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Grandparental Mediation of Children’s Digital Media Use

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GRANDPARENTAL MEDIATION OF CHILDREN’S DIGITAL MEDIA USE

Nelly Elias, Dafna Lemish, and Galit Nimrod

Introduction

Given the complex challenges families face today, one cannot overestimate the major role grandparents play in their grandchildren’s lives. Recent surveys in various Western countries reveal that about half of grandparents look after at least one grandchild, typically at a frequency of once a week or more (Di Gessa, Glaser, & Tinker, 2015; Hank, Cavrini, Di Gessa, & Tomassini, 2018; Horsfall & Dempsey, 2015). Grandparental care often involves tending to their grandchildren’s physical needs, driving them from one place to another, or helping them with their homework. No less important, however, is the role played by the grandparents in their grandchildren’s leisure activities, such as going to the park, reading, baking, and using various media (Kornhaber, 1996; Share & Kerrins, 2009).

Recent research shows that watching television and playing digital games account for a large proportion of the time children spend under their grandparents’ care (Dunifon, Near, & Ziol-Guest, 2018; Öztürk & Hazer, 2017). Yet, no studies prior to the authors’ on-going research project have explored grandparents’ mediation of their grandchildren’s media uses, such as limiting the grandchild’s screen time, selecting appropriate content, or using the digital devices together. This chapter, which is part of a larger project, aims to explore patterns of grandparental mediation of their grandchildren’s digital media uses. By conducting a parallel exploration of both non-interactive (e.g., watching any kind of screen content) and interactive media uses (e.g., playing digital games, using software/applications, etc.) and focussing on grandparents of children aged two to seven years, who are especially in need of adult mediation, it fills a significant gap in the existing body of knowledge.

Literature Review

Mediation of Children’s Media Use

Since nothing is known of grandparents’ mediation role, this section will explore major parental mediation strategies that have been a topic of intensive academic inquiry for more than two decades. Valkenburg, Krcmar, Peeters, and Marseille (1999) outlined three key mediation strategies of television viewing that served as the basis for much of the research that followed:
“restrictive” mediation, “instructive” (also known as active) mediation, and “social co-viewing”. Parents who engage in restrictive mediation set rules for viewing or prohibit the viewing of certain content; instructive mediation refers to the parental discussion of certain aspects of programmes with children during or following the viewing; and co-viewing describes situations in which parents and children share the viewing experience without necessarily discussing it.

With the advance of the internet and the growing presence of interactive digital devices in children’s lives, researchers have begun to suggest new mediation strategies. One pioneering study in this field by Livingstone and Helsper (2008) claims that internet use is highly different from television viewing and consequently demands the development of new parental mediation categories. Their findings point to a new strategy of “active co-use” that contains a mixture of practices previously included in instructive mediation, restrictive mediation, and co-viewing, as well as to a “monitoring” strategy that consists of checking children’s online activities following computer use.

Other researchers, however, have found no confirmation for the active co-use mediation strategy and even argued that existing mediation strategies apply to television viewing and digital media alike. Indeed, four mediation strategies appeared as meaningful constructs in most of the recent studies on interactive media uses, three of which are similar to television viewing strategies: restrictive mediation, instructive/active mediation, and co-use. Furthermore, these studies suggest a new category of mediation, “supervision”, that includes parents’ attempts to remain proximal to the child when they engage in media use and to keep an eye on the screen (Li & Shin, 2017; Nikken & Jansz, 2014; Nikken & Schols, 2015; Smahelova, Juhová, Cermak, & Smahel, 2017; Sonck, Nikken, & de Haan, 2013). This literature provided the grounding for exploring grandparents’ mediation of their grandchildren’s media use in the current study (Elias, Nimrod, & Lemish, 2019; Nimrod, Elias, & Lemish, 2019).

