



SUMMER '83

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“...It’s one thing to bear a child, another to bring the baby up in such a way that, later on, there is a human being who is reasonably strong and intact psychologically...”

Selma Fraiberg



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

## **The Game with the Highest Stakes**

The game of successful child rearing is largely won or lost before the game is played. If you haven't got it together before the child is conceived, you're playing catch up ball. You might rear an emotionally healthy child but the odds are heavily against it.

What must be done prior to conception? You must have a partner who is equally knowledgeable about and committed to creating a new human being with you. Knowledgeable about the hazards of a relationship with a spouse who believes in arbitrary male dominance. Knowledgeable about the importance of testing a relationship with a lengthy period of living together before a child is conceived. Committed to prenatal care, birthing, breast feeding, and empathic parental infant care all taking a higher priority than the pursuit of consumerism and material gain (and status and careerism based on these) for at least the first three years of the child's life.

If you haven't obtained this kind of knowledge prior to conception and you haven't made that kind of commitment, then you should be prepared to accept the fact that you will be creating a new human being for whom you have done less than you should. You should know that you and/or that new person and/or society will suffer later because of it.

In a day when marketing has reached the lofty heights of being able to create a high demand for any kind of useless junk, why must we endure endless brainwashing about the virtues of this pet food or that cosmetic, and a loud silence about preparation for parenthood?

Why must our schools graduate students who have little or no preparation for the one job they are most certain to have — being a parent?

Being upset about lost games does not help except in-so-far as it motivates us to prepare for the next one.

**E.T. Barker M.D., D. Psych., FRCP (C)**

# The Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

- The basic premise of the CSPCC is that the worst of all possible cruelties is to inflict permanent emotional damage on another human being.
- Given the evidence that such permanent emotional damage can be relatively easily inflicted during the very early years of life, our concern is with ignorance of, or indifference to, the emotional needs of very young children.
- By permanent emotional damage we do not mean only the psychological illnesses of adults which are recognized as having their roots in early childhood. More importantly we mean the (as yet) less recognizable and measurable deficient capacities for trust, empathy and affection.
- To prevent such permanent emotional damage, the CSPCC is working toward higher status for parenting, greater support for parents with young children, increased emphasis on trust, empathy, and affection in the adult world, and vastly improved preparation for parenthood.
- By preparation for parenthood we mean that girls **and boys**, prior to the age when conception is a possibility, should appreciate:
  - the permanent emotional damage that can result if the emotional needs of a child are not met during infancy,
  - the amount of time and energy required to care for an infant empathically,
  - that remaining childless may be the most sensible option, given one's interests and priorities,
  - the wrong reasons for having children: proving one's masculinity or femininity, making or patching up a marriage or relationship, having a son and heir, having a weapon to use against the other parent, obtaining the love and affection they have been unable to get from the adult world, fulfilling a need to dominate and control,
  - the radical ways in which caring for an infant empathically alters the lives of the parents,
  - the hazards of poor nutrition, poor health, inadequate medical care, and substance abuse during pregnancy,
  - all about obstetrical practices which facilitate attachment, bonding and engrossment of babies, mothers and fathers,
  - the basic facts of infant development,
  - why babies who are not breastfed are disadvantaged,
  - the reasons why babies arriving too soon and too often make it more difficult to adequately meet their emotional needs.

**They should know the ways in which our appetite for consumer goods and services can become so insatiable by the time children are conceived, that satisfaction of consumer cravings and status and careerism based on these are easily rationalized as having a higher priority than nurturing one's children.**

**They should know the subtle and damaging ramifications of our tradition of arbitrary male dominance, and the reasons why it will continue to be difficult to adequately nurture children until males become aware of, and change their irrational ways of relating to women.**

- Increasing the number of members in the Society and the readership of the Journal are at present the principal means by which the CSPCC is working to unite those who share a concern for the importance of the Society's objectives.

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Special thanks to Louise Després Jones for the illustrations on pages 5, 15 and 18.

## Letters

### A MOST HOPEFUL SIGN

Dear Dr. Barker:

Might the concept of "habitat" as it affects the emotional health of young children be a topic of possible interest to the Journal? We are all aware, of course, of the disastrous effects of grinding poverty on family living conditions, but in this case I am referring specifically to the need for the planned development of urban housing complexes with the needs of children in mind. Whether our city children destined to live in such complexes occupy low income subsidized housing or luxury condominiums, it would seem that their needs should be central to the plans of today's architects whose input, along with that of the more traditional human service personnel, is an essential part of the nurturance of society's most valuable natural resource.

Having recently moved to a new province where our family is having its first experience with high density living in a multiple family complex, I am reminded every day of the influence of "habitat" on child development. In a city which, like so many others in North America, is increasingly dominated by urban and suburban sprawl in the form of huge apartment and condominium complexes (most of them supremely ugly and landscaped basically with parking lots), our modest 75-unit townhouse condominium is, I am discovering, quite unique in its design. Modeled on the "atrium concept", its buildings are laid out around a rectangular land area in such a way that each unit opens via a sliding glass door onto a patio which in turn melts into an inner mini-park with grass, trees, hills and valleys, walks and bridges, level play space and a large sandbox for the children nestled in a clump of trees.

The psychosocial ambience of our "condo", which appears to be directly related to its geography and design, is quite fascinating. The population here represents a variety of ages (from young families to retired couples and singles) and a wide range of cultures and languages (English, German, East Indian, Polish, Ukrainian, Dutch, etc.). What interests me most is the effect on the lives of the condo children of the unique type of group living fostered here.

From the time a condo child reaches the age of quasi-independence, signified generally by his acquisition of "wheels" in

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# Letters

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the form of some variation of the tricycle, he is ready for informal membership in the condo's "Our Gang". The latter currently represents, for the most part, the three to seven-year-old crowd and is remarkably cohesive. Parents can let their children roam in relative safety throughout the confines of the complex, which itself tends to set natural limits for the youngsters while keeping them generally within sight and/or earshot of their homes. As in most neighbourhoods, some parents are more solicitous than others about their children's welfare and whereabouts, and a small minority are openly neglectful. There seems to be, however, an unwritten code according to which the condo parents keep an eye on all the children rather than simply their own.

