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List of Acronyms

CJCP  The Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention
ICTs  Information and Communication Technologies
PC  Personal Computer
RDP  Reconstruction and Development Programme
SNS  Social Networking Sites
UNESCO  United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF  United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund

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Executive Summary

The use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) has grown exponentially over the past few years. This is not only evident in developed countries, as technology and the internet are quickly becoming a central part of the lives of those people living in developing countries, particularly among children and youth. Much of the existing literature on children’s ICT and internet use comes from the global North, however, such evidence and literature is extremely scarce in countries in the global South. South Africa is one of these countries where very little information on children’s online and ICT activity can be found, particularly with regard to how parents interact with and mediate children’s online activity. Such information is vital in the development of appropriate strategies which ultimately aim to encourage a balance in these children’s lives by not only protecting them from harm they might encounter online but also promoting healthy online activity which maximises the potential benefits. In response to this, the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP), with support from Facebook, undertook a qualitative research study to begin to bridge this gap in data regarding parents’ knowledge and interaction with children around their ICT and social media use and safety.

Aims and objectives

Information on how parents or caregivers in South Africa engage with children around issues of their use of ICTs, the internet and social media, is essential in the development of appropriate prevention and response strategies and policies that deal with balancing children’s online safety with ensuring the continued opportunities and rights that children have online. It is with this in mind that the following research project was undertaken.

This study was conducted in order to explore the following areas:

a. The extent to which parents and caregivers are familiar with the hardware and platforms that children use to go online, and the extent to which they themselves use the same platforms (i.e. levels of digital literacy);

b. Parents’ and caregivers’ interaction with their children on the subject of their use of ICTs and social media, as well as the means and measures that they use, or strategies they employ in doing so;

c. The primary safety concerns of parents and caregivers regarding their children’s online usage;

d. Challenges parents and caregivers face when interacting with their children around their online and digital activity;

e. The degree to which parents and caregivers recognise the opportunities, as well as the risks that are attached to children’s usage, and how (if at all) they balance the two;

f. Possible strategies which parents and caregivers can use in order to best engage with their children in a way that both protects them and maximises the opportunities available to them through ICTs and social media.

Methodology

Data collection consisted of a qualitative component only, with parents of youth (aged between 12 and 18 years) being sampled.

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their personal cellphones (provided to them by their parents). These children use other digital devices (tablets and computers) to a far lesser extent. This hardware is accessed by children in a variety of places, and in the case of mobile devices it is accessed wherever the child is able to take it. Some parents mentioned that they themselves use the same digital devices, however, a large number only own basic or feature phones and they don’t use the internet at all, or their knowledge and use is extremely limited. Very few of the parents interviewed have smart phones, fewer still use tablets, and almost none own a computer. This was mostly found in the more rural areas, and especially among the more elderly parents, and mothers. Of those who do have access to a computer, it is usually at their place of employment or an internet café.

As far as parents are aware, children actively use ICTs and the internet mostly for instant messaging services and social media. A common activity mentioned was children using their phones to assist them with doing research and finding information on searches engines (particularly Google), both at home and at school. Most parents interviewed had very little knowledge on using the internet, made readily available through the internet. There was expression of concern about children being affected negatively by exposure to violent content, as well as about their children running the risk of either being cyber bullied or harassed online, and that personal content posted online by their children would be met with negative consequences. Another worry expressed by parents was that children might be influenced negatively by user-generated content which they find online. Other anxieties regarding children posting personal things online without thinking about the possible consequences were around children posting revealing pictures and videos, or sending them to others, leading to the risk that they could go viral, as well as the possibility of experiencing scam and identity theft. Parents also felt fear about the possibility that their children would fall victim to scams, or lose money due to fake online advertisements, while some parents feel that the information their children share online may be misused by online predators and people involved in child trafficking. Many parents were very worried about the possibility that their children would communicate and meet strangers online, which could lead to children putting themselves in compromising or risky situations.

Parents expressed great frustration concerning the large amount of their children’s time being taken up by their ICT use, which often resulted in them neglecting their responsibilities at home and at school. Additionally, many parents expressed worry about their children often staying up late at night on their phones, resulting in them not getting enough sleep and struggling to get up in the mornings. Not only did this disturb other family members, it also resulted in them having difficulty concentrating at school. Other concerns included children spending excessive amounts of time online leading to loss of face-to-face interaction, negatively affecting their social skills and their personal relationships. Negative behaviour changes as a result of their digital activity were mentioned too. In addition, some expressed their concern for their children succumbing to peer pressure relating to technology and the internet, and that children’s ‘addiction’ to their phones leads to inactivity, anti-social behaviour, alienation and isolation.

ICT and internet benefits recognised by parents
This study explores to what extent parents and caregivers are aware of the opportunities the internet has to offer their children. It was found that parents are generally aware that the internet and ICTs can be a tool for creating and affording various opportunities for people of all ages.

In this regard, the internet’s ability to facilitate in the learning process of children was the most common response among parents. These parents reported that through the internet their children are able to use search engines to help them do their school and homework, while making learning material easily accessible. Thus, the internet was noted as being a useful tool for both formal and informal educational purposes, as well as helping them keep up to date with the world around them. Parents were also aware of the internet’s ability to improve the reading and writing ability, and improve and promote the digital literacy of their children.

Parents reported that ICTs offer their children a platform through which they are able to communicate with friends and family easily. In relation to this, it was reported that the internet and social media offers the opportunity to socialise online, and helps in forming and connecting with friends and family. Another suggestion was that it helps with finding peer groups with common interests where they can connect, and it provides a platform for open self-expression without fear of judgment. Additionally, parents said that the internet helped facilitate young people’s exploration of career options and seeking out job opportunities. That those children in school are able to explore tertiary options for when they complete school, and even apply online. Parents reported that ICTs could keep their children constructively occupied, and that these devices and social media encourage them to document their lives.

