MYTHS OF CHILDHOOD

STUDY NOTES prepared by Sarah Gibson, Inside out Productions Pty Ltd

Subject Areas: early childhood, family studies, child counselling, parenting, social justice, psychotherapy, psychology, social sciences, general interest

Levels: upper secondary, tertiary

Today we are more concerned about children and more confused about childhood than ever before. Ideas about childhood in Western society have shifted dramatically in the last twenty-five years. Utopian visions of children's liberation have been displaced by a preoccupation with child abuse and protection. This three-part documentary series explores ideas of childhood in the late twentieth century: childhood as remembered by adults, as represented by the culture and lived by children.

Myths of Childhood confronts the idea that children are innocent, asks why we blame childhood for adult unhappiness and questions the ambitions of parents who strive to be perfect.

In this provocative series, children and parents from Australia, the USA and the United Kingdom talk about their experiences. Home movies, photographs and scenes from TV and cinema show the childhood we imagine. Best selling authors like Penelope Leach, Thomas Moore, Martin Seligman and Marina Warner discuss changing ideas about childhood and the raising of children.

These teaching notes for *Myths of Childhood* are organized around some of the central questions and discussion issues raised by each part. A brief overview introduces each section. Quotes from the series have been selected for their relationship to the proposed activities and suggestions for further research. The follow up questions or projects are designed for a range of educational situations: those examining childhood from a historical or sociological perspective, those studying child development and developmental psychology, those working directly with children and for those thinking about their own experience of childhood. The activities could equally be used as preparation for screening the series.

The three episodes of *Myths of Childhood* work together to unravel the complex ways in which western culture thinks about childhood. The notes contain cross-references to issues raised in other episodes as well as suggestions for further reading.

Synopsis

Myths of Childhood confronts the idea that children are innocent, asks why we blame childhood for adult unhappiness and questions the ambitions of parents who strive to be perfect. This three-part series features adults talking about their past, experts talking about childhood and children talking about themselves.

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Innocence (Part One)

The romantic idea that children are innocent is at the heart of what we believe childhood should be. We are outraged when this innocence is violated by any form of child abuse or exploitation. But in our efforts to protect children have we gone too far? Does our sentimental view of childhood blind us to the realities of children's lives?

Damage (Part Two)

Today we search childhood memories for the causes of our adult discontent. 'Damage' done to us as children is blamed for everything from alcoholism to depression. But how important is childhood in the making of adult personality?

Perfection (Part Three)

In the era of psychology, contemporary parents have assumed responsibility for the emotional well being, self esteem and happiness of their children. But do parents expect too much of themselves and their children. Is it possible to have a perfect childhood?

Writer/Director: Sarah Gibson
Producer: Anna Grieve
Executive Producer: Sharon Connolly
Duration: 3 x 55 minutes
Year of Production: 1996

After Watching

PART ONE - INNOCENCE
1. WHAT HAPPENED TO CHILDHOOD?
2. THE SYMBOL OF THE CHILD
3. CHILD ABUSE
4. CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

1. WHAT HAPPENED TO CHILDHOOD?

The worlds of children and adults have become more separate than ever before. Now we think about childhood as a special time- a time of magic.
Narration

The most influential historian of childhood, Phillippe Aries, in his famous study *Centuries of Childhood* (1962) proposed that the concept of childhood was a modern invention, largely originating in Europe in the 17th century. Before that time, he argued, a child was regarded as a small and incomplete adult. European artists from the tenth century depicted a child as an adult on a smaller scale.

Contemporary historians of childhood disagree with Aries. They argue that even if children were regarded differently in the past, this does not mean that they were not regarded as children. It is also obvious that child-rearing practices have changed, practices often so brutal and exploitative that they bear little resemblance to those of modern western society.

Depending on where you look for evidence and whichever approach to the history of childhood you adopt, the same conclusion is reached: children today occupy a different status from that of the young in earlier centuries and different cultures. Modern childhood as we know it is historically specific.

The 18th century French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau was one of the first thinkers to call attention to the needs of children. He introduced the idea that childhood was worth the attention of adults, encouraging an interest in the process of growing up. Rousseau saw childhood as a distinct period of human life with particular needs for stimulation and education. Rousseau's model upheld the innocence of the child, the proximity of children to nature and the freedom from contamination by the ugly lessons of civilization. This was in contrast to the long Christian tradition of original sin. Medieval religious texts saw children as born evil and prone to sin, without moral knowledge but with a capacity to learn.

Changing images of children can be related to broader social issues within emerging modern industrializing states. Illustrations from the literature of Blake, Wordsworth, Dickens and Mark Twain show how poets and novelists took up Rousseau's idea of the innocent child. The child became a symbol of imagination and sensibility, a symbol of nature, a symbol of the subjective investigation of the Self and an expression of romantic protest against the restrictive experience of society. Childhood became a metaphor for unhampered growth and development.

The idea of childhood was revised dramatically over the nineteenth century as industrialization progressed. Childhood was increasingly seen as a stage of growth that had to be isolated and guarded from an abusive world. The child became a member of a separate social stratum, an innocent in need of protection from the harsher realities of industrial society and an underdeveloped mind in need of nurturing, guidance and instruction. The church became increasingly involved in religious, moral and ideological training of children. The new mission for children was to become literate, numerate and well behaved.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, children became a new field of study. No longer were children seen and not heard. Freud introduced science into the investigation of children. He gave childhood a new status: nothing was more important than those early years. Freud's work heightened the awareness of the sexuality of children. Psychology since Freud has had a large impact on a western understanding of childhood.

What emerges from this history of childhood is that there has never been one consistent 'childhood'. The idea of childhood is dependent on class, gender, race and place. The focus for *Myths of Childhood* is childhood in Western industrialized countries and in children up to puberty.

Activities and further research

I'm really not sure whether it would be better to grow up or not. I've noticed ever since the age of five, life seems to get slowly harder.
Boy

I think it's been very striking, the way in which concepts of childhood have changed, over the last say 150 years. In some ways, childhood — the classical notion of childhood innocence, childhood as a sort of protected time — evolved at the time of industrialization. Children were progressively eliminated from involvement in the economic world.
Pat Holland

  • How has childhood changed in the last 15, 30, 60 or 100 years ago? Choose an aspect of childhood to research, for example laws concerning children's welfare, changes in education practices or the introduction of television. What were the reasons for the changes? Where possible use the memorabilia of childhood to illustrate your findings.
  • There are as many different childhoods as there are children. How many different versions of childhood are there in Australia in the 1990s? Research the experience of childhood from a cultural perspective different to your own.

