

The Child, the Family, and the Outside World, by D. Winnicott

a. Quotes:

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b. General Notes:

- Introduction (pg.9)
 - "Unfortunately the fear of domination does not lead groups of people to avoid being dominated; on the contrary it draws them towards a specific or chosen domination. Indeed, were the psychology of the dictator studied one would expect to find that, among other things, in his own personal struggle he is trying to control the woman whose domination he unconsciously still fears, trying to control her by accommodating her, acting for her, and in turn demanding total subjection and "love'." (pg. 10)
 - "Traced to its root in the history of each individual, this fear of woman turns out to be a fear of recognizing the fact of dependence, the initial dependence of earliest infancy. There are therefore good social reasons for instigating research into the very early stages of the infant-mother relationship." (pg. 11)
- Chapter 1 - A Man Looks at Motherhood (pg. 15)
 - "If human babies are to develop eventually into healthy, independent, and society-minded adult individuals, they absolutely depend on being given a good start, and this good start is assured in nature by the existence of the bond between the baby's mother and the baby, the thing called love. So if you love your baby he or she is getting a good start." (pg. 17)
- Chapter 2 - Getting to Know Your Baby (pg. 19)
 - See text
- Chapter 3 - The Baby as a Going Concern (pg. 25)
 - "We are only just beginning to realize how absolutely the new-born infant needs love of the mother. The health of the grown-up person is being founded throughout childhood, but the foundation of the health of the human being is laid by you in the baby's first weeks and months. Perhaps this thought can help a little when you feel strange at the temporary loss of your interest in world affairs. You are founding the health of a person who will be a member of our society. This is worth doing. The odd thing is that it is generally thought that the care of children is more difficult the greater the number being cared for. Actually I am sure that the fewer the children, the greater the emotional strain. Devotion to one child is the greatest strain of all, and it is a good job it only lasts for a while." (pg. 26)
 - "Your baby does not depend on you for growth and development. Each baby is a going concern. In each baby is a vital spark, and this urge towards life and growth and development is a part of the baby, something the child is born with and which is carried forward in a way that we do not have to understand." (pg. 29)
- Chapter 4 - Infant Feeding (pg. 30)
 - "[T]o go to the root of the matter right away, infant feeding is a matter of infant-mother relationship, a putting into practice of a love relationship between two human beings." (pg. 30)
 - "Once they have come to a mutual understanding - which they may do at once, or which they may do only after a struggle - they rely on each other and understand each other, and the feeding begins to look after itself." (pg. 31)
 - "I would say that natural feeding is given exactly when the baby wants it, and ceases as he ceases to want it. This is the basis. On this, and only on this, can an infant start to compromise with his mother, the first compromise being the acceptance of regular and reliable feeding, say three-hourly, which is convenient for mother, and which can yet feel to the infant like the fulfilment of his own desire, if only he can arrange to be hungry regularly at three-hourly intervals. If this interval is too long for the child in question, distress ensues, and the quickest method of restoring confidence is for the mother to feed as and when required for a new period, returning to a suitable regular timing as the baby becomes able to tolerate it." (pg. 33)
 - "[T]he only true basis for a relation of a child to mother and father, to other children, and eventually to society, is the first successful relationship between the mother and baby, between two people, with not even a regular feeding-rule coming between them, nor even a rule that baby must be breast-fed. In human affairs, the more complex can only develop out of the more simple." (pg. 34)
- Chapter 5 - Where the Food Goes (pg. 35)
 - "A mother actively adapts to her baby's needs" (pg. 35)
- Chapter 6 - The End of the Digestive Process (pg. 40)
 - See text
- Chapter 7 - Close-up of Mother Feeding Baby (pg. 45)
 - "I have already said that the baby appreciates, perhaps from the very beginning, the aliveness of the mother. The pleasure the mother takes in what she does for the infant very quickly lets the infant know that there is a human being behind what is done. But what eventually makes the baby feel the person in the mother is perhaps the mother's special ability to put herself in the place of the infant, and so to know what the infant is feeling like." (pg. 45)
 - "**The setting is a part of a human relationship**" (pg. 46)
- Chapter 8 - Breast Feeding (pg. 50)
 - "There is a tremendous task for the infant in early emotional development, in the bringing together of the two types of relationship to the mother; the one in which instinct is roused, and the other in which the mother is the environment and the provider of the ordinary physical necessities of security, warmth, and freedom from the unpredictable." (pg. 51-52)
 - "Nothing so clearly and satisfactorily establishes the infant's conception of the mother as a whole human being as good experiences during excitement, with gratification and satisfaction. As the infant gradually knows the mother as a whole human being there becomes available a technique for giving her something in return for what she has supplied. The infant thus becomes a total human being too, with a capacity to hold the moment of concern, where something is owed but payment has not yet been made. This is the point of origin of the sense of guilt, and of the infant's capacity to feel sad if the loved mother is away. If a mother succeeds doubly in her relationship to her infant, by establishing satisfactory breast feeding and at the same time by remaining the one person in the infant's life over a period of time until both she and the infant can be felt to be whole human beings, then the emotional development of the infant has gone a long way towards the healthy development which forms the basis eventually for independent existence in a world of human beings. Many mothers feel that they do establish contact with their infants within the first few days, and certainly a baby may be expected after a few weeks to give recognition with a smile. All these things are achievements based on good experiences in maternal care, and in the giving of instinctual gratification; at the beginning these achievements can be lost either by feeding hazards, or difficulties in relation to other instinctual experiences, or else by environmental variability that is beyond the infant's capacity for understanding. The early establishment of the whole human relationships, and the maintenance of these, is of the very greatest value in the development of the child." (pg. 52)
