

CARTON 133

WRITINGS

BOOK IDEA "PARENTING BOYS"

1992

2017/193
c

Notes from lunch meeting
with Paul Kivel

12/1/92

Kivel/Allen

PARENTING BOYS

Unique aspects:

About raising boys in modern america

~~Noises~~

Voices -- of boys and parents (interviews with them
about their experiences - what works, what doesn't

Multicultural -- boys/parents of different ethnicities/regions

Resources for parentings -- books, films, orgs, help, etc

Boys expressions -- poems, stories, art, etc.

photographs

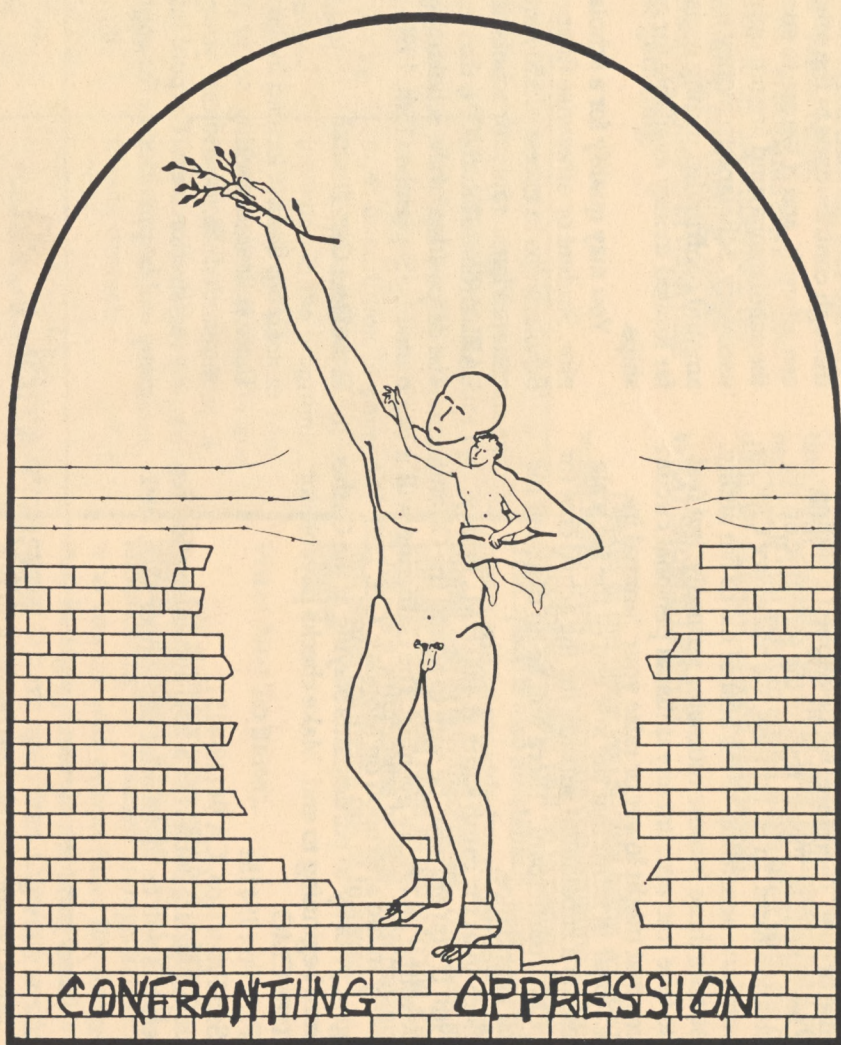
Why a book on parenting boys?

Boys often regarded as "problem" children -
disciplinary problems or with special needs

Real problem is not boys but ① issues

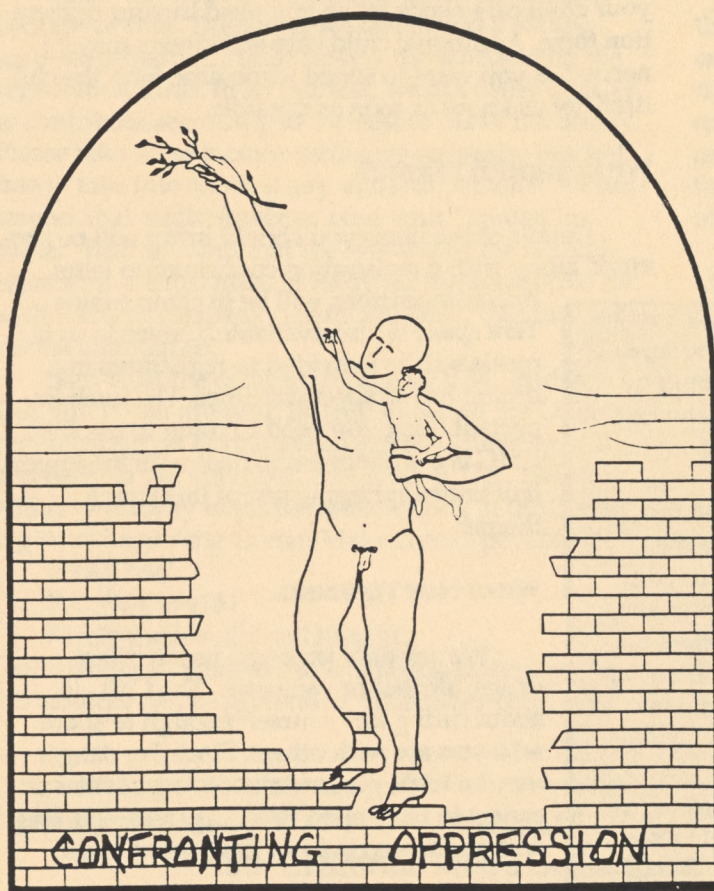
That parents bring to parenting boys and

② failure of parents or listen to boys



BECOMING FULLY HUMAN

15th California Men's Gathering



BECOMING FULLY HUMAN

15th California Men's Gathering

YOU ARE INVITED TO ATTEND THE 15TH FALL CALIFORNIA MEN'S GATHERING

Join over 400 inspiring, talented, fun loving people in a challenging, event filled, extended weekend of exploration, self-searching, community, and fun. The California Men's Gathering (CMG) will celebrate and support the positive, healthy and healing ways that men can be together, while examining the ways our masculine social programming has harmed us. In the midst of redwood trees and grassy fields, the CMG will offer you an opportunity to befriend and learn from many wonderful men, women and children, and to challenge and transform many beliefs. The 15th Fall CMG will emphasize in its Community Gatherings the means to alter the insidious trend of oppression as it exists both internally and externally.

On Oct. 12, 1992, this country will celebrate the 500th Columbus Day and we, the 15th Fall CMG Planners, feel committed to acknowledge a beginning of massive oppression on this land. This systematic and pervasive social imbalance presently affects us all in every daily interaction. It is imperative that we question ourselves and others, and continue dialoguing so that we can more actively engage in the struggle that eventually will lead us all to liberation.

The past CMG themes have encouraged us to celebrate men's unity, magic, and equality; build bridges; find ourselves and others. As the CMG moves toward creating new personal challenges, we are endeavoring to take an active role in the effort to end lies and complacency. We urge you to accept the continuing challenge of confronting racism, sexism, ageism, homophobia, and other fear based beliefs that separate us from our fellow men and women, whether or not you attend the CMG.

We are seeking to recover our heritage, affirm our humanity, take responsibility for our oppressive behavior and for our lack of response to oppressive behavior around us. We will make a commitment to an ongoing effort to extend compassion and understanding to our fellow human beings.

In addition to our theme related work, there will be time for fun! We will swim, play volleyball and other games, sing, dance, hike, tell stories and entertain. There will be opportunities to share personal philosophy, express feelings, recite poetry, sing or otherwise affirm ourselves. We are the CMG, and once again we are challenging you to join us!

INCORPORATION

At some time during the gathering, we will be discussing whether or not the CMG should become a non-profit corporation. Please look for the scheduled time in your program at the gathering.

STRUCTURE

The 15th CMG's theme, **CONFRONTING OPPRESSION: BECOMING FULLY HUMAN**, creates an unusual opportunity in which we hope to make available the resources and wisdom of the CMG community. The Gathering will consist of:

- Small workshops put on by CMG members on a variety of topics. CMG workshops are participatory in nature, calling upon each person to share their views and experiences. We are asking volunteer small workshop leaders to address this year's theme with the same personal commitment that the Planning Committee has made toward the Gathering itself.
- The larger Community Gatherings are designed for everyone to attend. They will address the theme.
- Support Groups will be formed to make the CMG a safer place, and for more intimate sharing.

We are planning quality and diverse entertainment, late-night dancing and the traditional 'Talent Night'.



CMG Participants always have the option to choose volleyball, hiking, swimming, sunbathing, games, conversation, silliness or quiet time during the gathering.

WORKSHOPS

In keeping with the theme of this year's gathering, **CONFRONTING OPPRESSION: BECOMING FULLY HUMAN**, we are reaching out to encourage everyone to risk themselves in new and different ways. The CMG workshops are unique in that they are participatory. One of the greatest thrills of being at a CMG is to perform or lead a workshop.

There is an enormous amount of talent and knowledge in our growing

community; we encourage you to contribute yours by sending us a few sentences about your workshop and a brief description of yourself to be considered for inclusion in the program.

We will get back to you. If you are interested in and feel qualified to conduct a larger community gathering or have further questions, please contact:

Bill Fredrickson
1066 Civic Center Drive
Rohnert Park, CA 94928
(707) 585-6215

ORIENTATION

Orientation will be held on Friday, Oct. 9, 1992. Check your program for the time. The CMG style of conducting workshops will be discussed. First-timers will be given an opportunity to voice their expectations, ask questions and meet the people who have volunteered to provide emotional support and healing throughout the gathering. We are planning to provide support group continuity to help make the CMG a safe place to explore personal issues.

WHO WILL BE THERE?

We are men of all cultural, economic and ethnic backgrounds. We are all ages, shapes, colors, and beliefs. Historically, almost half of the people at each CMG are attending for the first time. If you feel apprehensive, you are not alone. Support groups and the Orientation are provided to help you feel safe and welcome.

Women are welcome to join us at the Fall Session. Children who accompany CMGers are also welcome! (We will not, however, be able to offer special provisions for infants). The CMG tradition of supervised child care will continue, offering the little CMGers the kind of fun and learning their "elders" will also find at the camp. Parents are encouraged to

share in child care responsibilities. Please indicate your child care needs when you send in your registration form. Additional child care volunteers may be needed. If you want to spend some time with the children, let us know as soon as possible.

WHAT SHOULD I BRING?

Details of the items you should bring will be provided along with a registration confirmation letter.

Accommodations will be in camp cabins. Tent space is also available. Cafeteria style meals will be provided to registrants in a dining hall at specified times. The most important thing you need to bring to the 15th CMG is a willingness to deal with the important issues springing out of this year's theme!

WHAT NOT TO BRING.

We strongly urge you not to bring drugs, alcohol or weapons. The CMG is about caring for yourself enough to share who you are with others. Since fire danger may be high, please do not bring candles or expect to have open fires. Cigarette smoking will be allowed only in designated areas.

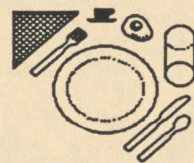
SPECIAL NEEDS

Most of the camp's main areas are wheelchair-accessible. For other areas, special accommodations may be made. If you have special needs, or know of someone who could attend the CMG only with special help, please let us know. We will try to help! Also, we are interested in persons willing to sign for the larger Community Gatherings. You can leave a message for the Special Needs Coordinator at (415) 442-7939.



FOOD

Mark the box on your registration form to indicate your dietary needs or restrictions. People with special needs may need to bring their own food.



ABOUT REGISTRATION!

We expect registration to close early. To insure your registration, send your completed form and payment by the early registration deadline, **August 15th**. There WILL BE NO ONSITE REGISTRATION! Use the form (or a copy of it) that appears in this brochure. To qualify for a free CMG T-shirt, you must send completed forms and full payment by the **EARLY REGISTRATION DEADLINE of August 15th**. More information is provided on the registration form.

Fees: We wish to exclude no potential CMGers because of cost. Therefore, we developed a sliding-scale fee schedule. Please review the schedule on the registration form. In all fairness, we ask every CMGer to contribute according to the best of his or her ability. Please take these income estimates seriously, but feel free to take into account any unusual personal circumstances that might lower or raise your "annual income." Bear in mind that the low end of the fee scale represents a substantial subsidy for the actual cost for each CMG participant. There will be no discount for partial attendance.

Sign-in at the camp starts at 4:00 P.M., Friday, Oct. 9th. If you are new, be sure to attend the Orientation Meeting on Friday evening. The Gathering will end early in the afternoon on Monday, Oct. 12th. We will give priority to participants staying at the Gathering from beginning to end. Make checks payable to:

15th CMG
P.O. Box 194151
San Francisco, CA 94119-4151.

Cancellations are subject to a 25% administration fee. No refunds will be given after September 18th, 1992.

Scholarships: We are looking for your support through contributions to the scholarship fund. If you can afford it, and if we are to succeed, donations to the scholarship fund are not only welcome, they are necessary. Scholarship money may be limited to the amount contributed during registration. There is so far limited money available for even partial scholarships.



You may qualify for a scholarship if you are a Senior, Student or otherwise financially unable to go. Scholarships in excess of \$50 require a written explanation. Please apply for scholarships with your **EARLY REGISTRATION**, that is, before August 15th. The disposition of the scholarship funds will be determined by September 15th, 1992.

HOW DO I GET THERE?

Camp Swig is located in Saratoga, California. There is limited parking, so car pooling is highly recommended. Please indicate your carpooling needs on the registration form. Carpool information and directions will be provided in the confirmation letter.

REGISTRATION FORM

15th California Men's Gathering 🍏 Fall Session 🍏 Oct. 9 - 12, 1992
(415) 442-7939

YOUR NAME		SPECIAL ACCESS AND/OR CHILD CARE NEEDS (PLEASE LIST NAME AND AGE OF EACH CHILD)															
ADDRESS																	
CITY/STATE/ZIP																	
DAYTIME PHONE		EVENING PHONE															
DIETARY PREFERENCES <input type="checkbox"/> Anything is OK! <input type="checkbox"/> Vegetarian <input type="checkbox"/> Other dietary needs, specify: _____ _____ <input type="checkbox"/> I am sending my payment by the early registration due date. I want a CMG T-Shirt size: S M L XL XXL color: <input type="checkbox"/> Natural <input type="checkbox"/> Coral		PAYMENT ENCLOSED Personal Fee _____ Children's Fee _____ Scholarship Contribution _____ SUBTOTAL _____ <input type="checkbox"/> (Scholarships \$10-50*) <input type="checkbox"/> *I meet the conditions for a scholarship described above. Scholarship (_____) _____ TOTAL PAYMENT \$ _____ (25% Cancellation Fee)															
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15th CMG
P.O. BOX 194151
San Francisco, CA 94119-4151

This is the only 15th CMG
mailing you will receive.
~~Please give the extra
brochure we have enclosed
to a friend and encourage
him or her to attend.~~



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I N T R O D U C I N G

THE JOURNAL OF MEN'S STUDIES



A Scholarly Journal
About Men and Masculinities



THE JOURNAL OF MEN'S STUDIES

PURPOSE AND SCOPE

The past decade has seen an increase in research focusing on men's lives as a growing number of scholars from the social and behavioral sciences and the humanities have rejected the traditional paradigm that interprets male experience as normative experience. Consequently, a "new" men's studies scholarship has emerged focusing its analyses on male experiences as specific social-historical-cultural constructions. Unfortunately, much of this new scholarship has been until now scattered throughout various books, monographs, and journals.

The Journal of Men's Studies seeks to publish the best research in this emerging field, recognizing the varied influences of class, culture, race, and sexual orientation on defining men's experiences. The *Journal's* cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural character disseminates material by men's studies scholars from various perspectives (political, social, cultural, historical), as well as various disciplines (anthropology, sociology, history, psychology, literature). Topics of interest include but are not limited to issues involving men's relations with others, the continual tensions between the competing and contradictory roles men play in their ever-changing world, and the social construction of masculinities.

CALL FOR PAPERS

The Journal of Men's Studies, which will begin its quarterly publication in summer 1992, invites submissions of original articles, review essays, and book reviews. For information, write to Dr. James A. Doyle, Editor, *The Journal of Men's Studies*, P.O. Box 32, Harriman, TN 37748-0032.


SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Please submit all manuscripts (three copies) to Dr. James A. Doyle, Editor, *The Journal of Men's Studies*, P.O. Box 32, Harriman, TN 37748-0032. A copy of the *JMS* style sheet is available from the editorial office.

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THE JOURNAL OF MEN'S STUDIES

A Scholarly Journal
About Men and Masculinities



SPECIAL ISSUE:
"African-American Males"

Volume 1, Number 3
February 1993
Published by the Men's Studies Press

Guest Editors: Shanette M. Harris and Richard Majors

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Fabricio E. Balcazar

"An Editorial Perspective"

Shanette M. Harris

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A Scholarly Journal
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August 1992
Published by the Men's Studies Press

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A Man Takes Responsibility
For The Way
He Thinks, Feels, And Acts



SIMBA CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE. We dedicate ourselves to empowering African Americans to choose their own greatness. Our life work is to help our people create more positive internal self-images, greater self-love and higher self-esteem. To trust ourselves and each other. To effectively set and achieve goals. To work together. To heal the pain of the past. To effectively deal with anger, fear, sadness, guilt and shame. To achieve and maintain life balance. To have successful man and woman and child and family relationships. To create our future independent of past limitations and current circumstances based on this truth: *we already have everything we need, right now, to do whatever we choose to do.* To make choices based on what we want rather than decisions based on what is available. To teach ourselves and our children to choose self-programming, and to be limitless in all aspects of living through faith, affirmations, visualizations and persistent action. To live knowing the truth that we are all spiritual beings having a human experience and that there is only one race on the planet earth: the human race.

OUR VISION. We see African American people achieving their greatness in Wealth, Health, Relationships and Self-Expression.

OUR GOAL. We empower a generation of African American people, one mind at a time, who will continue to empower each new generation, one mind at a time.

OUR ACTIVITY. We establish 5,000 SIMBAS in 50 states in the United States of America by January 1, 2000.

