

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

To walk in another person's shoes is to experience life as one would never experience it otherwise. This book introduces readers to men who, for various reasons, were unable to meet their child support obligations and consequently agreed to participate in a program called Parents' Fair Share (PFS). The book introduces men like Geraldo and Jah, who looked to the program as an opportunity to enter a labor market that seemed ominous and impenetrable, and like Mack, whose guarded and suspicious approach toward the child support system masked an underlying fear—based on his experience with other public agencies—of being turned away or treated with disrespect. Young and old men of color discuss how they were looking for a chance to change and expand their options and, by becoming more involved in their children's lives, for a chance to improve the next generation's prospects. The book also introduces men whose greatest concern was to survive another day and who saw child support and PFS as two more obstacles to success.

This book seeks to provide insights into the lives, experiences, and perspectives of thirty-two men who participated in Parents' Fair Share, a national research and demonstration project organized by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation. All of these men were low-income, noncustodial fathers who had not been paying court-mandated child support and whose children were (or had been) receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC, commonly known as welfare). Most were African American or Latino and lived in inner city, low-income neighborhoods. When they entered PFS, they were unemployed, underemployed, or "hustling," a concept examined in this book. Parents' Fair Share was designed to help such men get a better job than they could get on

their own, pay child support, and become more involved with their children.

As noncustodial parents of poor children, these men found themselves enmeshed in two public programs that were, and still are, under great stress and in the midst of major reform: welfare and child support enforcement. For more than sixty years, AFDC gave cash assistance to poor mothers with underage children, forming the cornerstone of U.S. poverty programs. Until the mid-1970s, when federal involvement increased, child support enforcement was largely a concern of state and local government, governed by state statutes and case law and varying widely in procedures and the attention it received.

By the 1970s, AFDC had lost broad public support, and major reforms were frequently proposed (for a review of these criticisms and reform efforts, see Murray 1984 and Blank 1997). AFDC was blamed for undermining the work ethic of mothers because it provided cash assistance (albeit at low levels in most states) and in-kind support (health insurance, food stamps) and its program rules created a strong financial disincentive to work. AFDC was also held responsible for the breakup of families (and family values). Because access to the program was more difficult (or, in some states, impossible) for families with both parents living in the home, welfare allegedly acted as a disincentive for couples to get married and/or stay married. Further, some critics of the program charged that the provision of assistance shifted the responsibility for supporting children from parents to taxpayers and that the existing level of enforcement was not sufficient to force noncustodial parents to contribute financially to their children. Finally, at various times during the past twenty-five years, critics focused on "welfare dependency" or welfare as an alleged "way of life," especially for minority women and children living in inner-city ghettos. Although these criticisms were not supported by strong research evidence, they formed a central part of the public debate about poor families and the reform of welfare and child support.

Pressure for welfare reform intensified during the past three decades. Congress enacted into law major increases in federal involvement in child support in the 1970s and 1980s and passed the Family Support Act of 1988, which—most relevant for noncustodial parents—required states to add new enforcement tools to their child support repertoire and to meet federal standards of enforcement. In

1996, these pressures culminated in passage of new federal welfare and child support legislation (the Personal Responsibility and Work Reconciliation Act of 1996, P.L. 104-193), which replaced AFDC with Temporary Aid to Needy Families (TANF), imposed time limits on the period of time families can receive federal income support, and called for stricter child support enforcement. The goal of these new policies was to get *families* off welfare by encouraging or requiring both parents to support their children. If states strictly implement the federal time limits on aid, the payment of benefits eventually will stop. Dramatically increasing support from fathers is more difficult to achieve, leading to efforts like PFS, which sought to find new ways to increase child support payments by poor men.

