



PROCEEDING

Urban Living and Multicultural Cities in Asia: from Colonial Past to Global Future

International Conference on Psychology & Multiculturalism

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PROCEEDING OF

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
PSYCHOLOGY AND MULTICULTURALISM

URBAN LIVING & MULTICULTURAN CITIES IN ASIA:
FROM COLONIAL PAST TO GLOBAL FUTURE

Important Note:

Scientific Committee did not edit or correct the paper accepted for proceeding. It was assume the paper's grammar, spelling error, and writing style according to APA was the author's responsibility.

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Jakarta, November 2017

Greetings From the Dean

Welcome to the first International Conference on Psychology and Multiculturalism,

In 2017, Faculty of Psychology, Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia celebrates its 25th anniversary. On the 8th of June 1992, the faculty was opened with a bachelor degree program and started the academic activities with only about 70 students. Twenty five years passing by, currently we have four study programs at bachelor, master (professional and science), and doctoral level serving about 1500 students. It is a great achievement that this year we finally have a complete level of study program!

As a commemoration of our gratitude and celebration for this achievement, we are convening academicians, students, and practitioners to discuss and learn from each other in an international conference, namely “Urban Living and Multicultural Cities in Asia: From Colonial Past to Global Future”. This is our first international conference and it is a reflection of our academic themes, namely to understand and develop urban dwellers, multicultural, and disadvantaged people. It is relevant with Jakarta, where our campus is located, that the conference covers behaviors and psychological aspects of people within the history of the city, its economic and industrial growth, health, education, and information technology innovations.

Our keynote speaker and panelists are experts in their field. I hope we can learn a lot from them. For presenters and guests, welcome and thank you for joining our conference, I hope you can have wonderful discussions in this conference.

Dr. Angela Oktavia Suryani, M. Si

Dean of Faculty of Psychology, Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia

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Exploring Parental Mediation of Elementary School-Aged Children's Gadget Use

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed to explore how Indonesian parents managed their elementary school-aged children's (aged 6 - 12) use of smartphone and tablet. A qualitative method was used in this study by interviewing three mothers who allow their children using smartphone and tablet for at least two to three times a week, with a duration at least thirty minutes per used. The results were analyzed using content analysis technique. To increase the validity of data, this study also did triangulation to participant's children and significant others. This study found that all three mothers combined some types of parental mediation to managed their children's gadget use. Active mediation was used, due to improved cognitive ability of elementary school-aged children. However, all mothers faced the same issue when explaining and discussing sexual contents to their children. Mother's perception toward children's low self-control also caused all mothers to use restrictive mediation. Technical restrictions was rarely used because some parents had low technology skills. Inconsistency in parental mediation practice might occur when parents entrusted their children with extended family members. Father also tend to loose the rules which set by the mother and hampered the effectiveness of parental mediation.

Keywords: parental mediation, gadget, elementary school-aged children, Indonesian family parenting, digital technology

Smartphones and tablet computers are two types of gadget that mostly used by children (Ministry of Communication and Informatics of Indonesia, 2014; The Asian Parent Indonesia, 2014). Children's gadget use poses some risks that worry parents. Some negative risks of using gadget are the increasing risk of obesity, disrupting social development of children, and increasing child's aggressiveness level (Preradović, Lešin, & Šagud, 2016; Hsin, Li, & Tsai, 2014; Hatch, 2011). Other negative risks of gadget using are the increasing access of violent and pornographic images by children through Internet, and the risk of media addiction (Ponte & Simões, in Rahayu & Lim, 2016; Park and Lee, in Gökçearsan, Mumcu, Haşlamam, & Çevik, 2016).

The problem is parents cannot avoid the fact that children live in the technology-rich environment. Those children are called digital natives because they have been exposed with many gadgets since in the early age (Zevenbergen, in Cho, Kim, & Lee, 2016; Maldonaldo in Rose, Vittrup, & Leveridge, 2013). Parents also cannot completely prohibit children from using gadgets. They realize that technology skills are needed to adapt in this advanced technological era (Hatzigianni & Margetts, in Hannah, 2016). Therefore, the parents' role in preventing the detrimental risks that come with using gadgets is crucial. The previous research showed that children would get positive effect from gadget when their parent guide them (Nevski & Siibak, 2016; Neumann, 2015).

