

Parental mediation strategies in Spain: predicting factors for different strategies

*Guraso-bitartekaritzarako estrategiak Espainian:
Estrategia modu anitzetarako faktore iragarleak*

Estrategias de mediación parental en España:
factores predictores para los diversos
tipos de estrategias

Maialen Garmendia Larrañaga¹
Miguel Ángel Casado Del Río²
Gemma Martínez³

zer

Vol. 20 - Núm. 39
ISSN: 1137-1102
e-ISSN: 1989-631X
DOI: 10.1387/zer.15513
pp. 13-27
2015

Recibido el 20 de febrero de 2014, aceptado el 25 de mayo de 2015.

Abstract

Children's online behavior is influenced by several different factors. Among these factors parental mediation is extremely important. Several researches have tried to give evidence over the influence of different parental mediation strategies on children's online behavior. Analyzing the EU Kids Online survey results for Spain, this article gives evidence over the implementation of different parental mediation strategies and tries to explore the influence of three factors –such as use of the internet, educational level and socio economic status– on the number and type of mediation parents apply on their child.

Keywords: Mediation, internet, children, parents.

Laburpena

Adin txikikoek internetekin erlazionatzeko duten moduari faktore askok eragiten diote. Guraso-bitartekaritza dugu faktore horietan garrantzitsuenetakoa bat. Bitartekaritza modu

¹ Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, maialen.garmendia@ehu.eus

² Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, miguelangel.casado@ehu.eus

³ Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, gemma.martinez@ehu.eus

desberdinek adin txikikoen eta teknologia berrien arteko erlazioari ekartzen dizkioten ondorioak erakutsi dituzte hainbat lanek. Kids Online inkestak Espainian lortutako datuetatik abiatuta, guraso-bitartekaritzaren era desberdinak nola ezarri diren azaltzen du artikulu honek. Gurasoek aplikatutako bitartekaritza motan hiru faktorek –interneti buruzko eza-gutza, hezkuntza maila eta maila sozio-ekonomikoa– duten eragina ere aztertzen du lanak.

Gako-hitzak: Bitartekaritza, internet, adin txikikoak, gurasoak.

Resumen

El modo en el que los menores se relacionan con internet está sujeto a la influencia de muchos factores, la mediación parental aparece como uno de los más importantes. Diversos trabajos han mostrado las consecuencias de diferentes tipos de mediación para la relación del menor con las nuevas tecnologías. A partir de los datos de la encuesta EU Kids Online en España, este artículo muestra la implementación de los diversos tipos de estrategias de mediación parental y explora la influencia de tres factores –conocimiento de internet, nivel educativo y nivel socioeconómico– en el tipo de mediación aplicada por los padres.

Palabras clave: Mediación, internet, menores, padres.

0. Introduction

The way in which families face the installation of the internet in their homes (Silverstone, Hirsch and Morley, 1992; Silverstone and Haddon, 1996, Bringué y Sádaba, 2009), and the parental mediation of their children's online activity –in order to protect them from potential risks and harm while using the internet– have become concerns not only for policy makers and the public sphere, but also for the families themselves. Public and individual anxiety, worry or fear, are often heightened by the recognition that children are especially vulnerable actors in the process of media consumption (Livingstone and Bober, 2006; Lwin, Stanaland and Miyazaki, 2008) and that this may have a negative impact on their behaviour, attitudes, wellbeing and safety (Bushman and Anderson, 2001; Selwyn, 2003; Buckingham, 2000; Livingstone, 2007).

