CHILDREN AND THEIR WORK

Mardi Keyes

As a mother, a worker, a counselor to many Christian families, and a Christian thinker, Mardi Keyes has been concerned for some time with the relationship, and non-relationship, between children and work. This article is derived from a lecture which Mardi has shared at L'Abri conferences all over the world.

CHILDREN AND THEIR WORK IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Recently I read Joseph F. Kett's wonderful book on the history of adolescence in America entitled Rites of Passage. 1 Kett introduces the book by describing some of the changes that have occurred in the relationship of young people to work during our nation's two-hundred year history. In Kett's words:

> Those who measure the success of revolutions by their completeness will judge the revolution which has overtaken American young people in recent decades to be one of the most successful. Compared to their predecessors in 1800 or 1900, young people in the 1970's spend much more time in school, much less at work. They are essentially consumers rather than producers. Their contacts with adults are likely to occur in highly controlled environments such as the classroom, and the adults encountered are usually conveyors of specialized services such as education and guidance. For the most part, young people (today) spend their time in the company of other young people. This pattern of age segregation frequently prevails even when the young people hold jobs.
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> To observe that youth today are primarily consumers rather than producers is not to deny their economic importance. Indirectly, young people sustain a wide range of service occupations: teachers, guidance counselors, adolescent psychologists, market research analysts, printers, clothiers, disc jockeys, even policemen and judges. But the economic and social relationship between youth and adults has clearly changed. Further, the change has been abrupt as well as profound. Its roots can be traced back to the late 19th century, when industrialization began to displace young workers, but only since 1945 have vast numbers of American youth experienced the mixture of leisure, affluence, and education that now distinguishes their social position. 2

Before industrialization separated the workplace from the homeplace, the family was the central unit of economic production. Men, women, and children all worked together from the homeplace. Much has been written about how this reality applied respectively to men and to women. Suffice it to say that there was not the clear role distinction many people assume today by the twin adages "Man is the breadwinner" and "The woman's place is in the home." In fact, most men and women raised bread and children together from the home.

Children also shared in the necessary economic work of the family. Starting anywhere from five to seven years of age, children began

helping with household chores, which included spinning, candle making, food production, caring for animals and younger siblings, gardening, and so on. They worked alongside the other members of the extended family, gradually taking on more and more work responsibility as they got older. Many children were sent out to work for other families, sometimes relatives, where they would do domestic or farm work. Children were absolutely essential to the economic survival of the family; to be childless, or to lose too many children in infancy, was, among other things, an economic disaster. While some children were no doubt overworked, all children grew up knowing that their work was significant and needed.

John Demos points out:

> ...the transition from childhood to adulthood was relatively smooth, as (the child's) introduction to adult roles began early, and children knew that their work experience, apprenticeship, and training as young people would clearly be relevant to their adult lives. Therefore, as children and teenagers, they did not feel alienated from the adult world of work. They were part of it as productive, contributing members of the household. 3

Indeed, adult responsibilities came early to pre-industrial young people, who were often married and out in the world by the age of fifteen or sixteen. But the Industrial Revolution changed all this for most people. While some farming communities still maintain pre-industrial social patterns, few young people live in agrarian settings today. 4 The change from an agrarian to an industrial society has involved a long transition period of great upheaval and suffering. This change has not been a kind one for children.

As the industrial revolution progressed, poor children often worked in factories under appalling conditions, many of them making significant contributions to their family's income, especially in immigrant families. As a reaction against this, child labor battles raged from 1870 until the late 1930's. By 1937, many factors, which included legislation prohibiting child labor, compulsory education laws, and the victory of a new "sentimental" definition of childhood, all combined to seal the coffin on the older pre-industrial "useful" child. The child who worked was no more. The modern child had become an expensive consumer rather than an economic asset. 5

CHILDREN AND THEIR WORK TODAY

Age Segregation and Schooling

By and large, today's children spend most of their time in age-segregated groups, in a child-centered world, away from the "real world" of adult work. The child's world thus has very little continuity with the adult world of real work, the world for which the child is being prepared. Yet, since more schooling is now required for work in the complex, technical modern world, more time is spent preparing for it. So ironically, children are spending more and more time in a child-centered world which bears less and less resemblance to the adult world for which they are supposedly preparing.