 - "Further, there is a complication which is of extreme importance in the study of the particular value of breast feeding; the human infant has ideas. Every function is elaborated in the psyche, and even at the beginning there is fantasy belonging to the excitement and the experience of

- feeding. The fantasy, such as it is, is of a ruthless attack on the breast, and eventually on the mother, as the infant becomes able to perceive that it is the mother whose breast is attacked. There is a very strong aggressive element in the primitive love impulse which is the feeding impulse. In terms of the fantasy of a slightly later date the mother is ruthlessly attacked, and although but little aggression may be observable it is not possible to ignore the destructive element in the aim of the infant. Satisfactory feeding finishes off the orgy physically, and also rounds off the fantasy experience; nevertheless there develops a considerable degree of concern on account of the aggressive ideas as soon as the infant begins to put two and two together, and to find that the breast that was attacked and emptied is part of the mother." (pg. 53)
- "Breast feeding provides the richest experience and is the more satisfactory method from the mother's point of view, if it goes well. From the infant's point of view the survival of the mother and her breast after breast feeding is very much more important than the survival of a bottle, and of a mother who gives from a bottle. Difficulties can arise in the mother and the infant as a result of the richness of the experience of breast feeding, but this can hardly be taken as an argument against it, since the aim in infant care is not simply the avoidance of symptoms. **The aim of infant care is not limited to the establishment of health, but includes the provision of conditions for the richest possible experience, with long-term results in increased depth and value in the character and personality of the individual.**" (pg. 57)
 - Chapter 9 - Why Do Babies Cry? (pg. 58)
 - "What I am saying is no more than this, that crying is either giving the baby the feeling that he is exercising his lungs (satisfaction), or else it is a signal of distress (pain), or else it is an expression of anger (rage), or else it is a song of sadness (grief)." (pg. 58)
 - Chapter 10 - The World in Small Doses (pg. 69)
 - "The mother is sharing a specialized bit of the world with her small child, keeping that bit small enough so that the child is not muddled, yet enlarging it very gradually so that the growing capacity of the child to enjoy the world is catered for. This is one of the most important parts of her job. She does it naturally." (pg. 72)
 - "[A] great deal depends on the way the world is presented to the infant and to the growing child. The ordinary mother can start and carry through this amazing business of introducing the world in small doses, not because she is clever, as philosophers need to be, but simply because of the devotion she feels for her own baby." (pg. 74)
 - Chapter 11 - The Baby as a Person (pg. 75)
 - "...we have witnessed a completed experience. Because of the controlled circumstances there could be a beginning, a middle, and an end to what happened; there was a total happening. This is good for the baby. When you are in a hurry, or are harassed, you cannot allow for total happenings, and your baby is the poorer. When you have time, however, as you certainly should have when you have care of a baby, you can allow for these. Total happenings enable babies to catch hold of time. They do not start off knowing that when something is on it will finish." (pg. 77-78)
 - "By playing, the baby showed that he had built up something in himself that could be called material for play, an inner world of imaginative liveliness, which the playing expresses." (pg. 79)
 - Chapter 12 - Weaning (pg. 80)
 - "As we look at the infant developing into a person, we can see how the mother is gradually perceived in the quiet times as a person too, as something attractive and valued exactly as she appears. How awful then to be hungry, and to feel oneself ruthlessly attacking this same mother. No wonder infants often lose appetite. No wonder some infants fail to allow the breasts to the mother, but separate off the mother who is loved as whole and beautiful from the things (the breasts) that are the objects of excited attack." (pg. 81)
 - "The basis for eventual health in this and in many other respects is the whole experience of being carried through infancy by the ordinary good mother who is not afraid of her infant's ideas, and who loves it when her baby goes at her all out." (pg. 81)
 - "In weaning, the aim really is to use the baby's developing ability to get rid of things, and to let the loss of the breast be not just simply a chance affair." (pg. 82)
 - "[T]here is a wider aspect of weaning - weaning is not only getting a baby to take other foods, or to use a cup, or to feed actively using the hands. It includes the gradual process of dis-illusionment, which is part of the parents' task. The ordinary good mother and father do not want to be worshipped by their children. They endure the extremes of being idealized and hated, hoping that eventually their children will see them as the ordinary human beings they certainly are." (pg. 84)
 - Chapter 13 - Further Thoughts on Babies as Persons (pg. 85)