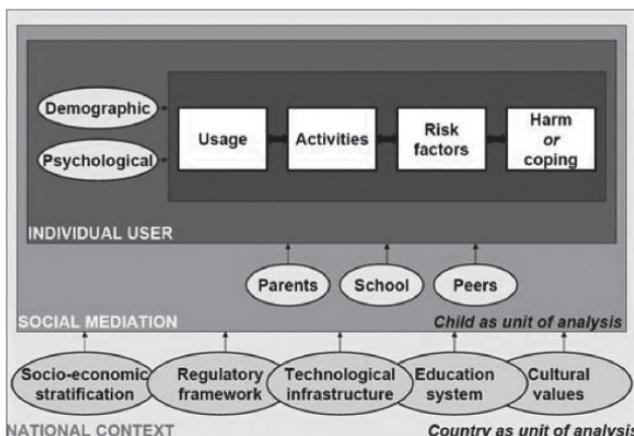
Parents' responsibility for their children's upbringing includes supervising the use of the internet in the most effective way. Parents' efforts to balance the educational and social advantages of the internet with its negative effects are defined by Livingstone and Helsper (2008) as a "constant battle". In early research into parental mediation styles, Bybee *et al.* (1982) found that "industry officials and some regulators have tended to place increasing emphasis on parental responsibility in guiding their children's viewing, and researchers have begun to explore the benefits of such guidance". This is paralleled by academic arguments that this tendency to attribute to parents the responsibility for supervising children's media consumption might be excessive (Hasebrink, Livingstone, Haddon, and Ólafsson, 2011; Ribak and Turow, 2003; Selwyn, 2003). Parents need and are actively requesting guidance from policy makers, public bodies and stakeholders in order to apply the most effective parental mediation strategies to their children's internet use⁴.

There is a stream of evidence showing that the notions of "digital natives" and "digital immigrants", proposed by Prensky (2001), do not entirely hold. Since the early 2000s, for instance, parents' access to the internet and their use of it have increased, resulting in levels of internet literacy being higher among parents than children (Duijmel and De Haan, 2009; Hasebrink *et al.*, 2011). However, it has been shown that parents usually underestimate the risks that children themselves state they are facing (Livingstone and Bober, 2006). There is inconsistency or disagreement between parents and children about different forms of parental mediation; parents usually try to present themselves as socially acceptable "good" mothers or fathers (Lin and Atkin, 1989; Van Den Bergh and Van Den Bulck, 2000; Oswell, 1999).

A minor's relationship with the internet can be shaped by multiple factors. Basically, there are three different levels of influence on children's online experiences: (i) individual characteristics such as the child's age, gender, socio-economic status, and psychological needs (emotional problems, self-efficacy and risk taking etc.), (ii) social mediation which includes activities developed by parents, teachers and peers, and (iii) the national context which includes socio-economic stratification, legal framework, technological infrastructure, education system or cultural values.

⁴ See Safer Social Networking Principles for the EU (2009), at http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/activities/social_networking/docs/sn_principles.pdf

Figure 1. Relating online use, activities and risk factors to harm to children.



Source: Livingstone et al., 2011, op. cit.

These three levels of influence may be different among children, shaping the path from internet use to possible harm.

Parents' actions, together with those of siblings and teachers, are part of that social mediation. As parents are responsible for their children's upbringing, they can play a vital role in trying to limit the risks and harm their children may be exposed to. Even though the number of children who use handheld devices is rapidly increasing in this changing media environment, the home is still the place where children most frequently access the internet.

Parental mediation of children's use of the internet involves the regulation of children's internet use by parents in order to maximise benefits and, in particular, to minimise the potential negative impact of the internet on children (Livingstone and Helsper, 2008; Livingstone, 2007). Therefore, parental mediation of children's use of the internet involves various child-rearing strategies and practices guided by values which are important to parents and which children learn within the family (Kirwil, Garmendia, Garitaonandia and Martinez, 2009).

Parental mediation theory assumes that parents use different interpersonal communication strategies in their attempts to mediate and mitigate the negative effects of the media in their children's lives. Although the theory grew out of an interest in the negative effects of the media, it also tried to explore the *positive* ways in which other factors within a young person's environment might mitigate the negative effects that television was presumed to have on young people's cognitive development (Clark, 2011).

Research has long examined the role of parents in relation to their children's media use; traditionally distinguishing three different types of parental mediation strategies⁵. Moreover, Valkenburg et al. (1999) and Nathanson (1999) developed a scale in order to measure these three strategies and the outcomes that resulted from those parental practices. The three types mentioned are the following: (i) *active mediation*

⁵ See previous classifications in Valkenburg et al., 1999; Livingstone and Helsper, 2008 and Kirwil et al., 2009.

or parent/child discussions about the television that young people view, (ii) *restrictive mediation* or setting rules and regulations about children's television viewing, and (iii) *co-viewing* which means simply watching television with children.

