Childhood and Society version 2.0
Richard Graham
Theories of Human Development

- Jean-Jacques Rousseau described three stages of development: *infans* (infancy), *puer* (childhood) and *adolescence* in *Emile: Or, On Education* (1762)
- Charles Darwin pursued an evolutionary model.
- Freud described a psychosexual model in 1905
- In 1920s Piaget charted an intellectual model for development
- Erik Erikson in 1950 introduced a psychosocial model for development in *Child & Society*
Identity

Freud makes only one reference to identity in an address to the Society of B’nai B’rith, in Vienna in 1926:

“But plenty of other things remained over to make the attraction of Jewry and Jews irresistible – many obscure forces, which were the more powerful the less they could be expressed in words, as well as a clear consciousness of inner identity, the safe privacy of a common mental construction..”
Identity

Identity formation is the development of the distinct personality of an individual regarded as a persisting entity (known as personal continuity)...by which a person is recognized or known.

This process defines individuals to others and themselves.

Pieces of the person's actual identity include a sense of continuity, a sense of uniqueness from others, and a sense of affiliation.
Childhood and Society

Erik Erikson's approach is basically that of psychoanalysis, but of psychoanalytic theory sophisticated with the insight of cultural anthropology and with a keen sense for history.

Clyde Kluckhohn
Erik Erikson

- Erikson's mother, Karla Abrahamsen, came from a prominent Jewish family in Copenhagen.
- She was married to Jewish stockbroker Valdemar Isidor Salomonsen, but had been estranged from him for several months at the time Erik was conceived.
- Little is known about Erik's biological father except that he was a Danish gentile.
- Erikson’s daughter writes that her father’s “real psychoanalytic identity” was not established until he “replaced his stepfather’s surname [Homburger] with a name of his own invention [Erikson].
Erik Erikson

• He was a tall, blond, blue-eyed boy who was raised in the Jewish religion. At temple school, the kids teased him for being a Nordic; at grammar school, they teased him for being Jewish.

• Uncertain about his vocation and his fit in society, Erikson began a lengthy period of roaming about Germany. During this period he continued to contend with questions about his father and competing ideas of ethnic, religious, and national identity.

• Sue Bloland described her father as plagued by "lifelong feelings of personal inadequacy." He thought that by combining resources with his wife, he could “achieve the recognition” that might produce a feeling of adequacy.
Erikson and Identity

• The process of forming a viable sense of identity for the culture is conceptualised as an adolescent task, during which the child has to resynthesise earlier identifications for contemporary requirements of being recognised as a worthy member of the community to which he or she belongs.

• Initial attachment to and identification with ‘primary’ caretakers provide the grounding for subsequent development.
Erikson and Identity

• Those persons who do not master a resynthesis of childhood identifications remain in a state of ‘identity diffusion (confusion)’.
• Those who retain their initially given identities unquestioned have ‘foreclosed identities’.
• Others who are searching in a productive manner without having settled on an identity are in ‘moratorium’.
• Erikson’s formulation conceptualises the individual as an active agent, identifying with others, seeking meaning and working at tasks. These tasks include developmental ones set within the entire life-span.

(Peter Weinreich, 2013)
Question

• Online information and social media dramatically increase the possible number of identifications for resynthesis in adolescence.
• A particular social media profile may be more successful and valued than the perceived offline self.
• How do we synthesise multiple social profiles (see Goffman, Klein ‘On Identification’)?
• How do we promote healthy identity achievement, and neither identity foreclosure (through perplexity) nor identity diffusion?
Question

What establishes or influences the development of identity for young people today?
Building Identity: Erik Erikson’s Stages of Development

- **Basic trust vs. basic mistrust**—This stage covers the period of infancy, 0-1 year of age, the baby develops a sense of trust, which "forms the basis in the child for a sense of identity." Failure to develop this trust will result in a feeling of fear and a sense that the world is inconsistent and unpredictable.