**Grandparents’ Use of Media with Their Grandchildren**

Most of the studies on grandparents’ media use with their grandchildren focus on technological affordances that allow remotely located grandparents to communicate across distances and not on shared media consumption of physically close grandchildren and grandparents. These studies found that pre-school children and their grandparents use Skype as their favourite platform to communicate and even to play physical games such as jumping and virtual hide and seek (Busch, 2018). In addition, collaborative web applications such as StoryVisit enable long-distance grandparents to engage in simultaneous book reading with their pre-school grandchildren, thus cultivating a sense of togetherness between them (Raffle et al., 2011). These video-chats allow the grandparents greater involvement in their grandchildren’s lives and even improve the quality of in-person visits. Similarly, young children’s formative relationships with distanced grandparents are often mediated by a screen (McClure, Chentsova-Dutton, Holochwost, Parrott, & Barr, 2017) and therefore grandchildren do not perceive their grandparents to be remote relatives (Forghani & Neustaedter, 2014; Lin & Harwood, 2003).

Another field of research that deals with the role of media in grandparent–grandchild relations focuses on teenage grandchildren’s attempts to help their grandparents learn how to use new media devices. In this regard, the literature suggests that grandparents who wish to communicate with their grandchildren through various online platforms and devices are more satisfied when learning to use technology (Hunt, 2012). Moreover, grandparents report a newly acquired sense of empowerment and self-competence in surfing the internet due to knowledge exchange with primary school grandchildren (Gamliel & Gabay, 2014). Interestingly, grandparents’ potential to improve their grandchildren’s digital skills was never the subject of academic inquiry despite children’s possible need for adult assistance.
Finally, only a few studies examined (in a very partial manner) how grandparents and grandchildren use media together. Smith (2005) has revealed that as grandchildren get older, grandparents typically shift their childrearing practices from participating in outdoor activities, such as going to the playground, to engaging in indoor activities, such as watching television. Moreover, Öztürk and Hazer (2017) found that shared television viewing was the most common activity between grandchildren and their grandparents, even identifying this as a key feature of a strong grandparent–grandchild relationship.

No less important is the issue of young children’s media consumption under their grandparents’ watch. In this regard, the authors found that young children aged two to seven tended to use various media for extensive periods of time while being watched by their grandparents. Namely, the grandchildren’s screen time reached nearly two hours per average ‘caregiving event’ and accounted for almost half the total time the grandchildren and grandparents spent together (Elias et al., 2019). Given the children’s very young age and the high amount of media exposure, these findings emphasise the importance of grandparental mediation and how it is applied to various media uses. Accordingly, this chapter aims to fill this gap in knowledge by answering the following research questions:

1. What is the level of grandparents’ familiarity with the different media that their grandchildren use?
2. What are the grandparents’ attitudes towards their grandchildren’s media uses?
3. To what extent do grandparents mediate their grandchildren’s media uses?
4. And how do their current mediation practices, when applied towards their grandchildren, compare with the way they mediated the use of media with their own children in the past?

It is worth noting that the social context in which this study has taken place provides a fruitful ground for conducting such an investigation. First, Israeli society is characterised by a strong family-oriented culture. Geographical distances are short, and many extended families live in proximity to each other. Second, the vast majority of children participate in mandatory schooling – pre-schools, kindergartens, and elementary schools. However, the school day is short (commonly 8:00–14:00), with very expensive day-care offerings beyond these restricted hours. As a result, many families rely on alternative childcare support, especially the voluntary help of grandparents. Finally, Israeli families are characterised by a high penetration of mobile digital devices and online viewing platforms (especially YouTube), which are available to young children as well (Elias & Sulkin, 2017).

Methods

Data from two complementary studies – a quantitative survey and qualitative interviews – were used to answer the above questions. The first study was based on an online survey of 356 Israeli grandparents of young children aged two to seven years who reported taking care of their grandchildren at least once a week. They were recruited by a commercial firm that operates an online panel of 50,000 internet users, who were randomly sampled from panelists aged 50 and over and then contacted via email with a link to the survey. Among other questions (measures detailed below), study participants were asked whether their grandchildren typically used various media when they took care of them, and if so, how much time they usually spent using each type of media. Only grandparents who reported the use of interactive digital media, defined as “playing computer games, using software or applications, visiting websites for purposes other than watching videos, and so forth”, were included in the current analysis.