As far as the internet is concerned, Kirwil and her colleagues added another parental mediation strategy (iv) *technical solutions* involving filtering and monitoring children's online activities.

Recent research has also suggested that, as a consequence of the new media environment, a new mediation strategy termed "participatory learning" has appeared which "emphasizes the interaction that occurs between parents and children in, through, and in relation to several forms of digital and mobile media, as well as the more traditional media" (Clark, 2011). This collaborative strategy could be identified as active mediation in the child's internet safety in the EU Kids Online fieldwork.

In line with these debates EU Kids Online identified five types of parental mediation (Livingstone *et al.*, 2011) in their survey: (i) active mediation of the child's internet use when the parent is present, i.e. staying nearby, encouraging, sharing or discussing the child's online activities, (ii) active mediation of the child's internet safety –whether before, during or after the child's online activities–, the parent guides him/her in using the internet safely, also possibly helping or discussing what to do in case of difficulty, (iii) restrictive mediation when the parent sets rules in order to restrict the child's use (e.g. by time or activities), (iv) monitoring –the parent later checks available records of the child's internet use–, and (v) technical mediation of the child's internet use –the parent uses software or parental controls in order to filter, restrict or monitor the child's use of the internet–.

Children's gender, age and socioeconomic status also have an influence on parental mediation as "more educated parents, higher-income parents, and parents of younger children engage in more parental mediation strategies than less educated parents, lower-income parents, and parents of older children" (Clark, 2011).

Previous research on television has shown that parents and children perceive differently the amount of parental mediation which takes place, and usually parents report that they are more involved than is recognised by their children (Van Den Bergh and Van Den Bulck, 2000; Koolstra and Lucassen, 2004).

This difference in the perceptions children and their parents have of parental mediation may be related to several issues. Firstly, parents may overestimate their behaviour in order to comply with the norms of "socially desirable behaviour", whereas children may minimize parental mediation for reasons related to peer status (Van Den Bergh and Van Den Bulck, 2000; Van Der Voort, Van Lil, and Peeters, 1998). Nevertheless, this explanation is insufficient as differences between children's and parents' versions of the degree of parental mediation carried out can vary significantly, depending on the type of mediation involved (Koolstra and Lucassen, 2004). Secondly, handheld devices increasingly allow children to use them out of the sight of their parents, either in their bedroom or with peers. Hence, very often parents are not aware of their children's activities with these devices. Thirdly, differences may be due to varying opinions about "appropriate" or "risky" media content and behaviour. Parents are usually less aware of the child's online activities, which may contribute to an increase in their concern about them. For instance, due to the ample media coverage of online risks, parents may have a high perception of risks related

to the internet and a low assessment of the coping abilities of their children (Livingstone, and Bovill, 2001).

1. Parental mediation strategies in Spain

As far as Spanish parent's mediation strategies are concerned, we will present some of the EU Kids Online survey results recently published (Garmendia *et al.*, 2013). These data are consistent with some other studies carried out in Spain and follow the categorisation formerly presented in this paper.

First, results obtained for every type of mediation strategy will be shown. In relation to the active mediation of the child's use of the internet, parents' answers are shown in the following table:

Table 1. Active mediation of the child's use of the internet.

% do you sometimes ...	Parents
Talk to him/her about what he/she does on the internet	80.9
Stay nearby when s/he uses the internet	69.6
Encourage him/her to explore and learn things on the internet on his/her own	46.7
Sit with him/her while s/he uses the internet	58.8
Do shared activities together with him/her on the internet	49.9
At least one of these	91.3

Source: EU Kids Online survey (Garmendia et al., 2013).

As far as active mediation of child's internet safety is concerned, the parents' answers are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Active mediation of the child's internet safety.

% do you sometimes...	Parents
Explain why some websites are good or bad	75.2
Help him/her when s/he found something is difficult to do or find on the internet	60
Suggest ways to use the internet safely	59.6
Suggest ways to behave towards other people online	63.2
Talk to him/her about what to do if something on the internet bothered him/he	58.1
Helped him/her in the past when something had bothered him/her on the internet	34.8
At least one of these	87

Source: EU Kids Online survey (Garmendia et al., 2013).

