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The Child, an enemy to its own image

by

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## INTRODUCTION

The child occupies a large and important space within the contemporary cultural sphere, film literature, art, television and advertisements all continue to present a version of childhood. While cultural and commercial depiction of the child is continuous, it is not without controversy or problems.

In January 1996 President Bill Clinton delivered his state of union address, central to the speech was a stressing of the importance of children. Asking parents to be attentive towards the moral and physical needs of the children, Clinton carefully displaces the child's misfortune, from a political economical criteria to the domestic scene. Clinton further distances himself (as cause) from a crisis in childhood when the attention of the Speech is turned towards mass media. In the only incident of presidential inference with an advertisement of this decade, Clinton specified a banned, 1995 series of *Calvin Klein* Jeans advertisements, as the previous year's most disturbing example of immoral mass culture imagery.

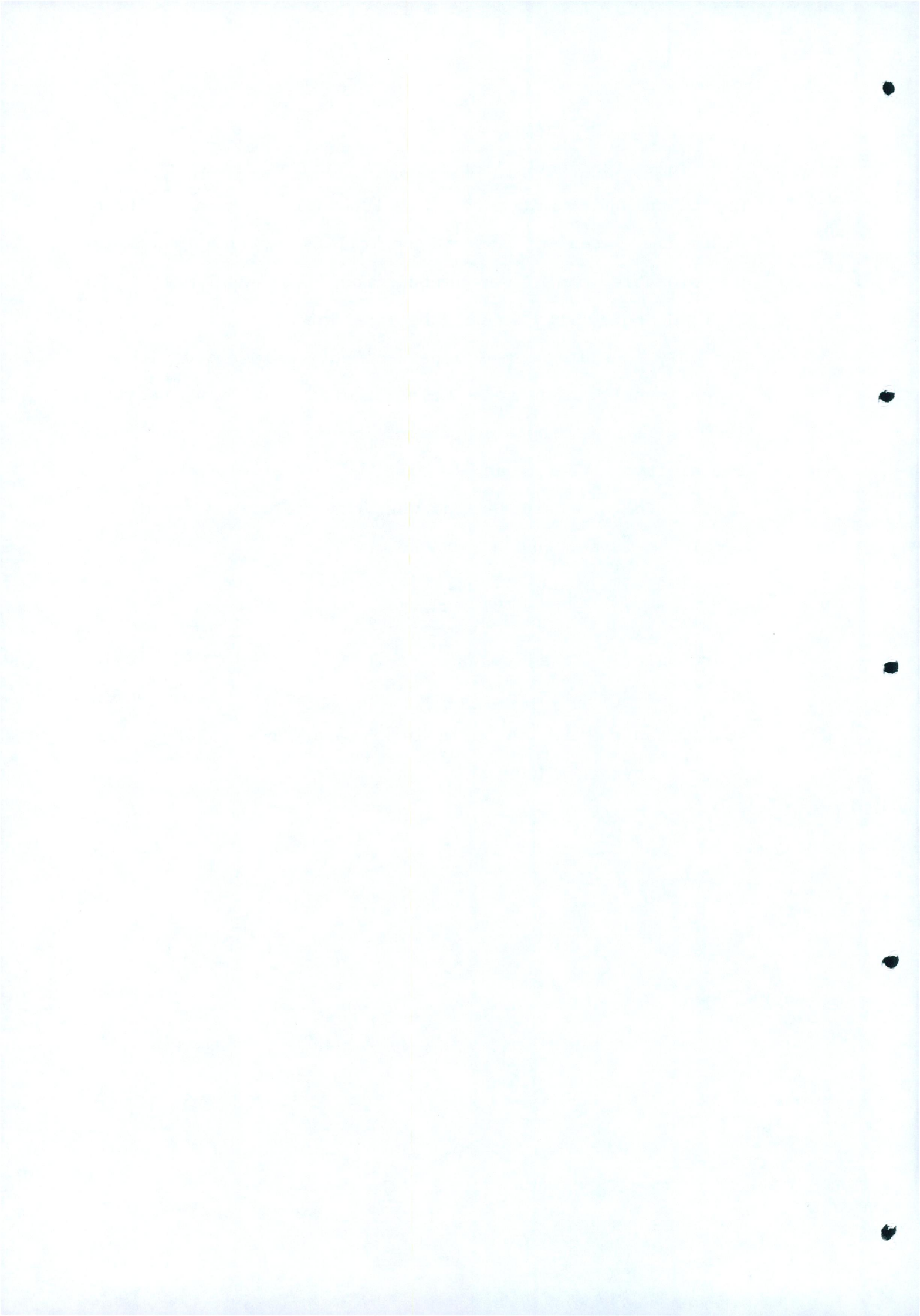
The advertisement in question was a series of Steven Meisel photographs, whose content was a series of male and female minors aged between fourteen and sixteen, all in scantily clothed, sexually suggestive pose (Fig. 1).

Clinton's scapegoat speech reflects a wider public fear of a mass media corruption and exploitation of "our children" in an environment of moral decline.



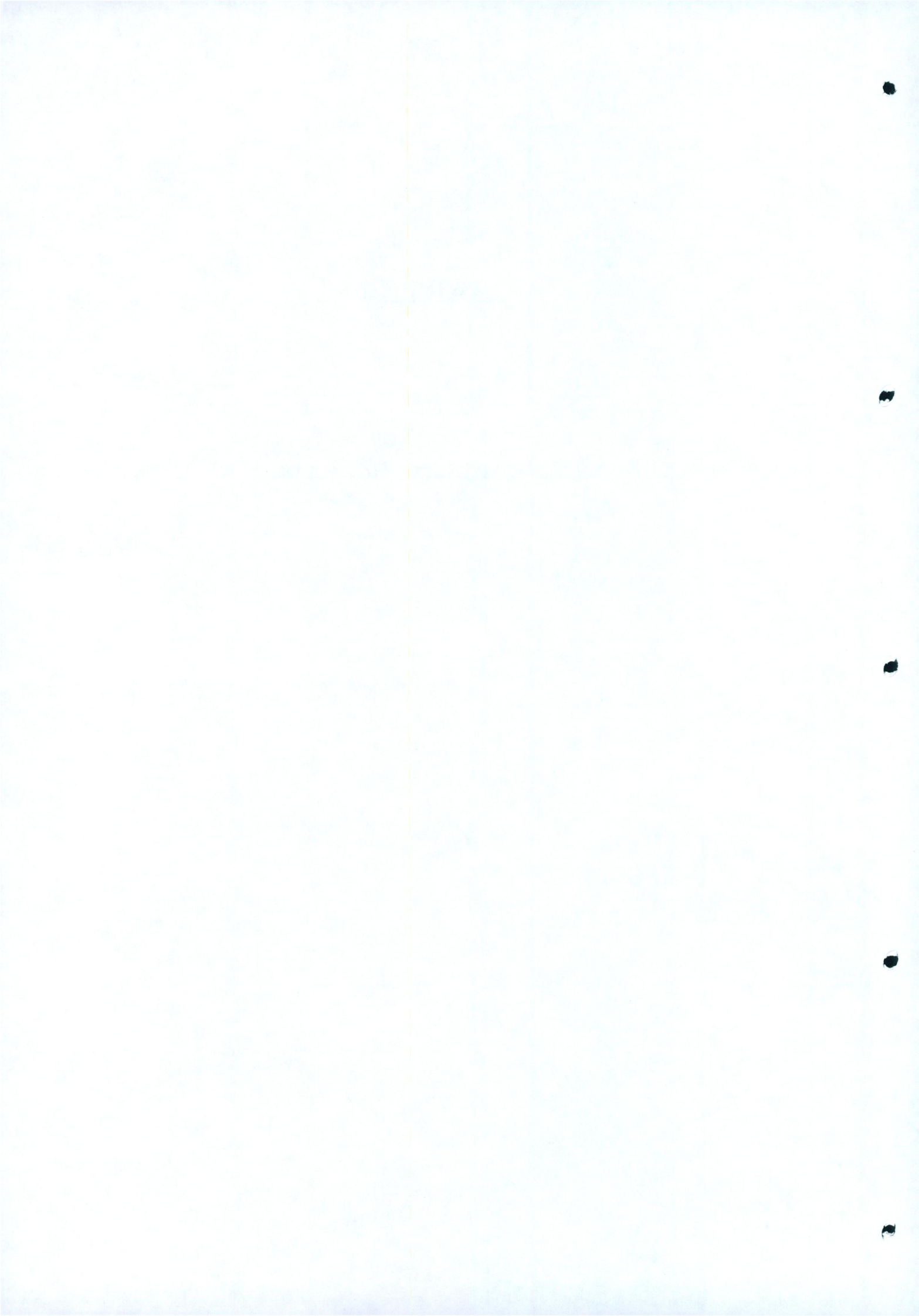
This incident illustrates a current aversion to a depiction and admittance of a sensual or sexual child. While the intention and responsibility of the images are questionable, it is worth pondering, that what makes this incident noteworthy is not the level of eroticism, but that not only does it present a near naked female child, it more exceptionally presents a male child in the same posture. The sensually displayed child is a construct of child femininity. While such a display is largely figured as distasteful and threatening, when the child is anatomically female it is somewhat tolerated.

The aim of this thesis is to retrace the origins and present the twentieth century image of the child (particularly the sexual feminine), as a signifying construct of modern (sexual and social) realizations juxtaposed against an adult interpretation of what a child is or rather should be.



# CHAPTER 1

## The 19th Century Romantic Child





The present picture of the child is one of increasing confusion and seeming contradiction. We are told to fear for the child, be afraid of the child and to cherish it.

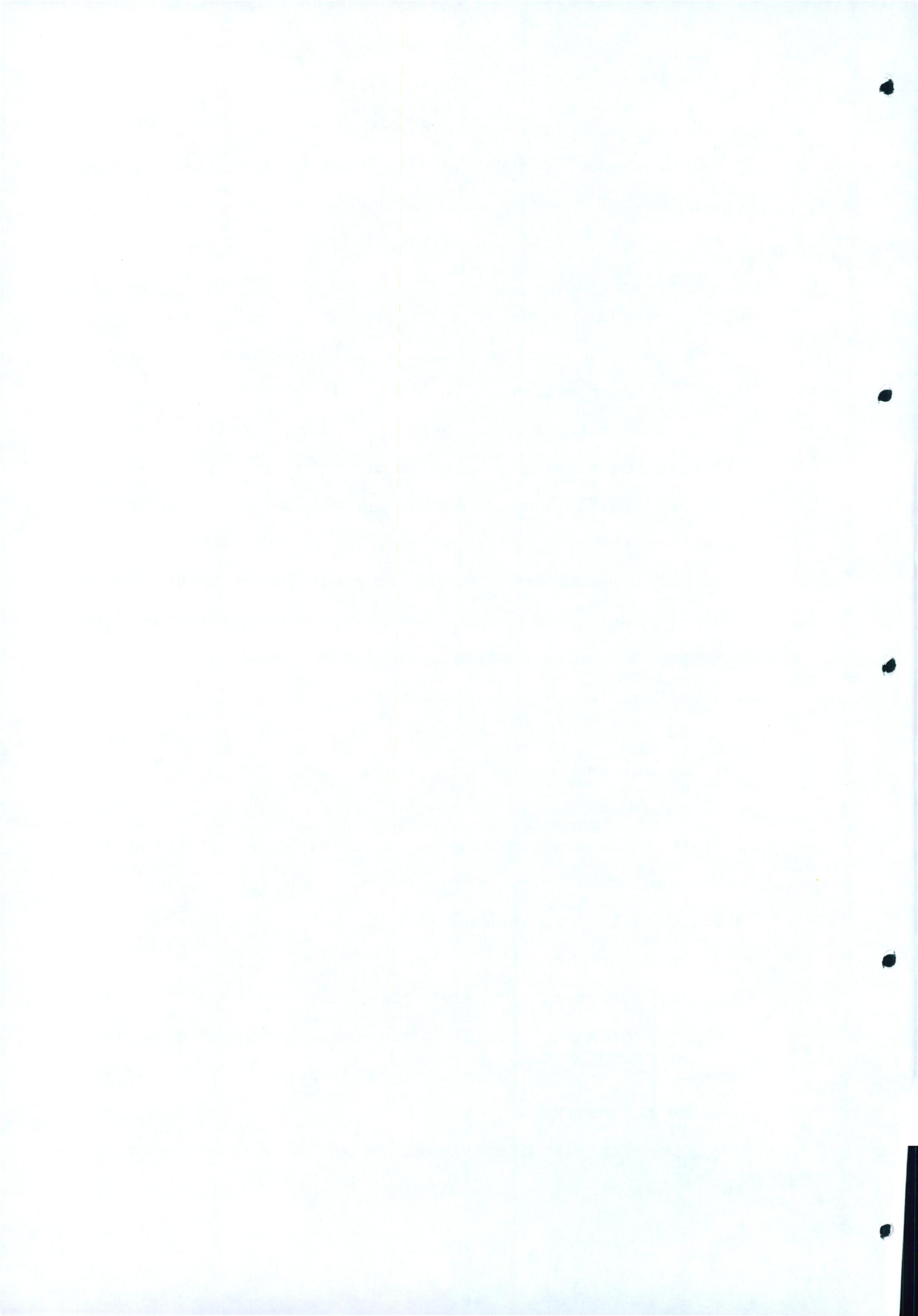
The frequent cited reason is a change in actual childhood stimulated by a change in modern surroundings. It is however more appropriate and important to firstly identify this confusion in terms of the adult, as it is adult interpretation that has always represented the modern child to the viewing public (be it child or adult).

An important component in the complex equation of the 20th century child is the remains of its 19th century Romantic counterpart. This romanticism survives as an instilled definition of childhood along with the continual presence of an idealist/escapist mentality that was central to the creation of the romantic child.

An obvious and indeed natural element to the way in which society desires to depict its children is as concerned parent. The danger of this approach is an over-protection and simplification of the child. This had led to a repression that is increasingly realized as not only disillusionist, but unhealthy (arguably for the adult and certainly for the child).

A recounting of the formation of the Victorian romantic child not only highlights this parental censoring, but also the complex self-identification of the adult, towards the child.

The Victorian romantic child saw an eventual emphasis on childhood as a spiritual, innocent stage of life,



blissfully detached and unaware of its surroundings, Surroundings that with the industrial revolution and increased urbanisation were becoming to many dehumanising and oppressive. According to Peter Coveney, the end of the 18th century saw the origins of a spiritual crisis. The social and political ferment which had ended with the middle of the 17th century was renewed. The social, political and intellectual complications arising from the industrial revolution, <sup>went</sup> was to cause a cultural dissolvment, creating a new alienating climate for the artist.<sup>1</sup> It is this alienation (of the artist and public) that was to ultimately provoke a desire to find an artistic place, that could still maintain an existence of personal significance and individualism.

