

Parental Mediation of Children's Audiovisual Content Exposure in the Digital Age

A qualitative study into the needs of parents

Student Name: Luka Cremers

Student Number: 482110

Supervisor: Dr. Michael Wayne

Master Media, Culture and Society

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication

Erasmus University Rotterdam

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Abstract

This qualitative research investigates parental attitudes regarding their children's media usage. Through semi-structured interviews, the aim of this research was to explore which tools and/or services are still lacking in the Netherlands that could help Dutch parents in educating and navigating their children in the new media landscape. Twelve interviews were conducted with Dutch parents who have children between nine and twelve years old. In recent years it has become increasingly difficult for parents to have sight on what their children are watching. This is mainly owing to the growth of the Internet, which caused that children are exposed to content on a variety of devices, on which any desired program, movie or video can be watched at any time of the day. A thematic analysis of interview data revealed that parents need more and specific help regarding new forms of media, of which YouTube, Instagram and WhatsApp were the ones most frequently mentioned. This implies that the ongoing concern of exposure towards harmful content is still not resolved. Media education, nowadays, goes way further than just traditional media, such as the television, or online streaming services, such as Netflix. Platforms on where user-generated content can be watched, cause more concerns among parents and more problems between parents and their children. Parents state as well that more specific help should be provided, as well as for their children, in order to solve problems more effectively.

Key words: parental mediation, digital age, user-generated content, new media, audiovisual content.

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1. Introduction

This qualitative thesis examines the parental mediation strategies of parents with children ages nine to twelve years old. Thanks to digital media technologies, it has become increasingly difficult for parents to have proper sight on and knowledge of what their children do and watch online. Parents, teachers and caretakers already experienced the problem of exposure to harmful content when the television became popular. A solution for this was found in the Netherlands in 2001. The Netherlands' Institute for the Classification of Audiovisual Media (NICAM) developed the "Kijkwijzer" system to rate audiovisual media content. The classification of the media products (movies, TV shows, music clips, series etc.) is performed on the basis of an online questionnaire and executed by a qualified rater or "coder", who is employed at a media producing or media distributing company. The purpose of this classification system is to inform parents and caretakers about possible harmful content and to assist them in supervising the media use of their children. Unlike traditional media, audiovisual content on the Internet has often no parental controls or maturity ratings. This has ensured that parents now experience similar problems as they initially experienced with the television. Therefore, this thesis seeks to explore what tools and/or services are still lacking in the Netherlands in order to make parental mediation in the digital era more fruitful.

The Dutch "Mediawet" (Media Act), according to Article 4.1(2), obliges all broadcasting organizations to join a classification organization in order to be allowed to broadcast audiovisual content. If they do not abide this law, they can only broadcast content that is appropriate for all ages (De Cock Buning, 2014, p. 15). The validity of the Kijkwijzer is based on co-regulation between three parties: the parties under supervision (the audiovisual sector), the private supervision (NICAM) and the public supervisory authority ("het Commissariaat van de Media", the Dutch media authority). In this way, all three of them are responsible for the classification system and the measures to protect young people against harmful media influences (pp. 15-16). The end of the questionnaire results in a classification by means of one symbol that suggests an age group and a maximum of six symbols indicating the type of harmfulness (violence, anxiety, discrimination, abusive language, sex and excessive alcohol/drug use). Yet, for the sake of clarity, only the first three content symbols are displayed on television. The age ratings indicate: potentially harmful for children below the age of six, nine, twelve and sixteen. There is one age symbol that is not tied to a specific age. This symbol is only used when there are no harmful elements in the production. To this end, the system itself is based on self-regulation in that it gives an indication to parents and

educators to what age a certain television program or film may be harmful for children, depending on the nature of the child and the type of harmfulness (NICAM, 2001).

Since the introduction of the television in the 20th century, many educators, parents and teachers have expressed concerns about the potential negative effects of children's exposure against audiovisual media content. For this reason, the Kijkwijzer was introduced to protect children and adolescents against possible negative media effects. The Kijkwijzer was based on scientific theories about media effects, such as the social learning theory and the cultivation theory. Albert Bandura is the most prominent pioneer of the social learning theory. This theory states that the cognitive abilities of an individual (insightful skills such as learning, remembering, distinguishing and exchanging knowledge), in combination with external circumstances that influence this individual, influence his/her behavior. In this line, learning mainly takes place through observations and modeling (occurrence). Observations and modeling can (unconsciously) occur after being exposed to media outlets, for example television viewing. Following this, also behavior, images and ideas that are transmitted via television can be taken over (Bandura & Walters, 1970). The cultivation theory assumes that television viewing can have an impact on how people view reality. The more someone watches television, the more someone's views of reality will start to look like what they view on the television. For example, when someone is exposed to a lot of violence on television, someone can start to perceive violence as normal. Especially frequent viewers are more sensitive for not being able to distinguish television reality from their own reality (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010, p. 339).

Television reached an "all-time high" in 2009 and dominated "the flow of words and information that pass by our eyes and ears each day" (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010, p. 350). However, after 2009, new technologies, such as video-on-demand services, started to gain prominence and eased what people like to watch, when they like to watch and where they like to watch (p. 350). Video-on-demand has become so popular today that in the Netherlands, people watch even more video-on-demand services than regular television. A recent survey conducted by a research agency called Multiscope showed that, for the first time, the number of viewing minutes for video-on-demand services (27%) is greater than for television (24%) (<http://www.multiscope.nl/persberichten/video-on-demand-verslaat-tv.html>). As we experience a shift from linear towards non-linear forms of television, and while the number of non-linear platforms seem to grow more and more, it becomes even more important to pay attention to the content that is exposed on these platforms.

Also parental concerns have shifted in the past two decades from the negative effects of screen time towards concerns regarding media content itself. The introduction of the commercial television already raised concerns about the screen time, which, here, means the amount of time children are exposed to television content (Wartella & Jennings, 2000). More recently, YouTube and online streaming services caused concerns in the Netherlands regarding the content that is exposed. On these platforms, a wide variety of content is always and everywhere accessible. This is in contrast to the television, where productions classified with a Kijkwijzer “age” symbol are not allowed to be broadcasted on Dutch television before a specific time set by law. Productions classified with a “twelve years and older” symbol can only be broadcasted after eight o’clock. Productions classified with a “sixteen years and older” symbol are only allowed to be broadcasted after ten o’clock (www.kijkwijzer.nl/spelregels). This law reduces the chance that a child views content inappropriate for his/her age. However, there is no such law for audiovisual content available on the Internet, which makes it a precarious environment for children. Good media education is therefore important and parents can contribute to the protection of their children against harmful media content.

The shift from television (linear) to online forms of media (non-linear) made it more difficult to shield children from inappropriate content. Online media are easily accessible for anyone who carries a device that is connected to the Internet. In addition to this, one can find a wide selection of choice online. This causes that children are easier exposed to see content far beyond their years. Academic research has shown that certain audiovisual content can be harmful for children, especially for (young) children who might not be ready yet to be exposed to specific types of media content. In general, media has become increasingly realistic and more violent. Violent content, for example, may lead to more aggressive behavior or anxiety amongst children (Paik & Comstock, 1994; Rasmussen, White, King, Holiday & Densley, 2016). It is therefore even more important to inform parents and caretakers why a certain movie or TV show might not be appropriate yet for their child, or why certain elements might be harmful.

The changing media landscape and the subsequent change in parenting strategies and styles that parents use have led the Kijkwijzer to strive for a more informative and participatory role. Kijkwijzer is currently developing a platform for parents, on which they can provide more information about age ratings and the six content symbols: violence, anxiety, discrimination, abusive language, sex and excessive alcohol/drug use. Kijkwijzer aims to provide “conversation starters” on the platform as well, so that parents can acquire

more knowledge on how to talk to their children about media content (NICAM, 2018).

Kijkwijzer wants to be an organization that does not only focus on restrictions, but to the contrary, offers parents tools so they can improve the media education of their child, in order to limit possible harmful effects.

Parents are an important predictor for both positive and negative effects of audiovisual content exposure. They play an important role in the media education of their children. This is called parental mediation, which aims to minimize “negative media effects such as aggression, substance abuse, and risky sexual behaviors”; and to maximize children’s “healthy cognitive, social, and emotional development; and strengthens familial interpersonal relationships” (Nimrod, Elias & Lemish, 2019, p. 342). Three effective parental mediation strategies have been developed in the field after the rise of the television: restrictive mediation, active mediation, and social co-viewing. However, these mediation strategies have been used for television mediation and may be less effective for mediating children’s non-linear content exposure (Lee, 2013, p. 2).

The three abovementioned mediation strategies can be conveyed using different mediation styles, such as an autonomy supportive style, a controlling style or an inconsistent style. Nevertheless, autonomy supportive mediation styles have proven to be most beneficial for both linear and non-linear mediation. This mediation style provides a guideline for parents and takes the child’s perspective into account (Fikkers, Piotrowski & Valkenburg, 2017). The Kijkwijzer symbols that have been developed for the Dutch television are developed to stimulate any autonomy supportive mediation style. This style ensures that boomerang effects, “effects opposite to those intended by parents” (Fikkers et al., 2017, p. 409), will more likely be circumvented. Restrictive mediation, for example, has received some criticism throughout the years for being too controlling, which made the strategy susceptible to cause the so-called boomerang effect (Padilla-Walker, Coyne & Collier, 2016). However, Fikkers and colleagues (2017) found that restrictive mediation, but conveyed using an autonomy supportive mediation style, had positive effects on children: these children were less exposed to violent audiovisual content, and subsequently less aggression (Fikkers et al., 2017). Yet, when children become older, it becomes increasingly difficult to take restrictive measures. For this reason there should be more consideration for autonomy supportive measures to reduce the negative effects of media.

Further investigation on parental mediation of children’s exposure to content, now on multiple platforms, seems to be more important than ever before (Warren, 2016, p. 173). Existing literature has addressed that, unlike 30 years ago, children now have their own

bedrooms, their own personal spaces, in where they individually use a diverse set of media devices. This makes it less common to talk about their (online) experiences and more difficult for parents to control (Haddon, 2015; Livingstone & Helsper, 2008; Nikken & Jansz, 2006; Nikken & Schols, 2015; Symons, Ponnet, Walrave & Heirman, 2017). Other scholars have argued that the generational divide in ICT knowledge between parents and their children is another factor complicating parental mediation (Nikken, Jansz & Schouwstra, 2007; Symons et al., 2017). Additionally, parents sometimes underestimate the influence of media content and often think that their children are better able to protect themselves against the negative influences of media than other children (Vanwynsberghe, Boudry & Verdegem, 2015).

Parents need more help to guide their children's media use and/or to interact with their children about the content they are exposed to, using an autonomy supportive style. However, little scientific research has been done on this subject so far, so it is necessary to narrow the knowledge gap in this area. What parents themselves really need and demand in order to mediate their children's (online) watching behavior has not been thoroughly researched yet. Considerably, it is crucial that parents receive the right insights, so that they are well informed about the harmful effects of the media use of their children and know how to deal with this. Since the media landscape is changing, the Kijkwijzer aims to adapt itself to the new media environment. What could have worked for the television may not be successful for online platforms. Due to the more individualistic nature of online media, it is no longer comparable to traditional forms of media. In all probability, other ways (strategies, tools etc.) are more effective to minimize the harmful effects of new media. Yet, Kijkwijzer aims to maintain its informative and educational role for parents in the digital era and aims to offer the right tools and services to them.

This research will examine parental needs and hypothesizes that media advice is needed on individual differences in parent and child media users instead of a “one size fits all” approach. More academic inquiry is needed to determine what tools or resources best deliver this information to parents and children. In addition to this, it is important to investigate where parents encounter problems with the media education of their children. Meaning, with what form of media or with which media platform do they encounter problems? How is this possible? And what can be done to overcome the problems they face? Building further on this issue, the proposed research will address the following research question: What mediation strategies or resources do Dutch parents of children ages nine to twelve need in order to help their children navigate audiovisual media content in an autonomy supportive way.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 *Children and media*

Traditional forms of media such as television, as well as newer forms of media, such as smartphones and tablets, are a dominant force in children's lives (Council On Communications and Media, 2013). A study on children and their media usage showed that children between the ages of eight and ten years spend approximately eight hours per day with a variety of different media. Older children are exposed to media for approximately eleven hours per day (Strasburger, Hogan, Mulligan, Ameenuddin, Christakis, Cross & Moreno, 2013). This increase is mostly owing to the large amounts of children who own a television in their bedroom or own a portable media device. In addition to this, also schools and other educating systems work with media devices. New forms of media, often called digital media can be defined as "mobile phones, laptops with Internet connection, and other devices that deliver entertainment such as television programming, films, games and music" (Clark, 2011, p. 324).

Another aspect that changed dramatically is the media landscape itself. Even though television is still a widely used medium (more than 4 hours per day) one-third of television content is now viewed on other devices, such as computers, tablets and smartphones (Council On Communications and Media, 2013; Nikken & Schols, 2015). For many years, audiovisual media content has been an important source of information and entertainment, however, and in comparison to older generations, the new generation is used to have access to it whenever they want. In the Netherlands, 88% of the population are in possession of a smartphone and 70% owns a tablet (GFK, 2018). Following this, audiovisual media content is a strong form of media, yet, it can provide positive and negative effects for children. This strongly depends on the type of media content that is shown (Padilla-Walker & Coyne, 2011).

Rapid technological and online developments in the media landscape make it more difficult for parents to impose restrictions and keep control over the media usage of their children. Especially when children become older and start to go against their parents' authority. The style in which parents deal with and talk to their children about their children's media use can help prevent or limit harmful effects of media (An & Lee, 2010; Nikken & Schols, 2015). Therefore, it is crucial that parents receive the right tools and services, so that they become well informed about the harmful effects of the media use of their children and to know how they should deal with this.

2.2 *Traditional media*

Television became a popular medium in the Netherlands in the 1960s and brought both praise and concerns to society (Bignell & Fickers, 2008). In normal circumstances, Western children hardly ever come into contact with violence, drug and/or alcohol use or sexual matters. However, these are popular themes in movies, series or TV shows and thus often present on television. In this way, concerns aroused regarding what impacts these images could have on (young) children and to what negative outcomes these could lead. Because of this, it became a popular subject of academic inquiry (Wartelle & Jennings, 2000). A study by Wartella and Jennings (2000) has shown that the effects of television content depend on social factors, of whom “age, sex, predispositions, social environment, past experiences and parental influences” (p. 33) are the most prominent ones. Of these, parental influences are the most important one to determine the impact of audiovisual content on children (Collier, Coyne, Rasmussen, Hawkins, Padilla-Walker, Erickson & Memmott-Elison, 2016; Gentile, Reimer, Nathanson, Walsh & Eisenmann, 2014). Mostly young children are more susceptible to the negative impacts of media content due to the fact that they are less media literate and cognitively developed (Nikken & Schols, 2015, p. 3425). In addition to this, screen time, the time someone is exposed to media content, is another crucial predictor for negative media effects. When children are excessively exposed towards audiovisual content this increases negative outcomes (Gentile et al., 2014). Parents admit that parental mediation is a hard task, especially finding a balance in setting a fair time for their children to watch television or, only since recently, content on their portable device(s) (Symons et al., 2017). Also, in general, parents’ attitudes towards media itself contributes to the extent to which they intervene in their children’s media use (Lee, 2013; Valkenburg, Krcmar, Peeters & Marseille, 1999).

2.3 *Parental mediation strategies*

Parental mediation is defined as “any strategy parents use to control, supervise or interpret media content for children” (Nikken & Schols, 2015, p. 3424). Research (Lee, 2013; Padilla-Walker & Coyne, 2011) has shown that parental mediation of television can result into both positive and negative outcomes, depending on the strategy used. The three most recurring parenting strategies for television mediation are: restrictive mediation, active mediation and social co-viewing. Restrictive mediation is characterized by the rules parents use to limit and control their children’s media use with the aim to diminish negative effects.

The most familiar restrictions typify the following rules: determining the screen time, type of device, moment, type of content, location and purchase (Zaman, Nouwen, Vanattenhoven, De Ferrerre & Van Looy, 2016). Parents who believe media have negative effects on children are more likely to implement restrictive measures (Lee, 2013). A research on mediation styles of video gaming (Nikken & Jansz, 2006) showed that restrictive mediation is the most popular strategy among parents, aiming to avoid negative effects. Nevertheless, Zaman et al. (2016) found that parents also use restrictive measures as a way to punish the child, for example forbidding them to watch television, game or use the tablet (p. 14). Restrictive mediation is a straightforward rule and restrictive rules are easy to impose. When the child accepts the rules imposed by the parents, it decreases the chance that the child will be exposed to inappropriate content (Shin, 2015). It has proven to be a popular strategy among parents, mostly used for younger children (Valkenburg et al., 1999). However, while forbidding certain things, such as watching specific content or playing a specific game, this may become even more interesting for children, the so-called “forbidden-fruit effect” (Piotrowski, 2017).