As far as restrictive mediation is concerned, parents' answers to the questions formulated are shown in Table 3:

Table 3. Restrictive mediation.

% of rules applied about...	Parents
Give out personal information to others on the internet (full name, address or phone number)	92.2
Upload photos, videos or music to share with others	66.9
Download music or films on the internet	50.7
Have his/her own social networking profile	56.6
Watch videoclips on the internet (e.g. on Youtube)	38.5
Use instant messaging	37.7
At least one of these	92.9

Source: EU Kids Online survey (Garmendia et al., 2013).

Monitoring. Parents were asked about their monitoring activities. Their answers are shown in Table 4:

Table 4. Parents' monitoring of their children's use of the internet.

% of parents who check ...	Parents
Which websites s/he visited	55.1
His/her profile on a social network or online community	35.5
Which friends or contacts s/he adds to his/her social networking profile or instant messaging service	47.6
The messages in his/her email or instant messaging account	37.8
At least one of these	66.8

Source: EU Kids Online survey (Garmendia et al., 2013).

Technical mediation. Parents were asked about their technical mediation activities. Their answers are shown in table 5.

Table 5. Technical mediation.

% of parents who say they use ...	Parents
Software to prevent spam/junk mail or viruses	83.6
Parental controls or other means of blocking or filtering some types of website	27.8
Parental controls or other means of keeping track of the websites s/he visits	24.2
A service or contract that limits the time s/he spends on the internet	7.1
At least one of these	84.2

Source: EU Kids Online survey (Garmendia et al., 2013).

The data gathered show that active mediation strategies (in the child's use as well as the child's safety) and restrictive strategies are the most commonly applied among Spanish parents. Around 90% of parents use some of these strategies (Tables 1, 2 and 3). Whereas the use of monitoring and technical strategies is much lower. As far as monitoring is concerned 67% of the parents interviewed say they develop some monitoring activity of their child's activity (Table 4), whilst 84% of them say use some technical strategy (Table 5).

Nevertheless, looking more closely to the answers to the items used in the survey we should reflect upon the role of parents in mediating their children's internet use. For instance, even though 91% of parents say they talk to their children about their activities on the internet, less than half of the parents (49.9%) say they share an activity with their children and not even six out of ten parents (58.8%) sit with the child while s/he is using the internet. As far as the active mediation of the child's safety strategies are concerned, less than 60% of the parents surveyed have told their children what to do if something on the internet bothers them. Looking at restrictive mediation, it shows parents' concern related to personal data of their children and most parents (84.9%) ban them giving out such data online, whereas other restrictions' implementation shows to be much lower (Table 3).

The internet is distinct insofar as it keeps a record of previous activity, making it possible for parents to check their children's online activities. More than one out three parents (33.5%) says they check their children's e-mail or instant messaging or their profile on a social networking site or virtual community (35.5%) and nearly half of them look at the friends their children have added to their social networking site (47.6%) or check the webs they have visited (55.1%).

As far as technical mediations are concerned, Spain shows one of the lowest levels of use in Europe (Livingstone *et al.*, 2011). The major form of technical intervention, occurring in 84.2% of households does not relate to safety concerns but rather to security issues, being used to control spam and viruses. Beyond this, the use of technical tools is relatively low as one out of every four parents uses them.

Taking into consideration this empirical framework, two main research questions are addressed in this article:

RQ1: Does parents' use or confidence in using the internet affect the level or the type of mediation strategy applied?

RQ2: Does parents' educational level or Socio Economical Status (SES) affect the level or the type of mediation strategy applied?

2. Methodology

2.1. Survey Sample and Recruitment

This article shows how Spanish parents mediate their children's internet use. The data have been drawn from the EU Kids Online survey which was funded by the European Commission's *Safer Internet Programme*. This pan-European survey was based on a random stratified sample of 25,142 children aged between 9 and 16, all of them internet users, and one of their parents (the one who was more involved in the online activities of the child), during Spring/Summer 2010, in 25 European

countries. The Spanish sample studied over one thousand children and one of their parents. The children and their mother or father were interviewed in their own homes, face-to-face, with a self-completion section for questions which were considered to be of a sensitive nature for the children. Samples were stratified by region and level of urbanisation: all the Autonomous Communities in Spain were sampled and urban and semi-urban locations were considered. Sampling points were selected randomly from official and complete registers of geographical/administrative units, altogether 140 sampling points were used in the fieldwork. Addresses were selected randomly by using Random Walk procedures.