Parental mediation is the term that describes parent's behavior to manage and control their children's media use (Livingstone, Mascheroni, Dreier, Chaudron, & Lagae, 2015). Parental mediation refers to parents' effort in maximizing the benefits and in minimizing the risks of using media by children and adolescents (Chakroff & Nathanson, in Schaan & Melzer, 2014). Nathanson (in Donsbach, 2015) mentioned three types of parental mediation

in general, which were active mediation, restrictive mediation, and co-using. Active mediation refers to when parents thoroughly discuss and explain the content of media with children. Restrictive mediation refers to when parents restrict the child's media usage, such as set limitation to the duration of children's gadget use. Co-using refers to when parents use media together with children, but they were not involved in the interaction.

Parental mediation strategies may vary depending on the context of media. Three types of parental mediation were concluded from previous researches on the television context because television was popular media that dominated the world in the mid-1990s era (Nathanson, 2002; Valkenburg, Krcmar, Peeters, & Marseille, 1999; Fujioka & Austin, 2002). Livingstone and Helsper (2008) investigated about parental mediation strategy of children's internet use. Based on the result, five types of parental mediation were found, including (1) active mediation of internet use, (2) active mediation of internet safety, (3) restrictive mediation; (4) technical restrictions; (5) monitoring. There is a possibility that new types of parental mediation will emerge. Therefore, research about parental mediation needs to be reviewed, based on recent media context.

The age range of children referred to this study was six to twelve years old, which is also called elementary school-aged. There is a change in the relationship between parents and children at the age of elementary school. Unlike preschool-aged children, older children spend more of their time to interact with peers (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, in Santrock, 2013). They enter the wider social world that makes parents difficult to control the interactions between children and their peers. The risks of using gadget can be increased when children affected by peers who bring bad influences (Loeber, Farrington, & Petechuk, 2003). However, gadgets also play the important role to facilitate social interaction for elementary school-aged children (Strasburger et al., in Lee, 2012). Therefore, parents may adjust their parental mediation practices due to children's age. However, the previous study on parental mediation of children's gadget use had been done on families with preschool-aged children (Sekarasih, 2016). This study aimed to explore how Indonesian parents managed their elementary school-aged children's (aged 6 - 12) gadget use.

The research on parental mediation in the context of Indonesia is limited. It is to be more prevalent in the context of US and European (Valkenburg et al. 1999; Nathanson, 2002; Clark, 2011; Livingstone et al., 2015). Indonesians uphold the value of closeness and loyalty among family members (Piercy, Soekandar, Limansubroto, & Davis, 2005). Based on this condition, Indonesians generally live with parents and extended families, even though they are married. Another typical characteristic that is also found in Indonesian families is the presence of a household assistant to help parents take care of the house and children. As a result, children mostly spend their time with the household assistant rather than their parents, especially if the parent works in the office (Silalahi, 2015). Therefore, the involvement of extended family members and household assistants may add to the variation of parental mediation practices in Indonesian families. This study was conducted on parents who live in Jakarta. Based on statistic data of mobile phone ownership in 2013, Jakarta ranks the second highest in Indonesia with 97.91% (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2013). This condition shows that Jakarta has a great number of mobile phone ownership.

Method

This study used qualitative methods to explore how Indonesian parents managed their elementary school-aged children's (aged 6 - 12) gadget use. A semi-structured interview was used to collect the data. The interview guide has passed the expert judgment from two experts in children and media. Criterion sampling was used in this study to get representative samples who can give the comprehensive data about parental mediation.