 - "The human being's development is a continuous process. As in the development of the body, so in the development of the personality and in the development of the capacity for relationships. No stage can be missed or marred without ill-effect. Health is maturity, maturity appropriate to the age. If certain accidental diseases are ignored this is obviously true of the body, and in matters of psychology there are practically no reasons why health and maturity should not mean the same thing. In other words, in the emotional development of a human being, if there are no hitches or distortions in the developmental process, there is health. This means, if I am right, that all the care that a mother and father take of their infant is not just a pleasure to them and to the infant, it is also absolutely necessary, and without it the baby cannot easily grow up into a healthy or valuable adult. In matters of the body it is possible to make mistakes, even to allow rickets, and yet rear a child with nothing worse than bow-legs. But on the psychological side, a baby deprived of some quite ordinary but necessary thing, such as affectionate contact, is bound, to some extent, to be disturbed in emotional development, and this will show in a personal difficulty as the young person grows up. Put the other way round; as a child grows and passes from stage to stage of complex internal development and eventually achieves a capacity for relationships, the parents can know that their good care has been an essential ingredient. This has a meaning for us all, for it follows that, in so far as we are reasonably mature or healthy as adults, each one of us must recognize that a good start to one's life was provided by someone. It is this good start - this basis for child care - that I try to describe." (pg. 85)
 - "Can we not say that the mother adapts herself to what the baby can understand, actively adapts to needs? This active adaptation is just what is essential for the infant's emotional growth, and the mother adapts herself to the baby's needs especially at the beginning, at a time when only the simplest possible circumstances can be appreciated." (pg. 87)
 - "...the mother's aliveness and physical management provide an essential psychological and emotional milieu, essential for the baby's early emotional growth." (pg. 89-90)
 - "[T]he mother is needed to present the world to the baby. Through the techniques of the person or the techniques of the people who are doing the minding comes the baby's introduction to external reality, to the world around. There will continue a struggle with this difficult matter all through life, but help is needed here especially at the start. I will explain what I mean with some care, because many mothers may never have thought of infant feeding in this way; certainly doctors and nurses seldom seem to consider this aspect of the feeding act. This is what I mean. Imagine a baby who has never had a feed. Hunger turns up, and the baby is ready to conceive of something; out of need the baby is ready to create a source of satisfaction, but there is no previous experience to show the baby what there is to expect. If at this moment the mother places her breast where the baby is ready to expect something, and if plenty of time is allowed for the infant to feel round, with mouth and hands, and perhaps with a sense of smell, the baby 'creates' just what is there to be found. The baby eventually gets the illusion that this real breast is exactly the thing that was created out of need, greed, and the first impulses of primitive loving. Sight, smell, and taste register somewhere, and after a while the baby may be creating something like the very breast that mother has to offer. A thousand times before weaning a baby may be given just this particular introduction to external reality by one woman, the mother. A thousand times the feeling has existed that what was wanted was created, and was found to be there. From this develops a belief that the world can contain what is wanted and needed, with the result that the baby has hope that there is a live relationship between inner

- reality and external reality, between innate primary creativity and the world at large which is shared by all." (pg. 90)
- "Out of all that could be said I will add a third way in which the mother is needed, the mother herself, and not a team of excellent minders. I refer to the mother's job of disillusioning. When she has given her baby the illusion that the world can be created out of need and imagination (which of course in one sense it cannot be, but we can leave this to the philosopher), when she has established the belief in things and people that I have described as a healthy basis for development, she will then have to take the child through the process of disillusionment, which is a wider aspect of weaning. The nearest that can be offered to the child is the grown-ups' wish to make the demands of reality bearable until the full blast of disillusionment can be borne, and until creativity can develop through mature skill into a true contribution to society. The 'shades of the prison house seems to me to be the poet's description of the disillusioning process, and its essential painfulness. Gradually the mother enables the child to allow that though the world can provide something like what is needed and wanted, and what could therefore be created, it will not do so automatically, nor at the very moment the mood arises or the wish is felt." (pg. 91)
 - "Temporarily the mother has put herself out for the child, she has at the beginning put herself in the child's pocket. But, eventually, this child becomes able to leave the dependence that belongs to the earliest stage when the environment must adapt itself, and can accept two coexisting points of view - the mother's as well as the baby's. But the mother cannot deprive the child of herself (weaning, disillusionment) unless she has first meant everything to the child." (pg. 91)
 - Chapter 14 - The Innate Morality of the Baby (pg. 93)
 - "What I am describing here is in fact the gradual build-up in the child of a capacity to feel a sense of responsibility, which at base is a sense of guilt. The environmental essential here is the continued presence of the mother or mother-figure over the period of time in which the child is accommodating the destructiveness that is part of his or her make-up. This destructiveness becomes more and more a feature in the experience of object relationships, and the phase of development to which I am referring lasts from about six months to two years after which the child may have made a satisfactory fusion of the idea of destroying the object with the fact of loving the same object. The mother is needed over this time and she is needed because of her survival value. **She is an environment mother and at the same time an object mother**, the object of excited loving. The child gradually comes to integrate these two aspects of the mother and to be able to love and to be affectionate with the mother at the same time. This involves the child in a special kind of anxiety which is called a sense of guilt. The infant gradually