At each address that agreed to interview one child was randomly selected from all eligible children in the household (i.e. all those aged 9-16 who use the internet) on the basis of whichever eligible child had the most recent birthday. If a household contained more than one parent/carer, the one who knew most about the child and his/her internet use was selected for the interview.

One of the strong points of this research is the fact that both the child and one of his/her parents were interviewed, as previous research had revealed the existence of a considerable generation gap in terms of each generation's perception of the level of parental mediation, with parents stating that they carried out more mediating activities than were recognised by their children (Livingstone and Bober, 2006).

2.2. Survey measures

Parental mediation. Parents reported, using a binary response code, a list of practices and rules applied to their children's internet use. In order to see whether there is any relationship between the parents' characteristics and their mediation habits, a scale was constructed for all the different types of mediation strategies. For the (i) active mediation of the child's use (5 items) scale the value of Cronbach's Alpha was 0.761, for the (ii) active mediation of the child's safety the value was 0.863 and for (iii) active restriction was 0.782.

Parents' use of the internet. Parents were asked how often they used the internet on a 5-point scale: 1 (*everyday or almost every day*) to 5 (*do not use*). In some of the analysis below this variable was recoded into three groups: non users, seldom users (those who state using the internet less than twice a month) and users (use it more than twice a week).

Parents' confidence in using the internet. Parents were asked how confident they were in using the internet on a 4-point scale: 1 (*not at all confident*) to 4 (*very confident*). In the analysis this variable was recoded into a binary one which classified parents as confident or not confident in their internet use.

Parents' educational status. Both parents' educational level was assessed and the highest one was assigned as the parents' status. As Educational systems vary across countries, national measures were standardised using the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). Parents' educational level ranges in a 3-point scale: 1 (*primary or less*) to 3 (*tertiary*).

Socioeconomic Status (SES). SES was assessed by combining two measures: the level of education and the type of occupation of the main wage earner in the household. SES ranges in a 3-point scale: 1 (*high*) to 3 (*low*).

3. Results

RQ1: Does parents' use or confidence in using the internet affect the level or the type of mediation strategy applied?

In order to see whether the parents' use of the internet affected the level of mediation of the different strategies, we conducted the analysis of variance for comparing different mediation levels among parents depending on their internet use. The different types of mediation strategies were combined into a scale for each of the type so as to get a numeric variable which could measure de different mediation levels. As a general rule, we see that the more parents use the internet the more they mediate their children's use as an average, and the more they use the internet they are significantly more active in implementing more rules, regulations or advice on their children. As a general rule, the number of mediations implemented is more even among users than non users. However, there were no significant differences in parents' mediation level related to their children's activities' restriction strategies: users, seldom users and non users tend to mediate their children in a similar way (See Table 6).

Table 6. ANOVA number of mediations implemented by parents' level of internet use.

Mediation type	Non users	Seldom us.	Users	F	Sig
Active mediation of the child's use (5)	1.94 (1,572)	2.67 (1,39)	3.63 (1,39)	138.302	.000
Active mediation of the child's safety (6)	2.19 (1,93)	3.57 (1,79)	4.01 (1,8)	98.660	.000
Active restriction (6)	3.12 (2,07)	3.26 (2,15)	3.43 (2,05)	2.191	.112
Active monitoring of the child's use (4)	1.03 (1,35)	1.34 (1,43)	1.81 (1,49)	19.524	.000
Active monitoring of the child's safety (4)	1.04 (1,03)	1.26 (0,94)	1.50 (0,99)	14.188	.000

Source: EU Kids Online survey.

In order to see if parents' confidence in using the internet affects the number of mediation measures implemented by them, parents' confidence was recoded into two different groups: those who regarded themselves as not confident and those who were confident online. As a general rule, the data on the table show that the more confident parents are the more they mediate their children's activities, but there is not significant difference among both groups of parents. So, we cannot say parent's confidence in the internet influences on their level of mediation (Table 7).

