

Critical Issues

**The Family,  
Feminism  
and the  
Therapeutic  
State**

by  
ONALEE MCGRAW

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Heritage Foundation*

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# The Family, Feminism and the Therapeutic State

by  
ONALEE MCGRAW

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## Introduction

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In 1976, when candidate Jimmy Carter issued his promise to convene a White House Conference on the Family, he surely did not foresee that in so doing, he would, as President, provide in the summer of 1980 a public stage upon which America's deepening moral, cultural and political cleavages would be played.

It was assumed that the White House Conference on Families would be no different from previous White House Conferences. The participants could be expected to include the legions of government bureaucrats, human services personnel, Planned Parenthood types, family sociologists, social workers and self-appointed child advocates who have dominated debate on family-related policies for the past decade.

Much to the surprise and chagrin of these assorted interest groups, in virtually every state where preliminary state conferences were held (beginning with Virginia in November 1979), confrontations between these interest groups and grass roots pro-family coalitions took place. Although conference planners in most states altered the rules for delegate selection to limit participation, in the few states where free and open delegate elections took place, representatives of the pro-family point of view were elected.<sup>1</sup>

The officially pronounced goal of the conferences was to make recommendations on how government policies strengthen or weaken families. However, the political confrontations which took place made it evident that serious discussion on fundamental questions concerning the family would have to be addressed before any productive debate on government's role *vis-a-vis* the family could occur.

These questions include, for example, the definition of what a family *is*, the rights and responsibilities of parents, the nature of children's rights, and the role of stable family life in a viable free society.

Only after extensive debate on these fundamental points can judgments be made about what the government's role should be in such vital areas as day-care, child abuse, sex education, adolescent pregnancy and the legal status of the family.

Jim Guy Tucker, the former Arkansas congressman appointed by President Carter to be Conference chairman, was to argue repeatedly that "extraneous" issues such as abortion, homosexual rights, and the Equal Rights Amendment were being injected into Conference proceedings by "extremists" and "single issue groups" from the "right wing." However, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the family itself is somehow the touchstone linking these burning social issues. The resolution of these "family questions" will, more than any other domestic issue, most profoundly affect the direction of American society in the 1980s.

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### The Rediscovery of the Family

A great deal of rhetoric has been expended on the notion that the family is the primary unit of society. This notion was so taken for granted in American life that until recently it would seem incredible that the family as an institution could become a matter of intense political controversy.

The '60s and '70s however, witnessed a distinct cultural and political breaking away from a consensus on family primacy. Nevertheless, as social historian Christopher Lasch has demonstrated in *Haven in a Heartless World*, the attack on the family by the dominant academic elite in the fields of sociology and psychology was raging long before those turbulent decades.<sup>2</sup>

It was in the decade of the '70s that radical changes which placed the American state in opposition to traditional family values occurred. The Supreme Court declared in *Roe v. Wade* (1973)<sup>3</sup> that mothers had the constitutional right to rid themselves of their unwanted children before birth in virtually all circumstances. Thus, the state was no longer the protector of the human right to life of the tiniest and most defenseless members of the family. Shortly thereafter, federal and state laws were enacted to provide public funds for contraception and abortion to minor children without the knowledge and consent of parents.

Meanwhile, the feminist movement issued an appeal that rapidly spread through our culture urging women to liberate themselves from the chains of family life and affirm their own self-fulfillment as the primary good.<sup>4</sup> States adopted "no fault" divorce laws that removed the legal concept of the "injured party," transforming the civil recognition of marriage as a serious contract into a transitory, semi-permanent association of individuals, easily formed and easily dissolved.

In matters concerning sexuality, as portrayed in the popular media and in sex education courses in the schools, sex become a matter merely of choices and options that the individual self makes for "self validation" and "growth."

Historian James Hitchcock described this state of affairs:

One does or does not get married, does or does not remain married, does or does not have an affair, does or does not have children, but in each case the conditions of life are arranged in such a way that neither choice implies anything permanent, binding or irrevocable. Parents . . . increasingly seem to want to arrange their lives so that their children are minimally demanding and bothersome. "Keeping one's options open" is the main concern of a society that has, at long last, finally learned how to have its cake and eat it too.<sup>5</sup>

The lack of permanent commitment reflects a growing cultural rejection of individual moral responsibility, robbing the family of its natural and transcendent role as the vital center for human life, growth and development. The family becomes instead a biological and sociological support mechanism that is only valuable to the degree that the individual finds it so. If the family cannot provide self-fulfillment, the individual merely severs the family tie and moves on to the next "passage" in the life cycle.

The role of society, and particularly the state, becomes one of facilitating this process by providing therapeutic "coping mechanisms." Schools and other institutions are touted as providers of "survival skills." Leading educational theorists decreed throughout the '70s that schools in particular were to treat the "needs" of the "total child." The educational theorists, strongly under the influence of such humanistic psychologists as Carl Rogers, Erich Fromm and Abraham Maslow, insisted that schools must replace "incompetent" parents with therapeutic training in sexuality, values formation, death and dying, and decision-making, preferably integrated throughout the existing curriculum.

The opening shot in the political battle over the family was fired in 1971. Following their own rec-

ommendations, which they had promulgated at the 1970 White House Conference on Children, a coalition of child advocacy/day-care lobby groups pushed through Congress a Comprehensive Child Development bill to establish a national network of federally-funded day-care/child development centers.

The premise of the bill, clearly stated in the hearings and debate, was that millions of American children would fail to achieve their full potential unless placed under the care of federally-funded child advocates and day-care centers. Leading proponents of the bill, including then-Senator Walter Mondale and Representative John Brademas, were stunned at the widespread grass roots opposition that materialized. This opposition generated enough heat to obtain a veto from President Richard Nixon.

In his veto message, President Nixon stated:

All other factors being equal, good public policy requires that we enhance rather than diminish both parent authority and parental involvement with children—particularly in those decisive early years when social attitudes and a conscience are formed, and religious and moral principles are first inculcated.

Further, he stated, this bill would commit:

the vast moral authority of the national Government to the side of communal approaches to child rearing over the family-centered approach.<sup>6</sup>

Since the bill was vetoed on the basis of principle rather than economic or budgetary considerations, the damage done to the child advocacy/day-care lobby was incalculable. Especially damaging to the liberals on this issue were the significant desertions from their own ranks of commonsense liberals who could not swallow the philosophical premises of the bill's proponents. William V. Shannon, then an editor of *The New York Times*, stated:

The unpopular truth is that any community facility—call it a day-care center or a child-development center—is at best an inadequate, unsatisfactory substitute, and at worst a dangerous, destructive substitute for a child's own mother.<sup>7</sup>



It was becoming clearer by the decade's end that a certain agenda of issues, including abortion, day-care and social engineering in the schools touched upon the central question of the place of the family in our society. At the same time, rising statistics on illegitimacy and divorce accelerated concern about the survival of the family. The family as an institution had become greatly devalued, but the utopia promised by the proponents of liberation had not arrived. The family had been put in its place, but no one seemed to be particularly happy about it.

A tremendous number of women had been liberated by husbands who, through "no fault" divorce, no longer had to support them or their children. Teenagers who were told that the family was an outmoded, authoritarian bourgeois institution watched the lives of many of their friends dissolve in idleness, drug abuse, and suicide. As the number of adolescents receiving sex education, contraception and abortion from government funded "family planning" programs increased, so did the rate of adolescent abortion, illegitimacy and venereal disease.

The irrefutable evidence of a decade had shown how lacking in perception were the proponents of liberation who loudly proclaimed that the family was only one option among alternative life-styles.

As Nathan Glazer pointed out in his article, "The Rediscovery of the Family":

... a funny thing happened on the way to developing a radical critique of the American family: it turned out that the old model was not so bad after all.<sup>8</sup>

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### Defining the Family

One of the most controversial questions to surface during the White House Conference on Families proceedings has been the question of what a family is and how it is defined. Early on, Conference planners decided to change the title from "family" to "families" to recognize the "legitimacy of diversity" in family forms.

The National Pro-Family Coalition on the White House Conference on Families defined the family in their position statement as "Persons related by blood, heterosexual marriage or adoption." Hearings and state conferences where open participation was allowed clearly affirmed this traditional definition of the family. By contrast, the family professional establishment and feminists have long argued for an open-ended definition based on the subjective feelings of individuals.

In its conference on the family in November 1979, the National Organization for Women adopted the American Home Economics Association definition of the family, which is:

... two or more persons who share resources, share responsibility for decisions, share values and goals, and have a commitment to one another over time. The family is that climate one "comes home to" and it is this network of sharing and commitments that most accurately described the family unit, regardless of blood, legal ties, adoption or marriage.<sup>9</sup>

At the NOW conference, feminist law professor Nancy Polikoff urged the legalization of same-sex families including legal guarantees of child custody for lesbian mothers who have created a new "family" with a lesbian partner. Marjorie Maguire Schultze, acting professor of Law at the University of California at Berkeley summed up the thrust of the conference stating, "marriage needs to be rede-

fined in terms of today's morality and today's attitudes."<sup>10</sup>

The September 1978 issue of *Ms.* magazine gave a behind-the-scenes account of the struggle over the definition of the family among planners for the White House Conference on Families:

Some people—let's call them "Nukes", short for nuclear—wanted to see the conference used as a forum for celebrating the mythological nuclear family: one wage-earning daddy, one mommy who stays home, 2.5 children.<sup>11</sup>

*Ms.* relates that although the "Nukes" preferred to have a White House Conference on the "family," they were "beaten by a coalition of people who insisted that the existing diversity of family life be acknowledged and welcomed with the title, 'White House Conference on Families.' This group included key members of the White House staff and others who had been associated with Vice President Walter Mondale in his Senate days."

Conference planners, faced with the demands of their own political constituency, clearly wished to avoid at all costs the possibility that the White House Conference would vote for a definition of the family that would repudiate the feminist-helping professional version. Their position was that the federal government, speaking through the Conference, could not "dictate" a definition of the family, and that the Conference instead should be a celebration of the "diversity of families."

At the White House Conferences held in Baltimore in June 1980 and in Los Angeles in July 1980, proposals by the pro-family coalition, supporting the definition of families as persons related by blood, heterosexual marriage, and adoption, were not permitted to come to a vote in the final sessions. The character of the July Conference in Minneapolis was very different because the particular states involved had sent large numbers of delegates who were elected in fair and open state conferences. Although not a majority, these delegates were a very strong minority, and they had sufficient numbers to influence the passage of a definition of the family as "persons related by blood, heterosexual marriage and extended families." The "extended

families" phrase is redundant and ambiguous since persons in nuclear and extended families are all related by blood or marriage.

Joseph Giordano, head of the Coalition on the White House Conference on Families, which includes such groups as the Gay Rights Task Force, National Organization for Women, Zero Population Growth, and Planned Parenthood, stated that a vote on the definition of family would have "broken up the conference."<sup>12</sup>

The real argument on the definition of the family centers on the legal status of persons unrelated by blood, marriage and adoption who live or cohabit together, and whether these persons, by self-definition, constitute a family.

If a family is a "climate of caring one comes home to," communes, cohabitating unmarried singles, and homosexual arrangements would constitute a family, if the individuals involved desire to have their arrangements so defined. Conversely, legal recognition of self-defined arrangements as "families" would give judicial sanction to the concept that the traditional family is simply one among many equally legitimate alternative lifestyles. Another way to legitimize these arrangements would be to alter the legal definition of marriage as it is currently defined: a union between two individuals of the opposite sex.

This controversy is no idle skirmish between defenders of the traditional family and feminists. A definition of the family is indispensable for all civil, legal and governmental policies and laws affecting it. It is difficult to see how, for example, there could be a federal Office of Families, a national family policy or government-mandated family impact statements, if the family is to be defined on the basis of subjective feelings or if the legal definition of marriage is changed to include same-sex couples.

Allan Carlson, in his perceptive article, "Families, Sex and the Liberal Agenda," comments on the insistence by establishment family professionals that a definition of the family be based on subjective feelings, particularly when combined with their view that the solution to family-related social problems is more government programs. Carlson asks, "if there can be no definition that ex-



cludes any form of human cohabitation, then what is a family policy trying to save, or strengthen, or help?"<sup>13</sup>

A recently proposed law calling for family impact analysis on state policies was defeated in the Virginia legislature, in part because a number of legislators objected to the ambiguous definition of the family contained in the bill. The family was defined in the proposal as "persons related by blood, marriage, adoption or covenantal caring that is not contrary to law or public morals."

This intriguing definition was the result of a compromise hammered out by the Virginia Commission on Family Life, a creature of the Virginia legislature, that had originally formulated the legislation. The dominant membership of this commission would not accept a traditional definition of the family. Virginia legislators reacted negatively to the proposal because of its ambiguous definition and its potential for more undesirable government intrusion into the family.

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### **Killing Off the Nuclear Family: The Demographic-Historicist Approach**

The early stages of the women's movement in the '70s reflected a clear philosophical rejection of the family. Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* provided the initial arguments, describing the family as a source of repression and enslavement of women. The theme, echoed in the pages of *Ms.* and developed by other prominent feminists, was that the family was essentially a tool used by men to entrap and oppress women.