Parents’ interaction with children regarding ICTs and the internet
This study investigated how parents and caregivers interact with their children on the subject of ICTs, the internet and social media, including what strategies they put into place to manage and monitor their children’s online use and behaviour. This was categorised into four styles: monitoring, technical mediation, restrictive mediation, and active mediation.

While no parents reported on using technical mediation strategies, a handful of participants reported that they adopt some sort of monitoring tactic, such as checking what their child does on the phone. However, very few parents actually indicated that they monitor their children’s online activity at all, often because they do not know enough about technology, or their children manage to hide what they are doing. Parents would at times adopt restrictive mediation tactics by trying to set rules and restrictions, and punish children if they were not adhered to, however a number of parents indicated that their children don’t always listen to rules that have been set in place. Some parents restrict, limit or take away their children’s access to the ICTs and internet after they have disobeyed the rules, although many said that they did not know how to enforce them. It was also mentioned that they did not know how to monitor and lead to undesirable behaviour. In terms of active mediation, a few parents spoke of the importance of communicating with their children about the possible dangers and risks they could be faced with while using the internet, but while these parents reported trying to speak to children about the possible dangers online and their concerns, they felt that their children didn’t listen, and that it doesn’t really change anything.

It was found that overall many of the parents’ and caregivers’ interactions with their children surrounding these topics was limited, and sometimes non-existent, especially among the parents who know little or nothing about ICTs and the internet, as they do not use them themselves. This said, there were some instances where, although parents tried, they did not feel that they had enough control over their children to successfully employ any strategies to interact with their children about their ICT activity.

Challenges faced by parents
A number of challenges were experienced by parents when it came to interacting with their children around these issues, and they often had to do with the parents’ minimal digital literacy and lack of confidence with regard to ICT and internet usage. Parents who did not know how to use the internet found it difficult to interact with their children regarding their online activity – they don’t know what to look for, or how to tell what their children are doing, or have the knowledge regarding what is right and wrong online.

Another commonly reported challenge parents faced when interacting with their children about their online activity was that children hide their online activity, and in instances where children were denied access to devices as punishment, they easily found alternative ways to get back online. The issue of disobedient children was brought up often, as well as parents’ inability to discipline them effectively – parents are aware of misbehaviour but struggle with implementing any control or management of such behaviour, especially when it involves online related misbehaviour.

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Another commonly reported challenge parents faced when interacting with their children about their online activity was that children hide their online activity, and in instances where children were denied access to devices as punishment, they easily found alternative ways to get back online. The issue of disobedient children was brought up often, as well as parents’ inability to discipline them effectively – parents are aware of misbehaviour but struggle with implementing any control or management of such behaviour, especially when it involves online related misbehaviour.
Some parents reported that speaking openly on subjects such as sex is often not encouraged in many African communities and cultures, and so interaction around such things between parents and children is limited, resulting in interaction about certain risks being a challenge. Some parents, especially those not living together, experienced difficulties in consistent parenting tactics as both parents are not always in agreement on how this should be done, and therefore do not work together effectively in raising their children. Furthermore, many children live with alternative caregivers other than their biological parents, and these alternative guardians sometimes find it difficult to put rules in place, as the children often don’t obey their rules because they are not their ‘real’ parents. Anxiety is also experienced around disciplining or upsetting the children in their care, as these children call their parents and inform them that they were being ill-treat, resulting in retaliation from the parents directed at the allocated caregiver.

Mediation strategies suggested by parents

Although the participating caregivers struggled with making suggestions on how to best engage, monitor and manage children’s online activity, as their knowledge and confidence surrounding these issues was limited, the following suggestions came out of the focus groups:

- Setting and enforcing restrictive rules regarding children’s use of ICTs and the internet, with appropriate discipline carried out if they are not adhered to.
- The use of software that allows parents to monitor and manage what their children are doing online.
- Supervision of children’s use of ICTs and the internet.
- The use of incentives to motivate children to be responsible and respectful.
- Parents should find ways to learn more about the use of ICTs and the internet, as well as the risks that accompany them, how to recognise them and how to help their children if they encounter them.
- Parents must take responsibility and empower themselves in guiding and supporting their children, as well as support each other in how best to interact with children and what rules to put in place.
- Parents need to have open and honest relationships with their children, making it easier for them to trust their parents and speak to them about their online use.

**Recommendations**

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations can be made:

- Educate parents to provide them with the necessary skill and knowledge which will allow them to help their children when it comes to their digital and online activity.
- Inform parents on the nature of the risks their children might encounter online, while encouraging open communication and understanding.
- Parents should actively discuss with their children the benefits that technology has to offer, responsible use of devices and the internet, and the handling of negative or risky situations.
- Increase parental knowledge regarding the use of technologies being used by their children, by learning with them, and allowing their children to teach them and help them understand the online tools they are using.
- Discussions about appropriate online behaviour should take place between parents/caregivers and their children.
- Increase awareness among parents and children, of strategies in place at school, and promote their active involvement in policy making pertaining to digital issues and use.
- Parents need to engage in open discussion and communication with their children about monitoring and managing ICT and internet usage.
- A mixed-method approach combining active mediation with direct intervention might help parents protect their children from severe online risks, while also helping to empower them through online engagement and learning how to manage good and safe online conduct.
- A balance needs to be found between monitoring and managing online behaviour, and allowing young people to handle their internet use respectively.
- Children should be encouraged to take on responsibility for their own online safety as much as possible, focusing on empowerment, responsible behaviour and good digital citizenship.
- As this responsibility of online safety is increasingly placed into children’s hands, internet safety messaging should look to build up confidence, resilience and responsible digital citizenship skills among them.