In short, even though parents' use of the internet affects clearly on the level of mediation implemented on their children (except for restrictive mediation), parent's confidence in using the internet does not influence on the number mediation strategies implemented on their children. Particularly, the difference in the number of measures implemented between parents referred as "non users" and users is very noticeable.

Table 7. ANOVA number of mediations implemented by parents' level of confidence in their using the internet.

Mediation type	Not confident	Confident	F	Sig
Active mediation of the child's use (5)	3.41 (1,39)	3.59 (1,45)	2.992	.084
Active mediation of the child's safety (6)	3.95 (1,73)	3.95 (1,86)	0.00	.991
Active restriction (6)	3.45 (2,05)	3.36 (2,09)	0.359	.549
Active monitoring of the child's use (4)	1.68 (1,49)	1.80 (1,48)	0.979	.323
Active monitoring of the child's safety (4)	1.38 (0,94)	1.53 (1,01)	3.861	.050

Source: EU Kids Online survey.

RQ2: Does parents' educational level or Socio Economic Status (SES) affect the level or the type of mediation strategy applied?

The most frequently implemented measures are those related to active mediation (either of safety or use) and restrictive mediation, whereas monitoring strategies are less frequently implemented. The ANOVA showed that parents' educational level is important: the higher their educational level significantly the more rules and regulations they implement on their children's internet use. However, there is no significant difference related to restrictive mediation strategies.

Table 8. ANOVA number of mediations implemented by parents' educational level.

Mediation type	Primary or less	Secondary	Tertiary	F	Sig
Active mediation of the child's use (5)	2.54 (1,72)	3.32 (1,55)	3.49 (1,34)	34.184	.000
Active mediation of the child's safety (6)	2.87 (2,09)	3.81 (1,88)	3.78 (1,83)	27.150	.000
Active restriction (6)	3.17 (2,19)	3.36 (2,00)	3.54 (1,98)	2.155	.116
Active monitoring of the child's use (4)	1.46 (1,55)	1.78 (1,49)	1.51 (1,35)	4.308	.014
Active monitoring of the child's safety (4)	1.17 (1,03)	1.47 (0,97)	1.54 (0,97)	10.213	.000

Source: EU Kids Online survey.

As far as the household's socio economic status (SES) is concerned, the higher the status the more regulations and rules parents implement on their children's internet use. Parents in lower status households implement significantly less rules or regulations than others in higher status households ($p < 0.05$). So, children in more deprived

homes will be significantly less mediated by their parents than those living in more affluent ones.

Table 8. ANOVA number of mediations implemented by household's SES.

Mediation type	High	Medium	Low	F	Sig
Active mediation of the child's use (5)	3.45 (1,39)	3.38 (1,56)	2.72 (1,69)	23.669	.000
Active mediation of the child's safety (6)	3.76 (1,97)	3.85 (1,84)	3.08 (2,054)	17.562	.000
Active restriction (6)	3.58 (2,027)	3.44 (1,97)	3.16 (2,14)	3.521	.030
Active monitoring of the child's use (4)	1.59 (1,34)	1.79 (1,51)	1.49 (1,53)	3.354	.035
Active monitoring of the child's safety (4)	1.54 (0,99)	1.52 (0,98)	1.21 (1,00)	10.141	.000

Source: EU Kids Online survey.

4. Final reflections

Active mediation strategies (in the child's use as well as the child's safety) and restriction strategies are the most common among Spanish parents, as around 90% of parents use some of these strategies. Whereas, monitoring activities are applied by less than half the parents surveyed: one out of three parents (33.5%) say they check their children's e-mail or instant messaging or their profile on a social networking site or virtual community (35.5%). As for technical mediation, Spain shows one of the lowest levels of use in Europe (Livingstone *et al.*, 2011). Beyond anti-viruses, the use of technical tools is relatively low as one out of every four parents uses them.

We also tried to identify parents' characteristics affecting their mediation strategies. As a general rule parents who use more the internet, have higher levels of education or higher SES tend to mediate more their children's use of the internet. However, there is an exception related to restrictive practices as there is no significant difference in parents' mediation level related to their children's activities' restriction strategies.