The interview was conducted on three mothers under the pseudonyms Maya, Sari, and Carla who had the following criteria: (1) live in Jakarta and have children aged six to twelve; (2) have a personal gadget; (3) permit the children to use the gadget, whether owned by children or parent; (4) have a child who uses a device at least two to three times a week, with a duration at least thirty minutes. This criteria was determined by the results of past survey that conducted by *The Asian Parents* and *Samsung Kids Time* (2014). The result showed that the average frequency of children's gadget use is two to three times in a week with a duration at least thirty minutes. Moreover, the interview was conducted in Bahasa. Researchers conducted two interviews on each subject with 45-60 minutes of each meeting. Interviews were conducted face-to-face at subject's house.

The interview results were recorded and the verbatim was performed to analyze by using content analysis method. Also, triangulation was performed to two subjects, which are children and significant other from subject. Significant other refers to subject's spouse (husband or wife), nanny, household assistant, or parents who live together with the subject. Table 2.1 shows demographic data of each subject. All name in this study is pseudonym because to maintain data confidentiality.

Table 1.1
Demographic data of respondents

Description	Subject 1	Subject 2	Subject 3
Name	Maya	Sari	Carla
Age	36 years old	48 years old	39 years old
Education Level	Senior High School	Master Degree	Bachelor Degree
Religion	Konghucu	Catholic	Buddha
Ethnic	Chinese-Indonesian	Chinese-Indonesian	Chinese-Indonesian
Occupation	Housewife	Manager	Freelancer
Economy Status	Upper middle	Upper middle	Upper middle
The number of Children	5	2	2
Children Sex	Girl and Boy	Boys	Boys
Children Name and Age	Clody, 21 years old; Cleodin, 17 years old; Kana, 9 years old; Eric, 7 years old; Tatan, 3 years old	Hansen, 11 years old; Kennard, 9.5 years old	Ari, 10.5 years old Kalis, 6.5 years old
Triangulation Subject (Children)	Kana and Eric	Hansen and Kennard	Ari and Kalis
Triangulation Subject (Significant Others)	Iti (household assistant)	Joni (husband)	Steven (husband)

Results

Restrictive mediation is the type of parental mediation first stated by all subject when they were asked about how to control their children in using of gadget. It shows that the most common way used by parents to control the use of gadget is setting rules and limits. This finding implies that the easiest and most thoughtful way most parents have to mediate the use of gadgets is restrictive mediation. Mothers used restrictive mediation by limiting the duration of using the gadget and certain application that children can access. Children were allowed to use the gadget only on Friday to Sunday and school holidays. Children's performance in school was the biggest concern for these three mothers. All respondents had the same concern that gadget may interfere children's concentration for learning, especially children who had entered elementary school. Therefore, all respondents limited the frequency and duration of children's gadget use.

"Tapi, dia tiap hari tuh cari. Pulang sekolah, 'Mama' .. Cari dong. Jadi, setiap hari begitu.. begitu.. Terus belajarnya juga jadi terganggu kan. Seiring waktu dia semakin besar, semakin naik kelas, itu kan.. Pasti kan banyak kegiatan kan, banyak pelajaran juga. Lebih banyak PR, banyak kegiatan gitu. Jadi, yaudah.. Dibatasi aja. Kalau engga, bisa.. gatau. Tiap hari nanya" (Ibu Maya, 36 tahun)

"But, every day they look for it. After came back from school, 'Mom'... Please find it. So, every day is always the same. His study will be disturbed. They grow up, and they will go to the next grade. There will be a lot of activities, and also lots of lesson and homework. So, I let it. But I set a limit. Because, if I didn't allow it. I don't know. He will ask every day." (Mrs. Maya, 36 years old)

The three mothers have the same perception on the inability of their children to control themselves while using gadgets. The children tend to be overtime when they are playing games. Also, the children ignore their learning activities. Therefore, the three mothers set the rule of playing games so it cannot disturb children's learning activities.

