

# WIRED-UP

Young People  
and the  
Electronic  
Media

or 2 PLAYER

# Edited by Sue Howard

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## Wired-Up

## **Media, Education and Culture**

Series Editors: David Buckingham is Reader in Education at Institute of Education, University of London, UK and Julian Sefton-Green is Media Education Development Officer at Weekend Arts College, part of Interchange Trust, UK.

In response to the increasing diversity of contemporary societies and the significance of the electronic media, cultural studies has developed rigorous and exciting approaches to pedagogy, both in schools and in higher education. At the same time, research in this area has begun to pose fundamental questions about the political claims of much cultural studies theory, and about the relationship between academic knowledge and lived experience. *Media, Education and Culture* will extend the research and debate that is developing in this interface between cultural studies and education.

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# Wired-Up

## Young People and the Electronic Media

*Edited By*

Sue Howard



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## Series Editors' Preface

Media and Cultural Studies are currently expanding areas of the curriculum at all levels of the education system, not merely in English-speaking countries but in many other parts of the world. Cultural Studies has made a radical contribution to the study of education, particularly in terms of its emphasis on 'popular' knowledge and on the political dynamics of young people's leisure cultures. Yet in the context of anxieties about the apparent decline in traditional cultural values, it also challenges much current thinking about the aims and methods of core areas of the curriculum such as English. In response to the growing significance of the electronic media and the increasing diversity of contemporary societies, media educators have developed rigorous and exciting new approaches to pedagogy both in schools and in higher education. At the same time, research in this area has begun to pose fundamental questions about the political claims of much academic theory, and about the relationships between academic knowledge and lived experience. The Media, Education and Culture series will develop these themes and approaches, providing lively and accessible examples of original research and debate at the interface between Education and Media/Cultural Studies.

As one of the first volumes in the series, *Wired-Up* explores several of these issues in new and challenging ways. The book sets out to change the agenda of debate about young people's relationships with the electronic media. For far too long, many of the authors argue, discussion about the role of the media in modern society has been dominated by the 'effects' paradigm. Television in particular has been widely seen as harmful and destructive to children; and there are signs that these anxieties are now being transferred wholesale to the new digital media. By exploring the actual uses that young people make of these media, the research collected here moves beyond the limitations of this tradition. With evidence gleaned from empirical studies ranging from pre-schoolers to young adults, the contributors take as their starting point the fact that young people 'read' and use the media in very diverse and often thoughtful ways. At the same time, they do not espouse the cheerful form of consumer sovereignty which some have seen as characteristic of contemporary Cultural Studies. They do not regard young people as wholly autonomous makers of meaning. On the contrary, they show how their uses and interpretations of the media are defined by the social

and interpersonal contexts in which they occur. These studies thus take us beyond the simplistic either/or debates which typically characterize public debate on these issues—the notion that the media are either harmless or harmful, and that young people are either powerless or powerful in resisting their influence.

Building on what is now a burgeoning tradition in Cultural Studies, these researchers are moving on to investigate audiences and media forms overlooked in earlier research. Among the new research topics covered here, for example, are preschoolers' television viewing, young boys' engagement with video games and adolescents' uses of the telephone. At the same time, these researchers are perhaps more sensitive to methodological issues and dilemmas than their predecessors. There is a considerable degree of eclecticism in the different research environments and the differing roles the researchers have played in the lives of their research subjects; but there is also a strong sense that what we can know about children is inevitably constrained by the methods we use to study them, and the circumstances in which we do so.

This volume is also sensitive to the educational implications of such research. If the media play such significant and diverse roles in young people's lives, what does this mean for traditional forms of pedagogy and curriculum? Some of the pieces here explore these issues directly—for example, by considering what feminism means for young readers of women's magazines or discussing the issues entailed in educating children reared on digital technologies. Yet most of the pieces imply that the media have now effectively become the new curriculum—albeit one which, like the old curriculum, is not simply imposed upon passive minds. Thus, a number of studies here draw attention to what young people are learning or understanding from their consumption of the media. Implicitly, they set a radical new agenda for curriculum development. The research reported here into young people's interpretations of television or their creative uses of video imply that schools and teachers need to take these phenomena as starting points for the curriculum, rather than seeing them as necessarily 'anti-educational'—as has been the case among conservative policy-makers in the UK in recent years. Schools need to recognize the diverse range of contemporary media cultures if they are to connect with—and to build upon—young people's everyday experiences.