A recurrent theme in literature and art was to become the nostalgia <sup>for</sup> of "the good old days" simplicity and beauty of nature, depicted as a garden of Eden that we have left behind. Placed firmly in the centre of this symbolic lost Eden is the now romanticised child.

The Child in the context of Runge's Art and writings can be seen to evoke a state of natural innocence and religious purity, so primal that the vision of a sacred beginning to a radiantly new and magical world can hover in our imagination above the baby's fixed gaze.<sup>2</sup>

Through its romanticism childhood is defined as a thing of mystical beauty, something that the adult along with its mass socio-economical progression has separated itself from. While to some authors, such as o Blake and



Wordsworth, the romantic child was a "subjective investigation of the self,"<sup>3</sup> The Victorian image of the romantic child was to become reduced to little more than an adult fantasy of Utopian simplicity. What makes this simplified child interesting, is not the image itself, but that its escapist construct proves an insight into the adult's use of imagined childhood as metaphor, and as a mode of escapism from a variety of sources.

Romantic art beautifies and idealizes its subject. In the case of the child, this satisfies the parent who does not want to be reminded of a screaming 'brat', any more than ~~an oversized~~ facial mole should his/her image be represented on canvas by portraiture. However this is not sufficient reason in itself. It ignores the most interesting nature of the romantic child, i.e. that it is not so much a signifier of childhood, but rather a symbol (detached from the actual child) created to signify an adult escape from, and dissatisfaction <sup>with</sup> of, its adult world. Childhood as a traditional binary opposite to adulthood lends itself conveniently to this usage. Depiction of the child is then distorted and romanticised to make it more accommodating as an opposite. Rosenblums description of Runges painting, "artist's parents with children" (Fig 2.) is testament to this. The painting depicts the two black clothed stern rigid figures of the cold grandparents, compositionally <sup>only</sup> divided from the children by the grandfather's diagonally positioned, authoritative walking stick. The children unlike the grandparents are exposed to a brilliant light, brightly clothed and surrounded by



flowers, which one of the girls points to in fascination and the other holds, as if it was a part of her.

Rosenblum describes the painting "as a wonderful contrast of a state of being that is mysteriously in tune with an irrepressible primitive nature, and one that has been represented by the sombre restrictions of civilization."<sup>4</sup> The child is a symbol of what the adult felt was missing from his/her surroundings. Through an identification with its invented species the adult escapes its restricting confines, as Rosenblum would say, a radiantly new and magical world can hover in our imagination above the babies fixed gaze.<sup>5</sup>

Not only does the adult escape their surroundings (through an identification with the mystical child) but to the adult viewer an opportunity is given to redefine (in a similarly idealized fashion) his/her own childhood. The romantic child provokes an idealized, distorted adult regression, as opposed to a simple escapist identification. In an age of personal complexity, and increasing urban detachment towards the individual, it has given itself a fake memory implant. This illusionist sentimentality has in the form of prosthetic memory, become a central theme to twentieth century science fiction e.g. *Blade Runner* (Ridley Scott 1982) and *Total Recall* (Paul Verhoven 1990). It is worth mentioning here that while romanticism was to eventually simplify and desensualize the child, to optimize innocence, the child's cultural diet was much less sanitized. While adults were to view the saccharine infantile angles of a Van Shadows painting, the child was





contently<sup>ed</sup> consuming the frightening violence and sexual innuendo the Pied Piper and Red Riding Hood.<sup>6</sup>

### The Question of Child Sexuality

Antoine Jean Grose's "Mme. Durand and her daughter" (Fig. 3) or the more sinister looking Boldini's "Duchess of Marlborough and her son" (Fig. 4), depict a child with a facial expression similar to the mother's, but more sensually playful and less formalized, than their maternal counterpart's. The mothers of both paintings are restricted by their upright sitting position and controlled posture. A child's sexuality is perhaps more overt in the case of Boldini's painting which displays a similar projection of the mother through the son. His hands, woman-like and sharp are crossed in a rigid defensive position. The painting, though initially only a portrait of the mother, is overpowered by the child, with all the gestural rhythm of the paint directing the viewer towards the figure and his illuminated face. A facial expression that is more associated with the toyful nymphs of Ingres than the romantic child, yet the artist has included the crossed, aggressive hands as a protective barrier for both the child and displayed peacock like mother.<sup>7</sup>

These examples show that the 19th century artist, was capable of a sensual child, even if it was maternally defined. Its rarity within the romantic child is testament to the pacifying of the subject (the child), through its usage as symbolic signifier of authorial and viewer



ideology, in this case the adult's fear of its own position and self, including its sexuality.

The romantic child was constructed as an escape, from all adulthood's complications and depressants, from money to sagging skin and most notably, sex. Sexuality for the adult is a source of much confusion. Both the parental role and remembered childhood are given an extra responsibility and complication with an inclusion of sexuality in the child. The solution to this complication has been to pretend that it does not exist or more dangerously still, to repress it so it cannot exist.

This approach of idealistically-conceived reality was made incomplete with the emergence of a Darwinian scientific Analytical age. Darwin succeeded in a deconstruction of the cultural/ideological myth of the origins of man, and replaced it with his now accepted theory of evolution. It seems inevitable that an equal analytical reasoning would be applied to the origins of the individual. The deconstruction of a culturally conceived child through a scientific approach has dramatically altered adult perception of the child, the most important figure to this process has been Sigmund Freud. As with Darwin's evolutionary man the child has been displaced through science from its mythical Garden of Eden. Despite the frequent criticism of Freud, he is central to the 20th century inclusion of the child in a western understanding of sexuality. He proposed the existence of the sexually active and aware child. Post-Freudian analysis insists that to understand the adult (it's) psychology, behavioural



patterns and sexuality) an investigation into its origins (childhood) must take place.

Freud shattered the safety of many illusions, the pleasurable regression to a simple, sweet childhood being replaced by a suppressed, unconscious awakening through psychologically disturbing, displaced neurosis, in adulthood. Freud not only provokes a questioning of the child, but also the adults' memories of its own childhood, and how it formed and is reflected in its present self. His theory of ego distortion of primary impulse (as a self-censoring self-preserving mechanism) can easily be applied to a romantic society, that distorts its own origin, and denies (child) sexuality. Though Freud and psychoanalysis has not been greeted without hostility, it has led to a repositioning of the child as an extremely complex emotional and sexual being. "*Freud gave the child passion, sexual desires, lusts to kill, it feared, sacrificed, rejected, it hated and longed.*"<sup>8</sup> The children from Freud's case studies (e.g. Little Hans) served <sup>as</sup> a shocking contrast to the various child characters of romantic art and literature.

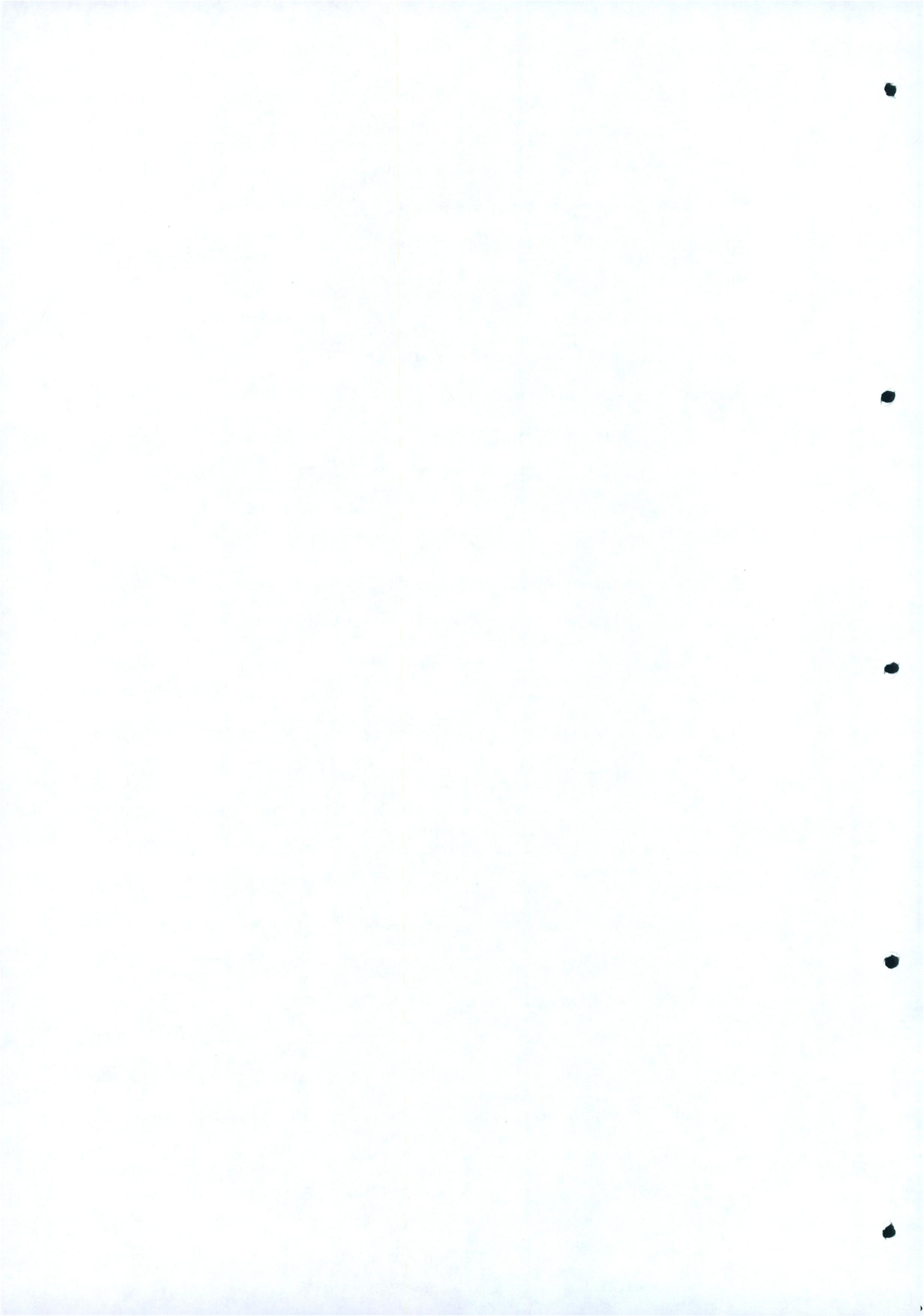
If the concept of the Victorian romantic child is associated with innocence, mysticism, beauty or simplicity, the post-Freudian, media-saturated 20th century child is submerged in darkness, (child abuse, commercialism, family breakdown...). There is nothing new to a depiction of the child being threatened. Indeed the existence of threat was a central motive to the creation of the detached romantic child, its authors and artists relied on the existence of



threat to define and lend drama or tragedy to its central character. The child as victim can be seen in the fictional writings of Dickens or the real-life accounts of the *Anne Franks Diaries* or Castillo's *Child of our time*.<sup>9</sup> While these stories are considered with a romantic puritan nostalgia towards the child, they do point to a social acceptance that the perfect child is not always contained within ideal surroundings. This sentiment is vitally important, as while parental society may still wish to protect its self-comforting romantic child, it is forced to consider the possibility of unsuitable surroundings violating and de-romanticising the child.

Twentieth-century mass media has not only continued to show the child as victim at an unprecedented level but also that the child itself can be (or has become) the threat. The inevitable question must be though, a threat to what? *Itself*, the adult or the romantic child? All of this is parallel to a psychoanalytical insistence on a sexually-active child, a sexuality often interpreted as threatening or seductive. The imagery of the child<sup>o</sup> is a further source of intimidation, when the questioning of viewer sexual objectification of the passive subject is considered. Even the constructed image of the innocent child can be sexualized by the male gaze.

Simone de Beauvoir says "*that One is not born, but rather becomes a Woman*."<sup>10</sup> This statement need not be limited to the constructs of gender, indeed *One* could say that *One* is not born, but rather becomes a child. The child and its image are constantly altering constructs.





With modern complications what kind of a child does one become today and do we see it?



## CHAPTER 2

The 20th Century Child: From victim to  
perpetrator



Since the establishment of the 19th century child we are, via the traditional visual arts and literature, more pervasively mass media and film, frequently presented with the romantic child as victim of cruel surroundings.

Mainstream cinema has regurgitated a Dickensian sensibility of child hardship in films such as *Annie* (John Huston, 1981), or *Oliver Twist* (David Lean, 1948) and *Miracle on 34th Street* (George Seaton, 1947), all box office successes. Invariably the child is depicted as being resistant to his/her surroundings, even when confronted with extreme poverty, illness or cruelty. The unfortunate child however still retains all the qualities that make him/her so attractive to the adult, indicative to a belief that the child is born pure with an infallible essence of goodness. Such a belief is extremely contestable.

Certainly an image of the child possessing a wide-eyed wonder, 'love everything' mentality cannot be realistically applied to the child who is victim to extreme de-humanising hardship. Surely Dickens' *Matchstick Girl*<sup>11</sup> would have had to adapt to her adult surroundings and like any adult, adopt a hardened approach of survival. Ergo, it is difficult to see in what respect she could have remained a child. A more plausible and less appealing scenario is that, to survive, she would have committed wrongdoings not conducive to what we so often say is innate to childhood. Emotionally the *Matchstick Girl* would have more conceivably experienced a hateful jealousy towards the rich girl and



her Christmas dinner, as opposed to her humble 'isn't it beautiful' wonder.

There are biological attributes somewhat distinctive to the child. Indeed the doe-eyed, receptive, sponge-like enthusiasm of the romantic child does contain an element of truth. The child has a freshness towards the habitual, not only because to him/her everything seems new, but in order to develop intellectually, emotionally and socially the child must come to terms with his/her environment.

This receptiveness is fundamental to its survival. It is ironic that this much romanticised quality has been trivialized to a feeling of wonder detached from its surroundings. Childhood curiosity extends far beyond the realm of flowers and butterflies.

The child's receptiveness and capability of adaption renders a search for the natural child problematic, and beyond the common ground of basic instinctive drives, futile. Indeed the myth of the inherent nature of the child is most strongly challenged by "*the marked variation in what poses for childhood in different societies.*"<sup>12</sup> The human state is largely defined by the society <sup>to</sup> in which it must adapt ~~to~~. This logic introduces an important biological reasoning and support to childhood as an unstable (constantly varying) construct. To argue that childhood is either consistent across culture, time or even the individual experience is to fail to recognize this central feature.

The notion as to whether (or not) the child is a variable construct is not exclusive to the 20th century.