"Kalau kebanyakan gadget, keliatan mereka ga fokus untuk belajar. Kalau belajar, udah cepet. Cepet selesai. Maunya buru-buru main. Nah, jadi ga fokus. Kalau menurut saya ya. Eee.. kurang bagus sih sebenarnya kalau game. Memang dia kosakatanya bertambah, pergaulan dia tau lebih banyak, tapi ya efeknya itu ga fokus. Karena mereka tuh masih belum bisa mengatur diri sendiri bahwa oh belajar dulu baru main. Ini ga. Asal main ya main. Bodo amat sama belajar gitu loh" (Ibu Sari, 48 tahun)

"They were in hurry to finish their tasks or homework. What they want is always playing games. They still don't have self-control to think they need to finish their homework first and after that they can play. They don't care with the study. Games and always games." (Mrs. Sari, 48 years old)

All three mothers also prohibited their children to access certain games applications that contain sexual and violence contents. The reason why the mother forbids her child accessing sexual content is their perspective that children are not old enough to see it. Meanwhile, violent content is prohibited because the three mothers are afraid if their children imitating the violent scene and practice it at school. Mothers also have concerns that children are becoming immune to violent content, if they get too many exposure.

All three mothers had experienced that their children had been accessed hazardous contents through game application and YouTube. Therefore, the form of restrictive mediation performed by those three mothers is removing the game application that has sexual and violent content from the gadget. The interesting thing that distinguishes Mrs. Sari with the other two mothers is she gives limitation in playing games before her children accessing the games. Since the beginning, Mrs. Sari has warned her children not to download and play Grand Theft Auto (GTA) and Smack Down Here Comes the Pain games. She did this because she has received a seminar from the school that those games applications are

inappropriate for elementary school-aged children. However, Mrs. Maya and Mrs. Sari forbid their children from playing Injustice and Mortal Combat X, after they found their children accessing hazardous content through the games application. Mother's knowledge about hazardous contents may affect how mother set the rules of children's gadget use.

Besides restrictive mediation, all respondents also used active mediation to mediate their children's gadget use. Mrs. Sari and Mrs. Maya view that as children get older, they tend to ask the reason why parents set the rules for playing gadget. When the children in kindergarten, they accepted the rule without asking. However, when the children in elementary school, they are more difficult to accept the rules and are interested to know the reason why parents set certain rules. Therefore, elementary school children are more often involved in the discussion process to evaluate appropriate or inappropriate contents for themselves.

"Pertama, waktu TK sih cuman ngebatasin aja ya karena ga ada penolakan dari mereka gitu kan. Karena anak-anak masih TK kan cenderung masih ga terlalu gimana sih...eee.. masih bisa diatur lah. Terus dilarang juga ga pernah nolak. Kalau sekarang kritis kan. Dilarang dia tanya. Ga boleh kenapa?" baru dikasih tau." (Mrs. Maya, 36 tahun)

"When they were in the kindergarten, I just tried to limit it because there was no rejection from them. Kindergarten children is tend to be manageable. So, when I forbid them from something, they follow it. But, now, they are too critical. They will ask me, 'Why they cannot use it?' Then I need to explain it."

(Mrs. Maya, 36 years old)

In applying active mediation, the three mothers have difficulty to explain and discuss the sexual content on gadgets. These mothers find it difficult to find the right way to explain why children are not allowed to access sexual content. Therefore, Mrs. Sari and Mrs. Maya stated that sexual content is an appropriate content for children and it is a sin, when watched by children. However, Mrs. Carla have never discussed the rules regarding the limitation of sexual content to her children. It is because she is worry that her children getting increasingly curious. Moreover, Mrs. Carla has never found her children accessing sexual content.

"Selama ini sih saya liatin mainnya tuh kan hanya games doang ya, ga yang aneh-aneh. Jadi, saya ga kasih tau apa-apa gitu. Justru, saya takutnya saya kasih tau, dia malah penasaran, dia nyari. Eh misalnya kamu ga boleh ya ee... Ke misalnya cari yang porno gitu. Dia mungkin pertama ga tau porno itu apa. Karena kita ngomong, dia takutnya penasaran, dia cari porno apa. Malah muncul gitu kan ... Udahlah saya ga kasih tau ... Kalau dikasih tau langsung gitu, dia kadang suka kayak malah memicu dia. Apa sih nih?" Malah dibuka gitu kan." (Ibu Carla, 39 tahun)