Indeed, it is this attention to the heterogeneity of the modern media environment which particularly distinguishes this book. Television, video, computers, telephones, camcorders and so on are brought together to demonstrate a distinctive kind of 'mediated childhood'. Although most of the studies focus on only one of the technologies listed above, as a whole they indicate the need for a multi-focused, interdisciplinary perspective. Questions about young people's productive uses of media technologies are considered alongside investigations of how such technologies are consumed. In the process, the boundaries between 'production' and 'consumption' are crossed and blurred: studies investigating young people's use of camcorders are positioned next to analyses of the 'creative consumption' of horror videos or computer games. This

juxtaposition implicitly raises questions about how knowledge might transfer across these complementary domains.

For us, writing several thousand miles away from the countries in which this research was conducted, there is much that is instantly recognizable. The fact that the work all derives from Australia and New Zealand should not be taken to imply that its interest is merely parochial. On the contrary, these studies would seem to confirm the existence of a kind of globalized media childhood, in first world countries at least. It is no surprise that the media technologies and texts discussed here are, for the most part, well known internationally. What is more striking is how the intellectual and political concerns of the book—its reformulation of questions about media ‘effects’, or its discussions of pedagogy—are shared by many in the UK, Europe and North America. At the same time, there are important local inflections in several of these studies—inflections which derive not just from local media, but from their interaction with indigenous cultures and traditions. In this respect, the book makes an important contribution to our understanding of how local childhoods are lived amid global media cultures.

**David Buckingham**  
**Julian Sefton-Green**  
*London, June 1997*

# Preface

In September 1994, the Australian Teachers of Media (ATOM) association held its biennial conference in Adelaide, South Australia and it was in this forum that the research, on which several chapters of this volume are based, first saw the light of day. What became very apparent at this conference was that interesting empirical research was being conducted across Australia and New Zealand into questions concerning children and young people and their involvements with all kinds of media. Whether it was in relation to watching *Bananas in Pyjamas* or *Nightmare on Elm Street*, playing *Doom* or using a video camera, the image that emerged from these presentations was one of children and young people managing diverse media forms, enjoying them, thinking about them and integrating them, seemingly effortlessly, into their lives. This optimistic image, however, is not shared by others. Six months after the ATOM conference, a major international forum on children and television held in Melbourne had sessions entitled 'The Death of Childhood', 'Kids as Consumers', 'Television as Moral Guardian', 'The Violence Discussion' (no longer a 'debate' because the jury, the audience was told, is 'in' on this question)—all of which clearly demonstrated continuing anxiety about children's exposure to electronic media.

The construction of the 'child' that lies behind these anxieties is essentially an idealized and romantic one—the 'child' is naive, innocent, vulnerable, in need of protection; the media, on the other hand, are often demonized—they are rapacious, corrupting, exploitative and in need of regulation. Ironically, by uncritically reporting claims that some form of electronic entertainment is to blame whenever children prove less than perfect, the media themselves are largely responsible for perpetuating these constructions.

For many years now, studies which have rejected the old notion of a direct causal link between the media and children's subsequent attitudes, beliefs and behaviours have been generating fascinating insights into *real* children's *actual* interactions with all kinds of media forms. Research findings like these do not, of course, make such interesting headlines as the 'shock horror' claims and many excellent studies that might have challenged the general propensity to go for the easy answers have languished in scholarly journals only to preach to the converted. Research, in a form that is accessible to both the lay reader as well as those with a scholarly or professional interest in the field is vital if informed

understanding is to prevail about how children and young people really *do* use, interact with and appropriate for their own purposes, electronic media of all kinds. The studies that are presented here are the result of recent scholarly research, and, I believe, are equally accessible to those who live and/or work with children and young people as well as students and scholars in the field.

This collection comprises separate studies covering a wide range of electronic media forms including: television, video, video/computer games and the telephone. In addition, the age-range encompassed by the studies includes preschoolers, primary school-aged children, adolescents and young adults. Boys' and girls' interests also receive separate attention. Of particular interest to scholars and students will be the diversity of the methods and theoretical contexts represented. The authors' backgrounds in cultural studies, media and journalism, psychology, sociology, education, anthropology and the humanities are all reflected in the theoretical frameworks they adopt. The methods, which are broadly qualitative, include analysis of linguistic and visual texts, data collection through surveys, interviews, discussion groups and participant observation and longitudinal and 'snap-shot' research designs. All the studies involve participants who represent the rich cultural diversity of Australian and New Zealand societies.