Parent's confidence in using the internet does not influence at all the number of mediation strategies implemented on their children.

The lack of consistency between parents' use and their confidence in the use of the internet regarding their mediation patterns is particularly striking. It suggests that the lack of confidence among parents in the internet makes them to undervalue their own skills related to their own description as confident or non confident (Hasebrink, 2009; Dumiel and De Haan 2009).

As far as parental mediation strategies are concerned, parents' educational level is important: the higher their educational level significantly the more rules and regulations they implement on their children's internet use.

As far as the household's socio economic status (SES) is concerned, the higher the status the more regulations and rules parents implement on their children's internet

use. So, children in more deprived homes will be significantly less mediated by their parents than those living in more affluent ones.

Different types of mediation influence in different ways a minor's relationship with the internet. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to determine which types of mediation can be the most beneficial for children. It is necessary to discover which mediation strategies help to reduce the risks which children may face when using the internet, but without reducing the number of positive opportunities which the internet offers them.

On the one hand, there is some evidence that restrictive mediation reduces children's exposure to risk (Kirwyl *et al.*, 2009), but, as Livingstone and Helsper (2008) also show, on the other hand, restrictive mediation has a negative effect on both the average number of children's online activities and on their digital skills. In their words 'the cost in terms of reducing teenagers' freedom to interact with peers online must be weighed against the advantages in developing safety guidance directed at parents and teenagers' (Garmendia, Garitaonandia, Martinez and Casado, 2012).

Moreover, as far as parental responsibilities in the upbringing of their children are concerned, they should encourage strategies oriented to empowering their children in their use of the internet in order to increase children's resilience and enable them to cope with potential risks they may come across on the internet.

References

- BRINGUÉ, X. and SÁDABA, C. (2009). *La Generación Interactiva en España. Niños y Adolescentes ante las Pantallas*. Barcelona: Colección Fundación Telefónica, Ariel.
- BUCKINGHAM, David (2000). *After the Death of Childhood: Growing up in the age of electronic media*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- BUSHMANN, Brad J. and ANDERSON Craig A. (2001). "Media Violence and the American Public: Scientific Facts versus Media Misinformation", *American Psychologist*, 56 (6/7), 2001, pp. 477-489.
- BYBEE, Carl, ROBINSON, Danny and TUROW, Joseph (1982). "Determinants of Parental Guidance of Children's Television Viewing for a Special Subgroup: Mass Media Scholars", *Journal of Broadcasting*, 26, 1982, pp. 697-710.
- DUIJMEL, M., and DE HAAN, Jos (2009). "ICT en Cultuur: het gebruik door tieners [ICT and Culture: how teenagers use the opportunities]". Den Haag: The Netherlands Institute for Social Research-SCP.
- EASTIN, Matthew. S. GREENBERG, Bradley, and HOFSHIRE, Linda (2006). "Parenting the Internet", *Journal of Communication*, 56, pp. 486-504.
- GARMENDIA, Maialen, GARITAONANDIA, Carmelo, MARTINEZ, Gemma and CASADO, Miguel Angel (2012). "The effectiveness of parental mediation", in LIVINGSTONE, Sonia, HADDON, Leslie and GORZIG, Anke (eds.), *Children, risk and safety on the internet. Research and policy challenges in comparative perspectives*, The polity press, London, pp. 229-242.