Active mediation is characterized by instructive or evaluative conversations that parents use to talk about the media content with their children, with the aim to discuss and explain certain content. It is not necessary that the parent watches the movie or television show together with the child, but it is expected that they talk about it before or afterwards. Active mediation is largely built around the aim to make children become critical consumers of media. Parents discuss the movie or TV show by elaborating on different characters, central themes, or other components within the production. Throughout the years, three subcategories of active mediation have been established, namely positive, negative and neutral active mediation. As the terms already disguise, when parents use positive active mediation they endorse the content, for example praising certain actions or characteristics highlighted by characters. To the contrary, negative active mediation disapproves certain actions or characteristics, or refutes content, for example explaining that certain things are not real. Neutral active mediation refers to general comments that are not positive nor negative made by parents, such as “he is laughing out loud” (Collier et al., 2016, p. 799).

Last, social co-using refers to shared media activities, such as watching television together (co-viewing). Additionally, parents can also play videogames or listen to music together with the child, which is referred to as co-playing or co-listening. It is important not to confuse active mediation and co-using. One can co-view with a child without performing active mediation. This occurs when parents only watch television together with the child, without actively discussing the content. The other way around, parents can also perform

active mediation without co-viewing with their children. For example when they discuss the content of a movie before or after the movie. Nathanson (2002) argued that co-use is conductive since it may strengthen the relationship between parent and child. Parents show that they are interested in what their child likes to watch or the child's activities. In this way, children get the idea that their parents approve what they co-use with them. However, Byrne and Lee (2011) state that co-use is sometimes less preferred by children. In addition to this, Livingstone and Helsper (2008) argue that co-use is not always an effective strategy: when watching television together parents are often more focused on other things instead of paying attention to the content that is broadcasted.

Another mediation strategy, distant mediation, was discovered by Zaman et al. (2016) who investigated the contextualized parental mediation practices of young children's digital media use at home. Zaman and colleagues found that, with regard to digital media use, parents often try to control their child's media usage from a distance and termed this distant mediation. This more recent parental mediation strategy covers two mediation strategies, namely deference and supervision. When deference occurs, parents make/set rules for their child, yet, they trust their child and grant them autonomy with the underlying thought that the child won't damage the trust and that he/she will act responsibly. The supervision strategy allows the child to use digital media independently, however, only "under direct parental supervision" (Zaman et al., 2016, p. 13). For example allowing the child to play on the tablet but only when the parents are nearby so they can hear and see what the child is doing.

Notably, when videogaming gained prominence, this form of media started to raise concerns and especially about the effects of "violent game content, the stereotypical representation of women and non-white ethnic groups, and the time-consuming nature of gaming" (Nikken & Jansz, 2006, p. 182). Gaming, too, caused parents to implement several mediation strategies in order to diminish possible, harmful effects. A research on parental mediation of children's videogame playing (Nikken & Jansz, 2006) was built around the same three mediation strategies that were initially used for television: restrictive mediation, active mediation and social co-view/play.

2.4 *Parental mediation styles*

Several studies have examined the effectiveness of the different mediation strategies. Of these, restrictive mediation, sometimes, proved to be problematic, often resulting in so-called boomerang effects (Fikkens et al., 2017; Piotrowski, 2017). Notably, a pivotal study by Fikkens and colleagues (2017) demonstrated that the style of mediation is more important for

the desired, positive effects than the frequency and strategy of mediation. The authors found that when parents use restrictive mediation, while at the same time use an autonomy supportive style, this results into less negative effects. Meeus, Beyens, Geusens, Sodermans and Beullens (2018b) found that autonomy supportive active mediation results in better internalization of norms, values and rules transmitted and set by parents. In this line, restrictive mediation and active mediation can have similar positive effects if conveyed using an autonomy supportive style. Scholars in the field (Fikkens et al., 2017; Meeus et al., 2018b) have argued that autonomy supportive parenting styles are most successful when it comes to communicating any style towards the child. The intended style recognizes the perspective of the child, showing them trust and assuming that they understand family rules and values.

Scholars in the field have argued that autonomy supportive parenting leads to a greater acceptance of their rules. The intended style increases self-regulatory skills of the child and makes the child more capable to reflect on his/her own (online) behavior. Self-regulation has been defined as “an individual’s ability to actively or passively monitor, evaluate, modify and inhibit their behavior or emotions in accordance with societal standards or to attain personal goals (Moilanen et al., 2010, as cited in Meeus, Eggermont & Beullens, 2018a, p. 9). High self-regulation decreases risky behaviors “such as substance use, risky sexual behavior, aggression and can increase positive outcomes such as increased academic performance or general prosocial behavior” (p. 9). Therefore, self-regulation is an important part of autonomy supportive parenting.

When parents explain why they impose certain rules, while at the same time taking into account their child’s perspectives, the child will more likely accept these rules “and will thus be intrinsically motivated to carry out the specified tasks” (Meeus, Eggermont & Beullens, 2018a, p.11). When parents use active mediation and convey this strategy in an autonomy supportive way, children can become critical consumers of media themselves. Besides, it strengthens the self-regulatory process of their thoughts and behavior, and makes them more capable to estimate what kind of behavior is acceptable or not in society. When parents impose restrictive rules while at the same time explaining the reason behind their rules, this will support their children’s inner self-regulatory process. In this way, the parents mediate their children’s media usage using an autonomy supportive parenting style (p. 11).

To the contrary, controlling mediation styles may externalize problems within children. Parents may threaten with punishments or use guilt induction to force their children to act and think in a specific way. In addition to this, inconsistent parenting is also linked to problems with children’s behavior, for example when parents are sometimes strict and at

other times more reluctant towards the media usage of their child. In short, not every mediation style is as effective to support children's socialization process (Fikkens et al., 2017, p. 408).

Socialization theory states that children learn (behavioral) norms and values through frequent contact with socialization agents. Shin (2015) dedicated a paragraph in his article on parental socialization of children's Internet use and states that parents are often perceived as the main socialization agents for their children. They convey social norms and skills to their children through "modeling, reinforcement, and social interaction" (Shin, 2015, p. 650), to teach them what is acceptable in society. Furthermore, also external socialization agents may influence children, such as media. It is for these reasons that parents set rules regarding the media use of their children, to protect them from undesirable negative effects (p. 650). Academia highlight the role of parents as primary socialization agents in the media education of their children.

2.5 *Kijkwijzer and PEGI*

The Kijkwijzer system supports the autonomy supportive mediation style. Since 2001, the Kijkwijzer has been used by NICAM as an assessment system to provide information for parents on the potentially harmful effects of films, videos and television programs on young children and adolescents. Therefore, all audio-visual content that is broadcasted on television or shown in cinema's and movie theaters must be classified in the Netherlands. This is an attempt to protect children and adolescents against possible negative media effects (Valkenburg, Beentjes, Nikken & Tan, 2002). Since parental mediation is a hard task, the Kijkwijzer aims to serve as an informative tool for parents.

Video games are another medium that parents are often negative about. This partly has to do with the fact that parents themselves are often not familiar with games (Nikken, Jansz & Schouwstra, 2007, p. 332). Additionally, many games contain content of which parents do not yet want their child to be exposed to. Since gaming is a different form of media, a different rating system was developed in Europe in 2003. This Pan European Game Information rating system (PEGI), contains pictograms for six types of possibly harmful content, which are violence, fear, nudity and sex, alcohol and drugs, discrimination and last, bad language. PEGI also makes use of five age categories: not suitable under the age of three, six years, twelve years, sixteen years and eighteen years. PEGI and Kijkwijzer are developed around the same

idea of parental guidance, meaning they can be used for restrictive mediation, active mediation and social co-view/co-play (Nikken, Jansz & Schouwstra, 2007, pp. 316-318).

Both PEGI and de Kijkwijzer have been exalted by many countries and researchers because of their public-private regulatory system. An analysis on co-regulatory systems to protect minors from harmful audiovisual media content, with emphasis on the Kijkwijzer system, was executed by de Cock Buning in 2014. De Cock Buning encourages other countries to develop a system similar to the Kijkwijzer. The author argues that the system works well because of its balance between a private actor on the one hand and a supervisory actor on the other (p. 22). NICAM is responsible for the classification and rating of every audio visual production displayed in the Netherlands and responsible that this is executed in the right way. Thus, the organization can be seen as both “private regulatory and supervisory entity” (De Cock Buning, 2014, p. 15). On a meta-level, NICAM is supervised by the Dutch Media Authority (Commissariaat voor de Media, CvdM). The CvdM serves as a “safety net” and checks NICAM’s responsibilities and output (p. 16). Another enticement of the Dutch system is that all audio visual content must be classified, as is obliged by the Dutch law (p. 29).

It is important that parents have knowledge about which types of audiovisual content their children are exposed to. The Dutch Netflix, for example, chose to join the Kijkwijzer and included age and content symbols into their service on a voluntary basis (Van Eijk, Fahy, van Til, Nooren, Stokking & Gelevert, 2015). However, this is not the case for platforms that contain user-generated content (UGC). It is therefore that De Cock Buning (2014) expresses her concern regarding unregulated forms of audio visual media content, such as YouTube. Television used to be a family matter which often led to conversations about certain content. Smartphones and tablets, on which user-generated content is easy to access, however, are used more individually which makes it less usual to talk about content that was viewed. Parents find themselves in a constant battle where they try to find a balance to see the educational and social advantages of new media, yet trying to diminish the negative effects of inappropriate content (Livingstone & Helsper, 2008). Parental mediation is a dominant factor to determine child outcomes, since parents, as primary socialization agents, have the ability to influence their children’s attitudes, behaviors and beliefs (Collier et al., 2016, p. 799).

2.6 *New media*

Digital technology has entered the media landscape, and provided interactivity and non-linear communication. New media content is often associated with “online” content, the

Internet being the most obvious one (Kaul, 2012). A myriad of platforms aroused ever since, of which YouTube is among one of the most well-known and popular. The popular platform launched in 2005, and was entitled in 2016 as the third most visited website in the world. Following this, YouTube offers its users the opportunity to upload content to a large and global audience (Khan, 2017, pp. 236-237). The platform is characterized by videos that are uploaded by users of the medium, which is called “user-generated content” (Cha, Kwak, Rodriguez, Ahn & Moon, 2007). Additionally, YouTube is a popular platform among users from different ages. For children, and even toddlers, YouTube is an interesting platform because of its easy user interface. Children can easily access their favorite videos and watch them over and over again. Nevertheless, besides all YouTube’s benefits, Elias and Sulkin (2017) state that the platform also has “significant drawbacks as a source of children’s entertainment” (Elias & Sulkin, 2017).

YouTube is free to access, everyone can upload videos and everyone can watch uploaded videos. Once their child is occupying itself on YouTube, it is difficult for parents to have control over what their child encounters on the platform. Elias and Sulkin (2017) have expressed their concern regarding videos, including kids-related videos, because these are regularly disrupted by automatic advertisements, which are often inappropriate for young viewers. Furthermore, amateur live action videos often contain pseudonyms using children’s favorite Disney characters (for example Elsa and Anna from the movie Frozen) or their favorite superhero such as Spiderman. However, within these live action videos, offensive content such as expressions of sexual behavior, vandalism and violence are often present (Elias & Sulkin, 2017).

Digital media provided interactive communication on a global scale, of which social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp are the most popular ones. Lissak (2018) emphasizes that the easy accessibility of portable devices and social media platforms is not thoroughly understood. Even though these platforms have offered many opportunities, they provided new risks too. Risks of social media usage by young children mostly regard negative health effects on sleep, attention and learning (Lissak, 2018) but also increase risks towards inappropriate or unsafe content (Kirwil, 2009; Meehan & Hickey, 2016), contact with strangers who have bad intentions and risks regarding privacy and confidentiality matters (Livingstone & Helsper, 2008; Meehan & Hickey; 2016). Nikken and Schols (2015) proposed that, according to parents, especially young children are less media-skilled and are therefore more susceptible to negative media outcomes.

2.7 *New media, new problems*

Research have indicated several problems that parents face when attempting to regulate the new media usage of their children. The first problem regards the wide variety of online content that is easily accessible (Livingstone & Helsper, 2008). The “bedroom culture” reinforced this easy accessibility after it became common for children to have a television in their bedroom. New media has increased this bedroom culture even more, since a large part of today’s children own a portable media device, such as a smartphone or tablet, which they can bring into their bedroom, separating themselves from their parents (Haddon, 2015; Nikken & Schols, 2015; Livingstone & Helsper, 2008, Symons et al., 2017). This growing complexity of media technologies makes it harder for parents to control their children’s online activities. Additionally, some parents have less knowledge about the media devices of their children than their children, which undermines their authority. Especially during adolescence children are trying to seek more autonomy from their parents and they become better and more creative in finding ways to circumvent their parents’ restrictions (Clark, 2009; Rasmussen et al., 2016).

Another problem deals with the fact that children prefer not to talk about media content with their parents (Byrne & Lee, 2011; Haddon, 2015). Vice versa, other studies (Haddon, 2015; Livingstone & Helsper, 2008; Valkenburg, Piotrowski, Hermanns & De Leeuw, 2013) showed that parents find it difficult as well to start a conversation about media content with their children. For example, they sometimes feel embarrassed to talk about content that addresses sexual matters.

Research on Dutch children’s smartphone behavior (Van Deursen, Bolle, Hegner & Kimmers, 2015) tested the addictiveness of smartphone behavior. These scholars found that habitual smartphone use is positively linked to addictive smartphone behavior. Results revealed as well that addictive smartphone usage occurs more frequently among children and youngsters than older people, due to the fact that the younger generation is more susceptible to the often immediate rewards and pleasurable experiences their smartphone brings. However, this research did not test children’s willingness or ability to stop using their phone. So far, little research focused on why children are often not capable to stop using their media devices, and what could be done to overcome the problem of excessive usage. Lissak (2018) argues that parents are an important factor to decrease screen time, as long as they support non-screen related activities.

Problems associated with excessive smartphone usage differ from problems associated with the television. The television, for example, caused more problems regarding external behavior such as potentially aggressive behavior. Results from Meeus, Eggermont and Beullens (2018a) reflect that excessive smartphone usage has been associated with internal problems such as “stress, symptoms of depression, sleep disturbances, anxiety, loneliness, and decreased academic performance” (p. 5). Following this, smartphones caused new problems and raised new concerns among parents, caretakers and teachers. In addition to this, Livingstone and Helsper (2008) expressed their concern by stating that the risks children face online are greater than they were for the television. Violence online is much more extreme and pornographic material is easier accessible. Besides, the Internet adds privacy risks and the risk of contact with strangers to this as well (p. 583).

Videogame playing is another popular medium among young children that is often associated with emotional and behavioural problems. Research (Mundy, Canterford, Olds, Allen & Patton, 2017) found that videogaming leads to hyperactivity, conduct problems, inattention problems, emotional problems and peer problems. Results of this study reflect that boys are more susceptible for these negative outcomes than girls and that every additional hour of videogaming was linked to an increase in the chance of having conduct problems or borderline by 1.07 times (p. 623). In addition, screen time, in general, leads to higher chances of ADHD related behavior (Lissak, 2018, p. 155). Lauricella, Wartella and Rideout (2015) investigated the relationship between children’s screen time and parents’ screen time for the television, smartphone, computer and tablet. Lauricella and colleagues found that, parents’ screen time influences their child’s screen time (p. 15). Homes where parents themselves spend a lot of time with media devices, their children are more exposed to a wide variety of screens as well.

It might not be safe to allow (young) children to spend time on YouTube without parental supervision. Children can easily access inappropriate content on YouTube, of which pornographic related content and unsafe videos are the most disturbing ones. Buzzi (2012) investigated if parents of children between two and thirteen years old know how to use user interface settings to signal and filter disturbing content on the platform. Results from this study reveal that parents believe they have sufficient knowledge how to monitor their children’s activities on YouTube, while at the same time, they are occupying themselves with other activities. Major differences were found in the time parents let their children spend on YouTube; 46% admit their children are sometimes without parental supervision on YouTube for a couple of minutes, whereas 19% admit their children regularly spend time on YouTube

without parental supervision for half an hour. Results from this study reflect as well that two-third of the parents are aware of settings to diminish inappropriate content on YouTube, but that they don't know how to use these settings (p. 251). Buzzi (2012) expresses her concern and argues that it is important to tag user-generated content videos on YouTube and to develop a system similar to the Kijkwijzer. Findings from this study show as well that parents, too, would consider it useful to introduce a system that provides symbols tied to a certain age.

2.8 *New media, new concerns*

New media caused new concerns which ensured novel research on these concerns and how parents try to tackle them. Research (Nikken & Opree, 2018) found that parents who are no frequent media users themselves, have more concerns regarding the media use of their children, which leads them to apply more restrictions. This indicates as well that parents with a more negative attitude towards new media devices, and who are less familiar with the latest media technologies, are more inclined to restrict it for their children (p. 1856).

Parents share concerns regarding a myriad of risks their children encounter using new media devices. First, parents are concerned about the constant connectivity that portable media devices deliver. This may influence children's ability to evaluate and reflect on their own media usage (Meeus, Eggermont & Beullens, 2018a, p. 3). Second, parents are afraid of the uncontrollable aspect of portable media devices, which increases the chance towards risks in general (Bartau-Rojas, Oregui-Gonzalez & Aierbe-Barandiaran, 2018).