The sub-sample size was 213. Participants’ ages ranged from 50 to 80, with a mean of 62.9 years (SD = 6); 66.7% were women, and 54.5% had an academic degree. Half the participants reported
having a higher than average income and 19.7% lower than average; 46% were retirees and 32.4%
worked full-time. A majority of participants (88%) took care of their grandchildren between one to
two times a week, and the rest more frequently. The average ‘caregiving event’ lasted four hours.
All survey participants reported that their grandchildren were engaged with non-interactive and inter-
active media use when they were watching them, with an average of 87 minutes of viewing (SD =
68) and 69 minutes of digital media use (SD = 61).

The second study was based on a series of in-depth interviews with 23 dyads (46 interviews) of
mothers and grandmothers of children aged two to seven years. Participants were recruited via snow-
balling involving the participation of trained students, each recruiting and completing one set of dyad
interviews. The interviews with both women were conducted separately, lasted about one and a half
hours, and focussed on parental and grandparental mediation practices applied towards television
viewing and digital media use. For this chapter, only those grandmothers who reported that their
grandchildren use digital media when they take care of them were selected, i.e., 16 out of the 23
grandmothers. Their socio-demographic characteristics strongly resembled those of the survey partic-
pants, as a majority were educated women belonging to the middle and upper-middle classes.

Results

**RQ1: How Familiar are Grandparents with Children’s Media?**

The grandparents who participated in the survey were asked to assess how familiar they were with four
types of media common among children on a five-point Likert scale ranging from one (‘not familiar at
all’) to five (‘very familiar’). While 58% declared that they were sufficiently familiar (‘quite familiar’ and
‘very familiar’) with children’s television programmes and 54.5% were sufficiently familiar with online
viewing platforms popular among children, only 44% reported familiarity with educational software and
38.5% with digital games. Hence, a significant group of grandparents (about half of the sample) was not
sufficiently familiar with children’s chosen media, especially with digital games and apps.

Likewise, with means ranging between 3.15 and 3.62, results indicated an overall average
familiarity with the various media (see Figure 9.1). Yet, the results also showed that the grandpar-
ents’ self-rated familiarity with children’s TV programmes and online viewing platforms was sig-
ificantly higher ($p < .001$) than their self-perceived knowledge of digital games and educational
software, websites and applications.

![Figure 9.1 Familiarity with children’s media: mean scores.](image-url)
The qualitative interviews suggested that grandparents’ lower familiarity with interactive media may be explained by their relatively poor digital literacy. For example, Sandra (79 years old, middle class, high-school education) confessed:

I have to admit, my husband and I don’t ... we weren’t born to these things, to this generation. It is so complicated sometimes, all these devices, it’s ... if her [granddaughter’s] brothers or parents are with us, they help her if she needs help. I don’t have any idea what to do with it, my husband a bit more, but not a lot either.

This lack of confidence was expressed by older and younger grandparents, as well as by persons with various socio-economic backgrounds. Dvora, for example (59 years old, upper-middle class, academic education), said in reference to her seven-year-old grandson: “he has a very high level of technological literacy, he often teaches me how to use the computer and to surf the internet ... My technological skills are deficient”. Unlike Sandra, however, she felt she could also help when her grandson needed assistance with operating digital devices.

**RQ2: What Do Grandparents Think about Children’s Media?**

The survey participants were also asked to report their opinion about the impact that each type of media use has on child development on a five-point Likert scale ranging from one (‘very harmful’) to five (‘very beneficial’). Results indicated significant differences in their perception of the various media (Figure 9.2): whereas their appreciation of TV and online viewing platforms was similar, they ranked digital games as significantly more beneficial to child development than the viewing of screens ($p < .01$). Moreover, their appreciation of educational software, websites, and apps was significantly higher than that of digital games ($p < .001$).

![Figure 9.2](image)

*Figure 9.2* Attitudes toward children’s media: mean scores.
Additional analysis indicated significant positive associations (1.70 < Pearson correlations < 2.62, \( p < .05 \)) between grandparents’ familiarity with children’s media and their appreciation of that media. Hence, the more that grandparents felt they were familiar with a certain medium, the more they valued it. The only exception was educational software, websites, and apps that were highly valued regardless of grandparents’ familiarity with those media.