- GARMENDIA, Maialen, GARITAONANDIA, Carmelo, MARTINEZ, Gemma and CASADO, Miguel Ángel (2013). "Las madres y padres, los menores e internet. Estrategias de mediación parental en España", DOXA, 13.
- HASEBRINK, Uwe, LIVINGSTONE, Sonia, HADDON, Leslie and ÓLAFSSON, Kartjan (2009). *Comparing children's online opportunities and risks across Europe: Cross-national comparisons for EU Kids Online*, LSE, London EU Kids Online. At: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EUKidsOnline/Reports/Default.htm#generate> <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EUKidsOnline/Reports/Default.htm#generate>> d-subheading1
- KIRWIL, Lucyna, GARMENDIA, Maialen, GARITAONANDIA, Carmelo and MARTINEZ FERNANDEZ, Gemma (2009). "Parental Mediation", in Livingstone Sonia and Haddon, Leslie (eds.), *Kids Online: Opportunities and Risks for Children*, Policy Press, Bristol, pp. 99-215.
- KOOLSTRA, Cees M. and LUCASSEN, Nicole (2004). "Viewing behavior of children and TV guidance by parents: A comparison of parents and child reports" *Communications*, 29, pp. 179-198.
- LIN, Carolyn A. and ATKIN, David J. (1989). "Parental Mediation and Rulemaking for Adolescent Use of Television and VCRs", *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 33 (1), pp. 53-67.
- LIVINGSTONE, Sonia (2007). "Strategies of parental regulation in a media rich home", *Computers in Human Behaviour*, 23(3), pp. 640-4.
- LIVINGSTONE, Sonia and BOVILL, Moira (2001). *Children and their changing media environment: A European comparative study*. Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ.
- LIVINGSTONE, Sonia and HELSPER, Ellen J. (2008). "Parental Mediation of Children's Internet Use", *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 52(4), pp. 581-599.
- LIVINGSTONE, Sonia and BOBER, Moira (2006). "Regulating the Internet at home: Contrasting the perspectives of children and parents" in Buckingham, David, and Willett, Rebekah (eds.), *Digital generations*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, N.J., pp. 93-113.
- LIVINGSTONE, Sonia, HADDON, Leslie, GÖRZIG, Anke, and ÓLAFSSON, Kartjan (2011). *Risks and safety on the internet: The perspective of European children. Full findings*.
- LWIN, May O., STANALAND, Andrea J.S. and MIYAZAKI, Anthony D., "Protecting children's privacy online: How parental mediation strategies affect website safeguard effectiveness", *Journal of Retailing*, 84, 2008, pp. 205-217.
- OSWELL, David (1999). "The dark side of cyberspace: Internet content regulation and child protection", *Convergence: The Journal of research into new media technologies*, 5(4), pp. 42-62.
- PRENSKY, Mark (2001). "Digital natives, digital immigrants", *On the Horizon*, 9 (5), pp. 1-6.
- RIBAK, Rivka and TUROW, Joseph (2003). "Internet Power and Social Context: A Globalization Approach to Web Privacy Concerns", *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 47 (3), pp. 328-349.
- SELWYN, Neil (2003). "Doing IT for the Kids': Re-examining Children, Computers and the Information Society". *Media, Culture and Society*, 25 (3), pp. 351-378.

- SILVERSTONE, Roger and HADDON, Leslie (1996). "Design and the Domestication of ICTs: Technical Change and Everyday Life" in SILVERSTONE, Roger and MANSELL, Robin (eds), *The Politics of Information and Communication Technologies, Communication by Design*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 44-74.
- SILVERSTONE, Roger, HIRSCH, Eric and MORLEY, David (1992). "Information and Communication Technologies and the Moral Economy of the Household" in SILVERSTONE Roger and HIRSCH Eric (eds). *Consuming Technologies: Media and Information in Domestic Spaces*, Routledge, London, pp. 15-31.
- SCHOFIELD Clark, L. (2011). "Parental Mediation Theory for the Digital Age", *Communication Theory* 21(4), pp. 323-343.
- VALKENBURG, Patti, M., KRCCMAR, Marina, PEETERS, Allerd L. and MARSEILLE, Nies M. (1999). "Developing a Scale to Assess Three Styles of Television Mediation: Instructive Mediation, Restrictive Mediation, and Social Co-viewing", *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 43(1), pp. 52-66.
- VAN DEN BERGH, Bea and VAN DEN BULCK, Jan (2000). "Parental media guidance, communication and selfconcept in pre-adolescents" in VAN DEN BERGH, Bea and VAN DEN BULCK, Jan (eds.). *Children and media: multidisciplinary approaches*, Garant Publishers, Leuven, BE, pp. 151-174.
- VAN DER VOORT, T., VAN LIL, J., and PEETERS, A. (1998). "Determinants of parental television guidance as reported by parents versus children", *Medienpsychologie*, 10, pp. 165-183.
- WARREN, Ron (2005). "Parental mediation of children's television viewing in low income families", *Journal of Communication*, 55, pp. 847.863.