Risks using new media technologies are briefly summarized by Symons et al. (2017). These risks can be found in content risks, conduct risks, contact risks, risk of commercial exploitation, and privacy risks (p. 423). Content risks are characterized by parents' concern towards inappropriate content, mainly violent and pornographic content. The Internet increased exposure to these forms of content even more. Shin (2015) uses the term "double-edged sword" to indicate the Internet. Shin argues that the ability to use the Internet offers chances for children to educate themselves and become more knowledgeable, however, the large amount of information that is available on the Internet contains information and images, too, that are not appropriate for young children (Shin, 2015, p. 655). With conduct risks, parents are mainly concerned their child will engage in bullying practices. Contact risks are characterized by becoming a victim of cyberbullying or contact with strangers who have bad intentions. Parents are also afraid that their children are vulnerable for commercial

exploitation or that they will post something or engage in an activity they will regret later on, such as sexting (Symons et al., 2017).

Sexting is a communicative activity referred to as the forwarding of sexually tinted and (partially) nude pictures of oneself via the Internet or smartphone. The sexual nature of (young) people's self-representation has been a topic of academic inquiry and public attention after social media provided mass communication on a global scale (Van Oosten & Vandenbosch, 2017, pp. 42-43). Since contact with peers, as well as strangers, are the most important aspect of many social media platforms, parents are afraid that their child will respond to practices such as sexting. Besides, the online contacts that children make in general are a shared cause for concern (Symons et al., 2017). Furthermore, parents have expressed their concerns regarding the abusive language their children encounter on social media platforms. In addition to this, parents notice that their children face risks "in terms of emotional stress, reputational loss, and distraction from offline activities" (Symons et al., 2017, p. 429).

2.9 *New media, new challenges*

Parents face numerous new challenges trying to mediate their children's digital media usage. Nikken and Jansz (2014) argue that when there are more media devices in one household social co-use becomes less. In addition to this, Livingstone and Helsper (2008) argue that it is more difficult to monitor online activities "with a casual glance at the screen". Multiple tabs are often open on children's portable devices, which makes them active on different platforms at the same time, thus harder for parents to control. In addition to this, portable media devices increased the "bedroom culture" even more, since these are even more easily taken to their bedrooms or other spaces in the house where they can isolate themselves.

Research has shown that new forms of mediation caused parents to implement more diverse restrictive strategies, but these strategies have proven to be less beneficial for new media than they were for television (Lee, 2013). Two years later, research (Nikken & Jansz, 2014) found that parents started to implement two other strategies: supervision and technical safety guidance. One year later, it was found that monitoring children's activities and technical restrictions are the most popular mediation strategies for parents in the digital era. Monitoring children's activities mainly implies checking the child's activity, for example search or watch history, on the Internet and social media applications (Nikken & Schols, 2015). Furthermore, parents unintentionally apply the same mediation strategies on their children for both television exposure and new media exposure. However, since new media is

for example more used individually, social co-viewing has become increasingly difficult. Besides, not every mediation strategy works effective for different forms of media. Following this, Nikken (2017) voiced that more research on the effectiveness of newer mediation strategies, such as supervision, monitoring, and technical restrictions, will provide important insights into the outcomes of these strategies. In addition to this, Warren (2016) already expressed his preference for child-specific mediation advice and information, not just meant for children in general but solely targeted towards for example boys or girls.

2.10 Existing theory on parental authority

Explaining children why certain content is not appropriate (yet) for their age can only be achieved if the role of the parents is placed in a broader perspective. Parental mediation of children's media use falls under the umbrella of a broader socialization theory. Socialization is defined as "processes whereby naïve individuals are taught the skills, behavior patterns, values, and motivations needed for competent functioning in the culture in which the child is growing up" (Maccoby, 2007; as cited in Shin, 2015). Research into mediation strategies emphasizes the role of parents as the main socialization agents in the media education of their children (Shin, 2015). The more children see their parents as authorities, the more effective their education rules are (Valkenburg et al., 2013). Within the socialization theory, the concept of social domain must be understood in order to understand both the perspective of the child and the parent. Valkenburg et al. use Smetana's (1995) social domain theory to argue that, when children start to enter puberty, they see parental interventions as a threat in their personal domain. This personal domain is characterized by social factors such as their friends, the type of clothes they like to wear or the media they consume. Therefore, media are also part of their personal domain (Valkenburg et al., 2013). As Valkenburg et al. (2013) stated: "To learn social lessons on how to behave, children rely on the internet" (p. 448). The way in which children like to behave in certain situations may vary from the way parents would like to see their children to behave. When children enter puberty they start to look up the boarder and become more interested in media content that portrays disapproved behavior or humor. Parents try to prevent their children from acting and favoring such behavior and, therefore, implement mediation to demarcate this (Valkenburg et al., 2013). In this vein, it is important for parents to execute the right parental mediation strategies, since their regulations can easily cause boomerang effects or the forbidden-fruit effect.

Good mediation is therefore crucial for pre-adolescent youth. This pre-adolescent phase starts at the age of eight and lasts until puberty, which more or less depends on the

child, and is important for a few reasons. A research (Bushman & Cantor, 2003) on the impacts of media ratings found that the forbidden-fruit effect did not yet occur before the age of eight. From the age of nine years old onwards, children start to become interested in the things they are not yet allowed to do or see. However, within this pre-adolescent phase children are often still susceptible for their parents' authority, as well as other authorities, such as rating organizations. During this phase it is therefore important, and still possible, to limit harmful media effects. When children enter puberty, they begin to untie themselves from the aforementioned authorities. Puberty is associated with high school since children go most of their high school days through puberty. This is also the time where children are starting to prefer to deal with personal issues themselves or with peers. Smetana (1994), in her study on parental authority and personal autonomy, found that both parents and adolescents agree that adolescents should be allowed to deal with personal issues on their own. The same study, however, found that parents and adolescents disagree on prudential issues such as friends. Adolescents believe their friends are a personal choice, whereas parents believe friends are subject to parental jurisdiction. They are often concerned about the negative influences of some friends on their children (p. 1159). When children start going to high school, personal issues such as these are often under severe attack. It is even more important that their children see their parents as authorities, so parental norms, values and regulations are internalized (Valkenburg et al., 2013, p. 448).

"Home" is a moral economy: an important basis where parents transfer parental norms, values and regulations to their children. The way in which children deal with media is determined by the structures, daily routines and values of the members of the family (Vanwysberghe et al., 2015). Nikken and Opree (2018) use Bourdieu's (1984) theory of social cultural capital to highlight that parents implement mediation strategies with the resources or "capitals" they possess (p. 1845). This theory states that there are three interrelated forms of capital that define parents' used mediation strategies, namely economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. Economic capital refers to all materialistic belongings of the parent, for example all media devices within one's household. Cultural capital is characterized by internal preferences and norms and values. This is reflected in both a materialistic way and in a symbolic way. The former emphasizing purchased media technologies in the home and the latter emphasizing "shared understanding and perceived meaning of media content" (Nikken & Opree, 2018, p. 1845). Cultural capital is also characterized by the level of media literacy the parent carries (p. 1845). Another important element that influences parental mediation is social capital: all social networks around the

family. To whom parents might run to ask for advice, may influence the strategy they use. Furthermore, parents often base their own mediation strategies on how they were raised by their own parents. In this way, societal and personal factors can influence the strategy and style parents use to mediate their children's media usage (Nikken & Opree, 2018, p. 1846). Which strategies parents ultimately adhere to, depends on various factors in the "capitals" they possess. Notably, it is important that parents apply the correct mediation strategy and style to reduce negative media outcomes.

2.11 Research on parental mediation strategies and styles

Research demonstrated that different parental mediation strategies and styles have several advantages and disadvantages. Since media has become an integral part of our lives, research has been carried out into the various parental mediation strategies. In the meantime, new forms of media have been added, and different media have become alternately popular, which led to new research being executed. Recent research on parental mediation has found the following.

Both Fikkens et al. (2017) and Meeus et al. (2018a) found that, when parents want to restrict children's media use to regulate it, an autonomy supportive style has proven to be most successful. In their study on problematic mobile device use among pre- and early adolescents, Meeus and colleagues focused on the merits of using autonomy-supportive styles. They investigated the former claim more thorough and results reflect that restricting children's screen time, when parents provide a rationale for their imposed restrictions regarding a tablet or smartphone, is directly negatively linked to problematic device use among children (p. 21). This is also in line with Beyens and Beullens (2017) who investigated parent-child conflicts regarding children's tablet use. The authors found that restrictive mediation decreases children's tablet use. However, they call restrictive mediation a "double-edged sword" since it often increases conflicts between parents and their children.

In 2013, Lee (2013) found that active mediation based on parent-child discussion has proven to bring the most positive outcomes for children's education and pro-social behavior (Lee, 2013). Piotrowski (2017) added to this that the intended strategy is a means to circumvent boomerang effects. Nathanson (2004) already found differences in positive/negative active mediation and neutral mediation. Negative active mediation and positive active mediation (evaluating the media content) proved to be more effective than neutral active mediation (a factual strategy where parents only provide facts about the media content), which led to no results or even increased negative effects. In this vein, Byrne (2009)

argued that, when children have the ability to process and reflect on media content, parental intervention is more successful. Nathanson (2004), Piotrowski (2017) and Meeus et al. (2018a) suggest that it is important to distinguish the types of different active mediation strategies. The same study by Meeus et al. found that both controlling restrictive and controlling active mediation did not influence problematic smartphone and tablet use. By contrast, inconsistent restrictive mediation resulted into more problematic smartphone and tablet use. This indicates once again that the style of parental mediation is more important to diminish negative outcomes of media use than the strategy of mediation (Fikkens et al., 2017; Meeus et al., 2018a; Meeus et al., 2018b).

When it comes to which strategy is most effective for mediating children's media behavior in the digital age, opinions remain divided. In general, social co-use is praised by many researchers (Beyens & Beullens, 2017; Livingstone & Helsper, 2008; Kirwil, 2009; Nathanson, 2002). However, with multiple and more individually used devices, social co-use becomes less and is therefore more difficult to convey for parents. Considerably, Beyens and Beullens (2017) point to the merits of social co-use and argue that it leads to less conflicts about tablet usage between parents and their children. By contrast, monitoring children's media usage often leads to more conflicts and frustrations between parent and child (Beyens & Beullens, 2017, p. 2077). Therefore, the authors encourage parents to co-use media with their children and emphasize the importance of finding ways to engage in more co-using activities (p. 2087).

2.12 The current study

Within the broader framework of parental mediation, it is important to offer help for parents who experience the difficulties that new forms of media have brought. A positive attitude towards new media leads to more positive effects and frequent implementation of parental mediation (Rasmussen et al., 2016). Several researchers (Nikken & Opree, 2018, Shin, 2015; Warren, 2016) have expressed that more help, information and guidance is needed for parents to successfully mediate their children's watching behavior and to navigate them in the new media environment. Shin (2015), already expressed his concerns and emphasized that parents themselves lack knowledge on how to guide their children's media usage and that they don't spend much time gaining more knowledge about it (p. 661). It is therefore important to take the parent's perspective into account, and investigate what parents themselves belief would help them to mediate the watching behavior of their children in the most benefitting way.

The current study aims to fill in this research gap by focusing on parents, as well as on a deeper understanding of parents' concerns and problems. Former research conducted focused on parental problems and concerns on a shallow level. For instance, it is known that there are problems with new forms of media, however, which forms of media specifically (different platforms, different devices) has not been thoroughly scrutinized. Therefore, the proposed research seeks to take this one step further by really delving into their insecurities. The aim is to find out in what way help can be offered to parents, so that they can guide their children's media use and/or to interact with their children about the content they watch, using an autonomy supportive style. Also Fikkers and colleagues (2017) expressed that qualitative work is needed to provide more insight into the family rules parents nowadays impose for media, "as well as the role of different mediation styles in this process" (Fikkers et al., 2017, p. 413). In addition to this, this research seeks to explore what resources or tools Dutch parents of children ages nine to twelve need in order interact with their children about audiovisual media content using an autonomy supportive style.

3. Methodology and Research Design

3.1 Qualitative approach

Historically, most research on parental mediation has relied on quantitative survey research methods. This type of research, however, provides less in-depth knowledge on children's and parents' experiences or perceptions. This thesis will use a qualitative approach based on interviews. Interviews are more able to reveal in-depth information. As Hermanowicz states, "Good interviews capture basic, and occasionally deep, levels of meaning from the details supplied by the people interviewed" (Hermanowicz, 2002, p. 481). This study involves parents of children ages nine to twelve years old. By the age of twelve, children are entering puberty and where tensions in multiple social domains between parents and children start. By the age of ten, children start to seek for more autonomy from their parents. In addition to this, children start to become more involved with the Internet and become more digital literate. Due to the increased use and knowledge of the Internet, they become more exposed to any type of audiovisual content, and thus more exposed to harmful or inappropriate content. However, this is also an age range where children still value their parents' authority and where they are susceptible to domestic rules and values (Lee, 2013, p. 2). Following this, proposed age group is an important demography to focus on.

3.2 Data collection: Semi-structured interviews

This research relies on semi-structured interviews as the method of analysis. According to Matthews and Ross (2010), semi-structured interviews "follow a common set of topics or questions for each interview" (p. 221). The order of the questions may differ for each interview, which allows the participant to "answer the questions or discuss the topic in their own way using their own words" (p. 221). The interviews were conducted in an informal and flexible way, which enabled the participants to talk about their experience in their own way. The main goal of conducting semi-structured interviews was to get the participants open up to explain the behavior of their child(ren) and their own behavior and understandings. This type of interviewing enables to talk to the participants in-depth and allows to explore, together with the participants, different aspects of a social issue (Matthews & Ross, 2010, pp. 223-224).

3.3 *Thematic analysis:*

Thematic analysis is a coding technique that is a foundational method for qualitative analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) emphasize that thematic analysis can be seen as a “contextualist” method, because it is in the middle of essentialism and constructionism. The former acknowledges how individuals make meaning of their experience and the latter focuses on how a social context affects those meanings. Therefore, thematic analysis can be seen as a method which reflects reality, while at the same time tries to unravel the surface of “reality” (p. 9). One of the main advantages of thematic analysis is its flexibility. Thematic analysis is essentially independent of theory and epistemology, and can thus be used across a range of theoretical and epistemological approaches (Braun & Clarke, 2006). According to Braun and Clarke (2006), “thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes your data set in (rich) detail.” (p. 6). As a researcher one can take this even one step further and interpret various aspects of the data set in relation to the research topic. Namely, while conducting a thematic analysis, themes will emerge or be discovered during the process of analysis. However, it is important to play an active role in identifying patterns/themes and selecting which ones are of interest.

The data was analyzed according to the same five themes that served as a guideline throughout the interviews. There were five key themes that were identified: (1) parents’ perceptions of (new) media and its impact on their children; (2) what problems parents encounter; (3) strategies parents use to manage children’s content exposure; (4) perceived advantages and obstacles of these strategies and (5) desired tools/resources to better navigate their children in the new media environment. These themes were based on findings from other qualitative researches in the field (Clark, 2009; Shin, 2015; Vanwynsberghe et al., 2015; Zaman et al., 2016) and contributed to recognize similar patterns in the data. The five overarching themes that enhanced several sub questions included the main themes for finding patterns and similarities between participants’ answers. Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that a key theme is characterized by its capturing element in relation to the overall research question (p. 10). Therefore, it was made sure that each theme clearly linked back to the overall research question, but that each theme is distinct (p. 24). After the interviews, the aim was to discover patterns and similarities in the different categories of the outcomes of the interviews (Matthews & Ross, 2010).

Thematic analysis examines interrelations among different experiences that people carry and tries to find patterns within them (Babbie, 2008, p. 420). Theory will thus be

developed at a later stage, from the analysis of the data provided by the interviews. The aim is to figure out what is actually articulated in the data. This form of analysis is “bottom-up” or data-driven. Meaning to identify features within the data that gave it a specific form and meaning (Braun & Clarke, 2006, pp. 12-13).

3.4 *Operationalization:*

This research explores what resources or tools parents desire in the media education/navigation of their children, aged nine to twelve years old. During the interviews, research from Fikkens et al. (2017) served as a guideline in terms of the classification of the different mediation styles, and whether this was done in an autonomy supportive way. This research was quantitative of nature and had a more standardized way to approach concepts. For the current study the exact format of different mediation strategies (as emphasized by Fikkens and colleagues) was less important. Therefore, the emphasis was more on how this exactly takes shape in different families. What do parents do? To what extent does media education succeed? Does this happen in an autonomy supportive manner? In sum, the aim was to go beyond the question if a strategy is solely autonomy supportive and tried to investigate what (problems) parents encountered and what type of additional help is further needed.

3.5 *Sample*

For this thesis, a total of twelve Dutch parents participated for this study. A few requirements for every participant were that they (1) had to live in the Netherlands by the time the interview was conducted, and (2) that they must had at least one child between nine and twelve years old. The parents were thus selected on the basis of their country of residency and the age of their child. Meaning they had at least one child between the ages of nine and twelve years old and were, at the time of the interview, living in the Netherlands. This was a conscious choice since different provinces would provide a more heterogeneous population because of the demographics associated with these areas (e.g., race/ethnicity, urban/suburban residence, and socioeconomic background).

Eight participants were recruited via three personal contacts. The remaining participants were contacted through snowball sampling (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Through snowball sampling the sample is often more diversified, consisting of different ages and ethnicities (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 166). Out of the total twelve participants, three of them had “allochtone” children. This is a Dutch word to indicate people of whom at least one

of their parents was born in another country. Out of the twelve participants, two participants were born in another country themselves. The sample for this master's thesis was thus based on variability in residency, socio-economic and educational background. Out of the twelve interviews, eleven interviews were held with mothers and one interview was held with both a mother and father at the same time. The age range of the participants varied from 36 years old until 51 years old. All participants together had 28 children, 15 of whom were eligible for the age category of this study. In total, five children were nine years old, three children were ten years old, four children were eleven years old and three children were twelve years old. Of the fifteen children who related to this study, eight were boy and seven were girl. Table 1 shows all relevant socio-demographic facts about the participants. All interviews were conducted in Dutch and later translated into English.