"Until now they are only playing games and nothing is strange. So, I'm not trying to explain anything. I'm afraid if I explain to them, they will be more curious and try to browse it. When I say 'Don't try to find it pornographic things.' At first they may not understand what pornographic is. But because we mention it, they will be curious and browse what phonographic is and it will appear. So, I'm not trying to mention it. When I mention it. It will trigger them, 'What is it?' and they will open it." (Mrs. Carla, 39 years old)

On the other hand, the three mothers did not found obstacles to explain and discuss violent content on gadgets. They explained that all games with violent content should not be played because it has bad influence. The bad influence means the game causing children to imitate and practice the violent scene to their friends or relatives. Parents are more difficult to explain sexual content rather than violent content. The difficulty of explaining sexual content may be because most people view sexual content as a taboo subject. Therefore, the ability of parents to provide education about sexual content may affected the variation of active mediation practice.

Based on the research result, it was found the similarity form of co-using strategy in the three mothers. The form is playing games with children while discussing games content, and

accompanying children when they playing games. The form of co-using on gadgets is more active, and it is different from the definition of co-using. It is proved by the behavior of the three mothers who tend to be involved in communication when they using gadgets together with the children. When mothers are near the children, they can immediately rebuke the children if the children access violent or sexual content. Therefore, the form of co-using on gadget can be grouped as active mediation.

Technical restrictions only appeared in Mrs. Sari's family. Actually, the setting of parental controls exists on the tablet of Mrs. Maya's children, but Mrs. Maya is unaware of such setting. So, Mrs. Maya did not install the parental controls because she did not know how to do it. Meanwhile, Mrs. Carla did not set parental controls because she did not know how to set it. Therefore, mother's technology skills may affect how parents mediate children's gadget use.

Compared with the other two mothers, Mrs. Sari had better technology skills, perhaps due to her occupation as manager in information technology company. Therefore, she might have better knowledge about technology than Mrs. Carla and Mrs. Maya. Furthermore, Mrs. Sari has also used technology devices, such as gadget and computer, for work purposes. However, Mrs. Maya is only a high school graduate, and she is a housewife. Most of the time, Mrs. Maya uses gadget for watching drama, playing games, and chatting with friends. Therefore, education level and occupation may affect parents to use technical restrictions or not.

Another factor that encourages parents to do technical restrictions is the characteristic of gadget and the ability of children in using technology. Mrs. Sari is encouraged to set parental controls because the internet makes it easier for children to access sexual content, either intentionally or unintentionally. Moreover, Mrs. Sari realized the ability of children in using technology is increasing because they can learn from their friends. Children like to explore the function of gadgets, so the possibility to access sexual content unintentionally is bigger. Therefore, Mrs. Sari modified gadget to set the restrictive function on children's online activities, especially the activity of downloading application.

"Makanya dia..atau dia dapet ee..temennya, sharing dari temennya, 'Eh games ini bagus,' misalnya. Kita kan ga tau, temennya orangtuanya apakah mengawasi sampai seperti yang saya lakukan? Jangan-jangan dibiarinin aja, anaknya anteng. Yaudah main apa pun ga peduli. Jadi ee...dia tau dari temennya, dia masuk juga. Kalau ga dibatesin, parental itu ya....bahaya juga. Makanya, dari sisi itu, saya liat ya harus dikontrol."

(Ibu Sari, 49 tahun)

"Their friends might share with them, 'hey, this game is so cool', for example. We never know, are their friends' parents keep an eye on like I did? Or they let them be as long as the children do not make a noise. So they don't care with what the children play. My children might know from their friends, so they might play it too. If there is no limitation, parental is...dangerous too. From this perspective I see that we need to control it."

(Mrs. Sari, 49 years old)

All respondents hired a household assistant to help them take care the house. However, in Mrs. Maya's family, a household assistant was hired specifically to take care the children. Meanwhile, Mrs. Carla and Mrs. Sari hired a household assistant to do house chores. Therefore, a household assistant in Mrs. Maya's family also assists her to control and monitor children's gadget use. A household assistant in Mrs. Maya family called Mbak Iti. She was in charge to make sure the duration of playing gadget does not exceed the given time limit. She was also in charge to monitor what kind of gadget contents that children access. It suggested that the household assistant's role will determine their involvement to control and monitor children's gadget use.