The appeal of this argument wore thin as the promises of fulfillment of the "me" decade began to fade. Betty Friedan, responding to this sobering state of affairs, stated at the 1979 NOW Convention on the Family:

We are finding out that it's not so easy to live with—or without—men and children . . . The choices we have sought in the 70's are not as simple as they once seemed. The agenda of the 80's must call for the restructuring of home and work.<sup>14</sup>

The frontal attack on the family has gradually been replaced by a "demographic demolition" approach in which the nuclear family is viewed as rapidly becoming obsolete.

Eleanor Smeal, President of the National Organization for Women, in her testimony for the White House Conference on Families, demonstrated the demographic technique by first defining the family as:

. . . people who over time have established a lasting relationship involving living, loving and working together for their individual and mutual benefit, sharing resources, responsibilities and goals.

Ms. Smeal then pointed out that, "only 8% of American families are composed of father-breadwinner, mother-housewife and children."<sup>15</sup>

The essence of this approach is to define "nuclear family" very narrowly, and then to place all of its variations, including families where women work or children are grown ("empty nest" families) into the "diverse family form" category.

Taking the feminist logic one step further, 92 percent of the population is in diverse or non-traditional family forms. The effect is to isolate the nuclear family while at the same time placing all variations of it and all blood, marriage and adoptive forms on a "diverse" list. This list of diverse family forms also happens to include cohabitating and "caring" relationships of opposite and same sex persons for whom cultural and legal recognition is desired.

An interesting exchange took place at the White House Conference on Families Research Forum put together by the Conference planners in April 1980 with a \$50,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Mary Jo Bane, author of *Here to Stay*, made a presentation on "family diversity" in which she statistically defined the varieties of families in terms of ties of blood, marriage and adoption. A disgruntled participant, apparently disappointed by this "narrow" definition, questioned Bane as to why she had restricted her definition to only those kinds of families. Professor Bane replied that in her research she had not found persons outside of the perimeters she had used to be "statistically significant."<sup>16</sup>

People who are concerned with the direction taken by the American Home Economics Association in matters concerning the family will perhaps not be reassured to hear that its Executive Director, Dr. Kinsey Green, also on the panel, agreed with the questioner and reaffirmed that she and her organization definitely upheld the "broader" definition.

The demographic technique for dealing with the nuclear family is frequently used along with a kind of pseudo-historical approach in which the family becomes a sociological construct whose "structure and functions" are mere by-products of ever-changing historical events. For example, Ms., surveying

the history of "family forms" since civilization began, finds a "vast repertory of family forms that disappear, reappear, including blood relationships, kinship systems, language alliances, loyalty groups, households, tribes, clans, etc."<sup>17</sup> By constantly framing the discussion of the family in terms of diversity, past, present and future, there is no necessity to discuss what a family *is* or, more to the point from the feminist perspective, what it is *not*.

The next step in the historical approach is to discuss the family form dominant since the late 19th century, the bourgeois family of father-breadwinner and mother-homemaker with children. This family form, upon which the American nuclear family is based, is now reported to be on the verge of extinction, largely because of the movement of women into the work force. The government is supposed to ratify the nuclear family's historical demise by adopting national family policies and support systems that will meet the needs of the "changing" American family.

The constant reciting of statistics on the movement of women into the work force is apparently designed to lead the public to the automatic conclusion that widespread government programs and services are called for to "meet the needs" of working women. By sticking to the statistics, and never looking at their causes, the issue is never debated on the merits.

Although the feminist movement has been extremely ambivalent and even hostile to the whole notion of motherhood, the movement is very much dependent on co-opting single and working mothers *en masse* into its ranks in order to legitimize its political agenda. The success of the effort by the feminists to eject the nuclear family, the reactionary "nukes," from the mainstream and at the same time place themselves squarely in it is problematic at best. All single and working mothers do not, by virtue of their situation, automatically become card-carrying members of the feminist movement.

No-fault divorce laws and cultural acceptance of the nostrums of total sex equality have liberated many men from the obligation to support their wives and children. Women placed in these unfor-

tunate circumstances are touted by the feminist movement as its most valiant "heroines." However, it is the feminist movement's strident insistence on eradication of all sex-related distinctions that has contributed so greatly to the present predicament of divorced women with children who must support the family unit alone.

Similarly, there is substantial evidence to suggest that a large number of married women in the work force are there because of actual or perceived necessity. Many families know that two incomes are the only solution to stretching the family budget to make house payments and college tuitions.

Clearly, government policies of high taxation and profligate spending coupled with double digit inflation have together contributed greatly to the growth of two-income families. How many mothers currently working in factories, supermarkets, as clerks, and in other service jobs have chosen these jobs as "career fulfillment options" over making a home for their families?

The feminist movement claims these women for its own and presumes to propose what these women want and need. Considering the fact that many women find themselves single or working by circumstances rather than *choice*, their automatic absorption into the "sisterhood" by statistical slight of hand is spurious and presumptuous.

The anti-family view expressed by the feminist movement has its counterpart in the various institutions of higher learning that have established departments on the softest of all the social sciences, the study of the family.

A broader understanding of the nature of the attack on the traditional family can be gained by reviewing the publications of the National Council on Family Relations, the interest group that provides organization, apparently some measure of status and a publishing outlet for various family sociologists ensconced in institutions at the college and university level.<sup>18</sup> (However, this is not to imply that *all* academics engaged in the study of the family reflect the biases of the National Council on Family Relations or the family professionals who have chosen to associate themselves with it.)

The publication *Non-traditional Family Forms in the 1970's* by the National Council on Family

Relations gives a clear indication of the kind of anti-family bias that the organization reflects.<sup>19</sup> Non-traditional family forms, including communes, open marriages, and homosexual liaisons, are each in turn described as "variant" family forms that should be given legal recognition and sanction by society and state. Failure to give such recognition is viewed as "discrimination." These alternative family forms are described as a change from the "traditional" to the "companionship" orientation toward the family.

It becomes difficult to understand how there can be a body of expertise on something called the family if that institution is self-defining. Such an intellectually bankrupt position must certainly call into question any tax-supported research on an institution that can not be defined by any objective criteria. However, there are indications that "family research" may be the newest boondoggle on the grantsmanship circuit, the latest "in thing" at agencies like the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Institutes of Health.<sup>20</sup>

Significantly, the National Council on Family Relations is claiming responsibility for the framing of issues for the White House Conference on Families, both at state and national conferences. The Council can be expected to play a significant role in the promulgation of the recommendations that will emerge from the synthesis of the three national conferences, state conferences, and hearings.

The results are predictable: families are diverse; families have needs; families need support; government policy must provide supports to families; supports include income security, government-provided jobs, affirmative action, comprehensive health delivery services (including delivery of sex education and family planning information to minor children), enlargement of the federal role in day-care, a call for more courses in family life, parenting and sex education.

A major recommendation to emerge from the White House Conference on Families is that all levels of government initiate family impact statements to determine the effects of government programs and policies on families. The concept of family impact analysis is spearheaded by Sidney Johnson III, a former top aide to Walter Mondale

in the Senate, and an activist in the politics surrounding the comprehensive child development bill of 1971. Johnson now heads the Family Impact Seminar based at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., and is a member of the National Advisory Committee on the White House Conference on Families.

The family impact statement is a popular item within the helping professional establishment, as reflected in the importance given the proposal in recommendations emerging from the White House Conference. The concept of a family impact statement imparts an "objective" and "value free" connotation, giving the impression of neutral social science techniques applied to family policy issues.

However, family impact analysis is an empty bucket into which any concoction can be poured. The concoction will depend strictly on the values, ideology and political position of those who perform the analysis and write the family impact statement. In practical terms, family impact statements will be formulated by people in or under contract to the human services bureaucracies.

The concept of family impact analysis reinforces the view that experts on the family are indispensable to study and recommend the best policies for government. It is a superficially non-controversial means of increasing the power and legitimacy of the helping professions in the formation of family policy.

### **"Family Life" Education**

One of the proposals passed in resolutions at the White House Conferences on Families (with much support from appointed delegates), was that courses in family life and sex education be implemented in the public schools. Naturally, one of the main goals of the family professionals is to promote such courses, as they represent a demand for their services.

Public opinion polls indicate that many people tend to support these courses in the schools. Since the values, biases and content of such courses are never discussed, it is logical to conclude that most people responding to the polls are under the impression that "marriage and family living" repre-

sents some kind of traditional understanding of those terms. For example, many of the same people who, in the Gallup poll commissioned for the White House Conference, said that the decline of traditional values was having a negative impact on families also said that they were in favor of the teaching of marriage and family living in the schools.

These respondents would probably be astonished at the values promoted by the family professionals who develop the curricula for such courses. One can predict with a fair amount of certainty that most people would reject the philosophical premise that it really doesn't make a great deal of difference, to oneself or to society, what family form or life-style individuals choose. The essence of family life education is to know the options, weigh the pros and cons of each alternative from chastity to bestiality, and to choose which family form is the most comfortable for each individual. The moral relativism which is widely perceived as doing great harm to the family in today's society is too often the philosophical basis for what passes for "marriage and family living" in many school courses.

In Kansas, a text entitled *Marriage and Family Today* (Random House) provoked controversy because of its moral supermarket approach. The text, in the course of discussing all the various forms of behavior in and outside of marriage, discusses the meaning of "intimate friendship." Sexologist James Ramey's authoritative definition is cited: an "otherwise traditional friendship in which sexual intimacy is considered appropriate behavior." Also cited is Ramey's "research" in which he "found" that "couples who engage in intimate friendships agree that there is no reason to hide them from each other." Ramey states that it is quite common "in such a friendship for a person's spouse to become friends with his or her lover."

The premise of courses in sex education and marriage and family living is that these subjects can be presented in a "value free" context that is legitimate in the public schools. The above example from a text used in one of these courses illustrates the practical reality of such "value free" education. Adultery is redefined as "intimate friendship" and "research" is cited showing how frequently such

behavior takes place. The positive effects of "intimate friendship" are even described: a possible friendship can develop between the betrayed spouse and the "new friend." Students learn under the authority of the school that all values, including those associated with life-long marriage, are simply a matter of individual choice.

Parents concerned with the intellectual and moral development of their children would do well to be constantly vigilant about the introduction of courses from the "soft" social sciences such as futurism, family studies, human relations and humanistic psychology. Such courses should not be introduced without full community debate and only as identifiable electives requiring prior informed written parental consent.

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### **The Meaning and Purpose of the Family: An Undeclared Civil War**

The family is the core institution that decisively determines the nature of society itself, because it plays the primary role in nurturing and developing society's members. Society's basic understandings concerning the meaning of humanity, expressed through shared moral values and cultural norms, flow from first premises concerning the family.

The issues of abortion, the meaning of the equal rights amendment, and whether the state should legitimize all alternative life-styles and living arrangements—granting them a position equal to legal monogamous marriage—are not "single issues." Rather, the cultural and political arguments taking place concerning them reflect a deep philosophical chasm between two radically distinct and diametrically opposed moral visions of humanity.

The central political question of the coming decade will be which of these two competing moral visions of the family and of humanity will prevail and become the official orthodoxy of our society through the power and authority of the American state.

The struggle is between the Judeo-Christian ethic, based on God-given eternal law, and the secular humanist orthodoxy that rejects God and traditional values. In the secular humanist world view, man, individually and collectively, has the absolute power, based on purely human will and reason, to determine all choices that will fulfill his individual and collective well-being.

In this sense, the struggle for the family and its meaning goes far beyond partisan battles and demographic or geographical differences which have characterized the conflicts of American political life. The struggle for the family is at the profoundest level an undeclared civil war, whose outcome will determine how our society defines itself.

Just as the United States over one hundred years



ago could not indefinitely continue half slave and half free, so too today, America must ultimately return to its Judeo-Christian roots or become a secular humanist society. The family is at the heart of this struggle because the family is for every human being the primary place in which moral authority is learned and practiced.

The undeclared civil war in which we are engaged centers on the nature of moral responsibility and the authority that will define it, legitimize it and enforce it. American sociologist and anthropologist Robert Redfield has stated:

A Society is also people sharing common conviction as to the good life. That is to say, it is not merely a system of production and of services—an anthill is that—but a human society exists in the fact that its members feel that certain conduct is right and other conduct wrong, and act more or less accordingly. Society operates because its members have around them a universe which to them makes sense. Moreover, this plan is not merely a pattern without moral meaning: it is a plan for right conduct, of organization of conceptions as to the good, true, and indeed the beautiful.<sup>21</sup>

This civil war between the Judeo-Christian and humanist orthodoxies was graphically revealed in the controversy over the definition of the family at the White House Conference on Families, suggesting that the nation is in serious trouble when the government sponsors a conference on the family in which the definition of family is a matter of intense disagreement. Which side one comes down on depends on whether one believes that the family is rooted in the laws of nature and a divinely created moral order, or whether one sees the family as a self-defined artificial human construct to be manipulated for the well-being of the individual.

The pro-family position is acceptance and affirmation of the family as the natural, beneficial, indispensable, and irreplaceable institution for human development. As James Hitchcock has said,

the debate divides between those who love and accept the family, and those who reject it, hate it or wish to change its meaning.<sup>22</sup>

The humanist-feminist view of the family is that it is a biological, sociological unit in which the individual happens to reside; it has no meaning and purpose beyond that which each individual chooses to give it. Thus, the autonomous self, freely choosing and acting, must satisfy its needs. When, by its very nature, the family exercises moral authority over its members, it thereby restricts the self in its pursuit of self-fulfillment and becomes an instrument of oppression and denial of individual rights.