- **Autonomy vs. Shame**—Covers early childhood around 1–3 years old child begins to discover the beginnings of his or her independence, and parents must facilitate the child's sense of doing basic tasks "all by himself/herself." Discouragement can lead to the child doubting his or her efficacy.

- **Purpose, Initiative vs. Guilt**—Preschool / 3–6 years. Does the child have the ability to or do things on their own, such as dress him or herself? If "guilty" about making his or her own choices, the child will not function well.

- **Competence, Industry vs. Inferiority**—School-age / 6–11 years. Child comparing self-worth to others (such as in a classroom environment). Child can recognize major disparities in personal abilities relative to other children.
Erik Erikson’s Stages of Development

• **Fidelity, Identity vs. Role Confusion**—Adolescent / 12–18 years. Questioning of self. Who am I, how do I fit in? Where am I going in life? Erikson believes, that if the parents allow the child to explore, they will conclude their own identity. If, however, the parents continually push him/her to conform to their views, the teen will face identity confusion.

• **Intimacy vs. isolation**—This is the first stage of adult development. This development usually happens during young adulthood, which is between the ages of 18 to 35. Dating, marriage, family and friendships are important during the stage in their life. By successfully forming loving relationships with other people, individuals are able to experience love and intimacy. Those who fail to form lasting relationships may feel isolated and alone.
Trust vs. mistrust
Richard Graham Retweeted

Sherry Turkle @STurkle · Jan 16
A pediatrician says a robot companion is a "standard of care" It's time to rethink caring. goo.gl/alerts/QXNMT #GoogleAlerts

Should We Outsource Emotional Labor to Robots?
This article is part of Future Tense, a collaboration among Arizona State University, New America, and Slate. On Wednesday, Jan. 20, Future Te... slate.com
Should We Outsource Emotional Labor to Robots?

Cuddly mechanical bears and seals may seem harmless, but there’s a real risk to depending on machines for comfort.

By Christine Rosen

Huggable, the robot teddy bear, and Paro, the baby harp seal robot.
Ofcom: November 2015

Children and Parents: Media Use and Attitudes Report
Trust

Proliferation of sources and platforms raises questions of Trust.
As they start to access an increasing amount of factual content online, from a wide range of sources, participants described themselves finding it more difficult to know what they can trust.
Trust

They use a mix of different reference points for help in deciding to what extent they should trust information they find online, including:

- brand provenance (for example, a known brand like the BBC is largely trusted, but might also be seen, less positively, as representing an ‘establishment view’);
- personal familiarity with the source;
- advice/recommendations from teachers, peer groups, family etc.;
- the look and feel of a site, how professionally it is presented, correct spelling, grammar, etc.; and
- social proof: judging the relevance and reliability of content on the basis of the volume of other users who have consumed or ‘liked’ it.
Trust

• Compared to 2014, there have been increases in the numbers of 8-11s and 12-15s who visit news websites or apps and who answer that all the information on these sites is true:
  
  23% vs. 12% for 8-11s
  14% vs. 8% for 12-15s

• 12-15s are more likely than in 2014 to say they would turn to YouTube for true and accurate information about things that are going on in the world (8% vs. 3% in 2014).

• The BBC is still the preferred online source for this kind of information.
Trust

• Over half of 12-15s who go online (52%) say they would turn to the BBC first for accurate and true online information about “serious things that are going on in the world”
• 17% say they would turn to Google first.
• YouTube (8%)
• Social media (7%)
• Wikipedia (2% down from 6% in 2014)
One in five 12-15s who use search engines believe that if a search engine lists information it must be true

• 50% of search engine users aged 12-15 make some type of critical judgement about search engine results.
• 19% believe that if a search engine lists information then it must be true.
• 22% don’t consider the veracity of results but just visit the sites they like the look of.

This is unchanged since 2014.
When did we start trusting strangers?

