmother, the most caring friend or neighbour) for the concerned, loving, mature, disciplined, aware and perceptive mother, qualities we enhance and develop in our mothering roles and which bespeak an as yet vastly untapped resource in our society. It is unfortunate and ironic that a mother's attachment to her baby, her confidence and pleasure in meeting her baby's needs

should be jeopardized, submitted to shame and impatience at the very period in history when the effects of human detachment are most known and most apparent. Today's societal mentality conspires to disrupt and demean the basic necessity of mother-baby togetherness and symbiosis which ensures our humanity. No mother-substitute can have the concern, the empathic intuition for need-meeting, the emotional rapport, the awareness of growth and growth experiences that a mother has. No one in all their life, will duplicate the profound intimacy she/he has with a loving mother. I grieve for all the children today who will never know that intimacy by virtue of being relegated to surrogate mothers.

I believe that children's emotional needs must be met, not at the whim and convenience of the parents, but on a continual twenty-four hour basis, by perceptive parents who love intensely and selflessly. If these needs are not met in the early years then the child will evolve into an emotionally unhealthy adult trying to meet early unsatisfied and unmet emotional needs in "adult" situations and experiences. Because a child's primal attachment is with the mother and because only she can breast-feed, a biological function unequalled in its capacity to ensure optimal physical and emotional development, her time and commitment cannot be duplicated. I am a mother who considers emotional health to be the greatest gift that parents can give their children and through their children, the world. Child-rearing is the crux of history.

In the final analysis, child-rearing is a one-to-one experience just as marriage is. You cannot for money hire a wife-or-husband substitute. Equally one cannot for money hire a mother (or father) substitute. Our children's futures, our communities, our country, our world hinges on our ability as women to mother, thereby bringing to fruition, societies in which all people are healthy, loving, caring, responsible, and liberated in the true sense. ■

"I am a mother who considers emotional health to be the greatest gift that parents can give their children."

As an ardent feminist, Patricia Stuart-Hagge was asked to write something for the Journal on the Feminist-Motherhood issue. In her covering letter she states in part "I could of course go on at much greater length, both because the subject interests me and because I enjoy writing, but have limited myself to a couple of pages. (You have a Journal to publish and I have three children to nurture)..."

Is this Liberation?

by Anne Miles

I would like to thank the Members of the Committee for allowing me to present my ideas today. My name is Anne Miles. I am a single mother of two children who feels that government subsidized daycare is not the answer to my needs.

The mother is a childcare provider worthy of recognition and remuneration. The feminist emphasis on free and universal daycare as the only road to liberation has bothered me for a number of years now. It does not meet the need some of us have to be close to our children, and our children's need to be close to us.

Many women in this society, however, claim to be bored, disenchanted and oppressed by the task of mothering. I feel that this alienation from their nurturing feelings is a sad consequence of having to mother within a patriarchal culture. Mothers have very good reasons for feeling this way.

Despite the sentimental lip service paid to motherhood by the most reactionary elements of society, in reality there is no status and no power in mothering as it is commonly practiced. Women are brain-washed to believe that predominantly male experts know more about parenting than they do; this despite the fact that the experts change their theories from year to year. I believe that many women see mothering as an arduous task only because they are trying to live up to unreasonable and constantly shifting standards of "good" mothering. It is my belief that a mother is better off following her own instincts, taking pride in her unique relationship with each child, allowing herself

just to relax in her role and truly enjoy her children, thus opening herself to the joys and delights of parenting. The reason this is not encouraged, it seems reasonable to assume, is that this anti-woman culture is terrified that mothers might profoundly influence their children, thus releasing humanizing female energy into a system that has long been weighted in favour of male values.

The wife in our society is seen as existing primarily to fill her husband's needs, not her children's or her own.

The experts employed by the status quo seem intent on separating us from our instincts. The weapon they use is guilt, and mothers are particularly vulnerable to it. We are made to feel that we are bad for our children and our children are bad for us. If we relax and allow them the freedom to grow, we are seen as being negligent. If we show that we care, we are accused of making our children overly dependent upon us. Many feminists, rather than encouraging us to be strong in our mothering, tell us that the way out of this no-win situation is to

"Feminists have made a serious error in encouraging women to seek freedom by entering the dehumanizing male world..."

work outside the home. This is supposedly a more healthy lifestyle for the mother. Given the lack of confidence in her mothering ability that the average woman has been left with, the idea of leaving her child in the care of trained, professional daycare workers and going back to the less complex, less frustrating world of the nine-to-five job, understandably has its appeal.

The wife in our society is seen as existing primarily to fill her husband's needs, not her children's or her own.

But is this liberation? I maintain that feminists have made a serious error in encouraging women to seek freedom by entering the dehumanizing male world, by cutting ourselves off (as men traditionally have) from our nurturing selves. A truly radical approach, it seems to me, would be to change the world to accommodate women and children, rather than having women adopt prevailing patriarchal values. It seems obvious that one way to do this is to value the traditionally unpaid labour of women. In the past, women have cared for the very young, the very old, and the very ill. Our rebellion against this slave labour has meant that the human beings

once in our care have been herded into institutions. But ours is a necessary and valuable work that has contributed for millennia to making society more humane. Why should it not be paid so that we may do it and still retain our autonomy? □

Anne Miles, a former MHS Board member, is the mother of Laura, 7 and Tristan, 3, and a writer whose articles and letters on mothering, feminism and daycare have appeared in Kinesis, Mothering magazine and the MHNews. She lives in Gibsons, B.C.



Our rebellion against this slave labour has meant that the human beings once in our care have been herded into institutions.

Consumerism Arbitrary Male Dominance and Daycare

There are two powerful and dangerous social forces underlying the need for daycare: consumerism, and arbitrary male dominance. The former lures parents into believing that they need to be making more money rather than caring for their children. The latter drives women away from nurturing their children to gain emancipation via the marketplace.

The problem is that the shared, discontinuous, and changing caretakers almost inevitable in substitute arrangements for the nurturing of infants and toddlers puts at risk development of their capacities for trust, empathy, and affection.

No one sees these deficits because they don't show up clearly until adulthood, and even then they are not measurable like an intelligence quotient is. What is worse, their absence can actually be an asset in a consumer society which often rewards the opposite values.

But the capacities for trust, empathy, and affection are in fact the central core of what it means to be human, and are indispensable for adults to be able to form lasting, mutually satisfying co-operative relationships with others. In a world of decreasing size and increasing numbers of weapons of mass destruction it is dangerous for these qualities to become deficient.

What is needed is greater understanding of the pragmatic nature of the values of trust, empathy, and affection; a means of measuring the degree of their presence or absence in adults; more rapid progress in the elimination of arbitrary male dominance; and closer examination of the destructive aspects of consumerism. □

Printed above is the abstract of a paper presented by Dr. Barker at the Fifth International Congress on Child Abuse and Neglect in Montreal, September 18th, 1984. The largest section of this paper sets out the reasons why infant daycare risks producing partial psychopaths. The paper will be appearing in the next issue of Canadian Children: Journal of the Canadian Association for Young Children. Copies are also available directly from the CSPCC office.

EMPATHIC PARENTING

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

Volume 10

Issue 2

Spring 1987

The Daycare Debate

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

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

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

Penelope Leach

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

EMPATHIC PARENTING:

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

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

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

Overcoming the feeling of being abandoned

...Take, for an example, the feeling of being abandoned — not that of the adult, who feels lonely and therefore takes tablets or drugs, goes to the movies, visits friends, or telephones “unnecessarily”, in order to bridge the gap somehow. No, I mean the original feeling in the small infant, who had none of these chances of distraction and whose communication, verbal or preverbal, did not reach the mother. This was not the case because his mother was bad, but because she herself was narcissistically deprived, dependent on a specific echo from the child that was so essential to her, for she herself was a child in search of an object that could be available to her. However paradoxical this may seem, a child is at the mother’s disposal. A child cannot run away from her as her own mother once did. A child can be so brought up that it becomes what she wants it to be. A child can be made to show respect, she can impose her own feelings on him, see herself mirrored in his love and admiration, and feel strong in his presence, but when he becomes too much she can abandon that child to a stranger. The mother can feel herself the centre of attention, for her child’s eyes follow her everywhere. When a woman had to suppress and repress all these needs in relation to her own mother, they rise from the depth of her unconscious and seek gratification through her own child, however well-educated and well-intentioned she may be, and however much she is aware of what a child needs. The child feels this clearly and very soon forgoes the expression of his own distress. Later, when these feelings of being deserted begin to emerge in the analysis of the adult, they are accompanied by such intensity of pain and despair that it is quite clear that these people could not have survived so much pain. That would only have been possible in an empathic, attentive environment, and this they lacked... □

Excerpted from the book PRISONERS OF CHILDHOOD by Alice Miller, Basic Books. Copyright © 1981 by Basic Books, Inc. Originally published in German as Das Drama des begabten Kindes, Copyright © 1979 Suhrkamp Verlag Frankfurt am Main.

Talk With Selma Fraiberg

by Robert Coles

I have to speak out against the way thousands and thousands of children are treated — handed from one virtual stranger to another in the name of 'day care'. Even licensed day-care centres or pre-school nurseries often fail to meet the child's need for a sustained, close involvement with a caring person. Young children who get to know such a person, then lose that person, show anxiety, agitation, tearfulness. When those children keep meeting someone, then losing someone, meeting someone, then losing someone, and so on and so on; or when (and it isn't rare at all) they don't for hours each day really know anyone well enough to feel close, to feel trust — well, there are going to be emotional consequences: lack of confidence in the future, a degree of withdrawal from the future, a degree of withdrawal from the world.

Selma Fraiberg is a 59-year-old child psychoanalyst who is a professor of child psychoanalysis in the department of psychiatry of the University of Michigan Medical School. She's gray-haired, of medium height, a rather lively, energetic person. She speaks softly, but confidently — and with no trace of psychiatric jargon. Her one child, a daughter, is now in college. Her husband teaches American literature at the University of Toledo. Mrs. Fraiberg is still active as a clinician. She is also the director of a Child Development Project aimed at working with young children of Washtenaw County, Mich. who have run into emotional problems for one reason or another. She is best known for her book "The Magic Years", published in 1959, when she lived in New Orleans and taught at

Tulane Medical School. It is a book still very much of use to countless parents and students who want to understand the early years of childhood — a time when little boys or girls are ever willing to merge fantasy with fact, ever inclined to animistic interpretations of natural phenomena.

More recently she published a scholarly book, "Insights From the Blind", the result of many years spent trying to understand the special psychological challenges a child without sight must face. Her work has paralleled that of Anna Freud, who for a long time was interested in how ordinary children grow up, and in particular, how young people handicapped by blindness manage to come to terms with life. Both women possess in common a gift not always to be found among their colleagues

Robert Coles is the author of "Children of Crisis" and other books.

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CSPCC Journal Summer 1983

When young children are ignored or abused, when they are handed over to indifferent caretakers (or worse), there is a price to pay.

— the ability to deal with knotty psychological issues in a clear-headed, direct, unpretentious manner. Each of them writes lively, disarmingly simple prose, with no sacrifice to the complexity of their point of view.

In an interview Selma Fraiberg described the intention of her latest book, "Every Child's Birthright": "I have been working with young children for several decades, especially children under the age of 2. I've been trying to understand how those infants and toddlers get on their way, psychologically. That's the purpose of our Child Development Project, supported by N.I.M.H. (The National Institute of Mental Health) and the Grant Foundation. We render a service to troubled children — to troubled families; we find that the one goes with the other, but we also try to learn from the people we try to help. I've tried to write about some of our conclusions in this book — the needs young children have."

She is asked about the children she works with — their particular backgrounds and difficulties: "We see many kinds of children: black and white, poor and not so poor, and some from fairly comfortable homes. The really well-to-do, of course, seek private help. The most serious problem we meet, and not so rare, is a child who is languishing — not growing, apathetic, restless at night and with appetite loss or strange eating habits. All children go through troublesome periods, but the children I'm talking about have caught the eye of doctors, visiting nurses, the parents themselves: the child is lagging behind, or in some cases we speak of a 'failure to thrive'. Our job is to figure out what is going on. And it's not too hard to discover the answers. When young children are ignored or abused, when they are handed over to in-

different caretakers (or worse), there is a price to pay. The baby becomes hurt, confused, afraid, detached; and those emotions stick with children and affect their lives. It's our job to work with families — to help parents often themselves troubled, interrupt a destructive psychological cycle. It's also our job to tell parents what the bottom line is — the absolutely essential needs children have if they are to grow psychologically and become adults who are reasonably sound and sane."

What prompted this book? Is it written in response to any particular social trend? She defers, at first, to others: "I have been going over the research of my colleagues, as well as my own findings: child analysts Rene Spitz, Anna Freud, John Bowlby, Margaret Mahler; an important book, 'Maternal Infant Bonding', by Marshall Klaus and John Kennell; and anthropological observations — Beatrice Whiting's work in various cultures, Oscar Lewis's work in Mexico, Mary Ainsworth's in Uganda. For me, the evidence is more than suggestive. I believe we know that a child needs continuity and stability and predictability of care: loving persons who are with the baby day after day — and at night, too.

"It's hard to summarize a book's argument in an interview, but if I had to do so, I'd say this: statistics tell us that there are about 14 million working mothers who need substitute care for their children, and five million of them have over six million pre-school children in need of 'day care'. But licensed day-care centres and day-care homes don't provide a numerical answer to the problem. There are about a million available places, maybe a bit more, in day-care centres. I have to say it: many of those centres, even the ones licensed, are not pro-

The baby becomes hurt, confused, afraid, detached; and those emotions stick with children and affect their lives.

For me, the evidence is more than suggestive.

viding for the real emotional needs of infants. And there are the children who are given over to sitters by the hour, or the week, or women ready to take in children by the day. What kind of care do those children get? Are they receiving proper 'substitute mother care'? And what of the 'merchants of child care'; I call them that — businesses, industries set up to keep children for a length of time.

"I have to be critical of many of those arrangements; I have to speak out against the way thousands and thousands of children are treated — handed from one virtual stranger to another in the name of 'day care'. Even licensed day-care centres or pre-school nurseries often fail to meet the child's need for a sustained, close involvement with a caring person. Young children who get to know such a person, then lose that person, show anxiety, agitation, tearfulness. When those children keep meeting someone, then losing someone, meeting someone, then losing someone, and so on and so on; or when (and it isn't rare at all) they don't for hours each day really know anyone well enough to feel close, to feel trust — well, there are going to be emotional consequences: lack of confidence in the future, a degree of withdrawal from the future, a degree of withdrawal from the world.