becomes able to tolerate feeling anxious (guilty) about the destructive elements in instinctual experiences, because he knows that there will be opportunity for repairing and rebuilding. The balance implied here gives a deeper sense of right and wrong than any merely imposed parental standards. What it does owe to the mother is the reliable environment provided by her love. We can see the capacity for a sense of guilt disappearing, along with the loss of confidence in the reliability of the environment, as when a mother has to be away from her infant, or when she is ill, or perhaps preoccupied. We can if we like think of the child as developing an internal good mother, who feels it is a happy achievement to get any experience within the orbit of a human relationship. When this has begun to happen, the mother's own sensitivity can become less intense. At the same time she can begin to reinforce and enrich the child's developing morality. Civilization has started again inside a new human being, and the parents should have some moral code waiting for their child when, much later, he starts looking for one. One function of this will be to humanize the child's own cripplingly fierce morality, his hatred of compliance at the expense of a personal way of life. It is good for this fierce morality to be humanized, but it must not be killed - as it can be by parents understandably putting too great a value on peace and quiet. **Compliance brings immediate rewards and adults only too easily mistake compliance for growth.**" (pg. 96-97)
 - Chapter 15 - Instincts and Normal Difficulties (pg. 98)
 - "You can go over the whole of the body of the child and think out the various ways in which excitement becomes localized. We certainly cannot leave out the sexual parts. These things are very important to the infant, and they make up the high lights of the waking life of infancy. Exciting ideas go along with the bodily excitements, and you will not be surprised if I say that these ideas not only have to do with pleasure, they also have to do with love, if the baby is developing well. Gradually the infant becomes a person capable of loving persons, and feeling loved as a person. There is a very powerful bond between the baby and the mother and father and other people around, and the excitements have to do with this love. In the form of some bodily excitement, love periodically becomes acutely felt." (pg. 99)
 - Chapter 16 - Young Children and Other People (pg. 103)
 - "I would say that the most primitive and early impulses are felt ruthlessly. If there is a destructive element in the early feeding impulse the infant is at first not concerned with the consequences. I am, of course, talking about the ideas, and not just about the actual physical processes which we can watch with our eyes. At first the infant is carried away by impulses, and only very gradually there comes the realization that the thing attacked in an excited feeding experience is a vulnerable part of the mother, the other human being who is so much valued as a person in the quiet intervals between excitements and orgies. The excited infant violently attacks the mother's body in fantasy although the attack that we see is but feeble; satisfaction comes with the feeding experience, and for the time being the attack ceases. **Every physical process is enriched by fantasy**, which steadily develops definiteness and complexity as the baby grows. In the baby's fantasy the mother's body was torn open so that the good things could be got at and incorporated. How important it is, therefore, for a baby to have his mother consistently looking after him, looking after him over a period of time, surviving his attacks, and eventually there to be the object of the tender feeling and the guilt feeling and sense of concern for her welfare which come along in the course of time. Her continuing to be a live person in the baby's life makes it possible for the baby to find that innate sense of guilt which is the only valuable guilt feeling, and which is the main source of the urge to mend and to re-create and to give. There is a natural sequence of ruthless love, aggressive attack, guilt feeling, sense of concern, sadness, desire to mend and build and give; this sequence is the essential experience of infancy and early childhood and yet it cannot become a real thing unless the mother, or someone doing her job for her, is able to live through the phases with the infant, and so to make possible the integration of the various elements. And here is yet another way of stating some of the things that the ordinary good mother is doing for her infant. Without undue difficulty and without knowing what she is doing, the average good parent is all the time helping the child to distinguish between the actual happenings and what goes on in the imagination. She is sorting out for the infant the actual from the enriching fantasy. We say she is being objective. In the matter of aggression this is particularly important." (pg. 108-109)
 - Chapter 17 - What About Fathers? (pg. 113)
 - See text
 - Chapter 18 - Their Standard and Yours (pg. 119)
 - See text
 - Chapter 19 - What Do We Mean by a Normal Child? (pg. 124)
 - "It is essential to look at the child as a human being who starts off with all the intense feelings of human beings, though his relation to the world is only beginning. People adopt all sorts of devices to try to recapture the feelings that belong to their own infancy and early childhood, feelings that are valuable because so intense. On this assumption we may think of early childhood as a gradual process of the building up of belief. Belief in people and things is built up little by little through innumerable good experiences. 'Good' here means satisfactory enough, so that the need or the impulse can be said to have been met and justified. These good experiences are weighed against the bad experiences, 'bad' being the word we use when anger and hate and doubt turn up, as they inevitably do. Every human being has to find a place to operate from, and to build up there, in the self, an organization of the instinctive urges; every human being has to develop a personal method of living with these impulses in the particular kind of world which has been allotted him, and it is not easy. In fact, the main thing to point out to people about infants and children is that life for infants and children is not

