Asian Journal of Communication

Publication details, including instructions for authors and
subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rajc20>

Children's media use in Indonesia

Hendriyani ^a , Ed Hollander ^b , Leen d'Haenens ^c & Johannes W.J.
Beentjes ^b

^a Communications, University of Indonesia, Depok, Jawa Barat,
Indonesia

^b Faculty of Social-Cultural Sciences, Radboud University
Nijmegen, Nijmegen, the Netherlands

^c Centre for Media Culture and Communication Technology,
Catholic University of Leuven, Leuven, Belgium

Version of record first published: 10 May 2012.

To cite this article: Hendriyani , Ed Hollander , Leen d'Haenens & Johannes W.J. Beentjes (2012):
Children's media use in Indonesia, Asian Journal of Communication, 22:3, 304-319

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2012.662514>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any
substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing,
systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation
that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any
instructions, formulae, and drug doses should be independently verified with primary
sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings,
demand, or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or
indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Children's media use in Indonesia

Hendriyani^{a*}, Ed Hollander^b, Leen d'Haenens^c and Johannes W.J. Beentjes^b

^a*Communications, University of Indonesia, Depok, Jawa Barat, Indonesia;* ^b*Faculty of Social-Cultural Sciences, Radboud University Nijmegen, Nijmegen, the Netherlands;* ^c*Centre for Media Culture and Communication Technology, Catholic University of Leuven, Leuven, Belgium*

(Received 15 January 2011; final version received 5 October 2011)

This article explores how Indonesian children have integrated media into their daily lives: media ownership at home, media uses, and gratifications sought, are discussed, as is the way in which gender and social-status influence the children–media relationship. Survey data of Jakarta-based children aged 9–15 ($N = 589$) reveal that Indonesian children live in a media saturated environment, with high availability of media platforms in their homes and bedrooms. Similar to children in the US and Europe, children in Jakarta spend considerable amounts of time on a wealth of media platforms and experience multiple gratifications from using multiple media. Gender differences persist in that boys tend to be more into gaming, while girls focus more on communication aspects. High social-status children tend to have more media at their disposal in their bedroom, especially electronic games, computers, and Internet connections. Television is still prominent in the media menu of today, but mobile phones are ready to take its place in the near future.

Keywords: children; media use and ownership; uses and gratifications; television; Internet; Indonesia

Introduction

Media have become an important part of children's lives today. Just like children in Europe and North America, Indonesian children's lives are heavily mediated in terms of access to and use of interactive video games, a personal computer, Internet, movie player, cellular phone as well as 'traditional' media such as television, radio, magazines, comics, and books. Children in Indonesia also experience profound changes in their media environment. The economic boom in Asia since the 1980s has created a 'new middle class' in Indonesia, 'referring to a segment of the new rich' with more buying power which is not limited to food, clothing, and housing, but also includes technological gadgets and choice of leisure (see Heryanto, 1999). In the past 50 years, the Indonesian television industry has developed from a State-owned broadcast monopoly system to a vibrant landscape of commercial stations consisting of a public broadcaster, 10 television stations broadcasting nationally, and 105 local stations (Hendriyani, Hollander, d'Haenens, & Beentjes, 2011). In light of the fact that 30% of the 237 million Indonesian inhabitants are below 15 years of age, it should not come as a surprise that children are considered an important potential market by the media industry. The lack of broadcasting regulation on children's

*Corresponding author. Email: hendriyani.sos@ui.ac.id

television contributes to an abundant amount of television programs targeted at children. Children's television output has grown from 6.8 hours on average per week in the 1970s to 137.7 hours per week in the 2000s (Hendriyani et al., 2011). Other media also show tremendous growth in Indonesia. According to data released in 2010 by the Indonesian Cellular Phone Association, there were 180 million mobile phone customers in Indonesia (Didik, 2010). The Nielsen Indonesia survey in 2011 found that Internet penetration only reached 21% of the Indonesian population, growing from 17% in 2009, which remains to be the lowest Internet penetration among South East Asia countries (Meryana & Wahono, 2011). Facebook users increased by 700% between 2008–2009, while Twitter users increased by 3700% during that same period (Kompas, December 8, 2009).

Along with the exponential growth in media supply, debates and stances on children's protection in their relation with media, particularly television and Internet, can be widely found in newspaper and magazine articles, on blogs, as subjects of numerous seminars, conferences, and government policies (e.g. AMIC Seminar on Children and Media 1991 in Indonesia; see also Antaranews, 2010; Guntarto, 2002; Saputra, 2010). The Indonesia Broadcasting Commission issued the Broadcast Program Standard in 2004, revised in 2007 and 2009, regulating violence and sexual content in children's programs. This Standard also established a classification system of children's programs (*Anak-A*) as programs for audiences below the age of 12 and teens' programs (*Remaja-R*) as programs aimed at audiences aged 12 to 18. The rationale behind children's protection from and by the media is mainly based on research on children and media in Europe and the US.

Concerns with the relationship between children and media indeed have inspired an abundance of research in Europe and the US, trying to understand the role of media in children's lives in light of the changing media landscape. Research in the 1990s in 12 European countries found that children have successfully integrated media into their lives, including 'new' media, stating that 'the media often serve as the very currency through which identities are constructed, social relations negotiated and peer culture generated' (Livingstone, 1998, p. 442). Similar outcomes have been documented in North America, showing that mass media are important socialization agents in the lives of contemporary US children (Roberts, Foehr, Rideout, & Brodie, 1999, p. 2).

