

The Handbook of Children, Media, and Development

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The Handbook of Children, Media, and Development

Edited by

Sandra L. Calvert and Barbara J. Wilson

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*Dedicated to
Cheryl, Lee, and Mary Ann
and
John, Bob, and Joan*

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Foreword

Aletha C. Huston

Over the past 100 years, as Ellen Wartella and Michael Robb point out in this volume, scholars and social pundits have reacted to every new set of media with a mixture of panic and optimism about potential influences on children. Radio and film each generated some research and social commentary, but the advent of television in the 1950s ushered in a new level of media pervasiveness in children's lives and the first wave of solid, theoretically-based research on the topic. In the 1960s through the 1980s, psychologists and communication scholars forged a field that spanned disciplines as they examined the effects of both the formal features and content of the media that children were using several hours a day. In the last 15 or 20 years, media forms have proliferated, with new technologies transforming how children and adolescents use media as well as blurring the old distinctions among telephones, computers, television sets, radio, and records.

The chapters in this volume represent the state-of-the-art knowledge about young people's media use and the roles that media play in their lives. Despite the dramatic technological changes of the last several years, many of themes are familiar from earlier work. One of the fundamental tensions throughout the years has been form versus content. Some theorists have emphasized the importance of the qualities of the medium itself (e.g., visual versus auditory, interactive versus unidirectional); others have argued that content messages have similar effects across different forms of presentation. These questions about form and content remain central to the research presented in this book.

Many content issues are perennial and familiar, including the effects of violence, sexually explicit material, social stereotypes, and advertising on aggression, fear, imagination, and beliefs about the social world. The potential for positive effects of prosocial and educational content continues to be supported by evidence as well. Health concerns have increased considerably, as indicated by a whole section devoted to research on health effects, much of which is inspired by the obesity epidemic and societal awareness of the role of social influences on young people's health behavior. Chapters on attention and learning, cognitive processing of media

symbol systems, and learning from educational media have ancestors in earlier media research. In each case, the new work described here has advanced our understanding of the processes and issues involved, but the continuity with the past is nonetheless striking. These topics represent important, fundamental questions that form the core of efforts to understand young people's uses of media and the ways in which their thinking, behavior, and lives are influenced by those media.

In the past several years, media forms have expanded, proliferated, and morphed at a startling rate, opening up new uses and functions. Some of the most striking changes are the increase in user agency and control and the increasing opportunity for interactivity. Media devices are now small and portable, making them available for filling time while waiting in line, traveling from place to place, or just sitting. When television was the dominant entertainment medium, the viewer was exposed to a world "out there," whether it was fictional stories or real-life events. These functions have not disappeared, as evidenced by young people's devotion to favorite comedy and drama series, but the newer media offer opportunities for developing and expanding one's own internal identities and thoughts, interacting with individual friends or family, and interacting with groups in cyberspace. The chapter on parasocial and online relationships presents what we have learned about these functions. The Internet, cell phones, and text messaging have become integral parts of young people's social interactions, and we are just beginning to understand how such mediated relationships may or may not be similar to face-to-face interactions. The first wave of social commentary about these new media functions was predictable – fears about children being exposed to predators or exploitation through the Internet along with optimism about children being able to find compatible friends and activities across cyberspace, but the chapters in this book indicate that research has begun to move beyond such simplistic formulations.

Media studies of children have always straddled the boundaries between basic research on developmental processes on the one hand and policy and practice on the other. Many of the policy and practice issues have remained stubbornly similar over the years, in part because media are big business, particularly in the United States. The chapter on business models goes beyond the "bad" business image to consider a variety of modes for producing and distributing children's media. Several chapters on policy and interventions, however, remind us of some intractable issues, both old and new. It has long been clear that government regulation can play a minor role at best in protecting children from inappropriate content. Government has more potential to promote high-quality positive media content through requirements imposed on broadcasters (e.g., the Educational Children's Television Act) and through funding production, though neither of these options is used extensively in the United States, largely because of the absence of political will to do so.