Childhood, determined by culture, was coherently argued by John Locke in the late 17th century. Locke introduced the phrase "Tabula ~~roca~~",<sup>13</sup> the literal translation meaning a blank sheet. Locke proposed that the child (like his blank sheet) was ideologically/morally formed only through his/her external surroundings. While such a receptive child would initially (at birth), possess an original innocence, a preservation of such a state would not be inevitable. This approach, though part of a broader intellectual debate on childhood, was not commonly considered, and only entered into mainstream consciousness in the media-dominated Western society of the twentieth century.

We are all familiar with documentary footage of children who fight and kill in war, or work in prostitution, or pornography. Such a child is not only shown to be a victim of his/her surroundings but also as corrupted and altered, to the extent whereby he/she becomes a threat. Coverage of such an 'adult' child without innocence has been widespread. Guerrilla and full scale wars in Vietnam, the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Ruanda and Kampuchea have all produced disturbing images of children, gun in hand ready to fight and kill in their respective war (Fig 5). The child has been shown to be capable of atrocity, not only through journalistic coverage but also through fictional representation. The nostalgic romantic image of the child has been severely damaged by an exposure to a widespread bleak reality of the child.



In relation to the construct of childhood, William Golding's *Lord of the Flies*<sup>14</sup> is perhaps one of the most important novels of the 20th century. Golding not only presents the child as the 'blank sheet' and culture its pen, but if the surroundings are altered, what is written can be re-written. Not only is the child socially created but he/she can be socially or unsocially dismantled. With regard to de-humanism, there are two pivotal circumstances to Golding's life, whilst writing *Lord of the Flies*.

Golding as a school teacher had direct experience of the child, and how even within the environment of the schoolyard, the child can abandon much of its construction.

Golding (like Freud with *Civilization and its discontents*)<sup>15</sup> was horrified and intrigued by a similar deconstruction of the individual within the environment of war, *Lord of the Flies* was written directly after World War 2.

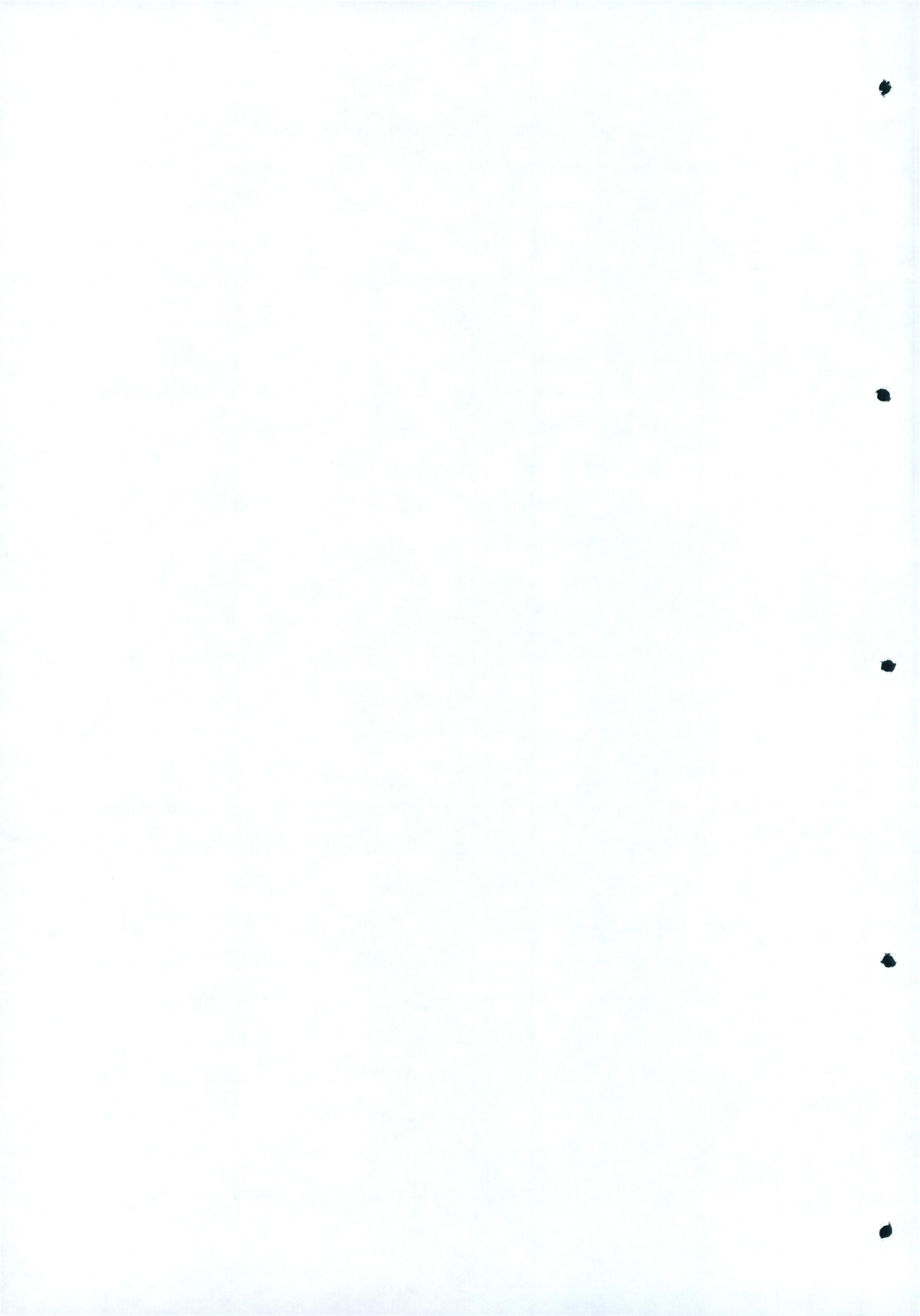
So far treating of the child as threat has only been considered within the exceptionally harsh surroundings of the Third World and with regards to war. While this may have altered our perception of the child, the Third World as Patricia Holland notes, "can be used to reassure the first world of its strength."<sup>16</sup> We do not have to look as far as the third world to cite examples of the "surrogate adult."<sup>17</sup> Incidents of (child) violence and sexual crime permeate western countries in the form of commonplace truancy, petty theft, child pornography, prostitution and murder.



In 1992, there was world wide shock and attention towards the murder of Merseyside toddler Jamie Bulger. At first the incident was indistinguishable from each year's inevitable (largely unnoticed) list of child abductions and murders. This was until police announced that two 10 year old boys were being questioned in relation to the killing, "that's what gave it such a kick."<sup>18</sup> To many, this incident signified a confirmation of a death of innocence or childhood. The reality of the situation was all too clear, we were even supplied with a (security) video recording of one of the child's killers (John Venables) leading the three-year-old child to death (See Fig. 6).

This new threatening child, while not yet ubiquitous, can be viewed in many cultural images and is most evident in the horror genre of film. The child consistently being depicted as a very literal violent threat to both other children and the adult or parent. There are countless examples of the child who is born evil e.g. *The Omen* (Richard Donner 1976) and *Village of the Damned* (Walter Rilla 1962). *The Omen* centres on the destruction caused by the birth of a Satanically possessed male child (Damien). In *Village of the Damned* a whole English village is terrorized by a group of emotionless demonic children (they are all mysteriously born without earthly conception).

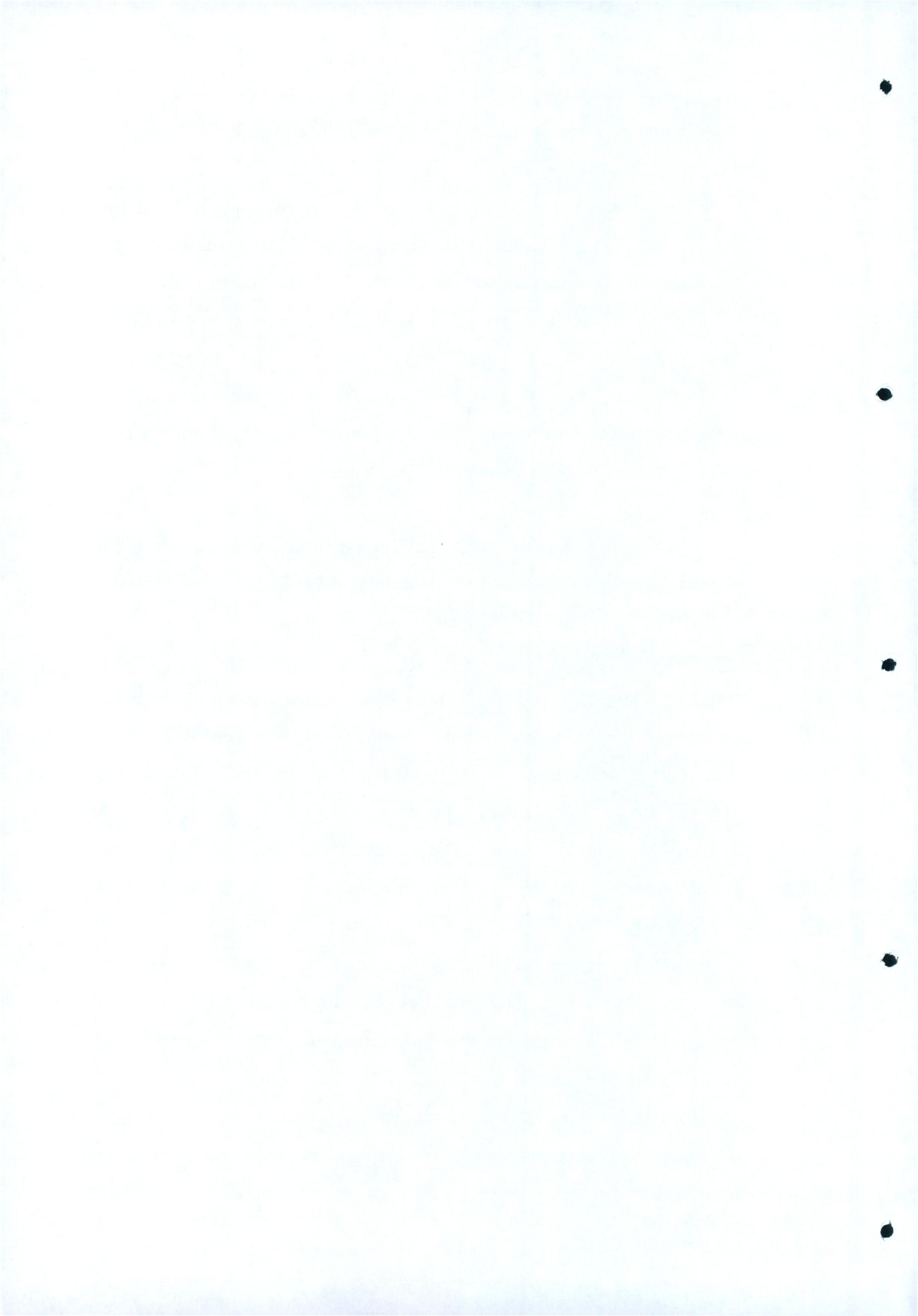
While these are classics within the sub-genre of the Demon child, more applicable to the theme of child corruption (through modern surroundings) is the child who becomes evil or in the case of *Child's Play* (Tom Holland 1991), is manufactured and evil. The notorious *Child's*



*Play* contains two types of children, the innocent, romantic child (the doll's owner) and an evil child doll (Chucky) that comes to life. The doll is not merely an evil demon, significantly he is in the form of a child, advertised on television and mass-produced. He wreaks havoc among the family home, <sup>g</sup> it is important to notice the absence of the male parent. The film strongly reflects and manipulates a fear of the child in the urban/modern environment, <sup>A</sup> a modern environment marked by a lack of parental control and an over-exposure to what is frequently deemed a morally decadent mass culture.

From the 1930's to 1950's American industrial debate became centred on the industrialization of culture. According to Joanne Hollows the ensuing nostalgia for a pre-modern<sup>y</sup> Paradise Lost was reminiscent of nineteenth century conservatism.<sup>19</sup> Max Adorno and Theodor Horkheimer<sup>e</sup> (students of the Frankfurt school) specifically studied American Cinema and their relationship to the society that viewed them. With regard to creativity and morality Adorno and Horkheimer spoke of film as predictable, non-democratic institutions, which could inject a dangerous ideology into its viewers.<sup>20</sup>

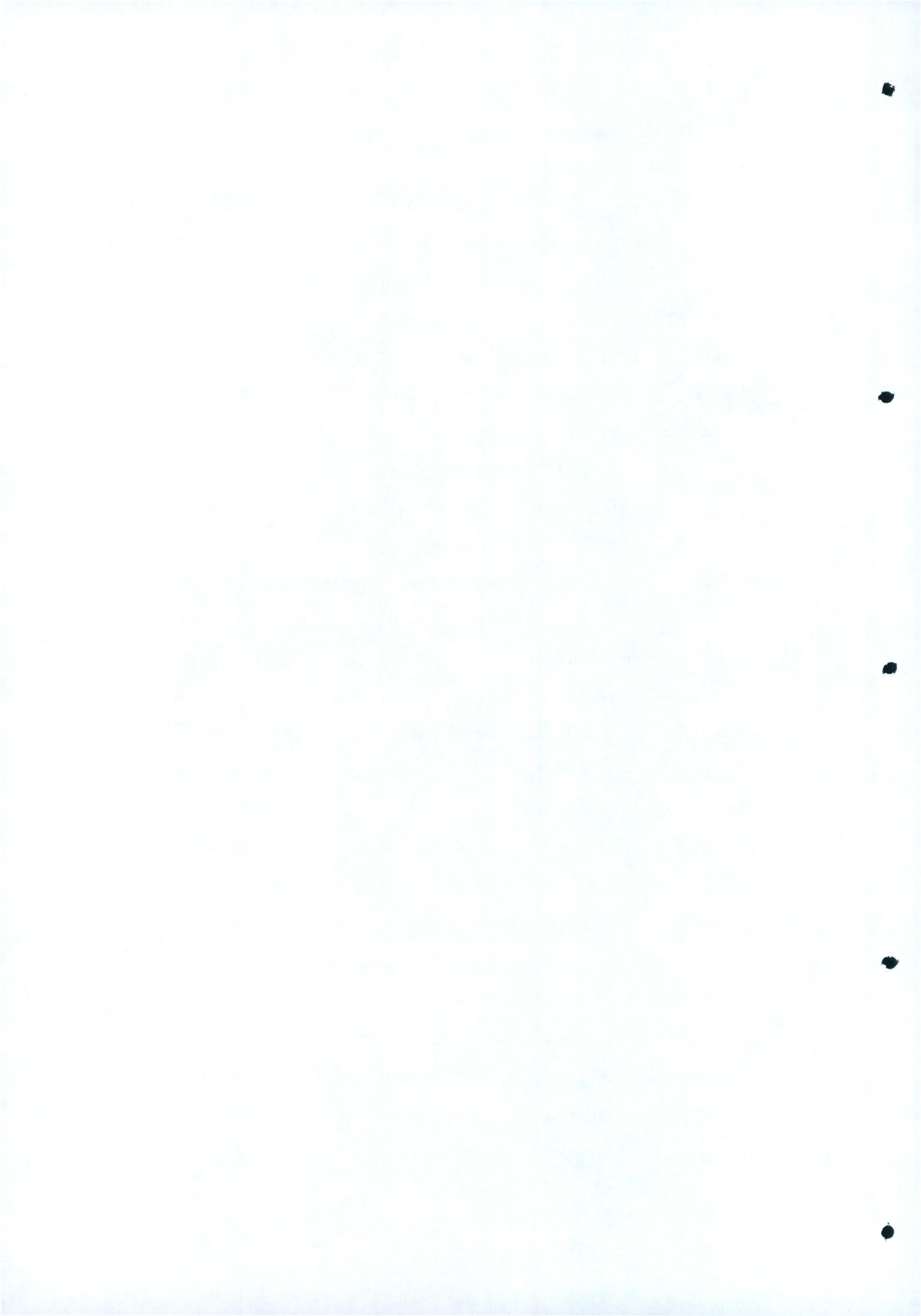
Chucky (from *Child's Play*) can easily be interpreted as a warning, that the real child can be or is being made evil by an unsuitable capitalist/consumerist surrounding. Within the film's narrative the threat posed is simultaneously real and murderous, and is symbolic of a variety of wrongdoings (including sexual activity and aggression). Indeed much of Chucky's violence towards both





the child and the mother carries undertones of rape. In one scene Chucky with a (phallic) steak knife, attacks and knocks down the mother, in an attempt to stab (penetrate) her. This violent scene is reminiscent of the slasher movie's murder (rape) scene (see Clover, *Men Women and Chainsaws* p. 28). The sexual/murderous intent is made even more explicit in *Halloween* (John Carpenter, 1978), Michael Myers' first murder is as a child, when he stabs his older sister. She is seated in her bedroom (almost naked) grooming her hair, the camera adopts Michael's viewpoint.