1.1 Project purpose

In today’s modern world, Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) have become an integral part of children’s everyday lives, and it is estimated that children comprise one-third of all internet users. This recent growth in the use of ICTs has not only taken place in developed countries – there is exponential growth, particularly among children and youth, which is taking place in developing countries too. Much of the evidence and literature on children’s use of ICTs comes from developed countries in the global North, where there is an implied obligation of both the state and parents to mediate harmful content and situations, and ensure the safety and wellbeing of children, both online and offline. However, in the developing countries of the global South a difference in factors, such as the nature of environments, family structures and literacy rates, might necessitate different strategies to deal with online safety and responsible digital citizenship.

In South Africa, as with many countries in the global South, there is little information on how parents interact with their children around issues of their online and ICT use, safety and opportunities, or effective strategies by which parents work with digital literacy issues in a way that maximizes opportunities for children. Such information is essential in the development of appropriate prevention and response strategies that deal with balancing children’s online safety with ensuring the continued opportunities and rights that children have online. With this in mind the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP), with support from Facebook, undertook a qualitative research study to begin to bridge this gap in data regarding parents’ knowledge and interaction with children around their ICT and social media use and safety.

1.2 Prevalence of ICTs and the internet

1.2.1 A global view

ICTs and internet use have increasingly become an integral part of today’s society, and people are spending more and more of their lives connected to various forms of technology, the internet and social media platforms. Digital and information revolution has changed the way in which the world learns, communicates, conducts business, and even treats illness. ICTs are constantly evolving, and these new technologies offer a number of opportunities and benefits across the globe, helping to better areas such as economic growth, health, service delivery, learning, and social and cultural advances.

In terms of numbers, of the world’s 7.395 billion population, 3.498 billion (46%) use the internet, more than half (51%) use mobile devices, and a further 3% are social media users. Young people in particular use new communication tools regularly, and the time that the youth between the ages of 16 and spending online is ever increasing. An EU Kids Online study, using a sample of more than 25,000 internet-using children across Europe, found that 93% of children use the internet at least weekly, and 60% go on daily, or almost every day, indicating the vast degree to which technology is embedded in these children’s lives. The extent to which ICTs and the internet have become rooted in everyday life has raised important questions about the impact on children, and the balance between online opportunities and risks that they are exposed to.

In order to adequately monitor and evaluate the developmental impact of this sector, and to establish effective strategies and policies which speak to this, there need to be comparable...
The rapid development of ICTs and the internet is gaining momentum in Africa at an astonishing rate too. With a population of more than 1.2 billion people, 349 million are active internet users (a 14% increase of 47.2 million since 2015), and 129 million people are active social media users (a 25% increase of 25.3 million since 2015). There is a massive number of mobile connections too, totalling 986 billion people, 349 million are active internet users (a 14% increase of 47.2 million since 2015), and 129 million people are active social media users (a 25% increase of 25.3 million since 2015). There is a massive number of mobile connections too, totalling 986 million, an increase of 84.4 million from the previous year. At the southernmost point of Africa lies one of the continent’s leading countries in terms of technological development where relatively little is known about how ICTs and the internet are being used, particularly by children and youth, which poses a challenge when it comes to ensuring these technologies are being utilised in the best possible, and safest, ways.

1.2.2 South Africa online

South Africa holds a population of over 54 million people, with approximately 20.6 million (37.9%) of the population under 20 years old. According to Statistics South Africa’s 2016 General Household survey report, of the more than 16 million South African households, almost all (96.5%) have access to functional landlines and cellphones, with 85.5% of South African households only having use of cellular phones. This said, only 53.5% of South African households have at least one member who has had access to or used the internet (either at home, work, place of study or internet cafe). The places where the largest percentage of South Africans tend to access the internet include at school (33.2%), at home (59.7%), and at work (5.1%).

It is important to note that while South Africa experiences high rates of poverty, inequality and unemployment, the internet is becoming increasingly accessible to all South Africans, regardless of their socioeconomic status (although this may still create certain barriers). A study in 2012 found that as many as 99% of internet users were living below the official poverty line (R432 per month), 23% were living on an income of less than R1,500 per month, and only 4% of internet users in South Africa were earning more than R5,000 per month. Overall, the internet community has become much more representative of the South African population as a whole.10
The rapid growth of internet use in South Africa is demonstrated in the 2015 World Stats report, with findings showing that South Africa has approximately 26,841,000 internet users, a number that has increased by a massive 24 million since 2000.20 The development of internet user figures in South Africa is demonstrated, and compared with overall global growth, in Figure 1.

Figures released by World Wide Worx in 2012 mirror this massive leap in the South African internet use base which, for example, grew from 6.8 million in 2010 to 8.5 million at the end of 2011 (a growth of no less than 25%). This swift advancement can largely be accredited to the near-universal adoption of mobile phones, that has helped bring the internet to the masses.21

Commonly used internet services

The internet offers an extensive range of services and activities to the general public, which are simply, and quite literally, a click away. These services can assist in many, if not all, facets of life. It has been found that some of the top reasons for South Africans using the internet are:

- To get information
- To socialise
- For study
- For work/business
- Job searches

While using the internet, some of the main activities these people reportedly engage in include:

- Searching – looking for information such as looking up a dictionary definition of a word or looking for formal or informal educational content on the web.
- Public services – getting information from or about government or public services which could include tax, health or municipalities.
- Media and entertainment – downloading music or movies, reading online news or magazines.
- Ecommerce – getting information about products and services, online shopping and banking.
- Social networking – using services such as Facebook, MySpace, LinkedIn and Twitter.22

Other interesting observations are that those who are most connected make the greatest use of the widest range of internet services, as well as that mobile users without other access are usually frequent internet users, however they are less frequent users of information and educational tools and of news and entertainment services (possibly due to limitations imposed by devices and networks used, and the costs associated with them).23