Children evidencing the too-familiar stigmata of neglect appear to be treated in somewhat different fashion than they are in a more typical city neighbourhood. These youngsters are completely accepted by their peers, who may, however, matter-of-factly warn each other to hang onto their respective toys because "Eddie is out" but who nevertheless accept Eddie as a full partner in all their collective endeavours. The condo's parents, on the other hand, vary widely in their capacities for dealing with Eddie and his like, some reacting protectively in terms of their own children but a significant number reaching out to offer the Eddies some of the attention these youngsters so sorely need.

And of course, the friendship opportunities for the rest of us who no longer have small children of our own are limitless — and are a matter of choice, as the children quickly learn to respect the privacy of those adults who so desire. Speaking personally, I am revelling in the unexpected chance to enjoy children for their own sake — and mine — with no strings attached. Small overtures of friendship are repaid a hundredfold by these ebullient youngsters who bring smiling bouquets of dandelions, gorgeous handwrought works of art, and never-failing enthusiasm for singing a song, feeding a pet or simply discussing the events of the day. Never before have I been so exquisitely aware, on a daily basis, of the unique place each of us enjoys in the Family of Man.

Was it Edwin Markham who wrote:

There is a destiny that makes us brothers;  
None goes his way alone.  
All that we put into the lives of others  
Comes back into our own.

The "little brothers" (and sisters) in a habitat such as ours continuously bring a world of spontaneity and wonder into the lives of the adults surrounding them, thus eliciting from the latter the kind of affection and approval we know that children need for optimum growth and development. Whether or not the architect who designed this particular condominium intended to foster the development of this unusual group symbiotic relationship, the results of his/her efforts represent, I believe, one of the most hopeful signs in modern urban living.

Jeanne Hurd,  
Edmonton, Alberta

## DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

Dear Sir:

I include with this a photocopy of an article of mine recently published by The Edmonton Sun on the vital subject of establishing an adequate family allowance programme for Canada's 3.7 million women with children under their care, and for those children.

I urge in this article that basic family allowance payments be raised to the same level as our current Old Age Security pensions. Women caring for children deserve significant remuneration for their invaluable, demanding, useful and responsible work. Under current practice, women caring for the children of others as foster-parents receive remuneration of \$11 a day for each child.

It is discrimination against women caring for their own children not to extend to them the same allowances paid to women caring for foster children. Women caring for children in day nursery institutions are paid for tending children for 35 hours a week as much as \$12,000 a year. It is discrimination against women caring for their own children not to extend to them the same kind of remuneration for the work they perform.

Women caring for their own children in their own homes are at work 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 52 weeks a year. Women engaged in this crucial work are workers and members

# Letters

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of the labour force. They are economic entities and participants in the money economy and deserve ample remuneration for the work they perform.

Yet, women with children and for their care receive nothing more than the present family allowance scale of payments. Women caring for their own children are contributing more to the well being of the community than women employed in routine work in offices, shops and factories. In truth, women caring for their own children in their own homes are generating infinitely more benefit to the community than those employed in routine jobs. Under ideal moral conditions, women so engaged should receive salaries for their invaluable work many times as high as those employed in routine work.

Women caring for their own children at home are sparing the community and economy the immense costs of creating jobs for them in factories, offices and shops etc. They are always relieving the economy of the costs of providing transportation services for them to and from their places of work. Their places of residence are also serving as their places of work. This double utilization of economic resources is of immense benefit to society and they should not be pressed to take second jobs outside their homes.

Placing children in day nursery institutions is economically unsound and psychologically damaging. The costs to the community of caring for most children in such depressing institutions is in excess of the increased output achieved by the work of their mothers. The values of a society are askew which values the work of caring for children so low that it would press women with children into looking for a second job. Child care is many times as important as other jobs...

Yours faithfully,  
Edward Carrigan  
Toronto, Ontario

## OLD PREJUDICES TOWARD SEX?

Dear Dr. Barker:

...I think that teenagers need our help. They should have access to free birth control pills at school and in the drug stores any time and anywhere. And also without a prescription. Many teenagers do not like to go to a doctor, and some of them do not have one.

Preventing pregnancies would eliminate abortions and the birth of unwanted and abandoned babies.

Sincerely,  
Noelia Redditt  
Midland, Ont.

## AS LONG AS SHE BREAST FEEDS

To all members of parliament:

We the women of the Dufferin Area Nursing Mothers Group find an urgent need for economic support for breastfeeding women of low-income families.

From personal experience and painful discussion with other women, we understand the unfortunate and stressful conflict facing too many Canadian mothers: to stifle the enormous instinct to remain in constant contact with her offspring and to return to the work force within months of labour or lose all savings and dreams of home ownership.

We beg the Government of Canada to have compassion on our sisters in motherhood and make available benefits to any woman whose family income is below \$15,000.00 a year for as long as she breastfeeds her child.

We would also like to see parent-education classes nation-wide to prepare Canadian mothers and fathers for the difficult and important work of raising children.

The benefits of such programs will be reaped quickly. Breastfed babies suffer fewer gastrointestinal disorders and generally need less costly medical care. Parents who are able to competently nurture their offspring are unlikely to produce children with learning disorders, delinquent tendencies and futures in Canada's penitentiaries. The savings to the taxpayers will be enormous; the reduction in human suffering will be grand.

Catherine Young (Spokesperson)  
Orangeville, Ontario

*Back to Basics...*

## Helping Canada become a breast-feeding nation

by A.W. Myres



**Over the period 1965-71 only about 25 per cent of mothers nursed their babies at all, and of these, the vast majority had stopped breast-feeding by the time their baby was two or three months of age.**

Ten years ago when my wife and I were expecting our first baby we wrote to a government agency (that shall remain nameless) and asked for some information about infant care and in particular about nursing babies. For the latter we were sent a book about nursing as a profession! It's an interesting illustration that breast-feeding was, at that time, becoming so unusual that a common term for its practice was misinterpreted. In fact, if we look at data collected around that time we find that indeed breast-feeding was not widely practiced. Over the period 1965-71 only about 25 per cent of mothers nursed their babies at all, and of these, the vast majority had stopped breast-feeding by the time their baby was two or three months of age. What a contrast today with almost 75 per cent breast-feeding at birth and half of those still breast-feeding at six months.