As the number of never-married, separated, or divorced mothers has grown—at all socioeconomic levels and in many racial groups—so has recognition that many noncustodial fathers do not meet their socially and legally defined parental obligations (financial and otherwise). Enforcing child support, which usually means collecting money from fathers, thus has strong bipartisan support. In the public mind, this need for child support enforcement is often linked to the notion that noncustodial fathers have “dropped out” of their parental roles and the lives of their children. Thus at a 1995 hearing, Eleanor Holmes Norton, a liberal African American female, and Pete Wilson, a conservative white male, both stood up and said that “Fatherlessness is the [number] one problem in the United States of America” (from Blankenhorn 1995, quoted in Tamar Lewin, “Creating Fathers Out of Men with Children,” *New York Times*, June 18, 1995; Johnson and Doolittle 1996). In the public debate, this focus on “father failure” has led to use of the term “deadbeat dad” to describe a class of men who are not meeting their parental obligations. As this book shows, the reality is much more complex.

Although the need for better child support enforcement has often formed part of the welfare reform debate, little of the research on “absent fathers” has focused on the full range of topics relevant to low-income children. Much of the research has looked at fathers who are *able but unwilling* to pay child support regularly, either at all or at the level ordered in family court or agreed to by the parents. Very little is known about the significant subset of noncustodial fathers whose children are receiving welfare. These fathers are chronically unemployed or underemployed, have unstable housing and possibly no real permanent residence, possess few or no assets, yet nevertheless

have little contact with the public institutions intended to serve as a social safety net—the employment training, welfare, and social insurance systems. For these parents, the issue is often inability—not unwillingness—to pay court-mandated child support.

A second gap in the literature is research linking information on child support for children receiving welfare to information on the labor market prospects and the persistence of racial discrimination in the labor market for low-income men with few educational credentials or marketable skills. Much has been written about the striking decline in the earnings of men without high school credentials over the past three decades (especially relevant here is work by Wilson 1987, 1996; Holzer 1996; Levy and Murnane 1992; and Sullivan 1993). Other work documents the perpetuation of employment discrimination, especially against men of color (see Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991). This body of work makes the important argument that these dismal labor market prospects have important social implications in low-income neighborhoods, including discouraging the formation or undermining the stability of two-parent families (Wilson's work is especially important here). But there is little research exploring the implications of these trends for child support (and the research that does exist focuses largely on young, unwed fathers; see, for example, Lerman and Ooms 1993; Sullivan 1993; and Furstenburg, Sherwood, and Sullivan 1992).

Low-income noncustodial fathers have long been ignored by both social policymakers and social scientists. The very structure of welfare was based on their *absence*; in the vast literature on welfare, they appear only as background statistics. Much has been written about "fatherless children," but all children have fathers somewhere, fathers who call and visit regularly, occasionally, or not at all; fathers who appear in the conversations of other adults and the imaginations of children. Likewise, children form part of their father's identity, even during long separations with no contact. Yet virtually nothing has been written about "fathers without children" (in Liebow's phrase; Liebow 1968). Until recently in the social policy world, low-income noncustodial fathers were largely written off as unreachable (Watson 1992).

Not only are fathers of children on welfare missing from research and poverty programs, they also are almost universally stigmatized. Widely viewed as uncaring and irresponsible (as well as possibly dangerous and predatory), they come to public attention only when

they commit crimes (confirming the stereotype) or when they become visibly homeless (evoking mixed emotions). Almost by definition, they rank among the “undeserving” poor who are outside the coverage of most income support programs. The one cash assistance program available to men living apart from their children—general assistance—is gradually disappearing from the national scene. Although not direct beneficiaries of AFDC or TANF, these men are cast as villains in the welfare drama. Ironically, poor men who manage to scrape by, who do not live on the streets, and who do not get arrested, receive the least attention.

In real life, many low-income noncustodial parents inhabit the social and economic margins of society. For most purposes, their identity as fathers is largely invisible. But given the changing world of public assistance, the time has come to hear their stories—how they manage, with varying degrees of success, to cope with poverty and fatherhood. Their stories should be listened to with equal interest as is given to those of the custodial parent, for they are the other side of the world of poverty and the other half of the welfare equation. If we are to confront poverty, especially in the context of time limits on public assistance, it is a mistake to dismiss half the population of poor adults.

One possible explanation for social scientists’ lack of attention to poor noncustodial fathers is that the men themselves avoid anyone associated with authority and officialdom, are difficult to identify or locate, and, when contacted, are reluctant to talk about their personal lives. This last point is one of a number of preconceptions about low-income noncustodial parents that this book challenges. All of the fathers interviewed participated in the Parents’ Fair Share program and agreed to discuss their experiences, on their own volition.