Research has found that social networking in South Africa has crossed the age barrier, and the urban-rural divide. World Wide Worx and Fuseware produced the South African Social Media Landscape 2012 study, which showed evidence of Facebook going mainstream in South Africa, where 6.8 million people were found to access Facebook on their phones alone. WhatsApp became the leading instant messaging tool in the country among South Africans aged 16 and over, with 4.6 million users. A mobile instant messaging tool that emerged more recently, 2Go, was also building up a steady user base of close on a million users. Both Facebook and Twitter had crossed the urban/rural divide. It seems that social networking is playing a number of roles in people’s lives, in terms of a network facilitating relationships and communication, as well as information and entertainment.24

1.2.2.3 Social networking

Statistics released in 2012 revealed that three out of four internet users are signed up for at least one social network (75%). This social network wave was found to be mostly mobile, with about half of the users in the study using their mobile phones and a computer to connect, and nearly four out of five connecting using only their mobile phone. Furthermore, it was found that those who use their phones most to connect to the internet are the heaviest users of social networks.25

 Females. Another significant finding here was that of 11.8 million users, 8.8 million people (42% of the population) were accessing it on their mobile phones. The highest growth in this user base was found to be in South Africa’s three key economic hubs – Johannesburg (15%), Pretoria (14%) and Cape Town (13%). The 13-18-year age category remained the biggest age group in terms of Facebook users, with 2.5 million teenage users.26

Research revealed that active users in Africa had grown from 160 million in September 2014 to 240 million in June 2015 (a 20% growth), most of whom use mobile phones.

Facebook revealed that active users in Africa had grown from 160 million in September 2014 to 240 million in June 2015 (a 20% growth), most of whom use mobile phones.27


Social networking

Internet World Stats, op cit.


De Lanerolle, op cit.


De Lanerolle, op cit.

It Web (2015). Orange on track with WiFi, ISP, 18 May 2015. Available at: www.itweb.co.za (accessed on 14/07/2016)

In the past year, Facebook has grown from 12 million to 13 million users (8% growth), Twitter from 6.6 million to 7.4 million users (12% growth), and video-sharing platform YouTube increased its user base from 7.4 million to 8.6 million (13% growth), and Instagram rose from 11 million to 12.68 million, showing the biggest growth at 13%. 

The growth of any social network in South Africa over the past year. It shows that 13 million South Africans (43.7%) are on Facebook, of which 10 million (77%), are using it on their mobile devices. A total of 7.9 million South Africans are accessing Facebook via a smartphone, 1.6 million are using more basic feature phones, and 1.4 million are accessing it via tablets.37

1.2.2.4 Internet use among the youth

This widespread internet activity among youth, particularly via mobile devices, was demonstrated in a survey done with 11th grade students in low-income schools in Cape Town, where 77% of respondents reportedly owned a data-ready handset, and as many as 68% had used a mobile phone the previous day to access the internet.38

Another finding from the South African Social Media Landscape 2016 study is that Facebook use has grown to a quarter of all South Africans, while Instagram has shown the fastest growth of any social network in South Africa over the past year. It shows that 13 million South Africans (43.7%) are on Facebook, of which 10 million (77%), are using it on their mobile devices. A total of 7.9 million South Africans are accessing Facebook via a smartphone, 1.6 million are using more basic feature phones, and 1.4 million are accessing it via tablets.37

Another report was released in 2012, dealing with the impact of ICT developments on youth in Gauteng, based on questionnaires completed with a sample of 3,867 learners from grades 8 to 12.40

Some of the findings were as follows: In terms of internet access, almost all learners (90%) have access to the internet via cellphones, and they access the internet most frequently for social networking, downloading music, browsing for general information, and to assist with school and homework. Over a third (39.6%) of learners said they had stopped online fusing their phones – the majority of these purchases were music (42.6%), games (20.9%) and wallpapers (12.5%).41

UNISA’s Bureau of Market Research (2012) report found that 88.4% of the learners owned their own devices42 (similar findings emerged from CJCIP’s Connected dot Com study, that revealed that 81.2% of children own or have access to a mobile phone),43 while 8.5% said that they accessed cellphones via friends or family. Of these learners, 63.7% indicated that they could not live without their cellphone – reasons given for this attachment were that it provides connectivity, it’s addictive, and it provides entertainment.44

Learners value cellphones because they are easy, fast and convenient communication tools with which to connect to others, and are seen by the majority of these learners as a tool for building interpersonal relationships. The ability of these devices to provide entertainment, as well as their perceived contribution toward building a certain personal image (helping learners to feel cool) are other reasons learners place such value on their mobile phones, along with their assistance in making these young people feel more secure. Many participants (73.8%) indicated that they have utilised cellphones as a learning tool in order to improve mathematical (44.4%) and language (12.6%) skills, search for information on schoolwork (21%) as well as searching for general information (21.6%). Most frequent cellphone functions used among these youth are illustrated in Figure 5, which clearly shows that social networking is very prominent (49.8%).45

Learners regard the main disadvantages of cellphones as: exposure to security risk (such as theft, pornography and exploitation), distracting attention from school and homework, that they can be costly, and that they can be addictive. Furthermore, it was found that participants generally dislike cellphones that lack technical features and applications.46

In terms of safety, 72% of learners said they have used their cellphone to call someone when they felt threatened or that they were in some kind of danger, and 66.5% said they feel safer that their parents know where they are by means of their cellphones. However, when asked if parents should monitor their cellphone use, only 16.5% said yes, leaving the majority (83.5%) in disagreement. With regards to parents reading their children’s private messages without permission, learners are most likely to respond with anger (47.5%), embarrassment (9.9%) and humiliation (8.6%), and a further 16.5% of learners believe this to be an invasion of privacy.47

The difference between the number of young people who report using the internet, compared to the number of people in older generations, suggests that these youth are more likely to use the internet than their parents, which has implications for parents’ ability to effectively mediate their children’s use.48

More recent data shows that 83% of children between the ages of 12 and 18 years have access to a mobile telephone, and almost half (46%) of children access the internet using these mobile devices.49 Increasingly, ICTs are being used to deliver a range of services to children, and while this access might offer an array of opportunities, the widespread adoption of these technologies also

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provides more scope for children to encounter risks online. This necessitates an approach that not only expands the opportunities that children can access through ICTs, but also minimises the negative experiences that might be encountered online.