It's not simply nostalgic to say that today's children have lost their freedom to explore and play. The kind of childhood that even I had, 40 years ago in which as long as we were back home at a certain point, our mother did not worry about us, has become very hard for children now.
Marina Warner

I can't go out the front and play on my bike or anything like that, without Mum watching me
Schoolboy

- In what way is the experience of children today different from children 50 years ago? Choose a specific aspect of childhood experience: school, play, holidays, entertainment or toys. You may want to explore whether you think childhood has changed from being carefree to dangerous.
- Using oral history explore the childhood of your grandparents, great grandparents (or someone of their generation). Compare it with your own or that of your parents. Focus on one or two aspects of childhood. Where possible present your research using images.
- Reflecting on your own childhood, how would you describe it? Did you view it differently as a child, a teenager and a young adult? Write a story of yourself as a child, of your experience of childhood.

Further reading

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10. Pollock, Linda, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
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12. Warner, Marina, *Managing Monsters: Six Myths of Our Time.* London: Vintage, 1994.

Cross-references

- Part 2 *Damage* traces the way in which our understanding of child development has changed our view of childhood. It looks at the impact in the twentieth century of people having photographs of themselves as children. We are tracing our personal histories in a new way. Individuals show us their childhood memorabilia and the episode explores the issues of remembering one's childhood.
- Part 3 *Perfection* refers to the way in which child raising practices and family size have changed. It explores the expectations of parenting in the 1990s compared with earlier generations and the new pressures on parents and on children.

2. THE SYMBOL OF THE CHILD

Contemporary images of children illustrate how Western society now thinks about the child. At any one time there will be multiple and contradictory ideas and images of the child. In earlier times images of the orphan and the hungry child captured the popular imagination. Today the 'innocent' child and the 'abused' child dominate. These images give a picture of the dilemmas and confusions that surround childhood in the 1990s.

Society idealizes and sentimentalizes the cute, innocent child. In advertising, art and popular culture this playful innocent sells everything from mobile phones to car tyres. Using children to sell and selling to children has become a billion-dollar industry. Children have come to represent all that is desirable for adults.

C G Jung introduced us to the idea of the child archetype, the way images and hence ideas about the child have a powerful effect on the human psyche. He suggested that the archetypal child carries all the wishes, yearnings and projections of the adult. We project on to children qualities we see ourselves as lacking and invest children with primary rights to imagination, fantasy and play.

In art, advertising and popular imagery we can see the child who reflects innocence, joy, perfection, harmony, happiness and peace. Popular greeting cards images by the photographer Anne Geddes show the innocent, happy, safe, 'natural' child.

Myths of Childhood reminds us that the concept of the preciousness of childhood is something created. At the turn of the century advertisements shows the child as close to nature, unburdened by training and 'civilization' and therefore the bearer of natural wisdom and truth. The turn of the century poster advertisement for Pears Soap, which used Sir John Everett Millais' painting Bubbles, bears a striking similarity to advertisements of the 1990s. In the green and caring 90s of advertising, children are icons of simplicity and naturalness. For the banking, insurance and financial worlds they represent ideas of the future, hope and progress; for the timber industry: growth and development; for the car world : safety and immortality; and for men's fashion: purity, quality and a symbol of the new possibilities for men. The current image of the innocent child evokes a pre-industrial purity and naturalness.

The more we have idealized the child and the experience of childhood, the more we have created childhood at a tangent to adulthood.
Narration

When childhood is separated off as a special time it becomes permeated with adult nostalgia and obscures children's lives as they really are. We reveal how the sentimentality surrounding childhood prevents us from seeing the real needs of children, from taking them seriously and responding to what they are telling us.

Activities and further research

In the 19th century it was extremely common to use beautiful, desirable women as the vehicles of all the things that people aspired to be. And in a sense, feminism put an end to that — women rightly complained, that they were not being consulted. That they were not being voiced, that they were just being used as vehicles to express this discourse. And I think that, in a way, this is what's happened now to children. The rhetoric has moved on, and it is the child now who carries the burden of expressing ideals.
Marina Warner

- Choose an advertisement that uses children to sell its product, analyse how the image of the child is used to appeal to adults? What cinematic techniques are used in the filming for example in close up, special effects or soft focus? What is common to all these advertisements, whether it is banking or new technology? List all the qualities that the child symbolises.

We have created a society and a culture that is very efficient, where we measure ourselves in terms of the technology that we have invented and improved. And none of this has much soul in it, if any... we're very interested in our own childhood and interested in children in certain ways. And I think in that, we are interested in this soul that we have chased away from our day to day existence.
Thomas Moore

- Using parenting magazines, baby photo competitions or advertisements analyse a series of close up baby images. What are the features in common in all these images? What are the differences between these images and photographs of babies in family albums?
- What does it mean for an adult to "see with the eyes of a child". Try to locate a sequence from a film or novel, which illustrates this.

I don't think children are innocent. I think that adults living in a world that's divided may find innocence in children. I think adults would like to imagine, hope, wish, that children are innocent and then when they become adults they lose their innocence. But I don't really think that's the case.
Thomas Moore

- Using Peter Pan or the feature film *Hook* explore what it is that adults are looking for when they talk about "discovering their inner child". Interview people about whether they relate to this idea and what it means for them.

When I shoot an image like that, I think it speaks of innocence
Anne Geddes

- Survey responses to an Anne Geddes image. What do people respond to or enjoy in her images? When people don't like the image what are they reacting to?

… We mean (by innocence) that children have a freshness of perception, about the world, about relationships, that's unencumbered by the expectations that we acquire as we're grown or socialized.
Robert Davis

- What does the term "innocence" actually mean? Where does the idea come from? In what ways do you think children are innocent? Research some early references to childhood innocence, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *Emile*, 1762 or in poetry by William Wordsworth.

The reason why we split children into innocent victims on the one hand and bad perpetrators who can even commit murder on the other hand, is because children make us anxious. You know, one of the observations that psychoanalysis makes that I agree with, is that when you're made anxious you tend to split things. And so you get this idealization, denigration. Child as all good, child as potentially evil. And I think the split reflects the anxiety.
Andrew Samuels

- Take a film such as *The Bad Seed* or *Celia* and analyse the ways in which the evil child is portrayed. What does the depiction of the evil or demon child tell us about childhood? Look at newspaper and magazine stories of child murderers to see how children are described when they "lapse from that state of innocence".

Images, which seem perfectly innocuous to one person may appear dangerously sexual to another. The connection of sexuality with children alarms and disturbs us. Perhaps it violates our ideal of the innocent child.
Narration

- Take a greeting card, children's fashion or advertising image that has sexualized the image of the child. What images do you consider " dangerously sexual"? How do these images play with the idea of "innocence"? Research the advertising code of practice or censorship rules for sexual portrayals of children.