The chapters are ordered according to the age of the participants and so the collection begins with Geoff Lealand's study of New Zealand preschoolers watching television; it then ranges through research concerning primary school-aged children including Bill Green, Jo-Anne Reid and Chris Bigum's piece about children dealing with the complexities of playing video games; Mark Laidler on children's love of the 'disapproved' video *Nightmare on Elm Street* and my own chapter on how the (often despised) entertainment programming favoured by children, can actually make them think. Linda Sheldon's chapter is the result of a large quantitative and qualitative study and highlights what children find boring and 'cool' on TV. With [Chapter 6](#) we move into adolescence with Nola Alloway and Pam Gilbert's piece on teenage boys and video/arcade game-playing. Their rather pessimistic account of boys 'doing gender' makes a striking contrast with Gerry Bloustien's more optimistic analysis (in [Chapter 7](#)) of teenage girls using the video camera to construct their gendered identities. Patricia Gillard, Amanda Bow and Karen Wale have contributed a chapter on an electronic means of communication that is now taken for granted—the telephone; here they show how important the phone still is to teenagers in the age of the Internet. In the final chapter, Sue Turnbull offers a thoughtful analysis of some of the problems in teaching about media at tertiary level, which illustrates some of the continuing 'generation gaps' this book is attempting to address.

A volume like this only comes together with a lot of assistance and encouragement. Thanks are due, in the first instance, to David Buckingham for suggesting that the ATOM papers, represented here, might best be preserved in some more permanent form. The University of South Australia also deserves thanks for awarding a small grant to assist with the costs of coordinating an

enterprise that stretched from Perth to Waikato and from Townsville to Adelaide (more distance than I can calculate). I must also record my very great thanks to all the contributors to this volume who made the editing process such a pleasure—such an exercise in cooperation and collegiality. Some of us are so far apart that we can only know each other through e-mail; nevertheless, this new electronic form allows us to communicate in ways that permit warmth and ‘virtual’ friendship. Locally, thanks to Judy Gill for her generous scholarly support and to Drummond Jewitt, without whom I would have starved, languished and never survived the stresses that undertaking such an enterprise inevitably entails. Finally, this book is dedicated to my father who introduced me to television when he bought our family’s first set when I was just a little girl. It was as a result of his teasing that I first learned about representation on television—he suggested that when the TV broke down, it was because it was clogged up with tiny dead cowboys and Indians. When I watched the repair man at work, I was shocked to discover that the set contained nothing more interesting than valves and wires. Like all children, however, I took this in my stride and moved on.

**Sue Howard**  
*Adelaide 1996*

*Chapter One*  
**Where do snails watch television?**  
Preschool television and New Zealand children

*Geoff Lealand*

A little New Zealand girl called Monique (4 years old) and her mother are watching *Sesame Street*. An image of a snail appears on screen:

*Monique:* That's not a snail!

*Mother:* Yes it is. It was inside its shell. They live in their shell; it's their house. When they go for a walk and they get tired they just suck their slimy body inside their shell and have a sleep.

*Monique:* Is there a TV inside their house?

*Mother:* No, they don't need stereos and televisions in their house. There's just enough room for them.

*Monique:* Oh, I thought there was a TV and stereo in there!

*[Mother and daughter laugh]*

Ratings are the common currency of television in most countries, irrespective of whether the broadcasting system is commercial, licence-fee or taxation funded, or a mixed system. But in New Zealand, as in other countries, the very youngest viewers of television are not part of this currency exchange; children under the age of five years do not exist in the world of television ratings.

Lacking even such one-dimensional measurement, the audience for the special kind of programming called 'early childhood' lacks both coherence and visibility. There are, however, signs that some regard it as an important genre. In Australia, for example, the Australian content rules administered by the Australian Broadcasting Authority enforce a locally-produced P (preschool) strand in the daily schedules of the Australian commercial networks. In Australia too, a short-lived political row developed in 1996 over a scheduling clash between the competing attractions of broadcasts of Question Time in the House of Representatives, and afternoon screenings of *Sesame Street*. *Sesame Street* won.