In the humanist-feminist view the state is the defining agent that grants freedom to the individual; the state is also to be the instrument by which the individual is liberated. Therefore, the state must provide the material and therapeutic supports to enable individuals to pursue freely their chosen options. Local, state and federal government agencies are expected to provide therapeutic "coping mechanisms" (a term frequently used in family sociology circles), including education and comprehensive "health care," day-care, divorce counseling and parenting education. The family thus becomes the lowest administrative unit of the state.<sup>23</sup>

### **The Importance of the Family**

If recent polls are any indication, Americans in overwhelming numbers uphold and cherish the traditional understanding of family. The Gallup organization, which released a privately commissioned poll for the occasion of the White House Conference on Families, found that 80 percent of the people questioned affirmed the primary place of the family in their lives. The family was seen as the key to happiness and fulfillment. An earlier survey found that 91 percent of those questioned would welcome more emphasis on "traditional family ties."

The strong support expressed for the family caused the Gallup Organization to comment, "those who feel that being part of a family is unnecessary or even impedes personal development will find few who agree with them among the populace as a whole." The family, said Gallup and company, is clearly more to most Americans than "merely a group of people living together to serve mutual interests."<sup>24</sup>

Significantly, the expressions of traditional views and traditional values on family life cut across all racial, religious, ethnic, and income categories, as for example among the 40 percent of the respondents to the Gallup poll who stated that the decline in traditional moral values has had a significant negative effect on family life. Under 10 percent of the respondents in *all* categories thought government policies or actions were the main solution to family social problems.

Why is the traditional family, despite the sustained political, cultural and psychological attacks on it in recent years, still considered so important to human happiness and fulfillment? Social critic Michael Novak, a seasoned observer of the family, offers three characteristics of family life that underscore its fundamental place in society. First of all, says Novak, the family is the only "department of health, education and welfare that works." Second, the family is the vital center of human development for the individual, a function that can not be duplicated or replaced by any other institution. Finally, Novak points out that the family provides the unique day-to-day reality that is authentic in the human experience.<sup>25</sup>

Michael Novak's reflections echo what serious research on social problems verifies: individuals most often become dysfunctional and create social problems for society when the family doesn't work. The programs and solutions to correct social problems that seek to replace or ignore the family have failed.

A classic example is found in the research report of Dr. Virginia Shipman of the Education Testing Service in Princeton, who for a number of years was involved in Head Start evaluation. Her research revealed that *only* when the parents of children in Head Start were deeply involved in *direct* responsibility for their children's programs in daily activities did the children make lasting progress.<sup>26</sup> The character of family life determines in an overwhelming degree the character and personality development of the young. The formation received by the young determines their ability to grow up into functioning, stable adults, capable of forming their own families.

From Plato's *Republic* to Huxley's *Brave New*

*World*, it is the power of the state to control the essential functions found in the family—the sexual powers and child-rearing—that most graphically reveals its nature. Societies with governments that are socialistic or authoritarian may still be relatively free to the degree that people are free to marry, raise their young and make important choices for and with their children.

After living in Sweden for twenty years, British author Roland Huntford described Swedish society in his book, *The New Totalitarians*. In this society, people are effectively controlled in many aspects of their lives by the state. The most recent confirmation of the totalitarian nature of Swedish life was the passage of the law stating that parents may not spank their children. Sweden is also considering a law permitting children to divorce their parents. Many Americans would probably be surprised to learn that legal recognition for such a divorce is being sought in America today. A judge in Wisconsin recently ruled that a minor girl did not have to accompany her parents on a world cruise.<sup>27</sup>

#### **Marriage: Cornerstone of the Family**

If a free society is vitally dependent on large numbers of stable, intact, functioning families forming its future members, it would appear that there is much at stake in the question of the legal and cultural standards regarding monogamous heterosexual marriage.

If, as a general proposition, society, through its laws and culture, gives affirmation to monogamous marriage as a beneficial and desirable thing for society and the people in it, does this affirmation discriminate against and stigmatize those whose family life styles do not fit in this category?

In the literature of the family professionals, the whole question is usually represented as an "either/or" proposition in which the best approach to the family is simply to affirm all "family forms" from monogamous to homosexual as equally desirable alternatives. To assume the superiority of monogamous marriage is to show oneself to be racist,

sexist and steeped in reactionary nostalgia for an obsolescent family form.

During the past decade, the traditional family has struggled valiantly to retain its privileged place in American society. The great contribution of the monogamous family, the rearing of healthy and productive children who in adulthood are capable of forming permanent families of their own, was frequently forgotten. The "myths" of "Father Knows Best" were replaced by the new orthodoxy of Norman Lear's creations. The passing parade chronicled in *People Magazine* gives the impression that noteworthy people living in monogamous marriages have become virtually extinct. Famous personalities have in the past few years joined the ranks of those who publicly reject traditional family values. Those personalities who have somehow retained monogamous marriage values, at least by reputation, are touted as interesting curios of a bygone era.

What has caused the tremendous increase in divorce in the past decade? Surely one answer could be the cultural view that marriage is merely an option, a passage in the life cycle. Some sociologists cite the rising expectations for self-fulfillment, resulting in a lower tolerance for unhappiness in marriage. Other causes mentioned are the women's movement, increased participation of women in the work force, and the shift in state laws to permit no-fault divorce. But overall, the impression gained is that too many people are divorcing because it has become the thing to do when optimum expectations for "growth" and "fulfillment" are not met in marriage.

The response of the National Council on Family Relations to the rise in divorce has been to call for more "divorce reform" and for divorce to be viewed as "functional rather than dysfunctional."<sup>28</sup> They are encouraged that "fewer counselors and therapists today see their only role as trying to preserve the marriage, and more are open to divorce as a legitimate solution to marital problems." They welcome the media sanctioning of divorce as a legitimate and acceptable alternative, stating that "it is time for the society to include the divorced and the single-parent family on a first-class basis."

The Council on Family Relations favors the

"gearing up" of all government institutions to provide "appropriate social, legal and economic services for those divorcing." The impression gained is that the role of the state should be to facilitate and make the path to divorce as easy and as painless as possible. The Council also favors the inclusion of "divorce as one of the facts of marriage" in all family life education programs from elementary school through high school.<sup>29</sup> This position on family life education might be of interest to parents who think that marriage and family life courses will help youngsters to make better marriages.

The bias of the National Council on Family Relations in favor of divorce as an alternative equal to permanent marriage emerged at the Virginia White House Conference on Families, which was coordinated by Dr. Jessica Cohen, Professor on the Family at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and the state director of the National Council on Family Relations. Members of the pro-family coalition attending the conference were stunned at the "loaded" questionnaire given to all attendees. Under the heading of "divorce," participants were asked to list ways in which the "divorce process" could be "improved." Nowhere in the questionnaire or in any of the proceedings was there an opportunity for the public to debate the previous questions: Is the only public interest in divorce related to improving the divorce "process"? What is the impact of divorce on the members of the family? What are the implications of the effects of divorce for public policy?

These are extremely serious public questions on divorce, aside from ways in which the divorce process can be improved. However, as the number of children from divorced homes increases, too many family professionals are concerned only that the resources of the state be used to help children and their parents to "cope" with the divorce process.

The publications of the National Council on Family Relations display a noteworthy neglect of the real effects of divorce on children.<sup>30</sup> While de-emphasizing the damage done to children by divorce, the Council appears supportive of therapeutic coping mechanisms ministered to the children of divorce in school settings. They believe that therapeutic curriculum programs will help to rebuild the



children's self-image with the aid of such techniques as forcing the children through self-examination to talk about "their feelings."

Not all family professionals are blind to the tragic implications of permissive divorce. In a revealing article,<sup>31</sup> Wallerstein and Kelly discuss the findings of their own long-term research on 131 divorced families in the San Francisco Bay area.

Five years after the divorce, 37 percent of the youngsters involved were suffering from depression that was manifested in the following: chronic and pronounced unhappiness, sexual promiscuity, delinquency in the form of drug abuse, petty stealing, alcoholism and acts of breaking and entering, poor learning, intense anger, apathy, restlessness, and a sense of intense, unremitting neediness.

Their study found another 29 percent of the children who were making what they described as "appropriate developmental progress" but who "continued to experience intermittently a sense of deprivation and feelings of sadness and resentment toward one or both parents." Thirty-four percent of the youngsters seemed to be doing well or comparable to children from intact families after the initial breakup. In their study, they found that 56 percent of the children surveyed did not consider their post-divorce family to be an improvement over their pre-divorce household.

If the conventional wisdom once was that it is best to stay together no matter what for the "sake of the children," the new myth is that because the parents are unhappy in the marriage, the children are, too, and that what the parents *want* will be best for the children. However, the real cost of broken homes shows up in the increasing numbers of broken children. If easy divorce is merely another passage in the adult life cycle, the hard evidence is emerging that significant numbers of children are its tragic victims.

Brooke Hayward, daughter of Margaret Sullivan and Leland Hayward, in her profoundly moving memoir, *Haywire*, showed the lasting and tragic impact of divorce on her family; they really didn't "cope" or "get over it" at all. Her story is a disturbing refutation of the popular myth that liberation for the parents is also beneficial for the children.

Are stable, monogamous marriages important to

our society? Dr. Harold Voth, psychiatrist at the Menninger Clinic and the author of *The Castrated Family*,<sup>32</sup> says that they are central to the health and survival of children in a civil and humane society.

It is the degree of maturity of the man and the woman, the durability of the bond between them and the extent and depth of their commitment to each other and to their children that forges the bond of trust for the developing young which will in turn insure their capacity to grow into responsible adults.<sup>33</sup>

As the child grows, Dr. Voth argues, the first people he learns to love and trust are his parents. When the bond of trust is violated, as clinical psychiatric experience will consistently show, the child becomes exceedingly vulnerable. The handicap imposed on the child, which he must live with, perhaps all his life, is manifested in two ways:

- (1) an excessive psychic vulnerability which opens the way for an inability to deal with the normal difficulties of life; and
- (2) an increased inability to forge the bond of love and trust upon entering adulthood in the form of making a stable family life.

Parents who fall into divorce because marriage has not reached their "expectations" may be persuaded to be more morally responsible if they realize that by their actions they may impose life-long psychic damage on their children.

Healthy family life produces people who have positive qualities of loyalty, vitality, industriousness, perseverance, courage and integrity. Many parents who undergo divorce and separation work very hard to make up for the loss and to help their children's development in a conscious way. Yet, when the vital love and nurturing is withdrawn through a traumatic loss such as divorce, the rage of a deprived childhood is reaped in later life.

Mary Calderone, former head of Planned Parenthood and Executive Director of SIECUS (Sex Information and Education Council of the United States) endured such a rejection in her childhood. Mary Calderone's father was the photographer Edward Steichen, famous for his photographs of people all over the world in *The Family of Man* exhibit.

Mary Calderone's mother left the family, taking Mary's sister with her and leaving Mary with her father, who farmed her out to the care of various friends. She says about this period in her life:

What insecurities I had arose from the fact that my mother had removed herself from me at a very early age—my parents were separated—and I had no real home. I was sort of farmed out, and even though it was to loving friends, it made me very insecure emotionally. . . . But I never doubted that someday I would find what I wanted to do and do it.<sup>34</sup>

What Mary Calderone did in her adult life was to promote her vision of the new sexual orthodoxy of self-fulfillment. Is it really surprising that someone as intelligent and determined as this woman would overcome the painful withdrawal of parental love in childhood by proclaiming the message that sexuality is more important than familial values?

G. K. Chesterton once said, "He who hates the family does also hate mankind," to which it might be added, those who are denied the love and nurturing that God intended the family to give may grow up to take their revenge on mankind.

### The Family Versus the Cult of the Self

It has been argued that the family is the unique and irreplaceable institution, rooted in nature and the eternal law, in which the developing individual is raised to adulthood. All of the human qualities that shape civilized life as we know it are nurtured within the family: the capacity to love, to learn, to trust, and to form the social tie. At the same time that the developing self is nurtured within the family, it depends absolutely on being loved for its own sake, thereby gaining an identity and healthy self-love that will enable it to form healthy attachments to others.

Moreover, in our free and pluralistic society, the family has traditionally been understood as the primary source of moral authority for the developing individual. The moral authority anchored in the family is by its very nature dependent on a consensus on core values within society. That is to say, our society has, until very recently, affirmed that (1) the family does in fact have the moral authority to set standards for its members, and that (2) those standards are a reflection of the core values held in culture and law which state what our society generally holds to be true.

Our culture, whose dominant symbols once conveyed "moral and religious affirmations," is now increasingly characterized as one in which no fixed moral or religious belief enjoys "authority or commands obedience for any appreciable length of time."<sup>35</sup>

Christopher Lasch, writing in *The Culture of Narcissism*, finds that the contemporary climate is "therapeutic, not religious. People today hunger, not for personal salvation . . . but for the feeling, the momentary illusion of personal well-being, health, and psychic security."<sup>36</sup>

In the therapeutic-humanist view, there can be



no objective standards, rules or moral truths, but only the "ability of the self to manipulate a sense of well-being."<sup>37</sup> Striving for moral improvement is replaced by "personal growth." All moral choices become legitimate through self-validation. Objective moral reality is dissolved in the semantics of "openness," "caring," the "celebration of life" and the utmost necessity of the self to feel "comfortable."