The mainstream genre of horror (a component itself of mass culture) provides frequent implication of capitalist /consumerist culture (as cause of corruption), indicating a mainstream consideration of mass culture, in a fashion similar to Adorno's. Among these mildly culturally critical, mainstream horrors is *Gremlins* (Joe Dante, 1984). The comical *Gremlins* contains, like *Child's Play*, a child-like evil monster. An All-American teenage boy receives a Christmas present of a "Moguy". The cute animal was bought by the boy's father, as a rushed Christmas present, from a mystical old eastern man. The father is an inept, scheming salesman (a simultaneous jibe at commercialism and family breakdown). He is away from home, and late returning for Christmas. The gremlin multiplies when water is spilt on it, <sup>it</sup> it's children when fed packaged candy after midnight, transform into ugly reptilian little monsters. The creatures rapidly multiply and wreak havoc in the small neighbourly town. The transformed Moguy attacks all that the child is meant to love and respect, including the



mother and even Santa Claus. Along with the endangered domestic setting, like *Child's Play* a strong emphasis is placed (obviously) on the child-like monsters' connection with western mass culture. In one climatic scene all the gremlins but "Stripe" (the leader) are killed while watching *Snow White*. The final showdown is held within a department store. The human boy is attacked with baseball bats and toys. The film ends with the return of the wise old mystic man, to his horror the last remaining Moguy is found watching television, the old man strongly mourns this exposure and leaves.

The corrupting force of mass media is made even more explicit in *Gremlins 2*, the second batch (Joe Dante, 1992). The sequel is set in a T.V. company which is eventually taken over by a mob of Gremlins. The film is loaded with references to children's television and film, with a cameo appearance of Hulk Hogan, and a display of the Batman symbol. The insignia is imprinted (in cartoon tradition) when a winged gremlin crashes through it. The gremlin is empowered with the ability of flight through a scientific experiment, the leader is similarly given the power of speech and intelligence. The Gremlins are uncontrolled children made bad by their contact with mass media, they are like greedy infants given too much power, too much knowledge. They dangerously mimic what they see of the adult through mass media, most particularly television.

It is in this context that *Child's Play* was given added poignancy when it was partially blamed in the Jamie Bulger case. Like *Child's Play 2* (John Lafia, 1991) a



child is violently killed in a supposed act of copy cat violence. A public, horrified by the incident (and desperate to understand why?) showed a gullible belief of English tabloid speculation that the murder was a simulation of the *Child's Play* scene. Despite the film's eventual vindication, (the two ten-year-olds hadn't even seen the film,) many of the main video distributors have persisted in banning the *Child's Play* series from its shelves. It is ironic that both the film's content and use as scapegoat, indicates a widespread parental concern that childhood is being destroyed, by an age of child access to the inadequately censored media of television and film.

Fear of the child and television is both vast and impassioned. Paul Andrews in *Changing children*<sup>21</sup> adopts such a position and presents a rather alarming simplification of the child's interaction with television. To his rhetorical question, "Why do parents allow children to watch horrors?"<sup>22</sup> he answers "that except for the producers there is no profit in such films, nothing human only fuel for fear."<sup>23</sup> Such a point should have been an introduction to an examination of the complex area of television and its effects on the child. Instead what follows is a right winged sentimentality, that exposes a frightening ability of the adult to detach not only the child from its surroundings but also itself.

"For all children, bedtime should be a time of blessing when parents and children are reconciled after the rows or differences of the day".<sup>24</sup> This commonplace retrogressive attitude towards the child indicates an adult



anxiety that childhood in modern society is becoming an endangered species.

The fear of the modern child dominates his/her mainstream depiction either through its presentation as threat or as it should be, a sanctuary in all its romantic sweetness (even though this overly idealised image is increasingly confined to its fictional refuge).

A wave of 80's and 90's films provide such an escapist regression (for the viewer and actor) in very literal terms, e.g. *Big* (Penny Marshall, 1988), *Vice Versa* (Brian Gilbert, 1988), *Hook* (Steven Spielberg, 1991) and *Jack* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1996). Robin Williams, contained in two of the above films, has virtually based his career on this infantilism, from his early television success as *Mork* to his latest film *Jack*, where (unfortunately for the viewer) he is yet again a little boy trapped in a hairy man's body. The timing of the emergence of this rampant infantilism (and of a spate of other more straightforward child films) is of definite significance. In the late 80's in the midst of a second Wall Street crash and recession, Hollywood turned its attention to the child, at a level reminiscent of the 30's when Shirley Temple rose to fame.<sup>25</sup> The child is used as a vehicle to abandon the stresses of male anxiety, and the responsibility of being a part of an ultra competitive, over-demanding, capitalist system (the male central character to *Big*, *Vice Versa* and *Mork* invariably is a stressed-out depressed white male yuppie). The child is however becoming an increasingly less susceptible host.





Forgetting for a moment the effect of television's exposure to the child, as a reportive medium, television calls into question what we consider to be childhood. This along with the child's increased perceptive freedom (through T.V. and film) has made the romantic mould evermore ill-fitting. The traditional ideal child, is one defined in opposition to adulthood. To make this image reality would be to rely firstly on a notion that the natural state of the child is one of disinterest towards adult things, but children are interested in the adult world. A second option would be depriving the child of knowledge that is not part of the traditional definition of childhood. Such an approach has been successfully achieved in a censoring, sexless, non socially engaging, educational and parental system.<sup>26</sup> Television and film are disruptive to this approach. These media leave the child with a sexual and violence awareness increasingly close to adulthood. The child is free to discover without parental censorship. Central to a western formula of both parenthood and childhood is the parent's control over what the child sees, understands and does. Television (central to the typical domestic setting) replaces this function.

Children are exposed to a diet of ultra-slick violence, from *Power Rangers* to *Speed* (J. Depont, 1994), narrative being replaced by the spectacle of action and violence. According to Walter Benjamin "*Mass culture loses the social meaning and context of what it depicts*".<sup>27</sup> Like its own technology, that it stylizes and celebrates, television "*creates a new architecture*",<sup>28</sup> an architecture



that beautifies and formalizes the negative results of modernity and its technology. Violence (including sexual) of the most "realistic" kind can be presented as a structured, engaging aesthetic. And implied social context is often arbitrary and overpowered by the viscerality of its shown violence, clearly television is a questionable parent.

"Have you ever seen Mummy and Daddy kiss like that" - No, just on T.V." (father - daughter) (*Nick of time*, John Badham, 1995). In terms of interpretation of its<sup>x</sup> surroundings the child is feared to be on its own. The feared parentless child is not just that of homelessness but of the typical western home. The cultural indicator of this fear can be either *Child's Play's Chucky* or an attempted re-establishment of the romantic child. Either way a question constantly on the tip of Hollywood's tongue is, can we leave the child "Home alone"?



## CHAPTER 3

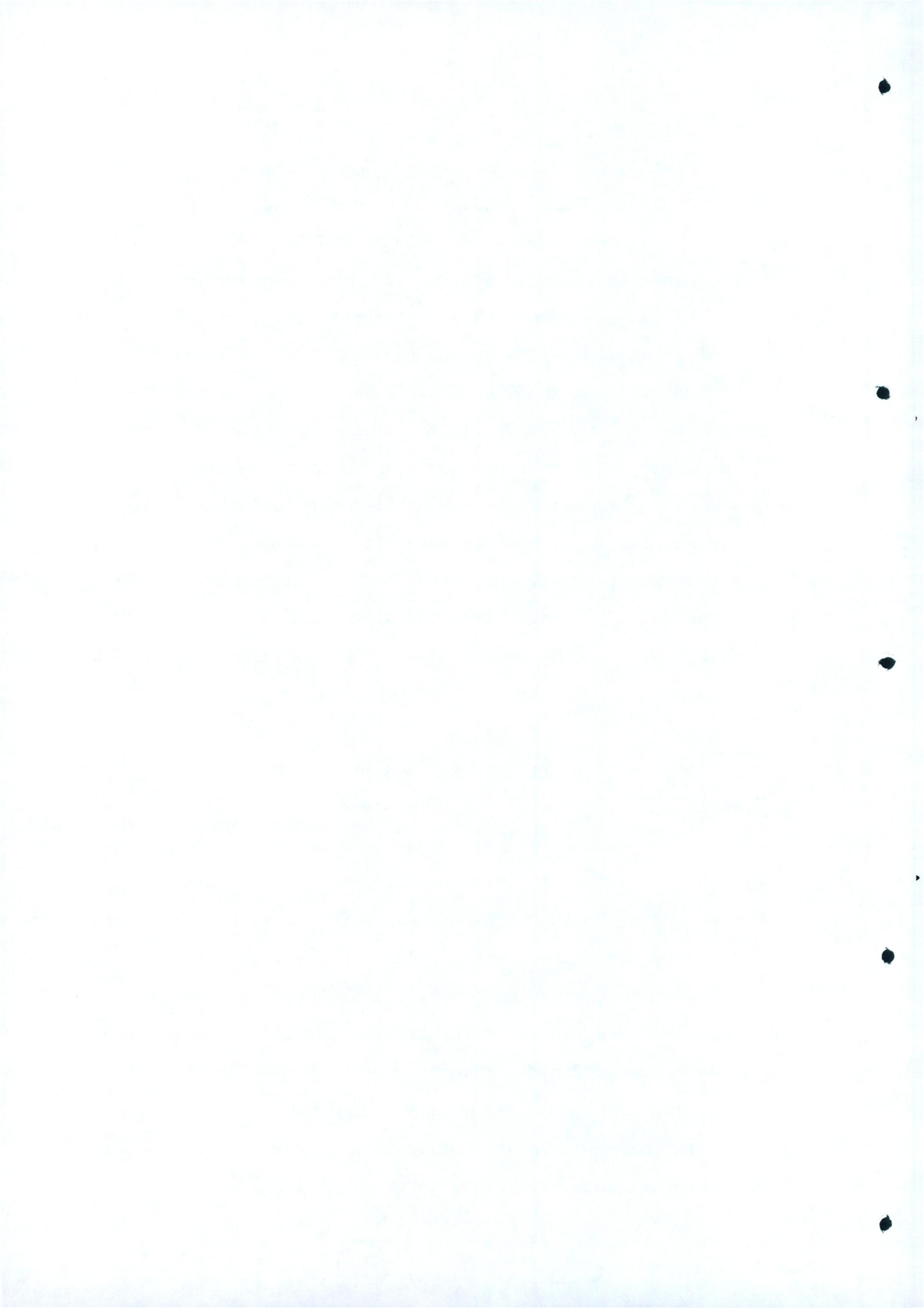
### The Unparented Child in American Cinema



The brat child has virtually become a genre within film. We are all familiar with the loveable, mischievous boy in cinema. Here the child can be presented in an uncontrolled environment. The image of the unparented child still retaining his charm and goodness, is an especially comforting one to the western parent, concerned with lack of control. *Home Alone* (John Hughes, 1990) depicts such a favourable unparented child, while admitting a parental inadequacy. Kevin wishes that he could be left alone, this wish is granted when he is accidentally left behind as his parents leave for a Christmas trip. In their absence Kevin successfully deters the repeated attempts of two bumbling burglars and defends his suburban home. He is reassuringly shown to be fully capable in coping with a parental lack, even though the inevitable happy ending, re-uniting with his parents, is applied.

While this cute independent child is widespread it is worth noting that it is consistently the male child who dominates this cute, brat genre. Kevin in *Home Alone*, even though anarchistic, shows 'male' characteristics of which the father would be proud of. It is with rarity that Hollywood presents a strong, independent female child.