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF THE PARENTS’ FAIR SHARE DEMONSTRATION

The purposes of PFS are complex and fraught with potential contradictions, as illustrated by the effort by one noncustodial parent to describe the goals of the program:

What I think the purpose of the program is? The purpose of the program is to find you a job so you can be a better father to your kid, so you can be able to pay this child support. I figure it like that because

you can come into this program through the courts, right? And when the courts allow you, when you get into this program, the courts are trying to say they want you to pay this support, they don't care how much money you make, and to take care of your family or nothing, that's irrelevant. What they're trying to do is get you a better job so you can pay this child support. That's the big main factor. The main job ain't to find you a better job to take care of your family and children. That ain't it. The main objective is to pay child support. So that's what I think this program is based on, is to help you find a better job for you to pay child support and they say have a little extra for yourself.

[Jah, Nov. 11, 1994]

The Parents' Fair Share demonstration grew out of the Family Support Act of 1988, which added two initiatives to the then existing AFDC agenda: the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training (JOBS) Program for AFDC recipients and a mandate for stronger child support enforcement. In addition, the act authorized five states (later increased to seven) to create pilot programs offering unemployed noncustodial parents (NCPs) the same employment and job training opportunities offered AFDC recipients through JOBS.¹ The demonstration services were limited to NCPs whose children were receiving or had received welfare and who were "unemployed or underemployed and unable to meet their child support obligation."² The legislation further stated that any services for NCPs must be evaluated. The Parents' Fair Share program was conceived and implemented by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation as a response to this legislative provision.

After a series of focus groups and small-scale tests, in 1992 PFS pilot programs were opened at Grand Rapids, Michigan; Jacksonville, Florida; Memphis, Tennessee; Springfield, Massachusetts; Dayton, Ohio; and Trenton, New Jersey.³ Los Angeles, California, joined the project in late 1994 (for details of the pilot phase of the project, see Bloom and Sherwood 1994). The agencies involved at the local level included county child support agencies, local employment and training organizations, and providers of mediation and peer support services. In late 1994, the project moved to a full-scale demonstration, with analyses of program implementation, impacts on key outcomes, and benefits and costs.

PFS was designed to increase low-income NCPs' employment, earnings, and ability to pay child support and possibly to help them establish or reestablish contact with their children.⁴ In general, NCPs

were referred to the program by the courts and were required to participate through a process described in the next section of this chapter. Program services can be grouped into four main components:

- Peer support groups, scheduled meetings in which the NCPs and trained facilitators discussed issues related to parenting, relationships, communication, racism, and other themes (see appendix C for a description of the sessions);
- A menu of employment and training services including job search assistance, on-the-job training, education, and skills training;
- Enhanced child support enforcement, including a temporary reduction or adjustment of the NCP's child support order so that he could participate in the program, plus closer monitoring of his status so that the order could be rescinded when he found a job or stopped meeting program requirements;
- An offer of voluntary formal mediation of disputes between custodial and noncustodial parents.

Other goals emerged as potential participants in Parents' Fair Share voiced their expectations of the program. It is important to lay these very real hopes and expectations side-by-side with the objectives of the program to see if the administrators of PFS understood or shared the vision of the persons the intervention was designed to assist. The four objectives voiced most often by participants were:

- Finding meaningful and stable work,
- Getting some stability in their lives so that they could start living as opposed to just surviving (finding work so that they could get their own apartments and gain some independence),
- Understanding how the child support system worked,
- Keeping the child support system from further interfering in their lives.

This book explores the challenge of meeting these expectations by the program, the participant, or a combination of both working together. It also shows that, although some of the program's expectations of participants and participants' expectations of the

program and of themselves coincided, in fact they were often interpreted as dissimilar or even opposing (chapter 6 takes a closer look at this issue).

