### Psychopathy: What's Wrong With It?

When, for a time, we created a program at Oak Ridge which had only psychopathic patients in it, there was constant intense interaction. But it was all heat and no light. It's tough for people with a well developed conscience -- trusting, empathic, affectionate people to survive emotionally in such a setting even with powerful protections built into the system. Entropy seems to lie in the direction of the emotionally hardened, suspicious, and uncaring.

# Prisons, Psychopaths and Prevention

E.T. Barker

...I don't know what proportion of the population of a prison is psychopathic -- partial or complete, mild or severe. Obviously the percentage depends on the diagnostic criteria used and the degree of severity you want to include or feel you can measure. To me the more important questions are "What proportion of the general population is psychopathic? What

are the consequences for society if there are too many psychopaths? Is there a critical point beyond which a social system cannot function -- a critical mass for psychopathy?"

Excerpted from "Prisons, Psychopaths and Prevention" presented by Dr. Barker at the Second World Congress on Prison Health Care, Ottawa 1983.

"It is possible, however, for individuals with some of the features of the disorder to achieve political and economic success"

DSM III

"Psychopathy presents a sociologic and psychiatric problem second to none."

Cleckley

Now here I have excerpted a chunk from HIGH RISK: Children Without a Conscience, a book by a psychologist, Ken Magid. He is really saying what we have been saying, that in the business world it is ever more acceptable that if you can screw somebody for a buck, then you're a sharp businessman. You have to wonder where the end of that is going to be. We seem to have developed a society which glorifies psychopathy. Life in the fast lane. The ubiquitous beer and pop ads tell us that's where it's at. But what about the downside? Magid, in his book, tries to address that. He worries about early child care arrangements producing partial psychopaths, and tries to alert us to the danger of the ever increasing numbers.

# The Psychopath's Favourite Playground: Business Relationships

Ken Magid and Carole McKelvey

# Our society is fast becoming more materialistic, and success at any cost is the credo of many businessmen.

...Certainly, there have always been shysters and crooks, but past concern was focused on ferreting out incompetents rather than psychopaths. As Owen Young put it, "It is not the crook in modern business that we fear, but the honest man who doesn't know what he is doing."

Unfortunately, all that has changed. We now need to fear the supersophisticated modern crook who does know what he is doing ... and does it so well that no one else knows. Yes, psychopaths love the business world.

"Uninvolved with others, he coolly saw into their fears and desires, and maneuvered them as he wished. Such a man might not, after all, be doomed to a life of scrapes and escapades ending ignominiously in the jailhouse. Instead of murdering others, he might become a corporate raider and murder companies, firing people instead of killing them, and chopping up their functions rather than their bodies."

Up until the early 1987 Wall Street woes involving insider trading, white-collar crime was largely not something we focused upon. Certainly, the "penalties" administered in the business world are far less severe than those for "blue-collar"

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## Psychopathy: What's Wrong With It?

crimes." As Houston Police Chief Lee Brown reports in the book Crimewarps, "Police do not devote their efforts to get the white-collar criminal. The crimes we devote our efforts to are the ones the public is more concerned about — street crimes. I don't foresee that changing."

Of course, the consequences to the average citizen from business crimes are staggering. As criminologist Georgette Bennett says, "They account for nearly 30% of case filings in U.S. District Courts — more than any other category of crime. The combined burglary, mugging and other property losses induced by the country's street punks come to about \$4 billion a year. However, the seemingly upstanding citizens in our corporate board rooms and the humble clerks in our retail stores bilk us out of between \$40 and \$200 billion a year."

Concern here is that the costume for the new masked sanity of a psychopath is just as likely to be a three-piece suit as a

ski mask and a gun. As Harrington says, "We also have the psychopath in respectable circles, no longer assumed to be a loser." He quotes William Krasner as saying, "They — psychopath and part psychopath — do well in the more unscrupulous types of sales work, because they take such delight in 'putting it over on them', getting away with it — and have so little conscience about defrauding their customers." Our society is fast becoming more materialistic, and success at any cost is the credo of many businessmen. The typical psychopath thrives in this kind of environment and is seen as a business "hero." Authors Norman Mailer and Michael Glenn recognized the increasing presence of this type of individual in society and have warned that this Trust Bandit may be better adapted to meet the goals we have now set for ourselves in defining "success."... €

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I thought it would be appropriate to add a brief bit about economic theory, a subject not generally thought an essential part of medical training, and certainly never part of mine.

The theory and measurement of consumer behaviour forms an important, part of modem economic theory. It was first developed during the 19th century on the basis of the following conceptions:

the purchase of any commodity gives the consumer a positive satisfaction or utility;

the additional satisfaction derived from additional purchases of the same commodity declines as the consumer's supply of that commodity increases; and

with a given amount of money to spend, the consumer distributes the expenditure among commodities to maximize the total satisfaction or utility attainable from all those purchases.

This rather crude model of consumer behaviour has undergone considerable refinement by modern mathematical economists...

Critics have often objected that the model assumes a rational person bent on scrupulously maximizing his satisfaction and that the model is thus part of a mechanistic stream of thought that has been substantially undermined by 20th-century advances in psychology...