SIMBA

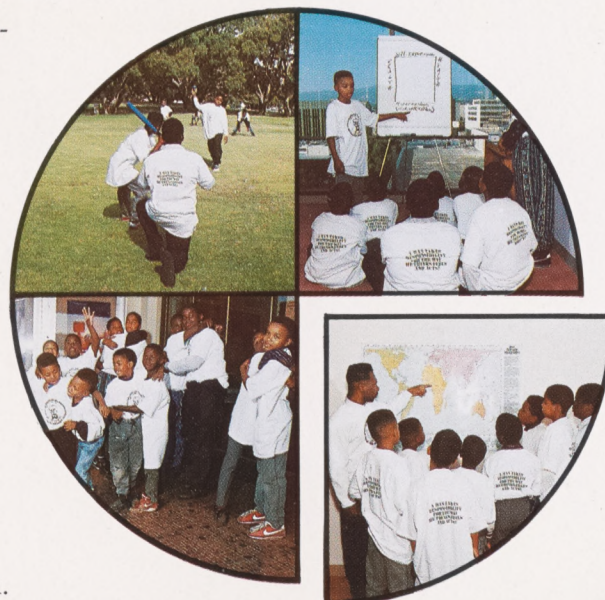
SIMBA is African American men helping African American boys become men. We provide our boys with leadership, role models and specific training in what it means to be an African American man in a predominantly White American country. We equip our boys with self-awareness, tools, techniques and values that will help them choose to become effective functioning men who will continue to guide future generations of boys.

SIMBA's purpose is to empower African American children, and adults, to take responsibility for how they think, feel and act. Our aim is to teach that we are no longer victims and that each of us has what it takes, right now, to be a winner in life. We teach each person to be a leader of self.

SIMBA's focus is on African American boys, from disadvantaged homes and/or female headed households, learning to become men from African American men. (We also want to train women to work with girls.)

The adults in our program commit to work with our children for the 12 year period from ages 6-18. At 12 years old our boys begin a specialized one-year *Rites of Passage* program leading to the start of manhood at 13 years old. SIMBA believes that we continue learning to become a better man until we die. By 18 years of age these children will have the training, and hopefully the desire, to establish their own SIMBA Chapter wherever they go.

SIMBA is a way of life. It is not a short-term answer. SIMBA Leaders are dedicated to persist through long-term objectives and share this way of life with our boys. The SIMBA way of life is defined in our Constitution.



What We Do

SIMBA Chapters are currently operating and providing services in housing communities and elementary schools in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods.

SIMBA first teaches the adult to be a more positive role model, and a better leader of self, through a 66-hour Leadership Seminar. These adults, then, through regular weekly meetings with the children, utilize games, internal and interpersonal exercises, lectures, guest speakers, field trips and other activities to teach our boys the power of choice, to express and manage internal feelings, goal setting, self-esteem, life balance, problem solving, family and social interaction skills, history and other important aspects of effective living. SIMBA uses fun and relationships to teach important life skills and lessons.

Current SIMBA Leaders range in age from 21 to 59; in occupations from laborers to college students to police officers to business owners; and in religions, from Islam to Christianity. We are all types of African American men, all successfully working together.

- SIMBA Leaders teach our boys to choose self-programming and to be limitless in all aspects of living through faith, affirmations, visualizations, goal setting and persistent action.
- SIMBA Leaders ingrain positive self-esteem thoroughly into the fabric of our boys and help them develop an internal system to counteract negative intrusions into their individual personhood.
- SIMBA Leaders teach our boys that being strongly pro-African American does not mean being anti-White or anti any other race.
- SIMBA Leaders teach our boys the power of images and motivate them to choose positive programming in media and in life.
- SIMBA Leaders teach each boy to be a leader of himself.

The Leadership Seminar

The 66-hour SIMBA Leadership Seminar produces a cohesive cadre of African American men with the will to put into action a powerful plan to help our boys. These men get to better know themselves and each other. They learn to resolve ideological differences, ego and political issues. Seminar participants research and study together and apply learned leadership tools in the production of a written program and implementation action plan. We have fun, and successful graduates become *SIMBA Leaders*.

The following are some comments from successful SIMBA Leadership Seminar Graduates:

"My family and job relationships have greatly improved..."

"I am more relaxed and confident..."

"My purpose in life has become clearer..."

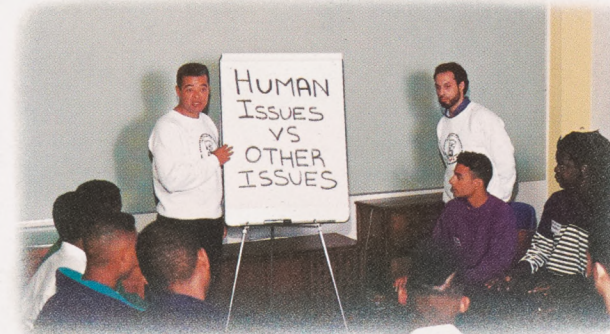
"I now know where I am going in life and how to get there..."

"Circumstances no longer control me..."

"After the SIMBA Leadership Seminar, I was able to let go of some life-long bad habits and improve my health..."

"By applying the tools I learned in the seminar, I am now earning more money..."

"I now express myself better and I am getting more of what I want in life..."



Your Involvement

Everyone has something to contribute!

Are you tired of talking about the problem? Do you want to be part of the solution, instead of standing on the sidelines complaining and, thereby, also being part of the problem? Do you want to do something but just don't know what or how? Are you already doing something but want to do more?

This is your opportunity! You CAN make a difference! You can:

- Start a SIMBA Chapter
- Become a SIMBA Leader
- Recruit boys
- Recruit adults
- Provide a meeting location/facility
- Be a part-time fund raiser
- Be a part-time volunteer
- Donate services, products, etc. that can be used in fund raising
- Donate money
- Donate advertising space at your business, job or other facility
- Join the SIMBA Founders Society (donors who use the SIMBA Automatic Deposit System for regular giving)
- Buy a SIMBA Supporter Sweatshirt or T-Shirt
- Sell SIMBA Supporter Sweatshirts or T-Shirts
- Donate media time and/or media space
- Think of your own unique way to help

We need your help. Please complete the attached "I CARE" card NOW, tear it off and mail it back to us TODAY.

Membership Fees

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*"A Man Takes Responsibility
For The Way
He Thinks, Feels, And Acts"*

SIMBA, Inc. • P.O. Box 27548 • Oakland, CA 94602 • (510) 839-4303



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SIMBA, Inc.
P.O. Box 27548
Oakland, CA 94602



"A Man Takes Responsibility For The Way He Thinks, Feels, And Acts"

Who We Are



Roland J. Gilbert
Founder & CEO

The first SIMBA Chapter Leadership Seminar was started in Oakland, California, September 1, 1988 by Roland J. Gilbert. Mr. Gilbert is the originator, developer and founder of the SIMBA Leadership Seminar. All SIMBA Leaders must successfully complete this rigorous and rewarding 66-hour program prior to working with our boys.

The word *Simba* is an African Swahili term that means "young lion." This term, to our knowledge, was first used in America in connection with nurturing African American boys, by Dr. Maulana Karenga. The SIMBA "Rites of Passage" concept seed was planted in Mr. Gilbert by Dr. Jawanza Kunjufu at a one-day seminar conducted by Dr. Kunjufu in 1986 at Saint Paul of the Ship Wreck Church in San Francisco, California. SIMBA uses

Dr. Kunjufu's books and materials in its program. Mr. Gilbert and Dr. Kunjufu have met on several occasions, talked by telephone and appeared together on two different video tape programs for television, supporting each other and sharing common ideas and desires for our boys and SIMBA.

SIMBA, Inc. is a charitable, tax-exempt, non-profit California Corporation registered with the Registry of Charitable Trusts. SIMBA, Inc.'s Board of Directors is a dedicated group committed to each other, our children and our future. Our Directors unselfishly serve with creativity, courage, persistence and unending love. They see the greatness in all of our children.

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"A Man Takes Responsibility For The Way He Thinks, Feels, And Acts"

Cosby Made It Look Easy

A new advice guide for black parents

From Dr. Spock to T. Berry Brazelton, few child-care experts discuss race-related issues in their parenting manuals. Most don't talk about low-income families, either. But whether black parents live in a fashionable neighborhood like the one on "The Cosby Show" or in a ghetto that looks more like a scene from the movie "Boyz n the Hood," they face an additional set of difficulties in raising emotionally healthy black children. "Because race- and income-related issues do cause special problems, it is essential that a child-rearing approach that takes these important factors into consideration be available," psychiatrists Alvin F. Poussaint and James P. Comer write in their new book, **Raising Black Children** (436 pages. Plume. \$12).

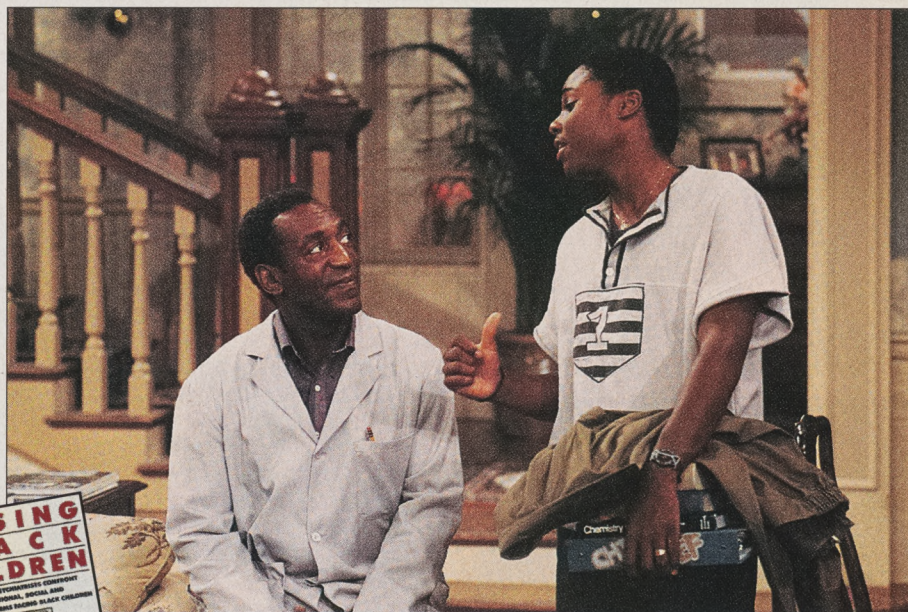
Comer and Poussaint's manual answers nearly 1,000 child-rearing questions they've heard repeatedly from black parents across the social-economic spectrum. Comer teaches psychiatry at the Yale Child Study Center. He's spent more than two decades working with inner-city public schools. Poussaint teaches at Harvard Medical School and was a consultant to "The Cosby Show." Their guidelines for how black families might deal with some common—and perplexing—issues:

What color am I? When a black child comes home from an integrated setting and says, "I'm white," his parents may be surprised. The book suggests saying, "No, you are black like Mommy (or Daddy)." If the child offers his light-skinned arm or hand as evidence of his whiteness, parents can explain that "black" is the name of a group of people, and that color within the group ranges from white to black. Interracial couples who talk candidly about their relationship and black-white relations in general can assure their children that it's possible to be black and white and OK.

Confronting racism: Ages 9 through 12 are crucial developmental years for all children. Basic attitudes, values and strategies for handling problems in life—including racial attitudes—develop and become a permanent part of the personality. Youngsters learn to deal with racism by closely watching how adults respond to problems. The authors counsel confronting racism without becoming obsessed with it; the point is for the child to keep functioning even in the face of bigotry.

If a child has been insulted with a ra-

cial epithet, the authors suggest that a parent point out that some people call blacks names to make them feel bad. Explain that the child is not the name he was called and that Mommy or Daddy feels good about being black. Adults can help adolescents develop effective ways to fight injustice, such as complaining to an offensive salesclerk's supervisor or working through the NAACP to force the police to be more sensi-



JACQUES M. CHENET—NEWSWEEK

Child-rearing experts: Looking beyond Dr. Huxtable's living room

tive. Parents must also help children learn to take responsibility for their own behavior instead of blaming every problem on racism.

Halting the violence: Many inner-city blacks are desperate to stop the violence among youths in their neighborhoods. "The way we raise our children from the beginning and the way we teach them to handle anger, conflict, and frustration will help most," Comer and Poussaint write. The development of inner control, direction and motivation begins with the way an infant is taught to wait for a bottle or stop taking the toy from the boy next door. Spanking teaches the child that violence is the preferred way to show anger and release frustration. Instead, the psychiatrists suggest that parents use other methods, such as explaining to children why certain behavior is unacceptable. (This is good advice for parents of all races, the

authors say.) If a young child is in the middle of a tantrum, call a "timeout." Set clear limits and rules and explain that meeting these expectations will benefit the child, not the parent.

The 'mainstream' debate: Raising their offspring to function as solid citizens can be problematic for some black parents, Comer and Poussaint write, when they lack their own sense of belonging in society. This can make blacks ambivalent about whether to teach their children the ways, rituals and even values of "the mainstream," which they view as white middle class. The psychiatrists suggest that many (but not all) of the books read to black preschoolers should be about black children to help give them a sense of their identity and importance in the world. They also advise using multicul-

tural books that depict black, brown, yellow, red and white children to help a child understand that people are different—and that's fine.

Whether or not to join in society's rituals, such as saluting the flag (which Black Muslim children don't do), is a more complicated matter. Rituals give a person or group a sense of belonging, purpose and value in the larger society. If a child does not say the pledge in school, say the authors, parents must give him extra support in case there is a hostile reaction from other children or teachers. They can involve the child in some other kind of ritual such as a pledge to humanity or community. "You've got to make mainstream institutions work as they should," says Comer. In the likely event that that fails to happen, the psychiatrists believe, children must be taught that they can still thrive.

CONNIE LESLIE

Too Much of a Good Thing

Forget foreplay and development. Today's pop cuts right to the ecstasy and stays there.



BY JOHN LELAND

In discount shoe stores and snooty restaurants across America these days, the song remains the same. It is Whitney Houston's "I Will Always Love You"—a long, long scream of a number that starts high and ends . . . well, just as high. Originally a Dolly Parton hit that Kevin Costner suggested Houston sing for the soundtrack of "The Bodyguard," the remake has been the top song in the nation for eight weeks. It has already sold more than 3½ million copies.

But these numbers don't capture the song's ubiquity. It's everywhere. You can leave Whitney screaming bloody fidelity at the mall, pick her up in midglossolalia in the car, then catch her again back home, as she accompanies the day's sports highlights, unreeling in slow motion. If you're wondering where pop music has gone these days, it is here: gusting forth from Houston's lungs at perpetual full blast, without condescending to foreplay or afterglow. Hear it for a second or an hour, and it's exactly the same.

If you're wondering where pop is coming from, consider the Parton original. A slick "countrypolitan" ballad, the song is all orchestrated melodrama and high dynamics. Parton begins gently, holding the emotional payoff in check. Then the strings build, the instrumentation swells, love is set to pop. And when it does, it cascades forth in a giant crescendo. She's earned these fireworks, and then she's done. Where Houston starts at this peak and holds it like a grudge, Parton builds inexorably up to it, hits it, then slinks off for a smoke.

So this is where the music has gone: straight to the chase, to an esthetic of perpetual climax. Never mind the scene setting, the 1-800-FLOWERS; these days, you go right to the ecstasy and stay there. This is a new model for pop music. Instead of

aspiring to theater, acting out a story through tension and release, Houston's hit presents its emotional information all at once, like a photograph. And she isn't alone. "I Will Always Love You" is just the most prevalent and ecstatic example of what's going on across the musical spectrum. Instead of constructing songs linearly, with one moment building to the next, musicians from impious rapper Ice Cube to gassy balladeer Michael Bolton are treating every instant as independent, investing each with a complete story.

Mighty moment: This atomic model takes its cue from music video, which replaces an evolving quality (human character) with a fixed, endlessly repeatable image. Once Houston hits her peak in those first few bars, she can no more add to her story than Madonna, in her "Material Girl" video, can evolve into an ascetic. Development is out; the mighty moment, a chunk of information impervious to change, rules the roost.

Just ask Bolton. Notching sales of more than 3 million copies for his most recent album, Bolton has become one of the most popular singers in America by mastering the endless climax. When he opens his remarkable pipes, he keeps them open, delivering three minutes of full-on catharsis. We supply the tension, he'll supply the release. No wonder so many women love him; my man has staying power. When he



JOE MAJOR—LFI



GERRY GROPP—SIPA

The soul of the machine: *The Material Girl*, Arrested Development, techno-rave digital dance party



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A SECTION OF THE SAN FRANCISCO SUNDAY EXAMINER AND CHRONICLE
CHRONICLE PUBLISHING CO. 1993

LITERARY GUIDE

TODAY

MR. STORYMAN: Stories for children ages 2-12. 1 p.m., Central Park Bookstore, 32 E. Fourth Ave., San Mateo. 579-4900.

CHRISTOPHER SMITH: Songs and stories for children ages 4-7. 11 a.m., Book Passage, 51 Tamal Vista Blvd., Corte Madera. 927-0960.

STORY HOUR: Stories for children ages 4-14. 11 a.m., A Clean Well-Lighted Place for Books, 2417 Larkspur Landing Circle, Larkspur. 461-7472.

JACKIE WELTMAN: A publication party for Medusa Broadsheet. 8 p.m., Paradise Lounge, 1501 Folsom St., S.F. 861-6906.

ROBIN LAKOFF: Discussing "Father Knows Best: The Use and Abuse of Power in Freud's Case of Dora." 7:30 p.m., Black Oak Books, 1491 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley. (510) 486-0698.

DJOLA BERNARD BRANNER, ROBERT WESTLEY & GEORGE KIRKSON: Branner and Westley read from "Here to Dare" and Kirkson reads from "Long Division." 3:30 p.m., A Different Light, 489 Castro St., S.F. 431-0891.

GROUP READING: Featuring Jyl Lynn Feldman, Terry Wolverton and Nancy Boutilier. 7:30 p.m., A Different Light, 489 Castro St., S.F. 431-0891.

MONDAY

IRA SANDPERL: Speaking on Martin Luther King Jr. 7:30 p.m., Kepler's Books, 1010 El Camino Real, Menlo Park. 324-4321.

JOYCE CAROL THOMAS: Reading from "When the Nightingale Sings." 8 p.m., Cody's Books, 2454 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley. (510) 845-7852.

TUESDAY

TODD GITLIN: Reading from "The Murder of

Albert Einstein." 7:30 p.m., Kepler's Books, 1010 El Camino Real, Menlo Park. 324-4321.