Much research by communication scholars and psychologists on the impact of media in children's lives was inspired by the concern that children would get too heavily involved in media. Numerous studies were conducted on media effects, i.e. exposure to certain media content can influence youngsters' beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors, leading to aggressiveness, early sexual behavior, drug abuse, or stereotypical thinking (see Dietz & Strasburger, 1991; Singer & Singer, 2001; Villani, 2001; Wartella & Reeves, 1985). However, the degree of media influence depends on a variety of factors such as the media environment at home, media use, content selection, consumption conditions, and subgroup characteristics. Hence, much research was conducted to understand children-media relationships (e.g., which child encounters which message, how often, under what conditions, and how do different media relate to each other) in North America (Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts, 2010; Roberts et al., 1999; Roberts, Foehr, & Rideout, 2005), some EU countries (Buckingham, Davies, Jones, & Kelley, 1999; Livingstone, 1998; Livingstone & Bovill, 2001; Livingstone & Haddon, 2009; van der Voort, Beentjes, Bovill, Gaskell,

Koolstra, Livingstone, et al., 1998), Australia (Wake, Hesketh, & Waters, 2003), New Zealand (Lealand, 2001), and some Asian countries (Shetty, 2002).

Such mapping research can be traced back to the 1950s when only a few media were included, such as television, radio, records, newspapers, magazines, books, and movies (Roberts et al., 1999). Today those media are considered 'old' media, while interactive video games, personal computers (including Internet), and mobile phones are present in most households. In the US, 86% of the households with children under 18 own at least one computer, and 74% have Internet access (Roberts et al., 2005). The EU Kids Online survey in 23 European countries found that on average 85% of children have Internet at home. Furthermore, 45% of children have an Internet connection in their bedroom (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011).

The exponential increase of media outlets in Indonesia directed at children is in sharp contrast with a lack of evidence-based studies on children as a media audience in Indonesia. Moreover, most of the studies about children and media in Indonesia are based upon relatively small, non-representative samples, focus on just a few media, and are not publicly available. Hence, there is scarcity in Indonesia of empirical data on the relationship between children and media, particularly on children's media use.

To our knowledge, the time spent on media, particularly on television, by Indonesian children has been examined in only a handful of studies. Collecting people meter data from 10 big cities in Indonesia, the Nielsen Company illustrates the fluctuations in children's (aged 5–14) average time spent on television during the 2000–2010 decade. The average for younger children (5–9 years) was 4 hours in 2000, 4.3 hours in 2005, and 3.9 hours in 2010. Older children (10–14 years) spent more time watching television: 4.2 hours in 2000, 4.6 hours in 2005, and 4.4 hours in 2010. The Children's Media Development Foundation's (YPMA) survey in 2006, with elementary school students in Jakarta as its sample (aged 6–12), found that children spent 3.5 hours per day on average on weekdays and 5 hours on holidays in front of the television (Sarwono, Hendriyani, & Guntarto, 2011). A more recent survey in 2009 by YPMA and Diponegoro University found that children (aged 6–12) in Central Java and East Java spent 4 hours per day on weekdays and 6.3 hours per day on holidays watching television. The same survey also found that, on average, children spent 1 hour reading (books, magazines, and comics) on weekdays and holidays. They also spend 0.8 hour on weekdays and 1.3 hours on holidays playing electronic games; and another 0.1 hour (on weekdays or holidays) to access Internet (Sarwono et al., 2011). All research findings on Indonesian children's time spent in front of the television agree that they are heavy television viewers.

The purpose of this study is to get more insight on how children have integrated media into their lives. First, we would like to find out the availability of media equipment in children's homes, especially the ownership of media in their own bedroom. Second, we want to investigate children's patterns of media use (which medium they use, where they use it, and how they use it). Third, we intend to explore the motives for using the media, including comparing the gratifications provided by 'new' and 'old' media. Finally, we aim to learn more about the ways in which girls and boys as well as children from different socioeconomic backgrounds use the media.

Theoretical background

Uses and gratifications theory can be used to understand exposure to media. The theory focuses on why people use media and what they use them for. The audience is conceived of as active and assumed to be goal oriented. Over the years, several typologies of gratifications have been derived from numerous research publications. McQuail, Blumler, and Brown (cited in McQuail, 2005, p. 425) categorized media-person interactions in four typologies: diversion (escape from routine or problems; emotional release), personal relationships (companionship; social utility), personal identity formation (self-reference; reality exploration; value reinforcement), and surveillance (forms of information seeking). Palmgreen, Wenner, and Rayburn (as cited in Rubin, Palmgreen, & Sypher, 1994, p. 173) developed scales to measure five dimensions of gratifications: informational seeking, decisional utility, entertainment, interpersonal utility, and parasocial interaction. Although there is criticism on the simplification of such gratifications typologies, current U&G research continues to categorize motivations for media use in terms of diversion (i.e., as escape from routines or for emotional release), social utility (i.e., to acquire information for conversations), personal identity (i.e., to reinforce attitudes, beliefs, and values), and surveillance (i.e., to learn about one's community, events, and political affairs) (Ruggiero, 2000). Rubin (2002) proposed a threefold typology: diversion/escape (to get excitement, relax, stop being bored); personal identity/social utility (not to be left out by friends, talk with friends); and information seeking/cognition (to follow one's interest, to obtain sociocultural knowledge).