Mbak Iti also took an initiative to use monitoring, after she found that the children had accessed sexual content without parental guidance. She checked the history of Youtube videos which had been watched by children after they used the tablet. Mbak Iti had started to use monitoring since she found the children watch sexual contents secretly. Perhaps, monitoring usually was done to make sure children were not accessing hazardous contents.

The typical characteristic from Indonesia family is the presence of extended family that living with the nuclear family. This condition was stated by Mrs. Carla. The grandmother and aunt also help Mrs. Carla in manage the use of gadget by children. Their role in parental mediation are (1) reminding children not to play gadget in a long duration; and (2) ensuring the children to follow the rules set by Mrs. Carla. This condition showed that the strategy of parental mediation performed by grandmother and aunt is restrictive mediation.

The involvement of grandparents and aunt in the effort to control the use of gadget on children has a problem. The problem refers to the inconsistency in applying rules of the use of gadget. The use of gadget by children tend to be overtime, when Mrs. Carla entrusted them to their grandmother and aunt. Grandmother and aunt are less able to limit the duration of playing games because children are not afraid with them. So, Mrs. Carla's solution is she will give the warning that children are not allowed to use gadget if they exceed the limit time.

The inconsistency in the application of rules is also happened when Mrs. Carla husband gives some leeway to the children. Her husband tend to lend his smart phone to their children, when they are begging and crying continuously to use the gadget. This is done by Mrs. Carla's husband to calm them down. As a result, Mrs. Carla had no other choice, other than accepting her husband's decision to lend his smartphone to their children.

"Nanti dia ngerengek-renek papi nya minta handphone papinya. Ya nanti papinya kasih, pakai handphone papinya, haduh pusing dah. Ya kalau saya sih ga setuju sebenarnya. Ya kalau uda ngomong A yaa maksudnya kita A aja. Kompak aja, gitu kan. Biarin aja dia mau nangis nangis, biarin aja. Rengek-renek, bodo amat. Saya sih gitu. Ya cuman kan bapaknya bilang, "Ya..udahlah kasihlah. Sebentar." gitu kan. Yaudah, mau gimana. Yauda biarin aja" (Ibu Carla, 39 tahun)
 "They will beg to their dad to lend his mobile phone. Then, their dad will lend it. Actually, I disagree with their dad. I mean when we told to them A then we need to continuously say A. We need to team up. So, if our children are crying and wailing, let them be. This is what I did, I don't care if they keep crying. But, their dad always say, 'it's okay, let them play for a while.' Then, I can't say anything."
 (Mrs. Carla, 39 years old)

Inconsistency in parental mediation practices did not only occur to Mrs. Carla's family, but also to Mrs. Sari's family. When she went to work, the children felt free from her supervision. So, sometimes the children stole the opportunity to play games through their father's laptop and smartphones. Mrs. Sari's husband is less able to control the use of gadget because he is busy taking care his business at home. Children are also not afraid of their father's reprimands because Mrs. Sari's position is more dominant regarding educating children. This condition suggests that working mother have obstacles to performing effective parental mediation practice. Moreover, if the husband is not a figure feared by the children.

Discussion

This study aimed to explore how Indonesian parents managed their elementary school-aged children's (aged 6 - 12) gadget use. Based on research result, it was found that parents adjust parental mediation strategies with characteristics of child development. The cognitive development of primary school-aged children is characterized by a child's ability to reason

logically (Santrock, 2013). They are more sensitive to the motives behind behavior (Kuhn in Lai, 2011). This condition causes children to be inclined to question the reason why parents set certain rules or limits on using gadgets when they enter the elementary school age. Therefore, the three subjects started to use active mediation when their children entering elementary school age.