JOYCE CAROL THOMAS: Reading from "When the Nightingale Sings." 1:30 p.m., Kepler's Books, 1010 El Camino Real, Menlo Park. 324-4321.

LE LY HAYSILIP: Discussing "Child of War, Woman of Peace." 8 p.m., Cody's Books, 2454 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley. (510) 486-0698.

PAM HOUSTON & ELINOR LIPPMAN: Reading from their work. 7:30 p.m., Black Oak Books, 1491 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley. (510) 486-0698.

STORY HOUR: Stories for young children. 10:30 a.m., Barnes & Noble, 2352 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley. (510) 644-0861.

THALIA ZAPATOS: Discussing "A Journey of One's Own: Uncommon Advice for the Independent Woman Traveler." 7:30 p.m., Easy Going Travel, 1385 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley. (510) 843-3533.

RAY RIEGERT: Discussing "Hidden Hawaii." 7:30 p.m., Book Passage, 51 Tamal Vista Blvd., Corte Madera. 927-0960.

DUNCAN MCNAUGHTON, LISA PALMA & MICHELLE SHELTER: Reading their poetry. 7:30 p.m., Falkirk Cultural Center, 1408 Mission Ave., San Rafael. 454-2359.

MAGGIE MEYER: Featured reader followed by an open mike. 7:30 p.m., La Val's, 1834 Euclid Ave., Berkeley. (510) 849-3979.

CARL PARKES: Discussing "Thailand Handbook." 7:30 p.m., A Clean Well-Lighted Place for Books, 601 Van Ness Ave., S.F. 441-6670.

ERNEST CALLENBACH: Conducting a panel discussion on "Living Cheaply With Style." 7:30 p.m., GAIA Bookstore, 1400 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley. (510) 848-GAIA.

WEDNESDAY

THALIA ZAPATOS: Discussing "A Journey of One's Own: Uncommon Advice for the

BETWEEN THE LINES Patricia Holt

Guiding Fathers and Sons in Ritual

Hugely successful though it was, "Iron John," Robert Bly's best-seller about male archetypes and spirituality, left many readers hanging: While it convinced millions that male bonding rituals may be vitally important, especially for young men, it did not explain under what circumstances and with what tools a group of fathers, say, might create an environment in which "deep masculine" acceptance and wisdom is exchanged.

The question hit home for San Francisco writer Bernard Weiner when his own son was approaching puberty and Weiner began to search for a more personal initiation ceremony than a bar mitzvah. Inviting the fathers of his son's school friends to participate, Weiner drew upon theatrical resources he had utilized when he was drama critic for The Chronicle and wrote his own version of "the ceremonial father-to-son passing of knowledge" to which Bly alludes in "Iron John."

What happened as the fathers revised the ritual, the mothers responded, a site was located in the woods far away from San Francisco and the ritual burst (and stumbled) into being is the subject of Weiner's enlightening and scathingly honest "BOY INTO MAN: A FATHER'S GUIDE TO INITIATION OF TEENAGE SONS" (Transformation Press, Box B, 197 Bonview Street, San Francisco 94110; 70 pages; \$9.95).

"I've always felt that a theatricality of real life exists, that there is a ritual of natural processes inside us," Weiner said in a recent interview. "The point seems to be that when you create a proper format for ritual—birthday, death, coming-of-age—people sense they're onto something bigger than themselves. An archetypal power emerges that awes and amazes everybody."

The book explains how the fathers worked for more than a year on the script, making masks, preparing gifts and props, rehearsing the ritual and confronting such problems as what some mothers termed "sexist attitudes" and what some of the boys called "candle crap" (ceremonial cliches from school).

Sometimes the fathers went overboard, Weiner reports. Standing outside the boys' school wearing giant, four-foot-high hands, some of the dads "beckoned" the boys out while others beat on drums in a

scene that embarrassed a few of the kids. Other times, the ceremony was dramatic, eerie and emotionally powerful, as when a huge puppet head of a woman, lit by flashlights, appeared to emerge from a nearby river in the dead of night to explain female nature "from the dawn of humankind."

Weiner, who has become expert at conducting initiation workshops at conventions for the National Association for Drama Therapy and the International Men's Conference, says the book has hit such a nerve that plans are in the works for a companion volume, "Girl Into Woman."

ISABEL ALLENDE, DOROTHY ALLISON AND Thom Gunn appear next Sunday at what will surely be the hottest event in town: a benefit for Small Press Traffic, the historic bookstore on 24th Street that carries more than 10,000 books and literary magazines from noncommercial presses.

One of many literary nonprofits whose National Endowment for the Arts grant was severely reduced last year, Small Press Traffic offers the kind of reading materials that aren't available in other stores yet are vital to the health of a democracy. "The lack of the means to distribute," SPT likes to quote Nordine Gordimer as saying, "is another form of censorship." The benefit, "New Words, New Directions," will feature readings from current and future works by all three writers at 7:30 p.m. at Cowell Theater in the Fort Mason Center. For tickets (\$10-\$15 on a sliding scale) call 285-8394. ■

Patricia Holt is book editor for The Chronicle.

T.O. SYLVESTER



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She's getting in touch with her inner chick

FRIDAY

Valencia St., S.F. 282-1901.

LAUREL COOK: Discussing "California Spas: A Pack-Along Leisure Guide." 7 p.m., Artist's Proof Bookstore, 460 Magnolia Ave., Larkspur. 924-3801.

ANTHONY PONTER, LAURA PONTER & ROBERT HOLMES: Discussing "Spirits in Stone: The New Face of African Art." 7:30 p.m., Book Passage, 51 Tamal Vista Blvd., Corte Madera. 927-0960.

JILL KER CONWAY: Discussing "Written by Herself: Autobiographies of American Women." 7:30 p.m., Black Oak Books, 1491 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley. (510) 486-0698.

POETRY: "Poets Under the Influence" Readings of works by poets from Poe to Ginsberg. 7:30 p.m., Fort Mason, Bldg. D, S.F. 776-6602.

MERL TOFER & ANA CHRISTY: Reading/performance of their work. 9 p.m., The Elbo Room, 647 Valencia St., S.F. 558-8112.

DELPHINE PIEROT: Discussing daydreams and betrayal in "Madame Bovary." 8 p.m., Cheshire Cat Books, 110 Caledonia St., Suite E, Sausalito. 332-7885.

JOSEPH MCNAMARA: Discussing his writing to benefit the library's book budget. 8 p.m., Harrison Memorial Library, Ocean Ave. & Lincoln St., Carmel. (408) 624-4629.

SATURDAY

GEORGIA HESS: Conducting a workshop on travel writing. 10 a.m., Book Passage, 51 Tamal Vista Blvd., Corte Madera. 927-0960.

WAVY GRAVY: Reading from "Something Good for a Change." 2 p.m., Barnes & Noble, 2352 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley. (510) 644-0861.

GAIA INAUGURAL BALL: Celebrating the Clinton-Gore administration. 7 p.m., Jewish Community Center, 1414 Walnut St., Berkeley. (510) 848-GAIA.

THURSDAY

SONJA FRANETA: Presenting a slide show "Coming Out in Russia." 8 p.m., Old Wives' Tales, 1009 Valencia St., S.F. 821-4676.

ROGER LANCASTER: Discussing "Life is Hard: Machismo, Gender and Power in Nicaragua." 7:30 p.m., Modern Times Bookstore, 888 Valencia St., S.F. 282-9246.

JILL KER CONWAY: Discussing "Written by Herself: Autobiographies of American Women." 7:30 p.m., Kepler's Books, 1010 El

Camino Real, Menlo Park. 324-4321.

ELLYN KASCHAK: Discussing "Engendered Lives." 7:30 p.m., Black Oak Books, 1491 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley. (510) 486-0698.

DAVID CAMPBELL: Discussing "The Crystal Desert: Summers in Antarctica." 7:30 p.m., Book Passage, 51 Tamal Vista Blvd., Corte Madera. 927-0960.

ADRIANA DIAZ: Discussing "Freeing the Creative Spirit." 7 p.m., Barnes & Noble, 2352 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley. (510) 644-0861.

CYBERARTS PANEL: A discussion of cyber-arts. 8 p.m., Cody's Books, 2454 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley. (510) 845-7852.

STORYTIME: Stories for children ages 2-5. 10 a.m., Marin Teachers Store, 901 C St., San Rafael. 453-9197.

WORKS IN PROGRESS: Featuring readings by Lynn Follet, Gini Savage, Robin Lysne and Marion Huntington. 7:30 p.m., Oliver's Books, 645 San Anselmo Ave., San Anselmo. 454-4421.

STEPHEN JAY GOULD: Discussing "Eight Little Piggies: Reflections in Natural History." 7 p.m., A Clean Well-Lighted Place for Books, 21271 Stevens Creek Blvd., Cupertino. (408) 255-7600.

JYL LYNN FELMAN: Discussing "Hot Chicken Wings." 7:30 p.m., Jewish Community Center, 3200 California St., S.F. 346-6040.

ALAN EPSTEIN: Discussing "How to Be Happier Day by Day." 7:30 p.m., A Clean Well-Lighted Place for Books, 2417 Larkspur Landing Circle, Larkspur. 461-0171.

THALIA ZAPATOS: Discussing "A Journey of One's Own: Uncommon Advice for the Independent Woman Traveler." 7:30 p.m., A Clean Well-Lighted Place for Books, 601 Van Ness Ave., S.F. 441-6670.

SIN SORACCO: Signing copies of "Edge City." 12:30 p.m., Alexander Book Co., 50 Second St., S.F. 495-2992.

RUTH WEISS: Performing vintage poetry and jazz. 8 p.m., Dog Eared Books, 1173

Dear Dads: Save Your Sons

BY CHRISTOPHER N. BACORN

I had seen a hundred like him. He sat back on the couch, silently staring out the window, an unmistakable air of sullen anger about him. He was 15 and big for his age. His mother, a woman in her mid-30s, sat forward on the couch and, on the edge of tears, described the boy's heartbreaking descent into alcohol, gang membership, failing grades and violence. She was small, thin, worn out from frantic nights of worry and lost sleep waiting for him to come home. She had lost control of him, she admitted freely. Ever since his father had left, four years ago, she had had trouble with him. He had become more and more unmanageable and then, recently, he had hurt someone in a fight. Charges had been filed, counseling recommended.

I listened to the mother's anguished story. "Are there any men in his life?" I asked. There was no one. She had no brothers, her father was dead and her ex-husband's father lived in another state. She looked up at me, her eyes hopeful. "Will you talk with him?" she asked. "Just speak with him about what he's doing. Maybe if it came from a professional . . ."

she added, her voice trailing off. "It couldn't hurt."

I did speak with him. Maybe it didn't hurt, but like most counseling with 15-year-old boys, it didn't seem to help either. He denied having any problems. Everyone else had them, but he didn't. After half an hour of futility, I gave up.

I have come to believe that most adolescent boys can't make use of professional counseling. What a boy can use, and all too often doesn't have, is the fellowship of men—at least one man who pays attention to him, who spends time with him, who admires him. A boy needs a man he can look up to. What he doesn't need is a shrink.

That episode, and others like it, set me thinking about children and their fathers. As a nation, we are racked by youth violence, overrun by gangs, guns and drugs. The great majority of youthful offenders are male, most without fathers involved in their lives in any useful way. Many have never even met their fathers.

What's become of the fathers of these boys? Where are they? Well, I can tell you where they're not. They're not at PTA meetings or piano recitals. They're not teaching Sunday school. You won't find them in the pediatrician's office, holding a sick child. You won't even see them in juvenile court, standing next to Junior as he awaits sentencing for burglary or assault. You might see a few of them in the supermarket, but not many. You will see a lot of women in these places—mothers and grandmothers—but you won't see many fathers.

So, if they're not in these places, where are the fathers? They are in diners and taverns, drinking, conversing, play-

ing pool with other men. They are on golf courses, tennis courts, in bowling alleys, fishing on lakes and rivers. They are working in their jobs, many from early morning to late at night. Some are home watching television, out mowing the lawn or tuning up the car. In short, they are everywhere, except in the company of their children.

Of course there are men who do spend time with children, men who are covering for all those absentee fathers. The Little League coaches, Boy Scout leaders, Big Brothers and schoolteachers who value contact with children, who are investing in the next generation, sharing time and teaching skills. And there are many fathers who are less visible but no less valuable, those who quietly help with homework, baths, laundry and grocery shopping. Fathers who read to their children, drive them to ballet lessons, who cheer at soccer games. Fathers who are on the job. These are the real men of America, the ones holding society together. Every one of them is worth a dozen investment bankers, a boardroom full of corporate executives and all of the lawmakers west of the Mississippi.

Poverty prevention: What would happen if the truant fathers of America began spending time with their children? It wouldn't eliminate world hunger, but it might save some families from sinking below the poverty line. It wouldn't bring peace to the Middle East, but it just might

keep a few kids from trying to find a sense of belonging with their local street-corner gang. It might not defuse the population bomb, but it just might prevent a few teenage pregnancies.

If these fathers were to spend more time with their children, it just might have an effect on the future of marriage and divorce. Not only do many boys lack a sense of how a man should

behave; many girls don't know either, having little exposure themselves to healthy male-female relationships. With their fathers around, many young women might come to expect more than the myth that a man's chief purpose on earth is to impregnate them and then disappear. If that would happen, the next generation of absentee fathers might never come to pass.

Before her session ended, I tried to give this mother some hope. Maybe she could interest her son in a sport: how about basketball or soccer? Any positive experience involving men or other boys would expose her son to teamwork, cooperation and friendly competition. But the boy was contemptuous of my suggestions. "Those things are for dorks," he sneered. He couldn't wait to leave. I looked at his mother. I could see the embarrassment and hopelessness in her face. "Let's go, Ma," he said, more as a command than a request. I walked her out through the waiting room, full of women and children, mostly boys, of all ages. Her son was already in the parking lot. I shook her hand. "Good luck," I said. "Thank you," she replied, without conviction. As I watched her go, my heart, too, was filled with a measure of hopelessness. But anger was there too, anger at the fathers of these boys. Anger at fathers who walk away from their children, leaving them feeling confused, rejected and full of suffering. What's to become of boys like this? What man will take an interest in them? I can think of only one kind—a judge.



Without male guidance at home, teenage boys will seek it on street corners

Bacorn, a psychologist, lives in Boerne, Texas.

**Breaking the Link
Between Masculinity
and Violence**

MYRIAM MIEDZIAN

**Boys
Will
Be
Boys**

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Preface

It can be helpful in understanding a book to be aware of the personal perspective that the author brings to it. When I first embarked on this project I gave little thought to how my personal history might have contributed to my interest in the topic of what caused many men to embrace violence—in warfare, in criminal acts, in the family—and how that behavior could be changed. It was only after several people responded to the topic by wondering whether it had grown out of my personal experience—had I been battered, assaulted, raped?—that I started to reflect on the question. I found myself remembering a letter that my father—who was born in Poland in 1901—had written to my older daughter when she was three months old:

Los Angeles, July 12, 1968

My Dear Nadia,

I hope that this letter will find you in good health. Dear Nadia I miss you very much, when you left our house every room was empty . . . I was dreaming of you. Maybe in a short time I will see you . . . I hope that peace will be in this crazy world. All my life I have seen only wars: 1905 even I was a child it was Russian Japanese war; 1911–12 Balkan war; 1914–18 World War One; 1919–20 Polish Russian war; 1939–45 World War Two; 1950–53 Korean war, and the

4

Where Have All the Fathers Gone?

Pop psychology, as embodied in Alfred Hitchcock's film *Psycho*, tends to reinforce the image of the violent male as having had an overbearing, domineering, hypercritical mother. Father isn't mentioned.

Inadequate mothering is undoubtedly a significant factor in the etiology of male violence. As we have seen, a boy whose mother is cold and indifferent, or subjects him to humiliation and irrational criticism, or batters him, is more likely to become violent than a boy who has a loving, sensitive, respectful mother.

However, the best available data also suggest that high levels of violent behavior are frequently linked to a boy's having had inadequate fathering.

Sociological studies of juvenile delinquent boys indicate that a high percentage of them come from families in which either there is no father in the household or the father is on hand but abusive or violent. Cross-cultural anthropological studies suggest that violent behavior is often characteristic of male adolescents and adults whose fathers were absent or played a small role in their sons' early rearing.

Psychological studies of families in which child-rearing is shared by the parents or in which the father is the primary caretaker reveal that the sons in these families are more empathic than boys raised in the traditional way. In a twenty-six-year longitudinal study of empathy, researchers found that the single factor most highly linked to empathic concern was the level of paternal involvement in child care.¹

Dorothy Dinnerstein, professor of psychology at Rutgers University, has developed a theory (summarized below) that links greater male violence and lack of empathic, nurturing qualities with the fact that boys are reared almost exclusively by women. However speculative her theory may be, it receives considerable corroboration from diverse and independent findings in the social sciences.

This chapter explores how the very secondary role of fathers in child-rearing and in many cases the absence of any involvement, are linked to male violence. It examines how fathers' and mothers' adherence to the values of the masculine mystique encourages violence in their sons.

In addition to its direct effect on boys, a lack of fathering can also have a profound impact on the quality of mothering a boy receives. A woman who is able to share the emotional and financial burdens of child-rearing with a supportive husband is more likely to be a loving, affirming mother than the woman who is on her own and often resentful and angry at the boy's father. *It may well be that in order to improve the quality of mothering one of the most important things we can do is encourage boys and men to be good fathers.*

Some of the recent literature concerning the effects on boys of having father as the primary or coequal caretaker is examined. I

argue that raising boys to become nurturing fathers would help to decrease violence among all men.

Chapter 5 is devoted to answering some of the common objections to the idea of greater male participation in child-rearing.

The conclusion of this section is clear: *major nurturant paternal involvement in child-rearing would play an important role in reducing male violence.* It would signal the end of adherence to the masculine mystique and would lead to significant improvements in mothers' behavior toward their sons.

SWITCHING IDENTIFICATIONS, OR WHY IT'S DIFFICULT TO BECOME A MAN WHEN YOU ARE RAISED BY A WOMAN

In the traditional family, girls are raised by a woman, a person with whom they can remain identified for the rest of their lives. Boys are not.

Dorothy Dinnerstein points out that while both male and female babies identify with their mother, internalizing her basic qualities, by the time the little boy is approximately eighteen months old he has already developed some sense that he is male and different from his mother. As he gets older he realizes increasingly that unlike his mother he will not be wearing dresses when he grows up, nor will he develop breasts or give birth to babies. He will not become the nurturant primary caretaker of children, the person who feeds them, changes their diapers, toilet trains them, empathizes with them when they get hurt. This feminine world is the only one that he is intimately familiar with; it is the center of his universe, but in order to become a man he must distance himself from it.