Table 1: Sample Characteristics

Name	Age	Gender	Marital Status	Children
Nicoline	38	Woman	Married	Sons (7, 10)
Regina	40	Woman	Married	Daughter (4), son (9)
Cory	39	Woman	Married	Daughter (7), son (11)
Maria	42	Woman	Married	Daughter (9), sons (11, 13)
Anique	38	Woman	Divorced	Son (7), daughter (9)
Annette	50	Woman	Married	Daughters (11, 11)
Sally and Robert	39	Woman and man	Married	Sons (4, 9)
Pauline	51	Woman	Married	Sons (12, 13)
Hannah	39	Woman	Married	Son (7), daughter (9)
Maya	36	Woman	Married	Sons (3, 10), daughters (8, 12)
Ayla	44	Woman	Married	Sons (10, 13, 14)
Petra	40	Woman	Married	Daughter (9), son (12)

3.6 Interview Design

The data collection, including a trial interview, lasted from March 2019 to May 2019. In the beginning of March, a trial interview was conducted to test the topic list and practice for the first interview. The trial interview was therefore not taken into account for the final data analysis. The data collection took place at the primary school the child was attending, participants' homes, participants' work and public spaces. All interviews were conducted face-to-face by the researcher of this study. An advantage of face-to-face interviews is that it becomes easier to notice social cues, such as voice, intonation and body language. These social cues provide important and extra information for the data analysis. Another advantage

of face-to-face interviews is the interactive part, which allows to respond directly to certain answers given by the respondent (Opdenakker, 2006).

3.7 Procedure

All interviews started with an explanation of the study's research goals. Hereafter, confidentiality was reassured once again and participants were asked to sign the informed consent form, which they all did. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill's (2015) advice has been taken on ethical issues. The authors of the book *Methoden en Technieken van Onderzoek* state that you can anticipate on most ethical issues by finding solutions during the design phase of the research project. For this reason the consent form was composed, which guarantees that the data must be obtained in a consistent way. No ethical issues arose during the entire research project. The topic list structured the interview based on several sets of questions, but it was applied in a flexible way, so that the respondent could also introduce topics. This ensured that the order of the topics could differ per interview (Hijmans & Wester, 2006). Every interview started more general but went in more and more detail towards the end. Hermanowicz (2002) advises to place the more general questions at the beginning of the topic list so that the interview candidate can feel comfortable with talking in an interview setting (p. 488). The first set of general questions addressed the watching behavior of the family, and what their thoughts were regarding traditional and new media. This subsequently led to questions regarding the parent's opinions on the media use of the child. Other questions enhanced themes such as: parental knowledge about harmful content exposure and its subsequent negative outcomes, the implementation of parental mediation strategies and the perceived advantages and obstacles of these strategies. Every interview concluded with a set of questions regarding what tools and/or services were lacking in the Netherlands. The main goal here was to find out about desired tools, services or other additional ideas that may contribute to a more fruitful media education. The topic list can be found in appendix 1.

The interviews for this research lasted approximately between 40 and 75 minutes. All respondents received a box of chocolates as a present after their participation. The interviews itself were digitally recorded and transcribed by the researcher. All participants have been given pseudonyms to secure anonymity. Other personal details like city of residence have been altered to further conceal respondents' identity.

3.8 *Data analysis*

The data analysis followed Braun and Clarke (2006) who offer a guideline that consists out of six phases for thematic analysis. The first step “familiarizing yourself with the data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, pp. 16-17) is characterized by immersion in the data. This usually means repeated reading of the data in an active way. Meanings, patterns and similarities were already sought here. The process of transcription contributed to this and can be seen as one of the first interpretative acts of the data analysis. The interviews were studied individually, and during a later phase together, to identify similar patterns.

Phase two, generating initial codes, started after familiarizing with the data. The main process of qualitative social research is the coding of the data: “classifying or categorizing individual pieces of data” (Babbie, 2008, p. 425). During the coding process, the data was organized into meaningful groups (Tuckett, 2005). For this inductive research, the coding process depended on themes that were data-driven. As Braun and Clarke advised, full and equal attention were given to each data item (p. 18). The data was coded manually using different colored markers for the sub categories that were made for every theme of the interview. During the data analysis, the choice was made to divide the three themes into five forms of new media that repeatedly came back in every interview. These three themes were: “parents’ perceptions of (new) media and its impact on their children”, “strategies parents use to manage children’s content exposure” and “desired tools/resources to better navigate their children in the new media environment”. These five forms of (new) media in which the abovementioned main themes have been divided are: television, Netflix, YouTube, gaming and social media. Nevertheless, YouTube deserved to become a form of media on its own. So, YouTube was detached from social media, even though YouTube is a social medium in itself. This was a conscious choice because YouTube received much attention in every interview. In order to indicate social media, “portable devices” (tablet/smartphone) were used in the coding frame of “parents’ perceptions of (new) media and its impact on their children”. This decision was made because parents did not talk about social media during these set of questions yet, but they did mention their children’s tablet/smartphone usage. During a later stage of the data analysis different social media platforms such as Instagram and WhatsApp were identified and coded as well. The theme “Strategies parents use to manage children’s content exposure” was divided into active mediation, restrictive mediation, co-use/co-view and distant mediation. Restrictive mediation was subsequently divided into time, location, purchase and content. Distant mediation was divided into deference, supervision and controlling. All relevant data were saved in a coding scheme that was also created by the researcher herself.

The third phase focused on sorting the different codes into potential themes. This phase was characterized by analyzing the codes and by giving meaning to “how different codes may combine to form an overarching theme” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 19). Here, it was helpful to have a visual representation to sort the codes into themes. For this reason, different mind-maps were created via the program Draw Diagram, which provided a visual and clear overview of the relationship between codes, themes and different levels of themes. The diagrams are attached as appendices (appendix 2) to provide an image of how these themes have been modified into diagrams.

Since all interviews were structured by the same topic list, all data from the different interviews could be placed in the five themes with subsequent sub-codes. The next phase was mainly characterized by a revision of the data: to see if the coded data was an accurate representation of the entire data set, or to code any leftover data that was not coded at all. During this phase, it was a logical decision to detach “parental concerns regarding new media” from “what problems do parents encounter”, of whom the latter was initially a theme on its own. Even though the two themes have a few overlaps, they have a different cause and consequence and must therefore be approached separately. Also, during this process it became clear that the mediation strategy “co-use/co-view” must receive another option, namely co-rule. While re-reading the transcripts and coding the data, it became evident that “co-rule”, a strategy of making rules together with the child, came back through several interviews and deserved to become a sub-category on its own.

During the fifth phase, the focus was on what each theme was about and if a theme consisted out of sub-themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 22). Sub-themes were created for the theme “what problems do parents encounter”. The following sub-themes were created: the aspect of stopping, gaming changes behavior, watch something everyone likes, children have more knowledge about (new) media/parents lack knowledge about (new) media, finding a balance in the media education of their children, friends and YouTube. The sixth phase existed out of writing up a concise, coherent and logical report.

3.9 *Internal validity and credibility*

Executing a qualitative research, it is important that internal validity and credibility are high. Social scientists must always ask themselves whether the data is a true reflection of the social issues being studied. The data must contribute to provide an answer to the research question of the study and, therefore, contributes to the validity of the research. In order to establish this to the fullest, social scientists should be able to provide insights into how they

gathered their data, to demonstrate that their findings are credible or believable (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 53). Kapborg and Berterö (2001) argue that, the best way to assure credibility in qualitative research, is to make your research transparent. This can for example be done by providing quotes from the interviews (p. 54). Silverman (2011) states that research that relies on interviews must obey the criterion of “low inference descriptors”. This can be done by tape recording all interviews, by transcribing all interviews and through inserting the transcripts in the research report (p. 365).

If the researcher is biased, this can be seen as a serious threat to the validity of the research (Kapborg & Berterö, 2001, p. 54). The researcher could for example steer the answer to the research question in a certain direction by ignoring certain interpretations from the data and embodying other interpretations from the data. To prevent a biased view, the researcher has explicitly ensured that different interpretations of the data are outlined in the results section. Not only one certain kind of opinion of parents are represented, but also examples of parents who shared a different opinions or experienced things in a different way than the majority of the sample.

Generalization is another pitfall of qualitative research since it is often based on a small and non-representative number of cases. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2015) state that, in qualitative research, this problem lies within the generalizability of the results. However, Saunders and colleagues refute this statement and argue that it is important, as a researcher, to demonstrate that your results are part of a larger whole, instead of just the case or cases that form the basis of your work. Therefore, in the results section, the researcher has connected findings from the current study with existing theories to demonstrate the broader context of this research (Saunders et al., 2015, p. 234).

4. Results

Qualitative interview data reflects that Dutch parents' perceptions of new media and its impact on their children were more positive than negative. Parents believe that (new) media plays an important part in their children's lives and that "everyone does it". There are, however, differences for the type of media platform or media device. Parents are not as positive about every media device or media platform, which indicates that the media education of children aged nine to twelve years old is never without struggles. The kinds of struggles parents encounter and how they try to deal with them depend on the form of media. Findings reflect that there are forms of media, such as the television and Netflix, in which parents now experience fewer problems than with other forms of media, such as gaming, YouTube and social media. On the one hand, this refers to the problems that parents experience with limiting the screen time of these forms of media. On the other hand, this refers to their concerns and possible harmful effects of these platforms. Nevertheless, parents believe talking with your child about all that new media has to offer, is the best solution to demarcate any negative outcomes.

The results of this research are presented in three different sections. First, the differences in parents' attitudes regarding different forms of media will be discussed. Qualitative interview data reflects that parents face less challenges and problems with mediating traditional media and Netflix than with new forms of media such as YouTube, social media and gaming. The data reflects that these latter and newer forms of media are more difficult to control. Since this part of the results section turned out to be the most extensive part, it is subdivided in three smaller sections, namely attitudes, concerns and problems. Second, this results section will provide examples of the different mediation strategies that parents use to diminish negative outcomes of their children's exposure towards media. Interviews revealed that parents adjust their mediation strategy to the problem they encounter and that they often use different strategies interchangeably. The last part of the results section will elaborate on what parents have indicated is still lacking in the Netherlands in order to make the media education and navigation of their children more fruitful. In this section it will become clear which form of media should be addressed first in order to help parents. Examples will be provided for different kinds of tools and/or services that parents would appreciate.

4.1 Old and new media: Parental attitudes, problems and concerns

1. Parental attitudes

Parents' attitudes towards television are largely positive. They perceive the television as a leisure tool that is often used with the whole family. Within the sample, every household has a television in their living room. In some families, the television is frequently on, broadcasting programs or movies that are appropriate for everyone. In other families the television is only occasionally on to watch a specific movie or TV show together with the whole family.

Nicoline, mother of two sons, describes the typical Friday evening with her family as "the night that we, altogether, spend in front of the television with something nice to snack. We try to create a real TV night". Within the sample, there was only one family where both children (nine and eleven years old) had a television in their bedrooms. The most common reasons that parents described as why they did not allow their children to have a television in their bedrooms were: a television in their bedrooms is unsociable and parents will have less control over what and for how long their children are watching (on the) television. When asked Maria if her children (nine, eleven and thirteen) have a television in their bedrooms she replies, "No and I don't want that. You don't have that control when it is upstairs. And I believe as well that a television upstairs or a PlayStation upstairs is unsociable". The examples from Nicoline and Maria show that the television is more perceived as a family thing rather than an individual thing. Parents enjoy watching television with the whole family and it is therefore preferred to be used together in many families. Restricting children from having a television in their bedroom increases this family aspect and makes it easier for parents to have sight on when and what their children watch.

Another reason why parents do not encounter many problems with their children's television usage is that the Dutch classification system for audiovisual content helps parents to explain to their children why they are or aren't allowed to see a specific production. Anique explained that her children (seven and nine years old) wanted to watch *Harry Potter* part five but that she believed they were too young for it, "I checked the age recommendation and I said: part five is too heavy for now". Another way in which parents use the Kijkwijzer is through making their children alert on it and to place the responsibility with the child. Maya, mother of four children, explained that she tells her children to check the Kijkwijzer before they start watching a movie, "I say, before the movie starts, to check the age recommendation to see if it is appropriate for them or not". An example from Sally indicates that her children (four and nine years old) pay attention to the Kijkwijzer themselves. Sally states that, "When they see a spider appearing they turn their heads...then they know they are not allowed to see

it”. Here, the spider indicates the Kijkwijzer “fear” symbol. This example implies that, at least for the fear/anxiety indicator, Sally’s children understand what the Kijkwijzer is demonstrating. Also Hannah, mother of a seven-years-old and nine-years-old, believes the rating system on television is really helpful “because the kids know it themselves too. I don’t know how but recently they said, ‘that [the symbol indicating abusive language] means that they use swear words’”. The previous two examples show that children themselves are aware of the purpose of the classification system. If children deal with the Kijkwijzer in a responsible way, this makes it less necessary for parents to constantly check what they are watching.

Interviews also reflect that parents do not experience problems mediating their children’s Netflix usage. This is an important finding in the understanding of Netflix, since Netflix, as a non-linear form of television, is perceived as a “new” form of media. However, in all families, Netflix is not so much used individually but more as a service that is used with the whole family, to watch movies together on a Friday or Saturday evening. As Anique explained, “On Saturday night we have TV night. And then they are allowed to put Netflix on”. Since Netflix is not so much used individually either, parents have to check it less often. This contributes to the fact that parents’ attitudes regarding Netflix is overall positive. This also has to do with the fact that settings on Netflix¹ help parents to check children’s watching behavior, restrict them from certain content or use locks, so their children cannot use it when they are not allowed to. When the researcher asked Nicoline (mother of two sons, seven and ten) whether she was aware of these parental settings on Netflix, she stated, “On Netflix my boys have their own account and I put those settings, I did it myself, that they are allowed to watch films and series until the age of twelve. Nothing above it”. Additionally, also Netflix uses the age and content indicators of the Kijkwijzer (De Cock Buning, 2014, p. 27; <https://help.netflix.com/nl/node/2064>). When the same respondent was asked how she tries to prevent her son from watching something harmful, she replied, “I do use the Kijkwijzer and especially those age symbols”.

2. *Problems*

Mediating and navigating Dutch children’s television and Netflix usage works pretty well. However, YouTube, gaming and tablet/smartphone usage, especially social media

¹ For more information regarding parental control settings on Netflix, please visit <https://help.netflix.com/en/node/264/nl>

applications such as Instagram and WhatsApp, result into more fights and stress between parents and their children. Other forms of new media, such as YouTube, gaming and social media, have no rating system and are indeed more used individually, often on a portable media device, which makes it harder for parents to control. When Petra was asked if she believes she has proper sight on what her nine years old daughter likes to watch when she is using her tablet, Petra described:

Not always. Sometimes I see it by the way she acts. Well, recently she saw another video and it was pretty innocent but well yeah I believed for her age it was too much. It was a boy and a girl kissing. And you could see by her attitude that she was watching something that mommy and daddy were not allowed to see.

This example shows that when children use a portable device, it is almost impossible for parents to control what they are watching. Children can take this device anywhere in the home or hold it in such a way that nobody knows what they are watching.

Parents believe it is difficult to find the right mediation strategy and often don't know what to do. Previous research (Lee, 2013; Livingstone & Helsper, 2008) found that not every mediation strategy has the same desired effect for every form of media. Strategies that work to diminish harmful content exposure on the television and Netflix may be ineffective, say, for YouTube. Problems that parents face with these new forms of media are partly due to the fact that they lack knowledge about these newer forms of media and that their children often have more knowledge about it, as Maria described:

I think YouTube is the most difficult to control. I think also because I am not into it myself. It's mostly that. I am never on YouTube. And I have the idea, but this is just an idea, a feeling that it is such a free, such a free...that it is like a lake where everyone can put something in.

Parents believe it is important that their children become critical consumers of media themselves. However, in order to establish this, parents should have higher levels of media literacy than their children (Rasmussen et al., 2016, p. 2). Besides, also parents' disinterest plays a major role in this. Mostly mothers admit they do not like gaming or YouTube and, because of this, they do not want to put effort or time into learning more about it. The following statement of Maria (42 years old) reflects this well:

But it is also because I am not raised with it. Of course, I wasn't raised with Netflix either but that is very simple. And I use Netflix myself but YouTube...I never search for things on YouTube. I think it is horrible. Also these YouTubers, I cannot deal with these people. And that well, the kids love it so much, that YouTube. And that is difficult.

This quote demonstrates that the type of media and type of content parents and children like to engage in are quite diverse. This clearly does not contribute to a positive attitude towards these forms of media. Nevertheless, parents try to show interest in their children's media usage. As Nicoline describes about her ten-year-old son:

Because it is something of his interest. So I believe it is really important to talk with him about it, so that he has the opportunity to talk to us about what he thinks is cool. And then we can ask: "what is it that you like so much about it?". That you build a conversation on that.