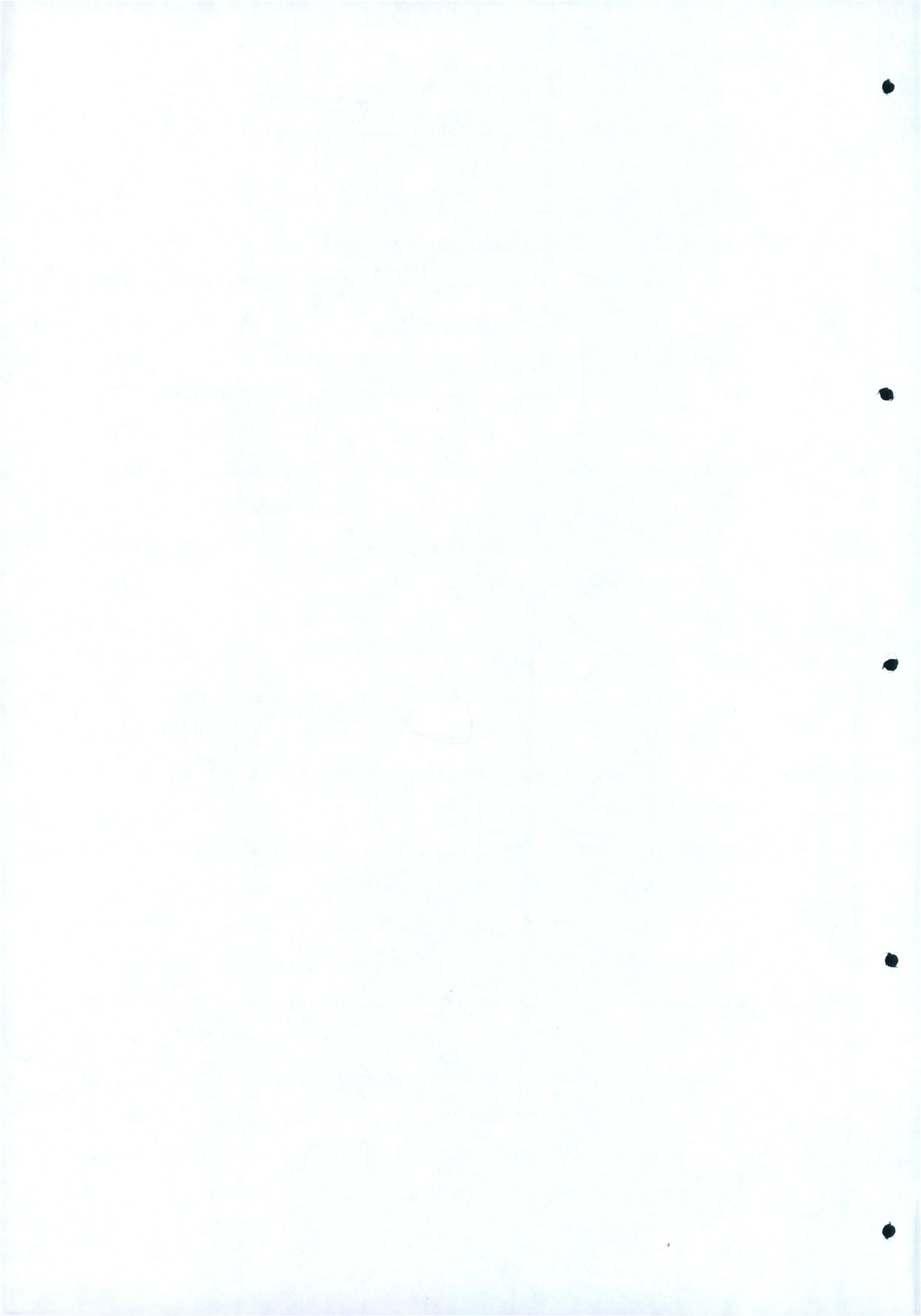
Within the genre of horror, Carol Clover identifies an apparent exception to this recurring absence of the young female. According to Clover, the distressed female of the slasher movie has experienced a drift from passive to active defence *Texas Chainsaw Massacre*, (Tobe Hooper, 1974), *Halloween*, (John Carpenter, 1978), eventually to do





so with a ferocity, to the point of killing the killer without help from outside.<sup>29</sup> The final girl (Alice) of *Friday the 13th* (Sean Cunningham, 1980), decapitates the killer, at face value horror has developed a strong female character who can resist her aggressor. Clover however points out a striking, recurring characteristic to the 'Slasher's' heroine. While exceptional in her resilience, she is equally exceptional in her lack of femininity, her *boyishness*.<sup>30</sup> She is initially distinguished from her girlfriends through a display of practical thinking and most notably, a distinct lack of sexual interest. She even consistently bears a boyish name e.g. Stevi, Terry, Joey.

Hollywood consistently shows an aversion to the unparented/strong girl. If this is evident in the contestability of the final girl's femininity, it is blatantly apparent in the frequent neglect and absence of the female child, in the genre of the formulaic action film. Even with an adult hero present the boy in the action genre is often inheritor to the central gender characteristics of the adult male - inventive, protective and brave. In films consumed by glorification of traditional, macho attributes of masculinity it is hardly surprising that an equal phallogocentric attitude is applied to the child. *Sudden Death* (Peter Hyams, 1995) and *Nowhere to Run* (Robert Harmon, 1992), both devote close attention to the relationship between the male child and the hero. It is not only the masculinity of the hero that is tested but also the boy. In *Nowhere to Run* the boy is given an opportunity to defend both his mother and sister.



Within the action genre what does the privileged position of the male child indicate? An obvious but only partial answer <sup>is</sup> being that it is reflective of a male, defensive response to modern, negative criticism of traditional masculinity. An attempt to re-establish and validate masculinity. Supportive of this male anxiety is the recurrence of the hero's notably weak position at the beginning of each film. In *Total Recall* the hero's life is an illusion, his beautiful loving wife turns out to be an assassin, he is given the chance to re-establish his male potency by saving a planet and meeting a beautiful woman, even though he is left to question if this re-establishment is also an illusionary memory implant. A similar initial weakness of the hero can be observed in *Sudden Death* but specifically in the context of a paternal insecurity. The film's hero (Darren McCord) is a failed fireman, he feels responsible for the death of a child whom he couldn't save while on duty, even his family life has failed. Divorced from his wife, he is only occasionally allowed to see his children. It is to the annoyance of his X-wife that he takes the children to a game of ice hockey. The children are shown to be ashamed of his lowly security job, but by the conclusion of the film he has managed to save a penalty for the team that the children support, and save the children and stadium of 16,000 people from a group of ruthless terrorists (this he does in commando/Tarzan style).

The formulaic action hero shows, not just a devotion to the male child and masculinity, but also a distance, even



nervousness towards the female child. If the female child is present at all, she is frequently positioned beside the boy, who is often given a dominant, even paternal position towards her. *Jurassic Park* (Steven Spielberg, 1992), provides an interesting variation to the father, son and daughter structure of the action film. When Sam Neil's character meets the film's two children for the first time he shows a nervousness, even dislike towards both. Eventually he and the children are marooned in the tropical surroundings of the dinosaur reservation where he, and the boy in particular, develop a strong father/son link. At one stage he even has to give the boy mouth to mouth resuscitation. Together they try to conquer their fears, the adult male fear of fatherhood and the boy's "childish fear" of heights. The boy is left alone in the face of danger where he must show an adequate male bravery. In the company of the father figure we see little of the girl other than jokes made at the expense of her "girlishness", the Brachiosaurus sneezing on her as she tries to pet it. Untypically, there are moments that show a strength and independancy to the girl (against a weakness of the boy), in the end it is her who helps to save the day, using a computer to override the park's security systems.

In an earlier scene the park owner (a feeble old man) offers to look for the stranded children. The children's mother takes hold of a gun and says they'll keep a discussion of male biological superiority for later. Clearly the creators of *Jurassic Park* shows a viewpoint aware of sexism, a viewpoint that in isolated scenes does



indicate a critique (even if mild) of heroic masculinity. What is less clear is whether or not, we are meant to similarly consider, the hero's apparent favouritism towards the male child. In *Jurassic Park* the level of authorial intention, in respect to the distance between the adult and female child, is open to interpretation. It does however provide a (possibly intentional) example of a recurring detachment of the male action hero from the female child.

In Hollywood the female child's lack, absence and continual representation as (little) daughter or sister, points to a nervousness towards the female child, and a desire to control it.<sup>31</sup> Within the narrative of the film this nervousness is continually a male one. It can be argued that a parallel anxiety is expected of the male viewer, that the narrational controls and interruption between the film's adult male and female child, are also meant for the viewing adult male. But what intimidates or needs to be controlled? A partial but substantial answer must be identified in Hollywood's translation of the adult gender stereotype of the sexually seductive female. The male child alone in cinema is allowed the gender stereotypes of the adult male - bravery, inventiveness, independence and protective capability. Could it be that Hollywood is afraid that a depiction of a non parented/adult like female child, would be seen as an invite to consider the child sexually?

Both society and the parent are protective of the child from sexual activity and knowledge, we are also keen however to make sure that our boys will be boys and girls





will be girls. Much effort has been made by many to illustrate that (especially the feminine) gender stereotypes are not biologically determined but socially constructed (e.g. Simone de Beauvoir and John Berger).<sup>32</sup> Anatomy is not everything, the male, it can be argued, is not necessarily more aggressive, less sensitive and the female more sensual, less active. While this gender construction has been to an extent realized and criticized, society and the parent have persisted in the application of the traditional constructs of masculinity and femininity.

Elements of adult femininity (central to its construct) can be observed in the female child. Simone de Beauvoir says that the feminine characteristics of narcissistic displays "*appears so preciously in the little girl that it is easy to regard it as arising from a mysterious feminine instinct*".<sup>33</sup> From the moment of birth we apply a system of gendered codes to the child. Even the boy, not yet receptive to an applied gender is colour coded, blue for boys, pink for girls.

As soon as the child is receptive he or she is taught exactly what it means to be he or she. Even the following commonly used nursing rhyme provides a simplistic gender guideline for the toddler.

Girls are made from sugar and spice  
and all things nice.  
Boys are made from frogs and snails  
and puppy dogs tails.

Patricia Holland in 'What is a child' notes the remarkable gender difference amongst infant toys. The boy



is given mechano and is taught to construct. He is encouraged to be a little "action man", the little girl is not so much taught to be action woman, but passive woman. Through Barbie and Sindy there is a clear attempt to teach her that she must look attractive and desirable. De Beauvoir speaks of this gender construction in literal phallogocentric terms.

"The doll represents the whole body and on the other hand a passive object, while the boy seeks himself in his penis, an autonomous subject, the little girl cuddles her doll and dresses her up as she dreams of being cuddled and dressed herself, inversely she thinks of herself as a marvellous doll".<sup>34</sup>

While the emphasis for the boy is freedom from sexuality, the female child is taught the central adult feminine characteristic of sexual displayment. The female child is still expected to consider her appearance, to be displayed and pleasing to the adult male. My objective here is not to depict a simplified gender scenario of girl victim. Both sexes are deprived and restricted by their gender stereotypes. My inspection into gender construct seeks to indicate the level of sexuality applied to the female child.

The borderline between a female child being pretty and sexual is unstable. In the film *Death in Venice* (Luchino Visconti, 1971), sexual displayment is shown as a feminine characteristic, not through a depiction of an erotically displayed girl, but through a male child. The film centres on the relationship between an ill man and a boy. Though



this relationship is the core of the film, there is no dialogue between the two, their communication is purely visual. The boy is uncharacteristically presented as a sensual image to be watched, but is feminized by this watching (he is paradoxically similar to Clover's 'Final Girl', she is viewed as masculine by her lack of sexuality). In *Death in Venice's* opening scene the male child is established as feminine and sensual in a very literal process. The camera pans slowly across a social gathering in a hotel room, passes across the faces of a group of girls and stops to observe the last in the group (a soft focused, beautiful face) but then suddenly pulls back to reveal that it is a boy (Fig. 7).

In advertisements the still image presentation of the female child is striking in the subject's (the girl's) awareness of the viewer. Compositionally, the child is made accessible to the viewer, an equal consideration is evident in her appearance and expression.

"We have many pictures of confident little girls usually aged around eight or nine who looked the camera in the eye with unembarrassed directness, but it needs only a slight tilt of the head to add a bashful self awareness".<sup>35</sup>

The claim that such a display is considered in a non-sexual manner is questionable. A sexual infantilism of the adult female in advertising, mainstream film and pornography points to a presumption of a frequent male sexual viewpoint towards the female child. We are familiar with the overtly sexual fantasy or at least the image of

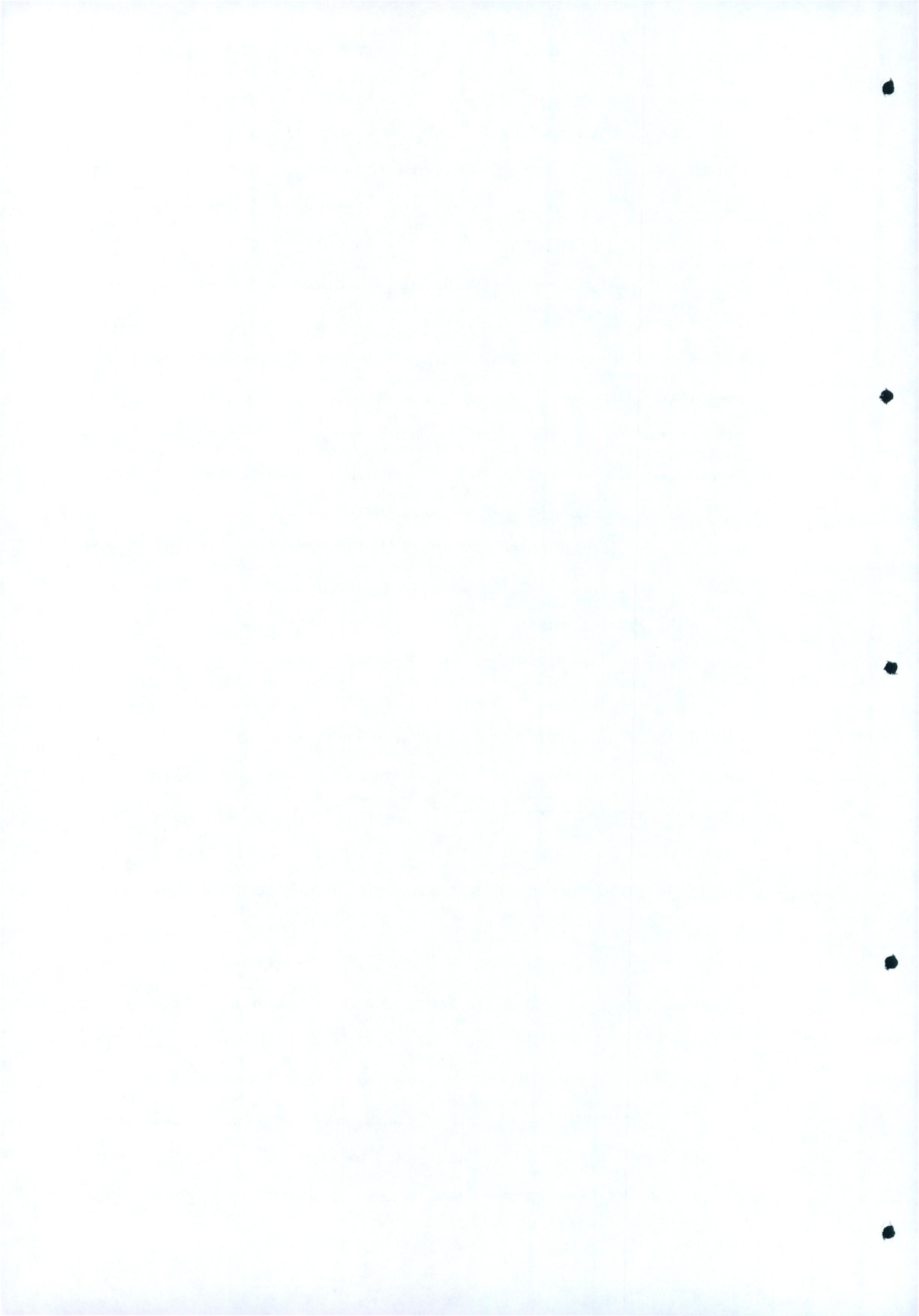


the adult woman with a childish expression, sucking her thumb, wearing a school uniform or wearing pig tails. Just as the girl is asked to be womanlike, the woman is often asked to be childlike.