Further Reading

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3. CHILD ABUSE

At the same time as sentimentalizing the image of the child we are preoccupied with the wounded, unhappy, abused child. In no other historical period have we been so aware of the damage that can be caused when adults abuse their power relationships with children. The problems of the damaged child and the adult's wounded childhood are consistent topics of daytime television and radio talkback.

The abuse of children has suddenly come to be a central preoccupation of society. The unearthing of these histories of abuse inevitably passes a judgement upon the adult world — the world of adult carers. And as a consequence, the attraction of romantic notions of childhood innocence, may be something to do with the sense of guilt that the adult world is experiencing, as it considers childhood, towards the end of this century.
Robert Davis

Child abuse is a serious problem in the Australian community and elsewhere in the world. Everyone has been forced to accept that many children are abused in ordinary families. The reporting rate shows no sign of slowing down. A recent report stated that in NSW alone there was a 14 % increase in the number of reports of child abuse compared to the previous nine months (*Sydney Morning Herald* 7/9/98). This is attributed to greater community awareness of the need to prevent abuse before it occurs. If we profess our care and concern for children, why is there still child abuse?

Historians suggest that child abuse is nothing new - parents have always whipped, starved, beaten, abandoned, locked up and raped their children. What has changed is our recognition of abuse as a social problem. Although the first child protection legislation was introduced in Europe in the late nineteenth century, it wasn't until the 1950s, partially as a result of widespread radiography, that doctors began to relate the child injuries they saw to parental behaviour and so the 1960s saw "battered babies" capture public attention. In the 1970s, feminists encouraged women to speak out about rape and violence at the hands of men, and it was this information that led to emergence of stories of child sexual abuse.

In Australia prior to 1987, child abuse did not exist in children's legislation. The law only accounted for a "neglected child" or a "child in moral danger". What the state considers to be at risk, acceptable and unacceptable has changed over time. For example, children were so-called illegitimate and girls of 14 or 15 having sexual relationships who were considered to be "at risk" in the past. Today these children would not be included on a child abuse register. Our notions of child abuse are dependent on and affected by notions of class, gender, family and children's rights.

"Abuse" now covers physical abuse, neglect, sexual abuse and emotional abuse. The inclusion of the less visible "emotional" abuse category has brought with it a different understanding of "abuse". "Emotional abuse" describes the behaviour by a parent or caregiver which destroys children's confidence in themselves. Children are told they are worthless, continually rejected, shown no affection, subjected to constant verbal abuse and threats, punished by being locked up alone. While there is no doubt that such abuse can leave damaging emotional scars, *Myths of Childhood* asks whether we can distinguish between abuse and the inevitable painful experiences of growing up. While we have broadened our definition of abuse to include both sexual and emotional abuse, the most common cause of abuse of children *Myths of Childhood* argues, even in affluent societies, is still poverty and neglect.

We have spent so much time trying to prove abuse and punish abusers and too little time trying to understand abuse. Understanding the reasons for child abuse is extremely complex. Child abuse raises questions about children's vulnerability and the misuse of adult power and whether we think of children as "property" and "objects" rather than people. While most abused children are repeatedly hurt by their immediate families, blaming the breakdown of the family or a mother going out to work is not adequate. Nor can abuse simply be blamed on men. While abusers in sexual abuse cases are predominantly men, in cases of physical and emotional abuse, the abusers are often women. Abuse cannot only be blamed on socio-economic background. While physical abuse and neglect tends to happen in families that are socially and economically disadvantaged, sexual abusers come from all groups.

In the media it is the sexual abuse stories that generate horror. There is still shock value in child sexual abuse by bishops and priests; by Satanists and porno rings and in the institutions we set up to care for children "at risk". *Myths of Childhood* asks why have we become so preoccupied with the "sexual" element of abuse, suggesting that it has more to do with our preoccupation with innocence than with our concern for the real needs of children.

Not taking children as complex real human lifelike individuals is doing some harm to them. If we repress our own feelings by romanticising the child — I mean if we romanticise the child we're going to repress our dark feelings, our anger at children, our difficulty with children — then that will come out in our behavior.
Thomas Moore

Activities and further research

We are ever more vigilant about protecting children, yet despite all our efforts, abuse of children continues.
Narration

- What is the extent of child abuse in Australia? Why does there seem to be an increase in the reporting rate? Is this because we have expanded our definitions of child abuse? What are the differences between neglect, physical, emotional and sexual abuse?
- Has there always been child abuse? Research information on early child protection agencies like Barnardos. What does "protection " currently mean and how has this changed in the last 100 years?

On average, every day we get about 10,000 calls from children. We've had calls from as young as four year olds.
Childline, UK

- Research child help line services in Australia. What are the majority of calls from children about?
- What do you think are the main reasons for child abuse? Interview someone who works directly with abused children, someone who has experienced child abuse first hand, or someone who works in the legal arena. From their perspective explore the reasons for the prevalence of child abuse and how it should be prevented?
- Look at novel or film that tells the story of abuse from an adult perspective. How does this add to your understanding of the causes of child abuse or the impact of abuse on children?

Our societies are being seriously affected by our fear of sexual abuse and false accusations of sexual abuse, rather than by sexual abuse itself.
Penelope Leach

- Over a period of a week, survey the newspapers and magazines. What are the ways in which child abuse is being reported? Is it being sensationalized, is there an emphasis on sexual abuse over other forms of neglect and abuse?

Further reading

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Cross-references

- Part 2 *Damage* asks what determines whether an experience of abuse as a child will be damaging for the adult? It examines the impact of child sexual abuse, experiences of the stolen generation and those who have experienced the atrocities of war and displacement. From the perspective of adults looking back on childhood *Damage* explores the way in which adults become "victims" of their childhoods. While acknowledging the psychological impact of abuse, Part 2 demystifies the assumption that everyone who was abused as a child will go on to become an abuser themselves.
- Part 3 *Perfection* takes up the issues of whether childhood can ever be free of negative experiences. What determines our resilience when faced with potentially damaging experiences as a child? It argues that poverty is the single most factor which affects children's experience of childhood.

4. CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

Most people think of childhood as determined by biological and psychological facts. But the 'child' exists in relation to the category "adult". Children are by definition not adults. They exist in relation to definitions of adults, of mothers and fathers, of families, of the state. Childhood that we take for granted has been socially constructed. The dividing line between childhood and adulthood is arbitrary, a historical and shifting social construction. At different stages of our history ten and twelve was the age of majority. We have defined childhood according to the entry limits on the spheres of adult activity: when a child can legally leave school, buy alcohol, vote and have sex and at what age a child can be convicted of an adult criminal offence. In the 1990s concerns about the legal rights of the child extend to the rights of the foetus.

Children's rights were among the last rights to be recognized - in some countries their recognition came after those of animal rights. Acknowledgement of children's rights means examining the power that adults hold over children. Is this why there is such resistance to children gaining a voice?