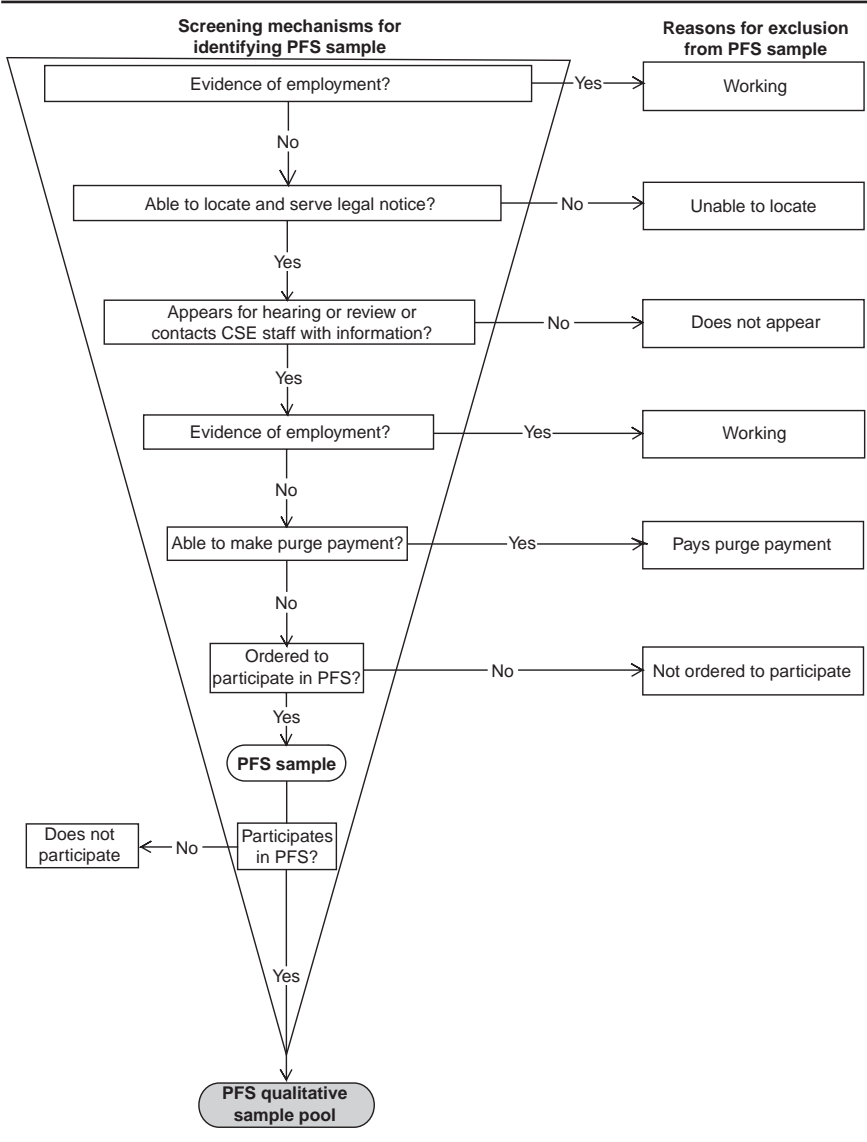
THE PROCESS OF REFERRAL TO PFS AND THE NATURE OF THE SAMPLE

The qualitative data in this book came from a sample of thirty-two noncustodial parents who participated in at least one PFS service. Participants in PFS were *not* a random sample of the target population, which consisted of all unemployed or underemployed noncustodial fathers in the research areas whose children were receiving AFDC benefits and who were not paying formal child support.⁵ Rather they were funneled toward the program through a selection process that was part coercion (in the form of court orders) and part individual choice (see figure 1.1). Although legally required to cooperate with the child support enforcement system, most low-income NCPs can evade this system at least some of the time if they wish.

The process of enforcing child support and of selecting participants for PFS began with AFDC. A 1975 amendment to the Social Security Act requires applicants for AFDC to assign their rights to child support to the AFDC system and to cooperate in identifying and locating the noncustodial parent, establishing paternity, and enforcing child support obligations. When an NCP of a child receiving welfare makes formal child support payments, only the first \$50 paid each month goes to his children; the remainder goes to the state and federal government as partial or full reimbursement for public assistance provided the family.⁶ This disbursement of child support payments poses serious dilemmas for parents, as discussed in more detail in chapter 4. In theory, the NCP can provide more support for his children outside the formal system. However, to the extent that he avoids formal child support, he is incurring a growing legal obligation.