#### Nonrational influences

To be fully rational and consistent, consumers need to have access to sufficient

information on goods and their prices so that they can choose those with the lowest unit price for a given quality. But consumers do not always behave this way. Natural pearls are sold at a much higher price than cultured pearls, though the difference between them is demonstrable only by dissection or with X-rays, and their quality in use is identical. Brandname drugs sell better and at higher prices unbranded drugs that are manufactured from the same standard formula. To some extent this is due to what an American economist, Thorstein Veblen, called the desire for conspicuous consumption: part of the attraction of the good is simply its high price. It is also the result of consumers' ignorance, made more acute by the increasing sophistication of commodities whose qualities must be measured in many dimensions. If it is costly in time for the individual to become fully informed about the comparative qualities of competing products, it is not wholly irrational for the consumer to take the market price as an indicator of quality. The lack of information has given rise to consumers' organizations in most industrialized countries; these organizations test and report on a wide range of products for their subscribers.

The influence of modern advertising techniques must also be considered. Insofar as advertising informs the consumer of the range of alternatives, it can be argued that advertising merely increases the consumer's information; and insofar as advertising consciously or subconsciously changes consumer

#### Consumerism: What Is It?

preferences, it remains one of the many factors determining consumer preferences that the economist takes as given. Advertising, however, cannot persuade the public to buy whatever the producer offers. Advertising is likely to be most effective in influencing consumers to choose one of several almost identical products being offered, such as toothpaste, cigarettes, or gasoline. But it may also raise the demand for the group of competing products as a whole. In addition, it can be argued that the total effect of modern advertising is to shift the preferences of consumers in favour of luxury goods rather than necessities, in favour of consumption rather than saving, and in favour of employment rather than leisure

#### Role of luxuries

The historical and social role of luxury consumption is a subject of much interest...

...Adam Smith and most of the economists who succeeded him believed that if the money spent on luxurious consumption by the rich was invested in useful production, society would benefit as a whole. The Industrial Revolution brought an increasing demand for funds for productive investment and made possible a more rapid rise in general standards of living than the world had known before. The classical economists thus argued that all luxury consumption involved a selfish diversion of labour and capital and acted as a brake on human progress.

This view was not seriously challenged until the English economist J.M. Keynes published his General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money in 1935-36. Writing at a time when millions of workers were unemployed, Keynes argued that the consumption of luxuries was socially desirable if it provided jobs that would otherwise not exist...

Excerpted from the Encyclopedia Britannica

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### Consumerism

R. Altschuler and N. Regush

"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**

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 channelling 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 photospread 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 thier "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

Excerpted from Open Reality: The Way Out of Mimicking Happiness by Richard Altschuler and Nicholas Regush published by G.P. Putnam & Sons, New York. Copyright © 1974 by Richard Altschuler and Nicholas Regush. Reprinted with permission in the Summer 1981 issue of the CSPCC journal.

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 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. Readers Digest, with a circulation of over 9 1/2 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 he Corporations mass-produced products. Packard tells of a 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

The Western World ... 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 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.

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 morality 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.

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. 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 noveau riche of the late nineteenth century, 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 behaviour 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...

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

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.

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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.

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 centres 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 focusing 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.

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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, tranquillizers, 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 27th, 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 re-establish 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 becoming 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 percent of the magazine, a smattering of anxiety-producing stories dealing with marriages in trouble and 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 odour-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 grey since her early teens; this never 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

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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 an 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."

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 practise, 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 building 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 successoriented consumer life as the only reality. The Corporations, their advertising appendages, and the mass media have skilfully 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 wellconditioned interests in, and overwhelming concern with the world of material objects and gadgetry leads us to depend on technical solutions to all our problems...

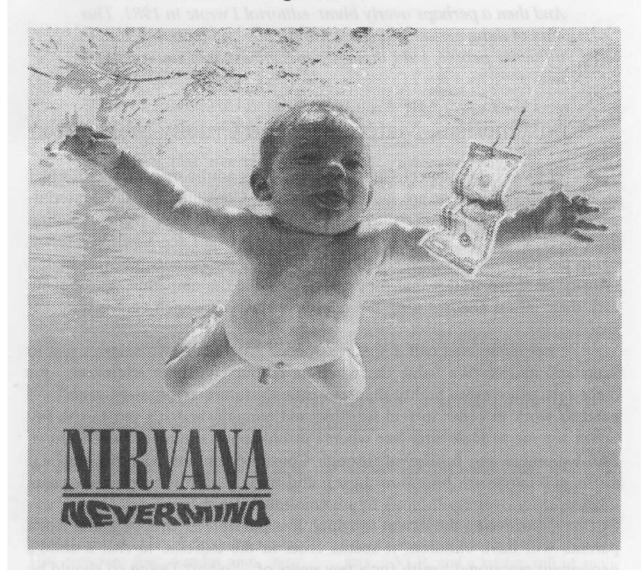
All societies are rapidly becoming consumer societies in which the production and acquisition of consumer goods and services is viewed as the ultimate sign of human progress.

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.

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 fulfilment 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.



Packard raised very disturbing questions about the kind of society these manipulators were creating...

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 ... they were flying out of ivory towers hoping to land big booty with the new marketeers.

And then a perhaps overly blunt editorial I wrote in 1981. This kind of thing certainly doesn't win friends and probably doesn't influence people, but I thought somebody should say it regardless.