He learns from his father, if he is around, and from the outside world—media, peer group, school, books—that being a man means working outside the home, being strong and tough, not crying, and being willing to fight or go to war. He also learns that men are more important and dominant in the adult world—they run it. A vast majority of political, professional, and religious leaders are male. Men's jobs are more prestigious and pay more than women's jobs. In their relations with women, men are dominant. They initiate relationships; they "take women out"

and pay for them. Married women take on their husbands' names, and in spite of the fact that women do all or most of the child-rearing, their children go through life bearing their fathers' surnames.* Without anything ever having to be said, the little boy quickly realizes that in the adult world, the power structure is the reverse of that in the nursery.

It becomes imperative that he separate himself from the less powerful, less prestigious world of women and find his place in the world of men. In order to become a man he works hard at not crying or showing fear, at being tough and strong. This means repressing early feelings of attachment, dependency, vulnerability, intense love and hate. It means repressing his desire for the warmer, softer, more empathic world of women he has grown up in. These qualities are dismissed as feminine and unfit for a "real man."

The reward he will receive for denying his deepest emotions and needs is a higher position in society, simply by virtue of being a man. Even if he spends his entire life at the bottom of the social ladder, he still will have someone to feel superior to. (Nineteenth-century British philosopher John Stuart Mill was ahead of his times in recognizing the significance of this reward. He wrote: "Think what it is to a boy, to grow up to manhood in the belief that without any merit or any exertion of his own, though he may be the most frivolous and empty or the most ignorant and stolid of mankind, by the mere fact of being born a male he is by right the superior of all and every one of an entire half of the human race . . ."2 Mill was convinced that the discrepancy in male and female power served as *the* basic model for inequality.)

Raphaela Best is an educator who studied and worked with children in a suburban elementary school from 1973 to 1977. In her book *We've All Got Scars*, which is based on that experience, she tells us that by the second grade, in order to be accepted by his peers, "a boy had to overcome and root out anything in his own actions, feelings, and preferences that could be viewed as

* Some changes have taken place since the advent of the women's movement. There are more female professionals, more women running for political office. Some women do not take on their husbands' names at marriage. More men are involved in child-rearing and household chores. But these changes are not significant or widespread enough to change the basic picture for most boys.

remotely female." Displays of affection, playing with girls, helping to clean up the classroom were no longer acceptable: "Whatever females did, that was what the boys must not do."³

What did the boys do to prove their manhood? "First, of course, to be a man you had to be willing to fight, whatever the odds. If a boy did not like to fight, it was important to act as though he did . . ."4 Besides fighting, the boys' major concern in terms of proving their manhood was being first in everything from physical strength to sports, from schoolwork to being the class line leader. Best's observations on the role of dominance in boys' play groups corroborate the research discussed in Chapter 3.

Many parents actively reinforce these values. Research reveals that fathers, especially, tend to become deeply disturbed by any behavior in their sons that is not typically "masculine."⁵ This kind of father provides a role model that fits the masculine mystique even though he may not be violent, at least not uncontrollably violent—he may use physical punishment to discipline his son. He does not express much emotion. He doesn't cry. He is very concerned with dominance, power, being tough. His taste in movies runs to John Wayne and Sylvester Stallone. On TV he watches violent shows like "Miami Vice" and "Hawaii Five-O." Whatever his actual behavior may be, he is likely to indulge in callous sexual talk about women. He may feel that a high level of involvement in child care is unmanly. As a result, his son is likely to be less empathic. This kind of father is probably typical of a large number of basically decent American men who reinforce in their sons just those qualities that serve to desensitize them and make them more prone to commit violent acts or condone them.

As mentioned earlier, parents, especially fathers, who want to make sure that their sons grow up to be strong and tough often overstimulate them from an early age. They toss them about more, act loud and tough rather than soft and gentle as they do with girls. Robert R. Holt points out that there is evidence from animal and human studies that in order to be able to take this kind of treatment, the organism becomes less sensitive. He emphasizes that "part of callousness, part of toughness is not being sensitive, not having as much pain sensitivity and not having as much general awareness of feelings."⁶

Holt also points out that in their efforts to encourage the values of the masculine mystique many parents in fact encourage violent behavior in their sons by not setting distinct limits, by not making it clear that violence will not be tolerated. It is the often basically decent sons of such parents who can succumb to peer pressure and engage in gang rape; or "join the boys" in beating up a member of a disliked minority group; or, if they are in positions of power, make decisions that unnecessarily endanger the lives of people.

By contrast, even within the traditional family, a loving, supportive father who is not afraid to show tenderness, empathy, and tears, who, together with his wife, does not condone violence and does not try to mold his son into the traits of the masculine mystique, is most likely to have a son who will not use unnecessary violence. For such a boy, the separation from the "feminine" emotions is less sharp, for he can identify with his father and still retain some empathic, loving qualities.

Such a boy will in all likelihood experience sharp contradictions between the way his father behaves and the way many of his peers behave. His willingness to fight will grow mainly out of self-defense: if he does not *appear tough*, he will become easy prey for bullies. As an adult he will not be prone to violent behavior.

There are no such contradictions for the boy whose father is emotionally or physically abusive. He may well model himself on his father and become unacceptably abusive to his peers—he may become the class bully.

For boys without fathers, the mass media and their own peer group tend to be the main sources of their concept of what it is to be a man.

Les Willis runs a program for teenage fathers at a hospital in Philadelphia. The population he works with is 98 percent low-income and African-American. Most of the boys have no experience of a nurturant father. One of the major hurdles Willis must overcome in order to get the boys involved in fathering is "the stigma of being a nurturer." They fear being perceived as effeminate by their peers if they push a baby carriage or hold their baby close. Once the counseling and peer support groups at the hospital help them get over this fear, many of these young men will say: "I've always wanted to do this but I was afraid of being called gay."⁷

Willis's program is highly successful both in terms of getting the boys to accept their paternal responsibilities—82 percent of them see their child regularly, with 76 percent of them paying some child support—and in terms of helping them get and keep jobs—79 percent of the young men are employed. It is also successful with respect to turning these "high-risk" young men away from lives of violence. Their involvement decreases the chance that their sons will be violent. Studies of delinquent boys have convinced many sociologists that boys raised by mothers alone are particularly prone to violence because of their susceptibility to "hypermasculinity."

Sociologist Walter B. Miller tells us that the extreme concern with toughness in lower-class culture probably originates in the fact that for a significant percentage of these boys there is no consistently present male figure whom they can identify with and model themselves on. Because of this, they develop an "almost obsessive . . . concern with 'masculinity'."⁸ A preoccupation with homosexuality is also very prevalent. It manifests itself in the common practice of baiting and often physically attacking gay men.

In *The Myth of Masculinity*, sociologist Joseph Pleck takes a critical look at hypermasculinity theories. One of his major criticisms is focused on the assumption in these theories that the traditional dichotomy between male and female roles is valid, and the problem with delinquent boys is that they don't have a traditional father in the home.

As Pleck sees it, the problem lies not in the absence of the father but in the imposition of rigid sex roles: if our ideas of what constitutes acceptable male and female behavior were more fluid, boys raised by mothers would not have to act "hypermasculine" in order to prove that they are real men, for it would be acceptable for "real men" to be empathic, caring, emotionally connected.

The difficulty with Pleck's position is that the findings in anthropology, sociology, and psychology described in this chapter suggest that the lack of paternal involvement plays an important part in the development of rigid, dichotomous, and hierarchical sex roles, with the male role including a considerable degree of violence. As we shall see, it may be that male involvement in

nurturant fathering is a *condition* of more fluid sex roles and decreased violence.

Anthropologist Beatrice Whiting carried out a study of six cultures, focusing on the relation of child-training practices to personality. One of her findings was that in the two cultures that were the most violent, the fathers were most loosely connected with the family and had least to do with rearing of children. The husband and wife seldom slept or ate together, and seldom worked or played together. Her findings are corroborated by other cross-cultural research.⁹

As Whiting sees it, "It would seem as if there were a never-ending circle. The separation of the sexes leads to a conflict of identity in the boy children, to unconscious fear of being feminine, which leads to 'protest masculinity,' exaggeration of the difference between men and women, antagonism against and fear of women, male solidarity, and hence to isolation of women and very young children."¹⁰

The view that the more exclusively a boy is reared by his mother without the presence of a male figure, the more he will need later on to deny his identification with her and her feminine qualities to prove his masculinity through "hypermasculinity," is further corroborated by anthropological research on initiation ceremonies into manhood.

Anthropologists Roger V. Burton and John W. M. Whiting tell us that societies that combine almost exclusively female child-rearing with strong male/female role differentiation and higher male social status create a strong conflict in boys. The conflict is resolved in favor of manhood by often excruciatingly painful initiation rites: "The initiation rites serve psychologically to brainwash the primary feminine identity and to establish firmly the secondary male identity."¹¹ The tests of manhood often include painful genital operations, sleep deprivation, and hazing. To give an idea of how traumatic these rites can be, one ethnographer reported that "boys returning home after initiation did not know their village or recognize their parents."¹²

In most societies with elaborate initiation rites there is one term that refers both to women and uninitiated boys and another term for initiated males. In these societies it is believed that a male is born twice: "once into the woman-child status, and

then at puberty he symbolically dies and is reborn into the status of manhood."¹³

In some societies the boy acquires his "second identity" not through initiation ceremonies but by an abrupt change from maternal to paternal residence, or from maternal to paternal supervision and education.

Indian psychoanalyst Sudhir Kakar tells us that in traditional Hindu India, at around the age of five, boys are abruptly separated from their mothers. Until this age the boy is enveloped in his mother's protective and nurturing love. Now the men in the family take responsibility for his care and instruction: "Without any preparation for the transition, the boy is literally banished from the gently teasing, admiring society of women into a relatively stern and unfeeling male world . . ."¹⁴

For the American boy, manhood is not usually achieved through abrupt switching from maternal to paternal supervision or formal initiation rites. Perhaps the closest we come to initiation rites is a deer hunting ritual that is common in Mississippi and some other parts of the South. David Blankenhorn, the director of the Institute for American Values, grew up in Mississippi. In a 1989 interview with the author he explained that when a boy is somewhere between eight and twelve years old, his father will take him out hunting: "Your first deer is a big deal. It signifies you have done something significant approaching manhood." Blood from the deer is smeared all over the boy's face and photographs are taken and often displayed on family mantelpieces. Blankenhorn, who went through the experience himself, does not hesitate to characterize it as an initiation rite. He estimates that perhaps as many as 60 or 70 percent of boys in Mississippi undergo it.

But for most American boys, manhood is achieved through a series of informal tests. By not crying or associating with girls, by being strong, tough, good at sports, and willing to fight, boys prove to their peers—and often to their parents, especially fathers—that they are real men.

Raphaella Best tells us that as early as the first grade, the boys she observed held girls and girlish activities in such low esteem that they made it known that "they would never cook or sew or do any other housekeeping chore under any circumstances, even

if they starved to death or had to throw away their torn clothing or go without clothes [my emphasis]."¹⁵

According to Diane Ehrensaft, a psychologist and author of *Parenting Together*, a study of families in which father and mother have shared child care, preliminary evidence suggests that boys raised by mother and father do not share this negative attitude. She describes an elementary school class with an emphasis on nonsexist education in which boys were asked to complete the phrase "If I were a girl . . ." and the girls "If I were a boy . . ." Those boys who had been raised in a traditional family came up with varying degrees of misogyny, the extreme being "If I was a girl I would hate it." There were no parallel responses of boy-hating from girls. On the other hand, the boys from shared-parenting families (of whom there were quite a few) did not show any such negativity. One of these boys wrote, "If I was a girl I would like to put on lipstick." Another wrote "If I was a girl I would have long hair and I would work at a traveling agency."¹⁶

When a boy is able from the earliest age to identify with his father, and when that identification includes loving, nurturing, and feeling connected with others, then his developing a masculine identity does not depend on his repressing his identification with his mother and her feminine qualities. He does not need to be contemptuous of women in order to solidify his identity as a man. Having had a nurturant father, he is more likely to be empathic toward others, including girls.

The lack of male involvement in child-rearing leads to decreased sensitivity and empathy, and greater violence, in another closely related way: young boys are not rewarded for those qualities that someday will make them nurturant fathers.

From the earliest age, girls are perceived as future mothers. They are taught to be nurturant, helpful, sensitive to the feelings of others. They rehearse their future role by playing with dolls, by playing house.

In the traditional family being a good father means primarily being a good provider. For a little boy, to rehearse for fatherhood is to rehearse for future work and financial success. Fathers are also expected to discipline their sons, imbue them with ideals of competitiveness and hard work, and play ball with them.

The boy who learns to be competitive, hard-working, and involved in sports is on his way to becoming a "good" father.

Since traditional fathers are not expected to nurture their children in the sense of directly caring for their physical and emotional needs, there is no need to develop the same degree of empathy, sensitivity, and caring in little boys as in little girls. Quite to the contrary, some parents, especially fathers, may become concerned if their sons exhibit these traits to any significant degree—the empathic, caring boy who lets himself cry is often seen as being too soft, too gentle. Parents are often uncomfortable if a boy rehearses the nurturing role by playing with dolls. As they get older, boys become increasingly aware that playing with dolls, being interested in babies, or exhibiting nurturant behavior is inappropriate for them, and they act accordingly. But several recent studies suggest that until the age of about five or six there is no difference in boys' and girls' interest in babies.¹⁷

The role that parents play, often unwittingly, in influencing their children's attitudes toward nurturance is revealed in a study done by psychologist Phyllis Berman.¹⁸ Berman videotaped forty-eight boys and girls, two to three years old, as they played with dolls in the presence of their parents. She found that most of the mothers and fathers made comments encouraging the girls to think of themselves as the doll's mother taking good care of her baby. "You're such a good mommy" was typical. But only one or two of the boys' parents made analogous comments about the boys' being the doll's father. *The parents, a sophisticated group of professionals, were unaware that they were encouraging their daughters, but not their sons, to think of themselves as future nurturant parents.*

When Carol Ember, anthropology professor at Hunter College, studied the Luo community in Kenya, she noticed that mothers who did not have enough daughters or other female family members to help them with their feminine chores would assign their sons to help them. Ember compared the behavior of the boys who helped in child-rearing and other feminine tasks to those who did not and found that boys who helped their mothers inside the home were less aggressive and more pro-social than those who didn't. The difference was greatest among those boys who had assisted their mothers in child-rearing.

. . . .

Taking care of young children requires patience, self-sacrifice, empathy. Studies by psychologists indicate that when empathy increases, violence decreases.¹⁹

Martin Hoffman, professor of psychology at New York University, specializes in the study of empathy, altruism, and the development of moral principles. According to him, in recent decades psychologists with very different theoretical perspectives have all come to consider empathy as perhaps "the most significant factor in altruistic behavior."²⁰

From an early age, girls act more empathically and altruistically than do boys. Hoffman explains that girls may possibly have a slightly stronger disposition toward empathy than boys, but the evidence is far from conclusive. Even if there proves to be some biological difference in the predisposition to empathy, it is significantly magnified by later socialization. Not only is empathy much more highly valued in girls than in boys, but also it is easier to be empathic with someone when one has experienced similar emotions. But boys are conditioned to repress feelings of weakness, fear, vulnerability. As a consequence, their emotional repertoire is much more limited than that of girls, and so is their ability to empathize.

Modeling themselves on their mothers, girls are quick to help other children who are in danger, or to warn them of dangers. Raphaela Best tells us that among the children she observed, the girls "offered emotional as well as practical support to those who needed it," including boys.²¹ If a boy ever broke down and cried, or if he got very upset about something, it was almost invariably a girl who would comfort him: "the clear assignment of the nurturant role left the boys free to be receivers, not givers of emotional support."²²

The boys, on the other hand, prodded each other on toward greater and greater risk-taking. The greater the risk the greater the proof of manhood. "We've all got scars," one boy proudly told Raphaela Best as he rolled up his sleeves to show off his symbols of manhood.²³ (Best observes that things haven't changed much since the days when young Prussian officers proved their manhood by acquiring facial scars from fencing.)

This behavior was baffling to the girls: "The girls could not understand what drove the boys to bruise their bodies on the

playground so that they could acquire scars to prove their manhood." "What's so great about getting hurt if you don't have to?" one girl wondered.²⁴

FATHERS WHO SHARE; FATHERS WHO ARE PRIMARY CARETAKERS

While their numbers are still very small, there has been an increase in the last fifteen years in the number of men who either are primary caretakers of their children or share equally.

In *Parenting Together*, psychologist Diane Ehrensaft describes Adam, a four-year-old boy who, when asked what he wanted to be when he grew up answered, "Maybe just a daddy," and then added, "or maybe I'll be a ranger." For boys like Adam who are raised or partially raised by their fathers, nurturing—being a daddy in the fullest sense—is a natural part of being a man.

Both Ehrensaft and Kyle Pruett, a Yale psychiatrist who did a study of children raised in families in which the father was the primary caretaker, tell us that the children they studied seemed to have no difficulty in terms of viewing roles that traditionally are associated with one sex as perfectly normal for the other.

Typical was Henry, the "baby-doll-toting, Big Wheel stunt driver." His father's comment about Henry's "androgynous" behavior was: "Any kid who bombs around the neighborhood in his Big Wheel with his baby doll tucked into the jump seat is probably going to make out just fine."²⁵

These boys' broader notions of appropriate or inappropriate male and female behavior in no way affected their sense of sexual identity—there wasn't the slightest doubt in Henry's mind that he was a boy. He and the other children raised by fathers or by both parents simply had a more fluid idea of what constitutes appropriate gender roles. As far as they were concerned boys play with trucks, helicopters, and dolls, just as men—like their daddies—take care of children, work, repair cars, and play baseball.

For the sons of nurturant fathers, achieving a masculine identity is easier, not harder. From the earliest age these boys experience a deep level of emotional closeness with someone of their own sex. As they get older, to achieve male identity they do not have to cut themselves off emotionally from their nurturer in order to

identify with a far more remote figure. They can continue to remain emotionally connected to their fathers *and* identify with them. Boys raised by their fathers or by both parents have a *primary* masculine identification. For boys raised by their mothers, the masculine identification must always remain *secondary*.