Method

The data for this study were collected in five regions in Jakarta (east, west, north, south, and central). A simple random method was employed to draw two elementary schools as our sample from each region: one public and one private school. In each school we took data from children in the fourth and fifth grades, 9- to 15-years-olds, with 11 as the mean age. As a result, a sample of 589 children was obtained, 55% from public schools and 45% from private schools. We categorized the students into three SES levels: low (20.4%), middle (46.7%), and high (32.9%). The margin error is ± 4.04 on a total population of almost one million children in Jakarta (age 0–15). Children completed self-administered questionnaires in their classroom. Questionnaires required about 45 minutes to complete. Interviewers were present in each classroom to answer any questions and provide assistance to students. The fieldwork took place in March–April 2009.

Measures

Media environment and ownership at home

Children were asked to indicate on the pre-coded list which media were available in their homes. In addition, they indicated which media they had in their own bedroom. The media on the list were television, radio, magazines, comics, books (not for school), audio player (MP3/CD/DVD), video player (VCD/DVD), game player (handheld, console), computer (PC/laptop), Internet connection, and mobile phone. The children were also asked which media they usually buy with their own pocket

money. Additional items asked whether the child's household was one in which an operating television was a relatively constant part of the environment (e.g. whether the TV set was usually on when they wake up in the morning or when they go to bed at night), and about family rules regarding the use of the media.

Media use was assessed by asking children to estimate how many days a week they usually use each medium under research, the amount of time spent with it (in minutes and hours during the last week). For television viewing and playing games, separate questions were drawn for weekdays (Monday to Saturday) and weekends/holidays because time spent on media can be substantially higher over the weekend than on weekdays. This type of child-reported direct time estimates may lead to overestimation of the amount of time children really spend on media (van der Voort & Vooijs, 1990). This figure is neither an accurate assessment of the amount of time each child spends using media because it does not adjust for the time that children use two or more media simultaneously. Hence, when interpreting the amount of time spent with media, the reader should be aware that the actual amount may be somewhat lower than the data presented. Respondents who indicated using television, VCR/DVD, games player, computer, and Internet were further asked whether they use the medium alone or in the company of others.

Motives for and gratifications of media use

Children were asked to indicate which media they are likely to choose when they want some excitement, to stop being bored, to relax, not to be left out by friends, to talk with their friends about media content, and to follow their interests. They were also asked to indicate which media they desire most (i.e., which media they would like as a birthday present) and which media they think are most important (i.e., which medium they would miss most should it be broken).

Social class

In this study social class was based on the parental level of income. We asked the children's parents to fill in a questionnaire asking their regular monthly expenses, which we then grouped into three categories: low, medium, and high. For privacy reasons we did not ask the name of the student nor the parents, so we cannot match individual parents with individual children. However, we can match parents and children on the school level. Therefore, we grouped children in social-class categories based on the school they are enrolled in. Because some pupils from higher income households may attend schools which in majority attract children from lower income households, and vice versa, it is important to keep in mind that social-class comparisons based on school enrollment provide a rough estimation only.

Results

Media environment and ownership at home

The majority of children in our survey live in a multiple media household consisting of at least five media from our list. The five most recurrent media are: television, mobile phone, books (not for school), video player (VCD/DVD), and radio.

Only 0.7% of the children say that they do not have any media at home, while 7.3% claim they have all media at home. Television remains the dominant medium, available in 98% of homes. Of those who have a television set at home, 43% report to have three or more television sets, 31% indicate they have two television sets, and only 26% have one TV set. As illustrated in Table 1, the mobile phone, books, a video player, radio, magazines, a game player, and a computer are available in most of children's homes. The only media that fewer than half of the children have access to are the audio player (CD/MP3) and an Internet connection.

Most children have a combination of several media in their bedroom; only 2.2% of the children indicate they do not have any of the above media in their bedroom. Half or more of the children have bedrooms that contain a mobile phone (81%), television (70%), a game player (53%), books (73%), and magazines (55%). Interestingly, the highest percentage of media in the bedroom is not television but the mobile phone; 76% of the children reported that the mobile phone belongs to them personally, hence they do not share its use with their siblings. Most children have a mobile phone at the age of 10, while 2% reported that they already own one from the age of five.

Gender predicts the availability of a game player, books, and magazines at children's homes as well as the availability of a game player and books in children's bedrooms (see Table 1). A game player is more available in boys' bedrooms, while more girls' bedrooms have books. Children's SES influences the availability of most of media in their homes, except for television, radio, and books. In general, children in higher social-status schools are more likely to have a game player, an audio player, a computer, and an Internet connection available at their home.

The survey found that children actively complement their collection of relatively cheap media with their own pocket money; 36% of them usually buy their own comics, 26% their own books, 26% their own magazines, 10% their own CD/DVD, and 8% use their pocket money to access Internet in a cybercafé. About 16% report to usually buy MP3 recordings themselves. In Indonesia, a CD with hundreds of songs in MP3 format can be easily bought from street vendors (that also sell pirate CDs and DVDs) and only cost the equivalent of US\$0.50–0.60 per disk. Because of the low speed of Internet connections, people prefer to buy such disks rather than download the content via the Internet. Another specific finding is that 14% of the children use their pocket money to play games in the video game rental place. Such a game rental place is a cybercafé-like place, but instead of providing computer and Internet access, it provides television and electronic game devices that people, including children, can use for the equivalent of US\$0.30 per hour.