Educating viewers in media literacy and related skills is one solution outside government, but our overall progress in maximizing the positive and minimizing the negative effects of media is discouraging. The reasons are undoubtedly

complex, but I believe that part of the problem is that, at some level, researchers and the public alike trivialize media. Although there is periodic public outrage about violence, sex, or Internet predators, most adults do not consider television and other media to be sufficiently serious that they are willing to modify their own use (e.g., to limit children's exposure) or to support the use of their tax dollars to alter the menu of content available. Both research and policy on media are in isolated silos. Discussions of poverty and children, for example, invoke a range of social contexts including family environments, neighborhoods, schools, childcare, and after-school programs, but virtually never mention media despite the fact that children in low-income families use television and other media extensively. Similarly, education policies focus on school climate and curriculum, family environments, access to libraries, and the like, but almost never include media – educational or otherwise. Media are important components of children's social ecology; their role could be understood and expanded if scholars and policy makers integrated them into these larger social discussions. Maybe the next handbook will contain some progress on this front.

In summary, this handbook represents the state of our current knowledge about media, demonstrating both how far we have come and how many questions remain. The authors are to be congratulated for a comprehensive and balanced presentation of theory, research, policy, and applied issues. It is an excellent source summarizing scholarship in depth in a readable form.

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Introduction: Media and Children's Development

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From the beginnings of life, children in the twenty-first century typically develop in front of a screen (Wartella & Robb, Chapter 1). Once solely television based, these screen media have now evolved to be digital, interactive, pervasive, and increasingly under the control of those who use them. Media continue to advance rapidly, making it challenging for scholars to keep pace with the rate of adaptation and adoption of technologies in children's lives. This handbook is an effort to address the role of digital media in children's development at this point in time, and to place media in context with what we know from the past as well as what we expect as we look forward to the future.

In this handbook, experts in the interdisciplinary field of children and the media bring their diverse perspectives to bear on the range of topics associated with young people's media experiences. The handbook is divided into six sections. Part I addresses the historical and financial underpinnings of children's media. In Part II, access patterns as a function of viewer qualities and family constellations are considered. Part III focuses on the cognitive influences of media. Social influences of media are examined in Part IV. Media and health issues are the topic of Part V. We end with a discussion of media and policy issues in Part VI. Chapters are designed to be concise overviews of a rapidly changing field. Because so much of the research has strong interdisciplinary roots, our authors come from the fields of psychology, communication, health, and business. Each chapter brings major theoretical paradigms to bear on the literature, including uses and gratifications theory, social cognitive theory, cognitive developmental theory, cultivation theory, and social identity theory. Indeed, many theories can and have been used to understand the role that media play in children's development.

The empirical literature is rich in places, but sparse in others. Although there is a vast literature on how observational screen media affect preschool-aged children, how screen exposure affects the early development of infants and toddlers is a major source of controversy. Organizations such as the American Academy of Pediatrics recommend that very early development should be based solely

in experiences with live adults (Evans Schmidt et al., Chapter 22). Others, by contrast, argue that screen media, with their audio-visual representational devices, are ideally suited for how young children think in visual, iconic forms of thought (Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, Chapter 8). Still others find that background media content made for adults is detrimental to development (Kirkorian & Anderson, Chapter 9; Barr, Chapter 7), but that the verdict is still out on foreground programs made for a child audience (Barr, Chapter 7). One point is perfectly clear: screen media are now the normative experience in Western cultures, and there will be no turning back.

As each new cohort has emerged, time spent with media has increased. Indeed, media are now so pervasive that youth multitask as they divide their time and attention across many different windows and media simultaneously (Scantlin, Chapter 3).

Time spent with media, however, is only part of the story. Indeed, the content is the story, beginning with the cultural messages beamed into children's living rooms and learned within the context of the family (Alexander, Chapter 6). Content drives interest and it also drives the types of learning that take place for infants, children, and youth. Although toddlers have difficulty transferring the representations that they view on a screen to real-life situations, under certain circumstances even babies can imitate the behaviors that they see others perform on a screen (Barr, Chapter 7). For children, exposure to violent content involves harmful outcomes such as increased aggression (Wilson, Chapter 11), increased fear (Smith, Pieper, & Moyer-Guse, Chapter 10; Valkenburg & Buijzen, Chapter 15), and reductions in imagination (Singer & Singer, Chapter 13). Exposure to typical media content can also lead to increased stereotypical beliefs and behaviors (Greenberg & Mastro, Chapter 4; Hust & Brown, Chapter 5), increased obesity (Vandewater & Cummings, Chapter 16), and increased materialism (Young, Chapter 18). By contrast, exposure to prosocial content yields constructive outcomes like increased helping and sharing (Mares, Palmer, & Sullivan, Chapter 12), and exposure to educational content yields long-term cognitive benefits (Kirkorian & Anderson, Chapter 9). With development, children increasingly create their own online content through blogs, online diaries, social networks, and other digital forms of expression. Thus, the cultural stories created by others are increasingly displaced by each child's own unique story.