The Experience of Alienation

Instead of a smooth transition from childhood to youth to adult work and other responsibilities, increasing numbers of young people feel alienated from adults and their work. Newsweek puts it very well:

> Until the mid-19th century, children labored in the fields alongside their parents. But by the time they were 15, they might marry and go out into the world. Industrialization and compulsory education ultimately deprived them of a role in the family work unit, leaving them in a state of suspension between childhood and adulthood....To (many) teenagers, it has seemed a useless period of waiting. Approaching physical and sexual maturity, they feel capable of doing many of the things adults do. But they are not treated like adults. Instead they must endure a prolonged childhood that is stretched out even more nowadays by the need to attend college - and then possibly graduate school - in order to make one's way in the world. In the family table of organization, they are mainly in charge of menial chores. If teenagers are to stop feeling irrelevant, they need to feel needed, both by the family and by the larger world...Time and time again, students complain that they feel isolated, unconnected to the larger world...And this detachment occurs at the very time students are deciding who they are and where they fit." 6 I am a firm believer in the concept of delayed gratification. Kids need to learn how to wait patiently for their labors to pay off. But the motivation needed to make present sacrifices in order to enjoy future rewards is directly related to one's vision of the future. When one's present work seems not to be connected with real and significant work promised down the road, the future seems more like a mere "sweet by and by." The more real and attractive the future looks, the more one experiences aspects of real work in the present, the more willing one will be to make present sacrifices to secure future payoffs. Many kids who drop out of school do so because "the 'sweet by and by' in which they are supposed to reap the benefits of hard work is not real enough (or attractive enough) to warrant concerted effort." 7

Some kids experience more than just alienation from the adult world and work. They actively rebel against it. The punk subculture, along with much rock and rap music, expresses profound contempt for and judgment against the materialistic, competitive world of work the adult generation has created for the next generation. Christians should sympathize with a good bit of their judgment. The modern consumerist version of the "American Dream" is not the same as the Christian vision of society; but unfortunately, looking at the materialistic values and lifestyles of many Christian adults, young people can not always tell the difference. If our life stories look banal, unattractive, and unheroic to them, it is no wonder they do not want to walk in our footsteps.

Children as Economic Liabilities

As we have seen already, children are no longer economic assets to

their families. They are just the opposite - enormous expenses! Increasingly, the "economically useless child" (Zelizer's term) is considered to be an "expensive luxury," and more and more people are deciding that children are a luxury they can quite happily forego. Zelizer writes: "The total cost of raising a child was estimated in 1980 to average between $100,000 and $140,000. In return for such expenses, a child is expected to provide love, smiles, and emotional satisfaction, but no money or labor." 8 Don't think for a moment that these attitudes don't contribute to a sense of uselessness and self- hatred on the part of children.

A Sentimental View of Children

We still live with the legacy of the overly sentimental view of children that emerged during the child labor controversies of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. During this time, it became incorrect to expect children to contribute to the family economy.

Even the purpose of household chores was redefined. Chores were for education and character building. For the child to do work because the family needed the work to be done was considered exploitation! An article in the 1934 issue of Parents Magazine warned that "one should never give....children cause to suspect us of making use of them to save ourselves work." 9

These attitudes are clearly still with us. In a recent study of 790 families from Nebraska, researchers asked parents why they asked their children to do chores. Three quarters explained their children's chores as character building. Only 22 parents responded, "I need the help." 10

Is it any wonder that many kids resent such chores, invented for their "benefit" and not designed as meaningful and necessary contributions to the household? Put yourself in their shoes. We certainly resent it if an employer creates unnecessary, token work for us. We have better things to do with our time! Furthermore, character does not result from token work in the way it results from real work that makes a genuine contribution to the family's needs.