Most children live in a constant television environment at home, where the television set is usually playing in the background, regardless of whether anyone is explicitly watching. About 17% of the children indicate that television is 'usually' on when they wake up, while 19% claim it is on 'sometimes'. The numbers rise after school (88% of children in our survey go to school from 6:30 a.m. until 12:00 p.m. whereas 12% go to school from 12:00 p.m. until 5.00 p.m.); 49% say television is usually on when they get home from school and 22% say it is on sometimes. Television is usually on most of the evenings in 44% of children's households and sometimes in 27% of the households. When children go to sleep, television is usually still on in 63% of the households and sometimes in 22% of the households. No wonder that the majority of the children (65%) say that there are some programs they

Table 1. Media availability in children's homes and bedrooms (in percentages).

Media	Availability at homes						Availability in bedrooms					
	Total	Gender		Social Economic Status			Total	Gender		Social Economic Status		
		Boys	Girls	Low	Middle	High		Boys	Girls	Low	Middle	High
Television	98	97.6	98.2	96.6	97.8	97.9	70	73.3	67	68.6	69.1	71.6
Mobile phone	90	89.6	90.4	84.7 ^a	92 ^b	89.7 ^{ab}	81	78.5	83	70.3 ^a	84.7 ^b	82.5 ^b
Video player	80	79.9	79.8	67.8 ^a	77.5 ^b	90.7 ^c	39	37.8	38.3	32.2 ^a	34.9 ^a	47.4 ^b
Game player	62.2	68.4 ^a	55.3 ^b	52.5 ^a	58.2 ^a	73.7 ^b	52.5	60.1 ^a	30.9 ^b	47.5 ^a	48 ^a	61.9 ^b
Computer	59	55.9	60.3	31.4 ^a	55.6 ^b	79.9 ^c	35	35.8	33	17.8 ^a	31.6 ^b	49 ^c
Internet connection	28	29.2	26.6	11 ^a	20 ^b	50.5 ^c	14	16	11.3	6.8 ^a	9.5 ^a	25.3 ^b
Radio	74	74	74.8	67.8	75.3	76.3	42	41.3	44	38.1	45.8	40.2
Audio player	49	49	47.5	34.7 ^a	46.9 ^b	59.8 ^c	20	20.8	17.1	15.4 ^a	17.1 ^a	25.3 ^b
Books	87	82.3 ^a	91.1 ^b	85.6	84.7	90.2	73	67 ^a	78.4 ^b	72	71.6	74.7
Magazines	74	69.8 ^a	78.7 ^b	63.6 ^a	69.1 ^a	86.6 ^b	55	52.1	58.5	47.5 ^a	54.5 ^{ab}	61.3 ^b

Note: Differences between gender and SES have been tested for statistical significance (chi square and *t* test), and are reported only if the difference is significant at the $p < 0.05$ level. In this table, items that do not have superscript, or that share a common superscript, do not differ significantly. For example, in Row Television, none of the SES items differ in a statistically reliable way. In Row Mobile phone, the item in Low and Middle SES differ from each other, but not from High SES. In Row Computer, each item in SES group significantly differs from one another.

end up watching regularly although they do not like them, just because other members of the family are watching (50%) or because they do not have anything to do (29%). They also tend to flick through the channels before deciding which program to watch (74.5%).

Further assessment of the household environment also reveals that 57% of the children indicate they experience television regulation in their home. Regulation usually comes in the form of restrictions to watch television ('you can watch after you finish your homework'). Restrictions for playing video and using Internet are more common; 74% of the children who have a game player at home claim there are rules for playing electronic games. Their parents limit the amount of time to play electronic games every day or, in 40% of the cases, only allow the children to play games on holidays. Moreover, 67% of those using Internet indicate that there is a time restriction to use Internet at home or in a cybercafé.

Media use

Obviously, the medium that children use most is television (see Table 2) and the concern that interactive media will replace the 'old' media is not supported in our findings. After television, children report using books most, followed by audio media, electronic games, phone (to call someone), comics, radio, video, magazines, and newspapers as the least used media. Television use rules in the everyday context and there is a huge gap between television and the remaining media under study.

Children spend a lot of time with media every day. Children watch television on average 5.5 hours per day on schooldays (children in our survey go to school from Monday until Saturday) and 7.4 hours on holidays (including Sundays) (see Table 2); playing electronic games, children spend 2.4 hours on schooldays and 4.1 hours on holidays; accessing the Internet, children spend 1.9 hours on schooldays and 3.1 hours on holidays. Children use multiple devices to play electronic games: 62.4% use a computer; 50.8% use console devices such as Play Station, X-Box, and Nintendo;

Table 2. Average time spent on media per day (in hours).

Media		Total	Users only	Gender (total)		SES (total)		
				Boys	Girls	Low	Middle	High
Television	weekdays	5.5 <i>N</i> = 438	5.6 <i>N</i> = 427	5.6	5.3	5.5	5.5	5.4
	holidays	7.4 <i>N</i> = 478	7.4 <i>N</i> = 475	7.8 ^a	7 ^b	6.6 ^a	7.5 ^b	7.7 ^b
Electronic game	weekdays	2.2 <i>N</i> = 420	2.4 <i>N</i> = 381	2.3	2.1	1.6 ^a	2.1 ^a	2.7 ^b
	holidays	3.8 <i>N</i> = 539	4.1 <i>N</i> = 502	4.3 ^a	3.4 ^b	3 ^a	3.9 ^b	4.3 ^b
Internet (mostly for games online)	weekdays	1.2 <i>N</i> = 471	1.9 <i>N</i> = 315	1.3	1.1	1 ^a	1.2 ^b	1.2 ^b
	holidays	2.1 <i>N</i> = 494	3.1 <i>N</i> = 338	2.1	2.1	2.6 ^a	2.2 ^a	2.4 ^b

Note: Differences between gender and SES have been tested for statistical significance (chi square and *t* test), and are reported only if the difference is significant at the $p < 0.05$ level. In this table, items without superscript, or sharing a common superscript, do not differ significantly.

and 27.2% use handheld game consoles including Game Boy, Game Watch, or Nintendo DS.

t-test analysis shows two gender differences; on holidays (but not on schooldays), boys spend more time watching television and playing electronic games than girls. Children's social class positively correlates with time spent on electronic games and Internet use, on both schooldays and holidays, and with time spent on television, on holidays.