Myths of Childhood argues that by adhering to a romantic view of childhood innocence, we deny children their complexity and capacity and so too their rights. We separate children into the category "child" and see them as different from us, as not having the same capacity for responsibility. In our concern to protect children's innocence we limit the responsibilities we give children and we punish them severely when they fall from that state of innocence.

Adults keep trying to build taller and taller walls between childhood and adulthood. And one of the effects of that, one of the social changes of that, has been how we think of children's participation in the processes of ordinary life and survival. Now I'm of course not advocating that children should work. I mean you know, obviously the conditions of the work Victoria child labour, and indeed in the Philippines, or other places in the world where children are used as the workforce, I'm obviously not advocating that. But I think that because we have made childhood such a separate ideal, idyllic place, we have actually done some harm to children by preventing them learning certain things.
Marina Warner

Activities and further research

Childhood is an idea constructed by adults. How we see childhood says more about the way adults think than about the way kids really are.
Narration

As a child you take play very seriously. As an adult, you may feel guilty about playing. Or you may realize that you have to give up play in order to work so seriously and so soberly at your job.
Thomas Moore

You can have loads of fun when you're a kid, but when you're a grown-up you have to go to work all the time, and sometimes grown-ups come back really late in the evening, so they don't get much time to do anything.
Girl

- Interview younger children about what they think is the difference between an adult and a child. Compare their answers to those of adults.

We don't have a strong consensus any more on the dividing line between childhood and adulthood. When is a child old enough to have sex? Well, a lot of kids are having sex by the time they're 15 or 16 years old. When is a child old enough to do paid work? When is a child old enough to take full responsibility for criminal behavior? We don't have consensus on that any more.
Wendy Kaminer

- How does child development theory demarcate a child from an adult?
- Research the way in which our view of childhood is culturally specific. Talk to people who lived their childhood outside Australia. Compare their understanding of the differences between an adult and a child.
- Reflecting on your own childhood do you have a memory of when you stopped being a child or when you entered adulthood? What marked that experience, for example: leaving school, first pay packet, knowing something, painful experience, getting your license, taking on responsibilities or sexual experience.

We have this traditional approach that childhood is a period of powerlessness. That you're not able to do things very often, even things that you're quite capable of doing, because you're still a child. So I believe the overriding issue is to say, kids should have the freedom to do things that they have the capacity to do. If they're able to do them, if they've developed that maturity, then they should be able to do them without being beholden to some other adult. Now that's quite a frightening approach to many people.
Richard Ludbrook

- What are the main issues of concern in children's rights today? How do they vary for different age groups 5-10, 10-15 years and 15-21 years?
- Research a children's rights issue and conduct a debate. For example on corporal punishment or the right to vote if you pay tax.

All our societies now believe that it's wrong for people to hit each other. We are all anxious about inter-personal violence. We all regret the levels of violence in our society, and they are all controlled by law and by convention. If an adult hits another adult, that's assault. If a man hits his wife, she is protected — not always adequately — but she is, by the law. Why are children, the smallest and most vulnerable members of society, the only people left in society who can be hit.
Penelope Leach

- Investigate what community resources there are available for children to tell them of their rights, in particular youth legal centres. Is there a government advocate for children's rights, for example a commissioner for children?

One of the most important rights, if not the most important right of a child, is the right to participate in a family or living unit decisions.
Moira Rayner

- Conduct interviews with children about which family decisions they feel they should be included in. Interview people from youth refuges, family mediation centres or counselors to research issues that children are most angry or distressed about.

Children should be seen and not heard. Kids today need a damn good hiding!
Teach the little devils a lesson.
Adult voices

- When you were growing up what were the 'children's rights' issues, even if you may not have called them that? Do you think the issues are very different now?
- Look at contemporary 'young adult' novels and television programs. Find one or more that relate to the issue of children's rights. Analyse the way the novel or script portrays the issue. Is it more from the kid's perspective?

The problems confronting children today are poverty. We have a great many children living in poverty. And violence. We have a great many children living in violence. And we're not doing very much about either one of those problems.
Wendy Kaminer

- Work with a group of children or young people to develop a children's rights poster on an issue of concern to them.

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PART TWO - DAMAGE
1. THE BEGINNING - THE BABY
2. MEMORY
3. TRAUMA AND RESILIENCE
4. VICTIMS OF CHILDHOOD

1. THE BEGINNING - THE BABY

Our understanding about the importance of childhood comes from three sources: psychologists who have studied children; adults who remember and tell stories from their childhoods and therapy which has encouraged adults to remember the past in order to understand the present.

Most contemporary developmental psychology and therapies have their origins in Freud. He gave childhood a new status: adult life was determined by those early years. Freud's work has had an enormous impact. Most people use the terms "oral", "anal" and "Oedipus complex" as if they understand their meaning. The sexuality of children has become an area of heightened awareness. It is extraordinary then that little if anything of the work of psychoanalysts since Freud has entered into common knowledge.

Freud didn't analyse children. He wasn't interested in the early period of childhood. Like many people he believed that babies don't get interesting until they can do something, talk or play. But psychoanalysts who followed Freud, such as Melanie Klein and D. W. Winnicott, have been particularly interested in babies. In *Myths of Childhood* we speak with contemporary psychologists who have tried to understand the world of childhood from the perspective of the child. They have built their knowledge largely on extremely detailed observations of infants.

We know more than we ever had about the psychological development of the child. The old idea that whatever you did with a baby before six months didn't matter much, has been replaced by an understanding that infants think and feel much earlier than we previously believed.

The baby is adapting to the unconscious needs, desires and expectations of the parents, even perhaps picking up on experiences that these parents has as children themselves. Psychologists describe how a person's ability to deal with relationships as an adult, in particular experiences of dealing with separation or dealing with change can be observed in the infants early relating to its mother, father and the world. It may be possible to say that the child has developed its psychic life by the time it is 6 months old and that by 18 months the basic elements of our adult personalities are established.

To explore what parents are responsible for in the development of a child's personality, *Myths of Childhood* examines some of the recent child development research. One of the latest ideas about psychological development is that the baby has a character from the beginning. Babies are all very different and studies of temperament are fleshing out these differences. The baby is not a blank sheet on which to inscribe things but they have a personality, a life of their own.

Each generation revisits the nature/nurture debate : the extent to which genetic and biological factors are responsible for how we develop as individuals balanced with the environment, with family life and child raising. Today's view as Jerome Kagan describes it is that it is as if there is a pale grey fabric woven tightly of thin black threads representing biology and white ones representing experience, but it is impossible to detect any quite black or white threads in the cloth.