There are today some noteworthy exceptions to the sentimentalized, "useless child." Many of the children of poor single parents are being forced to carry adult loads of work responsibility. Their earnings are often essential to the family economy, and they care for younger siblings, cook meals and do housework while mother works sometimes more than one job.

The Prevalence of Spoiled Kids Today

Huge numbers of kids today have never been expected to contribute any work to the family. Jerald Bachman describes these kids as hooked on a "premature affluence" they have done nothing to attain. 11 Even in dual income fast-track families, children are not being asked to pitch in at home where they could help alleviate some of the double burden their mothers are bearing. The multiple stresses of their two track life style

....leave few parents the time to hold children accountable.

> Good parenting above all, takes time. Rather than yielding more responsible children, one result of the scarcity of parental time....is that many of today's latchkey and day-care boys and girls are being spoiled rotten, and may grow up to be even less caring spouses than their inconsiderate fathers. 12

Newsweek, in their Special Issue on The 21st Century Family, puts it this way:

> Something happened on the way to the 21st century: American youth, in a sharp reversal of historical trends, are taking longer to grow up. As the 20th century winds down, more young Americans are enrolled in college, but fewer are graduating, and they are taking longer to get their degrees. They take longer to establish careers, too, and longer yet to marry. Many, unable or unwilling to pay for housing, return to the nest, or are slow to leave it. They postpone choices and spurn long-term commitments. Life's on hold; adulthood can wait. 13

The issue of work is only one aspect of a huge and complex spiritual crisis in America today. Many things have contributed to the growing patterns of immaturity, irresponsibility and avoidance of commitment we are seeing among large numbers of young people. But how can we expect our children to "have a sense of values," "take responsibility," and "stand on their own two feet," if we have never taught them to do these things, if we have paid all their bills and catered to all their whims, never expecting responsibility from them?

Adolescent Consumerism

Lots of high school kids have jobs when they are not in school. But according to Newsweek, for most of them, work has become almost exclusively an opportunity for immediate gratification. 14

By the 1980's, 3 out of 4 high school seniors were working an average of 18 hours a week. In 1988, about 7.7 million, or about one third of 14 to 19 year olds held jobs. These jobs, often in fast food chains, are rarely challenging, and earnings (anywhere from $200 a month to $200 a week) are immediately spent on the equipment necessary for membership in the youth culture.15

For most of these kids, their basic living expenses are carried by parents, so all of their earnings can be used to indulge in "premature affluence." Tony Campolo argues, rightly, I think, that

> ....our consumer-oriented young people....don't buy the things they do simply because they desire the gratification of physical appetites. On the contrary, our teenage consumers buy what they do because of the deep spiritual hungers of their hearts and souls. They buy certain goods because they long for the love that those who possess the things are supposed to enjoy. They want clothes because the media manipulate them into thinking that their sexual identities will be firmly established and that they will be validated as human beings if they wear the right clothes....they....have

> become alienated from what they really need. Instead, they have chosen to become persons who have to buy the things they really don't need.16

In Biblical terminology, Campolo is describing the captivity of idolatry. Unfortunately, many of the alarmed adult generation are working from within the same idol systems of materialism and consumerism. Their complaints about their kids often reflect their own consumeristic value system. If only the kids would delay gratification long enough to complete their education, they would be able to buy Mercedes instead of used Nissans!