"I believe that a child's emotional development has to be considered, as we make public policy decisions — or look at what the laws now encourage: more and more day-care centres; welfare regulations that tend to break up families, or push mothers of small children to work. There are two kinds of mothers who work: those who have to — women who need the money badly; and women who choose to work but can easily afford to stay home and care for their

young children. I don't want to get in the position of telling groups of people what to do. But I believe it is much easier to find adequate part-time substitute care than full-time care. There is a pool of older women who are willing to work a few hours a day with children, but no more. It's work, hard work, taking care of a group of children not your own. Meanwhile, each of those children wants someone special, someone his or hers. Where are the people who are going to offer such attention, such patient concern and affection?"

Does she have anything to offer — apart from a critique of what is, and what seems significantly, by the nature of things, destined to be? She chooses her words carefully: "I make clear in the book that I am trying to explain things from the child's point of view; I draw upon evidence described by many of my colleagues, and I draw upon my own observations. Twenty years ago I was raising scholarship money for women to go to graduate schools, to build careers for themselves. We had no rush for such help; in the 1950's, well-to-do women wanted to marry, settle down, raise kids. Now it is different. I have myself been a professional woman. I was lucky; I was able to work part-time when my daughter was young and had a husband who could pitch in.

"That isn't the way it works for most women who leave infants or toddlers or pre-school children with various caretakers. Maybe those women who have some choice in the matter — the well off — should consider working part-time while their children are under 3. It is much easier to find good nursery schools than day-care centres — and once a child is 3 or so, the boy or girl is much less vulnerable, if there's been that continuity and stability of care I keep men-

I believe we know that a child needs continuity and stability and predictability of care: loving persons who are with the baby day after day — and at night, too.

Federal- and state-backed public policy should encourage women to stay home, when they have young children, rather than go to work.

tioning. As for poorer women, I think Federal- and state-backed public policy should encourage women to stay home, when they have young children, rather than go to work. I disagree completely with Senator Russell Long, who seems to want to send just about all welfare mothers to work, on the grounds that they're cheats or crooks. What does the Senator propose to do with the children left behind? But I worry about liberals, too — their notion that more day-care centres are the answer.

"I point out in the book that there is only a handful of really good day-care centres, staffed by people trained to work with children. Certainly, we ought to devise ways of training more women — and men, also, — to work with children. In other times, there were extended families, or neighbourhoods where cooperative efforts could be arranged — a community of people, all familiar with each other. In our cities today, many families are isolated, with no real close ties, near at hand, as potential sources of support for young children when their parents are away at work. We should be doing everything in our power to strengthen families, to insist upon the extremely important 'productive work' that goes into caring for small children."

Does she expect others to differ with her, and if so, on what basis? She has tried, she feels, to be understanding rather than polemical. She hopes she has done a good job of getting her urgently felt, strongly held opinions across: "I can't hedge or fudge the issue. A baby needs a mother who, through the bond established between the two of them, teaches love — by daily example. If

not a mother, then someone who emotionally takes the place of the mother for a number of hours. That's a hard thing to do — especially if there are lots of children competing for one person's limited time. I worry that we are overly preoccupied these days with cognitive learning — what a child learns to do, at what age. Fine, but there is another kind of learning — the affective side: a child's emotional breadth and depth, a child's capacity to love, derived from the experience of love, obtained hour after hour, and not marred by repeated disappointments and losses. Maybe some of us want more than we know how to be responsible for. It's one thing to bear a child, another to bring the baby up in such a way that, later on, there is a human being who is reasonably strong and intact psychologically.

"I want to make the readers of the book stop and think about certain problems. I don't claim to have a lot of answers. But I have spent my life working with normal children and disturbed children. My commitment to them has been, for years, a full-time, clinical one. Like others in my field, I've seen what can go wrong — sometimes, as with a lot of day-care centres — in the name of progress. I think it's my obligation to speak out. I hope a lot of mothers with young children, who need or want to work, will begin speaking out, too. Before more laws are made, and more money appropriated, we've got to know what we're talking about: what we want to do, what we think we are doing, and what we may be doing, without realizing it." ■

Selma Fraiberg, professor of child psychoanalysis at the University of California in San Francisco, Director of the Infant Mental Health Program at San Francisco General Hospital, and a founder and active Board member of the National Center for Clinical Infant Programs, died of cancer in late December, 1981. She was 63 years old.

*A clinician and teacher, Selma Fraiberg was also the author of many psychoanalytic papers and of *The Magic Years*, translated into 11 languages. Her interest in handicapped children and in studies of infancy is reflected in *Insights from the Blind and Every Child's Birthright. Clinical Studies in Infant Mental Health: The First Year of Life*, edited by Fraiberg, described the Child Development Project in Washtenaw County, Michigan, which she directed.*

RESULTS OF INCOMPLETE OR ABORTED MOURNING*

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

1. Persistent, Diffuse Rage

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

2. Chronic Depression

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

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

3. Asocial and Antisocial Behaviour

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

4. Low Self-Concept

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

5. Chronic Dependency

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



An Important Book About Unattached Children...

HIGH RISK

Children without a Conscience

This book is about people who have little or no conscience. It is about pathological liars, con men, back stabbers, the crooks of the business world and worse: psychopathic killers. They all come disguised as likeable, energetic people with the uncanny ability to gain our trust ... and then just as rapidly doublecross us.

They are the Trust Bandits of the '80s. They start their process of stealing, lying, and criminal behavior early ... as unattached children. America is producing thousands of these children without a conscience each year and its citizens are scared about the future.

- Where do these people without a conscience come from?
- How can we recognize them before they victimize us?
- What can working mothers and fathers do to prevent their children from becoming unattached and thus at high risk for later criminal behavior?
- How can we protect ourselves from dating or marrying a Trust Bandit who will later steal our money and our hearts?

America may be becoming a breeding ground for psychopaths according to recent studies which indicate the growing numbers of children and adults who exhibit antisocial behavior. Without conscience, their numbers

include con artists, child abusers and murderers. They may be found not only in jails and mental institutions, but in places like boardrooms and politics as well.

HIGH RISK, Magid, K. & McKelvey, C., Bantam Books, 1988. \$24.95

Developmental Psychopaths

Excerpts from a paper by Jacobus Reicher...

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

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

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

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

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

EMPATHIC PARENTING/Spring 1987

The Diseases of Non-Attachment

“...the motive for the redirection of hostile impulses is love. It is because the loved person is valued above all other things that the child gradually modifies his aggressive impulses and finds alternative modes of expression that are sanctioned by love...”

...The group of disorders that I am here calling “the diseases of non-attachment” are, strictly speaking, diseases of the ego, structural weaknesses or malformations which occur during the formative period of ego development, the first eighteen months of life. These disorders are not classified as neuroses. A neurosis, properly speaking, can only exist where there is ego organization, where there is an agency that is capable of self-observation, self-criticism, and the regulation of internal needs and of the conditions for their expression. In a neurosis there may be disorders in love relationships, but there is no primary incapacity for human attachments. Similarly, we need to discriminate between the diseases of non-attachment and psychoses. In a psychosis there may be a breakdown or rupture of human bonds and disorders of thinking which are related to the loss of boundaries between “self” and “not self” — all of which may testify to structural weaknesses in ego organization — but this breakdown does not imply a primary incapacity for human attachments.

The distinguishing characteristic of the diseases of non-attachment is the incapacity of the person to form human bonds. In personal encounter with such an individual there is an almost perceptible feeling of intervening space, of remoteness, of “no connection”. The life histories of people with such a disease reveal no single significant human relationship. The narrative of their lives reads like a vagrant journey with chance encounters and transient partnerships. Since no partner is valued, any one partner can be exchanged for any other; in the absence of love, there is no pain in loss. Indeed, the other striking characteristic of such people is their impoverished emotional range. There is no joy, no grief, no guilt, and no remorse. In the absence of human ties, a conscience cannot be formed; even the qualities of self-observation and self-criticism fail to develop. Many of these people strike us as singularly humourless, which may appear to be a trifling addition to this long catalogue of human deficits, but I think it is significant. For smiling and laughter, as Lorenz tells us,

Reprinted from the book “Every Child’s Birthright: in Defense of Mothering” by Selma Fraiberg, published by Basic Books Inc., 1977. Reprinted with permission from author and publisher.

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CSPCC Journal Autumn 1981

“The distinguishing characteristic of the diseases of non-attachment is the incapacity of the person to form human bonds.”

are among the tribal signs that unite the members of the human fraternity, and somewhere in the lonely past of these hollow men and women, the sign was not passed on.

Some of these men and women are to be found in institutions for the mentally ill, a good many of them are part of the floating populations of prisons. A very large number of them have settled inconspicuously in the disordered landscape of a slum, or a carné show, or underworld enterprises where the absence of human connections can afford vocation and specialization. For the women among them, prostitution affords professional scope for the condition of emotional deadness. Many of them marry and produce children, or produce children and do not marry. And because tenderness or even obligatory parental postures were never a part of their experience, they are indifferent to their young, or sometimes “inhumanly cruel”, as we say, except that cruelty to the young appears to be a rare occurrence outside of the human race.

A good many of these hollow men remain anonymous in our society. But there are conditions under which they rise from anonymity and confront us with dead, unsmiling faces. The disease of emotional poverty creates its own appetite for powerful sensation. The deadness within becomes the source of an intolerable tension — quite simply, I think, the ultimate terror of non-being, the dissolution of self. The deadness within demands at times powerful psychic jolts in order to affirm existence. Some get their jolts from drugs. Others are driven to perform brutal acts. We can learn from Jean Genet of the sense of exalted existential awareness that climaxes such acts. Victims of such acts of brutality are chosen indiscriminately and anonymously. There is no motive, as such, because the man who has no human con-

nections does not have specific objects for his hatred. When caught for his crimes, he often brings new horror to the case in his confession. There is no remorse, often no self-defense. The dead voice recounts the crime in precise detail. There was no grievance against the victim: “...he was a very nice gentleman...I thought so right up to the minute I slit his throat,” said one of the killers in Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood*.

Among those who are driven to brutal acts we can sometimes see how aggression and sexuality are fused in a terrible consummatory experience. It is as if the drives themselves are all that can be summoned from the void, and the violent discharge of these urges becomes an affirmation of being, like a scream from the tomb. Yet it would be a mistake to think that such criminals are endowed with stronger sexual urges than others. For the sober clinical truth is that these are men without potency and women without sexual desire, under any of the conditions that normally favour sexual response. These men and women who have never experienced human bonds have a diffuse and impoverished sexuality. When it takes the form of a violent sexual act it is not the sexual component that gives terrible urgency to the act, but the force of aggression; the two drives are fused in the act. When we consider the ways in which, in early childhood, the love bond normally serves the redirection of aggression from the love object, we obtain a clue: the absence of human bonds can promote a morbid alliance between sexual and aggressive drives and a mode of discharge in which a destructive form of aggression becomes the condition under which the sexual drive becomes manifest.

From these descriptions we can see that the diseases of non-attachment give rise to a broad range of disordered personalities.

“...the diseases of non-attachment give rise to a broad range of disordered personalities.”

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

Volume 3

Number 3

Summer 1980

"...People are hyped up over adolescent drug abuse, pregnancies, suicide, and the cults children join. But the same roots underlie them all. The roots are depression and emotional deprivation. These are laid down in the personality in the early months of life. They grow out of poor attachments, inadequate affection and contact for the child in the first months..."

"...When the quality of the child's bonds and sense of acceptance is poor in the early months and years, these deficiencies will especially show up in adolescence. Then there is a normal feeling of loss as the child attempts to free himself from his parents. If these new stresses stir up earlier hurts of not feeling accepted, of not feeling loved, the child's ability to negotiate this period is poor..."

"...Juvenile delinquents, psychopathic personalities are no mystery. They are people without close ties to anyone. People mean nothing to them. They did not get the essential ingredient to get along, an early, strong attachment to some loved person..."

"..The danger is, when mother goes to work the child is thrust into the care of some strange person, disrupting the bonds established with the mother.

And just when he sends out some tender, new shoots of affection, he gets a new sitter.

The child can't shout, 'My God, every attempt I'm making to get the closeness I need is sabotaged. What the hell is being done here?'

But, you'll perhaps see the results, five years later when he's disruptive in school or 10 years later when he's on drugs..."

"...Of all the jobs we do, the most important is caring properly for our young children. Doing it well is crucial for the child and can be immensely gratifying to the parents."

**Dr. Jack Raskin
Child Psychiatrist
Children's Orthopedic Hosp.
Seattle, Washington**

Child care: Wishful Revisionism

by Joan Beck

What's the daily minimum dosage of mothering that an infant or a toddler needs for normal, happy development? How much of it can a father provide? Or a day care center? Or a sitter? What happens to a child who doesn't get enough because his mother has a job?

These seem like simple enough questions in a country full of pediatricians and assorted child care experts and in a time when more than half of all mothers hold jobs outside the home and have urgent need of the answers.

So it's worrisome to find, after months of doing research for a new book, that reliable answers with reasonable scientific validity simply don't exist. And much of the accepted wisdom about child development in recent decades is conveniently being revised to accommodate the wishful thinking of working parents.

How much of the current, rapid revisionism in child development is political and aimed at getting more women into the workforce (where their comparative low pay benefits business and their income lulls families from realizing the full impact of disastrous inflation and recession) isn't certain.

But Dr. Leon Eisenberg, of Harvard Medical School, points out in the current issue of Pediatrics that child development "research" has provided the rationale for manipulating women to get in and out of the labor market at politicians convenience ever since World War II."

I suspect, however, that the motives of researchers are less likely to be political than simply a desire to be trendy and popular. **Mothers of young children are taking jobs in unprecedented numbers and they want to know that what they are doing is all right. Child care "experts" who tell them what they want to hear will sell their books and get paid for lectures. Those who still say babies and toddlers need full-time mothering are now often charged with being sexist, manipulative old fogies who want to keep women stuck at home.**

So the revisionism spreads. Ethnological records are searched for primitive tribes where child care is shared and mothers work. Biological studies are probed for animal models which push their offspring off on their own early on. Historical data on child rearing are selectively resurrected. (Elisabeth Badinter's best-selling book "Mother Love: Myth and Reality" debunking the idea of a mothering instinct is a case in point). Standard child care research is reinterpreted to give new results.

And contrary to the weight of child development expertise in the last several decades, it's now possible to find considerable opinion telling mothers they can safely take a full-time job away from home starting even weeks after a baby is born.

But the non-trendy truth is that we really don't know how much mothering a young child needs to develop optimally, or even normally.