The characteristic of social-emotional development on elementary school children is also an encouraging factor for parents to apply active mediation. Children are susceptible to their peers' influences when they are entering elementary school age. Parents find it difficult to monitor children's interaction with their peers because these kids spend more time on outdoor activity (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker in Santrock, 2013). Friends can affect children positively or negatively, but parents cannot fully filter these negative influences. Therefore, active mediation can build self-awareness on children to help them sort out whether the content suggested by their friends is good or bad. Through active mediation, children can engage in the use of safety gadgets, although they do not get parental supervision.

According to Nikken and Jansz (2013), parents' attitude on gadgets is the important predictor of parental mediation strategy. Parents who have negative attitudes on gadget tend to apply restrictive mediation. Negative attitudes of the three mothers on gadgets were reflected from their statements about negative influences of gadgets on children. The three mothers stated that gadget might interfere children's study activities and increase the risk of vision problems. Therefore, the three mothers set the rule that gadgets should only be used on the weekend and should not be overused. Negative attitudes toward gadgets also reflected from the three mothers' concerns related to the risk of content. So, the three mothers applied restrictive mediation by not allowing their children to play games that contain violent and sexual elements.

Parents who have positive attitudes on gadgets tend to apply active mediation and co-using (Nikken & Jansz, 2013). The positive attitude of the three mothers on gadgets reflected from their support to use gadgets as a means to facilitate children's learning activities and to help children socializing with their peers. The three mothers realized that it is important for children to have gadgets as a way to keep up technology development. Parents' positive attitude on gadget was also determined by their experiences in using gadgets (Huh, Faber, & Shin, 2012). Based on the research result, three subjects have a high-frequency in using gadgets. Especially in Mrs. Sari and Mrs. Carla's case, gadgets were mostly used to support work activities. This explains the three mothers' reasons why they applied the combination of restrictive and active mediation to mediate the use of gadgets by children.

According to Lee (2012), parents' perception of children self-control is a predictor of restrictive mediation. Parents who see that their children do not have good self-control tend to apply restrictive mediation. Based on the research result, the low self-control of children is their inability to share time between studying and playing games. Children tend to ignore their homework when they are playing games. Also, children are difficult to stop playing games when they are too absorbed in the games. Therefore, restrictive mediation is used because the three mothers think elementary school children do not have good self-control in playing games.

The co-using strategy that appeared in television context does not appear in gadget context. This is because gadget is portable device that usually used individually and television is used together with family (Shin, 2010). Therefore, parents are more difficult to apply co-using to gadgets. So, the definition of co-using that previously used in television needs to be re-adjusted to the context of gadget.

Co-using on gadget is more active than the others because of the two characteristics of gadget. The first characteristic is interactive. So, parents are more encouraged to talk about the usage activity of gadget rather than the usage activity of television (Yu, 2012; Neumann

& Neumann, 2013). The second characteristic is connected to the Internet (Yu, 2012; Neumann & Neumann, 2013). This characteristic enables children to do various online activities, such as finding information, playing games, communicating with friends, and watching video. As a result, parents more encouraged to talk about children's online activities, such as giving the rating to the content that being watched by children and talking about the content that being accessed by children.

Shin (2010) said that parents' ability in using technology is a factor that encourages to technical restrictions strategy. This is what distinguishes Mrs. Sari with the other two mothers. Mr. Sari's ability in using technology is better than Mrs. Carla and Mrs. Maya. So, it is only Mrs. Sari who is applying parental control setting on her children's tablet.

The three subjects are unable to explain and discuss the risk of sexual content with their children. Especially in Mrs. Carla's case, she feel unable to mediate the sexual content with her children because she is worry if her children is increasingly curious. So, Mrs. Carla chose not to mediate sexual content. This condition in line with Nathanson, Eveland, Park, and Paul's research that stated the low level of parental self-efficacy in mediating sensitive topics encourages parents not to mediate it.