Besides Nicoline, also other parents within the sample denoted that they believe it is important to show interest in what their children like to do and watch online. Parents are aware of the fact that new media has become an integral part of their children's daily lives.

"Friends" are another important factor that causes problems for parents in restricting children from harmful content exposure, or content exposure in general. Parents explain that their children value their friends and what their friends are already allowed. They often complain that their friends are already allowed to have a smartphone, play a certain game or watch a certain movie or series. This often results into discussions and stress between parents and their children. On the one hand, parents don't want their children to stay behind, but on the other hand, they also want to stick to their own beliefs and values regarding new media and its impact on children. Additionally, parents are skeptical towards what their children do, play or watch when they are at friends' places. Some parents, such as Regina, admitted they just had to accept this and that "you don't prevent that all the time you know". When asked how Annette, mother of an eleven year-old twin, deals with the aspect of friends, she stated that:

I don't have control over it when they are at a friends' place. Yeah I believe that is difficult. Yeah. Yeah and I discuss that as well. I also experienced this with Mirna, that I said to her: "I don't want you to watch this". But it also has to do with trusting them. You see, if I would have the feeling that they are watching stuff like porn of which I don't want them to see it yet, I would discuss it with the parents.

Exposure towards harmful content is a concern that many parents share, which indicates that this is a concern and problem that hasn't been resolved yet. Previous research demonstrated that parents are mostly concerned about exposure towards violent and pornographic content (Livingstone & Helsper, 2008; Symons et al., 2017). However, and interestingly, during the data analysis it became clear that parents, now, are most concerned about the abusive language that is prevalent in many productions. When Ayla was asked if she ever noticed that her sons (ten, thirteen and fourteen) took over the abusive language that ample YouTube videos contain, she replied:

Yes I do. For example when they are listening to music. Especially rap music. They take over these words. And I say to them: "pay attention to what you say because this language is just not appropriate", "if a rapper says something like that it doesn't mean it is decent what he says".

Within the sample, all parents indicate that they do not recognize aggressive or violent behavior after their child is exposed to media. However, all parents note that their children adopt abusive language after being exposed to media.

3. Concerns

Throughout the interviews, it was evident that parents are now more concerned about YouTube than they are for the television or Netflix. Three main reasons were identified for their skeptical attitude towards YouTube: On YouTube, there is too much content that is not appropriate yet for children's ages and eyes, many videos on YouTube contain abusive language, and, already outlined before, most parents themselves know little about YouTube. When asked Maya if she ever experienced something negative with YouTube, she stated, "Ehm...no besides the type of language they use in these videos. I don't like that. They swear a lot with "kut"....And I don't want my children to take that over and use it". However, when the interview proceeded Maya realized that she indeed experienced something negative once,

when her son was watching videos on YouTube. Maya explained that her ten-year-old son saw a video of a “Killer Clown” and became scared after he had seen it. Maya demonstrated: “And he could not sleep. Every night before going to bed he said: “mommy please come with me”. And this is because of these videos...”. The same question was asked to Hannah, who described the following scenario about her seven-year-old son:

I had it once. It was a while ago. And that's when we, I realize this now. That back then, for example my son really liked to watch videos of people who were unpacking presents, when he was younger. But then there were also weird videos and we were really thinking: “what the hell are you watching?”. Sort of that they were fighting or I don't know. And then I think, you really have to sit next to them. Especially when they are on YouTube or whatever.

These so-called “unboxing videos” were extremely popular among young children a few years ago. These videos showed other people opening gift boxes, food boxes and other boxes that contained products inside. However, when children lack critical media consumer skills, partly due to their young age, they are more vulnerable to commercial and age-inappropriate content. Moreover, children are approximately two till four clicks away from encountering adult content while watching child-related content. Adult content, here, implies “explicit expressions of sexual behavior, vandalism and violence” (Elias & Sulkin, 2017).

However, parents not only experience fights and difficulties over the exposure towards certain types of content, they encounter, whether or not more, fights and stress trying to deal with the amount of time their children are allowed to consume media. Parents explain it is hard for them to find a balance in being too strict and allowing their children to game, watch television or to be on their phone or tablet. As Nicoline described, she often wonders whether “I could have done this another way” or “maybe we were a bit too tolerant”.

Parents set clear rules about the screen time, but notice that their children find it difficult to adhere to these rules. This problem applies to all media devices but is most apparent when children are playing games. This results in a lot of rules and regulations regarding the screen time of the children, or the time they are allowed to game. Parents argue that rules regarding this are necessary and that, if they don't say anything, their child(ren) will continue, as Nicoline illustrates about her ten-year-old son:

Kars has a hard time to stop playing...[stopping] does not come out of his own quite often. And especially when he is caught into the game, he thinks it is hard to turn it off. He can't quit on his own. So I really have to be on top of it.

As a logical consequence of the aforementioned problem, parents also agree that their children are addicted to media usage. This applies mostly to gaming (PlayStation or X-Box), their tablet or their smartphone. As explained by Maya, mother of four children:

The biggest problem now is that the kids are addicted to their phones. And it becomes even more difficult to say, as I already told you, to say to my daughter that she has to stop. 8 o'clock lasts one hour longer, one and a half hour longer...well...and she keeps complaining. And I must tell her: "stop with it".

The fact that most children have their own smartphone or tablet at their disposal, makes it harder for parents to control these devices. Parents want to demarcate their children's exposure to harmful content, while at the time diminishing the time they are allowed to use the device. Considerably, they admit this mainly comes down to trusting your child and granting them autonomy. Symons et al. (2017) already claimed that parents believe it difficult to find a balance between parenting children's media use versus granting them autonomy in this area and that they feel insecure where to draw a line. Especially with children who are eleven and twelve years old, and who will go to high school soon, this starts to cause discussions. Annette, mother of the eleven-year-old twin, explained that, "the older they become, the more difficult it becomes."

Parents believe it is difficult to find a balance in to what extent they can forbid their children in doing and/or watching things and when to trust their children. This balance is even more disrupted by parents' concerns about social media (Instagram and WhatsApp), YouTube and possible contact with strangers via online gaming. In an article on Dutch children's media use (Nikken & Opree, 2018), it already became evident that children's media proficiency has increased parents' concerns about the new risks their children's media use has brought.

The data of the current research reflects that parents are mostly concerned about the social media platforms WhatsApp and Instagram. In addition, it is not the platform per se that parents fear, but more the negative outcomes these can bring. Parents are afraid that their children get in touch with strangers who have bad intentions or that their child will post or do something he/she will regret, like sexting or participating in a "challenge" (when young

people challenge each other to perform an action). Their concern regarding high school connects to this in that parents are afraid that they will have less control over their children's media usage when they will go to high school, as Annette explained:

You hear about series about suicide, challenges. And I think that's scary. It's scary that they can reach such a large amount of information. It is great too, but also scary. And when they go to high school, I will have less control over it. So we try to discuss these things with them and tell them that they can be open about it with us. But I realize as well that I cannot fully control it.

This example shows that parents believe "high school" will become a turning point in the (media) education of their children. Parents believe they must grant their child more freedom when they start high school but at the same time parents feel that, during this phase, their children will be exposed to more dangers. Nevertheless, parents still believe it is important to demarcate their media usage and protect them from online dangers and harmful content.

Parents' concern regarding online gaming adds on to this, since parents mostly fear the contact with strangers online. Maria admits her biggest concern now is the contacts her children make with strangers when they play online. As Maria described about her eleven year-old son:

Also with something like a PlayStation. If Kane puts that thing on his ears, he can communicate with the whole world. And I trust my child, but I don't always trust the world. That's what I find difficult. To see with whom he is talking. The people he talks to now, I all know them. But this will change at a given moment. And then I hope, and I think he will, that he has enough luggage to distinguish good from evil. But I also understand this is difficult for a child. So this is what I think is difficult. To protect him from the world outside of that PlayStation. And this is not so much the case with an iPad, and actually not at all with a television. Then you can, well it is more showy. But the communication aspect on the PlayStation. Hmm I think that's a thing.

When asked where Maria was afraid of then, she replied, "Yeah...disgusting men". This example shows that parents want to trust their children but that external factors do not always enable this. Especially Maria's "I trust my child, but I don't always trust the world" illustrates

this well. Autonomy is largely built around trust and important for children who are eleven and twelve years old, and who start developing their “inner I”. The fact that parents share concerns over the online contacts their children make, implies that children’s media usage covers multiple social domains (Symons et al., 2017, p. 429). Partly, children’s media usage is personal, while at the same time, it covers issues in the socio-conventional and prudential domain. Media usage has reinvented questions on what behavior is appropriate or correct online, especially regarding type of language or privacy issues, such as reputation loss and spreading photos. However, the opinions of parents and children on this may differ considerably. This may cause parents not to trust their child enough which may lead to discussions and stress.

Children encounter a larger number of risks using portable media devices (including gaming devices) than using Netflix or watching the television. This causes parents to implement mediation strategies to demarcate their children’s content exposure using such devices and their possible, subsequent risks. The following section will elaborate further on what mediation strategies parents use and how they execute them.

4.2 Parental mediation strategies: advantages and obstacles

The parents in this sample use many different mediation strategies. The four mediation strategies that have been identified during the data analysis were: active mediation, restrictive mediation, co-view/co-play/co-rule and distant mediation. Restrictive mediation, imposing rules to limit and control media use, was mainly applied to content, purchase, time and location. Distant mediation, mediating children’s media usage from a distance and without direct intervention, was performed using a deference strategy, in a controlling way or to supervise children (Zaman et al., 2016). Active mediation refers to discussing the media content with the child. Social co-use refers to using media together with the child. An important note is that explicit attention was paid to the style that parents implemented, especially autonomy supportive parenting.

Interviews revealed that parents believe active mediation is easier to implement for the television and Netflix than for gaming, social media and YouTube. Parents believe it is important to watch certain movies together and contextualize the things their children see. Other parents state that they talk about the content of a movie before putting it on, discussing together with the child what they expect to see in a movie and if he/she believes he/she is able to handle that type of content. This illustrates that parents often use mediation strategies

interchangeably. The following example of Pauline will demonstrate that she uses a mixture of active mediation and social co-view. When asked to Pauline what they like to watch as a family in her household, she responds:

We consult with each other which movie or series. And we pay special attention if it is appropriate for Nick [twelve years old]. If we think he can watch it too. And I always look at the age recommendation then. If it is 16+ we should not do it. But we also care about the content itself. Because we noticed that, when it contains blood or a lot of threatening, he doesn't sleep.

Fikkens and colleagues (2017) state that active mediation is a strategy to moderate the relationship between media exposure and subsequent outcomes, aiming to reduce subsequent negative outcomes. Research from the past (Valkenburg et al., 2013) proposed that autonomy supportive parental mediation is a way to circumvent boomerang effects. While analyzing the data it became evident that parents who used an autonomy supportive style, did not experience negative outcomes yet with television and Netflix.

However, throughout the data it became clear that, active mediation, whether autonomy supportive or not, was less or not at all used for YouTube, social media and gaming. Most of the respondents admit that they only talk about the content of YouTube videos when they notice their children are watching or have watched something of which they disagree. The following answer of Regina, after she was asked if she has proper sight on what her nine-year-old son watches on YouTube, illustrates this well:

I don't really have good sight on it. No. No I have to be honest about that. Because recently they [Regina's son and her nephew] were at my mother's house. This is an example. And granddad have him the iPad. And he was with his nephew who is ten years old. And they were watching all these videos. And it was still not too bad but they were watching "crazy" videos. But at a sudden point, with those crazy videos, you are linked to weird videos, odd video you know? Those videos are not meant for their eyes.

Like many other parents in the sample, Regina only starts to discuss the content of YouTube videos after her son watched a video that could lead to possible, harmful outcomes. She continued elaborating on this scenario and said that "we explained to him that he can't just

watch everything. He can't do that with his age." However, when parents only discuss the content when their children have already watched it, damage may have already been done.

Within the sample, only Petra describes that she frequently watches YouTube videos together with her children (nine and eleven years old). She explained that she sometimes asks her children to connect their tablet or smartphone to the main television in the living room, so that they can watch the videos altogether and discuss the things they watch. As Petra explained: "And then we talk about that more. The language usage of Enzo Knol and Dylan Haegens. Like: "hey, we don't think this word is...". You talk about it". Petra also states that:

Also these vloggers. Like StukTV, he likes it. And we as parents watch it with him.

And recently someone asked: "do your parents watch StukTV too?". And it is not that I like it, but I want to know what happens there.

Even though Petra was the only participant who explained that she actively watches and discusses YouTube videos with her children, all participants indicate that it is important to contextualize the content of films and programs and to discuss, together with the child, whether or not he/she can watch a film or program. Active mediation is, however, less used for YouTube, social media and gaming, which could be linked to the individual characteristic of the devices on which these forms of media are used. Television and Netflix are frequently used together with parents, which makes it easier for them to discuss the things their children watch. Besides, parents are more in control of what their children watch on Netflix or the television, and this makes it easier for them to discuss the content children are watching or have watched. On YouTube, social media, and with gaming this is less, what partly has to do with the fact that parents themselves make little use of these platforms.

Restrictive mediation proved to be the most common mediation strategy by parents. Parents forbid their children to watch certain types of content, mainly extremely violent content, sexual oriented content or content that contains much abusive language. Interestingly, all parents indicated that they did not experience any obstacles with this (yet) regarding television or Netflix. Sometimes their children already want to see something that is not appropriate yet for their ages, but when parents explain why they are not allowed to see it, they understand and agree. Annette once experienced that her twins had watched an episode of the series *Brugklas*, a Dutch TV show for young teens, while the girls were actually too young for this. In order to fully understand the following example, one should know that this derives from a family with two mothers:

I remember when they were younger they wanted to watch *Brugklas* [Dutch TV show], but we didn't agree. And I remember, I was watching an episode with them and it was about a teacher who was a lesbian. And kids used swear words against her. It was a whole thing. And my girls haven't....well they are raised in an environment where... well, they weren't aware of the fact that it could give certain reactions. And I talked about it with them at that moment. We watched it together for the rest but we decided to make a rule about it and that they weren't allowed to watch it anymore. Now they watch it. And now I am okay with this. They can place it better now.

When the researcher asked how her twins reacted to this, Annette responded, "Yeah at first they don't agree of course. But well, when I explain it to them they understand". This is an example of a restrictive strategy but conveyed in an autonomy supportive style, since the mother explains to her children why they are not allowed to watch it. This result ties well with a previous study wherein Fikkens et al. (2017) claim that the style of mediation is more important than the strategy. In other words, restrictive mediation and active mediation have similar positive outcomes when executed in an autonomy supportive way.

The Kijkwijzer helps parents to implement an autonomy supportive strategy. The Kijkwijzer symbols inform parents about harmful content up to a certain age and provide parents a first resource to explain and discuss with their child why. The data reflects that all parents use the Kijkwijzer to strengthen their statement of why their child should not yet watch a certain movie, TV show or play a certain game. Anique, whose nine year old daughter wanted to watch the movie *Star Wars*, explained she checked the Kijkwijzer rating, which indicated this movie was meant for children from twelve years onwards. She then told her daughter that "that's not going to happen now, you have to be older for that". Another example, only now about a game, followed from Sally, who said about her nine-year-old son that: "When he buys a game I am there. And then I have a look at it, what the age recommendation is, what it is about. And then he can buy it or not". This example indicates that both the Kijkwijzer and PEGI serve as a means that parents use as a rationale for parental regulations, that helps them to explain why their children are not allowed yet to see a certain production (Fikkens et al., 2017, p. 408). Even though the abovementioned examples are of restrictive mediation (content and purchase), the Kijkwijzer is used in an autonomy supportive way, providing a rationale for the child.

The data reflects that mediation is more difficult for imposing rules regarding the time children are allowed to spend with media devices. Cory admits that she faces many fights and stress over the time her son (eleven years old) is allowed to game. As she explained, “It is soooooooooo fascinatingly made. They really want to keep the kids interested. So it becomes more and more difficult to turn it off. And sometimes he is not even aware of it”. When asked Cory where exactly her son is not aware of, she responded:

That he is already playing for so long. And sometimes I say: “you can also turn it off at 7:45 instead of exactly at 8”. And by the way, the thing never gets turned off straight at 8. I always have to go upstairs, or call upstairs and say “keep in mind that it is 8 o’clock”. Most of the times he stops later than earlier. And if we talk about it then he says: “sorry I lost track of time I was in the middle of the game” or “I almost won” or “we were the only 2 survivors left and it was me or him”.

Notably, Cory imposed a rule that her son was not allowed to play games after 8pm. Interviews show that most parents try to explain the reason behind their rule regarding the screening time. Regina, for example, imposed a rule that her son Leo (nine years old) is only allowed to play online once a week. When asked how Leo reacted to this rule, Regina explained:

Well, we said that Leo wasn’t Leo anymore. And that we experienced that he really wanted to win and that everything was about him. Those shootings and everything around it...we explained that it is difficult for children to distinguish what is real and what is not. And hmm yeah like that. But actually, he dealt with it pretty good.

Previous research identified that restrictive mediation, conveyed in an autonomy supportive style, leads to positive outcomes (Fikkens et al., 2017). Regina’s example shows that her son accepted the rule she made for the amount of time he is allowed to play online during the week after she explained to him why she imposed this rule.