What passes as scientific research on early child development is generally of poor quality, except for data on physical growth and a few studies on early mental development. Casual observations and opinions are footnoted and bibliographed and quoted until they are accepted as fact. Most research that does exist on the effects of a mother's employment on her offspring deals with school age children or adolescents. And what studies there are of day care are done by people who have a professional interest in discovering that it's fine for families and kids and should be blessed with a flow of federal money.

The fashionable new wisdom on child development holds that a baby is better off if a mother works away from him most of his waking hours than if she stays home and wishes she were getting on with her career. The only harm from her work-ing can come from guilt about being away—never mind her fatigue, lack of time for her child or herself, or problems with substitute caretakers, or from her child's resentment, emotional insecurity, or physical or psychological stress.

But that conclusion is little more than subjective speculation and can't be supported as yet with much more than some first-person case histories.

The new magazines for working mothers are filled with time-saving tips and career strategies and unsubstantiated rationalizations about "quality time not quantity of time" being important to a young child. Like the arguments for abortion, they are written in the mother's interest, not the child's.

But young children haven't necessarily changed because women have. To date there is no convincing evidence that wishing they weren't so dependent on parents has meant they can safely get along with less loving, individual attention from a mother or father.

I wish our efforts to help beleaguered working mothers with young children were directed more at reshaping the job market and the way young parents have to work than at redefining the nature and nurture of their children. Despite the holes in the child development data base, the case is stronger that youngsters need mothers than that substitutes do just as well. The risks to society of altering the structure of the workweek to accommodate the new norm of working mother are far less than trying to alter or limit the timeless relationships between mother and young child.

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

Volume 3

Number 2

Spring 1980

“ . . . There are many under-3s in shared care (day nurseries, child minders) either because the State will not subsidise the family or because (more difficult to bring to rational discussion) even women in the psychological and social science professions may push aside their knowledge of the importance of continuity of care for their young children in order to get on with their careers — putting their young children for substantial parts of the day in the care of others, then employing familiar rationalisations to show that what is convenient for them cannot be bad for their children. I think this is one of the sources of ambivalence within the professions about making an absolute priority of providing for the emotional needs of infants and young children. . . .

“We believe from experience that considerable influence is exerted by professional women working in television and other media who wish to work and have therefore to share their children; and that even in progressive mental health and pro-child movements this often unconscious factor can lead to something short of total commitment to putting first the emotional needs of children when very young. . . .

“But of course all is not gloom. There are many, many young mothers who although with university degrees contentedly look after their young children — knowing this is not a lifetime chore, but for a few years only after which they will gradually return to work. And there are many such, quietly getting on with parenting in company with their husbands — but of course not hitting the headlines since they are not fighting for ‘rights’. . . .”

**James Robertson
Director, Robertson Centre
London, England**

*To Replace a Mother with an Employee
Cannot be Done...*

THE WORLD OF THE CHILD

"To replace a mother with an employee cannot be done. This is partly of course because what is expected of mothers is far beyond what is expected of any employee. But allowing for any kind of time off, promotion, on the job training, vacations — anything of this kind — you cannot provide a child with a continuous or more or less continuous mother figure in an institutional setting.

"Now this is even before we start talking about how many infants economics demand that one person should care for. Once you add in that factor and say that this group of employees are to care for six or eight or ten babies, of course the whole thing becomes ludicrous, because you can't do it for multiple children. To meet the needs of even twins, any mother of twins will tell you, in the sensitive way we most of us reckon to meet the needs of a single baby is in itself impossible.

"But the other point about institutional care, even on a daily basis, is that a baby that's in that kind of care is in a situation where he's being cared for by somebody who even if she was there yesterday, because it wasn't her day off, doesn't know what happened to that child in the twelve hours that he's been at home. Now when a child is growing and changing and developing and working very hard at particular areas of his development, even twelve hours can put you totally out of step. Caring for a baby non-continuously is a continual process of experiment. And it may not hurt the baby for one afternoon, but it's awful bad for babies if all of their infant lives they are having to communicate with people to whom their language is foreign."

David Cayley

...The field of early childhood education has expanded very rapidly since the 1960s, and the idea that children really need professional, developmental and educational services in early childhood has been widely accepted. The arguments in favour of day care have also been bolstered by a number of

studies purporting to show that good day care does no observable harm. One of the best known of these studies was by Jerome Kagan and a number of colleagues from Harvard, where Kagan is a professor of developmental psychology. I asked him about his study, and he prefaced his reply with an important proviso on the usefulness of scientific research in this area.

Excerpted with permission from pages 11 - 17 of the transcript of the four-part series "The World of the Child" prepared by David Cayley and presented by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on the Ideas Network March 2 - 23, 1983. Copyright © 1983 The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. All rights reserved. The entire transcript of this excellent series identified as 4-ID-025 is available for \$3.50 from: CBC Transcripts, P.O. Box 500, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, M5W 1E6. Schools and universities may receive quantity discounts.

We don't know how to measure attachment. We use superficial measures, although the best available. With our superficial measures we found no difference in attachment.

Jerome Kagan

Unfortunately, for reasons I accept and believe in — ethical reasons — one cannot do experiments on human beings on important issues. Our conclusions are very limited in their validity. We cannot randomly assign children to groups. Therefore the wise citizen who is trying to use facts to make decisions should view most psychological conclusions with great caution. I didn't say ignore them, I didn't say snicker at them — just view them with great caution, because one cannot do experiments on human beings the way you can on fruit flies. That's right! Our conclusion about day care was very limited and constrained. It said: If a day care centre is good — good means only two or three infants to one caretaker, and maybe no more than three or four preschool children to one caretaker; the caretaker is a good caretaker, nurturant, likes children; the caretaker and the staff share the values of the family, and it's not too crowded, and they stimulate language and autonomy. Those are a lot of constraints. Under those conditions, children attending day care centres don't seem to grow up any different. No better, no worse from children at home when you measure things like language development, aggressive behaviour, normal emotional development — gross things. That's all the study said.

David Cayley

Jerome Kagan's study looked at a number of issues. But I was particularly interested in his findings in the area of attachment, that is, are children in day care as securely attached to their parents as children at home? His answer was equivocal.

Jerome Kagan

We don't know how to measure attachment. We use superficial measures, although the

best available. With our superficial measures we found no difference in attachment. I wouldn't be surprised if in the next 20 years when there are more sensitive measures of attachment, maybe day care children are less closely attached. Remember in my answer to your first question, the methods are crude. Given the methods we use, which were the best available, we found no difference in attachment. But that's like saying when they're investigating the pill, with those methods they found no harm in the pill. Now with better methods, they find — wait a minute, the pill is dangerous. Science is always tentative. So maybe there is a difference in attachment, we can't detect it yet.

David Cayley

Jerome Kagan's cautions about the limited validity of his findings were also echoed by Burton White. White is the author of *The First Three Years*, a former colleague of Kagan's at Harvard, and now the director of the Parent Education Centre in Newton, Massachusetts. He suggests that the same cautions should apply to all the research studies which have been done in this field.

Burton White

What it amounts to is the following. First of all, the bulk of the studies that have been done have been done in non-representative places. The typical study has been done at a university affiliated place. You can't generalize to substitute care very readily from such research, in fact you can't do it at all. Second, there is no evidence of long-term impact, because we haven't had long terms yet. Third, these studies don't address the question of what's best for children. They're addressing the question "Is there any harm being done?" That's not the same question.

Underlying the problem here is the am-

I wouldn't be surprised if in the next 20 years when there are more sensitive measures of attachment, maybe day care children are less closely attached.

I think it is proven beyond doubt — and I know that's an extreme statement, it's meant to be — I do, now, in the last three to five years take it as proven that the young human infant is designed to develop with and through interaction with one and/or more particular adult human beings.

bivalence and indeed the deep guilt that most young families, especially young women, feel after the fact. By virtue of long-standing traditions, if you do this with your child, if you put your child into a substitute care system most of the day when the child is a few months old, you find it very difficult to sleep easily at nights subsequently. And so what we have is a whole bunch of statements coming out in an attempt to keep the guilt down. Statements like "It's not the quantity of time you spend with a child, it's the quality of time." As if, after a nine-hour day out of the home, when you come home with your six-month-old child and it's 7 o'clock in the evening, and you've something to do around the house, you can now spend a half-hour of marvellous time that will make a difference. There's a lot of craziness being surfaced about these things. So there isn't enough evidence of consequence. It isn't done in representative places, it doesn't ask the question of what's best for the child. It is just too risky at this point to assume that you don't do the child any damage of any consequence when you transfer that primary responsibility to some other institution.

David Cayley

A further problem with the research on day care is that it comes from the most part from a tradition of experimental psychology which deals in measurable quantities. It can thus tell us virtually nothing about those processes which more interpretive psychoanalytically oriented theories have supposed are going on during the first three years. Eric Erikson, for example, suggests that the pre-eminent value created in the first year of life is the capacity for trust, something which no one has yet found a way to measure. And even if the capacities for trust, empathy and affection could be measured, their absence would not necessarily show up in childhood. It follows I think that current studies on day care are not a secure basis for decisions about what is in the long-term interests of children. One thing, however, that I think is establish-

ed by the studies that we have is that truly excellent day care amounts to the provision of alternative mothering, which reminds me a bit of Mark Twain's statement that Shakespeare's plays were either written by Shakespeare or by someone else of the same name.

British developmental psychologist
Penelope Leach.

Penelope Leach

I think it is proven beyond doubt — and I know that's an extreme statement, it's meant to be — I do, now, in the last three to five years take it as proven that the young human infant is designed to develop with and through interaction with one and/or more particular adult human beings. I honestly believe that this now needs to be taken as a starting point. It doesn't matter how many other people the baby has, I have a strong feeling that the more people that are special to a baby, the better off he is. But one special person who is emotionally special to him, he must have if he is to develop intellectually, socially, emotionally as well as physically as far as he's designed to do.

David Cayley

The question that follows from this conclusion is whether such care is possible in an institutional setting.

Penelope Leach

It is actually impossible within an employment situation. To replace a mother with an employee cannot be done. This is partly of course because what is expected of mothers is far beyond what is expected of any employee. But allowing for any kind of time off, promotion, on the job training, vacations — anything of this kind — you cannot provide a child with a continuous or more or less continuous mother figure in an institutional setting. Now this is even before we start talking about how many infants economics demand that one person should care for. Once you add in that factor

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and say that this group of employees are to care for six or eight or ten babies, of course the whole thing becomes ludicrous, because you can't do it for multiple children. To meet the needs of even twins, any mother of twins will tell you, in the sensitive way we most of us reckon to meet the needs of a single baby is in itself impossible. But the other point about institutional care, even on a daily basis, is that a baby that's in that kind of care is in a situation where he's being cared for by somebody who even if she was there yesterday, because it wasn't her day off, doesn't know what happened to that child in the twelve hours that he's been at home. Now when a child is growing and changing and developing and working very hard at particular areas of his development, even twelve hours can put you totally out of step. Caring for a baby non-continuously is a continual process of experiment. And it may not hurt the baby for one afternoon, but it's awful bad for babies if all of their infant lives they are having to communicate with people to whom their language is foreign.

David Cayley

So far we have been discussing day care in the context of extremely expensive and relatively high quality research schemes. The real world of day care is something else again. In 1979, of the half a million children between 2 and 6 with working mothers, only 15 per cent were enrolled in any supervised or approved form of care. The rest were cared for in unsupervised private settings. In a book called *The 'Kin Trade*, Laura Johnson and Janice Dinéen report the results of a Metropolitan Toronto Social Planning Council study which tried to assess the quality of this informal care. The researchers found on average what they called "adequate custodial care". In the sample of 281 homes, there were a few cases of genuinely stimulating and varied care, and at the other extreme, a few cases of outright abuse. But in general they found indifference. Most of the care-givers were not very interested in the children as individuals, and in a significant minority of cases, the children were simply ignored altogether.

The most rapidly growing type of day care is provided by the profit making commercial centres, which are usually run as franchises of large chains. Valerie Suransky of the University of Michigan has reported on the operation of these centres in a recent book called *The Erosion of Childhood*. She finds them at best to be highly institutionalized, age segregated, mini-schools, with such disproportionately high child-staff ratios as to virtually rule out any real

individual attention to the children. Faced with the poor quality of both commercial and informal substitute care, most proponents of improved day care services have argued for a massive expansion of state-run institutional care. But the question remains whether such care can really ever replace even an average quality of parental care.

Otto Weininger is the Chairman of the Early Childhood Section of the Department of Applied Psychology at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Otto Weininger

I think that the quality in most of the day care that I visited, and I visited a fair number over the past several years, has really been pretty poor. And I see it as being poor because I don't really think that they take into account what the child comes to the day care with. I don't think they take into account the kind of night that the child has had, or whether he or she has eaten breakfast, how long they've been awake, or any of those things that I think are so important in the lives of young children. But perhaps even more importantly this day care acts as a kind of a very serious interruption to the flow of experience for the child. By that I mean that the child and the parents or parent has been having certain kinds of experiences in the morning or in the evening, and they don't have these same experiences during the day — they're away from each other. Certainly children go away from their parents, and that's not at all remarkable, but the more remarkable aspect of it is that these children are now placed into centres which have to be institutionalized, and it's that aspect of the separation of the experiences of the child and the parents by the institutionalization of the child that I think has the most damaging aspect to the child's life.

David Cayley

Institutionalization in this context means several things for children. It means separation from the day to day world of home and neighbourhood, it means the loss of the opportunity to do what you want when you want to do it, including sometimes just doing nothing at all. And it means the loss of privacy and solitude. These things of course are not always present in the home, just as they may sometimes be present in the very best day care centres. But to some degree at least, numbers alone dictate that institutional constraints will dictate a good deal of what happens in day care.

Otto Weininger

These day care settings are so institu-

tionalized that the children are told "It's now 10:30 and we'll go to the bathroom," whether you have to or you don't have to. "It's now 11 o'clock and we're all going to go out." "It's now 11:30 and we're going to start our snack." "It's now whatever time it is, and we're going to do this — and we do this as a group." Now I don't think that they have any real opportunity of doing anything else, if they're going to function, maybe even if they're going to survive. But children don't behave that way, children don't react that way. Children aren't groups, they are very individualistic. They have very idiosyncratic needs at times when other kids don't have any of those needs at all, and I don't think that day cares take that into account. You go into some day care settings, and you find that all the children are being lined up to move in. And when you line up four-year-olds, they don't line up very well. When you line up three-year-olds, they don't line up well at all. But the day care people say you have to line up, you have to hold hands. Well, maybe that's okay for some, but it's not okay for all, and I don't think that that's teaching them anything. See that aspect of teaching, like "I want you to share with Mary because Mary needs to have some of that." And if you tell that to a three-year-old, that makes about as much sense as if you quoted to me some fantastic mathematical theoretical formula and I wouldn't have really any understanding of it. Well that's just about the same thing that happens with a three-year-old child. They don't have any understanding of the idea of sharing, nor do they have any idea of "be sensitive to". "At three years, I am not sensitive at all, hell, I'm really egocentric. I'm narcissistic, the world revolves around me. Now you, day care person, are taking that world away from me prematurely, and at such a time when I haven't yet understood that I need to be involved with other people, and you're forcing me into involvement, you're doing this in a premature way." And I think that if we do this in a premature way we've cut off a lot of the skills of that child later on.