In looking for reasons for the increase it is instructive to look back at some of the reasons for not breast-feeding which has been quite extensively studied. Professional apathy, non-supportive hospitals, lack of mothers' confidence in ability to supply milk, and a generally non-supportive society in which bottle feeding was the "normal" thing to do have all been implicated in the decline in breast-feeding which took place in the 1960s. It is these same factors then that must be involved in effecting change in a positive direction.

The 1970's saw an unprecedented increase in research on human milk. Many research reports and scholarly studies led to one recurrent conclusion — breast is indeed best.

In Canada the Canadian Paediatric Society led the way for health professionals in their "rediscovery" of the value of breast-

feeding. Concerned about the decline in breast-feeding and the fact so many mothers and babies were being denied the unique benefits of breast-feeding, they set about doing something to reverse the trend. Clearly what was needed, as a first step, was a clear, persuasive and authoritative statement on the value of breast-feeding. What better organization to do it than the leading professional advocates for children. The result was a strongly supportive position paper issued by the Canadian Paediatric Society in 1978. This paper has had enormous impact both nationally and internationally, since it was subsequently endorsed and adopted by the American Academy of Pediatrics.

At the same time that much of the academic research into the qualities of human milk was progressing a series of studies began to investigate how to make breast-feeding a more successful experience. The clear indication from these studies was that while the hospital was not a major source of influence in choice of breast-feeding (the decision usually being made some time in the pre-natal period) it was very important in determining the long term success in breast-feeding. Again many of the routines long considered to be normal (routine analgesia, separating mothers and babies for first 24 hours, routine supplementation with glucose, water or formula, rigid 4 hour feeding schedules, samples of infant formula) were found to be barriers to successful breast-feeding. Changes in such routines have contributed to an increase in breast-feeding.

One of the characteristics of our western industrialized societies is our belief in experts. In the field of child care this has led to a decrease in our confidence in our own

**What a contrast today with almost 75 per cent breast-feeding at birth and half of those still breast-feeding at six months.**



## The Canadian Paediatric Society set up a Task Force in 1978 to promote breast-feeding.

abilities. One American social anthropologist noted with what confidence mothers in a primitive South American society undertook the care of their new babies. She commented how strange these women would feel if she told them that where she came from women do not undertake these tasks without first looking it up in a book written by a strange man! A little tongue in cheek perhaps but nevertheless an element of truth in it.

Confidence is the key to successful breast-feeding (and parenting) and we have been in danger of losing that confidence. In almost all traditional societies there are one or more persons specifically designated to assist the new mother during childbirth and the early post-partum period. Raphael has coined the term "doula" to describe this particular social support function which, essentially, helps women in the process of "matrescence" or becoming a mother. In the 1960's when the womanly art of breast-feeding seemed in danger of being lost the practical wisdom of the nursing mother was kept alive by La Leche League. Formed in Canada in 1961 this volunteer group has served as a "doula" to thousands of women. It's rapid growth in Canada (400 groups in 1982) shows the need nursing mothers have for this "mother to mother" support system.

As the evidence in its favour accumulated the need to promote breast-feeding on a national level became clear. The Canadian Paediatric Society set up a Task Force in 1978 to promote breast-feeding. The Task Force decided that its major task would be to ensure that all the key health professionals involved with pregnant women and new mothers be made aware of the importance of breast-feeding and improve their knowledge and counselling skills to meet that goal. This strategy was put into practice by Health and Welfare Canada in collaboration with the Canadian Paediatric Society and La Leche League.

The programme took the form of a resource or information kit which was mailed in November 1979 to 32,000 physicians, hospital staff and public health nurses. By the end of 1980 a further 30,000 kits had been sent out in response to requests following widespread promotion. An evaluation of the kit conducted in 1981 showed that it was well received by professionals and that most used it for the purposes intended, i.e. to improve their own knowledge and to counsel mothers.

During this first phase of the programme work began on the second stage: public education. Initially this was aimed, not so much at influencing choice, but at improving the outcome for mothers who had chosen to breast-feed. The objective was to give practice information to new mothers at a time when this information would be vitally important i.e. the early post-partum period. This took the form of a small booklet, again developed in collaboration with La Leche League and the Canadian Paediatric Society, which was distributed directly to some 300,000 mothers in hospital through a sampling programme. It was also made available through a national mailing to 35,000 physicians, 400 public health units and over 1,000 hospital staff. In this way the booklet was also distributed through professional channels. The response has been overwhelming with two reprintings being necessary in 1981. Preliminary indications from an evaluation indicate that the vast majority of mothers found the practical information about breast-feeding to be useful.\*

The third phase of the programme concerned the provision of audio-visual material on breast-feeding. Audio-visuals, particularly films, play an important role in enhancing group discussions. The National Film Board, through which the Government of Canada makes films available to the public, had no films on breast-feeding in 1979. Health and Welfare set about chang-

**All the provinces in recent years too have given an increasing emphasis to breast-feeding in their pre-natal programmes.**

ing this in 1981 with the purchase of multiple copies of "The Breast-feeding Experience", which were distributed to National Film Board Libraries across Canada. While recognizing the value of information about the benefits of breast-feeding and about its practical management, this can have only a limited effect on changing attitudes about breast-feeding. The importance of having a positive attitude about breast-feeding cannot be underestimated. Women who enter pregnancy with a positive and confident attitude about breast-feeding have about three times the likelihood of having a positive, enjoyable and successful experience than those who have a negative or ambivalent attitude towards it. Attitudes do not change quickly and clearly much educational work must start early even before pregnancy. It was with this in mind that Health and Welfare Canada recently acquired for distribution through the National Film Board an excellent new film, endorsed by the Canadian Paediatric Society entitled "Breast-feeding — A Moveable Feast". With a unique blend of information and humour this film explodes some of the common myths and misconceptions about breast-feeding.