# Consumerism, Materialism and Cruelty to Children

I have little quarrel with those childless adults or adults with older children who choose or are led to believe that Consumerism and Materialism (and status and careerism based on these values) are worth devoting their lives to. I find it very upsetting however when I see a helpless infant being permanently maimed emotionally because the parents place so high a priority on these values that they fail to provide the empathic, affectionate care their infant needs during the relatively few years such care is a necessity.

Let us at least call a spade a spade. "We need two salaries just to keep up" means "We value the whetting of our consumer addictions for these few years more highly than our infant's future emotional health". "I need to work in order to feel fulfilled and content, and it's not fair to my infant for me to look after her when I'm unhappy" means "I believe I can find happiness and fulfilment through Consumerism and Materialism (and status and careerism based on these), and what I want for these few years takes priority over my infant's future emotional health".

Considering the extent to which it is possible to choose if and when parents will have children, it seems cruel in the extreme to risk a child's permanent emotional health for a few years of ... what? Doing so should be seen for what it is: Selling a child's birthright for a mess of pottage.

Let us also not delude ourselves by thinking that the way of life for which infants are so frequently sacrificed these days is either the only way or a necessary way. Let us hope that the Consumerism and Materialism that are currently so fashionable will soon be seen for what they are and are not, and will give way to values which are more compatible with emotional health -- both infant and adult.

E.T. Barker M.D., D.Psych., F.R.C.P.(C)

Editorial from Volume 4, Issue 3 (Summer 1981) of the Journal of the Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

# Consumerism: What's Wrong with It? To Have or to Be?

Erich Fromm

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 on 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.

#### What Is 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 inalienable 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

Excerpted from the book **To Have or to Be?** by Erich Fromm, published by Harper and Row. Copyright © 1976 by Erich Fromm. Reprinted with permission courtesy Harper and Row Publishers Inc.

EMPATHIC PARENTING Volume 18 Issues 2, 3, & 4 1995

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

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 inalienable rights of the individual in the industrial society.

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 human 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 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 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

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 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.

increasing property? The answer lies in extending the area of ownership to include friends and 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 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.

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... •

<sup>\*</sup> 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.

Here is a nice little piece by a guy who worked for the Globe and Mail in Toronto -- comparing consumerism -- in the way it controls us -- to Huxley's big brother.

# Big Brother Couldn't Foresee the Big C -- Consumerism

Jay Scott

## In street lingo, consumer capitalism is an equalopportunity whore.

In a way, everything George Orwell predicted in the novel Nineteen Eighty-Four has come true. In a way, nothing he predicted has come true.

("Doublethink", he wrote, means the power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one's mind simultaneously, and accepting both of them." The power to doublethink has come triumphantly true.)

When Orwell predicted that Big Brother would have technology to watch us, he was right. He was the Jules Verne of sociology. But he was wrong. He did not predict that citizens would be keeping tabs on Big Brother. He did not predict -how could he? Who would have believed him? -- that two reporters would watch a U.S. President so closely he would be forced to resign, that a woman comedian would call a U.S. Secretary of the Interior an "idiot" on nationwide television and refuse to apologize ("Oh grow up, America!"), or that Big Brother would watch other Big Brothers -- that politicians would live in mortal fear of having their secrets discovered by other politicians, the press, the people. Orwell predicted the equivalent of government dossiers, FBI files, CIA snooping. He did not predict That's Incredible, People Magazine or the National Enquirer.

Orwell was a pessimist, a dystopian suspicious of Marxism's promise of Eden on earth, and he was able to imagine all too well a society in which everything was sacrificed to the state, a society in which every move was monitored and engineered to echo every other move, a society in which individualism was extinct. For Orwell, the future could be found in what Mao's China was at one time thought to be, a vast panorama of -- to use the term that became popular in the fifties, the decade Orwell did not quite live to see -conformism. "If you want a picture of the future," he wrote in Nineteen Eighty Four, "Imagine a boot stamping on a human face -- forever."

Maybe. But what about Pac-Man? Orwell reckoned without capitalism's confounding capacity to avoid confrontation by merchandising it. Capitalism, like Pac-Man, can munch up anything. Control and conformism, the

# Consumer capitalism hopes to attract consumers to things that make them feel good.

two Orwellian bugaboos, reckoned without behavioural psychology, which teaches that the most effective form of control is achieved by rewarding the organism, not by punishing it. Capitalism understands behavioursim as totalitarianism does not. In totalitarian countries, there are coups and revolutions and liberation movements. In capitalist countries, there are sales.

Consumer capitalism hopes to attract consumers to things that make them feel good, to things, that, in the language of behaviourisms, are "reinforcing". (The dark side of the system is that the search for profits leads capitalists to market things that look good but aren't good -- cigarettes, the Corvair, militarism -- and to resist discarding them as long as somebody is making a buck from them.)

Consumer capitalism stands ready to push ideas, ideologies and revolutionary strategies with the same acumen it brings to marketing perfume and defence contracts; in street lingo, consumer capitalism is an equal-opportunity whore. If it makes consumers feel good to avoid Big Brother, if it makes them feel good to think they are fighting against the system, the system will sell them that feeling.