1.2.4.3 Contextual issues
In many developing countries in the global South, including South Africa, there are several assumptions that might not hold true, as the nature of the family and the environment in which children live might be significantly different from that in the global North, necessitating different strategies to deal with online safety and responsible digital citizenship. Further, it cannot be assumed that the majority of children live with their parents, nor that most attend school. These are only some of the issues that impact the nature of the strategies required, and that are touched on in this section.

For example, UNICEF reported that in 2012, 15% of children of primary school-going age were out of school (of which 0,5% were in South Africa), and a further 27% of children in Eastern and Southern Africa of lower secondary school-going age were out of school.9 However, the age of 15, attendance at an educational facility drops off, with many South Africans failing to complete their secondary schooling. Among individuals aged 20 years and older, only 17,5% have attained some secondary schooling, which is their highest level of education (only 28% have actually completed their secondary schooling). A further consideration lies in the experience of schools in many developing and less developed countries: in many instances schools are characterised by over-crowding, by alienation or no infrastructure, and are often poorly managed.10

Family structure, too, assumes a very different profile in less developed countries, such as in South Africa, where many children under the age of 16 do not live with both their parents. Recent statistics reveal that only 34,9% of children in South Africa do in fact live with both parents.11 Most children live with their mother only (40,6%), a fraction of them live with their father only (13,7%), and just more than a fifth (20,9%) live with neither parent. Another interesting observation is that a considerable number of households appear to have completely absent male caregivers, with 40,9% of all South African households being female-headed.12

The assumptions on which digital citizenship and Internet policies are typically based – and on which those targeting the safety and wellbeing of children online typically operate – may not hold true, and children are unlikely to receive the same support and interaction from parents in relation to their online activity that children in other, more developed countries do. Literacy rates are usually significantly lower in the global South, particularly in developing nations – for example, according to UNESCO, in Sub-Saharan Africa only 59% of adults are fully literate, significantly lower than the 94% to 98% in countries such as the United States, various European and Scandinavian countries, and the United Kingdom.13

Poverty, financial insecurity and unemployment are also major factors that play a role in family relations and stability in South Africa. Currently, the overall unemployment rate in South Africa is 26,7%.14 A total of 3,1% of South Africans, or 45,3% of households, receive a social grant, which either supplements or constitutes their monthly income.15 The majority of these grants (93,5%) are child support grants, which are issued to the parents or caregivers of children in low-income families.16 This said, the number of households that rely on salaries as the main source of income falls just shy of two thirds (65,3%).17 However, according to 2011 study, 64,6% of South Africans have a monthly income of R2,119 or less per capita (approximately 75 US dollars per month)18 and while this amount might be ever changing (due to inflation), it clearly indicates that the majority of South Africans face challenges in terms of financial stability and the meeting of basic needs. Factors such as these are likely to have a significant impact on the way that parents interact with their children.

Research undertaken by The Family Online Safety Institute (FOSI) in 2014 shows that in the United States, almost all (94%) of parents say they have talked to their child about the potential benefits and potential harms of being online, while 65% of parents say this is a recurring conversation they have with their child. Most parents have reviewed their child’s browsing history (68%) and set rules on the amount of time they can spend online (68%).19 Not dissimilar findings were encountered by the Pew Research Centre, which found that 95% of the parents of teen users of social networking sites (SNS) have talked with their child because they were concerned about something posted to their profile or account – that translates to 96% of parents of all online teens. Almost two out of five (75%) parents of teen users of SNS have helped their child set up privacy settings for a social networking site – that translates to 95% of parents of all online teens.20

In South Africa, however, as with many other countries in the global South, there is very little reliable data on how parents interact with their children around issues of their online and ICT use. In a small study conducted in Gauteng (the province where literacy rates are highest), more than half (53%) of parents say they do not talk to their children about their internet usage, while almost three quarters (75%) report that they had
The findings of another recent local study called South African Kids Online (SAKO) – for which CJKP was the implementation partner – has been used in this current report to help contextualise, support and substantiate the emerging findings, as it looks at many of the same themes in the same general research sites. The strengths provided in the use of these findings are that SAKO provides both quantitative and qualitative data on these research topics, as well as introducing views from not only parents, but children too. A noted limitation is that the SAKO study was a pilot, and was not nationally representative. Participants in the SAKO study included children and parents or caregivers, who took part in focus groups and surveyed interviews in the Western Cape, Gauteng, and the Eastern Cape. As a result, further caution should be taken in looking at correlation and comparison of these two studies, as the samples (although similar) were not identical.

Global Kids Online was born from the understanding that while not all children in the Global South have access to the internet, there are more children using the internet in the Global South than in the Global North, and relatively little is known about this use. Therefore one of the goals of the SAKO project was to generate a body of quality evidence on the nature of children’s internet use in the Global South, to be used to fill a large knowledge gap and help to develop appropriate national and international policy to support the rights of children. As a result, a pilot phase of the project commenced in 2015, which included four pilot countries: Argentina, the Philippines, Serbia and South Africa. The goals of the South African study were to pilot the Global Kids Online toolkit in the South African context, and to gather data on South African children’s internet use and their parents’ mediation of this use. This said, there are clearly still substantial gaps in the research and literature in this field, and as a result; a gap in understanding around these issues within South Africa, highlighting a need for steps to bridge such gaps.