The link between the perceived educational value of a certain medium or content and its appreciation was also well-reflected in the qualitative interviews. Generally, the grandparents expressed a desire that their grandchildren would spend less time using media. Specifically, they were critical of a perceived over-use of smartphones that are difficult to control in terms of access, and age-inappropriate content, as well as certain TV content that was described by Ronit (62 years old, upper-middle class, academic education) as “shallow, very popular” and as having an overwhelming pace that “trains children’s mind to move too quickly from one thing to the other”. Michal (64 years old, middle class, high school education) even described TV content as having “no filters – lots of negativity, lots of violence, lots of nonsense, all this reality TV, it is so useless, really, so void of all content”.

Simultaneously, however, the grandparents highly valued TV content that they perceived to have educational value (e.g., National Geographic programmes) and a positive impact on children’s language skills: “here is a three-year-old boy already singing the [English] ABCD . . . He may not understand the meaning, but slowly, as he grows up, we will explain to him and he will have the beginning of another language”, shared Rivka (63 years old, middle class, academic education).

In contrast to their ambivalent attitude toward TV content, some grandparents were highly supportive of digital media, especially if it was perceived as having educational value, as can be seen in the following examples:

I think children today accumulate a lot of knowledge through these devices. They can search for information about everything, with no problem at all. Everything is accessible to them . . . they don’t need to go to encyclopedias – they can search their devices and know everything. It provides lots of information, enriches their lives.

(Sandra)

One can make fantastic use of the tablet. I can see that here, they work with tablets for special education needs, which is amazing. There are things that you can make very good use of it, very educational.

(Michal)

**RQ3: How Do Grandparents Mediate Their Grandchildren’s Media Use?**

A scale developed and validated by the authors was used to assess the survey participants’ involvement in mediation. This 16-item scale includes two subscales: one for interactive and one for non-interactive media use. Each subscale refers to four mediation strategies (restrictive mediation, instructive mediation, supervision, and co-use), with two items per construct. Sample items include: “specify when and for how long your grandchild can watch films, videos and TV programs” and “Talk with your grandchild about something specific s/he does with digital media”. Respondents were asked to rate the frequency with which they were involved in the various mediating actions when they took care of their grandchildren on a five-point Likert scale ranging from one (‘never’) to five (‘always’). The same procedure was applied to non-interactive as well as interactive media use (see Nimrod et al., 2019 for the full scale).
The analysis demonstrated almost similar patterns of mediation for non-interactive and interactive use (Table 9.1). In both types of media use, the most salient mediation was ‘supervision’, followed by ‘restrictive’ and ‘instructive’ mediation, with ‘co-use’ of digital media being the least common. The difference between each pair of means in each column was significant ($p < 0.01$), with one exception: the reported involvement in ‘restrictive’ and ‘instructive’ mediation of non-interactive use was similar.

Overall, participants took a significant interest in the mediation of their grandchildren’s media use, but the total score for mediation of non-interactive use was somewhat higher than that for interactive use (14.36 versus 13.35, respectively). The paired-samples T-tests conducted for participants who reported both types of media use showed that this difference was significant ($p < 0.01$) not only for the total score but also for each type of mediation. The one exception was ‘restrictive’ mediation, where the scores did not significantly vary between non-interactive and interactive use.

These differences can also be illustrated through comparisons between frequencies of two particular mediation practices, which were more frequently applied towards non-interactive media. Thus, 72.2% of participants declared that they often or quite often ask questions (e.g., ‘supervision’ mediation strategy) when grandchildren consume non-interactive media content, compared with 49% who do so with regard to interactive media. Likewise, only 34.8% join their grandchildren (often or quite often) when they use interactive media, compared with 56% who do so regarding screen viewing.

Similarly, many grandparents reported in the interviews that they regularly keep an eye on what their grandchildren are doing, thus reinforcing the dominance of the supervision mediation strategy. “He uses the tablet on high volume, so I know what he is watching” (Dvora); “I look at what she is watching” (Ronit); “The TV is on volume so I hear the series that he is watching and I am also always around, sometimes doing some errands next to him so I can see” (Rivka). In contrast, watching television with grandchildren was much less common, and playing digital games and apps alongside grandchildren even less so. The minority of interviewees who did make an effort to use media with their grandchildren reported a sense of involvement in their grandchildren’s world, which helped the two generations to feel closer to each other, as described by Dvora:

> When I take care of my grandchildren I stay close to them while they are watching television. It is important for me to be with them. It is important for me to watch with them the series that they like so they can include me in the content of their world, so they will feel that I am interested, that I am involved.