As digital devices become smaller and better integrated, cell phones and future iPods can serve as around-the-clock links to peers and families. As youth walk down the street or drive in their cars, they are connected to, and at home in, a digital world that they use to communicate with others, to explore who they are, and to play with one another in spaces that are not confined to the here and now. Music, television programs, and movies are downloaded and played on demand. Youth construct their own language systems, creating forms of Internet speak that allow them to communicate at the speed of talking while sending text messages or instant messages to one another through abbreviated language codes such as "u" for "you" and "brb" for "be right back" (Subrahmanyam & Greenfield,

Chapter 8). Although documented effects of newer digital media are emerging, much more research remains to be done in this area.

Who children are – that is, their personal and social identity – plays an important role in what they learn from media (Hoffner, Chapter 14). Gender, ethnicity, and age all influence what children take away from media experiences, in part because children tune into the characters they see and the people with whom they interact. Indeed, the very nature of relationships is shifting due to media experiences. For example, if children think they are interacting with a cartoon character, known as a parasocial interaction, does it influence them in the same way that face-to-face interactions do? If an adolescent pretends to be someone else online, even altering his or her own gender, does it change who that adolescent becomes? These are questions yet to be answered, but grappling with such issues is fundamental to our understanding of developmental outcomes in the twenty-first century.

Because media are such a pervasive aspect of children's daily lives, it is not surprising that there are serious health concerns surrounding this topic. The obesity epidemic that currently influences many youth and their families in Western cultures can be partly explained by media use, particularly exposure to advertising (Vandewater & Cummings, Chapter 16). Similarly, eating disorders are explained in part by exposure to very thin media models; in fact, youth can readily find groups to exacerbate their eating problems via online websites that support anorexic behaviors (Harrison & Hefner, Chapter 17). Drug, tobacco, and alcohol exposure leads to addictive behaviors that can set a trajectory for lifelong health risks. Although there have been some government efforts to curtail exposure to media portrayals of alcohol, tobacco, and drugs, access to these substances via online websites remains readily available (Borzekowski & Strasburger, Chapter 19).

Government policies in the media area have made some progress in improving the media experiences of youth. The Children's Television Act, for instance, requires commercial broadcasters in the United States to provide educational and informational programming for children and also limits the amount of commercial advertising that can take place during children's television programming (Calvert, Chapter 20). Efforts have been made to control exposure to sexually explicit content, to advertisements of low nutritional foods, to advertisements of alcohol, tobacco, and drugs, and to violent content (Evans Schmidt et al., Chapter 22; Gentile, Chapter 23, Iannotta, Chapter 21). The US government, however, has been reluctant to create restrictive media policies, due to First Amendment issues that guarantee freedom of speech, or to finance children's programs; this reluctance has led to ongoing issues of who is willing to pay for quality content (Cahn, Kalagian, & Lyon, Chapter 2).

In the United States where First Amendment rights are a fundamental marker of our individual and collective freedom as a people, censorship is not a preferred mode for eliminating marginal content. Instead, media ratings systems that identify quality content and that mark problematic content have emerged to try to help parents monitor their children's media experiences (Gentile, Chapter 23).

Media literacy programs and parental mediation efforts also seem to benefit children by encouraging critical thinking skills (Chakroff & Nathanson, Chapter 24; Singer & Singer, Chapter 13). In fact, censorship no longer works in a world that is global and where inappropriate content – such as sexually explicit material – can simply move beyond national borders and be readily available via the Internet (Iannotta, Chapter 21).

Two major themes that permeate this handbook remain to be explored. In a world in which media fill the daily lives of our youth, a world in which media have gone from background to foreground experiences each and every day (Wartella & Robb, Chapter 1), why is there so little empirical research about the long-term effects of these mediated experiences on developmental outcomes? In addition, as we begin to differentiate beneficial content more clearly from that which is potentially harmful, why is there not more prosocial and educational material available for youth in the media landscape? These are the challenges that lay ahead as our children grow up in a “multidevice, multiplatform, multichannel world” (Carr, 2007).

References

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Part I

Historical, Conceptual, and Financial Underpinnings of Media