Table 2 shows that children use media for longer periods every day. The intensity with which they use the media seems much lower, as most are combining media use with other activities. When asked whether they focus on a medium, 56% indicate they focus on books. Fewer children say the same thing about other media: 31% focus on the computer (not for games), 29% on electronic games, and only 15% on television.

Schooldays and holidays (including Sunday) show different patterns of media use. As illustrated in Figure 1, 40–60% of the children watch television between 12:30 and 22:00 on schooldays, whereas on holidays, children watch television almost all day long. A similar pattern is found for electronic games although the percentages are lower.

When we compare television watching, electronic gaming, computer use, and Internet in social terms, television turns out to be a more social and intergenerational medium. A fifth (19%) of the children say they usually watch television alone, whereas 31% of the children usually play electronic games alone, 36% are usually alone when using the computer, and 25% usually access the Internet on their own. When asked with whom they usually use these media, children indicate that they usually watch television with their parents (31%), siblings (28%), other family members (e.g. grandparents, uncles, or aunts) (15%), or friends (7%). The computer, electronic games, and Internet are less frequently used with adults. Children usually use the computer with friends (26%), siblings (22%), parents (12%), or other family members (4%). When they play electronic games, children usually play with their friends (37%), siblings (30%), other family members (2.3%), or parents (1.3%). The Internet is usually accessed with friends (42%) or siblings (25%). Only 5% claim to usually access Internet with their parents.

We also asked the children about their preferences for content. For television, the top five program genres are cartoons (85%), movies (69%), children's documentary series (64%), soap operas (62%), and star search (e.g. Idols) programs (59%). One in

Figure 1. Watching television and playing electronic games during the day.

three children also claim to often watch news programs, and 8% often watch gossip programs. The children surveyed drew a list of 87 movie titles: 77% are imported from the US and 15% from Japan or China, including *Bolt*, *Harry Potter*, *Narnia*, *The Mummy Returns*, *Too Fast Too Furious*, and *Alien vs. Predator*.

When playing electronic games, children prefer games with cars/aircrafts (25%), fashion/design games (14%), strategic games (in which one has to plan things) (13%), or sport games (13%), puzzle games (11%), fighting games (10%), painting/drawing games (8%), or adventure/quest games (6%). There is no regulated classification of video games in Indonesia and most of parents are unaware that not all 'games' are suitable for children. This study found that 11% of the children select M (Mature) rated electronic games (aimed at 17 year olds and older) as the title of electronic games they like most, including *Grand Theft Auto*, *Counter Strike*, and *Guitar Hero Smash Hit*.

Internet is mainly used for entertainment by most of the respondents. Almost half of the respondents use Internet to play online games (49.5%); 20% of the children said they use Internet mainly for chatting; 10.9% use it mainly to browse for school assignments; and 10.1% for downloading information, including song lyrics, information about one's favorite sports club, or favorite artist/idol. A small portion of the respondents claim to mainly use the Internet for sending/receiving email (4.2%), designing something (2.7%), or reading news (2.5%); 10% indicate they have accessed an adult site at least once.

Other than for games and Internet, children use the computer for creative purposes: 41% use it for writing, 24% for drawing or designing. The rest of the children use the computer for computing/counting (13%), browsing information from CD/DVD ROM (12%), and data sheets (10%). As to mobile phone use, features that children use most are: SMS (40%), music player (22%), phone someone (15%), games (11%), camera (7%), and Internet (6%).

Media use: gratifications sought

In an effort to assess the most frequently chosen medium for diversion/escape gratifications, we asked the children to rank whether a certain medium is able to give them excitement, can stop them being bored, and help them to relax (see Table 3). Television ranks first on all categories of gratifications sought. When children choose a medium for excitement and avoiding boredom, electronic games rank second, followed by audio media, and books. The least chosen media for excitement are radio and phone (referring to phone calls only, either on the mobile or through a fixed line), while the least chosen media for avoiding boredom are the computer and magazines. A somewhat different pattern emerges when children choose a medium to relax. Television is number one, audio player ranks second, followed by comics, video, and electronic games. Electronic games are considered less relaxing than comics.

Indonesian children also choose television, electronic games, and audio media in the top three in order not to be left out by their friends. They want to watch what their friends watch, play the games their friends play, and listen to the same music their friends listen to. Likewise, television content is ranked as the most frequent topic of conversation with their friends, while electronic games come second, and video and music rank third and fourth. Magazines and radio are the

Table 3. Medium average rank for each gratification sought.