easy even if it has all sorts of good things about it, and there is no such thing as life without tears, except where there is compliance without spontaneity. From this fact - that life is inherently difficult and that no infant or child can avoid showing evidence of its difficulties - it follows that in everyone there will be symptoms, any one of which, under certain conditions, could be a symptom of ill-ness. Even the most kindly, understanding background of home-life cannot alter the fact that ordinary human development is hard, and indeed a perfectly adaptive home would be difficult to endure, because there would be no relief through justified anger." (pg. 125)

- "Firstly, there is the fundamental clash between the two kinds of reality, that of the external world which can be shared by everyone, and that of each child's personal inner world of feelings, ideas, imagination. From birth each baby is constantly being introduced to the fact of the external world. In the early feeding experiences, ideas are compared with fact; that which is wanted, expected, thought up, is weighed against what is supplied, against what is dependent for its existence on the will and wish of another person. Throughout life there must always be distress in connexion with this essential dilemma. Even the best external reality is disappointing because it is not also imaginary, and although perhaps to some extent it can be manipulated, it is not under magical control. One of the chief tasks before those who care for a little child is to give help in the painful transition from illusion to disillusion, by simplifying as far as possible the problem immediately in front of a child at any one moment. Much of the screaming and the temper tantrums of infancy range round this tug-of-war between inner and outer reality, and the tug-of-war must be reckoned normal. A special part of this particular process of disillusionment is the child's discovery of the joy of the immediate impulse. If the child is to grow up, however, to join with the others of a group, a great deal of the joy that belongs to spontaneity has to be given up. Yet nothing can be given up that has not first been found and possessed. How difficult it is for the mother to make sure that each infant in turn gets the feeling of having had the essentials of love, before being asked to do with less than all! Clashes and protests are indeed to be expected normally in connexion with such painful learning. Then, secondly, there is the awful discovery the infant begins to make that with excitement there go very destructive thoughts. When feeding, a child is liable to feel the urge to destroy everything that is good, the food, and the person who has the food to give him. This is very frightening, or gradually becomes so as the infant recognizes a person behind the child care, or because the child comes to be very fond of the person who at feed-times is there as if asking to be destroyed or used up. And, along with this, there comes a feeling that there will be nothing left if everything has been destroyed; and what happens then, should hunger return? So what is to be done? Sometimes the child will just stop being eager about food, thereby gaining peace of mind but losing something valuable, because if there is no eagerness there cannot be the experience of full satisfaction. So here we have a symptom - inhibition of healthy greediness - which we must expect to some extent in children whom we shall call normal. If, in trying all sorts of dodges to get round the symptom, the mother knows what all the fuss is about, she will not be so liable to get in a panic and will be able to play for time, always a good thing in child care. It is wonderful what the human infant and child can manage in the end, because someone how is personally responsible is calmly and consistently continuing to act naturally. All this only concerns the relation between the infant and the mother. Only too soon, added to other troubles, are those that belong to the child's recognition that there is also father to be reckoned with. A lot of the symptoms you note in your child have to do with the complications that arise naturally out of this fact and the wider implications. Yet we would not want there to be no father on this account. It is obviously better that all sorts of symptoms should appear as a direct result of a child's jealousy of the father, or love of him, or because of mixed feelings, than that the child should go straight ahead without having had to cope with this further hard fact of external reality. And the arrival of new children causes upsets which likewise are desirable rather than deplorable. And lastly, for I cannot mention everything, the child soon begins to create a personal inner world in which battles are lost and won, a world in which magic holds sway. From children's pictures and play you will see something of this inner world, which must be taken seriously. As this inner world seems to the child to have a position, seems to be located in the body, you must expect the child's body to be involved. For instance, all sorts of body pains and bodily upsets will accompany the strains and stresses in the inner world. And in an attempt to control inner phenomena a child will have aches and pains, or will make magic gestures, or dance round like one possessed, and I do not want you to think, when you have to deal with these 'mad' things in your own child, that the child is ill. You must expect a child to become possessed by all kinds of real and imaginary people, and by animals and things, and sometimes these imaginary people and animals will come outside, so that you will have to pretend you see them too, unless you want to cause great confusion through requiring your child to be grown-up while still a child. And do not be surprised if you have to cater for imaginary playmates who are entirely real to your child, derived from the inner world, yet for the time being kept external to the personality for some good reason. Instead of going on trying to explain why life is normally difficult I will end with a friendly hint. Put a lot of store on a child's ability to play. If a child is playing there is room for a symptom or two, and if a child is able to enjoy play, both alone and with other children, there is no very serious trouble afoot. If in this play is employed a rich imagination, and if, also, pleasure is got from games that depend on exact perception of external reality, then you can be fairly happy, even if the child in question is wetting the bed, stammering, displaying temper tantrums, or repeatedly suffering from bilious attacks or depression. The playing shows that this child is capable, given reasonably good and stable surroundings, of developing a personal way of life, and eventually of becoming a whole human being, wanted as such, and welcomed by the world at large." (pg. 128-130)