This philosophical struggle, once waged in ivory towers, is now more widely recognized as a secular humanist attack on virtually every traditional standard of human conduct which is spreading throughout the American culture. James Hitchcock illustrates the impact of this conflict on the concept of human character:

The chasm which separates the Christian from the therapeutic attitude towards human nature can perhaps best be understood in terms of the idea of "character" which in classical terms was the achievement of a stable and principled identity, tested in the crucible of extreme experiences. Under the therapeutic rubric, however, the very idea of character becomes meaningless and even pernicious, since a continuous personal malleability is precisely what is aimed at, for the sake of fulfillment.<sup>38</sup>

Sociologist Philip Rieff, in the *Triumph of the Therapeutic*, describes the nature of a culture whose public orthodoxy is the subject of moral conflict:

At the breaking point, a culture can no longer maintain itself as an established span of moral demands. Its jurisdiction contracts; it demands less, permits more. Bread and circuses become confused with right and duty. Spectacle becomes a functional substitute for sacrament. Massive regressions occur, with large sections of the population returning to levels of destructive aggression historically accessible to it. Competing symbolisms gather support in competing elites: they jostle each other for priority of place as organizers of the next phase in the psychohistorical process.<sup>39</sup>

What is at stake then, is something a great deal more profound than a clash of religious views, the passing strains and conflicts of American pluralism,

or an "adjustment" to the continued pronouncements of the Supreme Court on the boundaries "separating Church and state." We are literally at the crossroads where it will be decided which orthodoxy will become authoritative in American society. Moreover, the struggle between these two orthodoxies, and the understandings of humanity and moral responsibility attendant in each, have centered on the central question of the nature, purpose and status of the family.

In spite of attempts by social theorists and social engineers to deny or denigrate its power, the family, by its very nature, continues to make unshakeable claims of moral responsibility upon all individuals. The family alone commands a human commitment that goes beyond reason, expediency, sentiment, or the nostrums of humanistic self-gratification and fulfillment. The family is the "domestic church" in which the hard truths of moral reality cannot be escaped.

The tenacious claims made by the family place the individual in continuous tension between its demands and the new cultural imperative that the self must seek first its own needs. This cultural tension has placed a great strain on the relations between husbands and wives and their children.

Sociologist David Reisman, commenting on this phenomenon, has stated:

Some of the ideology of the women's movement has encouraged both sexes to avoid choosing between adequate parental care for the younger children on the one hand, and a higher standard of living and occupational achievement on the other. This avoidance has made it necessary for many young males and females to engage in a process of elaborate and strenuous juggling of roles—as they try to determine a mix of career, marriage, and parenting, that is appropriate for their lives.<sup>40</sup>

Reisman maintains that if they fail, and divorce ensues, "it becomes important for these guilt-ridden persons to discover consensual ways to excuse or alleviate their guilt." This cultural development manifests itself in various ways: in the popular notion that divorce is beneficial to children when the parents are not fulfilled, and by increasing demands that it is the obligation of society,

under the aegis of the state, to provide therapeutic support to those individuals whose marriages fail as a result of the unceasing expectations of self-fulfillment.

Echoing the themes articulated by Phillip Rieff and Christopher Lasch, Reisman wonders whether a substantial change has occurred in American character. His own term for the cultural phenomenon of absorption with the self is *egocentrism*.

Paul C. Vitz, psychology professor at New York University, in *Psychology as Religion: The Cult of Self-Worship*,<sup>41</sup> has analyzed the "self-theorists" whose ideas have come to dominate so many academic schools of thought in psychology, sociology and education, and which have become popularized in American culture.

The four most important self-theorists analyzed by Vitz are Eric Fromm, Carl Rogers, Abraham Maslow and Rollo May. Each of these men established psychological theories in which the self—experiencing, affirming and choosing—finds "self-actualization" and "self-fulfillment" through therapeutic psychological techniques and processes.

Self-theory is practiced in encounter groups and the consciousness raising associated with the feminist movement. The National Education Association has devised complex "consciousness raising" packages for use by its teachers in groups to provide for the therapeutic removal of "sexism" from their consciousness.

The therapeutic mentality has found its most destructive expression in educationist theories and policies in the public schools. Thomas J. Cottle, a sociologist-psychologist who gives heartening witness to the authentic aspirations of the human spirit, has this to say about this trend in the public schools:

In the past few decades . . . there has been a colossal growth in the informal practice of clinical psychology in the schools. At what point did parents give the schools the right to shape their children's personalities through sensitivity groups and counseling? At what point does the student lose his or her right to privacy?<sup>42</sup>

The particular characteristic of therapeutic treatment for self-actualization and fulfillment is that

the self must be intimately revealed in a variety of ways in an artificial and structured setting such as the classroom. Teachers are no longer viewed as imparters of knowledge and skills, but as "facilitators" who will, by the use of therapeutic techniques, provide for the "holistic" development of the individual. The purpose of these techniques is to "humanize" education and in the process "humanize" the child. In the words of Carl Rogers, the therapy process will enable the child to "become a person."

Clearly, many parents believe, along with a number of practitioners within the field of psychology itself, that such therapeutic practices, imposed on children without parental knowledge and consent, are in fact unleashing a process of radical dehumanization of children against the wishes of their parents. In spite of widespread reaction against the implementation of self-theory in the classroom, the proponents of "holistic humanistic education" continue, with the unfailing sustenance of taxpayer dollars, to peddle their dubious wares in the classroom.

The authentic nurturing of the human self that normally takes place within the family is to be replaced by narcissistic self-actualizing group dynamic games, values clarification techniques and consciousness raising exercises led by facilitators, as a means of helping children to "get in touch with their feelings," and find their "identity."

Widespread public disenchantment with the use of therapeutic techniques in the classroom led to the passage of an amendment sponsored by Senator Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), part of the Education Amendments of 1978 (Public Law 95-561). This amendment prohibits applicable programs in the public schools from psychological probing of student beliefs and attitudes in personal areas such as sexual feelings and family relationships without the prior consent of parents.

The National Education Association, at its 1979 convention, called for new remedies to treat "teacher burnout" occurring because of epidemic vandalism and violence in the public schools. The irony of this is that the students committing this mayhem are merely taking the apostles of "self actualization" at their word. The National Education

Association, whose leaders have insisted that there is no moral authority outside of the autonomous self, can now only offer to the teachers they "represent"—the victims of this philosophy—therapeutic supports to cure "teacher burnout."

In the words of Christopher Lasch:

Mass education which began as a promising attempt to democratize the higher culture of the privileged classes, has ended by stupefying the privileged themselves.<sup>43</sup>

Perhaps a more profound analysis of the full implications of the psychological-sociological theories discussed above will give a broader perspective to current debates concerning the meaning of "religion," and the "separation of church and state" in regard to public schools. Many parents have profound religious, cultural and aesthetic grounds to reject the nostrums of humanistic self-theory. These objections go far beyond questions of "censoring textbooks" as framed by the educators who must defend their policies to protesting parents.

The apostles of humanistic self-theory operating within the public schools insist that they have the right and the duty to help children find out who they are and how to choose the answers to life's questions. This "holistic" approach, they insist, must be integrated throughout courses in health, social studies, language arts and all points in between. In short, they are claiming the right to impart to the child the essential framework through which the child will understand the meaning of human nature, patterns of human conduct, priorities of human values, what values are, and how value conflicts are to be resolved. These issues are, by all standards of common sense, understood to be questions which are essentially religious in nature and therefore beyond the permissible boundaries for public school treatment.

In his research on self-theory, Paul Vitz has uncovered one of the more pervasive philosophical differences between the Judeo-Christian tradition and the orthodoxy of secular-humanism. This difference profoundly affects the human response to the nature of creativity, appreciation of the arts, and development of the critical intellect.

Treating art and creativity from a psychological point of view, Vitz points out that an artist whose vision is colored by traditional values would "never strive for creativity per se but instead would try to embody some reflection of eternal beauty and wisdom."<sup>44</sup> Genuine creativity in the traditional view is found in the reflection of truth and beauty and the eternal verities of the human condition.

By contrast, the creative impulse often promoted in public education today reflects the "culture of narcissism" in which psychological man is the center of the universe. Creativity then represents an existential self-affirmation rather than a reaching out to the true, the good, and the beautiful.

This is the great philosophical dividing line that passes through the entire spectrum of the arts, music, literature and drama. It divides Michelangelo and Winslow Homer from Andy Warhol; Shakespeare's plays from *Hair*; and Dickens and Tolkien from the stream of consciousness self-revelations of the modern school of pseudo-fiction.

Most parents understand works of the humanities and the arts most beneficial to the intellectual, philosophical and moral development of their children to be those works which enrich their children's moral imagination and broaden their vision of the world beyond themselves. By contrast, the humanistic vision is turned, not only away from God, but away from humanity, inward to the self as the center of the universe.

Educationists claim that parents who object to the selfist views of the arts and humanities offered in the public schools are "right wing extremists" with "religious hang-ups" bent on "censorship" of textbooks. This charge is a shocking revelation of the stunted artistic vision of many modern educators. Whatever the merits or demerits of particular books might be, truth and beauty lie "in the eye of the beholder."

### **Defending the Family from the Helping Professionals**

The 1980 White House Conferences on Families dramatically highlighted the continuing conflict of interests and values existing between families and the human services providers whose livelihood is based on research and "service delivery" to families and their members. The overwhelming majority of appointed delegates to the conferences were people salaried directly or indirectly by government, delegates who therefore had a vested interest in proposals for families that would create more government involvement.

The controversies at the conferences are a national reflection of controversies in communities across the land on family issues such as sex education, child care, child abuse, government "health" policies, control of pornography, and parental rights. All of these issues revolve around the primary values and policy goals our society will project in the coming decade.

The state is not simply an abstraction, which is assumed to be hostile, neutral or friendly to families, depending on one's point of view. Policies and programs that extend from the state into the lives of Americans are carried out by live people—people with values, goals and policy preferences. It is the bureaucrats and the helping professionals, persons dealing with the family in social work, health, medicine, psychology, sociology, and education, who make concrete for every family in America the abstraction of the State.

Why is it that families need to be vitally concerned with the political power of the helping professionals and why can they assume that such political power represents a threat to familial interests and values? Many helping professionals are to a large degree fatally compromised in their professional capacities because they are not accountable to the people



who pay for their services or to the people who receive them.

The "clients" the professionals serve do not pay them and, by and large, do not choose them. Rather, the government pays the professionals to perform services authorized by legislation, court decree, or in most cases, bureaucratic fiat. These services are delivered to the individuals and families that government designates as recipients of the services. Economist Jacqueline Kasun has pointed out that "Not only do in-kind programs now account for more than half of all public assistance expenditures, but they account for more than half of all health, education and welfare outlays."

Many in the helping professions are not directly dependent on government programs for their livelihood; they inhabit departments of "family studies" or "social policy" in the highly specialized departments of psychology, sociology, social work, medicine and health in colleges and universities, where the new generations of helping professionals are being trained. The helping professionals that have the political contacts and savvy to obtain government grants thereby obtain a beneficial source of advancement, prestige and status that enables them to rise in their field. Government funding for grants and projects is also vital because it is the only way to establish the research which will serve to justify more government programs to solve human problems.

One of the marked characteristics of the helping professionals receiving tax money to advance themselves is that they are not accountable to the public in any way for the quality of their research. They are frequently protected by tenure and are therefore dependent only on the good opinion of their peers and colleagues. What is particularly problematic is that in these professions there is a kind of unwritten law against the carrying of disputes, scandals, failures to perform research, conflict of interest and corruption outside the professional community to the public at large. Rather than accept moral responsibility, it is in the interest of these professionals to close ranks on such difficulties.

Moreover, there is little accountability at the congressional level because the chairmen of the committees that oversee the human services bu-

reaucracies are mostly liberals who have a vested and ideological interest in expanding the government's role in human services. The revelation of scandals, conflicts of interest, and wide-scale federal program failure is not in their interest. If a federally-commissioned study that is embarrassingly critical of a federal program does happen to slip through, it will simply be laid upon the shelf while another evaluation is commissioned.

The public now finds itself facing a legislative quagmire as layer upon layer of government programs, regulations and policies affecting families have been building in increments over the years. Only the helping professionals can find their way through the maze. They do so by attending conferences sponsored by a new growth industry, the grantsmanship consultants, often charging the expenses to their agencies. The helping professionals also subscribe, at agency expense, to political and government information services that monitor full time all developments that are in their interest to know. Many helping professionals hire other grantsmanship experts to write grant proposals for them, and ultimately the taxpayer pays the expense.

Over the years, as government programs proliferated, the helping professionals established a network of vital links to the bureaucracy and the legislature. Political relationships are established with important legislators and their staffs. These relationships are maintained by lobby groups who represent the service deliverers: groups such as the Committee for Full Funding in Education, which swings into action at the congressional level whenever it looks as if education interests might get their budgets cut. At the same time, relationships are established with the project directors in the bureaucracy who determine who will get the grants for the next contract.