UM EMEA September 2008

September 2008
29 countries
17,000 internet users
Some rise above the mass: Super influencers

- Strongly influence in 15+ product categories
- Rise above the mass of influence
- Spreading influence regardless of topic
Autonomy vs. shame

Despite the hoped for democratisation that would flow from social media:

1. Primitive, iconic acts of hate remain – beheadings, crucifixions

2. Primitive shaming, slut-shaming, lynch mobs, revenge porn and other violations occur, as if they were online ‘stonings’. Female sexuality a key target.
JON RONSON

SO YOU'VE BEEN PUBLICLY SHAMED
'Overnight, everything I loved was gone':
the internet shaming of Lindsey Stone

When a friend posted a photograph of charity worker Lindsey Stone on Facebook, she never dreamed she would lose her job and her reputation. Two years on, could she get her life back?
Initiative vs. guilt
The Body Self: Stages of Development

1. Early Psychic Experience of the Body.
2. Defining Body Surface Boundaries and Distinguishing the Body’s Internal States.
3. Definition and Cohesion of the Body Self as a foundation for Self-Awareness.

(Krueger, 2002)
Me, Robot

Wearables
Survey on Fitbit

• As the users 'embraced the devices as part of themselves and stopped treating it as an external technology' the buzzes and other notifications created conflicts over the choice of activity or behaviour.

• 59% of users felt Fitbit controlled their routine, 30% felt that Fitbit was an enemy and it made them feel guilty, and 22% of users then felt less inclined to exercise.

• Fitbit became incorporated into the perception of one's self or body, as 45% felt 'naked' without it, and any exercise not tracked by Fitbit was 'wasted'.
Survey on Fitbit

The authors concluded, “When we invite technology onto or into our bodies, we have to be willing to share everyday decision making” with the device.
Tasks of adolescence

The main development tasks that occur are:
• independence from parents and other adults
• development of a realistic stable positive self-identity
• formation of sexual identity
• negotiation of peer and intimate relationships
• development of realistic body image
• formulation of their own moral/value system
• acquisition of skills for future economic independence
Teenager Hannah Smith killed herself because of online bullying, says father

'How many more will kill themselves before something is done,' Dave Smith says, as he calls for ask.fm to be closed down

Hannah Smith was found hanged in her bedroom in Leicestershire.
Hannah Smith wrote 'vile' posts to herself before suicide, say police

Coroner says fears of online bullying unfounded during inquest into Leicestershire teenager who took her own life at home

Recording a verdict of suicide, Mason described Hannah Smith as 'intelligent, bright, clever and bubbly'.
Photograph: Rui Vieira/PA
Understanding the developing mind

• In early 20th century Melanie Klein learnt through her play technique that the contrasting, even contradictory impulses, thoughts or feelings of children were personified, and explored through play.

• With development there is a growing sense of a unified self, though differences still emerge in feelings of ambivalence or ‘peopled’ dreams.

• Erikson saw the work of adolescence as that of establishing identity; where this was delayed or impaired, it could result in identity crisis and identity confusion.
Ellie's story

“I knew it was me writing that stuff, but on the screen it wasn’t me. On the screen it was my mum or my best friend.

The posts would say I was ugly, I was useless, I wasn’t loved... all the stuff in my head. If I saw it in black and white coming from ’other people’ I knew it must be true. But it was exhausting to keep up with.”
Self-communications
"YOU GET INTO ARGUMENTS EVEN WHEN YOU TALK TO YOURSELF?"
Formspring

• “they were working diligently to respond to upset parents who were outraged by anonymous bullying but that they had hit a stumbling block. As they started looking into specific cases of teens answering “anonymous” harassing questions, they started realizing that a number of vicious questions were posted by the Formspring account owners themselves.”

(boyd, 7/12/2010)
Motives for Self-Harrassment

• **It’s a cry for help.** Teens want their parents (and perhaps others in their lives) to notice them and pay attention to them.

• **They want to look cool.** In some schools, getting criticized is a sign of popularity. Simply put, you have to be cool to garner hate/jealousy/etc.

• **They’re trying to trigger compliments.** When teens are anonymously attacked, their friends often jump in to say nice things in response to the negative commentary.