Table 9.1 Grandparental mediation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-interactive use</th>
<th>Interactive use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean (SD)</td>
<td>Mean (SD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restrictive</td>
<td>3.63 (1.16)</td>
<td>3.53 (1.29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructive</td>
<td>3.56 (1.03)</td>
<td>3.32 (1.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td>4.08 (0.82)</td>
<td>3.96 (1.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-use</td>
<td>3.14 (0.91)</td>
<td>2.92 (1.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediation index</td>
<td>14.36 (2.96)</td>
<td>13.35 (3.72)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The mediation index for each participant was calculated by summing up the four construct means.

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Interestingly, the application of ‘restrictive’ mediation typically resulted from rules set by the grandchildren’s parents. Some grandparents, however, refused to follow the parents’ instructions in order to achieve the grandchildren’s cooperation in a more peaceful way. Ronit, for example, explained:

we don’t keep the rules they have at home ... we just go with the flow. If there is a tense atmosphere in the room then there is the iPhone, the tablet. If things are more relaxed then there is playing in the room.

Similarly, Meirav (78 years old, academic education, middle class) testified:

I have learned that since they don’t obey by the rules anyway, I don’t forbid and I don’t try to educate them ... There is a separation between Grandma and Mom. As a mother, I had rules. As a grandmother, I am here to spoil.

**RQ4: Are Grandparents’ Current Mediation Practices Associated with Their Habits as Parents in the Past?**

Survey participants were asked to think about the time when their children were about the same age as their grandchildren, and to evaluate their then-involvement in the four mediation practices. In this case, no distinction was made between non-interactive and interactive media uses, and respondents were asked to relate to TV and computers alike. Results (see Figure 9.3) indicated that, like today, the application of ‘supervision’ in the past was significantly higher than that of all other mediation strategies (p < 0.05). However, no significant differences were found among the latter three strategies.

Moreover, the analysis indicated strong positive associations between grandparents’ reports of parental mediation in the past and their grandparental mediation in the present of both non-interactive and interactive media use (Table 9.2). Hence, individuals who reported high

![Figure 9.3 Involvement in mediation in the past (as parents): mean scores.](image-url)
involvement in a certain type of mediation as parents were also inclined to report the application of this practice in mediating their grandchildren’s media use.

It is important to consider the possibility that grandparents were projecting their current attitudes back to their early years of parenting. However, the interviews demonstrated that they were also able to distinguish between the two. For example, Rachel (65 years old, middle class, high-school education) thought that her daughter was “too tough” with her children: “I didn’t limit my own children . . . but I apply the rules [the daughter sets]. I don’t necessarily agree with them always, but respect them. I am not going to violate her education and the agreements they have”.

In addition, some grandparents argued that more mediation is necessary nowadays, because of the much richer environment of media devices and contents, as expressed by Michal: “I think there wasn’t much of a need to restrict media use in the past. It wasn’t an issue. See, the world has changed”. Similarly, Ronit explained:

When our children were young there were only two hours of [television] broadcast a day, so there wasn’t much to deal with. Today it is so accessible and on such high intensity, such high levels of stimuli and content, that there is a need to mark and sort and make decisions about what to see and what not to see . . . It is the role of the parents to create boundaries, and it is not an easy role.

### Conclusion

This pioneering study, which combined quantitative and qualitative methods, investigated grandparental involvement in their grandchildren’s use of various media. The findings suggest that grandparents apply a complex set of knowledge, attitudes, and behaviours to grandchildren’s media use while caring for them.