Clearly much has been going on at the national level to encourage breast-feeding. All the provinces in recent years too have given an increasing emphasis to breast-feeding in their pre-natal programmes. In May 1981 at the World Health Assembly in Geneva, Canada reaffirmed its support for breast-feeding and endorsed along with 117 other nations (only the US voted against),

the International code of Marketing conduct for Breast-Milk Substitutes. This landmark code is intended to protect the breast-feeding mother from undue commercial influence. The marketing tactics of the infant formula industry have been under scrutiny for some time in developing countries. In industrialized nations such as Canada, the main form of direct product promotion is through the donation of samples of infant formula to hospitals. In 1981 Health and Welfare Canada supported some research designed to find out if in fact, such samples did lead to a reduction in the duration of breast-feeding. The groups receiving samples did nurse their babies for a shorter time but the effect was much more significant in mothers with lower education levels and in those who had experienced some difficulty in getting breast-feeding started in hospitals.

While no national surveys have been conducted in Canada for some years, a number of individual studies have shown that about 75 per cent of mothers now choose to breast-feed. This is confirmed by the recent survey of pregnant women conducted by Great Expectations in 1980 in which 77 per cent of those polled said they intended to breast-feed. Continuing efforts will be needed to maintain the progress so far. With knowledgeable health professionals, committed volunteers, an informed and motivated public and a responsive and supportive industry we should be well on the way to making Canada truly a breast-fed nation. ■

*\*Booklet available without charge through Dr. Myre's office: Health Promotion Directorate, Health and Welfare Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 1B4 (613-996-1125).*

*Dr. Myres, who is Senior Programme Officer (Child and Family Health) with Health and Welfare Canada, has long been an advocate of breast-feeding and is the officer responsible for the national breast-feeding promotion programme. In 1979 he received La Leche League International Recognition Award and in 1980 the Certificate of Merit of the Canadian Paediatric Society for his work in promoting breast-feeding.*

*Reprinted with kind permission from Great Expectations, Summer, 1982.*

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***"They should make bottle feeding  
a criminal offence."***

**Ashley Montagu**

*Help from friends...*

## **LA LECHE LEAGUE INTERNATIONAL**

### **Our Name**

LA LECHE (lay-chay) is derived from a 15th century Spanish shrine in St. Augustine, Florida, dedicated to "Nuestra Senora de la Leche y Buen Parto", which translates freely "Our Lady of Happy Delivery and Plentiful Milk". LA LECHE means literally "the milk". Symbolically, it means life, love and the beginning of happiness to a baby.

### **Our Leaders**

La Leche League Leaders are women who have happily nursed their own babies, and enjoy helping other mothers give their babies the best start in life through breastfeeding. Every Leader has been accredited by La Leche League International and is qualified to provide whatever help or information a mother might need in order to nurse her baby. With thousands of LLL Leaders throughout the world, a La Leche League Leader is likely to be as close as your telephone.

### **How We Began**

La Leche League began when seven mothers, alarmed by the number of women who were unable to breastfeed simply because they didn't have the information they needed, decided to do something to help. They began holding meetings, sharing their personal experiences and words of encouragement with their friends who wanted to breastfeed. The approach was successful. Word spread, and soon LLL Groups began springing up all over the U.S.A. and Canada. Today, La Leche League stands as the world's foremost authority on breastfeeding. There are some 12,000 LLL Leaders and 4,500 LLL Groups in 45 countries around the world.

### **Professional Advisory Board**

La Leche League's Professional Advisory Board is composed of men and women who specialize in all aspects of maternal-infant health. They help keep the League up to date on current research and approve all publications of a medical nature.

### **Membership/Donations**

La Leche League is a non-profit, non-sectarian organization, dependent on the women it helps for support. Membership dues help to carry on the League's work and make it possible for us to continue to provide needed information for any mother, anywhere, who wants to breastfeed her baby.

In addition to regular memberships, there are also Supporting, Contributing, Benefactor, and Sustaining memberships. Each membership includes a year's subscription to the bi-monthly La Leche League NEWS.

Mothers who attend Group meetings may pay their dues directly to their local group. Others are invited to send membership dues or donations to the Canadian Treasurer, La Leche League in Canada, P.O. Box 70, Williamsburg, Ontario, Canada K02 2H0. Membership dues (less cost of LLL NEWS) are tax deductible. Only with your help will we be able to continue our work.

### **We Believe**

We in La Leche League stand firmly committed to the vital importance of the mother-infant relationship. We believe that breastfeeding not only provides the best possible nutrition, but that it is also the ideal way to initiate good parent-child relationships, to strengthen the family and, ultimately, the whole fabric of our society. We strive to foster a deeper understanding of the special sacrifices and rewards of motherhood, helping each mother to fulfill her infant's needs. We believe that a mother grows as a person as her baby grows in years, and that any other role she may fulfill in her lifetime will be enriched and deepened by the insight and compassion she will bring to it from her experience as a mother.

### La Leche League Meetings

La Leche League is mother-to-mother in its operation. The basic League meetings are not classes but small groups of mothers sharing encouragement and information about breastfeeding and related aspects of caring for children. Nursing babies attend the meetings right along with their mothers. Leaders who conduct the Group meetings are accredited by LLL and are also mothers who have themselves nursed their babies and who, in addition, are continually learning all they can about breastfeeding and mothering through La Leche League. A four meeting series includes: 1. Advantages of Breastfeeding to Mother and Baby; 2. The Art of Breastfeeding and Overcoming Difficulties; 3. Baby Arrives; The Family and the Breastfed Baby; 4. Nutrition and Weaning.

### Publications

Each Group maintains a free lending library of books on breastfeeding and related subjects. Over 200 Information Sheets and Reprints are also available covering many aspects of breastfeeding and child care. Informal stories, articles on topics of interest to nursing mothers, reports on medical research related to breastfeeding, book reviews, and practical suggestions are all contained in a bimonthly periodical published by La Leche League entitled: La Leche League NEWS. A one-year subscription to LLL NEWS is included with all memberships. Sample copy of LLL NEWS will be sent on request.