Media	Average rank	Diversion/escape (% (rank))			Personal identity/social utility (% (rank))		Information seeking (% (rank))	
		Excitement	Avoid boredom	To relax	Not to be left out	Talk to friends about	Find things that are interesting	Keep up to date
Television	1	66 (1)	56 (1)	44 (1)	30 (1)	74 (1)	43 (1)	26 (1)
Electronic games	3	64 (2)	56 (2)	27 (5)	26 (2)	56 (2)	31 (4)	24 (2)
Audio player	4	52 (3)	49 (3)	44 (2)	19 (3)	38 (4)	22 (8)	18 (3)
Comics	5	41 (6)	38 (5)	30 (3)	16 (5)	35 (5)	28 (5)	13 (6)
Video	5	44 (5)	45 (4)	29 (4)	15 (7)	49 (3)	22 (7)	12 (7)
Books	6	46 (4)	29 (6)	23 (8)	18 (4)	30 (7)	35 (2)	8 (9)
Computer	7	31 (7)	27 (9)	16 (10)	16 (6)	25 (8)	33 (3)	15 (5)
Magazines	8	23 (8)	24 (10)	24 (7)	13 (9)	19 (9)	28 (6)	17 (4)
Phone	9	22 (10)	28 (8)	16 (9)	13 (8)	33 (6)	18 (9)	6 (10)
Radio	9	22 (9)	28 (7)	24 (6)	10 (10)	18 (10)	17 (10)	9 (8)

media least frequently discussed with their friends, and least needed when they do not want to be left out by their friends.

For information seeking, television is followed by books and the computer. The number one, two, and three media children choose to keep up-to-date are the same media they choose for excitement, stop being bored, and not to be left out: television, electronic games, and audio player. On the list of top five media that children choose to keep up-to-date, magazines pop up for the first time. Children usually read magazines about tricks for games and their favorite athletes or artists.

Finally, we also assessed which medium children need most, by asking them which medium they would want for their birthday present, and which medium they would miss most. Most children (32%) want to have a mobile phone, and those who already have a mobile phone want a new one. Thirty percent want an electronic game player, 27% want a computer, and 5% said they want books for their birthday present. Although the number-one medium fulfilling all motives and providing all gratifications, television surprisingly only ranks third as the medium children would miss most when broken. More children (33%) would miss the mobile phone, followed by the computer (20%), and the electronic games player (12%).

Discussion

The aim of this study was to explore how children have integrated media into their everyday lives: the media environment in children’s homes, media use patterns, and motives for use. We also wanted to learn more on how gender and SES influence the relationship between children and media. There are plenty of similarities between Indonesian children and children from the US and European countries: the media environment, television is treated as wallpaper at home; and parents who are less

involved in the interactive media use of their children, and the influence of gender and social class. Indonesian children also watch movies or play electronic games similar to their counterparts in the US.

The main findings in this study are that Indonesian children live in a media saturated environment: they are exposed to a high availability of media at home and in the bedroom, spend plenty of time on media, and have multiple motives to use numerous media. Our findings point at a very high ownership of media at home and in the bedroom. More than half of the children have television, a mobile phone, a video player, a games player, a computer, radio, books, and magazines at home. Although less than half have an audio player at home, its audio function is also integrated in other media such as the computer or the mobile phone. The availability of media in children's bedrooms is also very high: more than half are equipped with a television set, a mobile phone, an electronic games player, books, and magazines. Except for television, whose prominence is comparable, children in our study live in a less saturated media environment compared to children in the US (Rideout et al., 2010).

The most striking differences are availability of an Internet connection and a mobile phone. Only one in three children in our study have an Internet connection at home, a number that is much lower compared to home Internet connections among European and US children. The 2010 EU Kids Online survey found that on average 85% of children across Europe have an Internet connection at home, 45% even have an Internet connection in their bedroom (Livingstone et al., 2011). In the US, 84% of children live in a home equipped with an Internet connection, although only 33% have the connection in their bedroom (Rideout et al., 2010). Ownership and access of Internet in Indonesia depends on the social status of the family. Spending US\$12 for an Internet connection in a country with US\$195.8 income per capita (Hida, 2010) every month is quite costly, especially when the Internet is used mostly for entertainment.

The mobile phone is another phenomenon: 76% of children in our study have their own mobile phone while, in Roberts' survey in 2009, 66% of children in the US own a mobile phone. The mobile phone has prestige among Indonesian children, hence, it is the most cherished medium they will miss the most if broken, and the medium they really desire.

The correlation between gender and the availability of video games, as well as gender and books as found in children's bedrooms, in our study is similar to earlier findings from Europe (Beentjes, Koolstra, Marseile, & van der Voort, 2001) and the US (Roberts et al., 1999; Roberts et al., 2005). Boys are more likely than girls to have a video games system in their bedroom, while girls are more likely to have books in their bedrooms. In term of media functions, boys use media for playing electronic games more than girls (on a game player, the Internet, a computer, or a mobile phone) while girls have a tendency to focus more on communication aspects such as chatting, texting, or calling, in line with European findings regarding online media (see McQuillan & d'Haenens, 2009).

SES still acts as a dividing force differentiating the availability of media like the computer and the Internet connection at home. High SES children tend to have more media in their bedroom, especially expensive ones such as electronic games, a computer, and an Internet connection. Middle and low SES children have to put more effort to find those media outside their homes, by going to the cybercafé or to

the game rental place. Despite the prestige of the mobile phone, television is still considered as the cheapest family medium at home. The terrestrial television system makes most of television broadcasts 'free' to access. When the family buys a new television set, the old one will be moved to the children's bedroom. Therefore, family's social status does not influence television ownership in children's bedrooms in Indonesia, unlike the finding in the US (Rideout et al., 2010).