David Cayley

Another concern which Otto Weininger expresses about day care is the fact that it may be forcing some children into premature independence as a result of prolonged and daily separation from home and parents before the child is actually ready to take that step for herself.

Otto Weininger

I think we are developing a particular kind of person by this early institutionalization. We're insisting on a kind of early in-

dependence, and I think that when we insist on too early an independence in young children, 3 years old, 4 years old, that what we do is we create this child in such a way as to force them to block some of what I'll call dependency needs, which is a kind of "take care of me" and nurturing, a "care for me" capacity which I think we all have, but we gradually sort of block over. And we gradually block this over as we mature and as we grow up. But I think that we can do this prematurely, and if we do it prematurely, what we tend to do is we have a child who is not going to be close to an adult, who is going to have difficulty being taken care of. Who's going to fight when you try to hug them. Who's going to say "I'm independent, and don't come near me." Now part of that — not all of it — but part of that is as a result of putting them in centres, I think at too early an age. And for me, too early an age would certainly be the two-year-old.

David Cayley

It is often said that if dependency is frustrated, the result will be a clinging rather than an independent child. But I think it may also be true that the frustrated child will not necessarily cling to the one who is frustrating him. Instead, his attachment may be transferred to more reassuring persons or objects. The well-known phenomenon of the security blanket is a small case in point. Our behaviour as consumers may be a large instance of the same type of displacement. In the case of the day care centre, what follows from a premature disruption of the bond to parents may be a type of substitute bonding to peers.

Otto Weininger

I think that the child who is not effectively attached to the parent, and I think that attachment processes will be watered down and minimized when the parent has to drop their child off in a day care from 3 or 4 months of age and on, and that that's going to have an effect on the processes that the child is going to go through in terms of learning, in terms of attachment and later on to other people, in terms of rebelliousness and in terms of not listening to adults. Now day care is essentially a world of children, and they do form peer attachments. That peer attachment may be in fact the saving grace for those children, because adults can't interact with children effectively when they have to take care of four or five or six and there's one adult to do that number. Children are lost. Since the adults can't deal with this, what the child usually does is turn to peers. And I think

"I want you to share with Mary because Mary needs to have some of that."



And if you tell that to a three-year-old, that makes about as much sense as if you quoted to me some fantastic mathematical theoretical formula and I wouldn't have really any understanding of it.

that it is the peer interaction that effectively stems some of the emotional problems that may actually be present in day care. So it's not the adults, and it's not that they are effective, but it's really that what we've done is we've offered the children other children to be with and to play with. If we allow them to play, I think that there'll be less problems for those children.

David Cayley

What Otto Weininger is here calling "attachment to peers" should not be confused with spontaneously formed friendships. He is referring to a substitution of peers for parents which may be a saving grace in the context of day care, but which may also weaken the parent-child bond in later

Children are noticed as potential consumers, and the candies in the supermarket are always seductively displayed at child's eye level. But rare indeed in public places are the play spaces or the tolerant attitudes which would actually be of assistance to parents.

childhood and adolescence. And this I think we very often see. In fact, the separation of people into peer groups from the day care centre to the old age home is already one of the most distinctive features of our society. It is impossible to generalize safely about children's development, and this applies even more to emotional than to physical development. What one child can handle at 2, another child can't handle until 4. Day care may be beneficial for one child, damaging for another. Babies are individuals virtually from conception, and there is much about their lives and ours which neither nature nor nurture can explain.

Nevertheless I believe that in general children are better off with their parents during their early years, and what I want to examine in the remainder of this program are the obstacles to this arrangement. In 1979, in a passionate polemical book entitled *Who Cares?*, British developmental psychologist Penelope Leach issued a cry from the heart on behalf of parents and their young children. She argued that despite a mask of sentimental rhetoric, society in fact placed very little value on child rearing. And the evidence which she cited encompassed both the physical and the social environments in which mothers and occasionally fathers bring up children.

Penelope Leach

The feeling in most areas, particularly in big city living, is that cities are built primarily for the automobile and for the automobile as used by wage earners and money spenders. In other words, the whole day to day life revolves around people who are commuting to work, who are working, who are snatching a quick lunch from work, who are collecting their money and are then spending that money on entertainment, on eating out and whatever. The fact that there are young children, the workers of the future, being reared in and among all that is something which a man from Mars would find it very difficult to notice, I think. He would have to go to very particular places — open spaces, parks where there happen-

ed to be playgrounds and so on — really to know that there are any small children and any of these strange human beings called "parents" around the place at all.

Along with that sort of physical ignoring of young families, I think we have extremely peculiar attitudes to the young of our own species. I mean it's a well-known old joke that the British like dogs better than children — but you know, it's really true. If you are in a street and a little dog comes bounding along, smiling and wagging its tail, pretty well everybody will smile down at it and hold out a hand and generally look interested and warm. But let a small child run away from a harrassed mother down a crowded street, and you're very lucky if anybody stops it going in the road, let alone smiling or holding out a hand.

David Cayley

Anyone who has spent time caring for young children will I think recognize how apt Penelope Leach's observations are. Children are noticed as potential consumers, and the candies in the supermarket are always seductively displayed at child's eye level. But rare indeed in public places are the play spaces or the tolerant attitudes which would actually be of assistance to parents. Difficulties of course there have always been, but more recent developments have also dimmed the prestige of full-time mothering.

Penelope Leach

I think the increase in the numbers of people being expected to carry full-time paid employment is a very real factor. Now it's odd to be talking about this now when we're all suffering from unemployment, but that isn't a matter of social preference or social pressure, it's a question of economics. Nobody, so far as I know, wants the kind of unemployment rates we now have. Within that, I think that that part of the women's movement which felt it necessary to fight for women's rights in the labour marketplace was a very real factor. Now if I could just enlarge on that for a minute, because it's very easy to be taken wrong.

Kids need a full-time parent...

State-funded daycare plan needs scrutiny

By Lorraine Young

Publicly, daycare evangelists have written off proposals by the parliamentary task force as woefully inadequate. But despite their apparent disappointment, in private they must be jumping for joy.

There's no denying it. The advocates of a heavily subsidized national daycare system have gained a huge amount of ground.

With the help of consistently sympathetic media, their point of view has gained immense exposure. Indeed, the criticism by daycare activists has been given as much or more press coverage as the proposals themselves.

More significant, daycare lobbyists have enjoyed immense success in steering public debate away from some tough questions.

An overseas visitor could be forgiven for concluding that all Canadians agree on three points: that the country is facing a daycare crisis of gigantic proportions; that the Government holds the solution in its bottomless treasury; and that how to implement the system is the only issue.

As far as the visitor can see, no one is questioning whether we have a genuine crisis, whether government can or should solve it and whether the issues are broader than the mechanics of funding.

Yet 48 per cent of Canadians say two-income families should not receive any government subsidy for daycare. This astounding Gallup Poll statistic was reported by Maclean's magazine in November.

Obviously, millions of Canadians disagree with the course Canada is being pushed toward.

So what is going on here?

For starters, opponents of daycare are not organized. Many are probably reluctant to speak up for fear of being labelled right-wing fanatics. Perhaps the front-line troops - the 40-plus per cent of Canadian parents of pre-schoolers who work at home taking care of their kids - are simply too busy to organize. Or maybe they are politically naive.

I'm convinced that huge numbers of Canadians believe as I do: young children need a parent at home full time, or nearly full time. I cannot believe it is in the interests of young children to be farmed out for 10 hours a day.

Do parents who work for wages really believe they can catch up if they see their kids from 7 to 7:45 in the morning and 5:30 to 7:30 in the evening? The idea is preposterous to most stay-at-home parents.

Kids need the cuddling, the commitment and the sense of security that only a parent can provide. How can daycare staff respond adequately to a young child's mood if they don't know how he slept or what words were exchanged at the breakfast table? How can they know what's behind a 3-year-old's question out of the blue: "What happens to your clothes when you die?"

Dr. Burton White, widely regarded as the

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foremost U.S. expert on early childhood learning and author of *The First Three Years of Life*, says: "I firmly believe that most children get a better start in life when, during the majority of the waking hours of their first three years, they are cared for by their parents or other nuclear family members, not by any form of substitute care."

It's debatable whether government must have a policy on the care of children. But if it's going to, surely that policy should be based on children's need for full-time parenting. Maybe if we dared put the needs of children first, we would start to question the wisdom of measures such as taxpayer-funded daycare or Unemployment Insurance maternity benefits. Is it possible they exacerbate the very problems they are designed to solve?

Again and again we're told that families simply cannot get by on one income. Has the economic position of the average Canadian family declined dramatically in a generation? Or have the material expectations of the vast middle class skyrocketed?

It seems that everyone expects to own a video cassette recorder, a microwave, color cable television or two cars. Surely, time nurturing little ones is more important than chasing after possessions. And if couples still feel they cannot get by on one income, what's to stop them building up a nest egg before they start a family?

Another thing that alarms me about the daycare movement is the readiness to institutionalize infants and small children. Little kids don't play in 15-minute chunks.

I'm fascinated watching kids play creatively. With just a little help, my 4-year-old stuffs his baby sister into a big box, jumps in beside her with a few props and plays fire truck for half the morning. The next day, it's a boat travelling up the Yukon

River. After that, a Toronto subway train. The mud in the driveway becomes tar that entraps dinosaurs.

Is daycare somehow going to avoid the emphasis on structure and uniformity that characterizes the school system?

Why are we so eager to transfer responsibility for our children to the state? Is the womb-to-tomb welfare state what the majority of Canadians want?

Questions of political philosophy need to be addressed in any debate about the care of children. The cause of "equality" is offered as self-evident proof of the need for massive expansion of government-funded daycare. Are we really prepared to sacrifice the needs of young children to achieve equality between men and women?

And what about "choice," the other political buzz word of the eighties?

In a letter to *The Globe and Mail*, federal Health Minister Jake Epp talked of "the need to expand choices for parents, the need to enable women with children to choose to participate in the paid labor force." Where did Mr. Epp get the notion that government has responsibility to create endless choices?

When two adults decide to have kids, they have made a choice and assumed big responsibilities.

If couples choose to have three full-time jobs and to subcontract one of them, they're perfectly free to do so. Unfortunately, the idea that government should pay the subcontractor has gained considerable acceptance.

Mr. Epp and his provincial counterparts have promised to come up with a national child-care policy. Will the 48 per cent who oppose the brave new world of state-funded daycare speak up before it's too late? □

The first duty to children is to make them happy.

Sir Thomas Buxton

Mothers Speak Out On Child Care

Legislators under pressure to end the nation's child care woes may be rushing to give America's mothers something they do not want. As the political cries for "more quality day care" reach a near-deafening level, millions of women are quietly looking toward another kind of solution to the child care crisis: They are looking for creative work options that allow them to rear their own children. Whether they choose to pull back from full-time work or part-time or flex-time, to open a home-based business, or even to quit work entirely with plans to return later, the motivation for most mothers remains the same—to keep their children out of day care.

Yet, most of the current child care proposals before Congress provide mothers with exactly the kind of care they are trying to avoid. Working under the assumption that an increase in closely-regulated day care will mean a decrease in substandard care and latch-key situations, political leaders have fallen prey to several misguided and potentially dangerous misconceptions:

One:

- The belief that by 1995 almost all mothers will need child care.

Two:

- The belief that mothers' needs are accurately portrayed in the media.

Three:

- The belief that providing more "quality care" is our only realistic option.

*Reprinted from **Welcome Home**, Vol. 5, No. 11, November 1988. **Welcome Home** is a monthly publication of the non-profit organization, *Mothers At Home*, Subscription price in Canada is \$18 (U.S.) per year; P.O. Box 2208, Merrifield, VA 22116.*

THE BELIEF THAT BY 1995 ALMOST ALL MOTHERS WILL NEED CHILD CARE

For almost a generation now, we have been told that mothers are leaving home. Media reports, quoting statistics from the Department of Labor (DOL), point out that by the turn of the century nearly all mothers will work outside the home, creating a critical shortage of child care. The assumption seems reasonable enough. At a glance, the DOL figures give indisputable evidence that combining a job with motherhood is here to stay.

However, seriously misleading perceptions about mothers and working have risen from the DOL's statistic—not because the numbers themselves are inaccurate, but because of errors in the way they have been presented to the public. When the statistics are examined more closely, it becomes clear that many of the DOL's "working mothers" consider themselves "at home" and have little or no need for child care.

The Department of Labor bases its statistics on a survey of 60,000 "scientifically selected" households, conducted each March by the Bureau of the Census. Because the objective of the survey is to identify trends by comparing labor force participation from year to year, the Department of Labor has had to devise a standardized definition of "employment." This definition reads:

"Employed persons are those who, during the survey week: (a) did any work at all as paid civilians; (b) worked on their own farms; or (c) worked fifteen hours or more as an unpaid worker in a family-operated enterprise. Also included are those who were temporarily absent from their jobs for such reasons as illness, vacation, bad weather, or labor-management disputes.

In other words, the much talked about statistics of mothers with children under the age of eighteen who "worked outside the home" (as it is often described) are not just the full-time working mothers most readers and viewers have imagined. Labor force participation, according to spokespeople at the Department of Labor, also includes:

- Mothers who work part-time, as little as one hour per week and up.
- Mothers who work seasonally, as little as one week out of the year.
- Mothers who work from their homes, for employers or for themselves.
- Mothers who provide child care in their homes for other mothers.
- Mothers who help with a family business (at least fifteen hours a week), whether paid or unpaid.
- Mothers who work full-time, but have flexible hours to avoid the

need for child care.

- Mothers on maternity leave (or other leave), who may not return to their jobs.

The DOL Statistics Cannot "Prove" The Existence Of A Day Care Shortage

The Current Population Survey on which the DOL statistics are based does not (at this writing) ask respondents any questions about child care. Nor can a respondent's need or desire for child care be inferred from their answers to other questions. Yet, most of the "evidence" cited in support of the contention that America must face up to a major child care shortage is derived from these very statistics.