### 1.2.2.6 Moving forward

Despite efforts (and notable progress) being made to rectify past inequality, and empower those who were previously disadvantaged under apartheid law, the effects of oppression still reverberate throughout society. One of the results of this continued inequality in the country is the impact it has on educational access and use of ICTs and the internet, limiting the number of South Africans who are able to benefit fully from the possible opportunities. Lack of access and knowledge are among the top reasons some South Africans do not use the internet. More specifically, reasons include no computer or internet connection, financial constraints, and lack of knowledge of how to use the internet, or of what the internet is at all. Another hindrance can be language: ‘The greatest barrier to Internet use is literacy in English. This is more important than income, age, home language, or occupation.’ This is important to note in South Africa, a country with a total of 11 official languages, in which no more than a tenth (by %) of the population have been found to be first-language English speakers.

Although there are still these gaps in the reach of ICTs and internet in South Africa, it is clear that the growth in this area has been exponential, and it shows no signs of slowing down anytime soon. According to the annual Cisco Visual Networking Index, South Africa’s mobile data traffic has a predicted growth rate of 45% by 2020, 66% of mobile connections will be ‘smart’ by 2020 (up from 26% in 2015), and mobile video will have the highest rate of any mobile application (video will be 73% of mobile data traffic by 2020, up from 2015’s 52%). Along with these levels of technological uptake and integration across the board, knowledge and understanding of use and effect is of paramount importance in managing it, and maximising the benefits and opportunities it offers. Likewise, it is important in provision of protective strategies, especially for children and the youth.

Population segmentation practices yield the majority of existing research and literature has a strong ‘western’ bias, which might not relate fully to the same issues in South Africa, where the development and uptake of ICTs and the internet, particularly with the widespread adoption of mobile technology, is in a different general paradigm. These contextual differences require customised research in order to produce the evidence required to inform future strategies and policies relating to this area. This study hopes to set these wheels in motion.
2. Methodology

2.1 Aims and objectives

There is little information on how parents or caregivers in South Africa engage with children around issues of their use of ICTs and social media, their own levels of digital literacy (particularly with regard to online safety and opportunities) or effective strategies used by parents to work with issues of digital literacy in a way that maximises opportunities, not just for themselves but also for their children. This information is essential in the development of appropriate prevention and response strategies and policies that deal with balancing children’s online safety with ensuring the continued opportunities and rights that children have online. It is with this in mind that the following research project was undertaken.

In order to access a diverse sample of participants, four out of South Africa’s nine provinces were selected as data-collection sites. The provinces selected were Gauteng, the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape. These were selected on the basis of varying demographic and socioeconomic profiles, as well as levels of digital penetration and public resources.

Focus group discussions were planned in each province, split between urban and peri-urban, with parents of youth (aged between 12 and 18 years) who were randomly selected from local communities. Recruitment of participants was done through contacts previously established within these communities (including community-based organisations, schools and individuals). The number of groups which were conducted in each province are as follows:

- Eastern Cape: ten groups in total (five urban, five peri-urban)
- Limpopo: eight groups in total (two urban, six peri-urban)
- Gauteng: six groups in total (two urban, four peri-urban)
- Western Cape: two groups in total (one urban, one peri-urban)

Approximately 175 participants were interviewed during these focus groups, across all four provinces.

Focus group discussion was the chosen data-collection method, which allows for the collection of in-depth information from a group of people, providing the researcher with insight into group norms and practices within a shared construction of meaning and common experience. Additionally, data collected from focus group discussions is useful in providing a broad range of information, and offering the opportunity to seek clarification, while saving time and money compared to individual interviews.

Drawing on the questions and content areas previously decided upon, an interview guide for parents was established. The tools for the focus group discussions featured activities through which the critical content areas could be explored. These tools focused on exploring both parents’ use and knowledge of the internet and their mediation and awareness of their children’s internet use.

2.2 Research ethics

During the study, strict ethical procedures were followed to maintain the wellbeing of respondents. All respondents were fully informed about the study and provided written consent to participate in it. Participants were informed that their consent documents would be stored safely and privately and would never be used in any way to identify them. Maintaining confidentiality and privacy in all groups was of the utmost importance; therefore participants were asked to keep the content of the discussions to themselves. Recordings of discussions, which were only done with the consent of all participants, were transcribed and anonymised, and then stored safely. All participants were given a flyer which included information on the study and the contact details of the CJCP, in the event of any further enquiries or issues.

2.3 Research instruments

A series of focus group discussions and participatory exercises were designed, using a combination of participatory qualitative approaches, allowing for meaningful analysis of results. A detailed focus group discussion guide, outlining key areas of exploration, with suggested prompts and suitable participatory exercises was developed.

2.4 Sampling

It is important to understand thoughts and concerns of parents from different backgrounds, as it can inform public policy which intends to empower parents, and understanding the differences between parents and their approaches is important in the development of these policies.21

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Approximately 175 participants were interviewed during these focus groups, across all four provinces.

2.5 Data collection and analysis

Fieldwork activities in the four chosen provinces (Eastern Cape, Limpopo, Gauteng and the Western Cape) began in February 2016, and were completed in June 2016. Focus group discussions were conducted with parents in each of the four provinces. In general, between six and eight participants took part in each focus group discussion. Each focus group discussion was planned to run for 90 minutes, and was facilitated by a skilled researcher, and co-facilitated by a second vernacular speaking researcher who also assisted as a scribe.