Popular mythology tends to see the man who is heavily involved in child care as a weak and unassertive type, but this is not the picture that emerges from Pruett's and Ehrensaft's books or from other studies on the subject. In fact, Norma Radin of the University of Michigan reports that in one study when fifty-nine fathers who were primary caregivers were given the BEM Sex Role Inventory no significant differences emerged between them and the husbands of primary caregiving wives.

The BEM test is intended to determine how "masculine," "feminine," or "androgynous" a subject is. A characteristic is considered "masculine" if it is perceived in American society as more desirable for a man than for a woman, and "feminine" if it is considered more desirable for a woman than for a man. "Athletic," "analytical," and "self-reliant" are a few of the traits classified as "masculine." "Affectionate," "compassionate," and "gentle" are a few of the traits classified as "feminine."

It is possible that in our society those men who feel very secure in their traditional masculine traits are more able and willing to confront the enormous social pressure against men's becoming primary caregivers.

This is not to say that nurturing their children has no psychological effect on fathers. "In the past five years I've become a different person," one coparenting father asserts. "I am more accepting, have gained a great deal more patience, and am a lot more easygoing than before our daughter was born." Nurturing fathers learn to be "more patient, more tuned in, more sensitive to other people's needs," Ehrensaft comments.²⁶

Pruett tells us that "primary caretaking fathers feel and express sex discrimination less acutely than do traditional fathers."²⁷ Since they themselves have moved away from traditional sex roles, it makes sense that they are less concerned with their sons' and daughters' conforming to rigid sex roles.

Both Ehrensaft and Pruett are convinced that tending babies puts men in touch, at the deepest level, with feelings of vulnerability, dependency, love, and forgiveness, feelings they learned

to repress at an early age. Ehrensaft describes nurturant fathering as a "corrective emotional experience." It permits men to make contact with the repressed child in themselves. *They no longer have to pretend.* They can be full human beings.

Kyle Pruett's book is not particularly concerned with violence, yet he concludes it in the following way:

Since children both male and female are born with a vigorous predisposition to procreate and nurture, how wise and far-reaching it would be to encourage not just half but the whole human population to embrace this precious endowment . . .

Imagine what such a man could do for his society, his family, his son, his daughter. He would be loving and nurturing without embarrassment or fear, open and vulnerable without being a victim. He could foster in his children the freedom to be strongly feminine or tenderly masculine but, above all, abidingly human.

*In so doing, he will help bring forth increasingly humane familial and social environments bent more on nurturing and the fulfillment of meaningful relationships than on the obscene violent posturings of power, envy, and domination [my emphasis].*²⁸

MAKING MEN PART OF LIFE-GIVING RATHER THAN LIFE-TAKING

Since women carry the fetus *in utero*, give birth, and take care of their young, children perceive the realm of child-bearing and child-rearing as feminine. Since the ability to give life is viewed as awesome by young children, many young boys feel excluded from the greatest power of all. Psychoanalyst Karen Horney coined the expression "womb envy" to capture their feelings.

As boys begin to reject identification with their mothers, these feelings are repressed together with so many unacceptable early feelings, but on an unconscious level they continue to influence men's behavior. For some men the power to destroy life becomes the equivalent to the female power to create life. Vietnam War veteran and author William Broyles, Jr., states it clearly: "[War] is, for men, at some terrible level the closest thing to what childbirth is for women: the initiation into the power of life and death."²⁹

Carol Cohn tells us that the history of the atomic bomb project is permeated with imagery which equates creation with de-

struction and suggests men's desire to appropriate women's life-giving power. At Los Alamos, the atom bomb was referred to as "Oppenheimer's baby." When Henry Stimson, Secretary of War during World War II, received a telegram informing him of a successful atomic bomb detonation, it read, after decoding: "Doctor has just returned most enthusiastic and confident that the little boy is as husky as his big brother. The light in his eyes discernible from here to Highhold and I could have heard his screams from here to my farm." Edward Teller's telegram to Los Alamos announcing the successful test of the hydrogen bomb (named "Mike") read, "It's a boy."³⁰

But while some men derive a sense of power from having the ability to destroy life, war gives many men a sense that they are preserving and improving life for their families, friends, and country. Irrespective of the facts, wars are commonly portrayed as defensive, or essential to a nation's well-being, by those in power. Women may have a monopoly on giving life, but men have a monopoly on defending it against the enemy.

That willingness to defend one's country, to risk one's life in battle, to ensure the safety and freedom of others, then takes on a higher value than the life-giving and life-nurturing activities of women. Monuments, churches, parades, history books, are all a testimony to the all-important activity of defending one's nation against the enemy. There are few if any monuments testifying to the life-giving activities of women.

Pruett tells us that a major difference between traditionally raised boys and boys raised by their fathers is that the latter show more curiosity and interest in father as procreator. For the boys he studied, "father is seen as a *maker* of human beings along with mother, who makes *and* births them."³¹

In a traditional family or in a single-mother family, the fact that the mother cannot have a baby without the father's sperm is easily forgotten, for it has an abstract, distant quality. There is no tangible reality that corresponds to it. When the father is as much a nurturer as the mother, having a baby is experienced as a *joint* enterprise with father giving mother the seed that enables her to carry the baby. Father's importance in the process is experienced directly.

It seems likely that boys reared or coreared by fathers would

experience men in general and themselves in particular as givers of life in a very profound way. *The essential role of the male of the species in creating life would be fully recognized and experienced.**

Experiencing the power to give life may well come to replace the need to experience the power of taking life. Killing in war may seem less exciting to men who are excited by and feel intimately connected to giving life.

As we saw in Chapter 3, according to J. Glenn Gray the intense feelings of power, excitement, delight in destruction, and camaraderie that many men experience in war are reactions to the boredom and lack of meaningful goals in their daily lives. What could replace war for men, Gray asks? An important part of the answer lies in "the growth of that preservative love and care which is in strongest opposition to destructive lusts . . ."³²

Gray was writing in the early 1950s, when it was almost unthinkable that one of the deepest forms that love and care could take for a man would be a profound and ongoing involvement in the rearing of his children.

Men who are guided by the values of the masculine mystique find it difficult to develop deep emotional bonds not only with their wives and children, but also with other men. The hollow quality of their lives is then alleviated by the excitement and camaraderie of war.

Men who are deeply emotionally connected to their children—as well as their wives and friends—will be more reluctant to send their sons and their friends' sons off to war, or to go to war themselves.

Kyle Pruett tells us about a Mr. Blue (not his real name), who after the birth of his son decided to give up one of his favorite activities, motorcycle riding. He told his wife: "It's just too crazy to go out there now that I have a kid. It feels nuts to be bombing around the streets just asking people to bump you off like that."³³

Mr. Blue's reaction will be familiar to many women who after

* Another likely benefit would be a closer connection in men's minds between the sexual act, procreation, and nurturant fathering. For many men, sex has much more to do with power and aggression than with love and procreation. The use of the word "fuck" as an insult, or as a synonym for being abused, attests to this, as do statistics on rape. For some boys—especially in our ghettos—impregnating girls is a sign of sexual prowess and manhood. The interest in their offspring stops at that.

becoming mothers and experiencing how utterly dependent their children are on them become far more concerned with their own safety.

It seems likely that fully nurturant fatherhood would imbue many men with a newfound sense of responsibility that would be passed on to their sons. (An increase in responsibility and concern with future generations would also, in all likelihood, make men less prone to engage in the destruction of the environment.)

WOMEN AS GODDESSES AND WITCHES

Men kill each other in staggering numbers in wars, in gang warfare, in random criminal acts, but there is also a form of male violence that is directed specifically at women.

In 1989 28 percent of all female murder victims were slain by husbands or boyfriends; there were 94,504 *reported* rapes. About 1.8 million women are assaulted by their husbands every year.

Women are frequently the victims of what would appear to be the most painful types of abandonment. Young women are often left by husbands or boyfriends who refuse to take any economic or other responsibility for their young children. Older women are often cast aside when their husbands become interested in younger women. Yet as newspaper headlines and statistics attest, *it is jilted men who cannot deal with abandonment*. It is they who with regularity kill their ex-spouses or girlfriends. Jean Harris, who was convicted of killing her lover, Dr. Herman Tarnower, is one of the few exceptions. For every Jean Harris there are hundreds of male murderers. Within a recent period of one week, three Long Island women were murdered by their ex-husbands.

Why is there such an extraordinary discrepancy between males and females in crimes of passion? Why do so many men batter their wives and girlfriends? Why do so many men experience such intense rage *at women*?

One factor is the adherence to traditional views on male and female sex roles. A man who believes that males are naturally dominant and females submissive will not only feel deeply hurt if his wife or girlfriend leaves him or if she does not submit to his wishes, but he will also experience her behavior as a humiliating insult to his manhood.

Another part of the answer lies in the fact that women take care of children from birth. At the deepest psychic level, the completely helpless, dependent baby experiences the person who fulfills its needs as all-powerful. Since even the most caring mother is unable to fulfill all of her baby's needs, the mother is experienced alternately as Goddess and Witch.* *It follows that as long as solely women fulfill the needs of young children, men's emotional reactions to women will be overdetermined.* If Freud's observation that repressed emotions influence behavior on an unconscious level and often in an intensified and diffuse way is correct, then it would follow that the boy who has repressed very strong feelings of early rage against his mother will as an adult be influenced by these feelings in his relations with women.

If the little boy is reared by both parents, he does not have to switch identifications in order to become a man, and so there is less need for him to repress his emotions. He carries fewer undealt-with early feelings of anger, love, and dependency. The object of such feelings as remain is no longer the mother alone. He is also likely to be more empathic, which decreases the probability of his being violent.

At the deepest psychic level, men would no longer experience women as the *sole* omnipotent life-giving figures of their infancy and early childhood. Each child's psyche would contain Goddesses and Gods, Witches and Satans. But with less early repression, these feelings would be less intense in the adult male personality. Fathers' involvement in nurturance would lead to less anger and violence on the part of the son in yet another way. A boy whose mother is unloving and neglectful of his needs is much more likely to develop strong feelings of rage against her than is a boy whose mother is loving and caring. Given how extraordinarily demanding child-rearing is, it is the exceptional woman who as sole caregiver will be able to fulfill her child's emotional and physical needs satisfactorily. Nurturant male participation in child-rearing would tend to decrease unconscious rage against women by making it easier for women to satisfy their children's needs.

A woman who is completely without emotional or financial

* Psychoanalyst Melanie Klein was the first to focus attention on the baby's experience of its caretaker as all-powerful and the ensuing split in the child's psyche between the good and the bad mother.

support from her child's father has the hardest task and runs the greatest risk of incurring her son's rage.

In his research on hyperaggressive children, psychologist Brent Willock has found that often the emotional and physical abuse that these children have experienced results from having mothers "who became overwhelmed and depressed by stressful life circumstances combined with a lack of emotional support (poor marital relationship or none at all, lack of extended family etc.)"³⁴

Some mothers seem to be displacing onto a son the rage they feel against the boy's father, and against their own abusive non-nurturing fathers.

When I visited a Parenting Class for teenage mothers at Manhattan's West Side High School, Marie Bronshvag, who teaches the class, told me beforehand that single teenage mothers abandoned by their boyfriends "often take it out on their sons; the sons then take it out on their girlfriends."

The girls' anger at their boyfriends, at their fathers, and at men in general was highly visible in the class I observed. One student started making fun of a girl she knew who "brags on a niggah all the time—he's my man; he loves me." The girls all laughed at this girl's naïveté and stupidity. "Some girls are so dumb," a few of them chanted. They nodded their heads as someone commented, "They have to learn on their own."

After listening to some of their stories, I began to understand the depth of their negative feelings. In one case the girl's boyfriend started going out with a friend of hers when she was seven months pregnant. She told the class that her subsequent boyfriend in a fit of irrational jealousy "kicked my door in—after that I left him." Another girl described how her boyfriend punched her out of jealousy. "Some men is crazy," she concluded. The girls all seemed to agree that irrational jealousy was a major problem in their men. One girl was so angry at her child's father that she said, "If he comes near [my baby] I kill him—it's too late." Another girl's father "beat the shit out of my mother for drugs; he was gonna sell me when I was three months old." She announced, "I hate mens; I'm plannin' to be a butch."

Another common tale was that of the boyfriend who encouraged the girl not to use contraceptives or not to have an abortion because he wanted a child. He promised that he would stay

around and help, but once the baby was born and his manhood proven, he disappeared.

When I asked the girls if they thought these experiences and angry feelings had any influence on how they felt about their sons, one girl said, "Some people do treat them mean 'cause they come out lookin' like their father." Some of the other girls nodded their heads in agreement.

After speaking to Les Willis about his program for teenage fathers I thought of how different these young women might feel, and how different their children's lives might be, if their boyfriends had been contacted shortly after impregnating them, and had been recruited to join a fathers' group in which they were encouraged to give emotional and physical support to their pregnant girlfriends, and to be present at their children's birth. What if their boyfriends had been persuaded that nurturing one's child is not effeminate, and had been helped to get jobs and to support their children?

DECREASING VIOLENCE BY INCREASING NURTURANCE

If we want to effect a *fundamental and long-lasting change* with respect to violence, if we want it to become an occasional aberration instead of part of our everyday lives, then coparenting must be fully accepted and encouraged.

This is not to say that in every family mother and father must share child-rearing equally. As coparenting increasingly becomes the norm, the norm for male behavior will change. Empathy, emotional connectedness, concern for others, will come to be accepted as masculine qualities. This will lead to a significant decrease in men battering their wives and children. Fathers will no longer feel compelled to treat their sons roughly in order to make sure they become "real men," nor will they tolerate violent behavior in them. *These changes would have a profound influence on the behavior of all men, including those who do not fully share parenting and those who never become fathers.*

While the number of young fathers who play an important nurturant role in raising their children has increased in recent years, there has, unfortunately, also been a trend in the opposite direction. In the last forty years there has been an enormous

increase in the percentage of unmarried women giving birth. Among white women it is now over 16 percent; among African-American women, over 62 percent. While some unmarried fathers are involved in raising their children, these statistics nevertheless indicate a significant decrease in paternal involvement. Divorce rates remain high, and for many fathers divorce leads to very little or no contact with their sons.

If we adopt the kinds of recommendations made in the following chapters with respect to teaching child-rearing and conflict resolution in our schools, and presenting boys with pro-social, nurturant male role models in the media and in their toys, we would begin to reverse these trends.

5

“You Can’t Trust Men with Kids” and Other Objections Answered

“Thank God men aren’t more involved in child-rearing! Child-molesting and battering rates are bad enough already. Imagine what it would be like if they spent as much time with kids as women do!” This comment was made by a woman after a talk I gave on men and child-rearing.

The age-old assumption is that men, lacking some biologically based nurturing instinct, are incapable of connecting emotionally with infants and children the way women do. The care they would give their children would be at best inferior to that given by mothers, and at worst it would include child-battering or child-molesting. Statistics seem to lend weight to the idea that

More than four years have gone by since I began to work on this book. During that period, there has been an increase of over 19 percent in the rate of violent crime.* The violence has become increasingly haphazard and senseless. Between late July and mid-October 1990, eight children fourteen years old or younger were killed by random gunfire in New York City. "Your Sneakers or Your Life" is the title of the cover story on the May 13, 1990, issue of *Sports Illustrated*. The article describes how an increasing number of boys mug or murder their peers in order to get a pair of expensive sneakers or a coveted jacket bearing sports insignia. In Dallas, Texas, when ten current and former high school athletes were sentenced to prison for armed robbery, it turned out that their motives included "extra money for prom night" and "trips to an amusement park, food and athletic shoes."¹

One would think that in light of this further escalation, every effort would be made to socialize boys so as to decrease violence. But this is not the case.

The atavistic values of the masculine mystique continue to be reinforced in most areas of entertainment, as well as in some sports.

* While the increase in violent crime is due in part to the epidemic of drug use and drug dealing in recent years, the tendency, on the part of some, to see violent crime as *primarily* related to our current drug problem is misguided. Our violent crime rates were already extremely high in the early eighties, before the widespread introduction of crack.

Not only are fathers not being encouraged to play a major role in nurturant child-rearing, thus denying their sons nonviolent, caring masculine role models, but many boys are being deprived of adequate mothering. Most working mothers must conform to a marketplace designed for men with homemaker wives. This leaves millions of children unattended and emotionally deprived—a good breeding ground for anger and violence. Inadequate day care compounds the situation. Divorce leaves many women impoverished and makes child-rearing even more difficult for them. In the last forty years there has been a sixfold increase in the percentage of women giving birth who are unmarried. Very little is being done to change this or to encourage divorced or unmarried fathers to remain involved with and financially responsible for their children. With all due respect to “The Cosby Show” and a few other exceptions, the primary images of manhood projected by the media and reinforced by toy manufacturers have nothing to do with being a loving, nurturant father.

The increase in children deprived of fathering, the crisis in child care, and the creation of a culture of violence have gone hand in hand with a breakdown of moral values that emphasized personal and social responsibility, caring for and respecting others. While these values were seen as operating mainly in the personal realm—women guarded them and transmitted them to children while men went out into the “dog eat dog” world to earn a living—they did have some tempering effect on the world of men. Bribery and money scandals are nothing new, but they have reached new heights in recent years both on Wall Street and in government.

Prep school boys and high school football players who go on robbery sprees when they need some extra money are a recent phenomenon, as are high school boys who kill a classmate to see what it feels like.

Men who value money and power above all think nothing of hiring six-year-olds to help them sell drugs, or machine-gunning their rivals in drug wars that often take the lives of innocent bystanders as well.

The situation is aggravated by the ready availability of almost any weapon imaginable to boys and men who are raised to be violent. With two hundred million guns and seventy million gun

owners in the United States, our current situation is analogous to making matches easily available to known pyromaniacs. This availability of weapons is facilitated by many men who seem to experience any form of gun control as emasculating.

Our government continues to misappropriate billions in taxpayers' money for military use. According to Robert Costello, the Pentagon's top procurement official in the late 1980s, 20 to 30 percent of defense expenditures for procurement of weapons and armed forces operations and purchasing “could be saved through the application of fundamental changes in procurement practices and . . . quality management principles.”² In 1989, former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara estimated that our annual military budget could be cut in half without any threat to our national security. At the same time, our national security is *genuinely* threatened by internal violence, drug use, and illiteracy. Programs geared toward helping children are regularly rejected for lack of funds, yet a small fraction of our close to three-hundred-billion-dollar annual military budget would help us begin to raise physically and mentally healthy, well-educated children who would genuinely be able to say no to drugs and to violence. This neglect goes hand in hand with the lack of recognition of the enormous importance of child-rearing as reflected in the \$4.55 an hour earned by day-care center employees in 1987. Child-care workers earn less than parking-lot attendants or animal caretakers.