However, during the data analysis it became evident that children do not always adhere to the rules their parents have made about the screen time. This is mainly reflected in the fact that children cannot or won’t stop out of themselves, which often results into fights and stress between parent and child. Parents already try to overcome this problem by calling their children five to ten minutes in advance so that they can get used to the idea that they

must stop any time soon. When Nicoline was asked what happens if she doesn't keep track of the time her son Kars (ten years old) is allowed to game, she responded: "Then he will keep on watching or playing. Yeah I know him well enough for that...No he can't quit on his own. So I really have to be on top of it". If this doesn't work either, parents often threaten with a punishment, such as a "gameless day" or a "screen ban", as Cory inclined. When Cory was asked to elaborate a bit further on threatening with a "gameless day" she responded, "Yeah that is a punishment. A consequence [of] multiple times of not committing to the deals we made regarding the time he is allowed to game". This shows that restrictive mediation, whether conveyed in an autonomy supportive style of not, offers no guarantee that children will actually adhere to the rules regarding the time they are allowed to be exposed to media content. An example of this, is Cory's rule that her son must stop gaming or using his tablet after 8 pm: a rule he clearly doesn't strictly adheres to. In addition to this, restricting children in their smartphone usage is even more difficult. Ayla for example indicated that there are no rules for the smartphones, since her children are "just in possession of it".

The data reflects that co-viewing is most difficult for portable media devices, so parents are often not aware of what their children are doing or watching on their devices. Nicoline states that she tries to have sight on this by "mostly sitting next to him, and watching something together, co-viewing. And also keep asking questions, just showing your interest. Like: "hey what kind of content do you like?". However, Pauline indicated that she feels shy in doing this because: "I understand my boys. That they say it is partly private, their phone. And so I am shy in this. You know. They should be able to do their own thing". Findings also show that co-viewing with children's portable media devices rarely occurs. Considering that adolescents perceive their smartphone and tablet as their personal domain, parental intervention can be seen as disrespectful and an invasion into their privacy (Symons et al., 2017, p. 427).

Distant mediation is an effective strategy in that parents grant their children their trust. However, the data shows that many parents check their children's watching behavior on YouTube and Netflix, or check their phones (social media accounts). This finding highlights that parents do not always fully trust their children and that their distant mediation is not always as "distanced" as the name suggests. Additionally, parents often threaten with punishments when they grant their children autonomy to make sure their children won't damage their trust.

4.3 *Desired tools/resources to improve media education*

After having indicated which problems and concerns parents face, and which parenting strategies they apply, this section will address the needs of parents. Different needs indicated by parents will be highlighted. Notably, all parents agreed unanimously that YouTube is the biggest problem factor at the moment and that something should be done about it. Interviews reveal that the television is no longer parents' biggest concern. Other forms of digital media make it more difficult for parents to have control over what their children do and see. Parents experience several problems with new media devices. First, many parents believe their children are addicted to media devices, especially their smartphone, tablet or PlayStation and X-Box. Parents believe it is difficult to find a balance in how long they should allow their children to consume media. In addition to this, their children find it hard to stop using their devices. Second, parents have less sight on what their children do, watch or with whom they are in touch when they are spending time with their smartphone, tablet or PlayStation/X-Box.

With television and Netflix, these problems are less or not even present at all. As previously stated, parents value the Kijkwijzer system and especially the age recommendation they provide for all productions that are broadcasted on the television or on Netflix. Additionally, the Kijkwijzer helps parents to strengthen their claim as to why their child is not allowed to see certain content yet. Despite the fact that this research indicates that it is well arranged for the television and Netflix, multiple parents suggest they would like to see the Kijkwijzer symbols somewhere on the screen throughout the whole movie. This, because they sometimes put on a movie when it has already started, and then they don't know what harmful content it may contain, as Maya described, "But they are not visible throughout the whole movie...on the screen. Yeah...Maybe I come in the middle of the movie, and then I don't know from the start if it has to do with violence or sexuality". When the conversation about this subject continues, parents state there are some additional things they would value. One of these additional things is a chart that shows Kijkwijzer symbols for crucial parts in a movie. This would help parents to intervene more effectively when a scene with possible harmful content would appear.

Parents value the parental control settings on Netflix, as it diminishes harmful content exposure. In addition, young children are often only allowed to use the "kids" page that Netflix automatically creates for each account. Other parents make use of passwords, so that their children cannot enter the adult account, or watch Netflix whenever they want. Parents also often use the setting where Netflix only suggests content for a specific age category, for

example only movies until the age of twelve. Interestingly, Annette states that she would like to see a setting to demarcate the watching behavior. For example a setting where you can indicate that you can only watch a maximum of two episodes per day. This adds on to the problem of children's addictive usage that parents encounter nowadays. So far, Netflix only provides parental controls to diminish content, however, the service does not provide settings to diminish screen time. Annette, mother of the eleven-year-old twin, said that "Netflix itself is already addictive... But you can also for example, make a setting on Netflix, putting a lock on it, that you can eh...watch no more than 2 episodes for example".

Another need that parents indicated adds on to the continuous changing media environment. Parents suggest to create new symbols that fit more into our current era. Annette suggests a symbol for the influenceability of certain movies or programs. She expressed her concern about the popular hit series *13 Reasons Why*, a TV show about a young girl who commits suicide, as Annette stated:

Well I can imagine that, in the current age, there could be a symbol indicating the influenceability of a certain series... for certain children, this can get an own life. And that can be dangerous. There are of course also kids who watch it with a healthy mindset, you know, and who can make choices for their own. But there are also children who will be influenced by that.

Much has changed in the media landscape since 2001, when the Kijkwijzer was developed. Since then, the content of series and films has also become more extensive and diverse. The Kijkwijzer symbols that were relevant in 2001 may have become less effective nowadays. Perhaps the symbols could be adapted the current spirit of the age.

During the interviews it turned out that YouTube is one of the biggest concerns among parents and that they experience a wide variety of problems with YouTube. With no exception, all parents state they would value a Kijkwijzer for YouTube. When Maya illustrated the example of her ten-year-old son watching the "Killer Clown" video, she stated: "But if he knows from the beginning it is not meant for him, because on YouTube you don't have these symbols. Yeah and it is so open and for everyone." The fact that all parents are desperately concerned about YouTube shows that this is the biggest problem zone at the moment and that it is wise to tackle this first. Parents themselves are not raised with YouTube, so they barely have knowledge or affiliation with the platform. Additionally, parents are afraid of the wide variety of content that is evident on YouTube. Quite a few

parents explained scenarios where their children encountered a video on YouTube that scared them or that was not appropriate yet for their eyes and ages.

One other participant stated that she would value a media literacy program focused on how to guide your child through YouTube. When the conversation continued about this suggestion, made by Pauline (51 years old), she explained: “Yeah I could use that. How to make rules for that with your child?”. Media literacy or media awareness sessions are held at several high schools or community centers, but parents indicated these are usually more focused on social media or media in general. Information sessions about YouTube might be more useful for parents and would specifically tackle their biggest problem.

Quite a few parents mentioned they already attended a media literacy program once, for example at their child’s school or a community in the neighborhood. These were generally highly appreciated by parents. This in accordance with findings from Nikken and De Haan (2015) who state that parents start to look more often for professional help when their child starts engaging with social media. A few parents indicated that the school their child attends, also teaches in media awareness. The other remaining parents indicated that they believe it would be valuable if the school of their children would teach in media awareness. Parents often believe a teacher is persuasive in a more effective way than a parent, and that children will take certain advice sooner from a teacher than from a parent. Petra, who is a teacher herself, described, “Well if I look at students at my school. Parents struggle with things but if I say it as a teacher they take it more, well not everything of course but I think they start thinking about it”. Multiple parents suggest that additional help was not only relevant for parents, but also for their children. They believe it is important to make their children more critical consumers of media.

Children take advice more quickly from someone they look up to. A few parents suggested that a famous vlogger could say things about media awareness. When Ayla was asked what she thinks that would make her children become more critical towards media, she suggested Enzo Knol, a famous Dutch vlogger, to speak to children about media literacy. Ayla described that “that works better than if a parent would say it. They agree sooner, or understand it more, than if one of their parents would say it. Because a parent, well, you know”. When children become older they start to look for more autonomy and become more sensitive to the opinion and advice of people with whom they want to compare themselves (Valkenburg et al., 2013, p. 448).

Anique, who is also a teacher, suggests that a service where children can ask questions on media related issues would be of great help. When asked if she could elaborate a bit further on this idea, she stated:

Yeah I guess so. I believe that, with the rapid speed of how media develops itself, and also think of how easily you can do cyber bullying, because that's something I see with the kids I teach, via WhatsApp, bullying. I believe that, if there would be a certain website or something where they can watch videos regarding the topic, ask questions. That if they encounter problems with it at home, for example if someone texts you bad things and it is during holidays, that they can ask questions on the website, instead of parents who have to intervene in it. That they can check for themselves what to do.

What parents indicate that they need shows that media education, nowadays, goes way further than just the television and Netflix. Social media, YouTube and gaming (applications) are of much greater concern for parents. More and additional help is needed regarding these platforms, for parents as well as their children.

Another interesting finding is that parents would like to see this additional help if it is offered in an easy way. During the interview with Maria (42 years old) she was told that the Kijkwijzer is now trying to find a way to include a rating system for YouTube. Maria responded that she would appreciate that enormously, however, “then it should be easy to access”. Parents state they don’t have much time to delve into it and/or because they are not into it themselves, which makes it harder for them to understand all that our media landscape has to offer. Parents often do not know where they are saying “yes” or “no” to when their child asks if he/she can download a certain app. Apple’s Appstore doesn’t provide age or content indications about applications, which makes it more difficult for parents to estimate whether the child can download the specific application.. As Hannah (mother of two children, seven and nine) indicated:

Maybe a more clear description before you download a game. For what age it is and what it is about. So that I don’t have to google it myself. Maybe that. Look, you can download so many apps and other stuff and usually there is no description about for what age it is meant.. or if it contains violence or something. I think that it would be helpful if there are symbols too.

Parents say they check the application on the Internet to see what it is about. A rating system for applications would ensure that this is no longer necessary. There are a huge number of apps available to download. In addition, gaming applications are often extremely popular for a short time, but these applications are quickly replaced by another, new and popular application. If parents would immediately read clear information about the content of an application in the App Store, they could make a better estimation whether this application is suitable for their child.

Lastly, parents argue that every child is different, and that they often already see differences in their children, for example the differences in ages or the differences between boys and girls. Additional services/tools, for example media literacy programs, could respond to this, and offer help that is more child-specific. Nikken and Opree (2018) state in their research on Dutch children's digital media use that, in some families, media education is more difficult than in others. This has to do with family characteristics but this also depends on the child and parent (p. 184). Eventually, all parents state they believe it is most important to talk about the things children encounter online. Interestingly, parents agree they do not need any additional help in this. When this question was asked to Petra, she responded, "Well I believe it varies per child. How is my child dealing with it?". Petra stated that, with her eleven-year-old son, she deals in a different way with media related things than with her nine-year-old daughter. Notably, Petra was not the only parent who links the difference in media education to the difference in gender and age of the child, as this was indicated by multiple parents.

5. Discussion and conclusion

This section will elaborate on the broader implications of the results. The first part of this section will discuss what the results of this research mean for science. This section will outline the problems parents encounter in the media education of their children aged nine to twelve, where these problems occur, what they can handle themselves and where help is needed to overcome their struggles. The second part of this section will discuss the significance of this research for the Kijkwijzer. This part will focus on what role the Kijkwijzer could play to help parents with the struggles they encounter, so they can better educate their children in the new media environment. Within this section, limitations of the current study will be covered and suggestions for future research will be made. This section will end with concluding remarks and will provide an answer to the research question “What mediation strategies or resources do Dutch parents of children ages nine to twelve need in order to help their children navigate audiovisual media content in an autonomy supportive way?”

5.1 *The significance of this research to communication scholarship*

This research is a contribution to former scientific research into parental mediation. This study investigated the problems parents encounter in the media education of their children in the changing media landscape. The results of this research partly build on previous scientific research, yet, this research delved deeper into the forms of media where parents are currently experiencing problems. The purpose of this research was to gain insight into what parents need in order to make the media education of their children more fruitful. The research objective was primarily designed to draw a picture of the problems parents encounter. In other words, on which forms of media and on which platforms do children nine to twelve years old occupy themselves most? On which forms of media does parental mediation of young children usually succeed? But most importantly, on which forms of media do parents encounter most problems? And what kind of help do they need to overcome these? This, because fairly new media techniques, such as user-generated content, have caused a new way of media education. Despite the small scale of this research, no generalizing statements can be made. Nevertheless, the power of this research lies in providing a number of clear examples of what problems parents experience, where they are experiencing these problems, their concerns, what they do now and where they could use additional help.

This research casts new lights on which forms of media parents share a more positive or negative attitude. Parents are generally more negative about portable media devices or gaming consoles than towards traditional forms of media. Following this, future research could elaborate on this research direction, since parents experience most problems with these new forms of media. Additionally, this research has drawn a picture of the different forms of media parents are concerned about and what mediation strategies parents apply in order to demarcate negative outcomes. It turned out that concerns also derived because of (content on) portable media devices. Parents' concerns were expressed in particular regarding: exposure towards harmful content; the moment when their children will go to high school, implying that parents have to grant them more autonomy and trust; social media platforms such as WhatsApp and Instagram; the wide variety of content accessible on YouTube; and contact with strangers via social media or online gaming.

Despite the concerns that parents often share, they argue that many of their concerns are not yet under discussion. The age group of nine till twelve is still an age group in which children listen to the rules and advice of their parents. However, parents are concerned that, when their children will go to high school, start puberty and make new friends, controlling their media behavior will become increasingly difficult. Parents agree their child will own a smartphone by then and will most likely be active on (multiple) social media platforms. They are aware of the possibility that their children will no longer appreciate parental intervention. From a psychological point of view this makes sense, since children see parental intervention as an invasion in their personal domain. Because parental mediation will most likely be less accepted by children, it is important that this role will be taken over elsewhere. Secondary schools could, for example, play an important role in this by providing more information about media awareness or teach in media awareness.

Parents use a wide variety of different mediation strategies to overcome the problems they face in the media education of their children. To demarcate their children's screen time parents mostly impose restrictions regarding the time their child is allowed to game or use the tablet/smartphone. However, parents do not know how to impose mediation strategies to control the content children view on their smartphone or tablet. To the contrary, this does not apply for the television, since the television is often used together, and parents are usually nearby when their children watch television. Besides, content on the television is classified with Kijkwijzer symbols, which helps parents to strengthen their claim of why their child isn't allowed yet to watch a specific movie or series. Every parent indicated they use the Kijkwijzer on the television, without this service being initially mentioned by the interviewer.

Another promising finding is that parents use different mediation strategies interchangeably. Future research on media education in the digital era should treat different mediation strategies in conjunction with each other and no longer separately. Parents no longer use for example either restrictive mediation, active mediation or social co-view but use a mixture of the three. Parents, for example, prohibit a certain movie because they believe their child cannot cope with certain scenes yet. They first want to discuss the movie together with the child. After discussing what he/she expects to see (active mediation) the parent watches the movie together with the child (co-view). This research demonstrates as well that autonomy supportive parenting styles are most successful to convey any mediation strategy. As long as parents explain to their children why they impose certain rules and grant them autonomy to abide their rules, parents encounter fewer problems. This result ties well with previous studies (Fikkens et al., 2017; Meeus et al., 2018a; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016) that already praised autonomy supportive parenting as the most effective route for parents.

However, applying mediation strategies and styles to limit harmful content exposure still appears to be a difficult task. In contrast to a couple of years ago, this concern no longer applies to the television or Netflix, but shifted towards other forms of media where user-generated content is prevalent. The fact that parents are still concerned about the risk of exposure towards harmful content implies that this ongoing concern has not been resolved yet. Parents are still aware and afraid of the possibility that their child can watch something harmful. Within the sample, not every child has access to a smartphone or tablet, but in families where children have access to portable media devices, all parents could describe scenarios in which their child was at least once exposed to inappropriate content. The most common examples were from YouTube, but some parents also experienced their child had encountered something inappropriate on Instagram or by a video that was forwarded via WhatsApp. Since portable media devices are more used individually, it is now more difficult for parents to control these devices.

Parents are also very skeptical towards contact with strangers online, whether this is via social media or online gaming. They are afraid that strangers will make their children do things they will regret later on. Also here, it is important that children develop a critical attitude towards media, so they are capable themselves to distinguish right and wrong online behavior. In order to make children more critical consumers of media, parents should have higher levels of media literacy than their children (Rasmussen et al., 2016, p. 2). For this reason, more help could be offered to make parents become more digitally skilled. This will immediately make parents more capable to execute an active mediation strategy. Findings

from past research (Meeus et al., 2018a; Rasmussen et al., 2016; Padilla-Walker & Coyne, 2011) reflect that active mediation contributes to make children become critical consumers of media.

Yet, the largely praised strategy of active mediation (Lee, 2013; Nathanson, 2004) is barely used for YouTube, social media and gaming. This research shows that parents very rarely start a conversation with their children regarding user-generated content. The intended strategy was almost only used when parents found out their child had watched something of which they disagree. This is always too late and damage may have already been done. Scientific research could respond to this, familiarizing and encouraging parents even more to talk about the content their children like to watch on their portable devices. Additionally, with a rating system on YouTube, parents would become more familiar with the type of content that can be watched on YouTube, or what their children like to watch, which makes active mediation easier to conduct.