In New Zealand, preschool programmes continue to be made locally or purchased from overseas sources, and screened in specific, advertising-free segments of the schedules of the three broadcast networks (Television New Zealand-owned ONE and Channel 2, and the private network TV3). In March 1996, there were three hours Monday to Friday (15 hours weekly) of preschool programming across all three broadcast channels, with a further 25 minutes of *The Magic Box* on TV3 on Sunday morning. Ten of TVNZ's 15 non-commercial hours broadcast each week are provided specifically for preschoolers (24 per

cent of all TVNZ children's programming), while TV3's non-commercial preschool programming constitutes 20 per cent of children's programming.

These programmes, which are not interrupted by advertising (except for programme and station promotions as a form of self-advertising between programmes), are effectively subsidized by the high level of advertising (between 12–15 minutes per hour) which surrounds most other programming across all channels. This might be considered a lingering presence of the public service objectives of television in New Zealand, before the deregulation and free market ideology of the late 1980s swept aside the previous funding mix of a broadcasting fee and advertising revenue. Viewers are still taxed with an annual broadcasting fee (\$NZ 110) but instead of this going directly to the broadcasters, it now goes to a quango called New Zealand On Air (NZOA), set up under the 1988 Broadcasting Act.

NZOA has the responsibility to collect and distribute the \$NZ 85 million collected from 1.05 million fee-payers in New Zealand. In 1995/6, \$NZ 45 million (53 per cent) of this went to funding television programming. It also has a cultural agenda, to fund and promote programming which will reflect the bi-cultural nature of contemporary New Zealand society. This means, quite specifically, that NZOA-funded initiatives in preschool programming must acknowledge that there are two official languages in New Zealand (English and Maori) and that children must be provided with a range of perspectives on culture and values.

In 1995, NZOA funded, in full or part, 476 hours of children's programming out of the 773 hours of such programming screened in that year. Children's programming was the third largest locally-produced genre on New Zealand television after sport and current affairs. Although this may seem like a sizeable block of programming, it has to be set within the context of the total 5018 hours of locally-produced television in 1995, which contributed only 19.7 per cent of total programming. Just over one-third (35.4 per cent) of prime-time programming was New Zealand-produced (NZOA 1996).

The *Statement of Intent* which governed NZOA's funding decisions in 1996/97 granted up to \$NZ 7.7 million for 374 hours of children's programming but with no further funding for animation projects. Targeted funding of \$NZ 1 million had been provided in the April 1996 funding round for the animated series *The Adventures of Cumie the Cloud*. Although there is acknowledgment of the popularity of animation for young viewers, the production expense limits more being made.

NZOA also played a part in the early stages of the research described here. In 1990–91, it funded the development stage of a TVNZ-produced early childhood series, *Our House*, which was designed to replace the New Zealand version of *Play School*, a long-running programme based on its British counterpart. Part of this development stage involved multifaceted research designed to inform the shape of the new series, and part of this research involved observation studies of 35 young children (15 boys and 20 girls) watching television. The *Our House*

series went no further than the production of five pilot programmes, falling victim to competitive bidding between TVNZ and TV3 for funding from NZOA. In late 1991, \$NZ 6 million was awarded to the production house Kids TV, enabling them to put to air a daily early childhood programme, *You and Me*, on the private channel TV3 in July 1992.

The research done for *Our House* eventually informed a TVNZ in-house funded and produced early childhood series *Chatterbox* (1993–95) and, according to Kids TV producer Julie Weatherall, also influenced the format and content of *You and Me*. But it also became more of academic interest, rather than serving the original objectives of directly shaping new preschool programming. Nevertheless, the richness of the data obtained from the observation phase of the research for *Our House* prompted a desire to replicate and extend this style of child-centred research. It seemed a good idea to extend the detail and complexity of the original project, beyond the ‘snap-shot’ constraints of small-scale research (the constraint of one observation period per child) by proposing a longitudinal study, evolving across time and with a larger, more diverse group of children. It was proposed that more could be discovered with repeated visits to more children.

Field research began in September 1992 and continued until December 1993. The results of this research were published in 1995 as *Television and New Zealand Preschoolers: A Longitudinal Study*. This report set its findings within a wide discussion about the nature of the relationship between young viewers and television and canvassed the following aspects of the relationship.