In 1981 a new, revised, and enlarged edition of THE WOMANLY ART OF BREASTFEEDING was published by La Leche League International. Based on the experience of helping hundreds of thousands of women breastfeed their babies, the new edition includes 250 first-person stories and 130 photographs. With over one million copies of the 1963 edition in print, THE WOMANLY ART OF BREASTFEEDING has provided needed answers to two generations of nursing mothers on every aspect of breastfeeding from preparing the nipples to weaning the baby. Every breastfeeding mother should own a copy of THE WOMANLY ART OF BREASTFEEDING, the most comprehensive handbook on breastfeeding and parenting ever published. You may purchase a copy from your local La Leche League Group.



# The Womanly Art of Breastfeeding

La Leche League International

## **Talk With Selma Fraiberg**

by Robert Coles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## For me, the evidence is more than suggestive.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## The Language of Love...



*During the first six months, the baby has the rudiments of a love language available to him. There is the language of the embrace, the language of the eyes, the language of the smile, vocal communications of pleasure and distress. It is the essential vocabulary of love before we can speak of love...*



*Eighteen years later, when this baby is full grown and "falls in love" for the first time, he will woo his partner through the language of the eyes, the language of the smile, through the utterance of endearments, and the joy of the embrace. In his declarations of love he will use such phrases as "When I first looked into your eyes", "When you smiled at me", "When I held you in my arms". And naturally, in his exalted state, he will believe that he invented this love song.*

*Selma Fraiberg*

# There is No Price to be Paid for Family Breakdown

Betty Schwartz

This is called the "ME" generation but children require an I-thou relationship. As Bronfenbrenner puts it "someone has to be crazy about that kid". All the research done by Bowlby, Mahler, Ainsworth, Fraiberg and others confirms and reconfirms the child's need for both a mother and a father in an abiding relationship. Child welfare practices are all based on a recognition of a child's need for permanency. The immediate placement of children for adoption is urged so that bonding can occur, yet community programs which offer multiple caretakers for very young children are being promulgated. Multiple caretakers, whether in the new multi-parent formation, the day nursery, or the repeated use of neighbours and babysitters, do not provide young children with what is needed for growth, nor what society needs them to have in order to grow to mature adulthood.

Children are most apt to express their feelings behaviourally. An examination of what children are doing in increasing numbers, documents that they are in deep trouble. These are the ways they express it.

The suicide rate for young people aged 15 to 19 has more than tripled in 20 years, according to Uri Bronfenbrenner, including an increase in suicides of children as young as 10. Death from violence in some form — suicide, homicide, auto and other accidents — now accounts for two out of three deaths between 5 and 18 years.

Juvenile delinquency continues to increase along with acts of personal violence in addition to rising vandalism. The increase in physically aggressive behavior in teenage girls has been documented, with frightening implications for their behavior

with their own children of the future. Adolescent sexuality and pregnancy reflects lack of optimism about the future even in an era of women's liberation. Teenage alcoholism, drug addiction and sniffing convey children's efforts to snuff out their suffering. The incidence of adolescents involved in acts of rape seems to be increasing. These increasing acts of violence convey deep rage combined with a lack of impulse control.

The increasing numbers of adolescent parents bodes ill for their children and society. All research documents that children of adolescent parents have more problems including physical and emotional ones, and they achieve less well in school. Even at birth, children born to adolescents are disadvantaged, having lower birth

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**Dr. Lee Salk, a pediatric psychologist states without any qualifying comment, that no one other than the parents should rear children up to age 3, at least.**

weights and higher incidences of birth anomalies.

Many of these children are becoming known to child welfare agencies as abused, battered, abandoned or neglected. Many are brought voluntarily at ages 3 to 5 by young mothers who kept them at birth but can no longer cope, so they seek foster care or adoption. Predict what will happen to these children.

Youngsters leave high school as functional illiterates without the skills or self-discipline to become employed. A second generation is now dependent upon the government for financial assistance and do not even contemplate working.

There is a sense of alienation with acts of personal violence becoming more bizarre, sensational and irrational. Professionals see the street-kids, the throw-aways, the run-aways, the kids who are slashers — who need the sight of their own blood and the feel of pain to confirm that they even exist. How much more is needed as evidence that these changing family formations are not working, that parents are often not fulfilling the basic function of child-rearing?

Certainly there are the exceptions and this too will create its problems. There seems to be a building polarization of North American children, according to Derek Miller, a psychiatrist. On the one hand there is a group of children who are physically, mentally and emotionally healthier than ever in the past — children whose parents provide what is needed in relationship and who help them grow and use richly and creatively what life now offers. Conversely, there are these other children who, getting nothing will have nothing to give back to society. They are increasing in numbers as the middle class itself seems to be shrinking.

This is called the "ME" generation but children require an I-thou relationship. As Bronfenbrenner puts it "someone has to be crazy about that kid". All the research done

by Bowlby, Mahler, Ainsworth, Fraiberg and others confirms and reconfirms the child's need for both a mother and a father in an abiding relationship. Child welfare practices are all based on a recognition of a child's need for permanency. The immediate placement of children for adoption is urged so that bonding can occur, yet community programs which offer multiple caretakers for very young children are being promulgated. Multiple caretakers, whether in the new multi-parent formation, the day nursery, or the repeated use of neighbours and babysitters, do not provide young children with what is needed for growth, nor what society needs them to have in order to grow to mature adulthood.

While ME generation mothers work in growing numbers and child care is left to others, Dr. Lee Salk, a pediatric psychologist states without any qualifying comment, that no one other than the parents should rear children up to age 3, at least. He stresses not only the problem in psychological bonding, but the child's exposure to others' standards, life-styles and mixed expectations which confuse and undercut successful personality formation. How does a dependent child relate to a multiple-parent family, for example? Whose way shall be his way, whether in acceptance or choosing the opposite? How does a child form loyalty attachments and to whom out of so many? Who sets the limits "in the absence of a reliable authority" as Mitscherlich phrased it?