The custodial parent, usually the mother, also faces a dilemma. Mothers are required to cooperate with child support enforcement (CSE) as a condition for receiving AFDC benefits.⁷ Within the families in the sample for this book, however, some mothers were reluctant to cooperate in enforcing formal child support, especially if they were receiving informal assistance from the father (which he might discontinue if she cooperated) or were secretly living with the father (in which case AFDC benefits might be terminated). The penalty for

Figure 1.1 The PFS Qualitative Participant’s Funnel



not cooperating is substantial: if caught, she stands to lose all or part of her AFDC grant. But this is a risk many AFDC recipients linked to the NCPs apparently take by providing incomplete or outdated information to the child support agency.

NCPs can accumulate “past due” child support (usually known as arrearages) in two ways. Prior to the establishment of a formal child support order, NCPs can be obligated to repay all public assistance and Medicaid expenditures for the children and custodial parent. For example, if paternity is established after a birth where medical expenses were covered by Medicaid, the NCP can be hundreds of dollars in arrears on his payments at the point when an initial child support order is issued. Once a child support order is in place (which caps the NCP’s monthly obligation), the NCP must begin meeting his monthly obligation or fall further behind. For the fathers referred to PFS, these arrearages often amounted to several thousands and, in extreme cases, tens of thousands of dollars.

Tables 1.1 and 1.2 offer an inside view of the range of income and expenditures for NCPs in this study. Table 1.1 highlights the reported aggregate incomes and expenses of NCPs. These participants were not earning large amounts of money on a monthly basis; in fact, during the course of this study, most claimed to make less than \$1,000 a month, with rent and food alone consuming a substantial portion of their limited income.

In addition, other expenses were important to the participants’ general health, well-being, and survival. NCPs in this study could not always make consistent payments toward utility bills, transportation, and other expenses, and it was not unusual for a participant to lose access to the telephone or have his gas and electricity turned off because he fell a few months behind in his bills. The additional fees that utility companies require in order to reinstate such services often contributed to the seemingly insurmountable financial burdens of participants. Even so, for some NCPs, paying these expenses often took precedence over paying child support. Table 1.1 also shows the amount of modified/PFS-adjusted child support that participants were required to pay each month, and this information can be contrasted with the estimated range of arrearages that NCPs were expected to pay in full to the state (in table 1.2).

State and local child support agencies seek to locate and enforce the obligation of NCPs who fall behind in their payments. Typically, the child support agency initiates a search to locate the father or his

Table 1.1 Range of Monthly Income and Expenditures of Participants in the Parents' Fair Share Program from the Qualitative Research Sample (U.S. Dollars)

Site	Income			Expenses			
	Reported Income from Work ^a	Income from Other Sources	Public Assistance ^b	Rent	Food	Child Support	Other Expenses ^c
Memphis	390 ^d –1,000	0	0–119	0–450	90–400	50	100–320
Dayton	500	100	0–119	0–400	100–350	100	100–250
Grand Rapids	360–760	100–500	0–119	200–450	150–500	56	300–400
Trenton	50–800	150	0–338	0–450	300–400	0	300–500
Los Angeles	150–1,000	100	0–338	100–650	100–400	50	100–400

Source: Data based on reported income and expenditures from the month of November 1995.

^a From employment where income is reported.

^b Includes food stamps and general assistance or general relief, depending on the location of the participant.

^c Includes personal items such as toiletries, support for relatives and other family members, utilities, transportation costs (public transit and personal car expenses when there is a car involved), expenses for children outside the realm of child support (if they have contact with them), fines, personally accrued debts, recreation (cigarettes, alcohol, movies, video), and medical and emergency expenditures.

^d Based on an hourly wage of \$6.50 working part time at fifteen hours a week in warehouse, maintenance, general work, and convenience store work. Men often have to work part time for anywhere from a month to four months before they become eligible for a full-time position.