In *Shadowlands* (Richard Attenborough, 1993), the biographical film on C.S. Lewis, Lewis lectures on the male attraction towards the female. Using the metaphor of the unopened blossom, he maintains that "*it is not the attaining of beauty that is most enjoyable, but the desire to attain the unattainable*".<sup>36</sup> Lewis says that this is true of all life's joys most especially the woman. In poetic, frilled words all that is echoed here is the common phrase "*the chase is better than the catch*".

"A woman must continually watch herself. She is continually accompanied by her own image of herself."<sup>37</sup> Through the gender of the displayed female the image of the child is presented sexually, she is asked as a girl to be aware of the viewer, to appear sexual but as a child to be unaware of her sexuality. Her sexuality is only of a displayed passive nature, she can still retain her innocence and be Lewis's forbidden unopened blossom. Both the imagery of advertisement and cinema have gone to great lengths to preserve this balance. Fundamentally, this pleasurable innocence is dependant on the subjects lack of awareness, when this lack of awareness is taken away the delicate construct is threatened.

In introducing the discussion of the young girl, as a sexual entity, I have already spoken of how mainstream cinema shows a nervous hesitation towards the young girl





through her neglect and absence. There are however many examples where cinema overtly shows the central male character's fear of an explicitly sexual female child - *The Exorcist* (W. Friedkin, 1973) and *Taxi Driver* (Martin Scorsese, 1976). Often we are given the scenario of the child's exposure to a corrupting usually urban, environment. When it is the female child who is shown, exposed and affected by this environment, the corruption is most frequently sexual. Her childhood is depicted as lost, she is not only taught the mannerisms and strategies of display of beauty, she realizes the viewers' satisfaction in watching. More dangerously still to the viewer, she realizes that a scopophilic viewing need not necessarily be the only acknowledgement of her sexuality. Ultimately when the female child has "lost her innocence", attained a near full self and other awareness, she is feared as an active sexual threat. The threat lies in the fact that, when aware, the subject (the female child) can sexually question the viewer or adult male. There is not only an enjoyment but also a safety in the castrated viewpoint. This is true of both the cinematic viewpoint and the real-life viewpoint.

Hollywood film rarely depicts more explicitly the adult male panic towards the sexual confrontational female child than <sup>in</sup> *Leon* (Luc Besson, 1995). Set in urban America, it is the formulaic tale of the good gangster surviving in a mean city, but his survival is threatened, by the typical "It'll be a woman that will bring you down!" scenario.

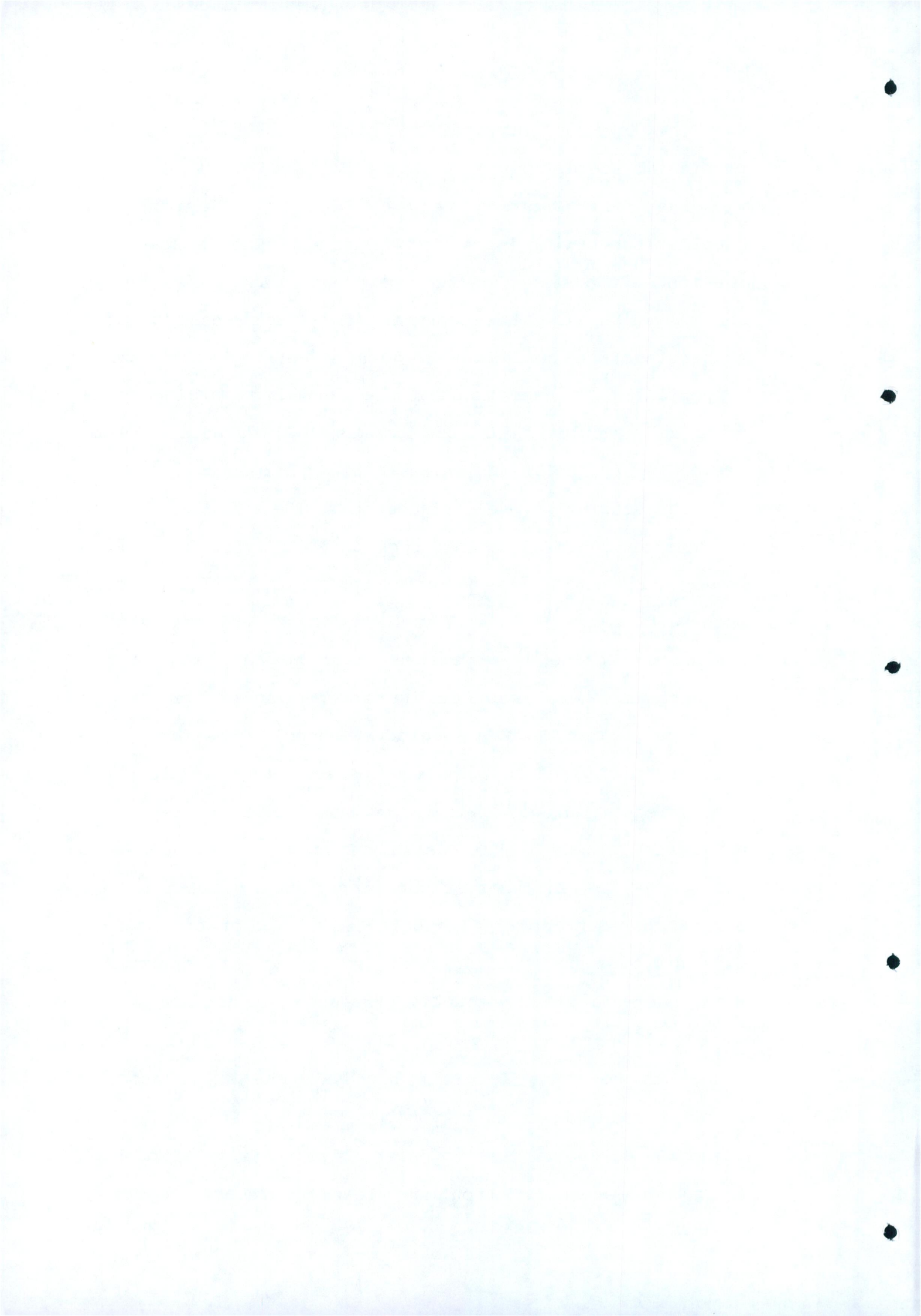


What is however untypical, is that the woman in this particular scenario is a 10 year old girl.

The first meeting between Leon (the hitman) and Matilda (the child) is sexually charged. She is seated at the top of the stairs of the apartment block. Flirtingly, she stares at him, her posture and actions speak a clear awareness of her sexuality (Fig. 8). Wearing a Victorian, (Olympian) black neck collar she lets her cardigan fall from her shoulders as she smokes a cigarette. Leon nervously says hello and walks to his apartment.

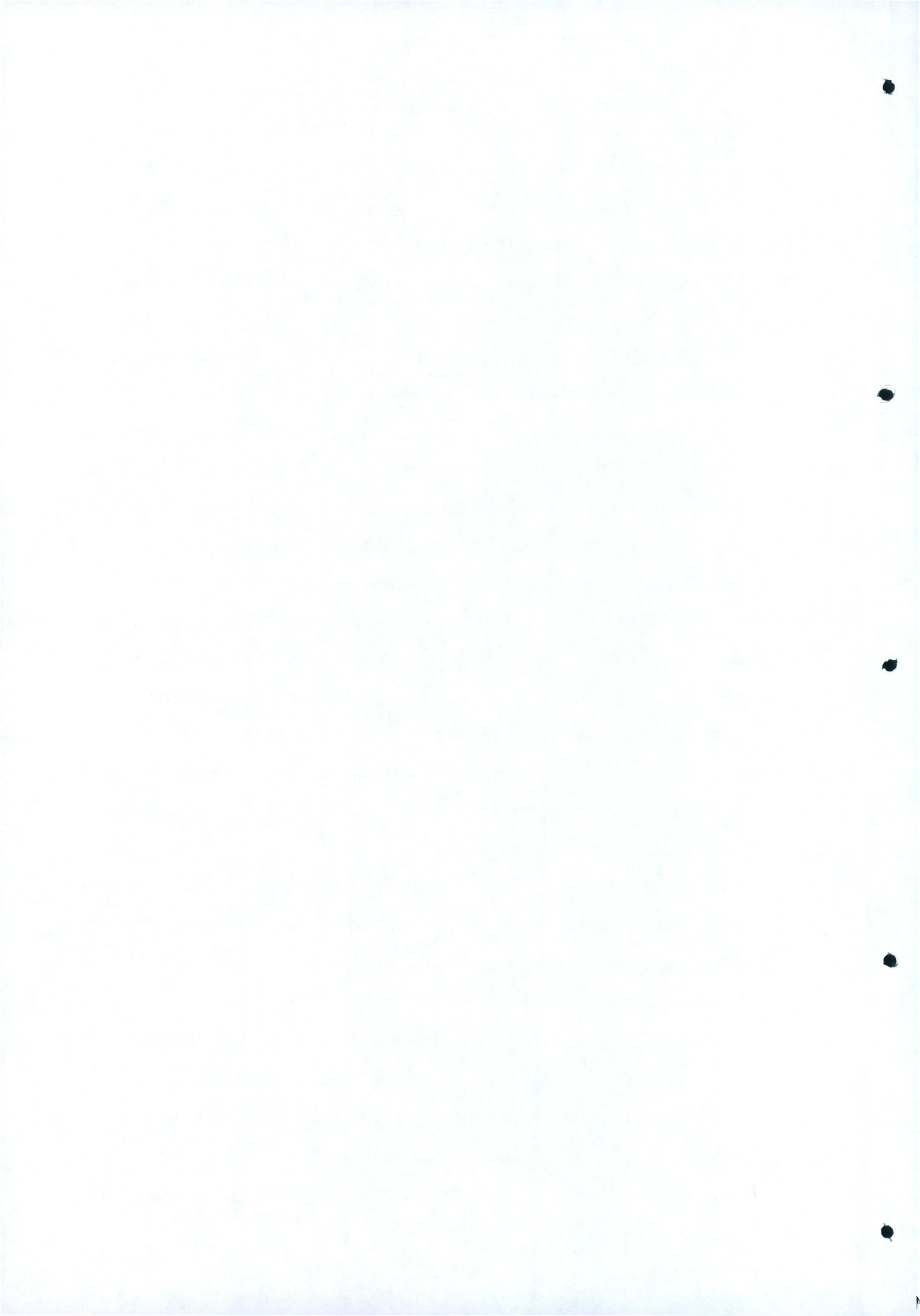
The setting is one of decadence. The building is full of rats and when allowed a look at Matilda's short-lived family, it could not be described as an all American, Spielberg home. She sucks a lollipop as her father discusses cocaine, her parents start to have sex in her presence and her sister is in erotic display, practising aerobics. While Matilda is grocery shopping the family are all killed by corrupt police because of her father's involvement in drugs. Apart from the little brother it is as if they deserved their death. During the incident Leon (as are we) is an observer who peeps through the eye hole of his apartment door. The detached viewpoint of observer is disrupted when Matilda seeks refuge in his apartment. With reservation he eventually agrees to let her stay.

Matilda continually sexually taunts and flirts with Leon, at one stage lying in his bed, she says "*Leon, I think I'm in love with you*". From here onwards the objective of the film is to paternalize their relationship, to make it asexual. Leon must learn to relate to her as



father and she to him as daughter. She must be taught and reminded that she is a child, to laugh at Leon's pig imitation rather than say "*I was more of a mother than that Goddam Pig!*" (Matilda speaking of her dead mother's inadequacy, a declaration which was followed by Leon's attempt to cheer her up with a childish game, using a baking glove as a pig puppet). If either is the 'innocent child', it is Leon. He is made appear infantile by his "banker", who holds and gives Leon his money as would a father (a similar situation is evident in the same director's film *Nikita* with Uncle Bob and Nikita's lover). The relationship is problematised by sexual tension, this attraction towards Leon gradually turns to admiration. Rather than accept protection from what she admires, she seeks to equal it. She persuades Leon to teach her to become a *cleaner* (assassin). She refuses the child position in the relationship which nonetheless verges on a Freudian (Elektra) castrated female child. She both wants to seduce Leon and envies his adult male position. Her want to be an armed hitman lies extremely close to a conscious depiction of symbolic penis envy. Matilda eventually takes Leon's guns and in a failed assassination attempt (on her families murderers) she is rescued by Leon. This scene is a turning point in the film, with an imminent external threat, Leon is allowed the protective function of father, and Matilda the protected position of daughter.

From here a suspenseful build-up leads to Leon's death (sacrificial to Matilda's safety). The central objective has been attained, both can mutually say "*I love you*",



without sexual meaning. This establishment of Leon as father is almost literally consummated by Leon's death. With an axe, Leon breaks an opening into a ventilation shaft. The camera follows the thrusting momentum of the axe. Leon puts Matilda within the safety of the ventilation shaft. This scene finally ends with a climatic scream from Leon as a grenade hurtles towards him and explodes (the camera also follows the momentum of the grenade).

Leon is finally identified as father in this secondary act of conception. Matilda exits the ventilation shaft a born again child.

In *Poltergeist* (T. Hooper, 1982), the little girl, Carol Anne "is retrieved from the other side"<sup>38</sup> when her mother enters the fleshy red sucking pit that has appeared in the bedroom; the father holds the safety cord firmly"<sup>39</sup> and pulls both of them back into the real world. This rebirth scene is not the only similarity between *Leon* and *Poltergeist*, while the dark side of *Poltergeist* is demonic, Carol Anne does refer to the evil spirits as a family. She initially communicates with them through a static television (Fig. 9).

*Leon* can be understood as a reversal of Hollywood's usually undeveloped, innocent, parented child in the typical child-adult scenario. While the control over the child in such a film implies potential threat *Leon* establishes an unparented child (who has made real this potential threat), and then seeks to re-establish a





paternally defined relationship between the child and adult.

While the urban decadence of her surroundings and ~~h~~family are obvious factors in Matilda's initial adult nature, her association with mass culture is constantly emphasised. Many of her most adult and sexual mannerisms are mimicry of lines and actions she has taken from television, cinema and popular music.