These important contacts are maintained by conferences that are routinely held in Washington, D.C., sponsored by various groups. One such conference, "How to Get Funds for Kids" was recently held under the sponsorship of the University of Detroit, the Public Management Institute and the Child Welfare League of America. The registration fee for the conference was \$395.00. Thus, the public is effectively excluded from such con-



ferences, though most attendees can charge the fee to their agencies. Attendees meet top congressional leaders in their fields, such as Senator Alan Cranston who heads the Senate Subcommittee on Child and Human Development, or Representative George Miller, who along with Representative John Brademas has been a key leader in getting social services programs legislated in Congress. From bureaucrats and key staffers on Capitol Hill, they learn the political tricks of the trade.

A great deal of the available energy of federally-funded human services providers is taken up with oiling the network that will maintain support for their jobs and programs. Human service providers must also compete with one another for their slice of the government pie. Through all of this activity, it is not difficult to see how the helping professionals and human services networks become in fact the political constituency for the congressmen and senators who by virtue of their positions on committees have a great deal to say about how government programs are run.

The only time the public has any effective say in how these social service programs are conducted is before they are legislated. Once the programs are established and the network is in place, there is virtually no way it can be displaced, except perhaps in the face of a really extraordinary scandal that manages to find its way to public attention.

The helping professionals are paid with public funds to study the "needs" and solve the "problems" of their fellow human beings. By what criteria do they measure the value of the human beings they study and allegedly serve? What core values are transmitted to the apprentice helping professionals who are learning how to be therapeutic service providers in colleges and universities? How can any notion of moral authority or moral responsibility exist if each man has the right to determine his own standards of value which are decreed to be equal to any other?

Dr. Edward Zigler, professor of psychology at Yale University and Director of the Bush Center in Child Development and Social Policy at Yale, illustrates the family professional point of view. He states that he is saddened by the infant mortality and child abuse rates that are on the rise. He be-

lieves that public awareness is a "prerequisite to a national commitment to children" and that this "awareness" will come about *only* as a result of "public education." Zigler notes the "preventative measures to keep children out of foster care include birth control, adoption and abortion."

He further finds that the current rise in teenage pregnancy is not being addressed because public agencies "shy away" from the problem because "many of the solutions" such as sex education, birth control and abortion are "not widely accepted."<sup>45</sup>

An eerie feeling comes over us in pondering that a nationally known professional in the field of child development and social policy is quite seriously suggesting that one solution to the problems generated by children is first of all to kill them before they are born. Professor Zigler is no stranger to government, having served as the director of the Office of Child Development in HEW in the Nixon Administration. Yet he says that "public agencies 'shy away' from sex education, birth control and abortion as solutions," although millions of tax dollars are channeled every year to Planned Parenthood and its affiliates for the express solutions he finds are appropriate.

The "solutions" Zigler supports are "not widely accepted" because they embody a radically dehumanizing vision of the family in which moral responsibility is defined as eliminating the inconvenient results of one's own actions. Dr. Zigler sees "public education" as the *only* solution to the blindness of the public to its "national commitment to children." Are we to conclude that the rampant social problems now epidemic in our society can be solved if only the public can be educated to the need to appropriate more of its resources to the helping professionals?

His heavy reliance on "public education" for the forming of some kind of national conscience is an indication that Dr. Zigler has not fully clarified his own values and their implications. If there is no moral law beyond individual choice, the only thing that "education" can accomplish is to inform people on their alternative choices. The repudiation of moral authority that makes all choices equally valid also renders a "national commitment for children" impossible.

### **The Politics of Caring: Taking Care of Number One**

Recently, a high ranking HEW official, Eddie Bernice Johnson, asked at a Child Abuse Conference in Dallas: "We require almost every endeavor or profession to be licensed—why not the single most important responsibility which a parent can ever have?" Johnson said that licensing parents would enable society "to be secured by a knowledge of parenting skills and techniques which allow the family to have some background concerning how to parent."<sup>46</sup>

Johnson's belief that government regulation is the only guarantee for "quality control" in parenthood is disturbing but instructive. The helping professionals frequently find, when they cannot solve human problems, that the failure is the fault of the "clients."

Three controversial family-related issues will be examined in this chapter: child abuse, day-care and sex education, each exploring the question: what government policies are beneficial to the interests and values of families and what policies serve the interests and values of the politically well-connected helping professionals?

#### **Child Abuse: The Federal Track Record**

In 1974, Congress, under the leadership of Representative John Brademas (D-Ind.), passed the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act which established the National Center for Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN) within HEW. As with so many other social problems, Congress was unable to resist the argument that only the creation of another federal agency would effectively alleviate the tragic occurrences of child abuse.

If one were to summarize the record of this

agency since its inception, it would probably not be unfair to say that it has by and large failed to achieve the lofty goals that Congressman Brademas and others alleged that it would. The track record of NCCAN is important because it illustrates the built-in limitations of federal programmatic solutions to family problems.

Information on NCCAN's conduct is possible in part because of the watchdog newsletter *The Child Protection Report*.<sup>47</sup> This newsletter generally advocates activist government solutions, but is almost unique in the human services publications field because its editors apparently believe that with public funds comes responsibility to the public for the quality of services delivered.

In its April 20, 1978, issue, *Child Protection Report* relates the following:

An investigation by the HEW office of Inspector General found that Douglas Besharov, Director of HEW's National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, apparently acted within the law when he used a loosely-worded contract with George Washington University's Social Research Group to covertly hire some of his friends as consultants to write a compendium of "good practice" standards for the child abuse field.

The report goes on to say that Mr. Besharov did not break the law because there were no "regulations prohibiting project officers from telling contract officers whom to hire." In short, Mr. Besharov, by allowing a cost overrun which included payments to his friends, did not violate the law because a prohibition against this practice was not in the regulations.

The contract originally given to the George Washington University Social Research Group was for \$459,433, but wound up costing the taxpayers \$1,477,186. Says *Child Protection Report*: "unanswered were questions about how many of Besharov's friends were hired and how much they were paid and whether he personally benefited." The services for which the public paid a million and a half dollars were never delivered as the "good practice" standards were never published.

But the story gets worse. A six-month extension of the contract was granted so that an evaluation,

costing another \$50,000, could be made by another contractor. The evaluator-contractor concluded that no data were available upon which to make a cost-benefit analysis; \$50,000 was spent for an evaluation that could not be made because there were insufficient records.

Subsequently, the contract was opened up for rebidding because of the questionable circumstances. When the bid was reopened, the same contractor, the Social Research Group of George Washington University, was the only bidder! In the meantime, the Social Research Group claimed that it lacked the necessary expertise to do the work it contracted to do, and received an extra \$109,000 to hire outside consultants!

The *Child Protection Report* account of the response from the HEW investigators who were "investigating" all of this is fascinating. The investigators concluded that they could not attempt to evaluate whether the products contracted for were produced (the "good practice" standards that were never published), because "they were only equipped to tell how the money was spent, not to pass judgment on whether the research projects actually advance the state of knowledge in the field." Some months later, the *Child Protection Report* noted that the contract with the Social Research Group was cancelled by an HEW official, despite the efforts of influential friends.

A recent GAO report on the conduct of NCCAN does not deal with the conflict of interest and failure of "service delivery" of the agency. Instead it concludes that a major problem for NCCAN is that it has not received enough support from HEW. The GAO report is critical of NCCAN because its role as an active catalyst for change in child abuse and neglect laws and policies in the states has not been sufficiently powerful.<sup>48</sup>

One of the thorniest difficulties with the issue of child abuse and neglect is the question of definition. The goal is to strike a balance in protecting the rights of parents and the integrity of the family, while at the same time maintaining the legitimate interest of the state in preserving the lives and limbs of defenseless children.

One of the leading professionals in the area of child abuse is Richard Gelles, a sociologist and



successful practitioner on the grantmanship circuit, who has received government support, notably from the National Institute of Mental Health, to conduct research and analysis of the incidence of child abuse. In the framework for his research, Gelles defines spanking and excessive verbal re-buke as "child abuse."

In his position paper on child abuse and domestic violence, prepared for the White House Conference on Families under the auspices of the National Council on Family Relations, Gelles shows in his statistical table what he calls an epidemic of child abuse and family violence based on a sampling of respondents to his questionnaire.<sup>49</sup> In his tables, Gelles concludes that acts of "throwing something," "pushing, grabbing and shoving" and "slapping and spanking" are abuse and adds them to other behaviors such as "kicked, bit, hit with fist," "hit with something," "beat up," "threatened with a knife or gun" and "used knife or gun."

Evidencing a characteristic of helping professionals who are advocates for wide-scale social change, Gelles does not bother to make important moral distinctions. For example, in the category of "throwing something," it would make a great deal of difference whether the "something" being thrown was a pillow or a hammer. Reviewing Gelles' charts, and discounting respondents who admitted to "pushing, grabbing and shoving" and "slapping and spanking" their children, his "epidemic" evaporates.

To what does Richard Gelles attribute the "epidemic" of child abuse and violence his research has discovered? In his White House Conference on Families position paper, Gelles points out that violence is natural in the family because the home is a "private setting" where conflict can erupt and there will be no bystanders available to intervene and keep a fight from breaking out, and also that family relations are emotionally charged. Gelles also attributes the cause of child abuse to the fact that violence in the form of spanking is accepted in our society.

Gelles explains the reasons why violence in families occurs. He states that violence occurs because "men and women have insufficient social, psycho-

logical, and economic resources to fulfill family roles." Second, violence is likely "when these individuals have learned to use violence to solve problems and relieve frustrations." In Gelles' approach the concept of moral responsibility is totally absent and replaced by abstract concepts of "role fulfillment" in which people must be given therapeutic "supports" to help them correctly play their roles in society.

In addition to advocating federally funded domestic violence centers, Gelles suggests a far-reaching government policy to prevent violence:

One of the underlying causes of domestic violence is the cultural acceptance of violence as a child rearing technique, acceptable means of solving problems, and a proper means of expressing anger or frustration. To break the cycle of family violence, we require a national policy which rejects all violence as a child rearing technique and as a favored method of resolving human conflict in schools, institutions, television and the movies.<sup>50</sup>

Gelles also suggests federal gun control legislation, banning of federal support of institutions which use corporal punishment of children, and finally banning outright the corporal punishment of children by schools and parents. Since gender inequality is an underlying factor leading to child and spouse abuse, the Equal Rights Amendment must be passed to stop gender inequality. He also suggests Family Impact Analysis as a tool to use. Finally, he is unhappy because "many dollars are wasted" because projects are based on "inaccurate knowledge about the cause of violence." Unfortunately, the research projects Gelles refers to are distressingly similar to his own.

Bearing in mind that Richard Gelles is a top professional in the domestic violence field, it becomes more understandable why a disturbing and persistent fuzziness has greatly inhibited attempts to clearly define what constitutes child abuse. So many helping professionals prefer a comfortable position on the "cutting edge of social change" from which they can advocate the restructuring of society's cultural norms and core values. Being an "agent for change" is much more pleasant than

having to actually involve oneself in the responsibility for helping children—not children who are in danger of being spanked, slapped or shoved—but children who are in danger of being brain damaged, maimed for life, or killed.

Several years ago, one of the human services bulletins reported on a national conference on child abuse to be held in Honolulu, Hawaii. If one is going to save the world, it is obviously more pleasant to be meeting in Hawaii than walking the neighborhoods as a social worker in Newark.

Just and efficacious legislation regarding child abuse can be promulgated only if our society shares certain core values regarding the family and the common good. One core value has been to assume that, in most circumstances, the “best interests of the child” is in the primary care of the family. At the same time, if the life of the child is in danger, society, acting through the state, does in fact have a legitimate interest in protecting the child.

Robert A. Burt, professor of Law at Yale Law School, has this to say about the current situation regarding state child abuse statutes:

Child abuse and neglect laws, in their operations, frequently fall far short of their benevolent child-saving intentions in two critical ways: they misjudge the question whether the parent is in fact harming the child by any sensible standard of child care; and they ignore the question of whether—even if the parent is acting harmfully—the state agency has anything better to offer or will instead inflict even worse harm by intervening. Even where parental physical abuse has been amply established, we can see this ignorance of the real needs of children in the haste with which many state agencies pull children away from their parents and place them . . . in an endless series of short-term foster homes rather than undertaking the more emotionally taxing effort to work intensively with parents so that the children's needs to remain with their parents can be respected.<sup>51</sup>

Burt objects to the expansion of the scope of mandatory reporting laws from “abuse”—which he defines as “direct infliction of observable physical injury”—to “neglect” which he says in typical state laws includes vague injunctions regarding

“emotional harm” or conditions “not conducive to the moral welfare of the child,” vague notions which Burt argues can be used in the unjustified removal of children from the custody of their parents.

The social workers who are out on the firing line with heavy case loads are currently forced into situations where they must use their own judgment because no clear standards exist. However, with clear standards to follow, social workers could better concentrate their efforts on situations where the child's life and safety are often at stake.

That these tragic situations exist is part of the human condition which any humane and just society seeks to rectify; but the failure to mitigate these evils is often laid at the feet of “cold hearted” conservatives and an affluent society that “selfishly” will not appropriate enough government funds to help the poor. The shocking waste of public funds, conflict of interest and political cronyism that characterizes government involvement in the human services field suggests another explanation.

Failure of existing government policies has occurred because the liberal politicians allegedly devoted to the “poor and helpless” have formed an unholy alliance with their constituent party of government interventionist helping professionals. This alliance has effectively been in charge of government social service programs and policies for the last fifteen years as government has expanded. During this period this ruling alliance has utterly refused to set priorities in the social services field.