Table 1.2 One Month Income, Expenditure, and Debt for Four PFS Participants (U.S. Dollars)

Name	Site	Income						Expense			
		Reported and Unreported Income	Assistance				Rent	Food and Other Expenses	Child Support Owed	Long-term Debt (Arrearages)	
			General Relief or General Assistance	Food Stamps	Unemployment Insurance	Housing					Other Sources
Viceroy	Grand Rapids	760	0	0	425	Yes	Some from father	300	420	250	500–1,000
Fila-G	Memphis	200–400	0	119	0	No	None	0 ^a	600	600	35,000
Jah	Trenton	0	100	119	0	Yes	Small amount	450	0 ^b	50	10,000
Arron	Los Angeles	220 ^c	0	0	0	No	None	350	450–500	100	5,000

Source: MDRC calculations from the Parents' Fair Share qualitative research sample.

^a Living rent free.

^b No reported food or other expenses for this particular month due to incarceration.

^c Amount received when working as a temporary employee.

employer and to secure payment of the order. With limited budgets and caseloads of 500 or more, child support staff typically work at their desks, looking for NCPs in computer databases (for details on CSE procedures, see Doolittle and Lynn 1998). Fathers with regular income and financial assets are usually easier to locate than their low-income counterparts through income and tax records, banks, credit bureaus, motor vehicle departments, and the like. If an NCP with children on welfare is working regularly at a legitimate job and his name appears in official records, CSE staff issue an income deduction order and support payments are garnished from his paycheck.

When there is no evidence that an NCP is employed, CSE staff attempt to serve a legal notice requiring him to appear in court or at the administrative agency for a hearing or review on nonpayment of support. Locating low-income NCPs can be difficult because they are relatively mobile and not always available to be “on call.” Often, they work off and on, stay with friends or family, move frequently, do not have phone numbers or bank accounts, and do not leave a clear paper (or electronic) trail. Due to time lags in reporting and recording, by the time information appears in official records, many poor NCPs have moved on. Estimates from two PFS sites suggest that about one-fifth of NCPs who otherwise were eligible for participation in PFS could not be located by the CSE agency (this and subsequent figures on appearance rates are from Doolittle and Lynn 1998).

Of those who are served hearing notices, only some respond.⁸ In the PFS sites, the appearance rate ranged from 10 to 70 percent depending on factors such as the nature of the notice and efforts made to encourage NCPs to appear. A substantial proportion of those who did appear or who contacted the child support agency—in some PFS sites as many as one-fourth—admitted to previously unreported employment, and an income deduction order was issued. A smaller percentage provided evidence that they were disabled, reunited with the other parent, or otherwise did not meet the criteria for PFS. Some were able to pay all or most of their arrearage through “purge payments.”⁹ Only those who were unemployed and unable to reduce or eliminate their accumulated support arrearage were eligible for PFS.

Through a lottery-type process, members of this pool of NCPs were randomly assigned to either a program or a control group. NCPs in the control group were subject to normal enforcement practices. NCPs in the program group went before a judge or hearing

officer and, in most cases, were ordered into the PFS program. About one-third of these NCPs never appeared at the PFS site (possibly because they had an unreported job during program hours). The remaining two-thirds participated in some PFS activities. The sample for this study was drawn from program participants.

In comparing the findings of this book to other work on noncustodial parents, it is important to keep this selection process in mind. On the one hand, the child support enforcement system locates fathers who are working but not reporting their income. This means that the sample was likely to be *more disadvantaged* than the average NCP whose children were on welfare. On the other hand, many NCPs elude the CSE system—and the PFS program—by moving farther outside the mainstream economy. Not anchored to a steady job or permanent address, a low-income NCP who wants to disappear usually can. This suggests that participants were *more highly motivated* than some other noncustodial parents to find ways to improve their earnings and pay support. For various reasons, they wanted to change their current circumstances. They chose to appear in court, and when ordered into PFS, they chose to participate, even if briefly. Although there is no single explanation for their motivation, the threat of jail or the hope of employment are two reasons why these individuals appeared at the court's child support review.