*Follow that blue car! (to a taxi driver)*

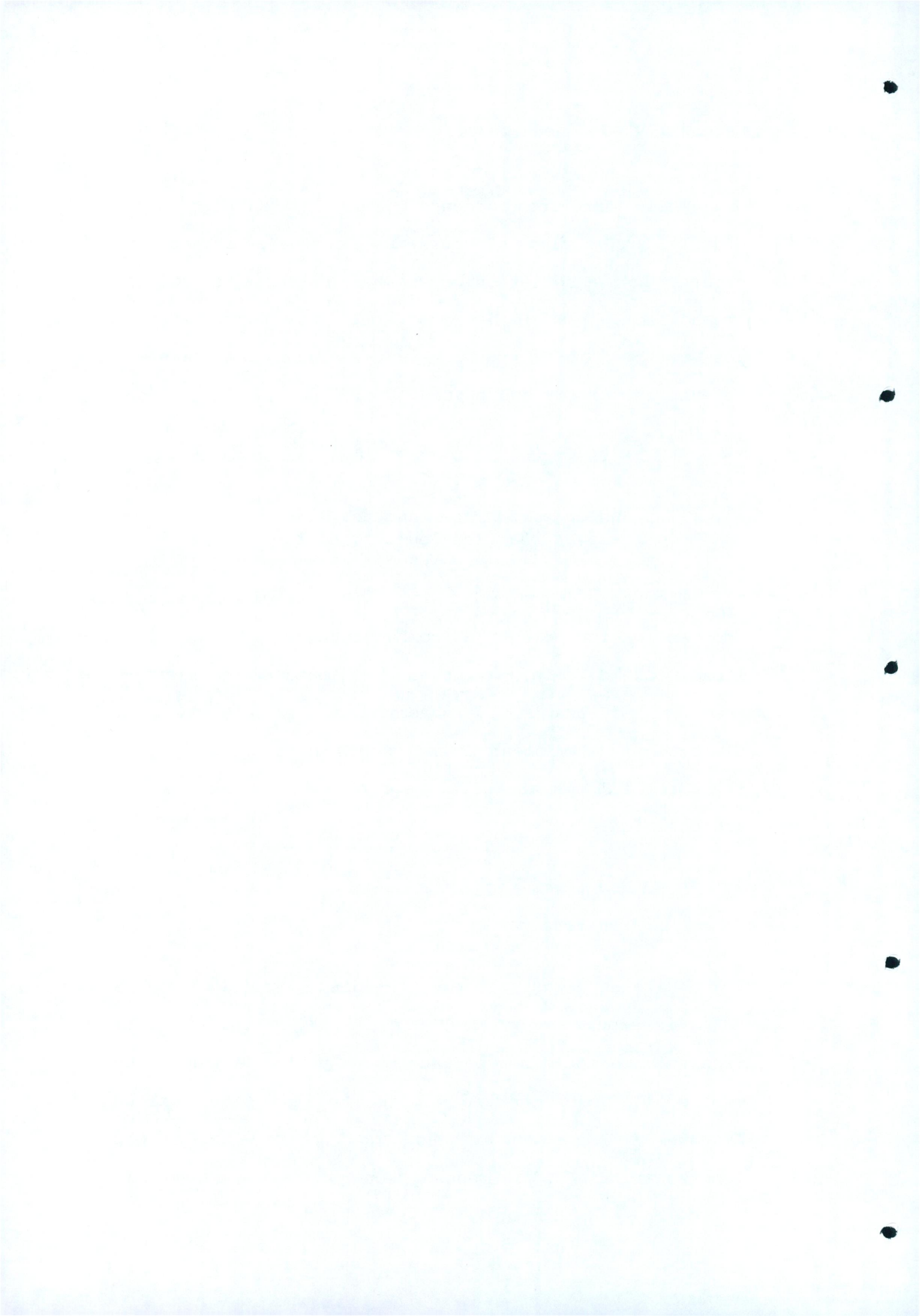
*Just a half sister and not a good  
half at that, couldn't stand them.*

The tone of her voice and accent is clearly effected, the implication being that somewhere underneath there still lies a child. In two scenes (in Leon's apartment) the sound of Matilda is overshadowed by the clearly audible dialogue of a violent *Transformers* cartoon, the cartoon character's lines are highly appropriate to Matilda's self and position.

*Don't you recognize me?*

*You left me no choice!*

While Leon wants to play childish games, Matilda wants to mimic erotic pop stars. The child's sexual exposure to mass culture could not be made more overt. To Leon (she is dressed in underwear and tights) Matilda sings *Madonna's Like a Virgin* along with an equally sexy *Marlyn Monroe* impersonation. A distressed Leon can only respond to the



much less sexy *Charlie Chaplin*. The connection between Matilda's acquired sexuality and mass culture is contrasted against Leon's innocence and lack of media exposure. The innocence/nature feature of the film is romantically symbolized by the plant which Leon so preciously cares for. With obvious tones of death and rebirth the plant is poignantly planted by Matilda to commemorate Leon.



## CONCLUSION

Cinema continually presents both a potentially and blatant, threatening child, with striking regularity implying exposure to a modern environment (often specifically mass media) as cause. Such a child susceptible to surroundings, points to an increased realization that childhood is not a fixed construct. If subjected to an undesirable surroundings, the child may not be of the desired nature. Whatever the exposure and depicted effect, the underlying constant is that of the modern child's attainment of awareness, an awareness of both itself and of what we are told are only adult concerns. A fear that childhood is over is ever increasingly expressed. We have to an extent (selfishly) built the child as opposite to adulthood. The fact that we have done so indicates a vast repulsion of the adult, towards the adult, and the environment it has created.

As with any animal the human child is made secure by parental, protective instinct. While intelligent debate on the child must be sensitive to this desire, it also must be remembered that the period of childhood, as with any animal's, *"is a preparatory stage for adulthood"*.<sup>40</sup> Ultimately we must decide as to what extent we should and can protect the child from what it is to become.

The simplified romantic image of the child is increasingly seen to be redundant. This is not to say that we are close to seeing a realistic childhood. Even the



author (be he/she film maker, writer, artist or psychoanalyst), who rebels against the confines of childhood's traditional definition, rarely provides an opportunity to see a real child. Depicted childhood is always in the context of its author, its personal experiences, fears or beliefs. Freud was neglected by his father and adored by his mother, *Lord of the Flies* is a metaphor for a loss of faith in humanity at war, and *Kids* (Larry Clarke, 1996) points to the danger of aids.<sup>AIDS</sup>

In her conclusion Patricia Holland maintains that the child today is as powerless as ever in its say as to what is a child. To achieve a true image of the child, it must be granted an authorial position in culture. However, the increasingly feared power of the child as consumer cannot be overlooked (as does Holland). The commercial intent of the child entertainment industry is destined by the law of "*What the customer wants the customer gets*". The child has said that it enjoys watching asses get kicked with *The Power Rangers*, and kicking asses with *Mortal Kombat* (the Nintendo console game).

While the media is censored to an extent, commercial reaction to the child, as consumer to be satisfied, is an extremely strong indicator of changes in the modern child or truths which society as parent has gone to such lengths to hide.





**END NOTES**

1. Coveney, 1982, p. 43.
2. Rosenblum, 1988, p.9.
3. Coveney, 1992, p. 45.
4. Rosenblum, 1988, p. 39.
5. Rosemblum, 1988, p. 9.
6. The sexual content to Red Riding Hood was explored and made blatant in *Company of Wolves* (Neil Jordan, 1984).
7. The fact that the subject instructed the artist to control himself (on hearing of his reputation as a womaniser) lends a personal symbolism to the sexuality projected through the child.
8. Hillman, 1975, p. 99.
9. The Anne Frank diaries document the experience of the Dutch girl Anne Frank during W.W.2, and *Castillo's Child*, the experience of the child in the Spanish Civil War.
10. De Beauvoir, 1953, p. 281.
11. Dickens romanticized child can also be observed in his *A Christmas Carol and the Chimes, Oliver Twist, Dombey and Son* and in numerous other published novels and short stories.
12. Tucker, 1977, p. 13.
13. Ibid. p. 113.
14. Golding's *Lord of the Flies* was written in 1954.
15. "Fate seems to be conspiring with the gang, with ever less regret do I wait for the curtain to fall for me (Freud, letter to Zweig, June 22, 1936), See Sigmund Freud, *His Life in pictures and words*, Middlesex, 1985.



16. Holland, 1992, p. 72.
17. Dening, "Interview Blake Morrison", p. 15, 1997.
18. Ibid. p. 15.
19. Hollows, 1995, p. 16.
20. While mass cultural construction of the individual has been manipulated towards an attitude of "rape follows pornography", it can less dramatically refer to a (socially unhelpful) simplification and labelling, of good and bad, right and wrong. According to Eisenstein, this placticity of narrative and character is, with striking similarity to Hollywood film, evident in the two-dimensionality of Dickens' writings (Eisenstein, 1974, p. 395).
21. Andrews, 1994.
22. Andrews, 1994, p. 110.
23. Ibid. p. 110.
24. Ibid. p. 110.
25. Franke 1992, p. 148.
26. According to Sarah Delamont, the (educational institutions) aversion to child sexuality is most obvious in a lack of sexual education and fear of a cross-gendered child. She cites the following press interview with Devon's educational chairman as a severe example of such an attitude.  
  
*If parents wish to bring up boys as boys and girls as girls, this would seem to be highly desirable and fundamental to the family values. If boys are to be turned into fairies and girls into butch young maids, it should be for the parents to decide, not the educational authority or schools (Delamont, 1980, p.11).*
27. Benjamin, 1974, p. 863.
28. Ibid. 1974, p. 269.



29. Clover, 1992, p. 37.
30. Ibid. p. 40.
31. Vincendeau, speaking of the fathers and daughters in French cinema, suggests that these films male mastery over an infantile female is reflective of a male anxiety towards a greater number of French women *in the corridors of power* (Vincendeau, (N.d) p. 158).
32. Given the levels of competitive pressures on the male child, and discouragement of female achievement, it is not surprising that the boy feels threatened by castration and the girl, castrated. A failure to consider the environmental factors, is an important shortcoming in Freud's castration complex, and general theory.
33. De Beauvoir, 1943, p. 293.
34. Ibid. p. 293.
35. Holland, 1992, p.122.
36. The desire towards a pure, non "earthy" female is echoed by a pressure on the female child to pertain to these qualities, *I'm happy that girls are articulate, want to play gentle games, and care about getting their clothes dirty*, (Delamont, "Jean Richie", 1980, p. 10).
37. Berger, 1972, p. 46.
38. Clover, 1992, p. 81.
39. Ibid. p. 81.
40. Tucker 1977, p. 144.



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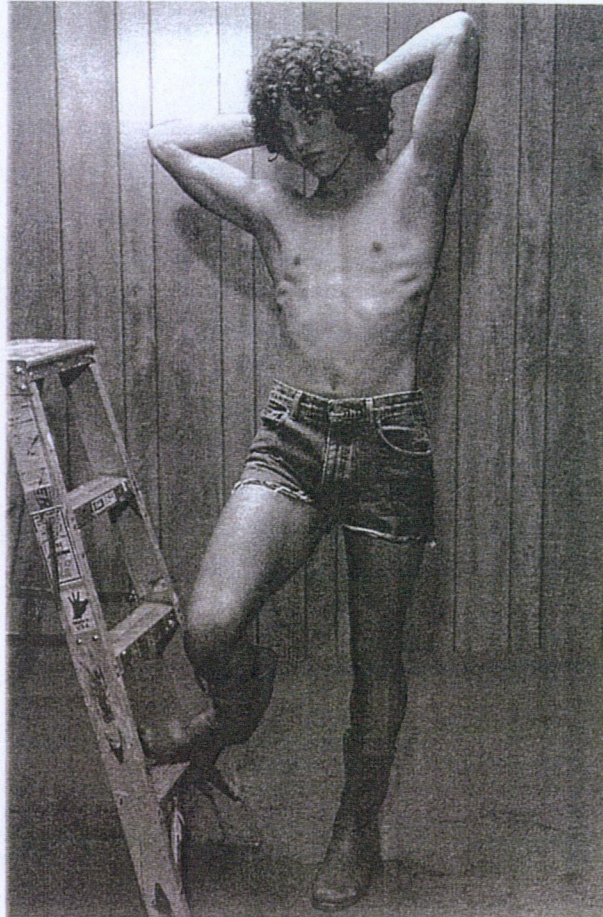