- Chapter 20 - The Only Child (pg. 131)
 - "Now let me turn to some of the disadvantages. The obvious disadvantage of being an only child is the lack of playmates, and the lack of that richness of experience which can result from a child's various relationships to older and younger brothers and sisters. There is much in the play of children which grown-ups cannot get into touch with; even if they understand it, they cannot enter into it for such long periods as the child would like. In fact, if grown-ups play with a child the natural madness in the child's play becomes too evident. So, if there are no other children, a child becomes stunted in play and misses the pleasures that belong to inconsequence, irresponsibility, and impulsiveness; the tendency is for the only child to become precocious, and to prefer listening and talking in grown-up company and helping mother about the house, or using father's tools. It becomes silly to play. Children who play together have an infinite capacity for inventing play-details, and they also go on playing for long periods without tiring. But I think there is something even more important; it is valuable for a child to experience the entry of a new brother or sister into the family. In fact, I cannot over-emphasize the value of this experience. There is something quite fundamental in the fact of pregnancy, and a child has missed a great deal who has missed seeing the changes in his mother, finding himself unable to be comfortable on her lap, gradually coming to the reason for this, and getting tangible proof of what he secretly knows all the time in the eventual appearance of the new baby, and the simultaneous return of mother to normal. Even if there are many children who find this rather strong meat, and who fail to cope with the tremendous feelings and conflicts aroused, nevertheless it remains true, I think, that every child who has missed such an experience, and who has never seen mother giving milk from her breasts, and bathing and caring for an infant, is less rich than the child who has witnessed these things. And perhaps little children wish to have babies as much as grown-ups do. But they cannot, and dolls only partly satisfy them. By proxy they can have children if their mother has them. One thing the only child especially lacks is the experience of finding hate turn up; the child's own hate, as the new baby threatens what seemed to be a settled and safe relation to the mother and father. It is so usual as to be called normal when a child is upset at the birth of a new one. The child's first comment is not usually polite: "It's got a face like a tomato"; in fact parents should feel relieved when they hear the direct expression of conscious dislike, and even violent hate, at the birth of a new child. This hate will gradually give way to love as the new infant develops into a human being, who can be played with, and of whom one can be proud. The first reaction, however, can be of fear and hate and the impulse may be to put the new baby in the dustbin. I think that it is a very valuable experience for a child to find that the younger brother or sister for whom love is beginning to develop is the same as the new baby who was hated a few weeks ago and actually wished away. For all children a big difficulty is the legitimate expression of hate, and the only child's relative lack of opportunity for expressing the aggressive side of his nature is a serious thing. Children who grow up together play games of 2 kinds, and so have a chance to come to terms with their own aggressiveness, and they have valuable opportunities for discovering on their own that

- they mind when they really hurt someone they love." (pg. 132-133)
- Chapter 21 - Twins (pg. 137)
 - "...we have to remind ourselves of the way that infants develop. In ordinary circumstances, and with ordinary good management, infants start immediately after birth to form the basis of their personalities and of their individuality, and to discover their own importance. We all like unselfishness and a willingness to allow for the other person's point of view, and hope to find these virtues in our children, but, if we study the emotional development of the infant, we find that unselfishness only comes in a healthy and stable way if it is based on a primary experience of selfishness. It might be said that without this primary selfishness a child's unselfishness gets clogged up with resentment. Anyway, this primary selfishness is no more than the infant's experience of good mothering, a good mother being willing, at first, to fit in with her baby's desires as far as possible, letting the baby's impulses dominate the situation, and being contented to wait for the baby's ability to allow for the other person's point of view to develop in the course of time. At the start a mother must be able to give her baby the sense of possession, and the feeling that he has control over her, the feeling that she has been created for the occasion. Her own private life is not forced on the baby at first. With the experience of primary selfishness in his bones the baby will be able to become unselfish later without too much resentment." (pg. 138)
 - Chapter 22 - Why Children Play (pg. 143)
 - "It is commonly said that children work off hate and aggression in play, as if aggression were some bad substance that could be got rid of. This is partly true, because pent-up resentment and the results of angry experience can feel to a child like bad stuff inside himself. But it is more important to state this same thing by saying that the child values finding that hate or aggressive urges can be expressed in a known environment, without the return of hate and violence from the environment to the child. A good environment, the child would feel, should be able to tolerate aggressive feelings if they are expressed in more or less acceptable form. It must be accepted that aggression is there, in the child's make-up, and the child feels dishonest if what is there is hidden and denied. Aggression can be pleasurable, but it inevitably carries with it a real or imagined hurting of someone, so that the child cannot avoid having to deal with this complication. To some extent this is dealt with at source, by the child's accepting the discipline of expressing the aggressive feeling in play form and not just when angry. Another way is for aggression to be used in activity that has ultimate constructive aim. But these things are only gradually achieved." (pg. 144)