In order to be aware of what their children watch on their tablet or smartphone, parents prefer that their children use these devices when they are around. However, they also admit this is not always possible, for example when the parent is not around or when the child wants to isolate himself/herself for a moment in his/her room. Parents believe it is important to allow their children their privacy. They say it should be possible for their children to have a moment for themselves with their smartphone/tablet. Co-view, as a parenting strategy, has therefore become more difficult and less executed. However, this does not alter the fact that children can easily watch something harmful on their devices. Because of this, all parents within the sample explicitly stated they would value a rating system similar to the television, Netflix and games, but now for YouTube. Especially the finding that Netflix and the television are no longer parents' biggest concern, is a new contribution to science. This implies that from now on, the focus should be on social media platforms where user-generated content prevails. Future research can be generated based on this, thereby creating new research directions. The next part of the discussion illustrates the significance of this research for the Kijkwijzer and how the Kijkwijzer could respond to parents' desires.

5.2 *The significance of this research for Kijkwijzer*

This research offered new insights for the Kijkwijzer, from which a few conclusions can be drawn. It appears that most parents find it important to know what their children watch, especially regarding violent content, sexually oriented content and content that

contains abusive language. What is interesting here is that parents do not notice any negative effects that they can link to violent and sexually oriented content. What parents do notice, is the abusive language of their children, and they can clearly link this to the content their children are exposed to. This is an important finding in the understanding of the platforms where children occupy themselves on and the subsequent measures parents take. When parents notice that their child uses foul language, or when parents notice that their child watches content that contains a lot of foul language, most likely vlogs on YouTube, they try to intervene by starting a conversation with their child. Parents explain to their children that certain language is not appropriate and ask their children not to adopt this type of language. This indicates two things. First, parents do talk about the content their children are exposed to online, which implies that parents use active mediation as parental mediation strategy. However, this implies as well that parents only execute active mediation when they notice or have noticed that their child is watching something they don't agree with, such as content that contains a lot of abusive language. Damage can already be done, for example when parents notice their children have adopted foul words into their vocabulary. This finding suggests that a Kijkwijzer on YouTube could be useful for parents. The level of foul language used in a video could, for example, be tied to a fixed age limit. Additionally, symbols that indicate "abusive language" in a video could make it easier for parents to respond to this, for example in limiting or restricting this type of content.

This research also highlights that parents' level of knowledge about media varies greatly. Despite the fact that it is important that children become critical consumers of media, it is just as important for parents to develop media literacy skills. A similar conclusion was reached by Rasmussen et al. (2016) who argue that media literacy programs help parents to communicate with their children about media and the content they watch (p. 21). The Kijkwijzer could fill this gap by taking an even more informative role. Recently, the Kijkwijzer developed a new commercial spot for the television, in where they remind parents when a movie with a "from the age of sixteen onwards" classification is about to start before ten o'clock pm. Within this commercial spot, the Kijkwijzer also refers to their updated website by saying: "See what else you can do at Kijkwijzer.nl" (Kijkwijzer.nl/uitzendtijden). On this website, the organization provides "what else can you do as a parent" tools and provides informative insights into media education. Nevertheless, this informative role could be expanded even more. The Kijkwijzer could for example collaborate with primary and secondary schools to teach parents as well as their children in media education and/or media literacy. Besides the fact that this would make children more aware of the risks and benefits of

the Internet, this would also help parents to become more media literate and more aware of what our media landscape has to offer. This will also most likely resolve the question of where parents are saying “yes” or “no” to.

Although parents often encounter the same problems, this study also shows that there are differences between households, boys and girls and ages. In other words, this research reveals that child or problem specific help is needed. It would make sense to offer multiple information sessions, focused on different platforms or problems. Parents who experience problems with WhatsApp and Instagram would value an information session regarding social media. Other parents, who are not very media skilled themselves, may value a more general information session about our current media landscape. Parents who fear YouTube and are afraid of the risks and dangers their children encounter on YouTube, may value an information session which solely focuses on YouTube. Our media landscape has become so extensive that the problems and desires of parents have become varied too.

Another suggestion could be an information app where parents can seek for more child-specific help. Findings from this research show that parents believe every child is different and that a “one fits all approach” does not always work. Information sessions can also contribute to this, for example when parents can present a specific scenario or problem to an expert. Another advantage of an app is that it is easy to use. Nowadays, almost everyone owns a tablet or smartphone, which makes opening an app a small effort. Findings from this study showed that parents would like to be given extra tools but preferably in the easiest way possible.

5.3 Limitations and future research

Although this work provides detailed information on parental mediation in the digital era, nonetheless, it can be argued that this research has several limitations. The main limitation deals with the composition of the sample. There was only one interview where a father was involved in the conversation. All other interviews were held with mothers. It can thus be argued that this study is more based around maternal mediation instead of parental mediation. Future academic inquiry could respond to this by making the sample more diverse. Meaning that an even number of fathers and mothers could be recruited for participation to provide more diversified data. Yet, due to previous conducted literature on parental mediation, there is no need to believe that the sample imbalance has led to major differences in the results.

In addition to this, despite the imbalance within the sample, no generalizing statements can be made. The strength of this research lies in providing a number of clear examples of what problems parents experience, where they are experiencing these problems, their concerns, what they do now and where they could use additional help. The results from this work have been connected to findings from existing theories and other studies in the field. In this way, this research demonstrates that the findings from this study are part of a larger whole, which in turn demonstrates the broader context of this research.

Future research should not treat parental mediation strategies as distinct anymore. Results revealed that parents often apply different mediation strategies interchangeably. In order to get a complete picture of the different parenting styles that parents use, future research should no longer treat these strategies separately.

5.4 *Concluding remarks*

This work has important implications for academics, governmental institutions, parents and schools. Many technological and social changes from the last recent years have raised the question of whether the traditional parental mediation strategies and styles are still effective. Throughout the theoretical framework it became clear that new media caused new challenges, concerns and problems. This was discussed in greater depth during this study. Interviews were conducted with Dutch parents to get an idea of how parents educate their children nowadays and what attitudes they share regarding new forms of media. The focus here was specifically on Dutch parents, so that NICAM gets a clearer picture of the problem areas in the Netherlands, and how they can respond to this. This part of the discussion and conclusion section will elaborate on the broader implications of the findings from this study and will provide an answer to the research question: What mediation strategies or resources do Dutch parents of children ages nine to twelve need in order to help their children navigate audiovisual media content in an autonomy supportive way?

Although the television is still a widely used medium, platforms on which user-generated content can be viewed, at least among children, has become at least as popular. This finding shows that, for children, watching YouTube videos has become a form of “watching television”. People used to spend hours in front of the television but nowadays children spend hours watching YouTube videos. It is therefore of great importance to recognize the popularity of user-generated content platforms. Children spend much time on these platforms, yet, these platforms contain a lot of unclassified content, which makes it a precarious and risky environment for young children. It is important that children are protected against the

negative influences of media content, since media can display a distorted view of reality (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010). Interviews revealed that mediating children's portable device usage, on which they occupy themselves with user-generated content platforms, remains difficult. No clear evidence was found for which strategy is most effective. Therefore, from now on, it is important that media education focuses on portable media devices. Government agencies, schools and academics must shift their focus towards platforms where user-generated content is prevalent in order to effectively help parents to guide their children's digital media use.

Interviews from this study have shown that parents themselves are indeed aware of the risks of user-generated content. They unanimously indicated they would value a rating system similar to Kijkwijzer on YouTube. In addition to this, since parents often lack knowledge and affinity with YouTube, they would value information sessions offered at schools or neighborhood communities solely focused on YouTube. Parents expressed their concerns about Instagram and WhatsApp too, but the same needs that were mentioned for YouTube were not mentioned for Instagram and WhatsApp. This could be due to the fact that parents often use these applications themselves, and have therefore more affinity and understanding of them. Additionally, this shows that parents don't know how to regulate the YouTube usage of their children and that help has so far been inadequate. Parents indicate as well that they believe it is important that their children develop a critical attitude towards media. In order not to create disturbed media values, or being able to distinguish right and wrong online behavior, it is important that our new generation is capable to deal with media in a critical way. The latter is also important since parents are afraid they will have less control over their children when they will enter puberty and start high school. Parents indicate that their children's schools should teach more about how to deal with (social) media, so that children become well aware of the dangers and risks of (social) media and how they can prevent these risks.

These abovementioned needs voiced by parents will provide parents the right tools to conduct media education in an autonomy supportive way. This is the route NICAM wants to go, since research, as well as practice, have shown that an autonomy supportive mediation style is most effective. This strategy takes the perspective of the child into account and explains the rule(s) imposed by the parent to the child. This research shows as well that talking about the content that children encounter online is often difficult. Parents do not find it hard to talk about media content, but they often have no idea what their children are watching, which makes it hard to start a conversation about it. It is an interesting finding that parents do

not know exactly what their children are watching on user-generated content platforms. Future research could delve deeper into why parents no longer make an effort to find out what their children watch on these platforms. Having knowledge about what content their children watch, will probably make it easier to be more autonomy supportive. When parents, perhaps through media information sessions, become more familiar with what their children watch online, they can better consider their child's perspective. Research (Fikkens et al., 2017; Meeus et al., 2018a) has shown that the style, so autonomy supportive, is more important than the strategy (active, restrictive, deference, social co-use) in the media education of young children.

Parents and their children could use more help in the continuously changing media landscape. When parents become better acquainted with the things their children like to do online or the things they prefer to watch, parents can take their child's perspective more into account when imposing rules regarding media usage. On the other hand, when children become critical consumers of media themselves, rules may be less needed. This could also contribute to children's understanding towards the rules their parents impose. More specific help, specifically directed towards the needs of either parents or children, will make a greater contribution to navigate both parties in the changing media landscape.

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7. Appendices

Appendix A: Topic List

Research question: What mediation strategies or resources do Dutch parents of children ages 9-12 need in order to help their children navigate audiovisual media content in an autonomy supportive way?

Korte uitleg onderzoek:

Mijn naam is Luka, 23 jaar, en ik volg op dit moment de master Media, Culture & Society aan de universiteit in Rotterdam. Voor deze master ben ik bezig met mijn scriptie, en voor dit onderzoek heb ik 12 ouders nodig om een interview mee af te nemen.

In het veranderende medialandschap van traditionele vormen van media (televisie) naar nieuwe vormen van media (denk aan tablets, smartphones, laptops) is het voor ouders steeds lastiger om grip te hebben op de bepaalde content die hun kinderen kijken. Uit vorig onderzoek is gebleken dat ouders het steeds moeilijker vinden om controle te hebben/houden over waar hun kinderen aan blootgesteld worden. Ouders geven aan dat ze vaak geen idee hebben wat hun kinderen allemaal zien op hun apparaatjes of waar ze naar kijken op televisie. Wat ik precies ga onderzoeken voor mijn scriptie is wat de behoeftes van ouders zijn hierin. Wat kan er bijvoorbeeld aan ouders aangeboden worden zodat zij hun kinderen beter kunnen uitleggen waarom een bepaalde film of een bepaald TV programma niet geschikt is? Hoe kunnen ouders hun kinderen beter wegwijs maken in het medialandschap? Willen ouders bijvoorbeeld meer informatie, uitleg, andere handvatten etc.

Zoals ik zojuist al aangaf moet ik dit gaan onderzoeken aan de hand van interviews met ouders (vader of moeder maakt niks uit). Belangrijk is dat de ouder tenminste 1 kind in de leeftijdscategorie heeft van 9-12 jaar. Belangrijk om te weten: er bestaan geen goede of slechte antwoorden, alles dat u mij kunt vertellen tijdens het interview zal nuttig voor mijn onderzoek. Het interview zal ergens tussen de 45 min en 60 min duren schat ik.

Voorstellen van de respondent

- a. Kort voorstellen van de kandidaat. Wanneer je wilt, zou ik graag je naam (of het pseudoniem waarvan jij wilt dat ik deze gebruik), je leeftijd, educatieve/professionele achtergrond, en wellicht een ander aspect dat je van belang acht, te delen. Vervolgens

ben ik ook geïnteresseerd in de leeftijd en het geslacht van je kind. Ik ben ook benieuwd naar de verschillende media apparaten in jouw huishouden, en van wie deze zijn.

b. Algemene informatie mediagebruik in het huishouden

i. Wat kijken jullie zoal bij jullie thuis?

- Traditionele media/ nieuwe media
- Mening van de kandidaat over wat er zoal gekeken wordt
- Zijn de ouders thuis wanneer de kinderen blootgesteld worden aan content?
- Is de ouder handig met media (apparaten)?

c. Dagelijks kijkgedrag

i. Kan je me meenemen door een algemene dag van het mediagebruik van jouw kind?

ii. Wat kijkt hij/zij zoal?

iii. Heb je goed zicht op wat hij/zij zoal kijkt?

iv. Wanneer ben je je hier wel van bewust en wanneer niet?

- Kijkt je kind vaak alleen of met anderen?
- Attitude/mening van de ouder over het kijkgedrag van het kind?
- Wat voor problemen komt de ouder tegen omtrent het kijkgedrag?

Kennis van de ouder over schadelijke content en de bijbehorende gevolgen

a. Zijn er bepaalde vormen van content waarvan je niet wilt dat je kind eraan blootgesteld wordt?

i. Wanneer ja, waarom juist deze vormen van content?

ii. Kan je voorbeelden geven van films, TV programma's, series waar je je kind(eren) van wilt beschermen?

iii. Wanneer het de kandidaat niets uitmaakt wat de kinderen kijken, waarom niet?

iv. Wat doe je zoal wanneer je niet wilt dat je kind(eren) bepaalde content kijken?

v. Help dit?

Wanneer ja: waarom denk je dat dit werkt?

Wanneer nee: welke problemen kom je tegen?

- Autonomie ondersteunend/restrictief?
- Probeer erachter te komen welke problemen zij tegen komen

i. Ben je bang dat blootstelling aan schadelijke content zal leiden tot negatieve uitkomsten voor je kind?

ii. Wanneer ja: waar ben je zoal bang voor?

iii. Waarom maak je je vooral hier druk om?

iv. Wat denk je dat kan gebeuren?

➔ Vraag b ii van volgende sectie

b. Heb je ooit gemerkt dat je kind negatieve uitkomsten heeft ervaren ten gevolge van de blootstelling aan bepaalde content?

i. Wat had hij/zij gekeken?

ii. Wat waren de negatieve uitkomsten?

c. Probeer je te voorkomen dat ze bepaalde schadelijke content kijken?

i. **Wat doe je zoal?**

ii. Helpst dit?

• Hoe zit de media educatie van deze kandidaat eruit?

iii. Wat is daarvoor nog nodig?

De rol van ouders in de opvoeding

a. Zijn er bepaalde regels/normen/waarden in jouw huishouden waar je kinderen zich aan moeten houden?

i. Welke problemen kom je tegen?

ii. Gaat dit goed?

Waarom wel/waarom niet?

b. Zijn er verschillen in regels tussen televisie en andere media apparaten?

i. Wanneer ja, kan je uitleggen wat voor verschillende regels en waarom?

ii. Vind je het lastig om aan je kind(eren) uit te leggen waarom hij/zij een bepaald programma, film etc. niet mag kijken?

Waarom?

iii. Hoe doe je dat nu?

iv. Wat voor hulp kan je hierin nog gebruiken?

c. Wat zijn de meest voorkomende problemen die je hebt ervaren in de media educatie/begeleiding van je kind(eren)?

i. Kan je voorbeelden geven?

ii. Misschien een scenario schetsen?

• Accepteert het kind de regels gemakkelijk?

Gewenste hulpmiddelen/informatie

- a. Denk je dat je op dit moment genoeg kennis hebt over hoe je het beste het mediagebruik van je kind(eren) kan bemiddelen/begeleiden?
 - i. Kan je hier iets meer over vertellen?
 - ii. Wanneer nee, wat ontbreekt hierin nog?
- b. Waarvandaan haal je je informatie als het gaat om het opvoeden van je kind(eren) in het medialandschap?
- c. Zijn er bepaalde dingen (informatie) die je nog graag wilt weten omtrent de content die wordt uitgezonden? Op TV, VOD, streaming services...
- d. Kan je iets bedenken (een hulpmiddel, een service, een bron) dat nog ontbreekt in Nederland dat jou zou helpen om aan je kind(eren) uit te leggen waarom bepaalde content (nog) niet geschikt is voor hen?
- e. Kan je iets bedenken (een hulpmiddel, een service, een bron) dat nog ontbreekt in Nederland dat jou zou helpen om je kind beter te begeleiden in het medialandschap?
- f. In Nederland wordt alle content geklassificeerd met Kijkwijzer symbolen. Ben je je hiervan bewust?

Wanneer ja:

- i. Maak je gebruik van deze symbolen? Hoe vaak, waarom, wanneer?
- ii. Zou je zeggen dat deze duidelijk genoeg zijn?
- iii. Zou je zeggen dat de Kijkwijzer ouders op een andere manier zou moeten informeren over de inhoud van films, programma's, series?
Wanneer ja, hoe dan?
- iv. Zou je zeggen dat de Kijkwijzer meer informatie moet verschaffen waar deze symbolen precies voor staan/waar deze op gebaseerd zijn?
- v. Zou je zeggen dat de Kijkwijzer een belangrijke rol kan spelen om jou te helpen om je kind(eren) beter te begeleiden/bemiddelen in het medialandschap? Wanneer ja, wat kunnen zij nog meer doen?