There are wonderful exceptions to the depressing picture I've been painting! Many young Americans defy the norm. They work hard and arrive at adulthood ready to nurture the next generation. Many of these young have strong family systems where activity, work and responsibility are valued. According to Urie Bronfenbrenner, a significant number of them are from refugee families, and have known suffering in their own lives and in the lives of those about whom they know and care. 17 Writes Urie Bronfenbrenner:

> For the majority, passage through adolescence to maturity will remain a slow one....Ultimately, it is a question of cultural values. What the young see enshrined in the media and malls of America are, after all, the values adults put there: Consumerism, narcissism and the instant gratification of desire. When those change, so will American youth. 18

THE BIBLICAL VIEW OF WORK

The mention of the consumerism and the materialistic value system of our culture leads quite naturally to a discussion of Biblical values and the world view that supports them.

The Biblical world view gives a unique base for meaningful work. Ernest Becker, writing as an existentialist philosopher-psychologist, has understood this better than many Christians. He argues that for those who believe in a Creator and an unseen world:

> ...anyone can achieve even in the smallest daily tasks that sense of cosmic heroism that is the highest ambition of man, (because) if one is a servant of divine powers, everything one does is heroic, if it is done as part of the consecration of one's life to those powers. In this way meaning can be extended up to the highest level, to the cosmic, eternal level. 19

Becker goes on to argue that modern philosophical materialism (loss of belief in God and the unseen world) has brought about a crisis with middle-class and upper-class youth as they try to understand themselves within the social and economic structure of the Western world. It is a "crisis of belief in the vitality of the hero-systems that are offered by contemporary materialist society. The young no longer feel heroic in doing as their elders did, and that's that." 20 The accumulation and manipulation of material gadgets simply does not fulfill the human need for heroism. Becker, a non-Christian, chastises the Christian church for having been co-opted by

materialism, and in the process, throwing away its heritage, which, he admits wistfully, provides a unique basis for the dignity and heroism of all human work.

So let us now turn our attention to this heritage. Several Biblical principles give a framework for understanding children and their work. The first is the dual nature of the child as image of God and as sinner. Created in God's image, each child is to grow in the exercise of accountable dominion in the world. God's mandate to Adam and Eve to fill the earth and rule over it, to exercise dominion and take care of the earth, is the creational foundation for human work. Work, in the broad sense of taking initiative, taking care of, acting creatively and productively and competently in the world, is both a human responsibility and a human need. We have a responsibility and a need to make a difference in the world.

Not only are children made in God's image, they like adults are also sinners. Like adults they are subject to both laziness and greed, the latter which leads to workaholism and exploitation, the former to poverty and a sense of entitlement. Children need adults to teach and to model good attitudes toward work and leisure. At times, "discipline" (training that is future oriented) may be necessary. For example, holding a child accountable to finish a job according to a reasonable standard teaches the child not to succumb to laziness.

The second Biblical principle bearing on the subject of children and work has to do with the actual nature of work itself. When dealing with children we must teach them that all work is good and has dignity unless there is actual sin involved in it. This means we must resist false work hierarchies, whether Christian hierarchies which define some work as sacred or spiritual and, therefore, higher than so-called secular work; or worldly hierarchies which judge the value of work competitively, on the basis of its market or prestige value.

God calls each of us to a particular complex of responsibilities on the basis of our gifts and the needs around us. The nature of our calling may change throughout our life story, but realizing we have a vocation from God the Creator gives a profound sense of the cosmic, heroic significance to whatever we are doing, whether farming, manufacturing, computing, teaching, or any of the many other things we may be doing in our work. Even young people working part-time can have a sense that God is calling them at that point in their lives to part time work. Even through this kind of work - whether flipping hamburgers, selling shoes in a department store, baby-sitting, mowing lawns, house-painting, and so on -young people can understand that they are sharing in the God-given purposes of work: to provide for our own and other's human needs, to provide a sense of meaning and fulfillment to bodily human life, and to glorify God in all that we do.