For example, many news articles proclaim that in 1995 two-thirds of all children, under age six, as well as three-quarters of all school-age children, will have mothers in the labor force. This statement is from a report in the *Journal of Marriage and Family* (Hofferth and Phillips, August 1987), in which the authors explain that the figures were obtained by multiplying the DOL statistics by a carefully-calculated estimate of the average number of children per mother.

In additions, almost all Congressional testimony advising the federal government to fund more day care relies heavily on these statistics. In a February 25, 1988, statement before the House Committee on Education and Labor, the YWCA said: "The Act for Better Child Care Services is long overdue. Our country is faced with a major child care crisis because the number of children with working mothers has grown tremendously. By 1995, two thirds of all preschool children will have mothers in the work force; and four out of five school-age children will have working mothers."

Statements backed by DOL statistics, where the statistics were misused, were also made by the Association of Junior Leagues, The National Education Association, the National Black Child Development Institute, the Children's Defense Fund, the American Academy of Pediatrics, the Communications Workers of America, the American Association of University Women, the National Council of Jewish Women, and others. Most likely, the representatives for these groups did not understand the statistics they were quoting. Unfortunately, the force of their combined testimony is certain to influence the nation's lawmakers.

Available data simply do not support the claim that most mothers will need child care by 1995. However, it is clear that more mothers than ever before are participating in the labor force in some way. It is equally clear that these mothers are experiencing a deeply emotional crisis concerning the care of their children. As yet, the true nature of that crisis remains largely misunderstood.

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THE BELIEF THAT MOTHERS' NEEDS ARE ACCURATELY PORTRAYED IN THE MEDIA

Misinterpretation of the DOL statistics is far from the only barrier to a correct understanding of the child care crisis. The current media portrayal of mothers and their needs is riddled with inaccuracies as well.

For example, media coverage almost universally divides mothers into two distinct camps: mothers who are home with their children (pictured as a shrinking minority) and mothers who "work outside the home" (identified as the growing majority). Mothers at home are supposedly politically conservative, married to a high wage earner, and ideologically committed to the view that women belong in the home. "Working mothers," on the other hand, are depicted as educated women pursuing self-fulfillment in the workplace and single and/or minority mothers forced to work for economic reasons.

The outpouring of letters we have received over the past five years, from mothers of nearly every political, religious, and socio-economic background, completely contradicts this picture. While women who fit the stereotypes do exist, they represent only the extremes. Most mothers, both employed and at home, form a large "middle" group whose political convictions and economic circumstances often belie their work/home choice. In fact, many of them wander in and out of the workforce, seeking support at work or at home from a society that refuses to give it in either place.

The True Story of Today's Mothers and Child Care

The child care needs of this group of mothers differ greatly from those promoted by the media. These mothers are not in the market for bigger and better day-care facilities. They are in the market for spending as much time as possible with their children.

The media's "typical" mother—a woman whose preschoolers are subjected to a nightmare of inferior child care arrangements while on the waiting list for a "good" day-care center—is a mere glimpse of a much larger, much more poignant story. It is the story of a generation of women who were led to believe that motherhood could be "hired out," and that life with children need not differ much from life without them. It is the story of women who had no real idea of what caring for a child would feel like or of the sophisticated skills and the sacrifice of time it would require.

It is the story of women like Kathy Miller Rindock from Allentown, Pennsylvania, who writes: "I have always strongly supported the women's movement and consequently was totally unprepared for the

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

Women like Kathy, influenced by the media hype of the seventies and eighties, expected a relatively simple adjustment to motherhood. Supposing that caring for a child somehow "comes naturally," they rarely thought beyond feeding, bathing, and cuddling an infant. Hiring someone to do these things for them while they were at work seemed perfectly reasonable, as did spending "quality time" with a child each evening.

However, these women discovered—whether within moments of childbirth or after years of saying good-bye at the day care door—that children require more than custodial upkeep and that nurturing often demands one's full attention, even during hours that are promised to an employer.

If these women could simply change their minds overnight and stay at home with their children, there would be no child care crisis. However, many—perhaps most—young women today are totally unprepared financially, professionally, socially or emotionally to stay home with a baby. In fact, full-time mothering is currently so low in prestige, so economically difficult, and viewed as such a threat to professional advancement that many women find the obstacles insurmountable.

Pressured by society to return to work and convinced by the media that they will "adjust," many of these mothers begin to experiment with the promised "quality child care." True to the media image, most of them try a variety of substitute care arrangements within a fairly short period of time; indeed, many of them became the familiar anguished mother desperately trying to locate a "better" sitter or a "more loving" day-care center.

The critically important (and often overlooked) question is why mothers who apparently have access to a multitude of child care providers cannot find one that satisfies them; and why, when they have been repeatedly warned that children in day care have an urgent need for consistency, do they jeopardize fulfillment of that need to try "one more" promising child care arrangement? Is their inability to find adequate care truly because there aren't enough clean, safe, and well-regulated day-care spaces to choose from? Or is the answer less simplistic?

We believe that these mothers are not suffering from a lack of child care options. In fact, many who write us feel they have experienced the best there can be. We believe these mothers go from sitter to sitter and center to center because they are continually looking for something that

no substitute caregiver can ever provide: the same love and care a mother would give her own child in her own home.

If the letters we have received by the thousands are typical of mothers across the nation, then the majority of today's mothers either do not need or do not want day care. Firsthand experience with it has shown them that it doesn't do the job; that no matter how "quality" it becomes, it will never do the job.

These mothers do not believe that loving care can be created by legislative mandate, or bought with generous salaries and top-of-the-line play equipment. When they demand "quality care" they are not referring to adequate fire exits and teacher-to-child ratio. They are referring to genuine love, personal and immediate attention to individual need. They are referring to that care which teaches a child that he comes first to somebody—in short, the kind of care that has never been for sale.

Objections to Bringing Mothers Home From the Workplace

Unfortunately, neither the media nor the political arena welcomes the thought that averting the child care crisis might be as simple as helping mothers who want to stay home to do so.

First, such a contention runs counter to twenty-five years worth of education and enlightenment on behalf of all women. Or does it? This generation of mothers is, in a real sense, the product of that enlightenment. If anything, it is their very awareness of their rights, especially in the labor force, that is driving them to finally speak out about their desire to be with their children.

A single mother, trying to stay home with her son in Illinois, reflects: "Although I grew up in the rural Midwest, in a home that preached and practiced equality, the choice to work at home was somehow less than equal—at least in my mind. Ironically, it has taken all of my feminism and activism to find the place where I can parent and be content with my decision—that place is home."

Reporters, activist, and legislators long have equated the progress of women's rights in the workplace with the struggles of mothers who are trying to work. It is a grave error. While women in general DO want to work, most mothers, if given a clear choice, would choose NOT to. It's time we openly recognized the fact that helping mothers stay home to rear their own children does not have to threaten the full and equal participation of all women in the labor force.

A second objection to the idea that America's mothers may want less day care and more time at home is the perception that surveys, studies, and polls prove otherwise. Again, it's time to take a close look.

Several recent polls reflect the desire of many employed mothers to be home with their children. For example, in October 1987, *Family Circle*

published the results of a survey to which more than 50,000 women responded. When asked, "If it were possible, would you quit your job to stay home with your children?" Over 67% of the respondents answered "yes."

Such reports have met with surprise and disbelief. Actually, surveys have hinted at this change in attitude for years. However, few have known how to interpret it. In 1986, the previously-mentioned *Newsweek* poll (by Gallup) asked 1,009 mothers: "What are your current work arrangements, and if you had a choice and finances were not a problem, what work arrangement would you prefer?"

Within the text of the article, the results were summarized this way: "It's not that women don't want to work. They do—in fact, even mothers at home say they would prefer work. . . 71% of the at-home mothers surveyed said they would like to work. A total of 75% of working mothers also said they would work even if they didn't need the money."

Newsweek missed the real message hidden in the results of their own poll. A closer look at the numbers indicated that the huge percentage of mothers (both employed and non-employed) who supposedly "want to work" was calculated by combining totals for mothers who said they would like to work full-time, flex-time, part-time, and from home. However, only 9% of the at-home mothers said they wanted to work full-time, regular hours—and more responded that they preferred not to work at all than any other category.

Even more revealing was the fact that more employed mothers wanted to quit work completely (16%) than work full-time, regular hours (13%). By far the most preferred category was part-time work (34%), followed by working flexible hours.

It's Time To Accurately Assess Mothers' Needs

The truth is, little systematic research on parental preferences concerning child care has been done.

Even more disturbing, the phrasing of survey questions in the research that *has* been done reflects such blind acceptance of the viewpoint currently popular in the media that gathering truly unbiased information may be impossible.

The open expression of feelings about child care that we have received from parents across the nation reveals a need to ask questions few researchers seem to have considered: What do parents believe is best for their children? What do they feel their ideal child care arrangement would be? What would have to happen to make that arrangement possible? What kind of child care options have parents tried in the past and how did they feel about each one? Are there

arrangements that parents recognize as “good” for them, but harmful to their children? What requests have parents made of employers in hopes of preventing or reducing the need for child care, and how were those requests received? Would changing a spouse’s work situation (i.e. flexibility at work or the ability to work from home) make it possible for them to avoid child care completely? Would they prefer this flexibility over “good” substitute care? Would tax credits or a higher exemption rate for dependents make it possible for them to stay home if they wished to do so?

It is time we carefully and openly reviewed the facts surrounding the child care crisis, and demanded an accurate assessment of the nation’s child care needs, as expressed by the *mothers* of the nation’s children.

Misconception #3

THE BELIEF THAT PROVIDING MORE “QUALITY CARE” IS OUR ONLY REALISTIC OPTION

Almost everyone agrees that day care of any kind is not the optimal way to raise a child. Yet, the full-time care of a loving parent—once thought to be every child’s birthright—is now being derided as a Utopian dream. Day care may indeed be a “second choice” way to raise children, assert the “experts,” but we should nonetheless be prepared to face reality. Since so many women work, and since most of them “must” work, child care has become something unavoidable—a necessary evil we must learn to live with, like root canals and taxes.

What experts do not take into account is, that as far as rearing their children is concerned, most mothers believe they should have more choice than second choice. Why, they want to know, are we doggedly heading toward an uncontested, clear second best solution to the current child care crisis in a country that has always pledged that its children deserve the best? If most mothers truly regret their need to work, why do we insist on making it easier for them to do so? Why aren’t we concentrating our efforts, our time, our funds on making it easier for them to do what they want to do instead—spend more time with their children at home?

We believe the child care crisis can be solved without spending billions of dollars annually and without encouraging the kind of child care that mothers do not want. Suggestions have poured into our organization from parents across the country—parents who know firsthand the sorrow of having to leave their children, parents who have thought deeply about what is best for their families, parents who are not afraid of innovation and creativity when it comes to solving a national problem of serious proportions.

Parenthood and paid work: the dilemma

By Penelope Leach

When policy-makers asked me for a statement concerning the parenting dilemmas of the late eighties I was delighted. An awareness of problems must be a step towards seeking solutions to them. Faced with their stark title, however, my delight has sobered. Those three words suggest so little understanding of current situations and aspirations that I wonder whether awareness has even been conceived.

The title offends me because it assumes a complete separation between male and female parenthood and therefore a simple set of choices facing women alone. It also offends me because, highly privileged myself, I nevertheless regard questions about careers as less socially relevant than

questions about paid work.

The word 'career' carries with it several connotations which are vital in this debate:

1. That it is a job, or series of jobs, with a coherent and building structure such, that staying with it brings increasing rewards not only in money but in reputation.
2. That the value of the person pursuing the career-structure actually increases with age and experience.
3. That the overall structure of the career carries with it present or future job-satisfaction and self-esteem.

It is sometimes argued that choices which jeopardize such a desirable kind of

Dear Elliott,

I don't know whether you will find the enclosed paper of any use. Please understand that it was written for a very particular audience and, of course, for speech rather than print. Hence its digressions and peculiarities. You might, however, find some of the future concepts in the last couple of pages useful in thinking about possible approaches to parenting centres... Anyway, if you can be bothered to wade through such a mass of words it will bring you up to date with some of my thinking and, above all, on the way one has to approach the economists and sociologists here. Arguments about human relationships, about all the issues which are important to you and me, cut little ice. To make any headway those arguments have to be cast in a different mould...

*Best wishes
Penelope Leach Ph.D.*

Penelope Leach, gained her doctorate in Social Psychology for a study of the effects of different sorts of upbringing on children's developing moral judgements and social sense. She worked on juvenile delinquency for the Home Office and became a Research Fellow under the Medical Research Council, conducting a large-scale study of the effects of babies on their parents.

Her book *Babyhood* established her reputation as an authority on infant development. Her world bestseller, *Baby and Child*, put child development into the context of the realities of child care. Its continuing sales in seventeen languages approach two million. Her latest book, *The Parents' A to Z*, is being used by the World Health Organisation as the basis for its planned *World Encyclopedia of Childcare*.

job are even more agonizing than choices jeopardizing routine production-line work or service-industry slavery. But this is spoiled media-nonsense. Surely no responsible person can seriously argue that losing a promotion or an ego-building professional opportunity is equivalent to losing out on a wage-packet that is needed to meet a mortgage, or to missing the one job opportunity which might have got a single mother off public support and out of her isolation before depression drained her of all initiative. We must surely assume that all working woman stand to lose at least the same when their family responsibilities conflict with their roles in the world outside home, because their jobs will be of equivalent importance to each of them, however the jobs may be viewed by society. Only individuals can sort out the differences — if any — between wanting to work and needing to work.

However the equation between want and need is worked out by the individual, women with careers are still infinitely better off than most women.

1. Career jobs pay enough money (including tax benefits and other perks) to give women financial options which are closed to others. Of course different careers are

differently paid. Of course I support teachers and nurses in their struggle for higher salaries. Of course I do not believe they are rich. But a teacher earning 8,000 Pounds a year is still very differently placed from the woman earning 3,000 Pounds a year in a shop. If the teacher is not rich, the shop assistant is poor. The extra money brings extra choices: the choice of paying for child-care, for example, and the choice of paying for the services which may make a double life tolerable for all concerned.

2. Because people with careers become more valuable as they get older, career-women have the option of delaying their families until their incomes, and their value to their employers, have peaked. Once an employer really regrets losing an employee, her chances of returning to work once she and her child are ready for some separation, of getting part-time work if that is what she prefers, or of working from home if that is what suits her, all dramatically increase. Putting off a family will not help the shop-assistant. The longer she leaves it, the more difficult she will find it to get back to work — ever. There are younger women coming along behind her and the really young ones can be paid even less than she.



An excellent book. Although I read constantly on the subject for eight months prior to Amber's arrival, I never read anything as valuable as this.