### **Television and Early Childhood: The Research Literature**

Given the almost total absence of New Zealand-based studies, research from Japan, the USA, Europe and Australia provided the theoretical base for this study. Some caution, however, was necessary in transposing cultural considerations onto the New Zealand setting. In Japan, for example, television is commonly used as an entertainment/education tool in formal preschool settings (the nursery school); this happens very rarely in New Zealand formal preschooling. Likewise, in the United States, figures suggest that young children watch more television and a greater range of programming (particularly in cable homes), than their New Zealand counterparts.

In much of the research on children and television, the first component (children) is often ill-defined or underinterrogated. There is often an assumption, for example, that childhood coincides with the beginnings of formal education (in New Zealand, at age 5), or later. In two important Australian studies of children and television, for example, childhood begins at 8 years (Palmer 1986) and 5 years (Cupit 1987) respectively. This means that amongst the thousands of research studies and policy statements on children and television, viewers under 5 years old are usually underrepresented and often ignored.

This would appear to be a major anomaly, given the general belief that very young children are living through their most formative years, subject to influences and expectations which will shape them personally and socially. These years, it is generally believed, are when children are in greatest need of guidance, supervision and protection. This is particularly marked in the Western dominant discourse about childhood as an extended period of innocence, dependency and vulnerability, as the following suggests:

Examining the impact of television exposure on the moral development of young children is important for two significant reasons. The years two to seven are the most critical for a child's moral development. Also known is that children in this same time span are in their peak viewing years, watching more television per day than any other time in their childhood. The presence of television in the lives of young children is undeniable.

(Albright 1994:2)

There are reasons why very young viewers continue to be neglected by researchers. They comprise a specialist audience, their programmes comprise a minor part of production output and, as has already been pointed out, they are absent in ratings, the common currency of commercial television. Very young children are also difficult research subjects, seldom able to articulate, conceptualize or understand much beyond their own immediate experiences. As Fitch, Huston and Wright (1993) suggest, probably all children initially believe all television is 'real' and do not start to identify formal features such as animation until age 3 or 4. As a result, research on very young children and television is customarily mediated and filtered through adult perceptions, with a corresponding dependency on second-level data.

Another strand of research uses technology to intrude into the viewing situation and record attention levels such as eye-contact and listening to television content. Such research informed the development and production of the American preschool series *Sesame Street*, but even though it can indicate interest levels and visible response to content, like most other research, it cannot give us much information on what is going on in the child's head. Given the silence from the children themselves, such observations tend to form the core of much research and are associated with the research methods employed in this study.

Summarizing the present body of knowledge about very young children and television, research findings (Choat 1988; Collins 1991; Kodaira 1990; Meltzoff 1988; Plomin *et al.* 1990) suggest the following:

- babies begin to show limited, sporadic attention to the television set before they are 1 year old;
- children as young as 1 or 2 years begin to imitate television models;

- between 2 and 3 years, there is a dramatic rise in the amount of television watched and the attention paid to television content;
- between the ages of 3 and 5, the majority of children watch television in a quite attentive manner, with boys and only children watching more than girls or children with siblings.

In addition, although often fragmentary and culturally specific, research on television and very young children suggests that television use and understanding of its content is strongly linked to sequences of cognitive development and age-defined abilities, even though such understandings are not necessarily uniform across groups of similarly aged children. Children must build on skills mastered earlier, earlier-processed schemas and previous experiences (including mistakes and misinterpretations). As in other areas of the child's experience, television can add to these accumulated experiences to influence physical behaviour, verbal communication and cognitive abilities.

In an important Australian study (Greenblat and Glezer 1993), mothers reported on their children's use of television. They indicated that most were watching television by age 2 and up to an hour a day was being watched by the start of formal schooling. By this time, most children were choosing their own programmes, but the mothers reported only one in five was totally absorbed in his/her viewing. These Australian mothers thought their children had learnt particular skills from television, such as the recognition of concepts and relationships, as well as songs and rhymes.

Even though such research informed the shape and objectives of the present study, it seldom informs the public discourse about television and children in New Zealand. Periodic attention to this area of children's lives regularly and uncritically calls on a mix of conjecture, anecdote and North American empirical research to substantiate its case—most particularly, when negative effects are alleged. There seems to be little desire, for example, to interrogate the cultural specificity of imported 'effects' research, nor much interest in replicating and testing such research against local conditions, despite the growing body of research on transnational media (Liebes and Katz 1990) which argues for national differences in reception and impact.