You don't have to have experienced trauma to be influenced as an adult by your early childhood. It is the everyday things that shape us.

Activities and further research

We have to acknowledge the role of biology for some qualities and the role of the environment...It's a more complex solution, but that's the way nature is.
Jerome Kagan

- Using historical sources from child development, behavioural sciences, education, psychology or parenting advice review the changes over time to our understanding of the nature/nurture debate. Illustrate using images wherever possible.

We've come to understand in a far deeper and wider way, not only that what happens to babies when they're very small is of extreme importance, but also that they are very complicated. They're subtly, sophisticated, responsive little creatures right from the beginning.
Lisa Miller

- Using contemporary parenting advice books what can you describe as this new understanding of the "clever" baby. Compare this to the view of 20 or 30 years ago when parents said "nothing much happens in the first three months" What is the research that has transformed our ideas about babies? How do they know so much about the inner world of the child?

The baby also takes in experiences and these build character. But of course, its what the baby makes of it. The baby has his or her potential, just as if you plant an acorn, all you can ever hope to get is an oak tree, you're not going to have a lily.
Lisa Miller

- Create an infant observation project of regular observations of a baby under 3 months of age over a period of time. Record your observations of the ways the baby responds to its primary care giver and takes in emotional information and responds.

At four months of age you can detect the early signs of who will be shy, subdued, timid, who bold social and outgoing.
Jerome Kagan

- In a childcare centre or playgroup situation interview care givers or workers about the nicknames they have for the children. Are they already ascribing temperaments in their descriptions of the personalities of the children?

I think there's an enormous amount of forming of personality during that time. For instance, you learn a lot of the patterns of being with other people... that are so deeply part of your sense of the social world that you never even talk about it, you never even think about it. It becomes simply the way you are with others.
Daniel Stern

- Write the story of the development of your own personality. Do you think that you can identify your adult personality in the child you were? Interview others who knew you as a child and compare their responses. The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator may be a useful tool for analysing and describing your personality.

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Cross Reference

- Part 3 *Perfection* documents the rise of the parenting industry and the increased pressure on parents to be responsible for their children's success in life. It links the rise in knowledge about developmental psychological to parental confusion about the extent to which they are responsible for their children's "dysfunction". This episode is not a guide to better parenting or 'toddler taming', rather it links parental anxiety to the cultural obsession with the damaged child.

- *Perfection* also explores the role of the father in the care of the baby and the reality of childcare for working parents. It considers the larger social factors such as poverty that may influence a child's development.

2. MEMORY

It was into the Victorian era of sentimentalisation of children that Sigmund Freud brought his revolutionary theory about the significance of childhood for the adult. Psychoanalysis was the way in which Freudian understandings became common and well known. Freud popularized the idea that you are the product of your own story and that your childhood, now "forgotten", forms the core of your identity.

Since Freud's ideas about the power of the unconscious gained wide acceptance, we look for causes of adult problems in the forgotten events of childhood. This has led to our current preoccupation with remembering painful experiences.

Contemporary debate about memory has focused on memory as scientific truth, memory that can stand up in a court of law, memory as evidence, rather than the significance of memory. It is hard to even discuss the nature of childhood memory without seeming to dispute the evidence and impact of childhood abuse.

However, we know from daily life that memory is selective and that memories change over time. Our memories are continually being altered, transformed and distorted. Memory is not literal recall, it is not a hard disk in your head. rather it is an act of imagination.

What psychoanalysis teaches is that the very act of remembering, going looking for it, finding it and talking about it has altered the memory. In different historical periods we are taught to remember differently. For example, it was not long ago that we were encourage to "forget" the negative experiences of childhood.

Memories of particular events and periods are socially constructed, for example, nostalgic TV programs construct our a version of Australian childhood of the 1950s. This in turn can create and colour our memories.

The introduction of family photography coincided with the idea of searching for psychological reasons for who we are as adults. However when we pore over the family albums, we experience as many absences as there are recorded moments. Each time we look the meaning they have for us will be different.

While the courts challenge and debate the truth of childhood memories, the therapy room argues the value of childhood memories as a way to understand and perhaps repair a damaged past.

In the last 25 years the former Swiss psychoanalyst and writer Alice Miller has been very influential in arguing that adults must remember their childhood and in particular the negative experiences they suffered. Therapies based on this idea argue that in order to repair the damage caused by early injuries, the adult must release the feelings and memories that became blocked at the time of the original trauma. This means acknowledging the pain, mistreatment and fear to which they were subjected as children.

Myths of Childhood asks whether we have become preoccupied with memory as truth and with the negative memories of childhood? This episode argues that we have lost the value of remembering as an activity of pleasure rather than of explanation, as reverie that nourishes the soul?

Activities and further research

Nearly everyone in the 20th century has photographs of himself or herself as a child, so we can trace our own histories in an unprecedented way.
Pat Holland

- Present a photographic essay of your life to this point. Note which significant life events have no photographs to record their stories. Choose one photograph of yourself as a child which tells the most to you about your experience as a child. Write the story of that child.

What you remember are usually those things that are relatively unusual...the specific memories that make up the autobiography of somebody usually have to do with deviations from the normal way things happen
Daniel Stern

- Interview people about their earliest memories. Compare these memories with your own. From what ages do we have memories? What do you know about research into how we remember?

It is the present context that makes for the memory...memory becomes a very active constructive process of choosing things and not a passive one of letting some chunk that's sitting in the memory library come up to the present.
Daniel Stern

- Choose a very clear early memory from your own childhood. Interview siblings, parents, other people who may have witnessed this event. Are there discrepancies in their memories of the same event? Alternatively, choose a cultural event and compare remembered versions of the event. Are these memories being informed by films and written accounts since the event?

Personal traumas, disruptions of families, the ways in which 20th century families are certainly not the happy family of the image
Pat Holland

- Look through a friend or colleague's photograph album. Interview them about what isn't in their album. Can you find someone who has no childhood photographs at all and interview them about the meaning of this for them.

I really enjoy having them...and I am immediately back there. It's better than what really a good photograph could do.
Robyn Powell Davies

- Conduct research amongst people that you know about what objects they have from their childhoods and what significance them. What memories do they hold? Try to include people of different ages and cultural backgrounds.

Once we were urged to put the past behind us. Now we are encouraged to remember painful experiences...Since Freud's ideas about the power of the unconscious gained wide acceptance, we look for causes of adult problems in forgotten events of childhood. This has led to our current preoccupation with remembering painful experiences.
Narrator

- Using a contemporary television drama, feature film or novel, look at the way in which recovered memory has been used in the story. What significance has been given to these memories? To what extent can remembering be used to heal the hurts of the past? You may want to look at some of the therapy and personal growth literature about the link between remembering and healing.