Pamela Townsend

(May be ordered from Collins Publishers, 100 Lesmill Road, Don Mills, Ontario M3B 2T5 ISBN 636841 7 - \$7.95)

EMPATHIC PARENTING/Summer 1987

“I believe that day-care for pre-school children begs most of the important questions...to propose solutions to work/child problems in those terms is to perpetuate a con.”

Clearly, then, the real issue is not 'Motherhood or career' but something closer to 'Parenthood and paid work: the dilemma'.

When any group turns its attention to the problems of combining paid work with caring for children, discussion instantly focuses on questions concerning daycare for children too young to go to school. Usually the problem is posed in terms of too few nurseries and the solutions proposed are various combinations and permutations of alternative or additional forms of care outside the home.

Let me say right now, that I believe that daycare for preschool children begs most of the important questions and that to propose solutions to work/child problems in those terms is to perpetuate a con.

It begs important questions by entering the debate at a point where individual children and their individual parents, linked into their unique families, already exist. At that point it is already too late to consider many of women's most crucial choices. What is the use of asking a woman whether she is sure she should have had a baby when she already has him? What is the purpose of querying the timing of the birth or the father's real wish for a family, after the event? That woman is facing a real situation in which her choices are sharply limited by the existence, the rights if you like, of that baby. Given the situation she is in she may indeed desperately need more daycare facilities. But to suggest that such facilities are any kind of answer to the problems her situation reflects is like suggesting that more and better foster-parents are the answer to child-abuse and battering...

It is a con because the whole debate about pre-school daycare suggests that once children reach school age the problems go away. They do not go away. Arranging satisfactory care for the five-year-old of working parents can actually be more

difficult than arranging it for a three-year-old. Children are not cared for in school in such a way that parents (both or either) are free to pursue jobs or careers on an equal basis with the childless. Most children are in school for about 7 hours in 24 (leaving 17 hours without school care) for 5 days in every 7 and for 36 weeks in each 52.

Older children do not need the intensity of care required by toddlers and more of them can be satisfactorily cared for together, but the school-child's care can still be more difficult to arrange because it is so irregular. The toddler needs daycare five days a week from, say, 8 - 5, except on public holidays and over three vacation weeks a year. Your school-child needs it from, say, 8 - 9 a.m. including the trip to school (except when Daddy can take her in the car) and 4 - 6 p.m. (except when she goes to tea with a friend) five days a week except at half term, and in the holidays, and when the school is closed for use as a polling station (when she needs it all day) and except for when she is ill. And illness cannot even be planned ahead.

For me, the real issues start much further back and they do not just involve parents, children and employers. They involve all of us in all our diverse roles. They involve us as people.

I put it to you that the roots of the problem are in industrial capitalism; in the nature of 'work' itself; in our expectations

“It is a con because the whole debate about pre-school day-care suggests that once children reach school age the problems go away. They do not go away.”

of work and the dominance of its theme in all our lives. We do not work to live, we live to work. We do not work for money to exchange for any combination of necessities and luxuries. We do not even work in order to be recompensed in money for using our skills and training for society via an employer. We work for status, for identity, for a recognition which is both public and private. And while all that may seem more obviously true for career-people than for anybody else, research carried out during these years of rising unemployment has made it clear that it is true for almost everybody. There are people who will not take any old job in any old place even if it gives them less disposable income than they can get from social security payments. But they are very few. The tragedy of unemployment is that people are not just broke, they are bored. They are not just at home all day, they are at home where

The tragedy of unemployment is that people are not just broke, they are bored.

nobody expects them to be; where they are not welcome; where they upset the scheme of things. They are not just without a work-title, they are without a self image they can accept. The studies I have seen have not produced one single family where the partner/father's presence at home was welcomed, even by his nearest and dearest, let alone by himself. One twenty-year-old girl, married just six months when her husband lost his job, said: "Well yes, of course I love him. Of course wanting to be together was part of what we got married for. But I married a plumber and now what have I got? A nobody." Even in families where there are children, and work more easily available for women than for men, simple role-reversal is extremely rare. One father said: "I used to wish I could have more time at home with the kids. Truly I did. But I can't just stay home with them now. I can't just give up and accept that this is for good: that I'll never be me again..." The only exception in recent

years has been Britain's striking miners for whom unemployment was a choice made out of conviction and made (just) tolerable by a strong group identity. It was by role reversal that many families in the mining communities survived. For young people who have never had a job and see little prospect of getting one, life is lived in a limbo between adolescence and adulthood. Such a youngster has never acquired her adult social identity; never been handed her passport into adult society.

If we live to work and there is work available then the job must come first and you must go where it is. Consider commuting. People travel, every weekday of their working lives, over distances and in discomforts which they would tolerate for no other purpose — even for the daily visiting of a sick child in hospital. By doing so they add to the working week hours which effectively increase it faster than mechanization and social legislation cuts it back. Many working people in Western societies are in working mode for longer hours than are common in pre-industrialized societies where labour is still controlled by the sun.

The effects of this mad masochism are not confined to the throngs of travellers either. In many British and American suburbs, the houses and apartments which we call 'homes' and the network of streets which should constitute their 'communities', are almost empty by 8 a.m. and stay that way until 7 p.m. For the single person or childless couple, home becomes a cipher; a rest-station and storage place. For couples with children — and even more markedly for parents rearing children on their own — home becomes a place whose distance (in space and time) from work becomes life's critical factor. The further you must travel and the more kinds of transport you must use, the greater the chance that fog or snow, a strike or a breakdown, will make you late in collecting your child from the caregiver. And the longer it will take you to get back to your child's school, the greater your terror of the call that asks you to come immediately because he is hurt or ill.

Going where the job is does not only mean commuting, though. It also means getting into a car or an aeroplane and following opportunity in what is euphemistically called 'job mobility'. Women and children have long been ex-



pected to follow men around the country or the world as employers or advancement dictate. It is from studies of those families — diplomats, military people, engineers — that we know how damaging frequent moves can be, disrupting, sometimes even destroying, whole family groups. Mental illness, depression, suicide and educational failure are all significantly higher in these groups than in more geographically stable families. Even in the United States, where the average family moves at least every three years, moves across State boundaries or further are now being shown to place enormous strain on families even when work-advancement is the motive for the move and better housing is one of its rewards. We are not only family but tribal animals. We need roots and if our nuclear families are to work they need to be the nucleus of something.

But if it is bad for women and children to follow their men's work, can you imagine what would (will) happen if men and women were truly trying — and expecting — to do so equally in the equal furtherance of equally salient careers? When one partner's job demanded that he stay and the other's demanded that she up-stakes, what would they do? Toss a coin? Agree to split up? I do not know the answer because, so far, I have only talked to couples who have faced this dilemma conventionally; the woman doing what was appropriate to her

partner's career, irrespective of what it did to her own. Compromises are multiplying, though, with pied-a-terre's housing one partner's work-life while the home houses the other and with weekend commuting replacing daily journeys. And who knows how many conflicts of this kind lie behind the divorce statistics? Sexual infidelity is seldom regarded as a sufficient reason for divorce but infidelity to equal career-opportunities may often be part of the total

We are not only family but tribal animals. We need roots and if our nuclear families are to work, they need to be the nucleus of something.

picture of 'incompatibility'.

Leaving children completely out of the picture for the moment, is it in fact possible, within this dominating work-ethic, for two people both to pursue careers equally and to the full while functioning as a mutually responsive and supportive duo? There is already some evidence that it is

(continued on page 17)



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We have created a society in which that most basic and essential function, procreation, has no easy, obvious or accepted place. This is not a women's problem but a people problem.

Parenthood

(continued from p. 9)

not. The British Psychological Society has recently reported on current studies of the major cause of lost work-time and therefore revenue to companies: work-stress.

The sharpest rise in stress-related absenteeism is amongst male employees and the principal reason for it is that female partners are out at work. It would be nice to think that the kind of stress which is keeping all those men at home in Nebraska and Minnesota is the kind engendered by a feminist with a frying pan posed over the head. The truth is less amusing. The stress those thousands of men are staggering under is engendered by their difficulties in pursuing their careers wholeheartedly without the back-up services traditionally supplied by women at home. It is easy to mock at helpless men who cannot keep up with their career-demands if nobody takes their suits to the dry-cleaner, gets the car serviced or copes with the serviceman. It is equally easy to mock with a little more sophistication. Can they not cope if they have to be 'latchkey people' or if the wives who are waiting for them want to talk their own office politics instead of listening to theirs? But mockery should be resisted because these are real people facing real problems and the fact that we do not think they should be problems does not remove them from people's lives. It seems that even without children and without major geographical career-moves, it is already taking two people — or perhaps one and a half people — to service a single career, and that a lot of the basic, practical problems are related to geographical — and therefore time — separations between working and living.

Western big business has not yet clearly seen the Japanese answer to this dilemma; perhaps we should be thankful for that at least. In Japan people's recognized need to belong to clans and tribes and to

have a security within them which spreads over most aspects of their lives, is most profitably provided. 'Home' has not been up-graded as it has in most Western societies. Instead, 'home' is more or less accepted as a resting-place only while the factory or workplace provides most of the facilities and emotional support functions westerners associate with home. A worker's peer group is his clan, the factory is his tribe. Within the factory moral and social behaviour is monitored and the educational and social services Westerners relate to home-communities are provided there. The Japanese worker gets his exercise and contraception, his haircut and his moral uplift, his friendships and even his marriage, on the job. Production rates are said to be the highest in the world and so are the suicide rates — especially amongst children and adolescents.

I would argue, then, that sexual partners cannot have equal opportunities and rewards in the workplace, and more especially in career-jobs, unless they are prepared to subject the partnership to the whims of management or are both prepared to lower their aspirations and risk missed opportunities for the sake of the partnership. Even without children we are bedevilled by the separation between work and home; between being workers and being people.

Having children is a function of people not of workers. Bringing them up falls (ironically enough) into the home-leisure side of the equation, not into the work side.

I would argue, then, that sexual partners cannot have equal opportunities and rewards in the workplace.

We have created, or we have allowed to evolve, a society in which that most basic and essential human function, procreation, has no easy, obvious or accepted place. This is not a women's problem but a people's problem.

If you are a woman who happens to be somebody's mother it is hard to believe that it is not your sole problem because society conspires to make it feel that way. But step behind your own immediate experience and needs and you can see that it has to be wider than that. It is not just

that parenting should be something shared between a man and a woman but that society as a whole could not survive if there were no children and cannot do better than survive if children are not well done by. Somehow, then, society has to make it possible for at least some people to combine parenthood with full membership of itself. There are some hard facts — and I mean facts rather than opinions — which the current debate, focusing on the rights and problems of mothers in relation to jobs and careers, tends to ignore.

Having a child radically alters the lives of its parents

...forever



It may also alter the lives of the many other people whose roles and interrelationships are changed by the birth: the parents who are suddenly grandparents, the sisters and their children who are suddenly aunts and cousins.

The expectation that life can go on more or less as before once a baby has been born is universally contradicted by experience. No matter how many Mary Poppins-type nannies, happy caring nurseries and after-hours school schemes one postulates, parents cannot live as they lived when they were childless. Practically speaking they will, at the very least, have to make and pay for those arrangements and anyone who is currently involved in fixing carpools and play-dates and coming to terms with life with or without a resident or daily care-giver, will know just how much time and energy that takes. Emotionally, those parents will find that they care and that is often the biggest and the least expected change of all. Arrange for the baby to be blissfully bathed by someone else and you will still resent missing his bathtime. Assure his care while you go to the dinner or the sales conference and you will still mind if he misses you — and mind more if he does not.

**Babies and young children
take time
and effort
from
someone.**

**Constant
care for
three years.**



They are not toys to be put away when work begins nor hobbies, like boats, which can be dry-docked when winter comes or the workload is heavy. Once a baby emerges to share the air with the rest of us, somebody has to be on call to care for him or her every minute of every twenty-four hours for at least the next three years. Why three? Because that is the minimum age at which any studied culture reckons that any child can be trusted to care for itself without the instant availability of an older person, night or day.

Why bother to make such an obvious point? Surely everybody knows that babies need constant care? They may know it but they talk and behave as if they did not. People talk of "alternative childcare arrangements" (meaning any arrangement other than full-time care from the mother or adoptive-mother herself), as if they did not realize that none of those diverse arrangements means anything other than passing on the care of that child from one person to another. My point, then, is that the commitment to full-time care is absolute; there is no point in debating it. That is the basic fact that must be kept at the forefront of any debate about ways and means of combining childcare with other work.

Western societies pay lip-service to the full-time commitment of motherhood with a variety of arrangements for maternity leave. If Sweden has the best record in this respect, the United States probably has the worst, with career-women being accorded the fewest rights and daring to take the fewest liberties. For many American women it is normal to return to full-time work six weeks after a birth. American daycare provisions being what they are — or what they are not — mothers employ a

caregiver in their own homes. She does not give the care, as a matter of fact, she sells it.

Leaving aside the horror of these arrangements from the point of view of the woman who has just given birth, and the implications of separation for her infant, what about that 'caregiver'? If the career woman has the right to live her life the way she wants to, including pursuing her job immediately if she wishes for the sake of money, prestige and later advancement,

Well-to-do women will go to extraordinary lengths to try and ensure that their babies do not suffer from being cared for by somebody else...

does the woman whom she employs to replace her not have equal rights? Passing the daily responsibility for childcare down the socio-economic line smacks of the kind of colonialism under which my husband was reared by Singhalese women to whom his parents would not, under any other circumstances, have related. It even smacks of the worst case South African situation where if you are a black woman you will be allowed to live in Johannesburg, even live in a shack in a white area, provided you will leave your own children in the black township with yet another woman down the line, and look after Madam's babies so that neither she nor their father need do so.

Of course not all child-minding is worst-case. In Britain many registered childminders have motives, other than their ludicrously low pay, for taking care of other women's children. Many have young children of their own and want to be at home with them or want a way of life which enables them to be at home when their somewhat older children are not in school. It may, and often does, work out well for all concerned. But it is not a policy-solution. People use childminders because they can make more money from their outside jobs than they need pay for childcare; because they can thus avoid damaging career breaks or changes in lifestyle and/or because they prefer a way of life which has outside paid work in it. What about the childminder's money? What about her career or job prospects in the future?

I am not commenting here about the quality of care babies received from minders because I am sure it is as variable as the quality of care babies receive when their mothers care for them full-time and alone. Perhaps it is often rather better because minders are not expected to do twenty-four hour shifts, seven days a week as some mothers are. But the expectation that a minder, who is by definition not your peer, can bring your baby up as well, in your terms, as you could yourself, is a curious one.