Hollywood makes movies that call into question the morality of the

corporations that own Hollywood, rock singers sing against the corruption of the record companies that record them, TV talk shows talk about TV as a menace. (Try to imagine it: each morning as the characters in Nineteen Eighty-Four get up, Big Brother announces over the loudspeaker, "Beware, Big Brother"). The law Orwell never took into account when foreseeing the future was this: If somebody wants it, somebody will sell it. And the corollary: if somebody sells it, somebody will buy it.

Orwell himself is marketed: Newspeak, doublethink and the adjective Orwellian are part of the culture. Individuality is accorded prime importance in the West, in the belief that individuality is the thing the West has that the East wants, the thing that spells the secret of its unprecedented ability to market life with such demographic exactitude that it is called a style. Lifestyle. The system has institutionalized the diversity Orwell feared would die out. The system is devoted to the proliferation of variety -- to superficial variety (are those buns by Calvin Klein or Valente?) perhaps, but to variety nonetheless.

The desires of minorities generate

The dark side of the system is that the search for profits leads capitalists to market things that look good but aren't good ... and to resist discarding them as long as somebody is making a buck from them.

marketing strategies -- Jet and Ebony magazines for blacks, Blueboy and Numbers for gays. Within limits, the outsider is honoured and occasionally revered, especially if his jacket is black and made of leather and especially if he dies young and in it, with his Frye boots on

Orwell's novel is a cautionary fable about a land in which everybody in the same class had the same things, did the same things, a land that exterminated any variation from the norm. (The Outer Party members lived by strict rules: the Inner Party members had rules slightly less strict; and the proles, the uneducated lower class, lived by few rules except that they were exterminated, if they showed signs of

intelligence or of causing trouble.)

The sequel he never lived to write could have been about a land where nobody was the same. In this non-Orwellian strange new world, there would be one law, and it would not be to revere Big Brother, and there would be one measure of success, and it would not be the ability to conform. Success and its measure would be found in one slogan, a slogan that would be found for a time on T-shirts sold only at the chicest of boutiques in the chicest of burgs: "Whoever has the most things when he dies, wins."

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"From a marketing point of view, disposability is the golden goose..."

"Disposability and waste have become the spine of the system."

"The purpose is to make the customer discontented with his old type of fountain pen, kitchen utensil, bathroom, or motor car, because it is old fashioned, out of date. The technical term for this idea is obsoletism. We no longer wait for things to wear out. We displace them with others that are not more effective but more attractive."

The excerpts above are 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 Altchuler and Nicholas Regush. Reprinted with permission courtesy The Putnan Publishing Group.

There are some pieces here that remind us of the values that don't get re-enforced in a consumer society.

# You Can Never Get Enough of What You Didn't Want in the First Place

Sam Keen

Beyond the level of comfortable survival, goods become a substitute for the primal goodness we were denied -familiarity, intimacy, kindness.

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 marketmentality, 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...

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# The Poverty of a Rich Society

John F. Gardener

Yet how many gleaming, cheerful, well-centred faces one sees among men and women whose livelihood is meagre; and how many clouded, petulant, craving faces among those who seem to have everything!

...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-destroying lifehabits 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 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-centred faces one sees among men and women whose livelihood is meagre; 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 the 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?...

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 opulance certainly has power to delude us into thinking dark is light, down is up, ugly is beautiful, and bankrupcy of the soul is fulfillment...

Excerpted from "The Poverty of a Rich Society". Proceedings No. 31, by John F. Gardener, © The Myrin Institute Inc. 1976

And then a piece by Lawrence Kubie, a psychoanalyst. He wrote it in 1961 as an indictment of a culture that wants to sell you cars that go faster, cars that are bigger than you can use, and chromium and all of that nonsense, and its dangerous. But it's what gets marketed to us and what we get to worship. And he goes on to say, look I'm not saying that the communists can do it better, or the socialists can do it better. What I am saying is that we have to do something different because this culture is getting dangerous and we should do some thinking about that before we are driven to hell by the people who can market stuff so well.

# Is This a Culture We Can Afford to be Complacent About?

Lawrence S. Kubie

#### Is this a culture that breads health?

...Finally, we must consider our economy, increasingly gambling its success or failure on consumption by the instalment 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 "gimmes" of childhood

by transmuting them into the "gimmes" of adult life. Consider the ministering to neurotic needs through size and power: the knight of old replaced by Casper Milquetoast in General Motors armour, 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 instalment 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

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

neurotic process itself? Is this a culture that breads 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...

The economic freedom that makes an American electric kitchen does not lead to any greater happiness or wisdom; all it does is to allow more comfort, and this soon becomes accepted automatically and loses its emotional value.

The economic solution alone will never free the world from its hate and misery, its crime and scandal, its neuroses and diseases.

A.S. Neill

# Psychopathy and Consumerism: Two illnesses that need and feed each other

So I see consumerism as the most powerful cultural force making us create childcare arrangements -- institutionalized group daycare for children under three -- which risk making partial psychopaths.

Having been manipulated into near terminally ill consumer addicts, the necessity to end very legitimate inequities in our patriarchal society has been seen as only possible by other childcare arrangements. In my opinion that has been a dangerous tactical miscalculation in the legitimate war against arbitrary male dominance.