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Cross References

- Part 1 *Innocence* examines the historical changes to our understanding of childhood and the way the symbol of the child has come to represent the yearnings and desires of the adult. In looking at how western culture has represented the innocent child in photography, movies, books and advertising, Part 1 lays the foundation for understanding how own childhood memories and images continue to be constructed. It explores our cultural obsession with "seeing through the eyes of a child".
- Part 3 *Perfection* demystifies the ideal of the perfect family. It contextualises our current preoccupation with happy memories. Through examining the history of parenting we see the rise of psychological expectations on parents to provide an ideal childhood for their children.

3. TRAUMA AND RESILIENCE

Is it necessary for parents to open a therapy account for their child? This episode of *Myths of Childhood* explores the difference between traumatic experiences for a child and the everyday difficult experiences of growing up. What are the factors that determine whether children have resilience or whether they become scarred by childhood experience?

Until recently, adults and doctors shied away from children's traumatic experiences believing that if nobody said anything during a disaster, maybe a child wouldn't notice. If children weren't reminded of events, maybe they could forget.

Researchers who follow children who have experienced trauma such as the children of the Chowchilla bus kidnapping and the orphans of Rwanda offer insights into the impact of these events on their psychological world and later lives.

This episode also distinguishes between trauma and life stresses that are part of growing up. Not all deeply wounding experiences damage us. Martin Seligman reports on his findings about resilience in children, their capacity to spring back, their power of recovery.

There is an assumption in the media over the last decade that if you were abused as a child you will abuse as an adult, that abuse is intergenerational. In recent feature films and novels, character's flaws such as violent behaviour and the inability to have successful intimate relationships are blamed on the abuse characters suffered as children. While not denying the psychological impact of abuse, there is little basis for assuming that abused children will become abusers. Childhood victims of other types of trauma are not told that they will become "dysfunctional" adults. We expect people to get over traumas such as the death of a parent, intensive medical procedures and motor vehicle accidents. Why not child abuse?

At the same time as we were developing the primacy of the parent child bond, white Australians were taking aboriginal children away from their mothers. The last 20 years have seen the psychological consequences of society's practices that were advocated as being in the best interests of the children. Since the findings of the Stolen Generation report we can now acknowledge that there is a psychological legacy passed from one generation to the next.

Activities and further research

People have changed their ideas about childhood trauma. First of all, they didn't think that such a thing existed and about 20 years ago suddenly the public became aware that such a thing existed.
Lenore Terr

- What is your understanding of a trauma? Interview older people asking them about their most painful childhood experiences and how they now view them. Observe whether they use the word trauma. What is the difference between a painful event in childhood and a trauma?

I remember the policewoman and the welfare officer coming in and taking the three youngest. Dad wasn't there...one minute we were at school. Next thing we knew we were in an orphanage.
Bruce Clayton-Brown

- Using the report into the Stolen Generation explore the consequences for aboriginal people of being forcibly removed from their families. What has been the impact on the children of those "stolen" children?
- Interview someone who was made homeless through war, experienced racial conflict or forcible immigration. From their personal stories present your ideas on the psychological effects of these events.

For some children death of a parent, the breakdown of the family, being involved in a motor vehicle accident...can completely derail their development...For other children it seems to provide a rallying point.
Brent Waters

- Interview children about the worst thing that has happened to them. What are these negative experiences? What will determine whether these experiences will scar them for life or will just be part of the painful process of growing up? Under what circumstances are physical injury, death of a parent or sibling, family separation and moving house a trauma according to Lenore Terr's definition in this episode?

Children who have perfectly benevolent childhoods are at risk of being unhappy adults, because when distress occurs, it will be so discrepant from the beauty of their childhoods.
Jerome Kagan

- Examine Martin Seligman's ideas for creating in children skills for disputing catastrophic events. Observe a family, child care or school interactions over a period of time. Record the ways in which adults responded to negative events for children. In your view were skills of optimism being developed?

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Cross-references

- Part 1 *Innocence* asks why when we know so much about what children need, do we continue to abuse and neglect children? It examines child abuse from a societal rather than individual perspective, arguing that we have spent so much time proving abuse and too little understanding why abuse continues. It also asks whether we have overemphasized sexual abuse and whether our focus on the innocence of children has deflected us from seeing the complexity of children and from meeting their real needs.
- Part 3 *Perfection* takes up the issue of self-esteem for children, arguing that in our overemphasis on making children feel good about themselves we are not encouraging the skills of resilience. We are also emphasizing the individual at the expense of the group.

4. VICTIMS OF CHILDHOOD

Millions in western countries are "in therapy" seeking explanations for their adult unhappiness. Whether their problem is depression, addiction, anorexia, anxiety or the inability to form satisfying relationships, they look for understanding through reviewing the events of childhood.

The answer to the question "Why is my life like this?" was once answered by belief in God, destiny and our given place in the social order. Now we seek answers in our personal histories.

While developmental psychology has added enormously to our understanding of the development of our adult personalities, it has also contributed to the idea that if we are experiencing some problem in adult life, we can find causes by looking to childhood. *Myths of Childhood* asks has "Who am I?" been reduced to "How did I get this way?"

Using childhood as explanation, together with our emphasis on remembering the painful experiences of childhood has changed our understanding of the nature of childhood. Negative experiences are a part of growing up. Not all traumas leave scars for life. Adult personality is extremely complex and we are equally formed and continue to be affected by the experiences of later life.

Myths of Childhood argues that adult unhappiness cannot be explained simply by retrieving and reviewing our individual histories. To find causes and cures we need to look not only at our past, but also at the circumstances of our adult lives. We need to shift the focus from childhood to the culture itself.

If we are to rediscover the simple pleasure of childhood memories we need to release childhood from the burden of explanation.

Activities and further research

The idea that childhood is the source of all things, the causal explanation, I think that's a relatively recent idea. An enormously powerful one and one which has infected our very thinking about childhood, so that we can't think about it in any other way.
Andrew Samuels

- What has been the role of religion, social class and the idea of fate in answering the questions "Who am I?" and "Why is my life like this?" Refer to historical sources or conduct interviews with some people over 70 years of age.

Therapy is always trying to find some explanation for our discontent certainly, and childhood is an easy answer. I don't think it is the right answer, but it is an easy one. You can always look at your childhood, what happened there. Isn't it obvious that what happened there is causing your present problems? If only you had the perfect parents, if only your parents were different from what they were then you would be okay.
Thomas Moore

- Conduct research amongst family and friends about whether they view childhood as an explanation for their adult problems. To what extent do they blame their parents?

- Review some of the popular psychology and self help literature, for example the writings of Alice Miller. Examine whether it promotes the idea that childhood should be happy and that parents are to blame if it isn't. Compare this to a different view about childhood, for example that of James Hillman or Thomas Moore.
- Analyse some of your favourite fairy stories. What are these stories telling us about the process of growing from childhood into adulthood? What are they telling us about relationships between parents and children?