 - "Whereas it is easy to see that children play for pleasure, it is much more difficult for people to see that children play to master anxiety, or to master ideas and impulses that lead to anxiety if they are not in control. Anxiety is always a factor in a child's play, and often it is a major factor." (pg. 144)
 - "The child gains experience in play. Play is a big part of his life. External as well as internal experiences can be rich for the adult, but for the child the riches are to be found chiefly in play and fantasy. Just as the personalities of adults develop through their experience in living, so those of children develop through their own play, and through the play inventions of other children and of adults. By enriching themselves children gradually enlarge their capacity to see the richness of the externally real world. Play is the continuous evidence of creativity, which means aliveness." (pg. 144)
 - "Play provides an organization for the initiation of emotional relationships, and so enables social contacts to develop." (pg. 145)
 - "play can easily be seen to link the individual's relation to inner reality with the same individual's relation to external or shared reality. In another way of looking at this highly complex matter, it is in play that the child links ideas with bodily function." (pg. 145)
 - "(1) **Playing is essentially creative.** (2) Playing is always exciting because it deals with the existence of a precarious borderline between the subjective and that which can be objectively perceived. (3) Playing takes place in the potential space between the baby and the mother-figure. This potential space belongs to the change that has to be taken into consideration when the baby who is merged in with the mother feels the mother to be separated off. (4) Playing develops in this potential space according to the opportunity that the baby has to experience separation without separation, this being possible because the state of being merged in with the mother is replaced by the mother's adaptation to the baby's needs. In other words, the initiation of playing is associated with the life experience of the baby who has come to trust the mother-figure. Play can be 'a being honest about oneself, just as dressing can be for an adult. This can become changed at an early age into its opposite, for play, like speech, can be said to be given us to hide our thoughts, if it is the deeper thoughts that we mean. The repressed unconscious must be kept hidden, but the rest of the unconscious is something that each individual wants to get to know, and play, like dreams, serves the function of self-revelation. In psychoanalysis of little children, the desire to communicate through play is used in place of the adult's speaking. The three-year-old child often has a great belief in our capacity to understand so that the psychoanalyst has difficulty in living up to what the child expects. Great bitterness can follow the child's disillusionment in this respect, and there could be no greater stimulus to the analyst in the search for deeper understanding than the child's distress at our failure to understand what he or she communicates through play." (pg. 146)
 - Chapter 23 - The Child and Sex (pg. 147)
 - "[T]he basis of the whole of mental health is laid in early childhood and in infancy. Ordinarily a child's play is greatly enriched by sexual ideas and sexual symbolism, and if there is strong sex-inhibition a play-inhibition follows. There is a possible confusion here arising out of the lack of clear definition of sex play. Sexual excitement is one thing, and the acting out of sex fantasy is another." (pg. 151)
 - "**All physical excitements have ideational accompaniments, or (the other way round) ideas are themselves the accompaniment of physical experience.** Mental pleasure, as well as gratification and relief from tension, comes from the common playing of childhood which is the acting out of fantasy apart from physical excitement. Much of the normal and healthy play of childhood is concerned with sexual ideas and symbolism; this is not saying that children who are playing are always sexually excited. Children, when playing, may get excited in a general way, and periodically the excitement can become localized and therefore obviously sexual, or urinary, or greedy, or something else based on the capacity of tissues for excitement. Excitement calls for climax. The obvious way out for a child is the game with climax, in which excitement leads to something, 'a chopper to chop off your head', a forfeit, a prize, someone is caught or killed, someone has won, and so on." (pg. 152)
 - Chapter 24 - Stealing and Telling Lies (pg. 161)
 - See text
 - Chapter 25 - First Experiments in Independence (pg. 167)
 - "Psychology is liable to be superficial and easy, or else deep and difficult. A curious thing about the study of the first activities of infants, and the objects they use when going to sleep or when apprehensive, is that these things seem to exist in a layer in between the superficial and the deep, in between the simple examination of obvious facts and a probing into the obscure realms of the unconscious. For this reason I want to draw attention to the use infants make of ordinary common objects, and to show that there is a great deal to be learned from observations which are commonly made, and from facts which are all the time on display." (pg. 167)
 - "These things develop along with the beginning of a sense of security, and along with the beginnings of the infant's relationship to one person. They are evidence that things are going well in the child's emotional development, and that memories of relationships are beginning to be built up. These can be made use of again in this new relationship to the object, which I myself like to call a transitional object. It is not the object itself, of course, that is transitional; it represents the infant's transition from a state of being merged with the mother to a state of being in relation to the mother as something outside and separate." (pg. 168)
 - "From the infant's point of view this first object was indeed created out of his or her imagination. It was the beginning of the infant's creation of the world, and it seems that we have to admit that in the case of every infant the world has to be created anew. The world as it presents itself is of no meaning to the newly-developing human being unless it is created as well as discovered." (pg. 169)