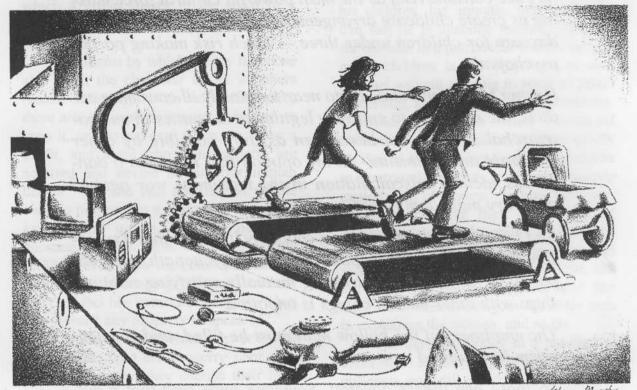
And I see consumerism and psychopathy linked in that if a person develops as a psychopath or partial psychopath, their capacity to form intimate, trusting mutually satisfying relationships with other human beings is impaired.

The emptiness of the hollow man must be filled, and consumerism has learned how.

So those two illness dovetail. Someone once said that a culture creates the kind of people it needs. Maybe we're into haphazard nurturing relationships in the first three years of the lives of our children so they will grow up with an insatiable need to shop till they drop.

If you're unable to obtain satisfaction from BEING, which is based on love and the pleasure of sharing then the HAVING MODE, as Eric Fromm put it, is your only choice. "The HAV-ING MODE, concentrates on material possession, acquisitiveness, power, and aggression and is the basis of such universal evils as greed, envy, and violence..."

Psychopathy and Consumerism need and feed each other.



Thoun Murphy

"...It is consumerism that drives the 80-hour work week. When we learn that consumer goods don't make us happy, we can get serious about reconstructing the family. The critical question in America, at the end of the 20th century, is whether consumption or the family will prevail."

**Christopher Lasch** 

What then do we do in the face of this? Well, I think we need to indict consumerism.

Siegel has this nice short piece about "where the hell are we going making more and more super-highways," cutting down more forests, etc. He argues that although we have just begun to recognize the ecological limits of our compulsion for economic growth, we have yet to grasp that there are moral and psychological costs to continued economic expansion.

### The Brave New World of Child Care

Charles N. Siegel

# We still haven't grasped that there are ... social limits to growth as well as ecological ones.

Imagine how sorry people would have been in 1906, or 1946, for a family that was so poor that one parent could not afford to take off a few years from work to raise the kids before they started school. That was rare four decades ago; now that we are so much wealthier as a nation, it is prevalent.

Nobody looking at economic history a few decades ago -- with all the predictions of a "post-scarcity" society and of leisure time created by labour-saving technology -- would have considered it "inevitable", as we do today, that in the 21st century parents would have to work so hard that they would not be able to take care of their own children.

In fact, the great civilizing advance

of the early 20th century was limiting the working week to 40 hours; today, with both spouses working full time to make ends meet, the typical family works 80 hours a week. While most of us have two cars, a VCR, and a kitchen full of appliances, few of us have time left for raising children.

Given this reality, the pervasive worry about "the family in crisis" and the demand, especially among liberals, for a "universal child care system" should come as no surprise. But before we enter Aldous Huxley's Brave New World and send an entire generation of children off to day care centers, we need to reflect a little more deeply on what such a radical departure in child-rearing practices would

Excerpted and reprinted with permission from a much longer article which first appeared in the New Perspectives Quarterly, Winter 1990, pages 34-45. A househusband until his child was seven years old, Siegel currently writes computer software texts from his home. He is also author of the forthcoming book, Children of the System.

## Childcare: The Link Between Psychopathy and Consumerism

mean for the family and society...

#### Social Limits to Growth

Most public pronouncements about child care are not based on critical thought about whether our compulsion for economic growth has spun out of control. Although we are now coming to grips with the ecological limits to growth, we still haven't grasped that there are also moral and psychological costs of economic expansion -- social limits to growth as well as ecological ones.

Instead, the policy experts take our usual, busy, "pragmatic" approach of accommodating the growth mentality: If the statistical studies show mounting child care "needs" because both parents must work, then the obvious solution is to spend billions to "provide" child care services.

The same sort of thinking was used to build our urban freeway system during the 1950's, and 1960's, Automobile traffic was becoming more and more congested every year; traffic engineers gathered the statistics, projected future traffic volumes, and used this objective methodology to determine the "needs" for new roads. The federal government then came up with the funding mechanisms that would accommodate those "needs".

By the end of the 1960's, however, it became clear that this huge program of freeway construction had sliced up the cities and had encouraged a form of suburban development that paved over the countryside, polluted the air and made cities less livable. In fact, it had become clear that the solution to automobile congestion had accelerated the trends that the traffic engineers had built the freeways to relieve, leaving the commuter no alternative to the jammed byways of the modern metropolis. As Ivan Illich pointed out, this is the

key dynamic of industrial civilization: experts define a "need" in such a way as to standardize and monopolize the solution to be provided, thus creating a new and unprecedented dependence to which other alternatives have been foreclosed.