To find causes and cure for adult unhappiness we need to look not only at our past, but also at the circumstances of our adult lives.
Narration

- Choose a common adult problem or complaint such as addiction, anxiety, loneliness, difficulty in having satisfying relationships or lack of meaning in life. Research different explanations for this using both the views of developmental psychology and an analysis of contemporary social life. Which offers the most satisfying explanation?

One of the reasons we focus on childhood is that its the beginning of the story as far as we can tell...But then perhaps we have to question whether it's possible to put a human life into that story form. Maybe it isn't.
Thomas Moore

- Ask someone you don't already know to tell you the story of his or her life to this point. Do they start with childhood? What are the significant life events for them, are they based in childhood or are they part of their later life story?

What if we dropped the whole idea of trying to explain anything and just told the story as story, as poetry, as reverie, as memory...You don't have to do anything with it. Just tell the story and that's it.
Thomas Moore

- Interview different people about childhood. Ask them for memories of childhood. Don't privilege painful stories. Can you identify reverie that Thomas Moore speaks about. Ask them what it was like to remember in this way?

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Cross Reference

- Part 3 *Perfection* critically examines the expectations of contemporary parents that they should or could provide their children with a pain free childhood. It questions our use of the term "dysfunctional" family, claiming that all families are to a certain extent dysfunctional. It extends the issue raised in this episode *Damage* to what extent are parents to blame for adult unhappiness?

About the Author

Sarah Gibson has been writing, producing and directing documentaries on contemporary social issues for 20 years. Her earlier documentaries including *Size 10* (1978), winner of a Blue Ribbon Award at the American Film Festival, *Behind Closed Doors* (1980) and *Age Before Beauty* (1980) which were co-produced and co-directed with Susan Lambert have received international attention.

In 1985 she received a Documentary Fellowship from the Australian Film Commission and together with Susan Lambert produced and directed *Landslides* which received AFI nominations for best experimental film and best sound in 1987 and screened on the ABC in 1988.

Sarah has worked as an editor on documentaries such as *Making Biscuit* (1987), winner of Greater Union Best Documentary, *Thanks Girls and Goodbye* (1988) AND *Mum's the Word* (1980); and as script editor on *De-Anima* (1991) and *Eclipse of the Man Made Sun* (1988). In 1988 she produced and directed a series of documentaries for Life Education as part of a preventive drug and alcohol program for teenagers.

In 1991 Sarah completed two documentaries, *In the Beginning there was Shopping* and *Born to Shop*, which explored the pleasure of shopping from a psychological perspective. *Born to Shop* screened on ABC-TV in September 1991 and December 1992 and has been broadcast to international audiences.

She is a senior lecturer in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Technology, Sydney where she established the film and video course in the BA Communications Degree. Sarah lectures in documentary and experimental film and video.

For the last eight years Sarah has undertaken studies in child psychoanalytic research and analytical psychology from a Jungian perspective in both Zurich and Sydney. Sarah works as a Jungian psychotherapist in private practice and is continuing her studies with the Australian and New Zealand Society of Jungian Analysts and the Australian CG Jung Institute.

Myths of Childhood is a creative development from Sarah's psychological studies and her work as a psychotherapist. It continues her filmic exploration of the relevance of psychological insights for contemporary culture.

These teaching notes were prepared by Sarah on the first two episodes of *Myths of Childhood* only (*Innocence* and *Damage*) to accompany the release of the series.

Interviewees Biographies

Along with children and parents who tell their own stories of childhood, the *Myths of Childhood* series draws on specialist interviewees from Australia, UK, USA and Europe. They include:

- Cultural commentators such as Marina Warner, Patricia Holland and Wendy Kaminer.
- Those whose expertise is children, including Penelope Leach and Gillian Calvert, as well as others from a psychoanalytic background, such as Daniel Stern, Martin Seligman and Lisa Miller.
- Those who tell stories from the therapy room, as consumers, practitioners, supporters or critics, such as Thomas Moore and Andrew Samuels.

Expert Interviewees

STEVE BIDDULPH (Part 3)
Author and family therapist (Australia)
Steve Biddulph has specialised in family therapy for over twenty years. His best selling books include, *The Secret of Happy Children* and *Manhood.* He lectures around the world on positive parenting and masculinity.

GILLIAN CALVERT (Part 1)
Child Protection Consultant (Australia)
Author of Australia's National Child Protection Strategy 1994, Calvert has been Executive Officer for the New South Wales (NSW) Child Protection Council where she pioneered many reforms in the child protection system. She has lectured on welfare policy, worked as a family therapist and is currently Director, Office of Children and Young People in the Cabinet Office, NSW State Government.

EVA COX (Part 3)
Social Policy Analyst (Australia)
Eva Cox has been an active and irrepressible advocate for feminist views of social policy and was co-founder of the Women's Economic Think Tank (WETTANK). She is currently lecturing in social sciences at the University of Technology in Sydney. In 1995, she delivered the ABC Boyer lecture and was made an Officer of the Order of Australia in recognition of her many contributions on social issues.

DR ROBERT A. DAVIS (Part 1)
Author and Lecturer in English, Glasgow University (UK)
Davis specialises in the historical representation of childhood and the construction of childhood innocence in Western culture.

CAROL FALLOWS (Part 3)
Author and Editor, "Australia's Parents" (Australia)
Editor of a very popular child care magazine, Fallows is a journalist specialising in health, pregnancy and children. She is author of *The Australian Baby and Child Care Handbook, Questions Parents Ask and Coping With Kids.*

ANNE GEDDES (Part 1)
Photographer (New Zealand)

Australian-born photographer, resident in New Zealand, Geddes has published her distinctive photographs of babies and children in such journals as *Life, Tempo, London Sunday Mirror* and *Sunday Magazine*. She and her husband now run a photographic studio which produces her distinctive work as greeting cards, books, wrapping paper and calendars retailing in 28 countries. Her work is particularly popular in France, the UK and Japan.

PATRICIA HOLLAND (Parts 1 & 2)
Author and commentator (UK)
As a cultural commentator, writer and filmmaker, Holland has curated exhibitions and written extensively about the image of children in the history of photography and in popular media. Her work includes: *What Is A Child?, Family Snaps - The Meaning of Domestic Photography and Seen But Not Heard? Childhood and the Photographic Image.*

ADELE HORIN (Part 3)
Journalist (Australia)
A journalist and cultural commentator specialising in the relationships between adults and children, Horin has a regular column in the Sydney Morning Herald and weekly commentary on the popular national ABC radio program, Life Matters.