Rescuing children in danger of life and limb has simply not been a priority. It has been placed far down on the list when compared to other, more ideologically popular programs such as government funds for therapeutic counseling, contraception and abortions to teenagers, full funding for education programs and “research and demonstration” projects.

Practical acts to rescue endangered children require a kind of selfless commitment in the day-to-day reality of caring for people in unpleasant circumstances that apparently the preponderance of helping professionals have little taste for. Eradication of sexism in sports and therapeutic pursuits are more satisfactory and less demanding.

The social workers in the field, who tend to be on



the bottom rungs of the professional ladder, experience this daily reality, but they last only a few years before they "burn out." To pay them more money or give them the kind of support needed to help families truly in need would mean that the more well-off helping professionals in the bureaucracy and academic institutions would have to give up their pieces of the government social service pie, something they are clearly unwilling to do.

#### **Day-Care:**

##### **What Should the Federal Role Be?**

Since the stunning defeat of the Comprehensive Child Development bill in 1971, proponents of an extensive federal commitment to day-care have tried on two subsequent occasions to pass comprehensive legislation to establish a nationwide network of day-care/child development centers: the ill-fated Child and Family Services Act (1975) and the short-lived Comprehensive Child Care bill (S. 4) proposed in 1979 by Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), which was withdrawn from active consideration a few months after its introduction. In both instances, proponents of federally funded day-care were confronted with the hard political truth that the public generally did not support such measures.

Meanwhile, in the late '70s, assorted prestigious child and family experts attempted to generate a consensus behind a national family policy, calling for supports to strengthen the family in the form of job and income guarantees, health and a vast array of entitlement services for families that needed them. Two documents advocating this point of view were the report by the Carnegie Council on Children, *All Our Children*,<sup>52</sup> and *Toward a National Policy for Children and Families*<sup>53</sup> by the Advisory Committee on Child Development of the National Research Council. The premise embodied in both was that families are in need of government help beyond the federal social services programs now in place; poverty, inequality and discrimination are the enemies of families and the engine of the federal government must be harnessed to eradicate these evils.

The reasons why these proposals have had difficulty getting off the ground are twofold. First, the helping professionals who advocate them have trouble forming a political constituency beyond themselves to pressure the politicians. Secondly, the government-supported political network of helping professionals is primarily centered on the preservation and enlargement of existing turf and status. Because top priority is given to turf preservation, the child advocacy movement has had enormous difficulty uniting behind a single policy objective. To correct this deficiency, Marian Wright Edelman, head of the Children's Defense Fund and a leading child advocate, is currently spearheading an attempt to set up child advocacy political coalitions in every state to gain leverage for more government programs.

A classic illustration of how the struggle for turf mitigates against a united front by child advocates occurred in the deliberations on the comprehensive child development-day-care bills. There was intense competition between the public education lobby and the day-care/child development groups to determine which cluster of interests should have the primary responsibility for the programs authorized under the proposed legislation.

Advocates for federally funded day-care advance the position that the policy of the federal government must be to support the movement of mothers into the work force. This is by and large the position of the feminist movement. In testimony given on behalf of the Cranston comprehensive child care bill, President Carter's advisor for women, Sarah Weddington, stated that "by 1990 the need for child care providers could increase by as much as 60 percent and that about 17,400 day care centers and 1 million family day care homes will be required for the estimated 2.2 million or more preschoolers whose mothers will then be in the work force."<sup>54</sup>

Jill Conway, president of Smith College, said in testimony at the same hearing that economists have indicated that as much as 49 percent of the differences in men's and women's salaries may be the result of women's discontinuous labor force participation. Conway attributed part of this lack of continuity to child care needs, and suggested that

government action to enable or assist in the provisions of day-care could be "the most significant factor" in arresting the growing differential between men's and women's earnings.<sup>55</sup>

The arguments for comprehensive federal day-care support are circular, starting with the assumption that it should be the policy of the federal government to encourage mothers of young children to enter the work force and ratify their choice with day-care support. Then, the justification for such a policy becomes the fact that more mothers of young children are in fact entering the work force.

By sticking to the circular argument, proponents of federal day-care support avoid the really sticky questions. Why are more mothers in the work force? Are they there primarily through choice, financial necessity, or some combination of both? What are the current child care choices most working mothers are making? What is the trade-off between the cost of federal day-care in real dollars and inflation and tax pressures on families that cause mothers to go out and work in the first place? Is it in the best interest of women and their families to have government encouraging mothers of young children to enter the work force by providing them with free or practically free "services" as incentives to do so? Finally, is giving government incentives to mothers to place their infants and preschoolers in the hands of others in the best interest of the children?

### *Working Mothers*

Why do mothers work? In many cases, except for those who tend to be in high status jobs, the majority of working mothers work "for the money." These women, busy earning extra dollars for the family budget, for children's college tuitions or house payments, are probably too harrassed to notice that they have been claimed, body and soul, by the women's movement because they work.

By every indication, these women take very seriously their responsibilities as wives and mothers; they are under stress because they are seeking to perform dual roles, and 40 percent of those in lower paying, lower status jobs would quit tomorrow if they didn't need the money.<sup>56</sup> At the same

time, these women, because they are committed to their home responsibilities, often renounce higher paying jobs that require greater job commitment; flexibility is as important to them as the extra income.

Working mothers in families with incomes up to \$50,000 can receive a tax credit for up to 20 percent of day-care expenses. The annual cost to taxpayers of this credit is \$500 million.<sup>57</sup>

### *The Preferences of Mothers*

One of the points of controversy has been the kinds of day-care working mothers prefer. Many who are skeptical about the validity of more federal child care support point to the fact that most mothers seem to do well with extended family, neighborhood, and informal care arrangements. The record is clear that the overwhelming number of working mothers use such arrangements. A 1975 study showed that only 2.2 percent of the children of families using non-parental care over ten hours per week were in day-care centers.<sup>58</sup>

Marian Wright Edelman, who promoted the 1971 Comprehensive Child Development bill, solves her day-care problem with a housekeeper whom she employs while she fulfills her career as a child advocate.<sup>59</sup> Most of the evidence suggests that Edelman's choice is similar to that of many working mothers who choose informal day-care over day-care centers.

The preferences and practices of most working mothers have been very threatening to the ideological assumptions of the federalized day-care advocates. Clinging to the belief that mothers are anxious to enter the work force and place their children in high quality day-care centers leads these advocates to interesting conclusions regarding the concerns of mothers.

In the hearings on the Cranston bill, a poll was cited showing that "most mothers prefer high quality day care centers to other forms of child care" and that fully 80 percent of the non-working mothers polled indicated that "the biggest problem in entering the work force would be managing both job and family."<sup>60</sup> The implication is clear that for 80 percent of the mothers not working, the lack of

"high quality day care centers" provided by the federal government (on an advantageous sliding fee scale), constitutes a "barrier" to their entry into the work force.

Another view of these same responses might point to the conclusion that the 80 percent of mothers of young children polled who are not working are by their response simply acknowledging the full implications of the moral responsibilities they have accepted by having a family. These mothers have concluded that in order to exercise that responsibility fully, they can not have a career outside the home as well. By suggesting that a "high quality day care center" would be "nice," these mothers are not even addressing the issues of whether they would want to pay its costs or have the government pay its costs (which would result in a higher tax bill for the mothers' families). What day-care proponents view as a barrier to *their* policy preferences, is seen by most mothers as proof that in life "you can't have it all," and that being mature means knowing that there are consequences for all of life's choices.

#### *What is "Quality" Day-Care?*

References to "high quality" day-care centers brings up the interesting question of the definition of "quality." For public sector-oriented day-care advocates, high quality day-care means day-care centers that are funded and regulated by the government and "quality control" of care-givers in private homes through government licensing and compliance with government standards. There is a great fear of "Kentucky Fried" franchised private day-care centers while at the same time government bureaucracy is seen as the absolute guarantee for "quality."

This was graphically revealed in the workshop on child care at the Baltimore White House Conference on Families. Although there were sensible proposals for encouraging employer and union arrangements for child care for employees, top priority was given to enlargement of the government role in services, licensing and regulation to provide "quality child care." This approach did not reflect testimony from the grass roots at the state hearings

held by the White House Conference on Families.

The fatal problem for federal day-care advocates is that their research models of ideal day care centers are expensive university-based centers populated by budding child development professionals who act as willing surrogate parents as part of their studies. These centers, according to some estimates, cost approximately \$3,000 to \$4,000 a year per child and are heavily subsidized by the parent university and by government grants. These centers are the prototype that Bettye M. Caldwell, well-known advocate for federal day-care and one of the high ranking professionals in the day-care field, has used in her research to demonstrate the beneficial effects of day-care centers on the development of children.

Caldwell, in her position paper commissioned by the National Council on Family Relations for the White House Conference on Families, states that, "most citizens fail to appreciate the importance of day care as a developmental service" and that they view day-care as "family weakening rather than family strengthening."<sup>61</sup> Professor Caldwell misses the point; the kind of day-care that she attempts to provide as a "developmental service" in her university-based day-care facility is simply not available as a realistic option for most working mothers. To publicly maintain centers of this kind on a national scale would require an unbearable burden which the taxpayers are not willing to carry.

Syndicated columnist Joan Beck has asked, "would mothers of young children be willing to work full time outside the home if they knew it would lower their youngsters' intelligence measurably?" Beck says this question is one the "women's movement will have to face" because there is evidence that "the quality of happy home life is much more closely related to mental test scores than socio-economic status."<sup>62</sup>

The mothering necessary for the younger child must be a continuous, stable daily giving of love and interest to the child; it is not the kind of mothering you can concentrate into a tired hour of "quality time" following a long work day outside the home. This kind of mothering needs to be spread over the waking day of the baby or toddler, keyed to his immediate interests, and matched to

his responses and level of development. The myth of "quality time" is frequently perpetrated in women's magazines as part of the message to women that they "can have it all."

### *Every Child's Birthright*

In her landmark book, *Every Child's Birthright: In Defense of Mothering*,<sup>63</sup> psychiatrist Selma Fraiberg has brought her professional experience to bear in documenting and affirming the vital and irreplaceable role played by mothers in the continuous loving care for their children in the crucial early years, and the terrible psychic damage done to children who suffer deprivation of mothering.

Sidestepping religious and political considerations in the delivery of her message, she demonstrates the social and psychological implications for the child and for society that result from deprivation of mothering, including the deprivation undergone by children who are placed, at a very tender age, in day-care centers for the entire day.

Fraiberg studiously avoids attempting to tell the mothers of young children that they should not embark on full-time work outside the home, but she nevertheless feels called upon to deliver to them her uncomfortable message on the effects their course of action might have on the well-being of their children. She challenges all mothers with this statement:

What of babies and small children who are caught in this upheaval? Babies have not changed their nature in the course of human history. They have not been liberated by the changing family styles of the past decades. They have not caught up with the news that they are enslaving their mothers and causing domestic upheavals by the accident of their birth. And while we have been professing that it doesn't make any difference who feeds, bathes, diapers, holds, and plays games with them, they don't believe it. It has taken millions of research dollars to find out what anybody's grandmother knew 50 years ago. Babies know their parents and prefer them to other people as early as the first few weeks of life.<sup>64</sup>

Children who are in extreme terms deprived of mothering become at a very early age afflicted with the severe psychic disease of non-attachment. Ac-

ording to Fraiberg, a child suffering from the disease of non-attachment has great difficulty even at the age of three or four and cannot easily attach himself to others, even when he is provided with the most favorable conditions for the formation of his humanity. For the non-attached so affected, "drugs and brutal acts are needed to affirm their existence." Multiple killers are people with this disease, people who are "part of the floating populations of prisons, in the slums, the carnie show, underworld enterprises, or the streets of our major cities."

The rescuing of children afflicted with the disease of non-attachment, if successful at all, takes "enormous resources of the state and the work of deeply dedicated people for months and years," yet all of this "normally takes place, without psychiatric consultation, in ordinary homes and with ordinary babies, during the first year of life."<sup>65</sup>

Selma Fraiberg is clearly trying to convey to mothers the enormous importance of their endeavors. The feminist movement, which has in so many quarters demeaned the society-saving function of mothering, reacted predictably with an article in *Ms.* magazine (August 1978) warning women to "Beware of Fraiberg's Apron Strings."

Fraiberg also has a great deal to say about the current situation of mothers who are on the Aid for Families of Dependent Children (AFDC) welfare programs. The efforts to place these mothers in the work force and help to make them self-supporting was the rationale behind the Work Incentive Program (WIN) which was begun in 1973. The WIN program, along with the much larger federal program, Title XX of the Social Security Act, provides federal funds for states which in turn establish day-care programs for AFDC mothers. Selma Fraiberg describes what she calls the "looking glass world" of federal day-care in which mothers on welfare place their own children in federally funded day-care centers while they undergo training as caregivers or work in federally funded day-care centers.

The present direct involvement of the federal government in day-care, under Title XX and WIN, is primarily through its access to the AFDC mothers. The rationale behind the programs is that the AFDC mothers can receive training, develop



skills and thereby a sense of self esteem and a measure of independence, permitting them to go off welfare and become self-supporting.