Figure 1





Figure 2

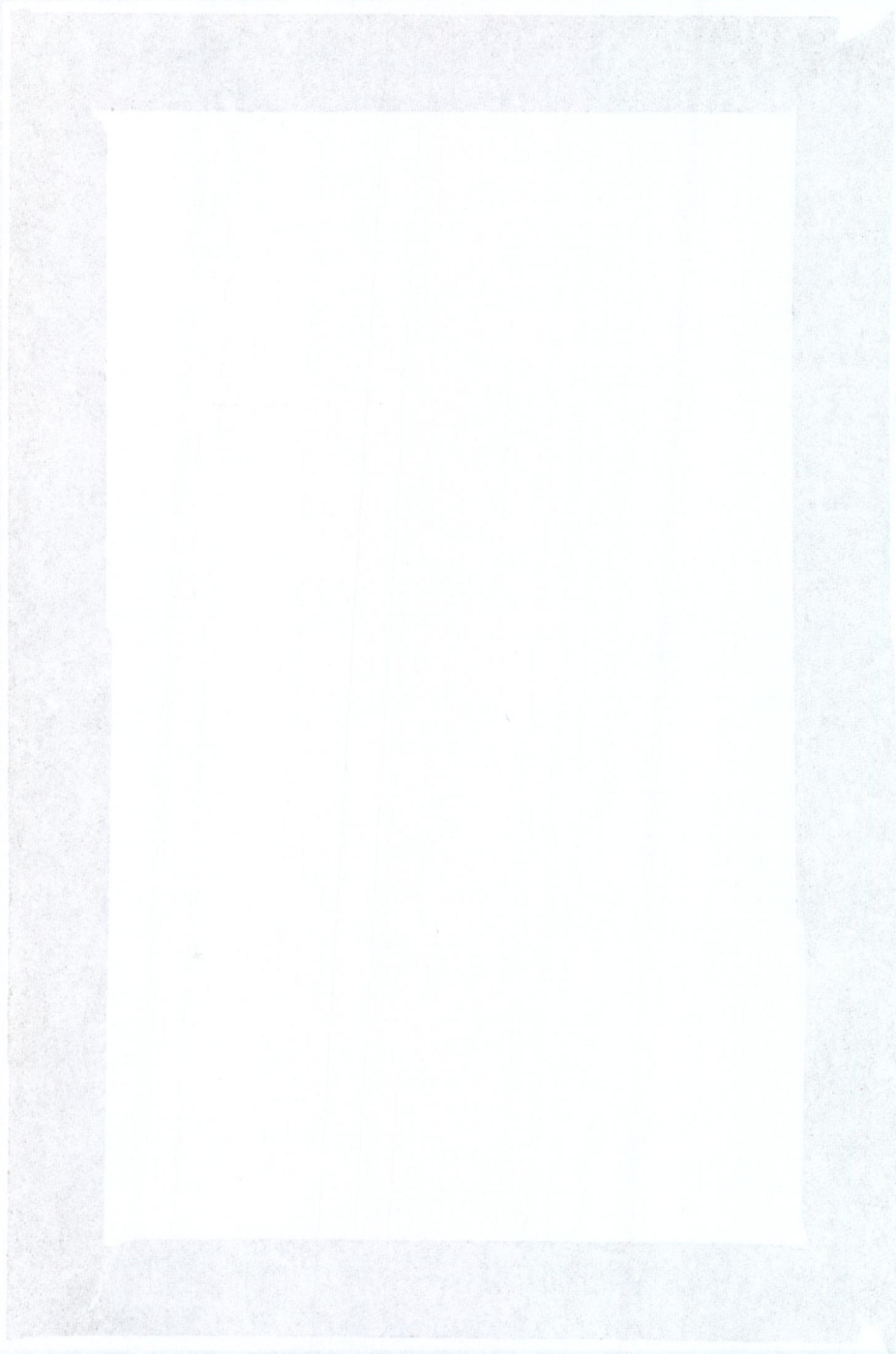




Figure 3

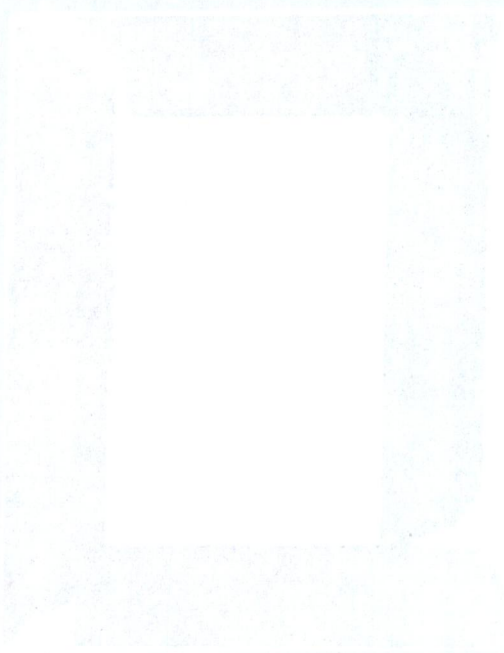






Figure 4



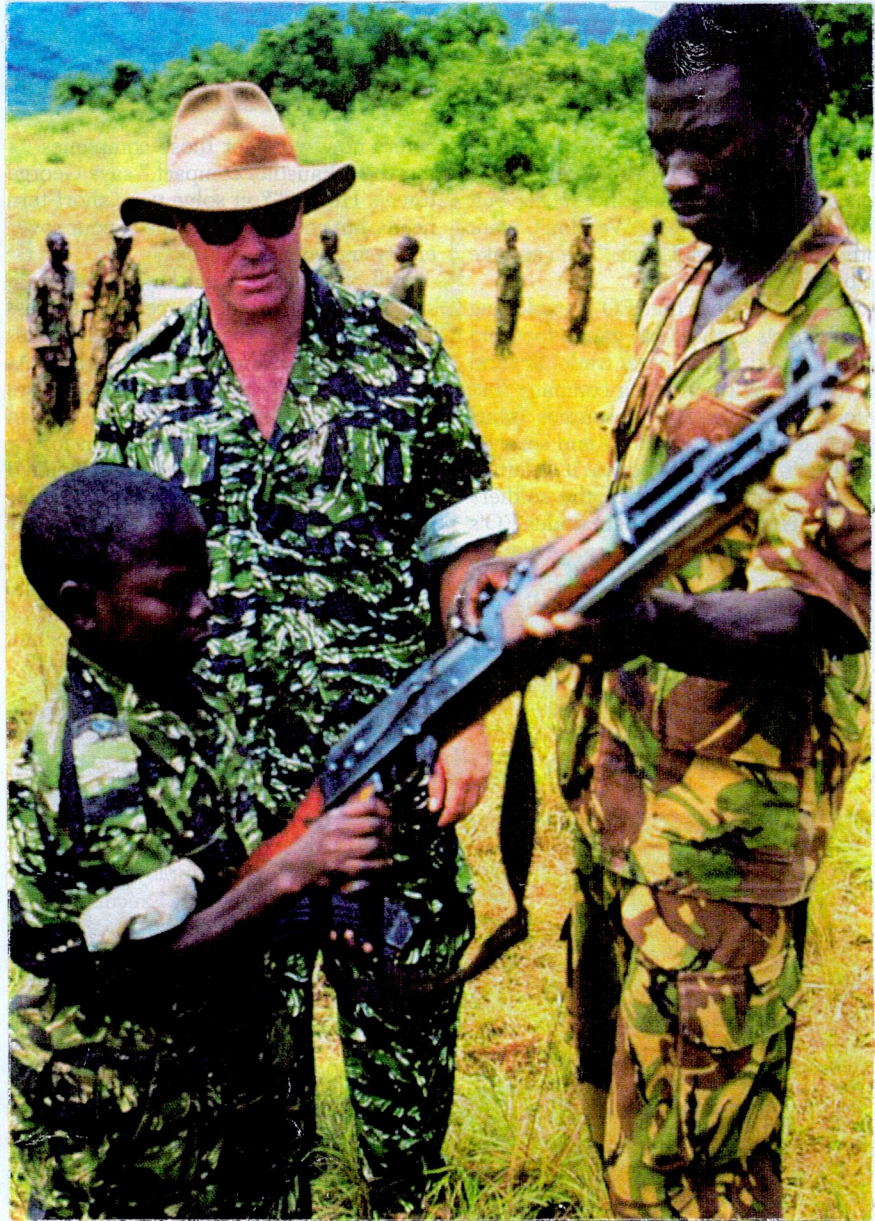


Figure 5

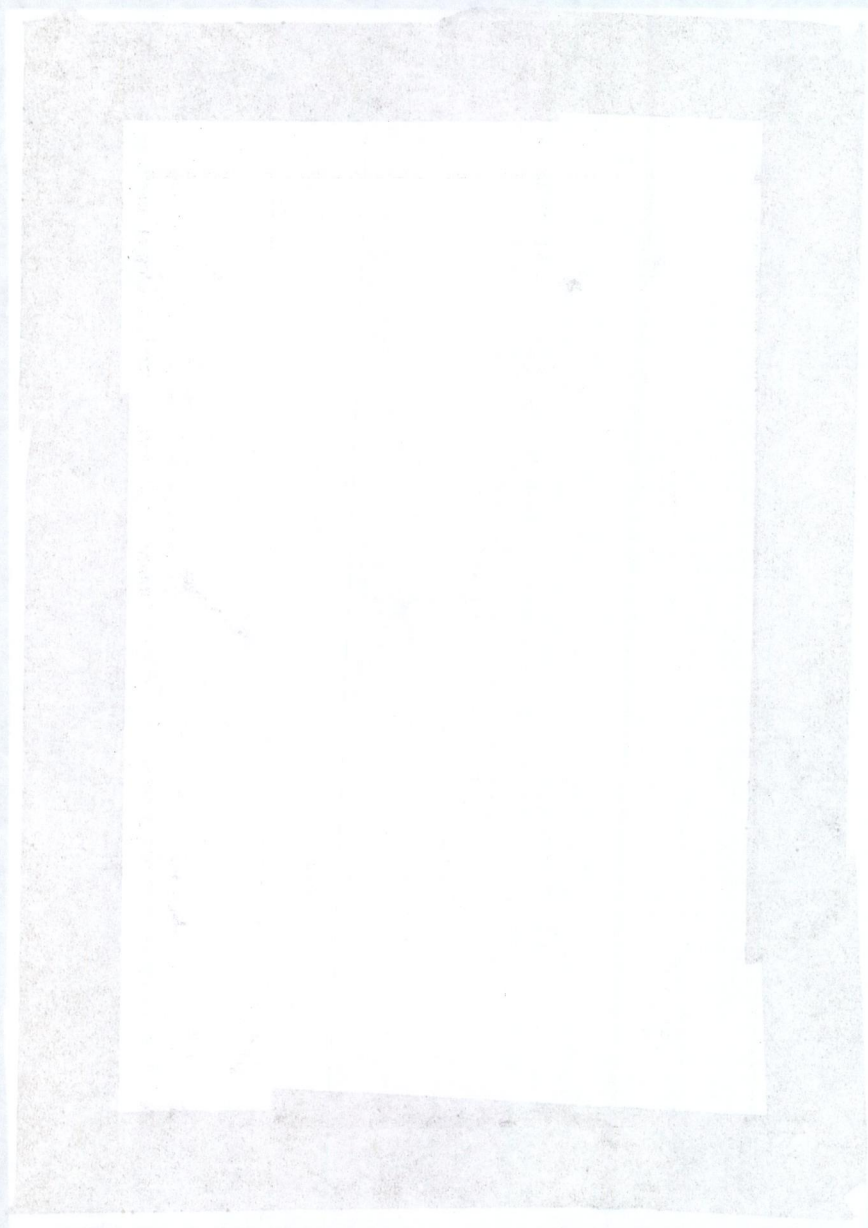




Figure 6

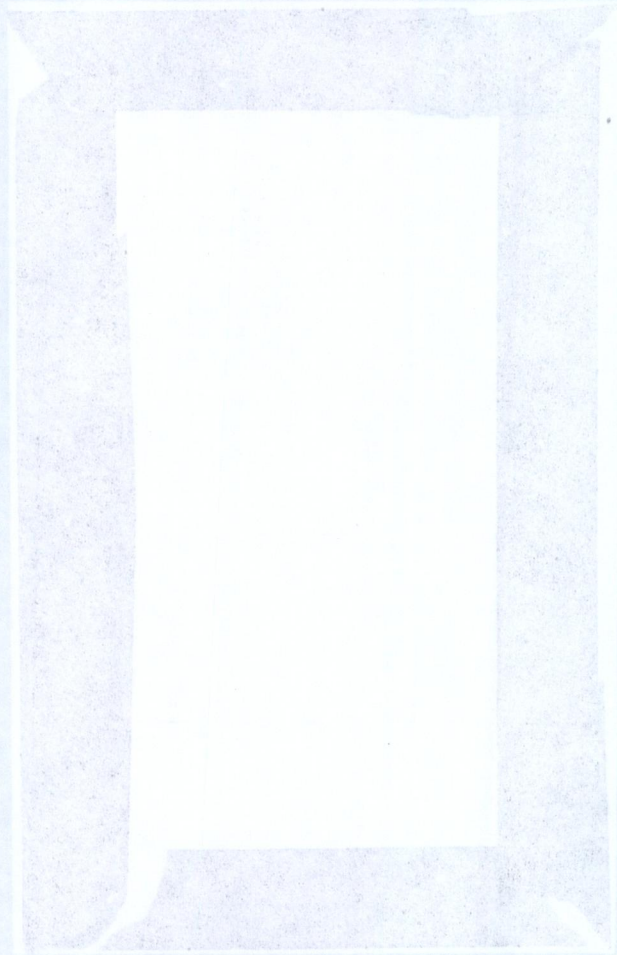




Figure 7

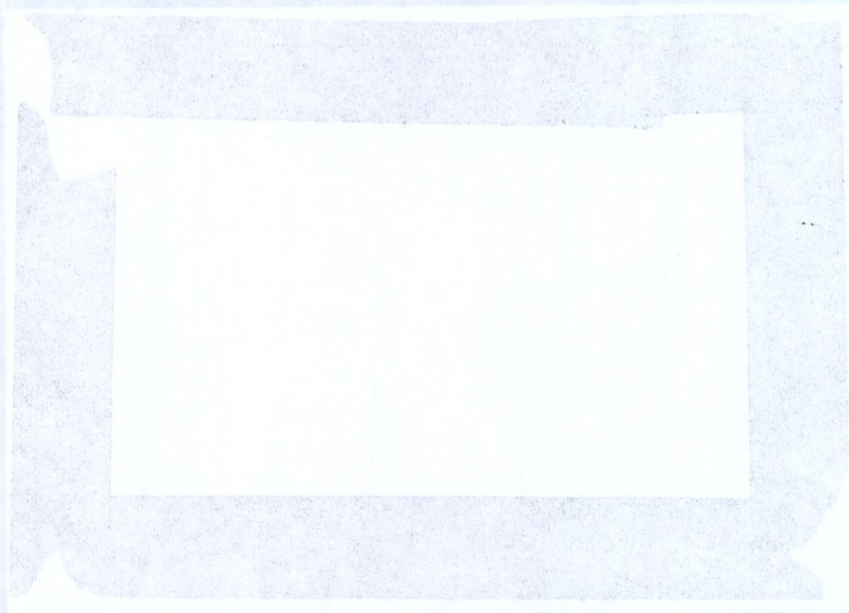






Figure 8

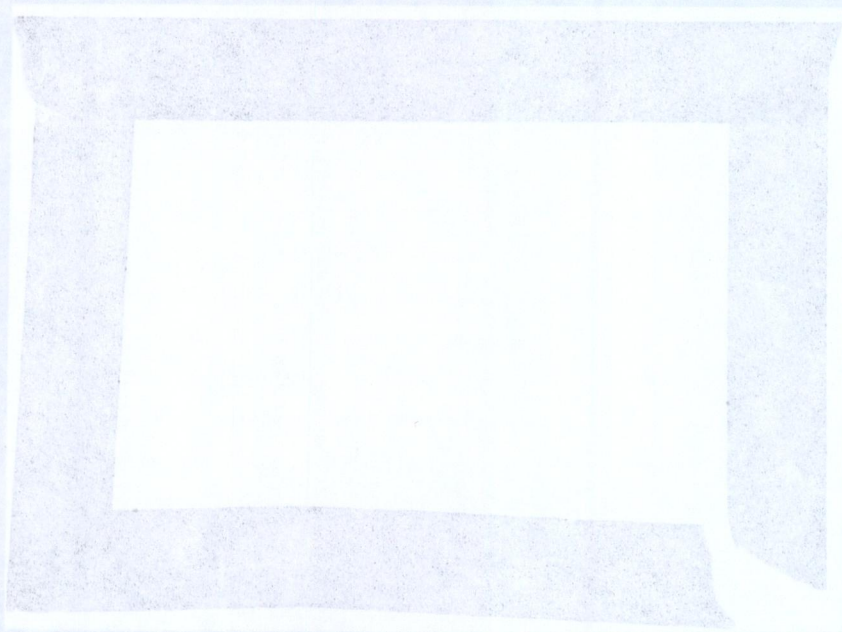




Figure 9