 - "In health there is an evolution from the transitional phenomenon, and the use of objects, to the whole play capacity of the child. It is very easy to see

that **playing is of vital importance to all children, and that the capacity for play is a sign of health in emotional development.** I am trying to draw attention to the fact that an early version of this is the relationship of the infant to the first object. My hope is that if parents understand that these transitional objects are normal, and indeed signs of healthy growth, they will not feel ashamed when they find themselves carrying curious things about with them whenever they travel with their child. They will certainly not show disrespect for them, and they will do everything possible to avoid their loss. Like old soldiers these objects simply fade away. In other words they become the group of phenomena extending out into the whole of the realm of children's play, and of cultural activities and interests - that wide area which is intermediate between living in the external world and dreaming." (pg. 171)

- Chapter 26 - Support for the Normal Parents (pg. 173)
 - See text
- Chapter 27 - Needs of the Under-Fives (pg. 179)
 - "The needs of infants and small children are not variable; they are inherent and unalterable." (pg. 179)
 - "Indeed, the infant does not start off as a person able to identify with other people. There has had to be a gradual building up of the self as a whole or a unit, and there has to be a gradual development of the capacity to feel that the world outside and also the world within are related things, but not the same as the self, the self that is individual and peculiar and never the same in two children. The attainment of a maturity appropriate to the age between three and five is emphasized first, because healthy infants and children are all the time building up for this maturity that is so vital to the whole future development of the individual. At the same time the maturity of the under-five child is normally compatible with every kind and degree of immaturity. The immaturities are the residues of the healthy states of dependence that are characteristic of all the earlier phases of growth. It is simpler to give soundings taken at the various phases of development than to attempt to paint the composite picture of the child of four." (pg. 181)
 - "The mother is needed as someone who survives each day, and who can integrate the various feelings, sensations, excitements, angers, griefs, etc. that go to make up an infant's life but which the infant cannot hold. The infant is not yet a unit. The mother is holding the infant, the human being in the making. The mother can, if necessary, go over in her mind all that the day has meant to the infant. She understands. She sees her infant as human at a time when the infant is incapable of feeling integrated." (pg. 182-183)
- Chapter 28 - Mother, Teacher, and the Child's Needs (pg. 189)
 - "A mother need not have intellectual understanding of her job because she is fitted for it in its essentials by her biological orientation to her own baby. It is the fact of her devotion to her own baby rather than her self-conscious knowledge that makes her good enough to be successful in the early stages of infant nurture. A young nursery-school teacher is not orientated biologically to any one child, except indirectly through identification with a mother figure. It is necessary therefore for her to be brought gradually to see that there exists a complex psychology of infant growth and adaptation, with need for special environmental conditions. Discussion of the children in her care will enable her to recognize the dynamic nature of normal emotional growth. A senior teacher must be more able to appreciate intellectually the nature of this problem of growth and adaptation. Fortunately, she need not know everything, but she should be temperamentally fitted to accept the dynamic nature of growth processes and the complexity of the subject, and eager to increase her knowledge of detail by objective observations and by planned studies. She can be greatly helped by having opportunity for discussion of theory with child psychologists, psychiatrists, and psychoanalysts, and, of course, by reading." (pg. 189-190)
 - "There is a time factor involved in the development of guilt and concern. The sequence is: love (with aggressive elements), hate, a period of digestion, guilt, reparation through direct expression or through constructive play. If the opportunity for reparation is missing, then the child must react by loss of capacity for guilt feeling, and ultimately by loss of capacity to love." (pg. 192)
 - "**The physical care of the infant from birth (or before) onwards has been a psychological process from the child's point of view. The mother's technique of holding, of bathing, of feeding, everything she did to the baby, added up to the child's first idea of the mother,** and to this there was gradually added her looks and her other physical attributes and her feelings. The child's ability to feel that the body is the place where the psyche lives could not have developed without a consistent technique of handling, and when the nursery school continues with the provision of a physical environment and with the bodily care of the children, it is performing a main task of mental hygiene." (pg. 193-194)
- Chapter 29 - On Influencing and Being Influenced (pg. 199)
 - See text
- Chapter 30 - Educational Diagnosis (pg. 205)
 - See text
- Chapter 31 - Shyness and Nervous Disorders in Children (pg. 211)
 - See text
- Chapter 32 - Sex Education in Schools (pg. 216)
 - See text
- Chapter 33 - Visiting Children in Hospitals (pg. 221)
 - See text
- Chapter 34 - Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency (pg. 227)
 - See text
- Chapter 25 - Roots of Aggression (pg. 232)
 - "Put in a nutshell, aggression has two meanings. By one meaning it is directly or indirectly a reaction to frustration. By the other meaning it is one of the two main sources of an individual's energy. Immensely complex problems arise out of further consideration of this simple statement, and here I can only begin to elaborate the main theme." (pg. 232)
 - "What will quite soon be aggressive behaviour is therefore at the start a simple impulse that leads to a movement and to the beginnings of exploration. Aggression is always linked in this way with the establishment of a clear distinction between what is the self and what is not the self." (pg. 234)

c. Further Readings:

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