Liberal proposals on child care policy are based on exactly the same logic of "blind progress". Liberal policy-makers produce extensive studies to prove that the supply of child care centers is not keeping up with the demand. And, without thinking, they conclude that government should invest billions to meet the projected child care needs -- subsidies that will stimulate demand. While they cite the evidence that both parents in families with pre-school children find it necessary to work, liberal child care advocates rarely quote the survevs that show two-thirds of those families would rather care for their own children if that were economically possible. Thus, alternatives such as tax credits, which would subsidize parents staying home, are foregone in favour of the "provision" of universal child care facilities as the ultimate solution to the family crises...

...Bit by bit, without ever looking at the big picture, the experts trained in our "Schools of Social Welfare" seem to be taking us straight to Brave New World. They look at isolated social problems, such as working parents with pre-school children, or teenagers who hang out on the streets after school, then propose some "service" as a solution to each. They seem to try to avoid thinking about the inevitable final result of their logic: a society where all the adults are at nine-to-five jobs and where all the children are at day-care centers, schools, or after-school programs all day, every day...

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.

Burton White

At a certain level of income, which is lower than the conventional wisdom would have us believe, parents do begin to have a choice between enhanced earnings and attending to their children...

There is considerable disagreement as to what that level might be. Several social scientists have shown that most of what many people consider "essentials" are actually purchases that their cultures and communities tell them are essential, rather than what is actually required...

We return then to the value we as a community put on having and bringing up children...

Amitai Etzioni

### Childcare: The Link Between Psychopathy and Consumerism

Then there is an excerpt from a paper I gave at the Fifth International Congress on Child Abuse and Neglect in 1984, linking consumerism, arbitrary male dominance and daycare.

# Consumerism, Arbitrary Male Dominance and Daycare

E.T. Barker M.D.

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.

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.

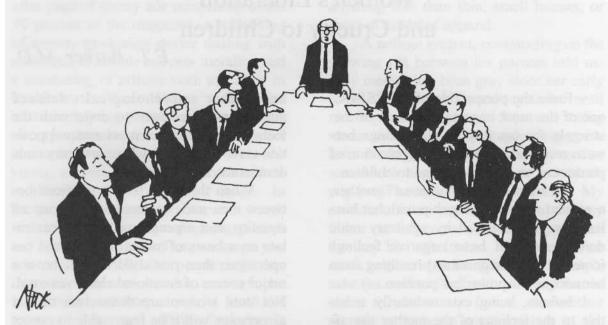
The problem is that the necessity of shared and the inevitability of changing caregivers in any type of group daycare for infants and toddlers puts the development of their capacity for trust, empathy, and affection at risk.

No one sees this as a problem because these deficits don't show up clearly until adulthood, and even then they are not easily 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.

Abstract of a paper presented at the Fifth International Congress on Child Abuse and Neglect, 1984. The largest section of this paper sets out the reasons why infant daycare risks producing partial psychopaths. It was published in the journal Canadian Children: Journal of the Canadian Association for Young Children Winter/Spring 1984-1985.



"The committee on women's rights will now come to order."

March 1990 Punch Digest for Canadian Doctors

The need for re-socialization of men is very well put by Garbarino of the Erikson Institute

## The Real Culprits

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

# Women's Liberation and Cruelty to Children

E.T. Barker M.D.

From the perspective of the CSPCC, one of the most important aspects of the struggle for equality in all dealings between men and women is the prevention of permanent emotional damage to children.

An emotionally "put-down" mother, a woman whose relationship with her husband is characterized by arbitrary male dominance, will have negative feelings (conscious or unconscious) resulting from her unequal or powerless position.

Infants, being extraordinarily sensitive to the feelings of the mother are affected by these feelings. The infant is affected directly by the mother's conscious or unconscious anger or resentment. Indirectly, the child is affected by rationalized excesses of arbitrary authority (unnecessary eat this's, do this's, don't do that's).

and other psychological defence manoeuvers necessary to cope with the feelings generated from an unequal position vis-a-vis a father whose arbitrary male dominance is unquestioned.

When the norm for all relations between men and women becomes one of equality, and especially when parents relate on a basis of mutual respect and cooperation, then our children will have a major source of emotional abuse removed. Not until women are themselves treated as persons, will it be reasonable to expect them to treat their infant children as persons, bathing them in the empathic, affectionate care so necessary during the earliest formative years.

Editorial, Journal of the Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Vol. 4, Iss. 2.

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.

Madonna Kolbenschlag

# Sexism: A Dangerous Delusion...

George W. Albee

# Sexists (along with Anti-Semites, antigays, racists, and bigots of all kinds) should be defined as emotionally disturbed.)

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

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.

George W. Albee is Professor of Psychology at the University of 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.

(which is where the word Slave 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 behaviour, thereby reinforcing the prejudices.

Psychologist Phyllis Chester (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.

Whether this 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...

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.

This is one of the most powerful statements I have seen dealing with the pervasiveness of patriarchy and the futility of women trying to beat men at men's' games. It is the epilogue of a book, and is written in the form of a good-bye letter from a wife to her husband.

# Kiss Sleeping Beauty Good-bye

Madonna Kolbenschlag

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...

...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...

...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

Excerpts from the book Kiss Sleeping Beauty Goodbye by Madonna Kolbenschlag. Copyright © 1979 by Madonna Kolbenschlag. Published by Doubleday and Co., Inc. Reprinted with permission.

demeanour), 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...