To return to the original question: Is there a myth that there is no price to be paid for family breakdown and, if so, why? Clearly, there is such a myth, a shared delusion of many adults. What purpose does the myth serve? Like the fairy tale, the Emperor's Clothes, it enables society to deny what it does not want to see and to rationalize what it does see about children. It is a way of avoiding both the guilt for what is happening and the responsibility for changing it. ■

**Like the fairy tale, the Emperor's Clothes, it enables society to deny what it does not want to see and to rationalize what it does see about children.**

# **INFORMED CONSENT FOR PARENTHOOD**

*by E. James Lieberman, M.D., M.P.H., F.A.P.H.A.*

*Former Chief, Center for Studies of Child and Family Mental Health, National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda, Maryland; Assistant Clinical Professor of Psychiatry, Howard University School of Medicine, Washington, D.C., Visiting Lecturer on Maternal and Child Health, Harvard School of Public Health.*

Child rearing is the most difficult and important task that most ordinary mortals will ever undertake. It is the first priority of this and every nation; costly to do well, and costlier to neglect. We are not doing a good enough job. We can do better, but the challenge is sobering.

Unwanted pregnancies result in handicapped children. This is a truism, if one accepts the premise that being unwanted is a psychological handicap: the newborn baby leaves life's starting gate with a substantial drag on its tiny ego. Some infants may do quite well in spite of this handicap; others clearly not. Strange that so little research has considered wantedness as a factor in life outcomes!

The usual focus on physical handicaps is easier to document. Pasamanick provides the useful concept, "continuum of reproductive casualty," ranging from infant death through severe brain damage and mental retardation to minor learning or behavioural problems manifest years later (1). Infant mortality is shockingly high in this country, especially among the poor, the same population which is more likely to suffer the nonlethal casualties. It might appear that steps taken to reduce infant mortality would also reduce the other casualties, but this is not automatically true; it depends

upon what steps are taken. Modern medical technology can save pregnancies that would have been aborted, or infants that would otherwise have died. Since some of these children have irreversible brain damage and other serious problems, we find that as infant mortality is reduced some forms of morbidity increase.

One plausible and humane way to reduce the incidence of reproductive casualty is to permit people to become parents only with their own informed consent. Informed consent for parenthood — analogous to that needed for medical procedures and ex-

## Women inadvertently and unwillingly pregnant are less likely to seek prenatal care.

periments — means that couples be told whatever is known about their chances to produce and rear a healthy child. They should have access to information about genetics, nutrition, prenatal care, and child rearing. Obviously, such information must begin in high school or before.

Since a wanted pregnancy is much more likely to be a protected one in which "the advantages of modern medical science can become available to all potential and prospective parents before conception, so ensuring that the child shall inherit its birthright of health," the founders of Peckham Experiment "were convinced that it mattered that parents should be free from sickness before the child was conceived and carried; certain that the parents should want the child, and that they should be able and eager to rear it (2)."

Prenatal care is often too little and too late. Most women do not arrive at the doctor's office until late in the first trimester; by then the fetus may have sustained irreversible damage (from drugs, infection, radiation) of which the woman is unaware. Women inadvertently and unwillingly pregnant are less likely to seek prenatal care. Many will wish for a spontaneous abortion; some will try to induce an abortion. Trying to bring good prenatal care to unhappily pregnant women is like offering food to someone with anorexia. The effort would be better expended in the preconception period. And, for those women who desire it, abortion must be among the medically approved alternatives — for the well being of the patient and her family, present or future. Prenatal care may at times save fetal tissues but not human life; or it may save human life only to sacrifice it to neglect, abuse, or early death.

Edward Collins, a Howard University medical student, put it this way: "Some pregnancies are benign, some are malignant." Unwanted pregnancy is one malignant tumor about which the medical profession is too nervous to be really helpful. Un-

wanted pregnancy is psychosocially malignant, and obstetric and pediatric complications abound. Physicians have no better way to make the differential diagnosis than to ask the patient. This is what teachers of medicine mean when they urge medical students to consider the whole person. Unfortunately, medicine still weighs the physical much more than the non-physical components of health, and this may account for our poor record in some areas. We physicians find ourselves much more concerned about the long-range effects of pills (or abortion) designed to prevent unwanted pregnancy than we are about the long-range effects of pregnancy (3)!

Perhaps the benign-malignant dichotomy is too gross. It is indelicate to assign to one fetus the connotation "weed", and "flower" to another. Suppose they are all flowers. The wise gardener will even pluck out flowers, perhaps with a pang of sorrow, when they come up too numerous to thrive, too close together. Spacing, timing, and number are surely no less important in the cultivation of budding human beings.

### **The Prevention of Handicaps: A Doctor's Dilemma**

Preventive medicine is difficult to dramatize. There is excitement in the transplantation of a heart, but the prevention of smallpox or polio is dramatic only to those who know something about these dread diseases, and to those who are specifically interested in health statistics. Our reluctance to emphasize the idea of prevention in discussions of handicapped children rests in part on our distaste for appearing insensitive or pessimistic to the handicapped or their parents. Certainly we want to prevent deafness, blindness, and heart disease. Vaccination against rubella, or abortion in case of maternal rubella, serve as prevention. But many handicapped

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**When the pregnant woman, reflecting on her situation, decides against having a child, our laws say: "You should have thought of that before. You must accept a child as the penalty for poor judgment."**

persons are indisputably glad to be alive, including some disabled by the consequences of maternal rubella.

One way to deal with this dilemma is to make every pregnancy, and every child, a wanted one. If the product of a wanted pregnancy is a retarded or crippled or blind child, then the resources of the community must be such that the parents can fulfill their desire to raise the child in the best possible circumstances, discovering for themselves and reminding their neighbours that there are human values — including personality — that do not depend upon "normality" or conventional success.

But in these difficult times we can only expect parents to meet the challenges of normal or exceptional parenthood if they become parents willingly. And until our society does a good deal more for the handicapped children now alive, it is too much to ask women to carry their pregnancies to term unmindful of possible or probable fetal damage.

If society wishes parents to fully accept the challenge of rearing children well, then let the community make better provision for those who cannot compete on an equal basis for the goods of society. In the meantime, the prevention of unwanted pregnancy, including abortion when necessary, is more than mere prevention. It is an enhancement of life, and it supports the right of every child to be reared by someone who cares.