FRANCES HYDE (Part 1)
Phone Counsellor, ChildLine (UK)
Along with working full time for the magazine *Marie Claire* , Frances, who is still only 24, has worked for five years for the London-based phone counselling service for children, ChildLine. This charity organisation operates 24 hours a day, and while 10,000 children in crisis try to call ChildLine every day, only 3,000 of the calls can be answered.

PROFESSOR JEROME KAGAN (Parts 2 & 3)
Professor of Psychology, Harvard University (USA)
Author of many books, including *The Nature of the Child*, Kagan is the Daniel and Amy Starch Professor of Psychology at Harvard University. His speciality is in temperament study and the relative importance of inherited biology and socialisation. His most recent book, *Galen's Prophecy: Temperament in Human Nature*, was released to critical acclaim.

WENDY KAMINER (Parts 1 & 2)
Social critic and Author (USA)
Kaminer writes about politics, law and culture and is a Research Fellow at Radcliffe College Public Policy Unit, Harvard. Her work appears in *The Atlantic, The New York Times* and *The Village Voice.* Kaminer's controversial and provocative best seller *I'm Dysfunctional, You're Dysfunctional* was written in 1992. She is currently writing on our millennium preoccupation with UFOs and angels.

DR KARI KILLEN (Parts 1 & 2)
Clinical Researcher, Institute for Child Welfare Research (Norway)
Dr Kari Killen has over 20 years' experience as a clinical researcher. She is currently working at the Norwegian Institute for Child Welfare Research and is the current President of the International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (ISPCAN). As President of ISPCAN, Dr Killen participates in guiding international developments, convening world congresses and local and national conferences to advance the debate and knowledge about the prevention, recognition and treatment of child abuse and neglect.

PENELOPE LEACH (Parts 1 &3)

Author and Psychoanalyst (UK)

One of the most popular commentators on children, Penelope Leach is the author of many bestselling books on parenting and childcare, including *Babyhood; The Parents' A-Z: A Guide to Children's Health, Growth and Happiness* and the bestselling *Baby and Child*. Her most recent work is *Children First: What We Must Do and Are Not Doing For Our Children Today* (1994). Leach is also Parent Education Coordinator for the End Physical Punishment of Children (EPOCH) campaign and sits on the UK Commission for Social Justice.

RICHARD LUDBROOK (Part 1)

Child Rights Advocate (Australia)

A long time activist for the rights of children Ludbrook worked for many years at the London Children's Legal Centre, campaigning with Peter Newell in the Gillick case, which laid the foundation for children's rights in the English-speaking world. Ludbrook has recently retired as Executive Director of the National Children's and Youth Law Centre in Sydney.

LISA MILLER (Parts 1 & 3)

Child Psychotherapist (UK)

Principal child psychotherapist at the Tavistock Clinic in London, Miller has many years experience in infant observation and is the co-editor of *Closely Observed Infants*.

THOMAS MOORE (Parts 1, 2 & 3)

Author (USA)

Originally a Franciscan monk and now a psychotherapist and writer, Thomas Moore is a leading lecturer and writer in North America and Europe in the areas of archetypal psychology, mythology and the arts. For many years he has worked in close association with James Hillman. His latest bestselling books include *Care Of The Soul* (1992) and *Soul Mates* (1994)

ALISON MULVANEY-SMITH (Part 3)

Communications Specialist and Author (Australia)

A communications specialist who has been in private practice as a speech pathologist and psychotherapist for many years. Alison Mulvaney-Smith is a professional keynote speaker, and runs workshops across Australia on improving communication with children. She is the author of *Look Who's Talking* and *Talking with Kids*.

DR DEBORAH PHILLIPS (Parts 1 & 3)

Director, Board on Children and Families, National Research Council (USA)

Phillips heads the leading advocacy and research body on the rights of children and families in the USA. Based in Washington, the Board is a major player in the development of government policy.

MOIRA RAYNER (Part 1)

Child Rights Advocate (Australia)

Moira Rayner is a lawyer who chairs the Board of Directors of the Independent National Children's and Youth Law Service based in Sydney and is a part-time Commissioner of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. As a Churchill Fellow (1987) she investigated the legal representation of children in the UK. She has written widely on the legal representation of children, child abuse, children's rights, juvenile sentencing policy, child care, ethics and human rights.

ANDREW SAMUELS (Parts 1, 2 & 3)
Jungian analyst and Author (UK)
As a senior training and practising psychoanalyst of the Society of Analytical Psychology in London, Samuels has written and lectured extensively. His particular area of interest is the relationship of therapy to politics and the father's role in psychology. His books, *Jung and the Post-Jungians*, *The Plural Psyche* and *The Political Psyche* have brought passionate, and what many would regard as radical views to contemporary psychoanalysis.

DR ANN SANSON (Part 3)
Associate Professor of Psychology, University of Ballarat (Australia)
Since 1983, Sanson has studied temperament development in a group of two and a half thousand Australian children, beginning when they were eight months old. The published studies report on the interaction between the child's temperament and the environment and show marked differences between Australian and American children.

PROFESSOR MARTIN SELIGMAN (Parts 2 & 3)
Professor, University of Pennyslvania and Author (USA)
Professor Seligman is one of the most influential psychologists in the United States and author of the popular books: *Learned Optimism, The Optimistic Child* and *What You Can Change and What You Can't.* He is Kogod Professor and Director of Clinical Training in Psychology at the University of Pennsylvania and current President of the American Psychological Society.

DR DANIEL STERN (Parts 2 & 3)
Parent-Infant Psychiatrist and Researcher, University of Geneva (Switzerland)
As one of the world's foremost researchers in child behaviour, American-born Daniel Stern now heads an infant research team at Geneva University. He is well known for his work *The Interpersonal World of the Infant: Diary of a Baby* and his new book *Maternal Preoccupation.*

DR LENORE TERR (Part 2)
Clinical Professor of Psychiatry, University of California (USA)
Dr Terr became internationally renowned for her study of the children of the Chowchilla kidnapping, published in her book, *Too Scared to Cry*. She is the winner of the Blanche Ittleson Award for research on childhood trauma.

DR BRENT WATERS (Parts 2 & 3)
Child Psychiatrist (Australia)
Dr Waters is a prominent Australian psychiatrist. For eleven years he was professor of Psychiatry at the University of New South Wales. His research interests have included child development and the impact of the media on children.

MARINA WARNER (Part 1)
Author (UK)
Warner delivered the prestigious 1994 BBC Reith Lectures, which have since been published as *Managing Monsters: Six Myths of Our Time*. She is an international author and cultural commentator whose works include fiction such as *Indigo* and *The Lost Father* and non-fiction such as *Alone Of All Her Sex* and *From the Beast to the Blonde*, a study of the fairytale.