The research community in New Zealand generally continues to ignore research on children and television, and when it does call on research, it often encourages a form of intellectual imperialism through its unreflexive use of overseas studies. This present study was, in part, an attempt to redress this neglect.

### **The Research Method**

Use was made of local school and personal contacts to generate a research core of families with young children. Further families were added through the time-honoured process of snow-balling and through formal approaches to early

childhood education groups. The interest created resulted in unexpected offers of assistance; in one case, a charge nurse with a medical centre facilitated access to 12 families with young children.

By September 1992, thirty-nine 3 to 4-year-olds were ready for the first visit of the researchers (Cycle A), with a further thirty-three children beginning in October (Cycle B). These children came from a wide range of backgrounds, living in the cities of Hamilton or Taupo, and small Waikato towns and rural areas. There was a wide range of family circumstances, with a special effort being made to recruit children from Maori families. These latter families (which contributed 12 children to the panel) were the special responsibility of Anne, a researcher with Maori affiliations. The other children were primarily of Pakeha (European) background, except for one Chinese family.

The characteristic that all these children shared was that in most cases the primary caregiver (usually the biological mother) was home with the children for all or considerable parts of the day and because of this, they were more likely to have access to daytime television programming. Over a 14 month period, a total of 306 visits were made by three trained researchers (Anne, Bevin and Claire), averaging 22 visits per month or approximately seven visits per month per researcher.

In all, a maximum of 78 children participated in this study, from a grand total of 120 children in the participating families. Children under the age of 3 years or over 5 years were not directly involved in the observation periods, except when they interacted with the children being directly observed. Because the research ranged over an extended period, there were some anticipated losses from the panel (10 children turning 5 and starting school) but these departures were more than compensated for through the addition of another 14 children in early 1993. The 1993 research panel began with 38 boys and 40 girls and these numbers remained stable through to the end of the field studies in December.

The 14 months of field studies produced 344 hours of observation, with the average observation period being just over one hour—a period which enabled useful data to be collected without unduly disrupting family routines. In all cases, observations were conducted in a ‘natural’ environment, with no special instructions being given to the children in anticipation of the researcher’s visit.

### **Observing the Children**

As in previous research which employed systematic observations of television use in natural sites (Palmer 1986; Zwaga 1992), all possible factors in the relationship between young children and the television set were included in the equation. Such factors included:

- the number of television sets and their placement in the home;

- the viewing environment, including the layout of the domestic setting. An open-plan setting produced different viewing dynamics from that which occurred in dedicated viewing rooms;
- the systems of control over the television set. This included parents/caregivers controlling the on-off switches and remote controls, or if children were allowed or chose to use such technology;
- the weather on the day of each visit. This often determined how much use was made of television;
- the presence or absence of other children (younger and/or older), caregivers (mothers, grandparents, aunts) and other possible participants (visitors, pets);
- the customary structure or rhythm of the day for each child: when they customarily took daytime naps, ate or watched television. Obviously, visits were timed to coincide with the last activity. At other times, children were more likely to be doing other things or attending kindergarten or play centres;
- the presence of the researcher.

Anticipating the possible effects of having a relative stranger regularly visiting, deliberate strategies were adopted to neutralize the role of the researcher through simple techniques of distancing or deflection. For example, researchers promised to read a story 'after we have finished watching television'. In virtually all cases, however, significant or visible effects of the researchers' presence rapidly diminished with return visits to homes, echoing what Palmer (1986:24) found in her research:

As participant observer, the researcher is part of the social situation of television viewing. Confidence in the results of this stage as reflecting children's usual viewing behaviour rests in the observer's ability to fit in with family patterns and to maintain a low-key but friendly presence. The observation record alerts the researcher to those occasions when the social situation was consciously adapted to the observer's presence.

Caregivers generally supported the judgment that the normal behaviour of their children did not significantly change, either during the researchers' visits or over the period of the field research. Commentaries by the three field researchers also argued for minimal researcher effects.

The behaviour of the children was recorded in two ways:

- 1 Through a record of each child's attention to television content, using a general code for every 10 minute segment which indicated the level of attention being paid;
- 2 a commentary and record of all events and conversation which took place within each observation period.