...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 personas are to develop to their full spiritual maturity...

... 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 nothing. 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

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.

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 a 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 matriarchal prerogatives there. 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 conse-

quences 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...

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?

# The Feminine Utopia

Walter Karp

Females, in the view of the women's movement, remain subordinate, because they are still "economically dependent" on males, which is to say, husbands.

The conclusion of the movement's argument is not easily avoided, though more moderate elements flinch from the logic of the case. The liberation of females, all females, can only come when the family is abolished as the primary unit of human life, to be supplanted ... by "collective, professionalized care of the young."

...Females, in the view of the women's movement, remain subordinate, because they are still "economically dependent" on males, which is to say, husbands. Miss Millett views the entire "sexist" system as the means by which males prevent females from gaining "independence in economic life." As Mme de Beauvoir wrote twenty years earlier in Paris, the extent to which women are dominated is the extent to which they are kept "from assuming a place in productive labor." Only when all women are "raised and trained exactly like men ... to work under the same conditions and for the same wages," will females ever be liberated.

What looms up as the giant barrier to such liberation is, of course, the primal institution of the family. It is the family that directly secures the economic dependence of women, for within the family the female is supported while she herself labors without pay -- a point the women's movement finds particularly telling. It is by

means of the family division of roles that females are assigned, in Miss Millett's words, to "menial tasks and compulsory child-care," and thus are prevented from taking their place in the work force. It is by virtue of her training for the family that a female is brought up to be feminine, passive, compliant, and unaggressive, and so rendered unfit for winning independence through work.

The conclusion of the movement's argument is not easily avoided, though more moderate elements flinch from the logic of the case. The liberation of females, *all* females, can only come when the family is abolished as the primary unit of human life, to be supplanted, in the words of Miss Millett, by "collective, professionalized care of the young." With the end of the durable family-centered world, females would no longer have to be trained from birth to exhibit and admire domestic and maternal virtues. Legal distinctions, like that between legitimate and illegitimate

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children, and moral distinctions, like that between fidelity and adultery, would cease to have any meaning. The bond of marriage would be quite unnecessary and would be replaced by "voluntary associations."

In this familyless world females would enjoy "complete sexual autonomy," and their decision to bear children would become a purely voluntary one. Trained alike, sharing alike in the world's labor, men and women would be equals. Except for their differing roles in procreation, they would for the first time in human history be interchangeable, one with the other, as fellow human beings.

Those women's movement spokespersons who propose this "sexual revolution," as it has been called, do not expect that it lies in the immediate offing. What they do maintain is that this must be the ultimate goal of women in their struggle for liberation. They do not promise, in general, that humankind would be happier under this new dispensation. What they do say is that this new dispensation would be just and that only such a dispensation can liberate females from the age-old injustice of male domination.

And yet, something seems wrong, and very seriously wrong. At the base of the long and complicated argument propounded by spokespersons for the women's liberation movement lie two seminal assumptions, which deserve more scrutiny than the movement, to date, has given them. The first is the assumption that the

family can be replaced successfully by a modern organization of experts, professionals, and salaried employees. The second is the assumption that human dignity is to be found in the organized wage-earning work force.

The first is the assumption that the family can be replaced successfully by a modern organization of experts, professionals, and salaried employees.

G.K. Chesterton put his finger on the first assumption in a short essay he wrote some fifty years ago, called "Marriage and the Modern Mind." What, he asked, did the women's movement of his day think about children? The answer was that they did not think about them at all. They would "imitate Rousseau, who left his baby on the doorstep of the Foundling Hospital." They overlooked the problem of children, Chesterton implied, because they saw children not as a problem but merely as an obstacle. Yet every known human society has made the problem of children its primary concern, and has done so because the problem is primary.

The most important thing about children is that we must have them. We must reproduce our kind in sufficient numbers to replace those who die. This is so not because we are animals, who cannot recognize, and will not mourn, the possible extinction of their species. It is so be-

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cause we are human and have made for ourselves a human world whose essential attribute is its permanence. We die, yet it abides. Without that assurance, human life would be unthinkable. But precisely because we inhabit a human world, not even the birth of children is assured: as the women's movement has emphasized, there is no maternal instinct and no natural fulfillment in bringing children into the world. Just so. However, humankind must find some secure and permanent means to ensure that females submit to motherhood, that they continue to sacrifice a large portion of their individuality, for the sake of the human world's survival.

To date, at least, this has been assured by the family. Because of the personal bonds it establishes, the female is not asked to carry out an abstract duty to the species and to the world. She bears children for the sake of her spouse, or for the sake of her father, or for the sake of her mother's clan, according to the form of the family system. By means of the family, duty to the species becomes duty to known persons, to persons united to females by abiding ties of loyalty and affection. But what of the familyless world outlined by the women's movement? In such a world the sexual training of females would be abolished and bearing children would cease, of necessity, to be a deeply felt personal virtue. Under such conditions reproduction would become a public duty, as it was in the garrison state of Sparta, where women, as well as men, were largely liberated from family ties. The personal voice of the family would be replaced by mass exhortation -- the voice of the megaphone - urging females to bear children for the good of the State or the Nation or the People.