Despite the substantial drop-off on the continuum from the overall child support caseload to referral to PFS, the attitudes, behavior, and experiences of the sample for this book and the larger PFS study are of clear policy relevance. These men represent the type of noncustodial parent who apparently is unable to pay child support for lack of income. Programs emerging now to serve low-income noncustodial parents can use the insights from this book to understand the needs of these parents and the challenges of serving them in a program like Parents' Fair Share.

THIS RESEARCH

This book is based on semistructured interviews, informal conversations, and observations made between February 1994 and August 1996 with thirty-two noncustodial parents who participated in the Parents' Fair Share program. These men were selected because they met the requirements of the program and were present when the researcher was either at court or at a peer support or job club/job

search session or were recommended by a friend, administrator, or program staff member. Many more NCPs were interviewed and observed; however, the thirty-two men included in this book had at least three or more contacts and observations either in a program component or through outside interviews (see appendix A on methodology).

Also, it should be kept in mind that these individuals made their own choices and decided and will continue to decide for themselves how to live their lives. The reader may not understand, like, or empathize with the individuals or experiences presented in the following pages. Yet their experiences offer insight into issues of child support, welfare, parenting, and the social and economic conditions faced by low-income noncustodial parents, as these relate to their personal life experiences.

OTHER PFS FINDINGS

This research constitutes part of a larger analysis of PFS that includes a study of the effect of the program on the employment, child support payments, and parenting behavior of a large sample of noncustodial parents. Interim findings from other parts of the research suggest that PFS increased the payments to the child support agency but had limited effects on parents' employment in mainstream jobs covered under the unemployment insurance system. Findings on parenting behavior and based on longer follow-up were not available at the time of this writing. This research—in addition to offering an important piece of research on low-income families—complements the other PFS findings. Much of the other PFS research rests on interviews with program staff, observation of activities, or examination of administrative records. This aspect of the research is designed to provide a view—from the perspective of the noncustodial parents—of the program and how it relates to the larger world in which they live.

THE GOALS AND STRUCTURE OF THIS BOOK

In the next six chapters, participants offer their opinions of and reactions to Parents' Fair Share and discuss whether the program helped them to become consistent child support-paying fathers. They also talk about their lives outside of PFS. They try to articulate

the obstacles they encountered in becoming active parents while being “absent fathers.” They describe the world in which they live and how that world looks to them, and they talk about their desires and efforts to “get their act together” and be connected parents. Their stories—in their words—offer a glimpse into a corner of society that has long been in the shadows, challenging many stereotypes about low-income men.

This picture is complicated by the situations and life stories of the men themselves, the viewpoints and emotions of the general public concerning the issues of welfare and child support, and the challenge of helping poor men to meet substantial, long-term financial obligations that appear, and are, daunting. This book attempts to shed light on three particular areas that have received scant attention in order to understand how a social intervention like PFS can better assist poor men in meeting their child support obligations and becoming active fathers, when possible.

Three questions guided this research:

1. Who are the men who chose to participate in Parents’ Fair Share, and what do they tell us about the lives of low-income noncustodial parents and the challenges of designing and operating programs to serve them?
2. Why was participation in the program important to these men, and what did the program offer them?
3. What were the accomplishments and setbacks of NCPs throughout their involvement in PFS, and what expectations should public policymakers and administrators have about the types of change that can occur in a program such as PFS?

The answers to these questions highlight the challenges ahead for policymakers as they try to develop policies and programs that address the issues of poverty in the United States.

Chapter 2 introduces the men in this book by recounting the major themes in their lives, their views of the world, and some of their thoughts about child support. Chapter 3 places the research and the sample within an environmental context and details the NCPs’ economic situations, social positions, and relationships. It attempts to show how the opportunities and resources available to these men, filtered through their personal perceptions of possibili-

ties, shape the choices they make regarding themselves and their children. Chapter 4 presents their views of the child support enforcement system. Chapters 5 and 6 present their observations of the strengths and weaknesses of the PFS program and introduce the programmatic portion of PFS. Chapter 5 discusses the peer support component, while chapter 6 describes the employment training and mediation components. Chapter 7 examines the types of changes made by men in the sample and presents qualitative outcomes grouped into four categories of experience. It closes with a discussion of recommendations that may be of assistance to both this and similar programs and their participants.