Well-to-do women will go to extraordinary lengths to try and ensure that their babies do not suffer from being cared for by somebody else. But the efforts they make often seem to miss the central point of caring: the relationship between adult and baby. Western parents magazines are full of articles about something called "quality-time": ways of spending the hour or two between the adult working day and the baby's bedtime which are supposed to concentrate the essence of "good parenting" and thus ensure that nothing is lost through ten hours apart. I have an American book for review called "Breastfeeding and Work" which is full of advice about how to find private corners of the workplace for expressing breastmilk; how to keep it cold until it can be frozen at home and how to breastfeed ad lib all night in order to ensure that breasts, unsucked all day, still maintain their supply. Breastmilk is certainly the best food for babies, but breastfeeding is not simply the provision of that milk in a bottle.

Many people believe that more equitable and less socially divisive answers to the working mother's dilemma can be found by professionalizing the whole business of childcare; gathering babies and preschool children into groups so that the carers can have proper work (even career) status, money and union protection. It sounds all right. It sounds like free choice for all the women concerned, but it brings us up against yet another harsh fact about human babies.

...But they often miss the central point of caring: the relationship between adult and baby.

Caregivers must be the same people all the time.



Babies do not only need constant care, they also need consistent care. Consistent care does not necessarily, or even optimally, mean from one single person all the time. Only in Western industrialized societies is a baby ever assumed to be the responsibility of his mother alone; everywhere else he gets primary care from his mother and subsidiary care from a whole range of other people including older siblings, grandparents and neighbours. But however many people care for a baby, they do need to be the same people all the time.

Babies learn to be people by using adult people as mirrors and models. If a baby has a lot of different caretakers whom he does not know and who do not know him, he becomes as confused as we should be if the mirrors in our daily lives failed to reflect consistent images. And if a baby and his caretakers constantly have to get to know one another, the relationships which enable him to fulfill his potential for being a loving human being cannot advance. Professional skill and experience can be very valuable in infant care; they may speed up the rate and increase the sensitivity with which a carer can come to terms with a new baby. But they cannot replace ongoing knowledge of that baby; of what he is like and what he likes; of where he is coming from and where he is going. I sometimes get left with other people's babies on the grounds that, "You know about babies so I know she'll be all right with you." I think and hope that any baby will be as all right with me as she can be with any stranger, but stranger I still am. The one I cared for last week while her mother attended a distant funeral was three months old. We had a good morning together. She is a sociable baby and not yet mature enough to know that she does not know me, so we were fine. Eventually

she had her bottle and I settled her in her pram to sleep only she did not sleep, she cried. As a stranger I did not know her habits or her signals and there was therefore no way, other than trial and error, that I could discover what the crying meant. Was she a baby who always cried a little when she was tired; needed to cry in order to get from tired wakefulness over the hump into sleep? If that was the case then the right thing to do was to leave her for a couple of minutes. But was she not that kind of baby at all but simply one who was not tired and did not want to be left to sleep? If so, the right thing to do was to get her up again. For that one day it did not matter because her unhappiness was easily dealt with by picking her up and cuddling her and, had she really needed to sleep, she could have dropped off on my shoulder. But how would she have coped if she had been cared for by several people, each as much a stranger as I, on each of several successive days?

Some residential nurseries in which I have carried out research have tried to find ways of providing consistent care for the babies in their charge within family-type groupings. The idea is that if you provide a group of infants with three or four caretakers, there can always be someone

The most recent study showed that the average number of new caretakers introduced in residential nurseries to six-months babies over a three-month period was fifteen.

on duty who knows them all well. Within a normal work-situation it does not happen like that. People (unlike mothers) work shifts if a long day must be covered and they do not work at all during the day if they work during the night. They get ill and have their teeth attended to. They have holiday entitlements and, like everybody else, their careers demand that they go on courses and accept appointment rotations and appointments. The most recent study show-

ed that the average number of new caretakers introduced to six months babies over a three month period was fifteen.

There is another difficulty with professionalizing childcare. It depends for its viability on economies of scale because if one professional cares for only one baby then she is a direct swap for the mother and why should she merit professional status, pay and protection when that mother does not? But

Babies need a whole caretaker all to themselves.

That should not really surprise us because women are equipped to have one baby at a time rather than a litter and to care for each for at least a year before having another. Mothers of twins, or more, can seldom carry them to term and find it infinitely more difficult to give high-quality care to two or three than to one at a time. Even the meanest Health Authority accepts that the mother of triplets, let alone quadruplets, must have a helper almost all the time.

If a trained Nursery Nurse is in charge of three or four babies in a group care situation, she is somewhat better off than that lone mother because she has some institutional backup. She may not have to cook lunch, for example, or clean up the floors. And she can count on someone to help out if there is an accident or sudden illness. But even backup will not enable her to give good care to those babies. What would we have her do when one baby is sleepily sucking a bottle on her lap and another wakes, asking

for company? Provide that Nurse with enough help to keep up the quality of baby care and you have lost your economies of scale.



The daycare debate tends to skip over these particular dilemmas. Media campaigns for more places are usually backed by charming films of two to four-year-olds playing together. They are in age-appropriate groups, assuming that the hours are not too long, and there should certainly be more places. But what about the younger children, the babies about whom I have listed some facts of life? Would more daycare places really be good for them?

A large American study, published in the mid-eighties, purported to have established that good quality group daycare did babies no discernible harm when compared with full-time care at home. This was what people wanted to hear and this is what many of them have chosen to hear and remember. But that University-based research study set up its own childcare facility with many thousands of dollars behind it and the status to attract staff of the highest possible calibre. Far from there being any need to prove economies of scale, the study babies took more time, from more highly qualified people, than any home-reared baby would ever be offered. And because the time-scale of the study was limited and staff contracted for its duration, the usual problems of providing consistency of care did not arise. Nor was the daycare experience itself one of the kind of separation from parents which most babies experience. The parents were University people, the University was interested in the study. Many of the parents were in and out of the centre throughout their working day and all were expected to attend daily conferences and hand-over sessions on their babies behalf. Far from being surprised that objective tests showed no developmental delays in the daycare group, I am surprised that none showed any acceleration compared with the home-reared babies for whom no such special facilities were provided.

If neither individual substitute-care nor professionalized group care provide policy-solutions to the working-parent's dilemma, what are the answers? For individual families, existing in the here and now, the answers will probably continue to be as various, as complicated and as arguably satisfactory as families themselves. Any solution that works for any family is good, of course, so role-swapping between partners, flexi-time, job-sharing and all the in-

The belief that there is a right to children and a right to live exactly as before is responsible for much misery and disillusionment in young parents.

formal versions of these which are keeping families going are to be encouraged. I am not discussing them in detail because I do not see any of them as solutions for the future; solutions which should be a matter of policy rather than the lucky-chance juxtaposition of individual personalities and circumstances.

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

I do not have answers but I do see some areas for debate and action.

1. Today's children need to be brought up to regard having children of their own as a genuine choice of the maximum importance. At the moment it is still generally taken for granted that every married or stable couple will eventually want children. In many parts of the Western world the "right to children" is assumed to extend to individuals.

All such assumptions and statements of rights must be questioned, backed as they are by arguments which have no bearing whatsoever on a valuation of children as individuals — such as people's "right to grandchildren" — and by scare campaigns of the "you'll be sorry later" kind as women reach their thirties. Involved as I am in Britain's Voluntary Licensing Authority for In Vitro Fertilization, I know at first hand the agony of people, men as well as women, who face infertility and I do not overestimate the possibilities of educating people into thinking rationally about whether they want children or not. But I do believe that we have to try.

2. Today's children must be helped to understand, to see, that the choice to have a child limits their other adult choices. The belief that there is a right to children and a right to live exactly as before is responsible for much misery and disillusionment in young parents. It is also responsible for a feeling, reflected in the childcare debate, that somehow society ought to make it possible for them by relieving them of the daily caring that gets in their way.

3. Today's children must see what life with babies and young children is really like. Perhaps one of the greatest changes in this area in the past fifty years has been in young adults' knowledge and experience of family life. In small, scattered families, many newly-marrieds have never seen a baby at the breast; cannot remember their own parents in a parenting role; have never met a small child's needs as older sibling or cousin and have never moved in the mixed age-group circles which ensure acquaintance with a variety of phases in adult life. If people are to understand that the right to have children (which I would passionately defend) is like all other rights in that it carried responsibilities, they must know, in advance, what those responsibilities are. How else can there be informed decision-making?

4. If people are only to have babies after due thought for the consequences, and if, having done so, they are to accept their responsibility to rear those children as well as they possibly can, it is society's responsibility to recognize the rearing of those children as an important and honourable activity. That is a great deal easier to prescribe than to implement but I suggest that implementation would be a great deal easier if we faced the enormous social upheaval which any such recognition would have to entail. Two diametrically op-

posed approaches may illustrate the point:

We could accept the present fact that status and therefore self-respect are largely measured in money, and demonstrate a new valuation for parenthood by paying parents. A recent European Council workshop has calculated that having children usually costs a woman half her lifetime's earnings. Nobody has yet assessed what it may cost a man in terms of missed opportunities, refusal to move with the job or just not being available to drink with the boss after work.

We pay people for almost everything else they do that we consider important, so why should people who choose to have children and choose to care for them themselves rather than competing for scarce and unsatisfactory alternatives not be paid also?

A lot of people find the idea of paid parenthood distasteful and certainly it could have serious problems of the "he who pays the piper calls the tune" variety. National parenting is a horrific idea but would paid parents be paid however they choose to parent? And if not, who would decide when they should be dismissed from the role?

But the only alternative way of raising the status and social acceptability of parenting involves radical attitude changes of the type with which I began. Children are part of home-life not of paid work. As such they are currently of secondary importance. If they are not to be brought into the paid work arena then those priorities will have to shift so that living and working come to be seen as at least equally important; the activities of people as important as the activities of workers.

There is a model for this in the small but important groups of people who manage to operate not only as if their parenting and their working were equally important but

Children are part of home-life, not of paid work. As such, they are currently of secondary importance. If they are not to be brought into the paid work arena, then those priorities will have to shift so that living and working come to be seen as at least equally important.

with those functions, along with every other aspect of their lives, fully integrated. Most of them work at home. A few of them parent at work. Whichever they do, they tend to end up with a life-package in which they can feel like whole people, pursuing a variety of functions and activities which all roll up together to make a whole. Who are they and what can we learn from them? They are mostly people who live on the job, farmers, market-gardeners, foresters, animal breeders, people whose living comes off the land and whose supervision is constantly required. But there are city models, too. Small shopkeepers who live over the store; small businesses which operate from private addresses; single-handed medical practices and a burgeoning number of freelance enterprises.

The gains can be immense. Interestingly they are all despite modern industrial capitalism and often smack of an earlier era. Flexibility of working hours is an important advantage for parents who, however hard they work, can abandon the job for the child in crisis. There is a vast saving in travel time and costs and a great security, both for parent and child, in maintaining geographical closeness even when attention is elsewhere. There is a saving of stress in that nobody has to "change hats" in order to make the switch from one role to another and there is a gain to children in seeing both parents sharing work as well as parenting and play; in experiencing them as whole, occupied people, always available but not always concentrating on them.

There are problems too and some of these are problems which unionized labour is supposed to have eliminated. Exploitation, for example. Many shopkeeping families work impossibly long hours and their older children carry a work load in the family business of which educationists disapprove. Living on the job can mean never leaving the job and that can be an exploitation in itself. And for some people there is a reduction in choices, too. Many isolated doctors' wives complain bitterly that they are relied upon and needed but would prefer to find their own jobs rather than supporting what is primarily their partner's.

Such a way of life will never be possible for everybody because somebody will always have to run the production lines and the centralized machinery. But it may come

to seem less of a minority option as the facts of our increasingly technological age are born in upon us. A full working week is going to be required from fewer and fewer people and continual presence in a work-place from fewer still. Fax machines that can send you documents and printers that can swap and edit drafts across the world are still new, but they will not seem new for long. It will soon be more economic to provide one end of such facilities in people's homes and require them to appear in a central place in person only for weekly meetings. When and if that happens, working at home, integrating working with living, will become a norm; something we shall have to adapt to rather than something we may choose if we are fortunate or eccentric. So existing models need careful examination, now.

There are other likely future trends which should affect our current thinking, too. Adult life is long and getting longer. In future that long working life in an era of technological change will probably demand job-changes and career-shifts for everyone. The pattern of emerging from school or college onto the bottom rung of a ladder and then climbing as fast and as high as you can before retirement knocks you off is already out-dated. Most of us will have to train and re-train several times and that will mean that an adult working life divides into chunks. One of these chunks could be parenthood. A stage of life when you — and society — accepted that your priority was your family and that for this time your career or your job took second place.

During those few years two partners could certainly have one and a half careers between them while rearing children through their most crucially dependent years. Only our society's refusal to credit those years as creative, responsible and worthwhile, would then prevent people from gradually re-expanding their working lives to take up the slack produced by children's increasing independence and involvement with people outside the immediate family.

In Sweden this principle is embodied in law and, to some extent it is actually happening. America, Canada and Britain have no social precedent for children encroaching on male careers, but that does not mean that the idea is inconceivable. Why, for example, should we not consider Western attitudes to higher education, and

seek a possible model in our acceptance of university students?

In most Western societies undergraduate and postgraduate students are more or less supported by society. Their economic status is low — often extremely low — but their social status is sufficiently high to make the role feel desirable and it is marked by a variety of special dispensations and "student rates" which are as important as marks of social acceptance as of financial aid. It is accepted that for three, four or five years these young adults contribute little to the capitalist world because an investment is being made in their future contribution. Why could the same approach not be brought to child rearing? The answer, of course, is that while we may believe in people's right to have children, just as strongly as we believe in their rights to all the education from which they are capable of benefitting, we do not believe that emotionally stable, independent children are as good an investment as graduates. We should believe it. No "soft" humanitarian arguments are needed to prove the importance to society of adequately socialized children. A simple cost-benefit analysis, feeding in the costs of emotional disturbance in terms of inability to profit from education; the costs of family disruption in terms of alternative childcare; the costs of inadequate socialization in terms of drug-dependency and all forms of delinquency, and the costs of daycare provision for parents who would prefer, if things were different, to do their own parenting, makes the point.

If society believed that young children were important, believed that parents were almost always the best people to care for them in their first years and believed that doing that caring made parents into people with more to contribute later on, a chunk of adult life which was to be devoted to launching a young family could become as acceptable as a chunk devoted to university study and be financed in similar ways. But radical changes in social attitudes would be essential. Today's university students do not regret the work-opportunities they lose at nineteen or twenty: they know that better opportunities will be offered them after graduation. Parents would have to be equally confident that career-opportunities turned down during the years of child-priority would be repeated or bettered thereafter, because

they would be recognized as more mature people with more to contribute, because of their parenting.