(boyd 7/12/2010)
DIGITAL SELF-HARM: FREQUENCY, TYPE, MOTIVATIONS, AND OUTCOMES

• 9% of the subjects told us that they had falsely posted a cruel remark “against” themselves, or cyberbullied themselves, during high school.
• a higher proportion of boys (13%) admitted to this than did girls (8%).
• half of these “digital self-harmers” had done this only once or very infrequently.
• half reported that they had cyberbullied themselves more regularly or had one, ongoing episode which lasted at least several months.

(Elizabeth Englander, 2012)
Why were you cruel online towards yourself?

[Bar graph showing responses to the above question, with two lines indicating boys and girls, with categories such as 'To get another kid's attention', 'To prove I could take it', 'So others would worry about me', 'To get adult attention', 'As a joke on someone else', 'I was mad, to start a fight.']
Social suicide: a digital context for self-harm and suicidal ideation; Tamasine Preece

Social Suicide

The young people were unanimous in their understanding of the motivation behind participation in behaviour of this nature:

to get attention.

(Rachel, 19)

because then more people will add the person, which is again a popularity thing.

(Corrine, 15)

to watch and people will get involved. Even if they don’t know them, people will comment on it and stuff.

(Any, 15)
Social Suicide

The phenomenon of self-abuse as described with reference to Ask.fm may be said to be a last resort for young people who feel compelled to achieve online validation through high levels of interaction with others. This may be said to be the definitive behaviour of the cycle of dependency in which the adolescent social media user becomes immersed: driven to attract others and retain their attention through engagement in constant attention-seeking activity.
Identification and Inner Dialogue

• “The patient represents his ego to us as worthless, incapable of any achievement and morally despicable; he reproaches himself, vilifies himself and expects to be cast out and punished.

• He abases himself before everyone and commiserates with his own relatives for being connected with anyone so unworthy.”

• If one listens patiently to a melancholic's many and various self-accusations, one cannot in the end avoid the impression that often the most violent of them are hardly at all applicable to the patient himself, but that with insignificant modifications they do fit someone else, someone whom the patient loves or has loved or should love”.

(Freud, 1917)
Ofcom: Social Media

As the social media platforms used become more open/public, concern about online ‘image’ seems to be becoming more important for some participants. In particular, our youngest participant described herself consciously curating her identity through social media platforms:

• being highly selective in terms of the photos she posts on Instagram so as to present her best image to the outside world;

• posting meaningful quotations on Tumblr as a means of self-expression; and

• creating an alternative persona on certain platforms, using a profile she does not share with her ‘real’ friends and family.
Ofcom: Social Media

“On Instagram I have it so that anyone can see my page, so I like to have my appearance looking good on there because people I don't know will be looking at it...I don't share my Tumblr with my friends, I keep it quite secretive. You're making statements, showing who you are through quotes and stuff rather than your actual identity. I do write things on there that I wouldn't write anywhere else.”
Some final thoughts:

• How can we distinguish between healthy development and the drive for reinvention for those that struggle with the consequences of abuse, neglect, migration and ability etc?

• Can multiple profiles increase the risk of identity crisis and breakdown, an become the modern manifestation of Dissociative Identity Disorder (Multiple Personality Disorder)?

• Is it the internalisation of the behaviour of others that most shapes identity?
The Prometheus Challenge

George Bernard-Shaw explored the possibilities of social transformation in his version of the myth of ‘Pygmalion’.

‘Eliza remarks that it was only by Pickering's example that she learned to be a lady, which renders Higgins speechless.’
Pygmalion

“But it was from you that I learnt really nice manners; and that is what makes one a lady, isn't it? You see it was so very difficult for me with the example of Professor Higgins always before me. I was brought up to be just like him, unable to control myself, and using bad language on the slightest provocation. And I should never have known that ladies and gentlemen didn't behave like that if you hadn't been there.”

Eliza Doolittle to Colonel Pickering