#### **Judgment takes a back seat: Compulsory Pregnancy**

Parenthood is too often initiated by falling into a biopsychosocial trap. Society, instead of permitting (much less encourag-

ing) reflection, frustrates the considered judgment of many women about their own readiness for parenthood. It is certainly true that many pregnancies reflect poor judgment: a premature or inappropriate sexual relationship, a contraceptive left in the dresser drawer, an impulsive decision which — on reflection — seems wrong. But when the pregnant woman, reflecting on her situation, decides against having a child, our laws say: "You should have thought of that before. You must accept a child as the penalty for poor judgment. It is too late to exercise good judgment now." This derives from old prejudices toward sex, and takes no account of the wellbeing of children and families.

One factor in the opposition to abortion is, perhaps, the fear that a large number of nice, average, well-adjusted, responsible American women are against motherhood — at least at times — while favouring sex (on their own terms). That sex, in all its complexity and impulsiveness is directly linked with parenthood, with all its complexity, mundane demands and nonsexual but supreme rewards; this is a physical miracle transformed into a psychological paradox. In this day and age most conjugal sex will take place without the intention to conceive; parenthood will be achieved by deliberate premeditation for more and more couples; and the relationship between sex and reproduction, while still important psychologically, romantically, and poetically, will no longer be very important biologically.

Abortion will be with us until contraception is automatic. Even then there will still be abortion, because some couples will be ambivalent about parenthood. Or they will want to know if they are fertile, and when the question is answered affirmatively, they

**This derives from old prejudices toward sex, and takes no account of the wellbeing of children and families.**

## Since abortion is no picnic, it has a self-contained deterrent.

will be aghast at the consequences. Since no one can know for certain about his or her capacity to reproduce until it has been tested it is likely that some will always test, even at great cost to themselves.

If the physician does not turn away from the comprehensive needs of his patient, he must surely ask each woman how she feels about being pregnant. Of course, not every pregnant woman "knows", or can permit herself to say, what she really feels; there may never have been a pregnant woman who didn't feel some ambivalence about her condition. But the physician who assumes that childbirth will inevitably bring out the good old maternal instinct is a superficial observer of the human condition. More likely, he is a slave to his own masculine-cultural biases, viz., if women could stop pregnancies at will, the human race would end; or, pregnancy and childbirth are the fitting and proper consequences of (punishment for) sexual activity; or, it is not important what happens to a child on earth — it must be allowed to live so that it may enter heaven when it dies.

I have encountered each of these views, and others. One medical student opposed abortion-on-request because he feared it would be the end of the human race. When his fellow students pointed out that women, if determined to end the race, could refrain from sexual intercourse, he replied that this was less of a threat — because men could always resort to forcible sex or artificial insemination! This extreme example points to something more general: many persons — and among them even some women — see women as more or less reluctant, but serviceable, breeding boxes for the benefit of mankind. Clearly, those with such a dim view of women should not have much to do with important decisions about pregnancy and motherhood.

Turning to those who fear that promiscuity will take over society if pregnancy can be

cancelled at will, let us consider the theory of deterrence. We wish to deter premarital or incautious sex. Do we know any more effective deterrent than punishment? Punishment in the form of unwanted pregnancy has been applied millions of times. It is very well known as a consequence; yet people go on punishing themselves — and the hapless children as well. Modern psychology informs us that the way to shape behaviour is to reward desirable behaviour and to stop rewarding undesirable behaviour. But society continues to reward the kind of behaviour that culminates in pregnancy. While there may be some who, knowing abortion was readily available, would indulge in sex when they would otherwise refrain, we should prefer that risk to the certainty of ruining lives by relying on a deterrent that fails so often and so miserably. Since abortion is no picnic, it has a self-contained deterrent. But as a last resort method of birth control it is necessary at times.

Finally, the argument about getting into heaven. No one has a right to impose his religious views on anyone else, although we must be concerned about the morality of an issue. My present moral position is that anything that increases the suffering of children is immoral, even if legal; and conversely, anything which prevents or diminishes the suffering of children cannot be immoral, even if illegal. The owner of the womb has the right to decide whether it shall bear fruit. No child should be compelled to enter the lives of unwilling parents, much less the corridors of understaffed, overcrowded institutions.

Among the numerous and subtle public health issues surrounding abortion, Christopher Tietze of the Population Council has pointed out that social resistance to abortion forces us into a "pharmaceutical blind alley". Because abortion is not readily available, oral contraceptives have to be po-

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...for those who argue that the product of an unwanted pregnancy might be another Darwin or Beethoven, I would answer that it is more likely that it will be an Oswald or an Eichmann.

tent enough to provide 99 per cent effectiveness. The large doses of hormones required for such high effectiveness account for many side effects, including fatal ones. If 90 per cent effectiveness were sufficient, with abortion available for contraceptive failures, miniscule doses would suffice, and the pharmacologic risk to millions of women would be greatly reduced.

Psychiatrists and other third parties should not be called upon to decide for or against an abortion. They should be willing to consult when the woman or her physician requests it, but not otherwise (4). "Mental health" grounds for abortion are humane but vague; there is no better judge of the question than the pregnant woman. In any case, since there are too few psychiatrists to handle all the cases, the result is discrimination against the poor. Nurses and social workers should be trained to counsel abortion patients, and good birth control information should be included.

ed.

Finally, for those who argue that the product of an unwanted pregnancy might be another Darwin or Beethoven, I would answer that it is more likely that it will be an Oswald or an Eichmann. Countless geniuses have already been snuffed out because of ignorance, indifference, poverty, malnutrition, preventable disease, etc. Even if unwanted pregnancy could be correlated with better-than-average offspring, would we force women to breed this way?

In sum, if the men in charge of the world can't make child rearing attractive enough to women, then the race doesn't deserve to go on. Forcing women to bear children is uncivilized. The nation and the world do not need to mass-produce babies any more — quite the contrary. It has been said that if men bore the children, or if women controlled the legislatures, there would be no laws against abortion. I think there would be laws against compulsory pregnancy. ■

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

*David Gil*

# The informal Economy

by David Ross and Peter Usher

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## What is the informal economy?

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Neglecting informal activity

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## The social side of production

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Where do we go?