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

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

While we believe in people's right to have children, we do not believe that emotionally stable independent children are as good an investment as graduates.

No hint of indictment of societal values . . .

How It Should Be or Could Be for Infants and Toddlers

“ . . . Both mothers and fathers of young children are experiencing significant stress and loss of productivity when high quality care for infants is not available and affordable, and when staying at home to care for an infant is not economically feasible. Inadequate care poses risks to the current well-being and future development of infants, toddlers, and their families, on whose productivity the country depends . . . ”

excerpt from “Consensus on Infant-Toddler Daycare”

Editor
Zero to Three
National Center for
Clinical Infant Programs
733 15th Street N.W., Suite 912
Washington, DC 20005
U.S.A.

To the Editor

What a giant step forward to have some DAYCARE DIALOGUE in Zero to Three. *For too long it has been construed as treason to discuss the potential hazards of substitute care for infants and toddlers. For too long, too many infant mental health clinicians have been unwilling to pay the price for saying what they see or fear.

Your press release — “Consensus on Infant-Toddler Daycare . . . ” — bemoans the “loss of productivity” when parents have to look after their infants and toddlers themselves. Producing what? Why do you accept without question a definition of productivity that excludes or jeopardizes so important an endeavor as giving an infant the healthiest possible start in life?

You say that “staying at home to care for an infant and toddler” may not be economically feasible. Why do you accept without question this “reality” for parents in one of

the richest countries in the world?

What is so striking is the degree of acceptance accorded “the way it is” — “reality”. No mention of how it should be, or could be for infants and toddlers. No hint of indictment of societal values that make it so bad for kids — the fundamental inequalities forced on women, and unbridled consumerism to mention only two.

How is it that clinicians who can be bold in the treatment of disturbed infants and their families, those who can see daily how the sickness of society finds its inevitable counterpart in the sickness of the child, cannot be brought to deal with society boldly — or even to indict it clearly?

Whether history will judge infant mental health clinicians as the real Quislings in America for their audible silence about societal values that adversely affect infants and toddlers, remains an interesting open question.

Yours very truly

E.T. Barker M.D., D.Psych., F.R.C.P.(C)

President

Canadian Society for the
Prevention of Cruelty to Children

**Zero to Three is a bulletin published by the National Center For Clinical Infant Programs (733 15th Street, N.W., Suite 912, Washington, D.C. 20005). Daycare Dialogue was a special section of the bulletin set aside for debate over the dangers of daycare. It began after the publication of Jay Belsky's article “The Dangers of Daycare” in the September 1986 issue. The National Centre for Clinical Infant Programs is, as its name implies, an organization for clinicians treating damaged infants and toddlers.*

EMPATHIC PARENTING / Spring 1988

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

Infant Daycare

The people that I know who have studied the development of children over the years number in the hundreds because I've been around for a long time. I don't know two of them that applaud the notion of a transfer of the primary responsibility of child rearing over to any substitute. Most of the people I know do not like it. **Very few of the people I know are willing to speak out in public the way I do.** There's only two, there's Selma Fraiberg, and myself. You know her book, *Every Child's Birthright* which is a polemic about this thing. The people who create substitute care facilities are not doing it primarily because they're looking for better ways of raising babies. They're doing it for legitimate needs or perceived needs of adults. This is not an institution that's been designed because parents can't raise babies well enough, in most cases. Now my concern as somebody who has studied children over the years, is singular. I want to introduce into all discussions, policy discussions and family decisions, the factor of the likely impact on the child. I see that as my professional responsibility and I'm going to keep saying it, whether it aggravates guilt feelings, or whether it's misused or not...

Burton L. White

Author of *The First Three Years of Life*

...Professionally concerned organizations pussyfoot, too, both in consultations with the state and within their own areas. In the reports from which I quoted at the beginning of this book it is clear that they see it as their role to comment on the way childcare is rather than the way it could, or, dare I say it, 'ought' to be. Their work is therefore concentrated on suggestions for improving day-care within the context of its existence being taken for granted. None of them dares take the lead in describing that existence as unfortunate and improvement as a matter of phasing it out...

Penelope Leach

Author of *'Who Cares?'*

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

WHAT KIND OF ADULTS DO WE WANT OUR CHILDREN TO BECOME?

Most of the people I know well, albeit many of them patients, agonize in moments of quiet thoughtfulness over their inability to maintain lasting, affectionate, and mutually satisfying relationships with others. As one person aptly put it - "I can't get along with others, and I can't get along with myself". We agonize because meaningful relationships between adults require well developed capacities for trust, empathy, and affection; and most of us were cared for in infancy in a way which was not specifically planned to nurture these capacities.

We do know, however, a great deal about the quality of care an infant must receive in order to develop into an adult who has well developed capacities for trust, for empathy, and for affection. We also know that most parents can provide that quality of care given support from others, appropriate understanding of the task, and the conviction of its absolute importance.

Hopefully one day, long before parents-to-be conceive their first child, they will have asked themselves "What kind of adult do I want my child to become?" The brightest? The best educated? Successful financially? And if the possible answers to this question are explored long before a child is conceived, I suspect many parents-to-be, motivated by painful awareness of their own severest limitations, will want to see their child - above all else - develop into an adult who can maintain lasting, affectionate, and mutually satisfying relationships with others.

The problem is that before most children are conceived, this question is seldom asked. And if after the baby arrives it is discovered just how much time and energy and support is necessary to care for an infant in a way that does not compromise development into an adult with well developed capacities for trust, empathy, and affection, most parents will consider it impossible to alter the priority they give to their entrenched addictions to status satisfaction, careerism, and consumption.

And so the vicious cycle continues. Parents struggling to fill the void left in their lives by their inability to maintain lasting, affectionate, and mutually satisfying relationships with others are compelled to give top priority to their insatiable hunger for the psychological hard drugs¹ needed as a substitute. Tragically, they are then too "busy"² to devote the time and energy required to nurture their infants in a way that ensures development of the capacities they themselves most lack.

E.T. Barker M.D.

1. see page 6

2. see pages 8-12

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

INFANT DAYCARE: TREATMENT FOR A SYMPTOM

The pressing demand for infant daycare in Canada ought to indicate to everyone that a serious — dangerous — situation exists with regard to childcare. Clearly, this demand is a symptom of many problems in our present way of life, among them, the problems faced by women who are under the yoke of arbitrary male dominance in a patriarchal society, parents who have separated because they were unable to live together co-operatively, parents who feel the need for two salaries to maintain the level of consumption and possession to which they are addicted, and parents who are unfit to parent.

Unfortunately, time, talent and resources which should be channelled into attempts at solving these very basic problems are being misdirected towards a particular solution to one of the symptoms of these problems. Indeed, we are now in danger of defining this symptom — infants for whom we want substitute management — as the problem itself.

Surely, vigorous demands for solutions to the underlying problems makes more sense.

Why not, for example, more effort to equalize the rights and responsibilities of men and women so that mothers don't have to put their infants in substitute management in an attempt to get on an equal footing? Why not, for example, more emphasis in our society on the importance of and skills required to live co-operatively in a parental relationship, instead of providing more day care places for the infants of single parents? Why not, for example, more serious questioning of the phony happiness held out by consumerism and materialism instead of the rationalized need for two salaries with infants getting substitute management? Why not, for example, vastly greater preparation for parenting — obligatory in school for both girls and boys — rather than more part and full time orphanages for the casualties resulting from unprepared parenthood?

In a society with mass marketing techniques so powerful that they regularly make us all grovel for the most worthless junk, why not turn our promotion machinery loose on the task of 'selling' something as real and vital as the quality care of one's infants.

Unfortunately, in the emotionally charged struggle to ease the most obvious symptom of basic problems in our way of life, we are lulled into thinking that treatment of the symptom will make things better.

I believe that it won't. And in the long-run it will make things worse. For substitute management of infants not only leaves unaddressed the basic problems which created the symptom in the first place, but risks — permanently — the infant's capacity for Trust, Empathy and Affection.

E.T. Barker M.D.
D. Psych., F.R.C.P.(C)

EMPATHIC PARENTING

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

Volume 11

Issue 3

Summer 1988

A Haunting Refrain

the fact is that what happens in our earliest years has a radical (root) effect upon all that we experience thereafter. . . we love because we were first loved . . . we fail to love because we ourselves were failed very early on. . . the way we were treated as small children is the way we will treat ourselves and others the rest of our lives: with tenderness and support, with neglect and cruelty, or with something in-between. . . few of us have a batting average of these hits out of ten when it comes to treating ourselves with tenderness and support. . . to have grown up in this industrialized society means that we are—each of us—wounded in ways that we do not yet comprehend. . .

the central wound of early childhood is abandonment. . . the context of life for the earliest years is the world of relationship, or the lack thereof. . . mothering is not supported in this culture. . . mothering (nurturance, community, relationship) is dangerous because it reminds us of our dependence and the limitations of the ones upon whom we were dependent. . . if you needed love at a crucial moment in childhood and didn't get it, we can't go back and get it now. . .

mothering is a verb. . . it is thus a task for both men and women. . . the ultimate goal of "good enough mothering" is to call forth in the child confidence-at-the-core. . . for children, the medium is the message. . . and the medium of confidence-at-the-core is time. . . availability, countless repetitions of presence, time and time again. . . the vehicle of this task, on the part of the parents, is attentive presence: to be actively available when needed and passively available when not. . .

i repeat, the past haunts us in ways that we don't want to believe. . .

Kent Hoffman

EMPATHIC PARENTING:

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

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

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

H. Gordon Green

This is to that little girl of ten or so, whose family came out from the city a few years ago to build that ranch-style bungalow just down the road. Her kitten fell down an old well last night. She searched for hours before she found it there. She had known right away, of course, that something was wrong. The kitten was beside her night and day. Never out of her sight for more than a minute or two. Slept on her pillow even in flea time, his motor running softly on and on into the hollow ticking of the night. Seemed to be that the girl who owned him was a bit of a kitten herself, shy and quiet and much too timid, I thought, for her parents to leave her alone so much of the time. I'm not really condemning her parents. They are just doing their frantic best to get ahead in the world, like all the rest of us.

I guess that's why they finally consented to this kitten a few months ago. A farmer on the edge of town had a litter he was going to drown, so they had been told. And because she had been coaxing, coaxing in her gentle way for so long, and because now with summer coming on and bowling and beach parties and the tavern down at the lake in full swing again, the house did get pretty dark before they got home sometimes, they took their daughter out to the farm to choose her very own kitten.

"Just make sure it isn't no she-male!" her father said.

The farmer helped them out with that part of the choosing, but it still took her a long time deciding which of those wide-eyed balls of fluff she must condemn to death. The farmer went looking for a sack while he waited for her. And finally, when her parents got impatient too, she took up this white one and tucked it inside her jacket.

"And mind now, that you remember who has to feed it and clean up the messes!" her mother said.

Everybody was terribly upset when she finally found her kitten, and they all went tearing down to that old well, as if there was something that could be done about it. The kitten was dead, of course, and all that could be done about it now was to somehow get him up again. It must have been all of fifteen feet to where he was floating down there. Her father began to swear about almost everything when he saw what he had to do. He couldn't understand why any sensible person would have put

a well in such a godforsaken place. Couldn't understand how any cat could be stupid enough to blunder into it. Couldn't understand why the hook he had made out of a coat hanger and which he dangled at the end of a rope, would insist on always turning the wrong way round. He even swore at the girl because she didn't hold the flashlight right for him to see what he was doing.

"And it would come on the one night I wanted to go bowling! Now look at my good pants!"

And the wife was angry too. Angry because he knew the well was there, and she had told him many and many a time to get it sealed up. And she had been telling him for years now they ought to have a ladder. You could get that cat up easy as pie if you had a ladder now, she told him.

The neighbours were upset too, those of us who came to see what all the commotion was about. We thought there ought to be a bylaw of some kind to make sure that death traps like this were taken care of. Awful lucky it was just a kitten. Could just as easily been a pig or a calf.

"And that!" her father exclaimed when he finally got the kitten out, "is the last damn cat I ever hope to see around here!"

The girl had the kitten's blanket all ready. Her eyes were red, but she was very brave about it when she took him up and walked away with him.

"Well," her mother said, "I'm glad it's nobody's fault but her own!"

I wondered afterward where she could have disappeared. I guess the others wondered, too. But this morning as I look through my back window I can see that she has picked a spot for him under a hawthorn tree which stands by itself in the middle of my pasture. She is all alone out there, planting a flower, I think. And for awhile I thought that maybe I should go out and help her with the funeral. But then I'm afraid I'm not in the right mood to go to a funeral. I'd only want to throw stones and kick things. Not because fate in its infinite whimsy has been so contemptuous of the love of a little girl, but because too many of us are too old now and too hard, to remember what love was like, and we're too busy to even ponder the tragedy of that loss. ■

Reprinted with kind permission. H. Gordon Green is a well known Canadian author, broadcaster and syndicated columnist. Our thanks to Barbara Graham for drawing this piece to the attention of the editor.

PARENTS SENSIBLES

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

Tome 12

Numéro 4

Automne 1989

Le Tissu de Notre Société

“... Quand il s’agit de l’abus des enfants, c’est notre société actuelle qui nous fournit d’un exemple de comment nous faisons face à un problème sociale. Les faits sont connus dès les premières années de la vie de l’enfant. Mais ce n’est qu’après que nous avons appris ces faits, que le phénomène est dramatisé et discuté par la presse, la radio, la télévision, les bureaucrates et les professionnels, tout au nom de traiter le problème. Il se peut que le chercheur originale recule ébloui par l’incrédulité de ce qui s’est ensuivi et de ce qui a été méconnu, quand après des années, il regarde les résultats.

Leroy H. Pelton

Il faut qu’on accepte la réalité pemble, que la prvention de l’abus et de la négligence des enfants n’est possible que quand nous soyons prêt à attaquer ses origines dans la structures de notre société et de notre culture, plutôt que de fournir à ses victimes seulement des services médicaux et sociaux.

David G. Gil

Nous devrions commencer avec l’idée de redonner de la valeur et de la signification au fait d’élever nos enfants. Nous avons besoin de reconnaître que nos enfants en ont besoin, en créant des programmes et des institutions qui nous permettront de leur donner ces soins...

Si ce sont les coûts qui nous inquiètent, il vaut aussi bien le percevoir de cette façon; le moins de soins qu’un enfant recoit dans le bas âge, le plus la société aura a payer plus tard.

Naomi Chase

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Recognizing that the capacity to give and receive trust, affection and empathy is fundamental to being human.

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

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

CREDO



WE BELIEVE THAT:

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

THERE IS AN URGENCY THEREFORE TO:

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