Perhaps a great deal depends on the quality of the training the AFDC mothers are receiving. The amount the federal government spends for "training" under Title XX is considerable, amounting to \$81 million this year.<sup>66</sup> The degree to which the Title XX programs in the states reflect Fraiberg's looking glass world and the degree to which they are actually helping mothers to become self-sustaining depends, as it always does, on the quality and dedication of the helping professionals whose living is derived from Title XX and other assorted programs built around the AFDC mothers.

### **The Sex Education Controversy: Whose Values Will Prevail?**

As we enter the decade of the 1980s, proponents of the "new sex education" are mounting their second nationwide offensive to establish their vision of sexuality in comprehensive sex education courses in the schools. The first offensive took place in the late '60s and early '70s, spearheaded by Mary Calderone and the Sex Information and Education Council of the United States, and backed by policies and grants from HEW. This first offensive was not completely successful, as many communities erupted in intense controversy. When the dust had settled only a small number of communities had actually adopted the comprehensive "new sexuality" approach. According to prominent sex educators Peter Scales and Sol Gordon, who addressed their colleagues at the Wingspread Conference on Early Adolescent Sexuality and Health Care in June 1970:

We must stop pretending that school sex education already exists; aside from a few isolated programs, little but the "plumbing" and biological facts are being taught. The best estimates are that fewer than 10 percent of the nation's young people receive anything remotely approaching adequate sex education in the schools.<sup>67</sup>

In *The New Sex Education: The Sex Educator's Resource Book*, the editor, Herbert A. Otto, gives

an enlightening exposition of the "system of values" the new sex education entails. Otto, whose "credentials" include membership in the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex and the American Association of Sex Education, Counselors, and Therapists, defines the "new sexuality":

Today, sexuality is seen as an important aspect of healthy personality functioning, as enhancing the quality of life and fostering personal growth, and as contributing to human fulfillment.<sup>68</sup>

Otto sums up the new sex education which embodies the following propositions: sexual health as an important aspect of total health; recognition that a multitude of sexual life styles reflects the needs of a pluralistic society; open communication in all matters pertaining to human sexuality—in and out of the classroom, including the total range of sexual terminology, street language and four-letter words utilized as part of the teaching process; birth control information routinely made available; an emphasis on building healthy attitudes; utilization of explicit films and new teaching methods such as group discussion and values clarification; emphasis on the role of values and a presentation of sexual life-styles including homosexuality, lesbianism and bisexuality, with an emphasis on understanding and the development of non-judgmental attitudes.<sup>69</sup>

In the state of New Jersey, the new sex education has been mandated by the state board of education. Other states like California and Ohio are undergoing preparations for new statewide efforts to install it. With the backing of federal funds, the national PTA is renewing its intensive drive to place sex education in America's schools. The national PTA has received a \$432,000 grant from the center for Disease Control to develop a Comprehensive School/Community Health Education Project. The national PTA is operating on the assumption that

Such cooperative, planned education for positive sexual attitudes and self-understanding can contribute to the prevention of many of the social and medical problems associated with early pregnancy, venereal diseases, and emotionally crippling sexual dysfunctions.<sup>70</sup>

The National Center for Disease Control has also given a grant to Mathtech, a Bethesda, Maryland, research firm to analyze the most "successful" sex education programs in the nation. This project is spearheaded by Dr. Peter Scales. Scales has received additional grant money from the Center for Disease Control to conduct a study of "barriers to sex education" which includes a tour of 25 cities.

In his tour, Scales is advancing propositions which are interesting in view of contrary arguments he has advanced elsewhere to his fellow sex educators. Scales publicly argues that a "silent majority supports sex education all across the country. . . . Where parents are given a choice whether or not sex education will be taught to their children, 99 percent choose to allow sex education. Only 1 to 3 percent refuse this permission."<sup>71</sup>

However, as noted above, Scales, in addressing his colleagues at Wingspread, has bemoaned the fact that most sex education in the schools still consists of "plumbing and biological facts." Surely he understands that that type of sex education is not normally a subject of controversy.

Moreover, Scales has not specifically addressed the mechanics of parental consent regarding currently operating classes in the "new sex education." A great deal depends on whether the course is offered as an identifiable elective and parents have the right to give prior informed consent before their children are enrolled, or whether such courses are "integrated" into "health" curricula and the parents must "invade" the school system to remove their children, subjecting the children to the negative effects of being a dissenter from the peer group.

These problematic areas are of course unpleasant for Peter Scales, Sol Gordon and other sex educators to face because their position depends on their claim that sex education is generally supported by the public and that their own expert notions of how sex should be taught are only hampered by the "vociferous attacks of a small minority."

The interesting point in Scales' argument is that the statistics he cites must, by his own admission, be of classes where mostly "plumbing and biological facts" are taught. He is not dealing with paren-

tal opinions on whether their children should receive the comprehensive, value-oriented, alternative life-style, birth control information approach he advocates. In this regard, the results of a national poll done by Yankelovich, Skelly and White is extremely enlightening. The poll reported the following results:

Among parents with teenage children, eight out of ten feel it is up to the parents to educate their own children about birth control. One in ten assigns the responsibility to the schools. Only 7 percent believe that teenagers should be able to get this information from a doctor.<sup>72</sup>

If only 7 percent of the parents believe that teenagers should be able to get this information from a doctor without their knowledge, it is interesting to speculate on what percentage of parents believe that their teenager should get the information from a Planned Parenthood clinician or a "peer counselor."

Scales's public stance is that the sex education study he is conducting "was ordered by the federal government in an effort to avoid tragedies common in today's society—increase in teenage pregnancies, increase in teenage venereal diseases and increase in teenage abortions."<sup>73</sup>

Will the new comprehensive sex education accomplish the social goals of reducing teenage pregnancy, venereal disease and abortion? No studies currently available done by sex educators and researchers who are themselves sympathetic to giving birth control information to teenagers show that there is any kind of reduction. Rather, the record shows clearly that increases occur.

Speaking to their colleagues at Wingspread, Peter Scales and Sol Gordon, had this to say:

No responsible sex educator can suggest that the best sex education programs would quickly result in a dramatic reduction of unplanned pregnancies or venereal disease among teenagers. It is unrealistic to expect a 15 year old who takes one brief course or unit to suddenly overcome 15 years of learning sex-role double standards, guilt over sexuality, and exposure to media images that are largely devoid of healthy and loving sexual relationships. It seems clear that factors such as poverty, racism, sexism,

the double standard, and a sense of powerlessness and alienation are overriding influences on the ability of many teenagers to avoid problems associated with sexual behavior.<sup>74</sup>

Scales "estimates" that a "quality, universally available sex education program in the schools can contribute in the short run" perhaps a 10 percent, optimally a 20 percent, reduction in teenage pregnancies and VD. But the long range goal is to "encourage young people to develop healthier attitudes about themselves."

Echoing this theme, the Michigan Department of Public Health issued a booklet, "Preparing Professionals for Family Life and Human Sexuality Education." Examining the "purpose of sex education" the booklet stated:

[F]ew people today take seriously the assumption that sex education will lower rates of illegitimacy, venereal disease or promiscuity. . . . The more viable assumption behind an interest in sex education is that it should work to make sex a more rewarding part of people's lives—to make sex education impart competence and not necessarily constraint. . . .<sup>75</sup>

In an article on "Teenage Pregnancy: A Research Review" in the December 1979 issue of *Social Work*, the journal of the National Association of Social Workers, Dr. Catherine S. Chilman, professor of social welfare at the University of Wisconsin, cites studies which have "failed to show that improved knowledge about human sexuality results in changes in sexual behavior and contraceptive use."

Despite this, she argues that sex education, "placed in the context of. . . interpersonal relations and life goals, is clearly called for." "This is especially true," she says, "in a society that has changed its values and norms so radically in the past ten years and in which parents and children have such difficulty in communicating about sexual topics." In short, the youngsters have to have the new sex education, not because it will reduce or prevent social problems of unwanted pregnancy and VD, but because the promoters of the new sex education have decided that their system of values

is more desirable than those traditionally used by families.

Millions of dollars every year are given by the federal government for sex education and contraceptive programs for teenagers under Title X of the Social Security Act, with the federal government bearing 90 percent of the cost.<sup>76</sup> More recently, under the Adolescent Health Services and Pregnancy Prevention and Care Act of 1978 (PL 95-626), Congress has approved \$17.5 million for fiscal year 1980 for programs funded through the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy.<sup>77</sup> Projects funded include the familiar "outreach" programs where local health care services agencies, Planned Parenthood and social services departments target adolescents, instruct them in sex education, give them contraception, and counsel abortion as a backup, all without the knowledge and consent of parents.

In short, under the combined authority of the federal and state governments and local "health" agencies, as well as Planned Parenthood affiliates, millions of dollars are being spent to teach our young people the new orthodoxy. In this system of values the adult world assumes youngsters likely to be sexually active. To engage in sex "responsibly" they must employ contraceptives, with abortion as the backup in the event of contraceptive failure. Self control is one "option" but the young must make their choices on their own. Society will accept whichever option they choose.

To gain initial leverage, a widely heralded report from Planned Parenthood's Research Division, the Alan Guttmacher Institute, *11 Million Teenagers*, conveyed the erroneous impression of a nationwide, out-of-control epidemic of illegitimate teenage pregnancy. This report was used to justify millions of federal dollars for "family planning" authorized each year for unmarried adolescents without parental knowledge or consent.

More recently, the facts concerning this deception have come to light in the research done by New York psychoanalyst Rhoda Lorand<sup>78</sup> and California economist Jacqueline Kasun.<sup>79</sup> At a recent conference, Dr. Melvin Zelnick, professor of population studies at Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health cited his findings that knowledge of contraception does not help to eliminate



teenage pregnancy.<sup>80</sup> He said that only 3 percent of teenagers with unexpected pregnancies said they did not know about contraceptives and where to get them. Dr. Zelnick states that many teenagers want to become pregnant. For unfortunate young girls in unhappy circumstances, getting pregnant and having a baby is a passport to an AFDC government subsidized household of one's own.<sup>81</sup> The government subsidizes this life-style at the same time that it subsidizes sex educators who claim to be able to alter that life-style with contraception and abortion.

Within the literature of the helping professionals it is well known that the "new sex education" and "clinical outreach" with contraception does not result in reduction of teenage pregnancy. Rather, the main purpose of these activities is to help change attitudes toward sexuality among the youth and the general populace. Dr. Donald Brieland, professor and dean of the School of Social Work at the University of Illinois, states,

Adolescent women often deny their sexual impulses by rejecting contraception and then become pregnant. The value judgment that it is promiscuous to be prepared for intercourse by using contraception is a major problem in counseling. Many adolescents consider intercourse followed by pregnancy to be less of a moral problem than using contraception.<sup>82</sup>

The real problem for the sex educators is that not only do the parents and communities reject their noxious nostrums, so do the kids! Not surprisingly, in view of their persistent failure to persuade the public to embrace the new sexuality, the sex educators are now trying to gain access to television and radio to advertise the contraceptive way of life to the young. The fear of "indiscriminate sex" that persists in our society is a "norm" that presents a "barrier" to "positive" social change. The persistence of this "barrier" caused political scientist Andrew Hacker to comment:

What passes for sex education will not prevent premarital pregnancies until schools shepherd groups of pupils over to nearby clinics, with or without parental permission.<sup>83</sup>

The government supported degradation of our young people is being resisted in communities across the land. Local pro-family organizations are working to cut off the pipeline of government funding which is the lifeblood for Planned Parenthood affiliates through the multilayered government authorizations of Title X, Health Systems Agencies and other legislation. Increasing numbers of people see no reason why the humanistic "pro-choice" message has to be the only one beamed to our young people.<sup>84</sup>



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### The Family, Human Rights and the Courts

Where do the rights that we hold under the Constitution of the United States come from? The Constitution and the Bill of Rights are charters grounded in natural and eternal law, guaranteeing rights which, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, are rooted in "nature and nature's God." The judicial arm of government was intended to be the guardian and protector of these rights. The judiciary was not meant to be, under the aegis of the state, the means by which rights are *created* or *withheld*. We understand ourselves to be under the authority of a government based on law, not men.

The Supreme Court, however, in a series of decisions profoundly affecting human rights and the family, has, in effect, arrogated to the judiciary the power to determine the nature of human rights. The enormous implications of this usurpation of power were profoundly brought to the fore in the abortion decisions of 1973, when the Supreme Court abrogated the God-given right to life of unborn children.

John T. Noonan, Jr. of the University of California Law School, Berkeley, has placed the *Roe v. Wade* abortion decision in perspective in a profound essay entitled, *Is the Family Constitutional?*<sup>85</sup> Noonan demonstrates that, based on a series of Supreme Court decisions both before and after that decision, a majority on the Court has in fact acted to impose a positivist, humanistic rule of law on American society. In so doing it has not only placed the lives of the unborn in fatal jeopardy, but the legal status of the family as well.

Professor Noonan has summarized the ways in which the Supreme Court has already redefined human rights and the status of the family: 1) there can be no difference in the law between those who

are unmarried and those who are married, negating legal marriage as the foundation of the family; 2) the rights of parents exist at the delegation of the state, rights that the state can take away or confer at will; and 3) the denial of the God-given right and responsibility of parents for the physical and moral welfare of their own children.

The Court has erased the distinctions between married and unmarried persons. In *New Jersey and U.S. Department of Agriculture v. Moreno* (1973) and *Welfare Rights Organization v. Cahill* (1973), the Supreme Court ruled that government assistance to families based on legal marriage was an unconstitutional denial of equal protection under the law for unmarried persons.