Everywhere there is homophobia, the fear that if we don't raise boys who are tough and tearless, they will be gay or at the very least wimpish. There is an abysmal failure of the imagination here, as if our choice were between John Wayne and Mr. Milquetoast. It is as if we cannot imagine boys and men who are strong, courageous, curious, and adventurous without being violent and obsessed with domination and power.

Instead of moving beyond an outdated and dangerous concept of masculinity, our society has encouraged the escalation of the masculine mystique's violent content. We have come a long way from the 1950s when the pressure to prove manhood tended to take the form of going to a hooker at age sixteen or seventeen, bragging about “scoring” with girls, making the football team, or “borrowing” mom or dad's car for a joy ride. In Harlem, according to Claude Brown's autobiography,

Manchild in the Promised Land, it often meant more, perhaps stealing and conning, but not the random, senseless assault or murder of the 1970s and 80s.

More than any other group, African-American males are negatively affected by the values of the masculine mystique. As we saw in Chapter 11, men at the bottom of the social hierarchy, without other outlets for achieving dominance and power, are the most likely to prove manhood through violence. This tendency has been exacerbated in the last few decades by the enormous increase in African-American teenage girls having babies. Our inner cities are now filled with millions of fatherless boys who are extremely susceptible to "hypermasculinity" and the values of the masculine mystique. Since the mid to late eighties, an increasing number of teenage girls and women in ghetto areas have become addicted to cheap and readily available drugs. Their sons, often born addicted and then emotionally and physically neglected or battered, are at an even greater risk for violence than the other boys. The mass media furnish them with endless images of violent males.

While poor, fatherless boys are especially likely to be affected, these images influence boys of all races and social classes who are entertained by sociopathic and sadistic role models such as slasher film "heroes" Freddy Krueger and Jason, as well as Rambo. Freddy Krueger even has a fan club; children proudly wear T-shirts portraying their favorite sadistic sociopath. Behavior that would have been unthinkable repugnant twenty-five years ago is now seen over and over again on the screen.

A teacher at a good junior high school in a middle- to upper-middle-class suburb recently told me how disturbed she was by her students' reaction to a social studies classroom discussion about alleged cannibalism in Jamestown, Virginia, in the early seventeenth century; a few students had seen a film on TV that depicted it as having taken place during a time of intense starvation. "They—especially the boys—weren't horrified or repelled at all, they were excited by it and wanted to get all the details. Were the people cooked or raw? How did they cut them up?"

I was not surprised by her story. It makes sense that boys who grow up surrounded by the gore of slasher films, the xenophobia of professional wrestling, the rapist lyrics of some heavy metal and rap groups, not to mention the endless violence on

TV and in toys, will become so desensitized that nothing becomes unthinkable in terms of gore and violence.

Is there really something unmanly about a boy or young man who is repelled by luridly violent films, who does not enjoy breaking bones and rupturing muscles—his own or others'—whether it be in the school yard, on the street, or on the football field? Is there really something unmanly in choosing to seek adventure by biking cross-country, going white water rafting, fighting forest fires, or volunteering for the Peace Corps in South America or Africa? We desperately need new heroes and new myths for our boys—heroes whose sense of adventure, courage, and strength are linked with caring, empathy, and altruism.

Women have much to gain from such a change. The present definition of masculinity leads many of them to admire and reinforce just those traits that are conducive to rape, wife abuse, child abuse, and murder.

There is the fear that if boys and girls are raised more alike, if boys are encouraged to play house and push baby carriages and make believe they are daddies, then we will obliterate all but the obvious physiological differences between men and women. As we have seen, such fears were expressed in the nineteenth century when women began to enter universities and wanted the vote. Today's women are not just like men, nor is there any reason to believe that if we cease raising boys by the values of the masculine mystique they will become just like girls. In fact, recent brain research, as well as some of the studies discussed in Chapter 3, suggests that there may well be differences in the male and female brain which will ensure some emotional, cognitive, and behavioral variance between males and females as a group, under any conditions.

As we approach the twenty-first century, we face a choice. We can begin to control violent behavior, both on a national and international level, or we can continue to let it control and perhaps ultimately destroy us. We have enough knowledge to be able to significantly decrease violence, which is not to say that our knowledge is definitive or that we don't have much to learn. Just as the work of research physicians ensures progress in the control of physical diseases, continued research in the social and

biological sciences could ensure progress in the control of the social disease of violence.*

As of now we can, with some assurance, make the following assertions:

1. *The traditional "either/or" debate between nature and nurture with respect to violence is simple-minded and obsolete.* Human behavior grows out of a complex interaction between a biologically given potential and environmental factors. If human beings had no biological potential for violence, it could never develop regardless of external conditions. On the other hand, the environment plays an all-important role in encouraging or discouraging this potential.

Equally simplistic is the notion that any *one* factor will *necessarily* cause an individual to act violently. Any serious study of violence—or of any other aspect of human conduct—is limited to researching and analyzing significant, *not universal*, correlations between behaviors.

2. *The behavior of human beings is extremely malleable.* Anthropological studies reveal the enormous variability of human behavior and values in different cultures. Studies in psychology and sociology show us how early childhood experiences, family, peer groups, and culture mold the individual. History reveals that radical changes have taken place within a given culture in a very short period of time: extremely violent groups have become peaceful, and vice versa.

We have the clearest example of the malleability of human beings within our own country. Boys raised in Hutterite communities start out just the same as other American boys. They have their conflicts and brawls. The community has its share of boys who suffer from attention deficit disorder and/or learning disabilities, and they are especially difficult to deal with. But Hutterite boys are raised to value community, charity, love, and nonviolence. Parents and teachers are intent on helping them resolve their quarrels nonviolently. Toy guns are not allowed. Play with make-believe guns is discouraged. Hutterite children's TV viewing is limited to carefully chosen videocassettes. Child-

* The present separation of academic disciplines with very little interdisciplinary contact is an impediment to progress. Researchers often seem unaware of data relevant to their work but arising in other fields.

rearing is a focal point of community life. Fathers spend large amounts of time with their children.

Ian Winter, who is the principal at the Hutterian Brethren community school in Rifton, New York, tells me that physical fights do very rarely break out among thirteen- or fourteen-year-old boys. But by the time they are sixteen, the boys have learned to resolve their conflicts nonviolently. Domestic violence and criminal behavior are unheard of.

Benjamin Zablocki, professor of sociology at Rutgers and author of *The Joyful Community*, a study of the Hutterite Brethren, confirmed, in an interview, that violence is virtually unheard of among them.

3. *Human beings, especially men, have a significant potential for violent behavior.* A few of the twentieth-century manifestations of this potential have been two world wars that took tens of millions of lives, genocides of Armenians and Jews, the slaughter by their fellow countrymen of millions of Russian peasants and Cambodians. As I write, human beings all over the world are being beaten, tortured, and killed. This suggests that *if we are to significantly and lastingly decrease violence, it can only be done through an ongoing relentless effort. For short of widespread genetic mutations, the potential for violence, bigotry, and xenophobia will always be with us.*

We must acknowledge fully that many normal, otherwise decent people are capable of committing, either directly or indirectly, the most cruel and violent acts. Only if we do so will we be able to recognize and act on the enormous importance of encouraging empathy and discouraging xenophobia and bigotry in our children, and of teaching them the true courage and integrity of standing up for humane, altruistic, moral convictions and feelings regardless of external pressures or monetary rewards.

If we take these steps, if they become an integral part of early child-rearing, and a mandatory part of our educational system, then we may begin to move away from what political philosopher Hannah Arendt refers to as "the banality of evil."

In her book *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, Arendt concluded that Nazi henchman Adolf Eichmann, who shared responsibility for the deaths of millions of Jews, was "normal." Again and again Eichmann explained to the Israeli court that put him on trial that he was only doing his duty. Arendt writes that Eichmann suffered from a "lack of imagination." He "*never realized what he was doing* . . . It was sheer thoughtlessness . . . that predisposed him to

become one of the greatest criminals of that period."³ She comments that "such remoteness from reality and such thoughtlessness can wreak more havoc than all the evil instincts taken together . . ."⁴

In a study of Greek military policemen who served as torturers during the period from 1967 to 1974, when Greece was ruled by a right-wing military regime, researchers found no evidence of any abusiveness, sadism, or authoritarianism in these men's previous histories. When interviewed, the men were all leading normal lives. The researchers are convinced that certain kinds of training can lead "decent people to commit acts, often over long periods of time, that otherwise would be unthinkable for them. Similar techniques can be found in military training all over the world."⁵

These findings and Arendt's analysis of Eichmann are borne out by Stanley Milgram's study on obedience. As we have seen, a majority of Milgram's subjects continued to give what they thought were increasingly high electric shocks to a "victim" even after the victim screamed in pain, and in spite of the fact that they were free to disobey the psychologist's orders. Many more subjects disobeyed when the victim was in the same room than when the victim could only be heard but not seen.

We do not need to look at laboratory studies, or at studies of torturers or people like Adolf Eichmann, to become aware of any of this.

John Floyd is a friend of mine, a perfectly decent, nice guy. Yet when he served in Vietnam, John enjoyed the excitement and feeling of power of dropping bombs on Vietnamese and Laotians whom he thought of as "Commie enemies" and could not see from the height of his plane. It was only after his trip to Hiroshima that he began to realize what he had done.

When I interviewed former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara I found him to be a thoughtful, appealing man, deeply concerned about the danger of nuclear destruction, and about the plight of poor African-Americans. Several former friends of McNamara's have corroborated my positive impression. Some of them are still shocked at the thought that Robert McNamara shares major responsibility for the *unnecessary* deaths of over a million Americans and Vietnamese.

Neither Floyd nor McNamara seems to have thought of the

people whose lives they took as anything but abstractions. As a result, they were devoid of empathy or, as Hannah Arendt put it, they suffered from a "lack of imagination."

The enormous human potential for emotional detachment, denial, and lack of empathy is increased further by modern technology. Millions can now be killed without any direct contact between perpetrators and victims. This makes it even easier for decent men raised on the values of the masculine mystique to commit horrendous acts of violence.

Boys suffering from the kinds of physical conditions described in Chapter 3 will always require special attention and services, since many of them are even more prone than the rest of the population to engage in violent behavior. We must develop techniques for discouraging violence in them from the earliest age. The demise of the masculine mystique would ensure that the tendency on the part of some of them to reckless and violent behavior would in no way be admired and emulated by their peers. Instead it would be viewed as immature and problematic.

While many normal men can be recruited to participate in mass murder, it is nevertheless worth investigating whether inordinate numbers of men belonging to groups such as the Nazi brownshirts, the Haitian Tonton Macoute death squads, and the Ku Klux Klan suffered from some of these disabilities as children. More generally we need more research to determine the psychological profiles and backgrounds of the men who start and seek out these groups. Understanding will help us in taking the proper preventive measures.

4. *Human beings, male and female, have a significant potential for empathy and altruism.* According to recent studies, shortly after they have reached the age of one, virtually all children begin to have some level of understanding of other people's experiences and attempt to help or comfort the person who is in distress. From age one and a half to age two, there is a great increase in altruistic behavior. As children get older there is more variation in their behavior. Researchers have found that in older children the degree of empathy and altruism is linked to maternal and paternal behavior. As we saw in Chapter 4, nurturant involvement in child-rearing on the part of fathers is linked to increased and enduring empathy in their children. Studies of mothers and children indicate that when mothers are themselves empathic,

when they make their children aware emotionally of how hurtful behavior affects others, when they establish principled moral prohibitions against hurting others, then children will tend to be empathic and altruistic.⁶

Among adults, these empathic, altruistic tendencies manifest themselves in a variety of ways.

During World War II, in Le Chambon, a small French town near Switzerland, villagers, led by their Protestant minister and his wife, risked their lives to hide Jews from the Nazis. As a result, thousands of people were saved.

In the United States, Americans with low incomes, for whom the tax deduction incentive is not a factor, give a larger percentage of their hard-earned incomes to charity than do wealthy Americans.

It is not at all unusual for human beings to spontaneously jump into a river or in front of a car to save the life of a complete stranger, often at great personal risk.

The upshot of all this is that we can, if we want to, decrease violence. Human beings are born with a vast array of often conflicting potential behaviors. The environment they grow up in determines which of these behaviors will become dominant in their lives. It is nothing short of tragic that while the results of research findings are used regularly to prevent physical illness, the findings of the social sciences are rarely used in preventive programs. Changes in hygiene, the creation of vaccines, and more recently recommendations for dietary changes play a major role in preventing illness and saving lives. But there are analogous measures that could be taken to prevent the social disease of violence.

American boys must be protected from a culture of violence that exploits their worst tendencies by reinforcing and amplifying the atavistic values of the masculine mystique. Our country was not created so that future generations could maximize profit at any cost. It was created with humanistic, egalitarian, altruistic goals. We must put our enormous resources and talents to the task of creating a children's culture that is consistent with these goals.

Notes

See bibliography for more detailed references.

Introduction

1. See p. 319 for violent crime statistics and sources.
2. Lee made this statement at a 1986 Freeze Voter meeting in New York City. Sagan's comments were made at the 1986 Shalom Center Annual Awards Dinner.

Chapter 1 When Male Behavior Is the Norm . . .

1. For sources of male/female violent crime statistics, see Statistics section. Information about women assaulted by husbands or boyfriends is based on the author's 1987 interview with David Finkelhor, associate director of the Family Research Laboratory at the University of New Hampshire.
2. Aristotle, *Politics* 1254 b. 7, Tr. B. Jowett.
3. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Q. 70, Art. 3, vol. 38, Marcus L  f  bure, trans.
4. "Some Psychical Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction Between the Sexes" (1925) in The Standard Edition of the *Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, edited by James Strachey, pp. 257-58.
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6. Arendt, *On Violence*, p. 8.
7. James, "The Moral Equivalent of War" in *Essays on Faith and Morals* by William James, p. 325.
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9. Rothenberg, "Out on a Limb," in *Fortune News*, Spring 1983.
10. Ibid.

Fatherhood is more than paying child support

Unmarried, inner-city men try to give what they can to their kids

By Michel Marriot
The New York Times

BALTIMORE — For Andre Sherman, holidays too often serve as painful reminders that he has failed to become the kind of father he believes he should be.

At age 32, Sherman acknowledges six children whose ages range from 8 to 16 years. They were born to four different women, none of whom he married or promised long-term assistance. Each of the mothers receives welfare payments to help her raise the children, whom Sherman now says he fathered impulsively and recklessly.

Yet, he cites fond memories: a recent train trip to Philadelphia with his 12-year-old son, playful romps in a city park with the youngest children, and the fondest memory of them all — the day he learned, at age 16, that he had first impregnated a girl.

"I was one of the happiest guys around," he said as he rubbed the stubble on his chin. "On top of the world."

In rapid succession, Sherman fathered more children. At one point 12 years ago, three women were simultaneously pregnant with his children.

'Wild like all kids'

"I was wild like all kids," he offered by way of explanation.

Now, Sherman, who has been unemployed for much of the last year, is searching for work, in part so he can begin paying the \$60 a week he owes in child support.

The extent to which the nation's welfare rolls can be trimmed may depend, in large part, on whether other absent fathers, like Sherman, choose to support their children. In 1990, 54 percent of the children on welfare had parents who never married; an additional 33 percent had parents who had divorced or separated, according to data compiled by the House Ways and Means Committee. Nearly half of all families headed by single mothers lived in poverty.

"One parent should not be expected to do the job of two," said David T. Ellwood, a poverty expert at Harvard University. "In a single-parent family, children need support from both parents."

Adding to the ranks of the poor, and making the question of child support all the more pressing, is a soaring rate of out-of-wedlock births. Thirty years ago, 1 in every 40 white children was born to an unmarried mother; today it is 1 in 5, according to federal data.

Among black people, 2 of 3 children are born to an unmarried mother; 30 years ago the figure was 1 in 5. Studies show that never-married mothers are far more likely than divorced mothers to become chronically dependent on welfare.

Like many other unwed fathers, Sherman said he fathered children in his adolescence with little consideration for the implications. For years, he said, he held a number of modest-paying jobs and tried, when he could, to give the mothers of his children money or milk to help out. He said he also tried to maintain some sort of fatherly relationships with his children.

Tenuous fatherhood

But the ties were tenuous, he said, made tense by his unexplained absences of weeks at a time and too many broken promises. Now Sherman says he wants to become a more traditional father, more directly involved in his children's lives, a breadwinner who rescues his children from the welfare rolls.

But he is finding that becoming a responsible parent after so many years is terribly difficult, financially and emotionally.

Sherman, a former construction worker with only a high-school education, searches almost every day for a good-paying job. With the exception of occasional temporary work, he has been unemployed for the last year.

"I've got to get a job because I don't want my children to want for nothing," Sherman said as he sat in the city's employment office. "Their Christmas would be starting the day I got that job."

He acknowledged, too, that he must find gainful work to forestall the looming threat of jail for nonpayment of child support.

Only a minority of unmarried mothers who receive welfare have child-support orders in place, and of those who do, mon-

'I've got to get a job because I don't want my children to want for nothing. Their Christmas would be starting the day I got that job.'

— Andre Sherman, 32, who has fathered six children out of wedlock

ey is seldom collected. Federal laws on child support have been toughened in recent years. Many states are demanding that mothers who receive welfare name the fathers of their children, and some states are using blood and genetic tests to establish paternity and issue support orders.

The growing national awareness of child support was evident in Gov. Bill Clinton's speech accepting the Democratic presidential nomination last week, when he said of fathers who owe child support, "We're going to make you pay."

Job prospects are key

But as the stories of Sherman and other young men here in the poorer neighborhoods of Baltimore show, the question of child support is enmeshed in the job prospects of fathers. And it is entangled in the stormy relationships between men and women in impoverished environments where sexual liaisons are often casual and regarded as therapeutic, where bearing children out of wedlock has become the rule.

Jesse B., a 36-year-old father of a 14-year-old boy, said he and his son are "not even close," because of long-brewing troubles between himself and the boy's mother, whom he did not marry.

"I know I didn't spend the right time with him," said Jesse, who spoke on condition that his full name not be used. He said he is not proud of the fact that "I just wasn't there" for his son.