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

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

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

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

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

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policy in the so-called private sphere.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Canadian Society for the Prevention  
of Cruelty to Children  
FINANCIAL STATEMENTS  
April 30, 1983

AUDITORS' REPORT

To the Directors of  
Canadian Society for the Prevention  
of Cruelty to Children

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We have examined the Balance Sheet of the Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children as at April 30, 1983 and the Statement of Financial Activities for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and accordingly included such tests and other procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, these financial statements present fairly the financial position of the Society as at April 30, 1983 and the results of its financial activities for the year then ended in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles for non-profit organizations applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

Midland, Ontario  
June 24, 1983

McCready & Shirriff,  
Chartered Accountants

Statement of Financial Activities  
Operating Section - General  
For the Year Ended April 30, 1983

	<b>1983</b>	<b>1982</b>
Support:		
Membership fees and donations	\$ 39,041	\$ 31,404
Sale of publications and tapes	862	889
Midland Rotary Club (note 2)	5,000	-
MacDonald's Restaurant (note 3)	1,668	-
Other	168	199
	46,739	32,492
Expenses		
Salaries and consulting fees	10,475	8,705
Publication costs - journal	15,718	10,635
Postage	1,592	1,559
Public information - brochures etc.	1,520	1,048
Office supplies and printing	1,278	1,857
Computer operating costs	1,188	1,507
Equipment rentals and maintenance	3,563	2,698
Equipment purchases		746
Office rent	2,560	2,567
Telephone	1,476	970
Legal and audit	400	375
Committee for Tomorrow's Children (note 3)	1,670	
	41,440	32,667
Net revenue (expense) for the year	5,299	(175)
Surplus (deficit) beginning of year	(215)	(40)
Surplus (deficit) end of year	\$ 5,084	\$ (215)

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

**Balance Sheet**

	1983	April 30, 1982
<b>Assets</b>		
<b>Current assets</b>		
Cash	\$ 25	\$ 25
Bank - current account	634	710
Bank - savings account	5,092	83
	5,751	818
 <b>Fixed assets, at cost</b>		
Office equipment	1,457	1,457
Library	235	235
	1,692	1,692
Accumulated depreciation	806	584
	886	1,108
	\$ 6,637	\$ 1,926
 <b>Liabilities and Equity</b>		
<b>Operating section</b>		
Accounts payable and accruals	\$ 667	\$ 1,033
Surplus (deficit) operating section	5,084	(215)
	5,751	818
 <b>Equity in fixed assets</b>		
Balance beginning of year	1,108	622
Add - Additions charged to operations	-	746
	1,108	1,368
Less - depreciation	222	260
	886	1,108
	\$ 6,637	\$ 1,926



1. Computer and word processing equipment is leased at an annual rental of \$3,300. The Society has the option to acquire this equipment at estimated fair market value in 1984.

2. In 1981 the Rotary Club of Midland commenced a project to raise funds to help defray the cost of providing the Society's journal to designated secondary schools in Canada.

In April 1983, the Rotary Club transferred \$5,000 to the Society. These funds were placed in a savings account pending decision of the directors as to their disposal.

3. In June, 1982 Blackwell Family Restaurants (McDonald's Restaurant - Midland) as a special project, raised \$1,668. Under this project a "Committee for Tomorrow's Children" was formed and headed by John Powell to review and report on existing audio visual material available on child abuse prevention. The project revenue and expenditures are as follows:

Total revenue	\$1,668
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Total expenditures	
Film cost	\$ 950
Shipping	238
Bank charges	26
Office expense	45
Telephone	161
Wages	250
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	\$1,670

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## CSPCC receives \$5,000 cheque



*Midland Times Photo - Murray Moore*

### **Happy handshake**

Herb Henderson, left, past president of the Midland Rotary Club, shakes hands with Dr. Elliott Barker, during this week's Rotary Club meeting, after Henderson presented Dr. Barker with a cheque for \$5,000. The money from Rotary is for the use of the Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

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

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L'Été 1983

## LA PARTIE AU PLUS HAUT ENJEU

La partie de la puériculture réussie est pour la plupart gagnée ou perdue avant que ne se joue la partie. Si l'on n'est pas préparé avant la conception de l'enfant, on ne fait que regagner du temps perdu. Il se peut que l'on élève un enfant qui est psychologiquement sain, mais les chances y sont contre.

Que faut-il faire avant la conception? Il faut avoir un partenaire qui est également bien informé et engagé à créer un nouveau être humain. Un partenaire bien informé sur les risques d'une relation avec un époux/épouse qui croit à la domination arbitraire du mâle. Un partenaire bien informé sur l'importance de mettre à l'épreuve la relation par un bon bout de temps passé à vivre ensemble avant de concevoir un enfant. Un partenaire qui entend l'importance du soin prénatal, de l'accouchement, de la nourriture au sein, et qui comprend que le soin de l'enfant par ses parents vaut plus que la poursuite des choses matérielles — ainsi que la poursuite acharnée de rang social et de carrière, qui s'y basent — pendant au moins les trois premières années de la vie de l'enfant.

Si l'on n'a pas atteint ces connaissances avant la conception, si l'on n'a pas fait cet engagement, alors il faudrait bien se préparer à accepter le fait que l'on est en train de créer un nouvel être humain pour lequel on a fait moins qu'il ne faudrait faire. On devrait savoir que les parents ainsi que le nouveau bébé et la société en souffriront tous plus tard.

A une époque où le marchandage a atteint les hauteurs étourdissantes où il peut créer une demande pour n'importe quelle espèce de camelote inutile, pourquoi faut-il subir au lavage continu de cervelle au sujet de l'excellence d'une nourriture d'animaux favoris ou d'une cosmétique, et n'entendre absolument rien au sujet de la préparation des père et mère.

Pourquoi est-ce que les écoles produisent des étudiants qui ont une préparation minimale ou nulle pour la carrière qui est la plus probable pour eux, celle d'être père et mère?

Etre bouleversé à cause d'une partie perdue nous aide seulement en tant que cela nous intéresse à préparer la partie suivante.

**E.T. Barker M.D., D. Psych., FRCP (C)**

*(Translation courtesy M.B. May,  
Erikson Institute, Advanced Study  
in Child Development, Chicago.)*

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pour les dons et pour les abonnements**



Recognizing that the capacity to give and receive trust, affection and empathy is fundamental to being human.

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

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

# CREDO



## WE BELIEVE THAT:

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

## THERE IS AN URGENCY THEREFORE TO:

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