Living in a home characterized by a so-called ritualistic use of television, as the television set is usually on most of the time, children in our study spend a lot of time in front of the television screen. They treat television as wallpaper, keeping it on while doing other activities or using other media. Consequently, the time that children admit watching television is actually higher than the real time spent.

The media environment in terms of parents' and other adult family members' television preferences and habits also influences the type of programs that children often watch: movies, soap operas, star search programs, news, and gossip, not children's programs. Although half of the children indicate there are rules to live by, restricting consumption of TV, electronic games, and Internet, they seem to be able to break those regulations, possibly by managing their other activities around the media. Having dinner, doing homework, playing with siblings, even sleeping in front of the television set are common scenes in many households. In result, children report a very high amount of time spent on media, especially on television. Regulations are lifted on holidays as parents perceive those as free days for children, this causes the increased time spent compared to a regular week day.

Parental involvement shows more with television watching than with the use of a computer, electronic games, or the Internet. Children use the latter media more with their friends, siblings, or by themselves. This condition is similar to findings by Roberts et al. (1999) a substantial amount of children's media exposure occurs in the absence of adults. Perhaps it is because the media have become a ubiquitous part of the family environment, perhaps because monitoring children's media use is too difficult a task, or perhaps parents involve less with interactive media because of their limited capacity of using those media (see Roberts et al., 2005). Indonesian children's interactions with the Internet are still limited to entertainment functions such as playing online games or chatting. Only one out of 10 children use the Internet for school assignments; a very different reality from European children who use the Internet for school work as the top activity that children commonly do online (84%) (Livingstone et al., 2010).

Overall, Indonesian children not only show similarities with their counterparts in the US in terms of a media saturated environment, they also have similar choices of media content. The titles of movies or electronic games that Indonesian children mention mostly originate from the US. The absence of government endorsement on producing local movies, children's programs, or electronic games, has created an imbalanced supply of media content, as import outnumbers locally produced content (Hendriyani et al., 2011). In addition, there is the possibility that young people will become more interactive with violent media, especially electronic games, as they become more easily accessible and marketed to them. Government intervention and media literacy of parents, especially with regard to newer media technologies, are warranted since parents currently continue to primarily restrict television viewing.

Taking into account the different periods of research, Indonesian children tend to prefer the same media platforms as their European counterparts: television,

electronic games, audio media, and a video player figure on that list (see Beentjes, d'Haenens, van der Voort, & Koolstra, 1999). Children use many kinds of media for multiple gratifications sought, without truly differentiating among the functions of the media platforms used. Today's children, Indonesian, US, and European alike, tend to integrate all media in their daily lives, each medium complementing the other.

Consistent with results from US and European studies (Beentjes et al., 1999; d'Haenens, 2001; Roberts et al., 1999; Roberts et al., 2005; Rideout et al., 2010), this study shows that children still own and use 'old' media, such as books, comics, or radio. Hence, the 'new' more interactive media do not replace the 'old' media. Children combine all media platforms instead, directing their usage according to their gratification sought. Motives for diversion dominate children's overall media use.

Television continues to be the most prominent medium for Indonesian children because of its availability in almost every household: they seem to take television for granted, using it as a blanket or wallpaper while carrying out other activities. Future research should further explore the mobile phone as it might replace the television set's position in children's lives because of its integrated functions (calling, texting, taking video/picture, accessing Internet, reading e-books, listening to music/radio, playing games, and watching television). As it is a personal medium, the mobile phone will likely limit parental control on children's media use. Hence, it will change the media environment at home, especially in the child's bedroom.

References

- Beentjes, J.W.J., d'Haenens, L., van der Voort, T.H.A., & Koolstra, C.M. (1999). Dutch and Flemish children and adolescents as users of interactive media. *The European Journal of Communication Research*, 24, 145–166.
- Beentjes, J.W.J., Koolstra, C.M., Marseile, N., & van der Voort, T.H.A. (2001). Children's use of different media: For how long and why? In S. Livingstone & M. Bovill (Eds.) *Children and their changing media environment: A European comparative study*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Buckingham, D., Davies, H., Jones, K., & Kelley, P. (1999). *Children's television in Britain: History, discourse and policy*. London: BFI.
- Didik (2010, July 14). Jumlah pemakai handphone di Indonesia [The number of mobile phone users in Indonesia]. Retrieved from <http://www.harianberita.com/jumlah-pemakai-handphone-di-indonesia.html>
- Dietz, W.H., & Strasburger, V.C. (1991). Children, adolescents, and television. *Current Problems in Pediatric*, 21, 8–31. doi:10.1016/0045-9380(91)90034-I
- d'Haenens, L. (2001). Old and new media: Access and ownership in the home. In S. Livingstone & M. Bovill (Eds.) *Children and their changing media environment: A European comparative study*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Guntarto, B. (2002). The advent of the cybercafé: The Internet comes to Indonesia. In K. Shetty (Ed.), *Kids on-line: Promoting responsible use and a safe environment on the net in Asia* (pp. 188–211). Singapore: AMIC/SCI-NTU.
- Hendriyani, Hollander, E., d'Haenens, L., & Beentjes, J.W.J. (2011). Children's television in Indonesia: Media policy and the growth of the industry. *Journal of Children and Media*, 5, 86–101. Doi: 10.1080/17482798.2011.535404
- Heryanto, A. (1999). The year of living luxuriously: Identity politics of Indonesia's new rich. In M. Pinches (Ed.), *Culture and privilege in capitalist Asia* (pp. 159–187). London: Routledge.
- Hida, R.E. (2010, February 10). Pendapatan per kapita RI naik jadi Rp 24,3 juta di 2009 [Income per capita raise to Rp 24.3 millions in 2009]. Retrieved from <http://finance.detik>.