The core of the conflict between him and the boy's mother, he said, was the mother's decision not to give his son his last name. The insult and disappointment, Jesse said, were too much to bear, and so he stayed away for years, doing little to support the boy.

"I know this was my child," he said, "and yet she was calling him by somebody else's name. It just didn't make me feel like doing nothing."

So far, "downtown," as he calls the child-support and social-service bureaucracy, has not intervened.

Ronnie Carter's 3-year-old daughter also does not have his last name. Worse, said Carter, a 26-year-old security guard, he did not even see his daughter or know her first name for the first 20 months of her life.

He eventually discovered that she existed when he happened upon the sister of his former lover while looking for a job site.

"Where's Denise?" Carter said he inquired. The sister responded, "Ashley needs a bed," he said. At that moment he learned he had a daughter and that her name was Ashley.

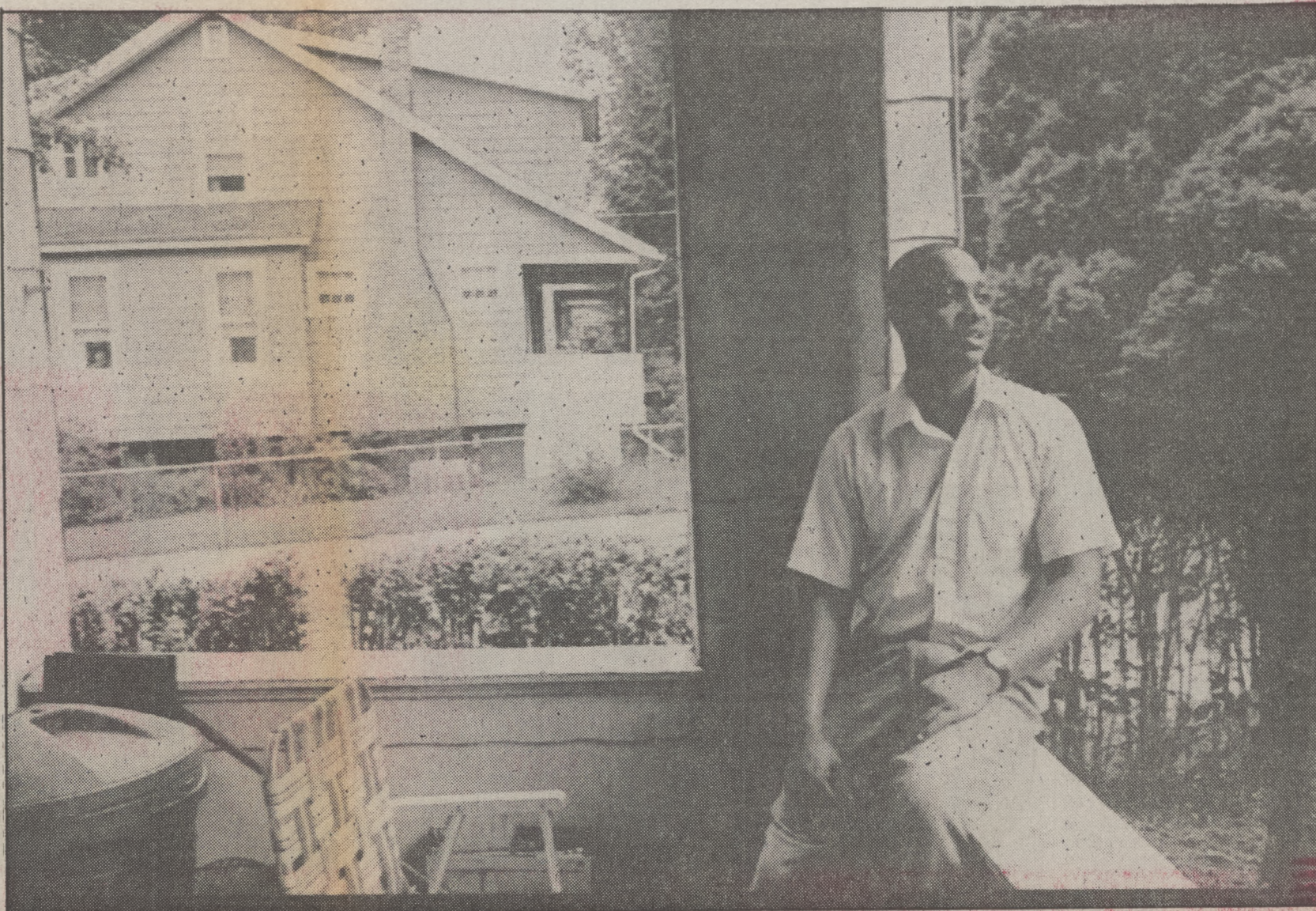
The relationship between Carter and his former girlfriend developed while the two worked for Baltimore Goodwill. It ended soon after the woman discovered that she was pregnant and she decided that he should move out of the apartment they shared because Carter was an alcoholic.

Despite leaving his name, new address and Social Security number with the woman at the time of the breakup, Carter said, he was never told when their baby was born.

Carter said he tried looking for his 36-year-old former girlfriend, who receives welfare payments and food stamps, but she had moved with no forwarding address, and she had not pressed for support. Carter said he learned, though, that his daughter's birth certificate listed him as her father.

Once he located the woman and his daughter, he said, he threw himself into being part of Ashley's life, taking care of her on Saturday afternoons, frequently buying her presents and clothes.

Describing himself as a "drunk" for 12 years, Carter said



Photos by The New York Times

For almost two years Ronnie Carter did not even know he had a child, and he is having trouble gaining visitation rights.



Andre Sherman, visiting three of his children, finds that becoming a responsible parent after so many years is difficult. Clockwise from left, Derrick, Eric, Sherman and Anthony.

he has been sober for the last year and has changed his life. Part of that new life, he said, had included Ashley and his attempts to support her.

But at the direction of his former girlfriend's mother, Carter said, he has been denied access to his daughter for the last several months. Recently, Carter hired a lawyer to press for visitation rights.

Such stories are not uncommon to Sylvia W. Gundy, district director of Family and Children's Services of Central Maryland, a nonprofit organization.

"We find a lot of fathers involved with their children in ways the general public is not aware of," she said. "Maybe the fathers provide day care so the children's mothers can go to school, go to work."

Social workers say it is unusual for unmarried fathers in the inner cities to abandon their children completely. Even those who are jobless, in jail or addicted to drugs or alcohol often provide some support.

Milk, Pampers from dads

"It might be some milk or Pampers periodically or at holiday time," Gundy said. "We just don't see a lot of fathers who are not active in some way."

Still, intermittent help is not the same as reliable financial support, and it leaves the children without some potential advantages of legal paternity, such as eligibility for medical insurance deriving from the father's employment, Social Security or veterans' benefits and inheritance rights.

"A lot of these guys didn't have good fathering themselves," Gundy said, adding that playing the role of father "is not something that comes automatically."

Yet, becoming a father comes easily for many. Sherman said it was a game he learned to play exceptionally well.

He described himself in his

surrounded by friends of both sexes.

"Every girl on this block wanted me," he said as he sat on the front porch belonging to his 80-year-old aunt, Rosa Sherman, whom he credits with helping to raise him.

In the same neighborhood, another girl would have given him even more offspring, he confided, if she had not had six consecutive abortions at her mother's insistence.

Today, Sherman proudly recognizes each of his four sons and two daughters as his own, but their visits sting him with the realization of his inadequacy.

"My kids ask me for money," Sherman said in a low voice. "I want to give it to them, but I don't have the money to give to them."

Men like Sherman often find themselves torn between their ideals of fatherhood and guilt at having failed to meet them, counselors say.

Learning how to relate

"We must provide these fathers with an opportunity to learn how to relate to their children," said Antonio Carpenter, executive director of the Minority Education Training and Research Organization, a group based in Baltimore that works closely with young, unmarried African-American fathers. He said

unwed fathers who decide after years of neglect to forge closer relationships with their children often face suspicion and a deep well of ill feelings from the children and their mothers.

"There's often an attitude from the mothers and grandmothers expressed in 'You haven't been here; why are you coming here now?'" Carpenter said. Impoverished mothers, he said, often equate a father's lack of financial support with a lack of love for their children.

The issue of having enough money to support a child is "compounded for the African-American male," Carpenter said, referring to the especially high unemployment rate for this group.

In May, the jobless rate in the United States rose to 7.5 percent, the highest in eight years, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The unemployment rate for African Americans was 14.7 percent.

Under child-support laws, Sherman is a criminal. Increasingly pressured by Maryland's office for child support to make his \$60 weekly payment, Sherman has steadily fallen behind. He now owes the state \$13,000. "What am I supposed to do?" he asked recently at the home of his brother. "They keep telling me to come up with money I don't have."

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Northern California: Extensive low clouds near coast, sunny elsewhere. Highs 70's west Bay, 80's east Bay, 90's Central Valley. Weather map and forecasts for other areas, page C3.



Agence France-Presse

Explosion Kills Anti-Mafia Prosecutor in Italy

An explosion yesterday killed Paola Borsellino, the chief prosecutor in Palermo, Sicily, and his bodyguards. Mr. Borsellino had worked on anti-Mafia investigations. Two men examined the damage. Page A3.

In Sarajevo, Ham Radio Is a Witness

By JOHN F. BURNS
Special to The New York Times

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 19 — Like ham radio operators the world over, Ramiz Biscic used to muse about the day when he and his shortwave set would become the pivotal point in a great human drama. Now his musing has turned to reality, but instead of a dream come true he is living a nightmare.

For 15 hours each day Mr. Biscic hunches over his American-made equipment, reaching out to besieged towns across this mountainous republic that have no other way of communicating. What he and a handful of other radio operators here learn, and pass on to other Bosnians and the outside world, is a piecemeal account of the misery the war has brought to tens of thousands of people in towns that have been surrounded by Serbian troops for as long as three and a half months.

Cease-Fire Is the Topic

On Saturday night, as he has every night since early April, Mr. Biscic, a 39-year-old land surveyor, was spinning up and down through the frequencies. He was trying to maintain a link to Gorazde, the only predominantly Muslim town in eastern Bosnia that has not yet been captured by the Serbian nationalist forces. If Gorazde falls, as the Bosnian Government in Sarajevo has predicted it will, many fear there will be little left to distract the Serbian forces from their unrelenting battle for Sarajevo, the capital.

As dusk fell on the hills overlooking the school where he is based in Sarajevo, Mr. Biscic was discussing a cease-fire agreement signed on Friday in London. The accord was signed by the Bosnian Government, whose forces hold Sarajevo, Gorazde, and a dimin-

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In Choppy Russian Economy, A Family Jury-Rigs a Budget

By STEVEN ERLANGER
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, July 17 — The Zverev family is getting by in the new Russia, thank you very much. It's not easy, and the Zverevs get grumpy about the contradictions of the present, which is full of confusion, and nervous about the future — about whether Russia's bet on the West, on democracy and a market economy is going to pay off.

But they are managing, finding ways not just to make more money, but to make their lives more rewarding. And the manner in which they have coped with the radical changes in Russian economic life — far higher prices, but also more possibilities for the even modestly clever — is a testament to the survival of initiative and entrepreneurship under Soviet Communism.

Doing Their Own Thing

The most fundamental changes taking place in Russia are, in a sense, the hidden ones, because they are bubbling up from below, through the thick sludge of Soviet habits and conceptions. Attitudes in Government ministries may not be changing very much, but people like the Zverevs are learn-

Getting By A Family in the New Russia

First of two articles.

ing that they can, and must, take responsibility for their own lives.

The family — a couple on pension and their two married daughters, their husbands and children — was approached as they washed a battered brown Zhiguli Fiat in the courtyard of a Moscow apartment building. After talking among themselves, they agreed to open up their lives to a reporter trying to understand how people are managing in these difficult days of rampant inflation and national reinvention.

"For 70 years, people got paid the same no matter how well they worked," said Natasha S. Stepanov, a 25-year-old mother of two. "Now we live day by day, with everything changing, so you never know what anything will cost. Some want to go back, because it was easier."

She stopped and looked toward her older sister, Nina S. Zverev, 28, who is

Continued on Page A5, Column 1

Fathers Find That Child Support Means Owing More Than Money

By MICHEL MARRIOTT
Special to The New York Times

BALTIMORE — For Andre Sherman, holidays too often serve as painful reminders that he has failed to become the kind of a father he believes he should be.

At age 32, Mr. Sherman acknowledges six children whose ages range from 8 to 16 years. They were born to four different women, none of whom he married or promised long-term assistance. Each of the mothers receives welfare payments to help her raise the children, whom Mr. Sherman now says he fathered impulsively and recklessly.

Yet, he cites fond memories: a recent train trip to Philadelphia with his 12-year-old son, playful romps in a city park with the youngest children, and the fondest memory of them all — the day he learned, at age 16, that he had first impregnated a girl.

"I was one of the happiest guys around," he said as he rubbed the stubble on his chin. "On top of the world."

In rapid succession, Mr. Sherman fathered more children. At one point 12 years ago, three women were simultaneously pregnant with his children.

"I was wild like all kids," he offered by way of explanation.

Now, Mr. Sherman, who has been unemployed for much of the last year, is searching for work, in part so he can begin paying the \$60 a week total he owes in child support.

Born to Welfare

The extent to which the nation's welfare rolls can be trimmed may depend, in large part, on whether other absent fathers, like Mr. Sherman, choose to support their children. In 1990, 54 percent of the children on welfare had parents who never married; an additional 33 percent had parents who had divorced or separated, according to data compiled by the House Ways and Means Committee. Nearly half of all families headed by single mothers lived in poverty.

"One parent should not be expected to do the job of two," said David T. Ellwood, a poverty expert at Harvard University. "In a single-parent family,

7.5 on the Rumor Scale

The two strong earthquakes that struck Southern California last month led seismologists to suspect the "Big One" would occur much sooner than previously thought. But as in a game of telephone, in which a sentence is whispered from ear to ear until it barely resembles the original, scientific reports have deteriorated into wild rumors. "People are really scared," a store clerk says. No need to be, scientists say, over and over.

Article, page A6.

Rethinking Welfare The Absent Father

children need support from both parents."

Adding to the ranks of the poor, and making the question of child support all the more pressing, is a soaring rate of out-of-wedlock births. Thirty years ago, 1 in every 40 white children was born to an unmarried mother; today it is 1 in 5, according to Federal data. Among blacks, 2 of 3 children are born to an unmarried mother; 30 years ago the figure was 1 in 5. Studies show that never-married mothers are far more likely than divorced mothers to become chronically dependent on welfare.

Like many other unwed fathers, Mr. Sherman said he fathered children in his adolescence with little consideration for the implications. For years, he said, he held a number of modest-paying jobs and tried, when he could, to give the mothers of his children money or milk to help out. He said he also tried to maintain some sort of fatherly relationships with his children.

But the ties were tenuous, he said, made tense by his unexplained absences of weeks at a time and too many

Continued on Page A10, Column 1

BAKER SAYS ARABS SHOULD YIELD NEXT

He Seeks a Response to Move by Rabin on Settlements

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN
Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, July 19 — Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d, seeking to revive the stalled Middle East peace talks, said today that now that the Israelis had a new Government that was signaling a willingness to compromise, it was time for the Arabs to do the same.

Hours before Mr. Baker arrived, the new Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, announced that he was suspending all new building of Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip pending a review by the Government of exactly what is being built where.

Baker Sees 'New Possibilities'

Speaking to reporters after his two hours of talks with Mr. Rabin, Mr. Baker hinted that if Mr. Rabin carries out plans to sharply curtail Israeli settlement-building activity in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, the Bush Administration would be more flexible than it was with his predecessor, Yitzhak Shamir, in granting Israel the \$10 billion in housing loan guarantees it has been seeking.

"I think everybody recognizes that the new Israeli Government creates some new possibilities to transform these negotiations and give those negotiations new momentum," Mr. Baker said on his flight to Israel, the first leg of his Middle East swing.

"We have been hearing some different things and different signals coming from this new Israeli Government and we would like to think that we could begin to hear some new and different signals coming from those on the Arab

Continued on Page A5, Column 5

Assembly-Line Amenities For Japan's Auto Workers

By ANDREW POLLACK
Special to The New York Times

KANDA-MACHI, Japan — Move over, Disneyland. Make way for Nissan Human Land, as a company brochure describes the Nissan Motor Company's newest factory.

Here workers toil not in the assembly plant or paint shop, but work happily in the assembly or painting "pavilions." They walk along Palm Street and over Flamingo Bridge. And they eat in an employee cafeteria called the Harbor View Restaurant, with a panoramic view of the loading docks.

These attempts to create what Nissan officials call a "dream factory" attest to a serious problem. At a time when thousands of auto workers in the United States are losing their jobs, Japan's world-beating automobile companies cannot find enough people to fill their factories.

With Japan's rising prosperity, it seems, young people are shunning assembly-line work, which many of them

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MONEY SHORTAGE PUTS BLUE CROSS ON SHAKY GROUND

A DOZEN PLANS IN TROUBLE

Low Reserves to Cover Claims Endanger Health Coverage And Worry Regulators

By ROBERT PEAR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 19 — Blue Cross and Blue Shield has long had a reputation as a well-run nonprofit network of health insurance, but in recent weeks Federal investigators and state regulators have harshly criticized its business practices. They warn that at least a dozen of its member companies have serious financial problems.

The 73 Blue Cross and Blue Shield plans, at least one in each state, cover 68 million people across the country, or one in three Americans with health insurance. Blue Cross originally paid for hospital care, while Blue Shield paid doctors, but they are now consolidated in many states. Most help administer Medicare, paying claims on behalf of the Government to more than 30 million elderly and disabled people.

In recent weeks, Federal investigators and state regulators have uncovered evidence of questionable business practices.

They range from the destruction of unpaid claims and the creation of fictitious prescriptions to the formation of subsidiaries without state approval and the payment of high salaries and pensions to top executives of plans that are nearly insolvent.

15 Plans Being Monitored

Bernard R. Tresnowski, president of the national Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association, said that 15 of the plans were on a watch list and "are being monitored because they don't meet our standards for financial reserves." He refused to identify the 15.