Such a prospect can be looked on as merely repugnant, but more is at stake

than that. To make child rearing a public duty, and mothers into state charges, it is worth remarking, was seen by the Nazis as a perfect means to extend totalitarian control, which is why they exhorted females to bear children out of wedlock in sunny, luxurious nursing homes. The Nazi effort to "liberate" females from the thralldom of husbands was not done, however, for the sake of liberty. A society compelled to make childbearing a public duty is one that puts into the hands of its leaders a vast potential for tyranny and oppression. The "purely voluntary" choice of bearing children might one day have a very hollow ring...

...But ... what of the familyless world of women's liberation? In describing possible family substitutes, spokespersons for the movement have not gone much beyond their cursory remarks about collective and professional child care. The details, however, do not matter as much as the essence of the thing. The care of children would be paid employment; the primary relation of adults to children would be the cash nexus. Child rearing would be an administrative function. That is the heart of the matter.

Certain consequences seem inevitable. From that primary experience of life the young would learn -- could not help but learn -- that the basic relation of one being to another is the relation of a jobholder to his job. Seeing that the paid functionaries who tended them could be replaced by any other paid functionaries, they would also learn that adults must be looked upon as interchangeable units, individually unique in no important way. Nor is it difficult to imagine the chief virtue the young would acquire should their care be turned into an administrative function. All our experience of bureaucracy

tells us what it would be: the virtue of being quick to submit to standardized rules and procedures.

How would the human world appear to a child brought up in such a way? It would appear as a world whose inhabitants are jobholders and nothing more, where there is nothing else for a grownup to be except gainfully employed. What is more, the child would be perfectly raised, by the most basic lessons of his young life, to become another jobholder...

...In a society where cash is too often the link between people, it would make cash the sole link between adults and children. In a society where people are being reduced more and more to mere jobholders and paid employees, it would make the child's primary experience of life the experience of being someone's job. In a society showing a remorseless capacity to standardize and depersonalize, it would standardize and depersonalize the world in which children are raised. The ideal world in which females would be liberated for productive labor is a world that would tyrannize the young, which means, in the end, it would tyrannize us all.

# The second assumption is that human dignity is to be found in the organized wage-earning work force.

Paid labor is freedom and dignity: that is the axiom of the women's movement today. It is not theirs alone. We hear it every day in a hundred different guises. We are told that the dignity of the citizen consists, not in being a free citizen, but in working on a job, that the dignity of the factory worker consists in working in a factory, and that the dignity of the "hard-hat" comes from wearing a hard hat. When an oppressed minority in

America demands a citizen's share in power, it is told that what it "really" needs are more and better jobs. That is the common ideology, and if the dream of the women's movement is monstrous, that ideology is its seedbed. The women's movement has simply driven that ideology to its logical conclusion, and the ideal "sexual revolution" is that conclusion.

We must turn, then, to the work world to see what it does offer in the way of human dignity, achievement, and freedom. The first and primary question is that of freedom and its relation to work. relation is negative. To the Greeks it was axiomatic that those who must labor could not be free. To be free required leisure -even Karl Marx, the philosopher of productive labor, admitted in the end that freedom began when the workday ended. Without leisure, men could not take part in public affairs, could not speak and act in the polis, could not share in power, and thus could not be called free, for those subject to commands are not free. There is nothing abstruse about this, for quite obviously, people work and are paid for their labor even under conditions of abject tyranny and totalitarian domination. In the Soviet Union women play a far more prominent part in the work force than they do in America -- most of the doctors in Russia, for example, are, women -- and thus, by the women's movement definition, are freer than women are here. Yet Russian women enjoy no freedom at all.

The liberationists' blindness to the nature of the work world may have been explained, inadvertently, by Mme de Beauvoir when she pointed out in The Second Sex that in comprehending men, women see little more than "the male." So, in looking at the realm of work, the women's movement sees that males, as

such, are ascendant. But they have hardly begun to grasp the obvious: that some men are more ascendant than others. When movement spokesmen contrast the "male" role and "male" achievements with the monotonous tasks of the household, many men may well wonder which males they are talking about. According to a statement in The Sisterhood is Powerful, "a great many American men are not accustomed to doing monotonous, repetitive work which never ushers in any lasting, let alone important, achievement." It sounds like a typographical error. Most jobs are monotonous and do not usher in lasting or important achievements. The majority of jobs are narrow functions, dovetailing with other narrow functions, in large-scale organizations.

Because this is so, most jobs demand few of the moral qualities that mankind has found worthy of admiration. They demand our proficiency, patience, and punctuality, but rarely our courage. lovalty, generosity, and magnanimity, the virtues we mean when we speak of human dignity. The one honorable satisfaction that most men obtain from their labor is the satisfaction of providing for their families, and the women's liberation movement would sacrifice the family for the sake of performing such labors. A movement that began by asking for a fair share of dignity and human achievement can today think of no other source of dignity, no other source of achievement, than toiling at a job. It has looked on the modern mass society, a society in which more and more activities are in the hands of administrations and bureaucracies, a society in which more people are becoming, more and more, merely paid employees, and it has made this mass society its ideal for human life. That, in the end, is the failure of the women's movement... •

A movement that began by asking for a fair share of dignity and human achievement can today think of no other source of dignity, no other source of achievement, than toiling at a job.