In *Cuban v. Mohammad* (1979) the Court ruled that a New York adoption law providing for adoption of a child born out of wedlock and providing only for the consent of the mother was an unconstitutional denial of rights to the natural father. The Court maintained that the natural father's consent had to be obtained before out of wedlock children could be adopted. However, in *Planned Parenthood v. Danforth* (1976), the Court, speaking through Justice Blackmun, ruled that fathers of unborn children had no right to preserve the right to life of their own offspring. Since the Court in *Roe v. Wade* had found that the state had no interest to protect life in an abortion, it followed in *Danforth* that the state could not delegate the right to preserve life to the father.

In the case of *Eisenstadt v. Baird* (1972), Justice Brennan, speaking for the Court, struck down a Massachusetts law which prohibited the sale of contraceptives to unmarried persons. Brennan challenged the traditional Christian concept of marriage as a unity of man and woman, affirming instead that marriage was merely an association of two individuals who remain individuals.

Dr. Paul Johnson, commenting on implications of the *Eisenstadt* case, has stated that "when the court says a marriage is merely an association between two individuals, it removes all the special characteristics of a marriage contract, which invest it with social, moral and spiritual significance."<sup>86</sup>

In *Bellotti v. Baird* (1979), the Court, speaking through Justice Powell, ruled that a Massachusetts

law requiring minors to obtain parental approval before obtaining an abortion was unconstitutional. The majority ruled that while the parents have in effect no legal or constitutional right to effect the outcome of this momentous event in the life of their child, judges, acting as agents of the state, may act *in loco parentis*.

More recently, in February 1980, a three judge panel of the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit in Cincinnati handed down the unanimous decision that parents need not be notified before a state agency provides sex education, prescription birth control medication and devices to unemancipated minors. This case, *Doe v. Irwin*, is now on appeal to the Supreme Court. According to Robert Destro, general counsel for the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, which is appealing this decision, in the event that the Supreme Court upholds *Doe v. Irwin*, the Court will have declared that parents have no constitutional right to direct the education of their children in the area of sexual morality, and that power may be taken by the state.<sup>87</sup>

Other recent decisions which illustrate the ominous direction taken by the judicial arm of the American state include a U.S. District Court in Rhode Island ruling by Judge Raymond Pettine that an avowed homosexual may attend his public high school senior prom with a male date because he is making a political statement protected by the First Amendment.<sup>88</sup>

Some encouraging decisions are found at the local and state court level. The Illinois Supreme Court recently ruled that couples who live together but do not marry cannot sue each other for property settlement if they end the relationship. The Court said that allowing such property settlements would in effect reinstitute the practice of common law marriages that were outlawed in Illinois in 1903. The justices also said allowing property settlements in such cases would undermine the state's commitment to the institution of marriage.<sup>89</sup>

According to the pattern of cases already established, it is clear that the position of the *traditional family* can, under the Constitution, by no means be taken for granted and that unless a rather dramatic turnaround in the federal judiciary occurs, the

future legal status of heterosexual marriage and parental rights is problematic indeed.

Shortly before this study went to press, the Supreme Court opened its Fall term with a ruling in the *Doe v. Irwin* case (No. 79-1811) cited above. The ruling came in a decision not to review an appeal by a group of Lansing, Michigan, parents who had sued a local family planning clinic. The Court action thus gives publicly-financed clinics the right to dispense contraceptives to minors without notifying their parents.

## Conclusion

In his profound essay, "The Vital Role of the Family," Robert Reilly states:

It is in and through human society that man naturally reaches his fullest completion, and the fundamental cell of that society is the family. It is the "first" form of association because man does not spring fully formed from the forehead of Jupiter ready to perform his role in civil society. . . . The family is antecedent to and makes possible the formation of society. Without the family, that formation is impossible. This is true in the highest sense because a society cannot exist without recognition of and adherence to a common good. The common good requires people to act out of motives larger than their own narrow self-interests. Unless people are capable of self-discipline, of placing restraints upon their appetites and desires, the common good cannot be maintained.

The disposition of self-restraint and selfless action is first learned in the family.

Although most Americans would appear to "hold these truths" concerning the family, the evidence is overwhelming that the vital moral code of our social fabric is severely eroded. This erosion results primarily from repudiation of the eternal law upon which core values are based, and its replacement by a pseudo-scientific secular humanism in which man himself becomes God.

If no standards or values exist beyond individual, autonomous choice, society can only be organized by pragmatic and ultimately coercive government mechanisms. The dominant liberal elite in the media and academia continues to frame the issues in terms of divisions of class, race, and other sociological groupings: women against men, whites against minorities, middle class against the poor, parents against their children. No longer are we a people "endowed by our Creator with certain unalienable rights," but a cluster of warring tribes whose every dispute must be settled by the unelected guardians: the imperial judiciary.



We have already come very far in losing our right as a society to morally define ourselves. As evidenced by the abortion decisions, the Supreme Court has, in effect, declared itself the source of human rights with the power to define, extend or withdraw those rights based on its autonomous vision of what the Constitution requires. The trend is toward an extension of "constitutional" rights beyond the core value of racial equality to a sanctioning of all individual choices in conduct as equally valid and protected by the Constitution.

To the degree that we are under the authority of a government of men and not of law, our freedom is in jeopardy. The remedy for this judicial usurpation of power must be found either through more representative branches of the government or a major change of direction within the judiciary itself.

There are indications that a major political realignment based on support for traditional core values may be taking place. Any such realignment must transcend the sociological divisions of religion, race and class. The family is not the product of white middle-class morality; it is the essential unit by which all individuals find their identity and the means to grow into participating members of society.

Government intrusion into the family has spread under the slogan that only the State can solve human problems in "health," "education," and "welfare." Without benefit of public consensus an unwritten federal "family policy" has evolved. That federal policy, implemented through layer upon layer of federal programs, is that the State, rather than the family, has the primary responsibility to define and satisfy the full range of human needs.

The developing political realignment centered on the issue of the family has found expression in the proposed Family Protection Act, sponsored by Senator Paul Laxalt (R-Nevada). The Family Protection Act seeks to restore the authority for life decisions to families—authority which has been eroded by an interventionist and expansive government. In key areas such as education, day-care, care of the elderly, and favorable tax policies for

families, the Family Protection Act seeks to redress the balance in favor of the family.

Not surprisingly, the main criticism of the Family Protection Act has come from the human services establishment. The charge is made that the Act protects white middle class families and is insensitive to minorities and the poor.

This tactic is all too familiar. The taxpaying populace is continuously whipped into a form of class warfare in which it is coerced into subsidizing programs alleged to be for the benefit of the poor, but which in reality are welfare programs for the "new class" of helping professionals. The individuals who are vulnerable precisely because they are not functioning within strong and stable families are placed on a kind of therapeutic conveyor belt, providing the indispensable clientele for the vast hordes of human services providers who derive their livelihood from this dependence.

Will we continue to subsidize government policies that weaken the family? There is a tendency to look the other way in the face of a vast welfare program whose effect is to subsidize broken families. As George Gilder has pointed out, "in the welfare culture, money becomes not something earned by men through hard work, but a right conferred on women by the state."<sup>91</sup>

Most family studies, including those that are federally funded, point to the family as the indispensable, irreplaceable support system for the individual. What kinds of supports in turn strengthen families? If the family unit is held together by acceptance of moral responsibility, supports that help make families strong are intangible, non-material values, ethnic and racial ties, community traditions, societal norms, shared values, and strong religious commitments. For example, effective cures for alcoholism are found in self-help groups like Alcoholics Anonymous; parents prone to child abuse find help in groups like Parents Anonymous; and studies show that strong religious and traditional ties are the determining factor for stable marriages.

Strong families in turn enrich the secondary institutions where they live, providing a social tie upon which trust, good will and generosity of spirit



can thrive. Do we need a spate of sociological studies to tell us that when people in families learn to care for each other, they also learn to care for others?

Our current situation is that we all have the right to kill our children before they are born if we so choose. At the same time, the experts are advising us that incest is an "irrational taboo," that spanking should be outlawed, and that parenthood should be licensed.

The recovery of the family is nothing less than the recovery of our common humanity.

## Footnotes

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84. Positive materials that offer chastity and self-control as the best answer are available from the Family Life Center, 2041 Mt. Diblo, Walnut Creek, CA, 94596, and the Utah Association of Women, 68 S. Main, Suite 727, Salt Lake City, Utah, 84101.
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86. "The Family as an Emblem of Freedom," A Capitol Symposium on the Family, American Family Institute, June 5, 1980.
87. *Catholic League Newsletter*, April 1980. Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, 1100 West Wells St., Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 53233.
88. *Education Daily*, May 28, 1980.
89. *Human Life*, Human Life Center, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, 56321.
90. Intercollegiate Studies Institute, *Campus Report*, Fall 1979. (14 South Bryn Mawr Avenue, Bryn Mawr, PA, 19010.)
91. Gilder, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Gilder illuminates the tragic implications of government welfare policies that fracture families in his book, *Visible Man* (New York: Basic Books, 1978).

## Suggested Readings on the Family

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### Books

- The Family: America's Hope*. Rockford College Institute, Rockford, Illinois, 61101. \$4.00.
- Fraiberg, Selma. *Every Child's Birthright: In Defense of Mothering*. New York: Basic Books, 1977.
- Vitz, Paul. *Psychology as Religion: The Cult of Self-Worship*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1979. (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 255 Jefferson Avenue, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan, 49503. \$3.95.)
- Voth, Harold. *The Castrated Family*. Kansas City: Sheed, Andrews and McMeel, Inc., 1977.

### Articles

- Carlson, Allan C. "Families, Sex and the Liberal Agenda." *The Public Interest*, Winter 1980, pp. 62-79.
- Gilder, George. "The Coming Welfare Crisis." *Policy Review*, Winter 1980, pp. 25-36.
- Sobran, Joseph. "In Loco Parentis." *Human Life Review*, Fall 1979, pp. 5-23.

### Pamphlets

- Ball, William B. "Family Freedom in Education."
- Johnson, Paul. "The Family as an Emblem of Freedom."
- Noonan, John T., Jr. "Is the Family Constitutional?"
- All available on request from: The American Family Institute, 114 Fifth Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003
- Ford, James H., and Michael Schwartz. "Birth Control for Teenagers: Diagram for Disaster." The Human Life Center, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, 56321. 25¢.
- Kasun, Jacqueline. "Slaughter on Main Street." Valley Christian University Press, P.O. Box 73, Clovis, California, 93613. \$1.00.
- Lorand, Rhoda. "The Betrayal of Youth." *Education Update*, Summer 1979. The Heritage Foundation, 513 C Street, N.E., Washington, D.C., 20002. Three for \$1.00.



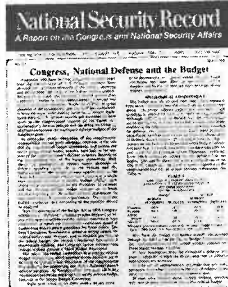
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# Earth Day Reconsidered

Edited by JOHN BADEN

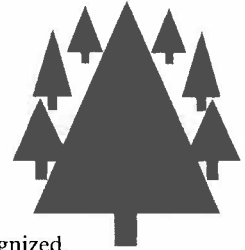
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Dr. Baden and his distinguished contributors present this book as a preliminary step in this reassessment. It is a book of advocacy. It advocates environmental quality, economic efficiency, and it especially advocates individual freedom. We can, Dr. Baden concludes, substantially improve upon our current attainments.



### Contributors

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# Critical Issues

## The Family, Feminism and the Therapeutic State

The White House Conference on Families, held during the summer of 1980, was called to study how government policies strengthen or weaken families. However, the traditional definition of the family and family values was conspicuously absent, despite the efforts of grass roots pro-family groups. The prevailing secular humanist orthodoxy reflected at the Conference places man at the center of the universe. Thus, it is argued, all individual choices in conduct are equally valid—and are protected by the Constitution. This philosophy became the basis of much public policy in the last decade. The profusion of government social programs which resulted has placed the state "in opposition to traditional family values," according to Dr. Onalee McGraw.

"Government intrusion into the family has spread under the slogan that only the state can solve human problems in 'health,' 'education,' and 'welfare.' Without benefit of public consensus, an unwritten federal 'family policy' has evolved. That federal policy, implemented through layer upon layer of federal programs, is that the state, rather than the family, has the primary responsibility to define and satisfy the full range of human needs."

The secular humanist state's response to human problems—divorce, child or spouse abuse, teenage pregnancy, for example—is "therapeutic." Thus, instead of identifying and treating the causes of these problems, the so-called helping professionals create remedial programs to help "cope" with the situation.

Dr. McGraw analyzes and challenges the assumptions of the family professionals. She suggests that government would do better to remove the obstacles to the growth of the family—inflation, excessive taxation, and wasteful and misdirected government spending. She notes a growing and active grass roots movement in defense of the traditional family. This is necessary, she concludes, because "The family... is the essential unit by which all individuals find their identity and the means to grow into participating members of society."

Onalee McGraw is Education consultant to The Heritage Foundation. She is the editor of *Education Update*, a newsletter reporting on education and family issues. Mrs. McGraw was a delegate from Virginia to the White House Conference on Families.

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