A third principle we must teach our children about work is that all work is effected by the Fall. Our work is sometimes difficult and laborious. Often we work hard for little sense of reward. Frustration is a part of everyone's work. There is no perfect workplace. And because we are fallen, we can easily get work out of balance. God has called all people to a certain rhythm of work and rest, six days work and one day of rest. We need both. Children need both. Children need

to see parents living and working in harmony with these creational rhythms. How easily work itself becomes an idol, the source of our identity and meaning, or as the means of gaining things we value more than God, such as money, power, or prestige. Significantly, Jesus frequently warned that preoccupation with work could be a stumbling block to following Him wholeheartedly. But laziness or idleness is another kind of imbalance. How easily we can find ourselves stepping back from our responsibility to work and labor six days in order that we might provide for our needs and the needs of others.

PRACTICAL ADVICE FOR PARENTS

It is parents who have the primary responsibility to teach their children how to work. As Paul writes in Eph. 6:4, "Bring up (nurture) your children in the training and instruction of the Lord." This nurturing of course includes teaching about the Bible's view of work. But it must also include modeling a godly attitude toward work. Our responsibility as parents involves training our children to work. Through carefully thought out incremental steps, we move them toward increasing responsibility and freedom, holding them accountable, and praising them for their real contribution to the family division of labor. In the past, when the family was the basic economic unit and the workplace and the homeplace were the same place, this process of training children to work happened quite automatically and unselfconsciously. But now it takes more thought. Since for most people home life and work life do not overlap very much, it will take a conscious creative effort to involve children in work. Bear in mind that our goal for our children is the smoothest possible transition from childhood to adult life and work responsibility.

With this goal in mind, I'd now like to make some practical suggestions for making "work" a normal and meaningful part of children's lives. I'll speak about work in the home, paid work outside the home, and volunteer service in the community. Some of these suggestions have come from my own experience of raising three sons. I realize that we have had an advantageous social structure, in that my husband and I have both worked from home in something of an extended family community, far more like the pre-industrial socio-economic structure than is the case for most of you. It takes a lot of low-tech, labor-intensive physical work to run L'Abri, the sort of work in which one can quite naturally involve children. Nevertheless, I trust some of these suggestions will prove helpful to you.

Work in the Home

As soon as young children are physically able, they should be involved in the work of caring for a home. Let them know that this is real and valuable work, not play or token work. Children can learn to pick up their things, do errands, help hang, fold and sort laundry. They can learn to help in the kitchen, peeling carrots, washing vegetables, kneading bread and forming it into loaves, washing dishes, and cleaning bedrooms and bathrooms. If there is a garden, even very young children can be taught to help by picking and snapping beans, digging little holes for transplants, and weeding the big obvious weeds. Children can help stack wood for a fireplace or woodstove, and when old enough, can chop down trees and split wood.

The first work young children learn to do is usually done alongside a parent. They see that the work is real work, work that Mom or Dad would have to do alone if they didn't have children to help. And they also learn a lot about how to do the work, and what attitude to have while working, by observing Mom or Dad. Dick and I have friends in Seattle who are involved in a tape ministry. After hearing me speak about these things, they enlisted their young children's help in putting cassette tapes into cases and labeling them. The children were thrilled to help, precisely because they knew it was real work, and a genuine contribution to the family.

If you are a perfectionist, you may feel intolerant of the less than perfect job your young children may do. Resist the perfectionism and show them warm appreciation for the job done. Don't go over it later yourself to improve upon it, or you will communicate that the child's work was "no-good" or just token work and not really needed. If a job is really too carelessly done, and you can reasonably expect a better job, then have the child do it again. But keep perspective. Teaching children about work is only one of the many things we are to teach them. My husband Dick is wonderful in this respect, frequently reminding me that our relationship with our children is far more important than how tidy their rooms are. Our children are made for relationships as well as for work.