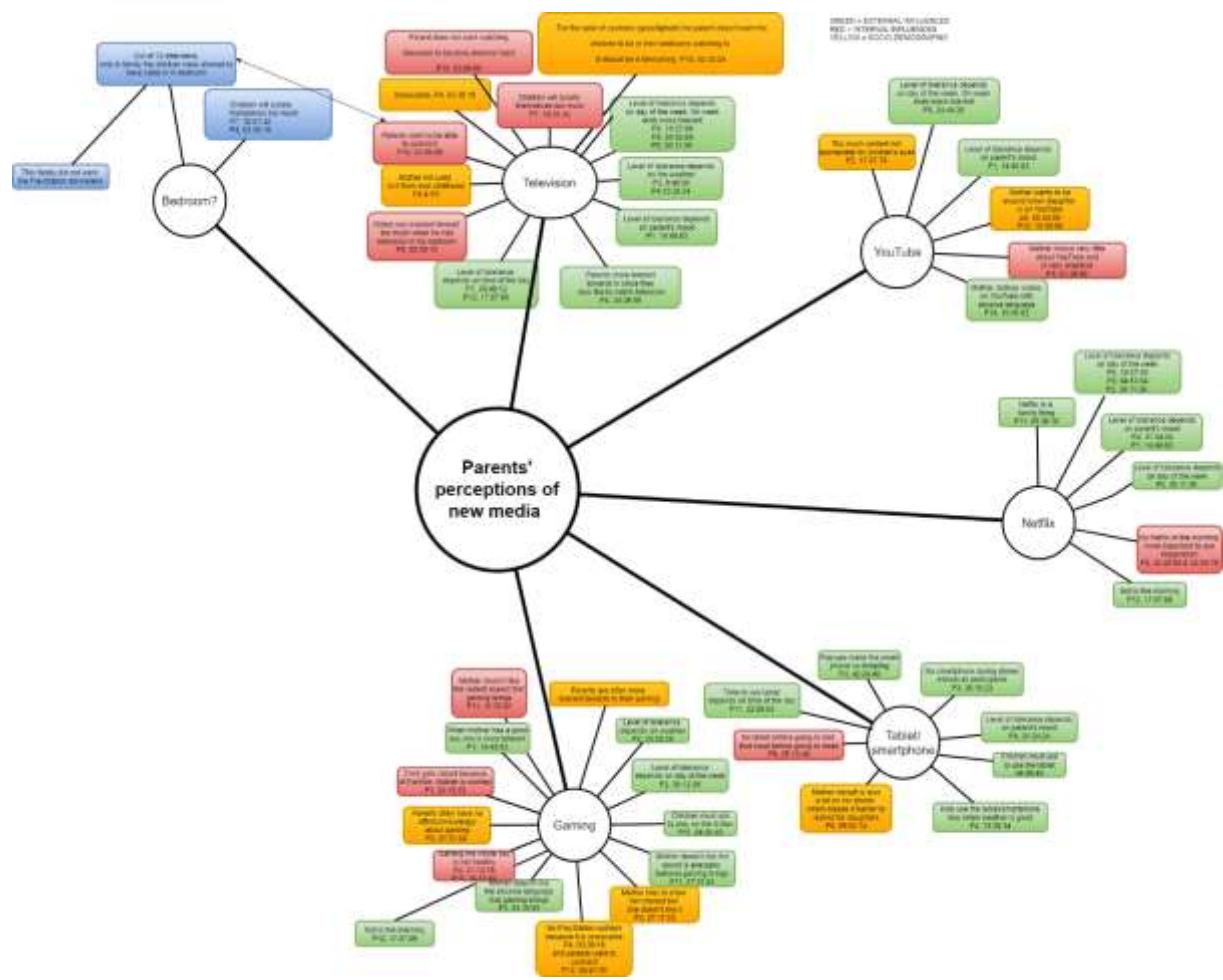
Afsluiten interview

- a. Zijn er nog aanvullende opmerkingen die je graag kwijt zou willen over hetgeen waar we zojuist over gesproken hebben?
- b. Bedankt voor je waardevolle deelname
- c. Uitwisselen contact informatie

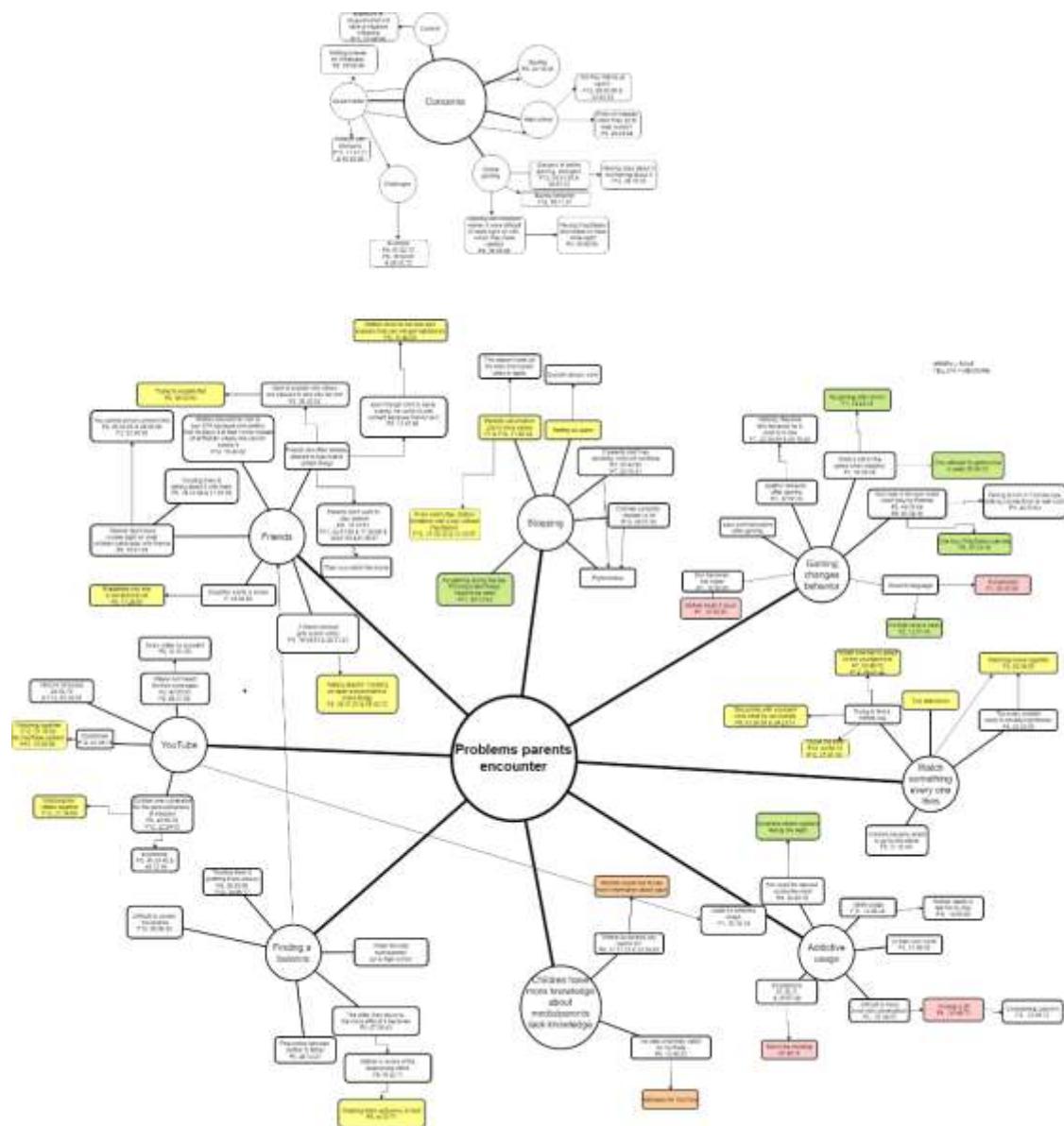
Appendix B: Mind-maps of different themes

The following diagrams provide a visual overview of the themes that were identified after being coded.

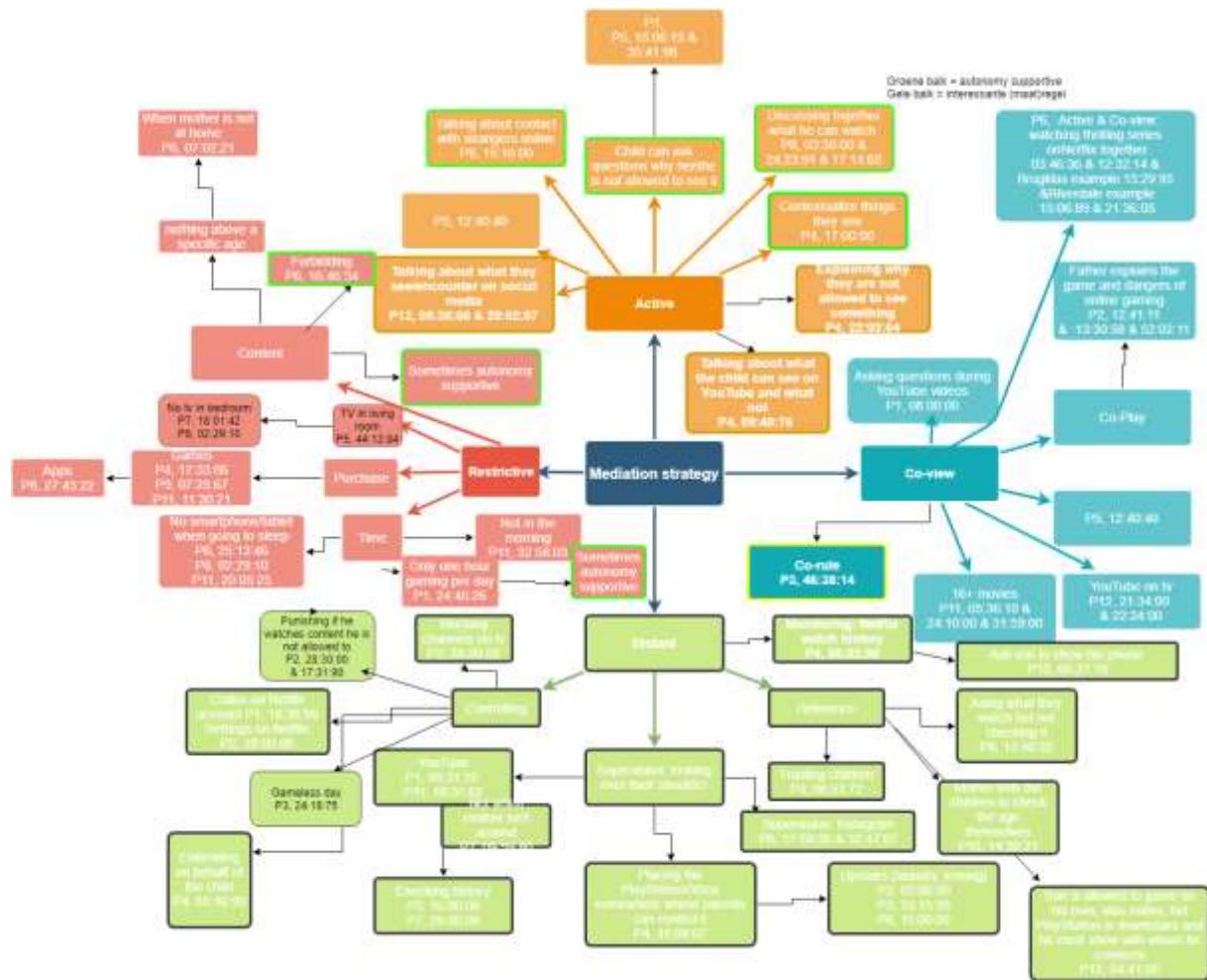
Theme 1: Parents' perceptions of (new) media and its impact on their children



Theme 2: What problems do parents encounter



Theme 3: Strategies parents use to manage children's content exposure



Theme 4: Perceived advantages and obstacles of these strategies

Wat doen ze precies, in hoeverre 'lukt' mediaopvoeding, geschiedt/lukt dit op een autonomie-ondersteunende manier en waar lopen ze dan tegenaan?

Active:

- Contextualizing the things they see P4, 17:33:06 → children understand
- Active: talking about with whom they are allowed to communicate online and why P4, 40:32:24 → mother never had a negative experience with online gaming
- Watching content together the girls are a bit too young for, but that they want to see badly and talking/discussing it P6, 13:29:93 (Brugklas) P6, 03:46:36 (Riverdale)
- Discussing and looking together with their son what he can handle/watch and negotiating together P8, 03:30:00 & P8, 05:29:13 → Sometimes son/mother realize during the movie that it is too scary and then it is too late 05:29:13. If mother explains that he will be afraid again after seeing it, her son understands but this never goes without struggles 24:23:91
- Discussing & explaining the dangers of online gaming 15:10:00 → these discourses occur less often now 16:40:32
- Watching YouTube videos together and explaining that certain language is not appropriate P12, 21:34:00

Restrictive:

- Content:
 - The child starts discussions/showing a counter reaction. However, he is not asking too much questions yet, it is still doable and accepts the rules regarding content P1, 11:33:91. Mother once came across a too violent game on his phone and she removed it. She talked about it with her son and explained why P1, 33:02:16
 - Son knows what he is allowed to see and what not. If he watches something he is not allowed to, the mother explains why and will punish him with a screening ban → son deals pretty good with this P2, 29:07:32 & 29:30:02
 - The kids are not dealing a lot with it so it is going alright so far. But mother said to them that if they come across something they can ask her and she will explain P5, 22:04:11

- First they don't agree but when the mother explains why, they understand P6, 13:29:93 & 16:46:34. When mothers are not at home, they are not allowed to watch 12+ things P6, 07:02:21 → mother doesn't know if this works but she trusts them
- Parents 7 are very restrictive (no online gaming, time of gaming/watching tv, what he is allowed to watch) and not autonomy supportive, however, they didn't experience any real problems yet. They did explain that he cannot watch certain movies because he will become scared, as was the scenario after watching Garfield 21:15:01 & 21:54:43
- Time:
 - Putting an alarm on the time son is allowed to game → sometimes he can become really mad P2,10:45:95. However, deals good with the new rule that he is not allowed to play Fortnite every day anymore → parents explained this 15:34:24
 - No gaming after 8pm → They made an agreement that the mother has to tell the son 30 minutes beforehand to stop, so he knows and he knows if he can start another game 1:02:35:85 → this works better than before, but the mother still experiences problems
 - There is no specific rule regarding the time the girls can be on their phone/tablet. Mother lets the girls know a little bit beforehand that in a short time, they have to put their phone/tablet away 09:02:14
- Location:
 - No smartphone in his bedroom when going to sleep → First it was difficult because the son felt his parents did not trust him (anymore). But now this goes well. He doesn't check his phone during the night 42:24:48
- Purchase:
 - In the beginning the mother was strict on it (GTA). Not anymore she prefers her son to play it at home where she can see/talk about it P12, 18:05:00

Co-view/play/co-rule:

- Co-watch:
 - Mother believes it is important to show interest in what her son watches/games so she talks about it with her son and co-views sometimes P1,03:01:02

- Watch thrilling/difficult content together P6, 13:29:93 (Brugklas) P6, 03:46:36 (Riverdale)
- They watch certain movies (New Kids) together because the mother believes it contains too much abusive language/behavior P11, 24:10:00 → this works partly: the sons want to see the movies multiple times but the mother doesn't agree. In the end her sons accept it
- Asking her son to put YouTube video he watches on the big tv screen P12, 23:03:33
- Co-rule:
 - Mother made a rule together with her son: from 11 am on weekends the son is allowed to game P3, 46:38:14 → this is not always working, the son often starts playing at 10am 46:38:14. Mother turns it off then, or makes a deal and says: "you turned it on one hour too early, then you stop one hour sooner" P3, 47:00:00
 - One hour PlayStation per day → this works because they made this rule together P8, 09:59:29
 - Mother and son made the rule that the PlayStation must be downstairs so mother knows what he is doing. This works because they made this rule from the beginning P12, 04:41:00
- Negotiating: the girls try to negotiate and they find a middle way about the time 09:02:14
- P6 making rules about Instagram

Distant:

- Controlling:
 - Controlling: mother said her son was not allowed to go to the cinema with a friend, without telling her son about the invite P4, 55:16:93 after he found out she explained why and he understood it/agreed
 - Threatening with punishments works. For example: "no phone the next day" P10, 08:29:65
- Supervision:
 - Walking into the PlayStation room so now and then → kids don't mind P4, 41:04:07
 - Instagram: mother herself is also on Instagram. The girls ask if they can post a picture or not 32:47:07. They do not always agree, but they listen in the end 33:13:11

- Deference:
 - She trusts her son that he doesn't watch videos on YouTube he is not allowed to watch
→ mother is never sure if he sticks to that, but she never experienced anything negatively and trusts her son P8, 12:40:22
 - "Nour, you have my trust but if you damage that once...then I will become really really mad" P10, 23:02:22
- Monitoring:
 - Checking the kids' phones (Instagram, YouTube & Netflix watching behavior) P10, 09:02:04 & 09:31:37

Theme 5: Desired tools/resources to better navigate their children in the new media environment