Data for the study came from audio recordings of the group discussions, supplemented by written notes taken by the co-facilitator, as well as notes recorded by the facilitator on flip-chart paper during group activities and discussions. The recordings from the interviews were transcribed, any additional notes were compiled, and all notes were anonymised. The data was then compiled into themes, which were coded using ATLAS.ti qualitative data analysis software. The data was then analysed, and compiled into this report.

It should be noted (as discussed previously in the section on contextual issues) that family structures in South Africa often differ from the ‘normal’ nuclear family unit. The result of this is that the primary caregiver for many children in South Africa is not always their biological parent. Therefore a holistic definition of the word parent has been adopted for this study, and may include other caregivers such as siblings, grandparents, uncles or others who act in this capacity. It is not limited to biological or legal parents – large numbers of children are raised by people other than their parents.


**Figure 6: Map of the four provinces visited in South Africa**


**Insight, UNICEF Office or Research, Florence.**
This section helps illustrate the sites visited while conducting this study, through information gathered on the relevant provinces, as well as pictures taken in field. As can be seen in many of these places, the infrastructure was rudimentary and the people residing here did not always have running water and electricity in their houses. The roads were mostly dirt and gravel, especially in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo, while in Gauteng and the Western Cape there were more tar roads and access to basic water and electricity. An interesting observation made here regarding noted differences between some of the provinces is that the Western Cape and Gauteng, which are clearly more built up and urbanised, have the most access to both landlines and cell phones, while Limpopo and the Eastern Cape, both more rural provinces, have the most access to cellphones only. The same applies for internet access.75 Venues in which groups took place were selected on the basis of their ease of accessibility for the participants. These included private residences – anything from brick houses to Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing, shacks, local churches, government offices, schools, a tribal hall and even a shipping-container crèche. The statistics in the following table were drawn from Statistics South Africa’s 2015 General Household survey.76

### Table 1: Household data for Gauteng, Western Cape, Eastern Cape & Limpopo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Gauteng</th>
<th>Western Cape</th>
<th>Eastern Cape</th>
<th>Limpopo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>13.2 million</td>
<td>6.2 million</td>
<td>6.6 million</td>
<td>5.6 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total households</td>
<td>4.6 million</td>
<td>1.7 million</td>
<td>1.7 million</td>
<td>1.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to cellphones only</td>
<td>84.3%</td>
<td>69.2%</td>
<td>87.1%</td>
<td>94.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At least one member with internet access</td>
<td>65.7%</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>39.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access internet at home</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access internet at work</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access internet on mobile devices</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
<td>53.6%</td>
<td>41.9%</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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75 Statistics South Africa (2016), op cit.
76 Ibid.
4. Research findings

In many counties in the global south, and specifically within the South African context, little is known about the ways in which parents interact with their children regarding their use of the internet and ICTs. Even less seems to be known about how parents manage issues around risks, opportunities and safety online, as well as strategies employed by parents to use the internet themselves in a way that takes full advantage of the opportunities it has to offer their children. It is imperative that parents keep a close watch on what their children are doing online, since information and communication technologies (ICTs) have become a fundamental part of children’s daily lives. Along with the opportunities the internet presents, it also presents possible risks. It is thus important that parents engage with their children to ensure that they are able to navigate these risks when using the internet and social media. As previously noted, snapshots of some of the findings from the recent South African Kids Online (SAKO) study will be used here to help contextualise, substantiate and provide further insight into the emerging findings in this report.77

This report will begin to fill the gap in the current data in relation to parents’ knowledge and interaction with children around their ICT and social-media use and safety. This kind of data is important for the development of strategies targeted at threats to the safety of children online. What this essentially means is that this report intends to produce data that will assist in the balancing of child online safety with the opportunities and rights they have online.

4.1 Digital literacy among parents and their children

One of the aims of this study was to better understand the levels of digital literacy among South Africans, with particular focus on parents and their teenage children. Therefore participants were asked about the extent to which they themselves use the internet (if at all), as well as being asked about their children’s internet use. Detail of such use was further investigated in order to gain more information on devices, activities and locations used during internet and social media activity.

4.1.1 Digital devices

Children

All teenage children of the parents who participated in the study reportedly have access to, and utilise, ICTs, the internet and social media. The most common devices which children have access to are cellphones (smart phones for the most part), and although they reportedly use their parents’ phones occasionally, it would appear that all of these children also have access to their own personal phones, provided to them by their parents. These children occasionally make use of other devices too, but to a far lesser extent – among these are tablets, laptops, and desktop computers. This hardware is accessed by children in a variety of places, including at home, at school and internet cafés – and in the case of mobile devices (which are used predominantly), it is accessed wherever the child is able to take it. Similarly, the findings from SAKO show that there is a high number of young internet users, who mostly go online via cellphones that are usually their own devices.78

Parents

When parents and caregivers were asked about their own use of technology, some mentioned that they use the same types of devices as mentioned above (basic phones, feature phones, smart phones, tablets, desktop computers and laptops). However, it was noted that a large number of these parents only own basic phones or feature phones and they don’t use the internet at all, or their knowledge and use is extremely limited. Very few of the parents interviewed have smart phones, fewer still use tablets, and almost none own a computer. This was mostly found in the more rural areas, and especially among the more elderly parents and mothers. Of those who do have access to a computer, it is usually at their place of employment or an internet café.

4.1.2 ICT activity

Children

As far as parents are aware, children actively use ICTs and the internet mostly for instant messaging services (with WhatsApp being the most popular) and social media (with Facebook being the most popular). A common activity mentioned was children using their phones to assist them with doing research and finding information on search engines (particularly Google), both for interest and schoolwork. Other common activities include:

• Listening to music.