Obviously, as you begin including your child in the work of the home, it will take much more time showing your child how to do something than doing it yourself. But it is worth the effort, both for you and your child. The time will come, sooner than you realize, when the child will be able to handle a job on his own, freeing you to do something else. One summer, we asked our two older boys (then 19 and 17) to prepare dinner for the family one night a week. They were responsible for planning, cooking, and serving the meal. Since they ran a house-painting business during the day, dinner was usually later than usual, but that was fine. Their work freed me to do something else, and they learned something about cooking, what I call one of the basic survival skills that everyone should know something about!

I suspect that some parents, particularly mothers, may feel uncomfortable about this. But God does not call us to be our children's maids, and it is not exploiting them to expect them to make a contribution to the family division of labor. A sentimental view of the child is wrong in insisting that parents who love their children will never demand work from them. In fact, one might argue the reverse. Taking the time and effort to teach children to work is evidence of one's love and commitment to them as persons, made in God's image, persons who will one day need to support themselves and nurture the next generation.

As soon as children are old enough, involve them in making decisions about the family's division of labor. They are significant members of the family and should have a say in who does which tasks. This way they develop a greater sense of ownership for a particular task, and cannot complain that they have no say in what they do.

Many middle class and affluent families today have hired out all of

the domestic work of the sort I have been describing. It is worth considering getting some of it back. If you are blessed with such affluence that your kid's work contribution has become totally superfluous, then that is one good reason to change your lifestyle and commitments. Perhaps one parent can pull back on work hours so that the home can become a place of work, hospitality and ministry for the entire family.

Paid Work Outside the Home

As soon as children are old enough, it is very good for them to look for paid job opportunities, preferably outside of the immediate family. For many kids, the only available jobs are minimum wage, fast food jobs or retail store check-out and sales jobs. If so, we can encourage them with a positive view of the dignity of all honest work. At the same time, the local church and community can contribute significant employment opportunity to young people. As in the past when families used to take in other people's children, apprentice them to a trade, or have them work in the home or on the farm, people today can provide paid work for other people's teenagers. Consider employing them part time in your business, or give them lawn, gardening, or maintenance work at your home. Our children have been very fortunate to have had the opportunity over several years of working for a family friend who runs a small restaurant upholstery business. They have also done baby-sitting, lawn work and landscaping for neighbors, starting at about age eleven.

Where unemployment is a serious problem the church can have a powerful role in actually creating jobs. Church members with capital and business experience can loan money and provide expertise to enable young people to start small businesses. Church basements can become production sites. Two English friends of mine wrote a wonderful book entitled 4,000,000 Reasons to Care. 21 This book is filled with much practical advice, as well as a call to Christians to make costly commitments to love our brothers and sisters who are suffering from the debilitating effects of unemployment.

When our boys were old enough to have full-time summer jobs, we asked them to put a substantial proportion of their summer earnings toward their school fees. They have done this willingly (if not always gleefully!) since they knew that their contribution was necessary to keep them in the schools they liked. The rest of the money was completely their own. Like other teenagers, they have bought radios, compact disc players, and mountain bikes.

For some teenagers, starting a business is a great thing. Our two older boys started a house-painting business which has expanded each summer. They have learned a lot of things about work and business that they would never have learned any other way, and have really enjoyed the responsibility. Again, a substantial percentage of their earnings went toward college fees.

Volunteer Service in the Community

This is one of the most neglected youth activities today; sadly, this is true almost as much in our churches as in the world in general. Jesus calls His followers to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, visit

the prisoners, open their homes to the poor, and deliver the oppressed from injustice. And yet, when we read the youth activities often listed on our church bulletins, this is what we will find: Thursday nite - pizza and movies; Friday nite - "shop til you drop;" Saturday nite - talent show; and next week - Halloween dance!