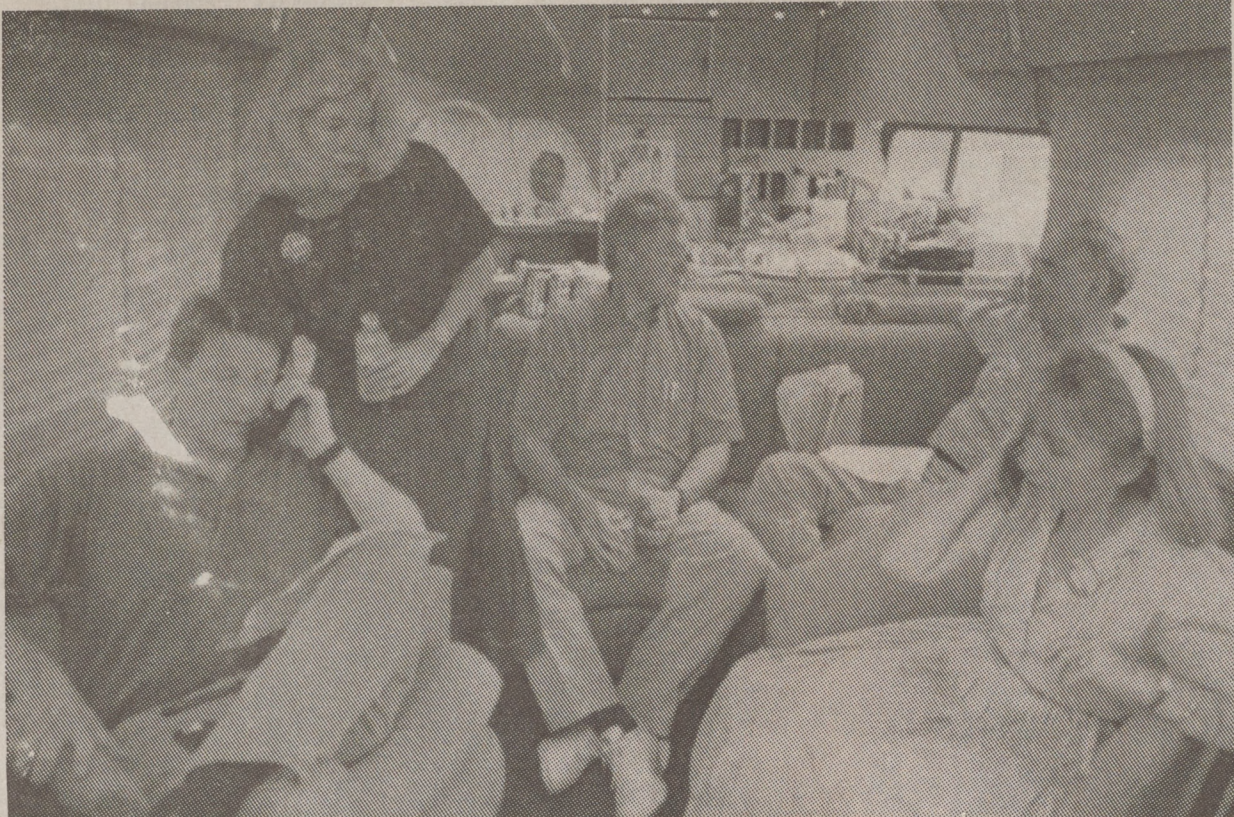
Senator Sam Nunn, a Georgia Democrat and chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, which has been looking into the network, estimates that at least 20 of the plans have financial problems, as measured by the association's own standards.

Blue Cross and Blue Shield officials insist that none of their plans are near insolvency, but if a plan collapses, as happened in West Virginia in 1990, subscribers may be left without insurance, at least temporarily.

Blue Cross and Blue Shield plans differ from other insurers because any surplus remaining after the payment of claims and expenses must be set aside in reserves to help pay future claims. As nonprofit organizations, they do not issue stock or pay dividends. They were exempt from Federal income taxes until 1986, but Congress lifted the exemption after it concluded that many behaved like profit-making insurance companies.

In an interview, Mr. Tresnowski said that state regulators were partly responsible for the problems of the Blue Cross and Blue Shield plans. Under political pressure, he said, they often refused to allow the rate increases needed to build up the companies' reserves. He added that in many states commercial insurers skimmed off young healthy customers, leaving Blue Cross and Blue Shield with the high-

Continued on Page A6, Column 1



Lee Romero/The New York Times

Along for the Ride

Senator Harris Wofford of Pennsylvania joined Bill and Hillary Clinton and Al and Tipper Gore aboard the Democratic ticket's campaign caravan as it made its way through the state this weekend. Page A8.

How Clinton and Gore Shifted Views on Abortion

By FELICITY BARRINGER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 19 — For most of his years as Arkansas Governor, Bill Clinton was a study in reticence on the volatile issue of abortion. But by the time the Democratic convention ended last week, he had found his voice, and was using it to trumpet his support for abortion rights.

His longtime aide Betsey Wright calls the process "evolution." Nancy Myers, spokeswoman for the National Right to Life Committee, calls it "pretty slippery." Adjectives aside, an examination of their statements and actions over the last 15 years shows Mr.

Clinton and his running mate, Senator Al Gore, have clearly shifted their emphasis on abortion-related issues.

They are hardly unique. For many politicians, similar shifts have been the only available substitute for moderation in a debate largely devoid of a middle ground. Former President Ronald Reagan, now an icon of the anti-abortion movement, signed one of the nation's first state laws legalizing abortion as Governor of California. President Bush, also staunchly anti-abortion, was an early supporter of decriminalizing abortion.

The choreography that took Mr. Clinton from the silence and whispers of

the 1980's to the long, clear call of 1992 is captured concisely in successive issues of the National Abortion Rights Action League's annual review of state policies, entitled "Who Decides?"

The 1989 issue, hastily compiled before a Supreme Court ruling that many believed could abolish the rights established in the 1973 Roe v. Wade decision, said Mr. Clinton "refused to state a position on abortion." Ms. Wright responded, "I don't know why they said that," saying she had sent many newspaper clippings.

The next time around, said a former

Continued on Page C2, Column 1

Unwed Fathers Finding Child Support Requires More Than Just Money

Continued From Page A1

broken promises. Now Mr. Sherman says he wants to become a more traditional father, more directly involved in his children's lives, a breadwinner who rescues his children from the welfare rolls.

But he is finding that becoming a responsible parent after so many years is terribly difficult, financially and emotionally.

Mr. Sherman, a former construction worker with a high-school education, searches almost every day for a good-paying job. With the exception of occasional temporary work, he has been unemployed for years.

"I've got to get a job because I don't want my children to want for nothing," Mr. Sherman said as he sat in the city's employment office. "Their Christmas would be starting the day I got that job."

He acknowledged, too, that he must find gainful work to forestall the looming threat of jail for nonpayment of child support.

Pride and Anger

Rejected Fathers Refuse Support

Only a small minority of unmarried mothers who receive welfare have child-support orders in place, and of those who do, money is seldom collected. Federal laws on child support have been toughened in recent years. Many states are demanding that mothers who receive welfare name the fathers of their children, and some states are using blood and genetic tests to establish paternity and issue support orders.

The growing national awareness of child support was evident in Gov. Bill Clinton's speech accepting the Democratic Presidential nomination last week, when he said of fathers who owe child support, "We're going to make you pay."

But as the stories of Mr. Sherman and other young men here in the poorer neighborhoods of Baltimore show, the question of child support is enmeshed in the job prospects of fathers. And it is entangled in the stormy relationships between men and women in impoverished environments where sexual liaisons are often casual and regarded as therapeutic, where bearing children out of wedlock has become the rule.

Jesse B., a 36-year-old father of a 14-year-old boy, said he and his son were "not even close" because of long-brewing troubles between him and the boy's mother, whom he had not married.

A Daughter Discovered

"I know I didn't spend the right time with him," said Jesse, who spoke on condition that his full name not be used. He said he is not proud of the fact that "I just wasn't there" for his son.

The core of the conflict between him and the boy's mother, he said, was her decision not to give his son his last name. The insult and disappointment, Jesse said, were too much to bear, and so he stayed away for years, doing little to support the boy.

"I know this was my child," he said, "and yet she was calling him by somebody else's name. It just didn't make me feel like doing nothing."

So far, "downtown," as he calls the child-support and social-service bureaucracy, has not intervened.

Ronnie Carter's 3-year-old daughter also does not have his last name. Worse, said Mr. Carter, a 26-year-old security guard, he did

not even see his daughter or know her first name for the first 20 months of her life.

He eventually discovered that she existed when he happened upon the sister of his former lover while looking for a job site.

"Where's Denise?" Mr. Carter said he inquired. The sister responded, "Ashley needs a bed," he said. At that moment he learned he had a daughter and that her name was Ashley.

The relationship between Mr. Carter and his former girlfriend developed while the two worked for Baltimore Goodwill. It ended soon after the woman discovered that she was pregnant and decided that he should move out of the apartment they shared because Mr. Carter was an alcoholic.

Despite leaving his name, new address and Social Security number with the woman at the time of the breakup, Mr. Carter said, he was never told when their baby was born.

Mr. Carter said he had tried looking for his 36-year-old former girlfriend, who receives welfare payments and food stamps, but she had moved with no forwarding address. Mr. Carter said he had learned, though, that his daughter's birth certificate had listed him as her father.

Once he located the woman and his daughter, he said, he threw himself into being a part of Ashley's life, taking her on Saturday afternoons, frequently buying her presents.

Describing himself as a "drunk" for 12 years, Mr. Carter said he had been sober for the last year and had changed his life. Part of that new life, he said, had included Ashley and his attempts to support her.

But at the direction of his former girlfriend's mother, Mr. Carter said, he has been denied access to his daughter for the last several months. Recently, Mr. Carter hired a lawyer to press for visitation rights.

"I want to see my child more than anything," he said. "I don't want to take the child away. I just want to be a part of my daughter's life."

Shadow Parents

Intermittent Help Never Fills Needs

Such stories are not uncommon to Sylvia W. Gundy, district director of Family and Children's Services of Central Maryland, a nonprofit organization.

"We find a lot of fathers involved with their children in ways the general public is not aware of," she said. "Maybe the fathers' mothers provide day care so the children's mothers can go to school, go to work."

Social workers say it is unusual for unmarried fathers in the inner cities to abandon their children completely. Even those who are jobless, in jail or addicted to drugs or alcohol often provide some support.

"It might be some milk or Pampers periodically or at holiday time," Mrs. Gundy said. "We just don't see a lot of fathers who are not active in some way."

Still, intermittent help is not the same as reliable financial support, and it leaves the children without some potential advantages of legal paternity, such as eligibility for medical insurance deriving from the father's employment, Social Security or veterans' benefits and inheritance rights.

Generations of Bad Fathering

"A lot of these guys didn't have good fathering themselves," Mrs. Gundy said, adding that playing the role of father "is not something that comes automatically."

Yet, becoming a father comes easily for many. Mr. Sherman said it was a game he had learned to play exceptionally well.

He described himself in his youthful heyday as a "dressy, classy-type guy," seldom seen in the sneakers and shorts that are now part of the inner-city uniform he wears even while job hunting. A photograph of him at age 17 shows a confident-looking young man dressed in a well-cut suit and surrounded by friends of both sexes.

"I've got a girl on this block wanted me," he said as he sat on the front porch belonging to his 80-year-old aunt, Rosa Sherman, whom he credited with helping to raise him.

In the same neighborhood, a girl would have given him even more offspring, he confided, if she had not had six consecutive



Andre Sherman is finding that becoming a responsible parent after so many years is difficult. He visited last month with three of his six children; Eric, standing at left, Derrick, left, and Anthony, who live with their mother in East Baltimore.

abortions at her mother's insistence.

Today, Mr. Sherman proudly recognizes each of his four sons and two daughters as his own, but their visits sting him with the realization of his inadequacy.

"My kids ask me for money," Mr. Sherman said in a low voice. "I want to give it to them, but I don't have the money to give to them."

Men like Mr. Sherman often find themselves torn between their ideals of fatherhood and guilt at having failed to meet them, counselors say.

"We must provide these fathers with an opportunity to learn how to relate to their children," said Antonio Carpenter, executive director of the Minority Education Training & Research Organization, a group based in Baltimore that works closely with young unmarried black fathers. He said unwed fathers who decide after years of neglect to forge closer relationships with their children often face suspicion and a deep well of ill feelings from the children and their mothers.

"There's often an attitude from the mothers and grandmothers expressed in 'You haven't been here; why are you coming here now?'" Mr. Carpenter said. Impoverished mothers, he said, often equate a father's lack of financial support with a lack of love for their children.

The issue of having enough money to support a child is "compounded for the African-American male," Mr. Carpenter said, referring to the especially high unemployment rate among black men.

In May, the jobless rate in the United States rose to 7.5 percent, the highest in eight years, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The unemployment rate for blacks was 14.7 percent.

Compounded Debt

Without Real Job No Sure Way Out

Under the child-support laws, Mr. Sherman is a criminal. Increasingly pressured by Maryland's office for child support to make

his \$60 weekly payment, he has steadily fallen behind. He now owes the state \$13,000.

"What am I supposed to do?" he asked recently at the home of his brother. "They keep telling me to come up with money I don't have."

"The bill keeps going up," replied his brother. "There are so many who are unemployed, but the state wants its money."

Facing the prospect of jail time for nonpayment, Mr. Sherman said the pressure to find a job was almost unbearable. Sometimes, he said, he was tempted by the allure of fast money on the streets of his East Baltimore neighborhood.

"I can get a job selling drugs just being in the neighborhood instead of getting up out of bed at 5 o'clock in the morning and going out to find a legit job," Mr. Sherman said, standing just outside his widowed mother's small two-story house where he lives. "I don't need an application. I don't need a résumé, no recommendation."

Stepping out of his mother's house, which is located in front of a funeral home and next

to a burned-out church, Mr. Sherman surveyed his neighborhood, crowded and bleak and dangerous. One of his children lives a few blocks away, he said, "and I don't want her coming up like this."

While growing up in this neighborhood, Mr. Sherman said, he had occasionally answered the call of its underground economy. That was before he held two jobs, one working at his uncle's funeral home behind his mother's house, another selling furniture in his early 20's. The rest of his work history includes short stints and long hauls as a roofer, house painter and free-lance construction worker at various sites in Baltimore.

"I have a juvenile background: auto thief, sticking up a couple of stores," Mr. Sherman said of a past that still haunts him.

One of its consequences is a life philosophy that is stark and hard: "You are on your own. The thing is survival."

That is what he said he is trying to teach his children: "I tell them life ain't no goody-goody world. Nothing comes on no silver platter. You got to take what you want."

Forcing Welfare Fathers to Pay Up Hits Stumbling Block: Lack of Jobs

By ERIK ECKHOLM

The goal is worthy: when a child is born out of wedlock, establish paternity and make sure the father helps support his offspring. The record is sorry: as of 1989, only one in four unwed mothers had a child-support order in place, compared with three in four divorced mothers, and even fewer actually received payments.

Now, enforcement is tightening up. If mothers apply for welfare they are pressured to name the father. Increasingly, for divorced and never-married fathers alike, support payments are deducted from paychecks right along with taxes.

But the child-support system, well suited for collecting from middle-class divorced parents, runs into special problems when parents on welfare are involved.

Many fathers of welfare children "are not disconnected from their children," said Bernadine Watson of Public/Private Ventures in Philadelphia, a nonprofit research group studying programs for such fathers. "Their problem is that they are very poorly equipped for the labor market."

If they are to pay meaningful child support, many absent welfare fathers will need the same kind of compensatory schooling and job training that are now being offered to many mothers. But such programs are scarce and their effectiveness is unproved, said Ronald B. Mincey, a poverty expert at the Urban Institute.

Question of Incentives

The way the welfare system handles support payments can reduce the incentive for some mothers to name fathers, or for fathers to pay. By Federal law, when the mother is on welfare, support money goes to the state and Federal governments. Only an extra \$50 a month is added to her welfare payment.

"They feel like they're just paying the state," Ms. Watson said of the fathers. Hence, both parents may prefer that the father contribute money on the side.

Raising the amount passed to the mother would make cooperation more attractive for both parents. But it could also reduce the mother's incentive to get the entire payment by working her way off welfare.

Irwin Garfinkel of Columbia University, an authority on child support, said he opposed an increase in the amount passed on to mothers. "I see no reason to think we have to create big incentives for fathers to pay," he said. "We have to make sure that enforcement is strong, and everybody knows it."

Inflexible child-support laws also causes problems for fathers who work sporadically. A support order requires a father to pay whether he is working or not. Some end up owing the state tens of thousands of dollars and face jail for nonpayment.

For men who can hardly command more than the minimum wage, such debts and legal threats can become overwhelming. Many fathers disappear, or work only in jobs where wages will not be garnished.

An inflexible support obligation can also deter fathers who want to help but need extra training so they can qualify for better-paying jobs. If they stop their low-wage work to spend a year or two in school or job training, their arrears and legal troubles will mount.

Encouraging Training

In experiments around the country, fathers have had support obligations suspended while they train for better-paying jobs; the mother still receives her welfare grant.

Even better, some experts say, would be a new approach to setting obligations. Courts usually set support at a fixed amount per week, reflecting the father's current income. When the father is poor the amount may be as low as \$10, and adjusting it often requires cumbersome legal procedures.

It would make more sense to set obligations as a percentage of the father's income that would automatically change with his earnings over time, Dr. Garfinkel said. This, he said, could reap more money in the future, as the father's income rises, as it usually does even in welfare cases. On the other side, when the father's income drops, large, uncollectible arrears would not pile up.

For true "deadbeat dads" this might eliminate some of the pressure to find a job and pay support. But Dr. Garfinkel contends that any losses would be more than offset by more frequent declarations of paternity, the crucial basis of all future collections. The system would seem less threatening, he said, so fathers would be more likely to cooperate.

Advantages for Both Parents

Counselors who work with young unwed parents stress other reasons for cooperating, too. They try to help mothers see that romantic relationships may break up, that years later they may wish they had established paternity and were collecting support.

They point out to fathers that legal paternity helps assure access to their children and gives the children the benefit of knowing who their father is. "We play to the pride they have as fathers," Ms. Watson said.

Dr. Garfinkel and others have proposed more radical changes in the system, combining strong enforcement with a Government guarantee that every mother will get a minimum payment, whether it was collected or not. Such an assured benefit, the argue, would make it easier for mothers to climb off welfare. Critics say such a guarantee would reduce the incentive for fathers to pay their fair share. The idea is now before Congress.



Ronnie Carter did not even know he had a child for almost two years and is now having trouble gaining visitation rights. "I want to see my child more than anything," he said. "I don't want to take the child away. I just want to be a part of my daughter's life."