- com/read/2010/02/10/131037/1296658/4/pendapatan-per-kapita-ri-naik-jadi-rp-243-juta-di-2009
- Lealand, G. (2001, February). Some things change, some things remain the same: New Zealand children and media use. *SIMILE: Studies in Media & Information Literacy Education*, 1(1), 1–9. DOI: 10.3138/sim.1.1.004
- Livingstone, S. (1998). Mediated childhood: A comparative approach to young people's changing media environment in Europe. *European Journal of Communication*, 13, 435–456.
- Livingstone S., & Bovill M. (Eds.) (2001). *Children and their changing media environment: A European comparative study*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Livingstone, S., & Haddon, L. (Eds.) (2009). *Kids online: Opportunities and risks for children*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Livingstone, S., Haddon, L., Görzig, A., & Ólafsson, K. (2011). *Risk and safety on the Internet: The perspective of European children. Full Findings*. LSE, London: EU Kids Online.
- McQuail, D. (2005). *McQuail's mass communication theory*. London: Sage.
- McQuillan, H., & d'Haenens, L. (2009). Young people online: Gender and age influences. In S. Livingstone & L. Haddon (Eds.), *Kids online: Opportunities and risks for children* (pp. 95–106). Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Meryana, E., & Wahono, T. (2011, July 12). Penetrasi Internet Indonesia terendah di ASEAN [Indonesia Internet penetration is the lowest in ASEAN]. Retrieved from <http://tekno.kompas.com/read/2011/07/12/11132623/Penetrasi.Internet.Indonesia.Terendah.di.ASEAN>
- Penetrasi Internet di Indonesia naik dua kali lipat [Internet penetration in Indonesia double] (2009, December 8). *Kompas*. Retrieved from <http://tekno.kompas.com/read/2009/12/08/13553071/pengguna.Internet.melonjak.17.persen>
- Rideout, V.J., Foehr, U.G., & Roberts, D.F. (2010, January). *Generation M2: Media in the lives of 8- to 18-year-olds*. Retrieved from: <http://www.kff.org/entmedia/upload/8010.pdf>
- Roberts, D.F., Foehr, U.G., & Rideout, V.J. (2005, March). *Generation M: Media in the lives of 8–18 year-olds*. Retrieved from: <http://www.kff.org/entmedia/upload/Generation-M-Media-in-the-Lives-of-8-18-Year-olds-Report.pdf>
- Roberts, D.F., Foehr, U.G., Rideout, V.J., & Brodie, M. (1999, November). *Kids & media @ the new millennium*. Retrieved from <http://www.kff.org/entmedia/upload/Kids-Media-The-New-Millennium-Report.pdf>
- Rubin, R.B., Palmgreen, P., & Sypher, H.E. (1994). *Communication research measures: A source book*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Rubin, A.M. (2002). The uses-and-gratifications perspective of media effects.. In J. Bryant & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (2nd ed., pp. 525–548). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Ruggiero, T.E. (2000). Uses and gratification theory in the 21st century. *Mass Communication and Society*, 3, 1–37. DOI: 10.1207/S15327825MCS0301_02
- Saputra, A. (2010, July 17). Televisi 'serang' anak dan ABG [Television 'attack' children and youngster]. Retrieved from <http://us.detiknews.com/read/2010/07/17/170235/1401305/10/televisi-serang-anak-dan-abg>
- Sarwono, B.K., Hendriyani & Guntarto, B. (2011, January). *The effectiveness of media education in changing children's media consumption in Indonesia (An experiment on elementary school students in Middle and East Java)*. Paper presented at Media Literacy Conference, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
- Shetty, K. (Ed.) (2002). *Kids on-line: Promoting responsible use and a safe environment on the net in Asia* (pp. 188–211). Singapore: AMIC/SCI-NTU.
- Singer, D.G. & Singer, J.L. (Eds.) (2001). *Handbook of children and media*. California: Sage.
- TV dan komputer bahayakan kejiwaan anak-anak [TV and computer endanger children's psychiatric]. (2010, October 12). *Antaranews*. Retrieved from <http://www.antaranews.com/berita/1286881224/tv-dan-komputer-bahayakan-kejiwaan-anak-anak>
- van der Voort, T.H.A., & Vooijs, M.W. (1990). Validity of children's direct estimates of time spent television viewing. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 34, 93–99.
- van der Voort, T.H.A., Beentjes, J.W.J., Bovill, M., Gaskell, G., Koolstra, C.M., Livingstone, S., et al. (1998). Young people's ownership and uses of new and old forms of media in Britain and the Netherlands. *European Journal of Communication*, 13, 457–477.

- Villani, S. (2001, April). Impact of media on children and adolescents: A 10-year review of research. *The American Academy Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 40, 392–401. doi:10.1097/00004583-200104000-00007
- Wake, M., Hesketh, K., & Waters, E. (2003). Television, computer use and body mass index in Australian primary school children. *Journal of Paediatrics and Child Health*, 39, 130–134. DOI: 10.1046/j.1440-1754.2003.00104.x
- Wartella, E., & Reeves, B. (1985, Spring). Historical trends in research on children and the media: 1900–1960. *Journal of Communication*, 35, 118–133. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1985.tb02238.x