With such an exclusive emphasis on entertainment and leisure activities, many of our churches are reinforcing the secular culture's false and destructive definition of adolescence as a period of life set apart for self-indulgence and a preoccupation with sexual maturation and social life. If we create a structure that fosters these values and emphases, we should not be surprised if our teens act accordingly. Nor should we be surprised that adolescence is extending itself well into the twenties and even thirties for some people. Constant entertainment encourages a resistance to growing up and taking on adult responsibilities. This cheats our young people by squandering what is a precious and unique time in their lives - a time when they are old enough to be thinking and deciding about some of life's most serious issues, without yet being burdened with the adult responsibilities of supporting themselves and a family. We do them a grave injustice when we treat them as if all they can handle is a social life.

I am not suggesting that our churches abolish all entertainment and fun-oriented activities, but that we balance these with other things, such as service-oriented work, and serious discussions about life. Where else will our young people discuss political, social, environmental and ethical issues, issues about which they will have to be making important decisions as they mature into adults and enter the adult world of work. Our children can handle more than pizza and movies.

Tony Campolo has taken groups of young people to Third World countries and to inner-city American ghettos where they have served the poor in practical, sacrificial ways. He speaks of his students:

> ...discovering a need they never knew existed in them. They discover that at the core of their personalities they crave to do things for others and to give away what they have. They learn what very few people in our consumer-oriented society have the privilege of learning in a lifetime. They learn that it's more blessed to give than to receive. They learn that getting the things society has seduced them into wanting satisfies only artificially created needs. And they learn that this is a very cheap substitute for satisfying the essential and very real need to give oneself away in service to others in the name of Christ." 22

Likewise we can take teenagers to feed the homeless, visit elderly shut-ins, clean house for a single mother, visit those in prison, and help build houses for the poor. In no area of work and life is modeling by adults more important than in this area of sacrificial service to the needy. In this we teach our children that we work not just to indulge ourselves and attend to our needs, but to help others as well.

This paper has centered on the relationship of children to work, but

has obviously touched on broader issues as well. It is my hope that some of these ideas will encourage you, and be of practical help to you, in the awesome job of giving your children a positive vision and experience of responsible youth. In all our efforts, individually and corporately, we need to walk in personal integrity ourselves, if our children are to want to grow up as productive, responsible, working adults, loving God, being willing and able themselves to nurture the next generation.

May God give us grace for this.

1 Joseph F. Kett, Rites of Passage (New York: Basic Books, Harper Torchbooks, 1977)

2 Ibid., pp. 3-4

3 John Demos, Past, Present and Personal : The Family and The Life Course in American History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) p. 97

4 Anthony Campolo, Growing Up in America (Grand Rapids: Youth Specialties, Zondervan, 19) p. 165. Only 4.5% of young people live in agrarian settings today, compared with 70% in 1890.

5 Viviana Zelizer, Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children (New York: Basic Books, 1985). The entire book develops the idea of the shift in inderstanding the "value" children.

6 Newsweek, Special Edition, "The New Teens," (Summer/Fall 1990) pp. 15-16

7 Campolo, p. 36

8 Zelizer, p. 3

9 Ibid., p. 99

10 Ibid., pp. 3-4

11 Jerald Bachman, as quoted by Newsweek, Special Edition on the 21st Century Family in the 90's, (Winter/Spring, 1990) p. 57

12 In a N.Y. Times book review of Arlie Hochchild's, The Second Shift, (N.Y. Times, June 25, 1989) p.26

13 Newsweek, 21st Century Family, p. 54

14 Newsweek, The New Teens, p.

15 Newsweek, The 21st Century Family, p. 57

16 Campola, p. 27

17 Urie Bronfenbrenner, as quoted by Newsweek, The 21st Century Family, p. 60

18 Newsweek, The 21st Century Family, p. 60

19 Ernest Becker, The Birth and Death of Meaning, (New York: The Free Press, Macmillan, 1971) p. 124

20 Ibid., p. 126

21 Peter Elsom and David Porter, 4,000,000 Reasons to Care: How Your Church Can Help the Unemployed, (Augsbury, BUCKS: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, for MARC Europe, a division of World Vision, 1995)

22 Campola, pp. 27-28 ??