Nathanson et al. (2002) also stated the self-efficacy level of parents relies on the perception of how dangerous the risk of content can threaten their children. Parents who have perception of the great treat of the risk of content for their children will tend to apply restrictive mediation, although the level of self-efficacy in mediating is low. This condition shows that parents' decision to perform the mediation is determined not only by the level of self-efficacy but also determined by parents' perception of the threat of content risk. This may explain why Mrs. Sari and Mrs. Maya continue to do restrictive mediation and active mediation on sexual content, although they are less confident in their ability to discuss sensitive content.

According to Livingstone and Helsper (2008), the lack of parental knowledge on the type of new media can inhibit the effectiveness of parental mediation. The three subjects are people who born in 1970's. However, gadget is a type of media that developed in the 20th century. Therefore, for the subject, gadgets can be classified as the new media type. Parents may find it difficult to operate functions in a gadget, so they do not perform technical restrictions and monitoring. This difficulty causes the strategy of technical restrictions, and monitoring are not the type that most chosen by parents.

The inconsistency of parental mediation strategy may be more susceptible to working mothers. This is because the working mother tends to extended leave children with family members or household assistant. However, extended family members or household assistant is lack of power in influencing children behavior because children are more fear with mother. Therefore, when the grandmother and aunt rebuke the children because overtime of playing gadget, they do not bother it and still playing games. The rules of using gadget are not practiced consistently when the parental mediation function moves from mother to other parties. According to Setiadi (2006), it is expected the role of mother as the main nurturer is unchanged, although she works. Mothers who work at the office are difficult to monitor the use of gadgets by their children because they are not at home. Meanwhile, the children tend to obey mothers' rules because the main role of nurture lies in mother. This explains that working mothers are more susceptible to constraints in controlling the use of gadget that is inconsistency of parental mediation practices.

The inconsistency of parental mediation strategy also occurs when fathers do not strictly apply the rules of gadget usage set by mothers. Patterson's coercion theory (in Thomas, 2011) stated that children become immune to parents' restrictions if parents are inconsistent to the rules. In this case, mother has determined that children should not use the gadget, although they continue to plead and cry. In practice, father tends to lend his gadget to

calm down the situation. Father's response supports the children behavior of crying and begging. Meanwhile, father's behavior got the support because the atmosphere of the house become calmer after he lends his gadget to his children. As a result, the children tend to repeat the crying behavior and begs to get the gadget, and the father tends to repeat the behavior of giving the gadget if the child creates a commotion. It happens continuously, like a cycle and will continue to grow, when parenting is not applied consistently.

The limitation of this research is the research result cannot be generalized because the qualitative method used the unrepresentative sample. Therefore, the suggestion for future research is the use of quantitative method to get the general overview of parental mediation used by parents in Jakarta. The quantitative method uses large quantities of sample so that the result can be generalized. The research that using quantitative method can complement the result of this research, so the overview of parental mediation on gadgets is to be more comprehensive.

The selection of subject is lack of variation regarding the level of socio-economic and ethnicity. This matter caused researchers lack of exploration in the influence of socio-economic on parental mediation strategy. Socio-economic level and education level of parents are interconnected (Valkenburg et al., 1999; Livingstone & Helsper, 2008). Therefore, parents with low level of education might not perform parental the same parental mediation as parents with high level of education. It is suggested that the future research find the subject with various demographics.

From the beginning, researchers had decided that the research subject for finding the overview of parental mediation is the mother as the main nurturer of children. Based on triangulation result, researchers found that father also performs parental mediation function. Therefore, the function of parental mediation may not always perform by the mother as the main nurturer but also by the father. This aspect is still not explored further and is still limited to the triangulation of research data. So, the future research can choose both of parents as the main subject. Father is not a triangulation subject but the main subject. It can be an interesting finding to see the differences parental mediation from father and mother's perspective..

This research cannot be separated from the possibility of social desirability bias that leads to the misinterpretation of research result. Researchers try to reduce the possibility of bias from parents by using triangulation. Therefore, the suggestion for the next research is to examine the overview of parental mediation on gadgets based on children's perspective. Children as gadget user can provide a more accurate picture of their activity when using gadgets. Children may also interpret the parental mediation practices that are applied to them differently from their parents' purposes. So the topic is interesting to be explored in the next research.

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