First, the findings point to a clear distinction between non-interactive and interactive media use common among children. Whereas many grandparents reported considerable familiarity with TV programmes and online viewing platforms for children, they were less familiar with the

<p>| Table 9.2 Pearson’s correlations between past and current involvement in mediation. |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mediation type</th>
<th>Correlation of past involvement with the current mediation of . . .</th>
<th>Non-interactive use</th>
<th>Interactive use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Restrictive</td>
<td>Pearson</td>
<td>.494**</td>
<td>.548**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>188</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructive</td>
<td>Pearson</td>
<td>.455**</td>
<td>.453**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>195</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td>Pearson</td>
<td>.395**</td>
<td>.462**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>191</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-use</td>
<td>Pearson</td>
<td>.336**</td>
<td>.236*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: *p < 0.01. **p < 0.001.
digital world available to children today in the form of games, software, and apps, and admitted to lacking the level of digital literacy necessary to help their grandchildren. Accordingly, their lower familiarity with interactive media may be related to their relatively poor digital literacy. In addition, as the use of such media is typically solitary, their low familiarity with interactive media may be explained by the fact that grandparents and grandchildren are rarely able to use such media together. This explanation is supported by the finding which indicates that ‘co-use’ of digital media is the least common mediation strategy among grandparents.

This finding is important given the fact that grandchildren spend a significant amount of time using digital devices under their grandparents’ watch, which could preclude the two generations from spending time on shared activities. On the other hand, those interviewees who made the effort to share the media preferences of their grandchildren felt a sense of closeness and better understanding, which is very important for maintaining close ties with their grandchildren as they grow.

The distinction between non-interactive and interactive media was also reflected in grandparents’ attitudes toward children’s media. Generally, grandparents tended to place more value on the media they knew better. However, they seemed to hold mixed views about the benefits and risks that media use has for their grandchildren. On one hand, they appreciated the accessibility of information and the enrichment potential provided mainly by digital media and educational programming. On the other hand, they expressed concerns over exposure to inappropriate and/or shallow content, over-stimulation, and too much time spent with smartphones.

When asked about their strategies for mediating their grandchildren’s media use, grandparents offered diverse approaches, ranging from trying to implement instructions and rules specified by their grandchildren’s parents to not intervening at all, perceiving that their main role was to ‘spoil’ their grandchildren rather than educate them. Supervising children’s media activities (e.g., keeping an eye on what they are doing while remaining in close proximity) was the most common mediation strategy they felt comfortable in executing. Although this tendency was reflected in both the qualitative and the quantitative data, the survey findings also highlighted a more intense involvement in the mediation of non-interactive media use compared with interactive use. This finding suggests consistency between attitudes and behavior: similar to parents (Nikken & Schols, 2015; Valkenburg et al., 1999), grandparents less frequently mediate media use that they perceive contributes to child development. Moreover, ‘keeping an eye’ on children while doing other things is more easily implemented than actually spending time with the grandchildren, which demands a greater obligation and more spare time.

Finally, in spite of strong positive correlations between grandparents’ reports of parental mediation in the past, and their grandparental mediation of both non-interactive and interactive media in the present, grandparents argued that there was much less need to intervene in the past due to fewer television offerings and no digital devices. Overwhelmed by the current rich media environment and holding ambivalent attitudes about its potential impact on child development, they thought that children’s media use should be mediated but were reluctant to take this role – especially regarding its restrictive component – considering this to be the parents’ responsibility. These findings call for closer attention to the intergenerational dynamics of mediating children’s media uses, which seem to be shaped by both parents’ and grandparents’ worldviews and values together.

The present study confirms that overseeing grandchildren’s media use is an integral and important aspect of grandparenting activities and is a source of concern for many grandparents. Moreover, for the first time, it exposes the complex challenges that grandparents currently confront when taking care of their grandchildren. While the generational gap of familiarity with digital technology plays an important role in explaining the results, the perception of the nature of the role of grandparenting also influences how the study participants approach the topic.
Although the grandparents in this study were mostly middle and upper-middle class, and well-educated seniors, which might limit the generalisability of the findings, the study adds weight to the possibility that an age-related digital divide exists, even among highly educated older adults. The next phase of this on-going project explores more diverse populations in a cross-cultural framework, as well as a host of additional related aspects of grandparenting and children’s media use. Clearly, mediating young children’s media use by all caregivers – be they parents, grandparents, or educators – poses a comprehensive challenge across all the media environments children currently occupy.

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