Supporting this are the SAKO findings – that socialising (especially via instant messaging), as well as learning and schoolwork, are popular activities among young internet users (with WhatsApp and Facebook revealed as the clear favourites), while civic and community participation online are not so common.79

Parents

Of those parents and caregivers who do access the internet, most typically use it to read the news, check the weather, look for jobs, do internet banking and (more often) cellphone banking, and use the Google search engine to search for information and do research. Additionally, parents and caregivers also use social networking platforms such as Facebook and instant-messaging applications such as zogo, BBM and WhatsApp – the latter being the most commonly reported form of ICT activity by parents and caregivers across all four provinces. Other activities include:

• Downloading files and data (such as music, pictures, videos and documents);

• Looking at classifieds;

• Sending and receiving emails;

• Using Skype;

• Streaming videos;

• Buying prepaid electricity and airtime;

• Online dating and gambling.

Parents and caregivers who did not access the internet at all typically use their devices for phone calls only, and occasionally text messaging. Other
“Young people generally tend to engage in risk-taking behaviour, whether on- or off-line, which can often result in negative outcomes.”

4.2 Parental concerns regarding ICTs and the internet

Young people generally tend to engage in risk-taking behaviour, whether on- or off-line, which can often result in negative outcomes.\(^{82}\) Therefore, while these ICTs and the internet can be a vastly beneficial tool in everyday life, providing a host of new opportunities, they are also accompanied by new risks, and can be misused as a tool for harmful behaviour.\(^{81}\) Various online activities might differ in the extent to which they expose youth to risk. However, high levels of internet use and skills increase the chance of exposure to online risk, and participation in online communication increases the risk of victimisation.\(^{84}\)

Understanding what parents fear in terms of their children’s online use is important, because it has a great impact on public discourse, including that involving efforts to limit children’s activities. These fears often result from concerns which come from a parent’s desire to protect their child from risk, and in an effort to reduce this risk parents adopt a variety of mediation strategies.\(^{83}\)

Parents and caregivers have a natural tendency to want to keep their children safe from potential danger. In light of this Boyd and Hargittai contend that more than not, parental fears are informed by parental concerns, and these concerns usually branch out from their desire to protect their children from perceived risks. In the contemporary South African context ICTs and social media are very much a part of the lives of young teenagers and pre-teens. This has resulted in children becoming ‘tech-savvy’ at very young ages, which has in turn resulted in the provision of online safety for these children as somewhat of a challenge for many parents and caregivers, especially for those who have little to no experience with ICTs and social media.\(^{85}\)

Concerns were also expressed about children being affected negatively, for example becoming distressed or desensitised, by exposure to violence (such as by playing violent games or seeing violent content through the internet). Concerns are commonly reported concerns of parents and caregivers was that their children would have access or be exposed to inappropriate and explicit content, such as pornography, made readily available through the internet.

This study further explored parents’ and caregivers’ awareness and experiences of the risks that are attached to their children’s use of ICTs and the internet, and what they are most concerned about. The following are some of the risks and negative impacts that parents raised as concerns when it comes to their children using ICTs, the internet and social media.

4.2.1 Access and exposure to explicit content

The internet, as well as social networking sites and instant-messaging applications, offer users (many of whom are adolescents) freedom, privacy and anonymity. In light of this, one of the most commonly reported concerns of parents and caregivers was that their children would have access or be exposed to inappropriate and explicit content, such as pornography, made readily available through the internet.
“Parents and caregivers expressed great concern and frustration about the internet and social media taking up so much of their children’s time, resulting in them neglecting their responsibilities at home and at school.”

4.2.3 Dangers of posting personal information online

As well as being concerned about the sharing of personal information resulting in harassment, parents and caregivers also feel that the information their children share online could be misused by online predators and people involved in child trafficking. There are other concerns regarding children posting personal things online without thinking about the possible consequences. Parents expressed worries around children posting revealing pictures and videos, or sending them to others, leading to the possibility that they could go viral, as well as the risk of falling victim to scams and identity theft. Moreover, parents and caregivers were concerned that their children would fall victim to scams or lose money due to fake online advertisements.

It has been found that children participate in a number of risky online opportunities that could result in their posting personal information online. While a number of parents are concerned about the various harms that could result from this risk, there is the possibility that such fears could become reality, the chances of this happening might not be as high as many believe it to be.89

4.2.4 Meeting and communicating with strangers online

Parents and caregivers showed great concern about the possibility that their children would meet and communicate with strangers online, as the internet opens communication platforms that allow children to talk to strangers who could potentially pose a threat to them and their safety, and could lead to children putting themselves in compromising or risky situations.

SAKO found that these concerns might be warranted, as many children are in fact meeting strangers in offline settings. This said, the findings also showed that children are meeting people of a similar age to them, and they didn't feel any distress as a result of these meetings, indicating once again that although risky, this might not result in harm.89

4.2.5 Negative effects on home and school life

Parents and caregivers expressed great concern and frustration about the internet and social media taking up so much of their children’s time, resulting in them neglecting their responsibilities at home and at school. It was generally felt that ICTs and the internet facilitate and fuel time-wasting and procrastination, resulting in children losing focus on important things, as they are distracted because they are focused on their phones. This further leads to these youngsters neglecting their responsibilities, such as school and homework (resulting in a negative impact on academic performance), and chores at home (an important factor in many homes in South Africa).

“They download lots of videos, porn videos and such things which is a disadvantage.’ (Western Cape focus group)

SAKO findings gave some insight into what children themselves reported on their experiences of encountering sexual content online, revealing that although many youth do come across such things, this does not necessarily result in them being harmed by it.90

Another concern expressed by parents was that children might be influenced negatively by user-generated content that they find online. While it has been found that children do sometimes experience various forms of potentially harmful user-generated content, and that this might result in negative emotions, results are not always harmful (once again it should be kept in mind that exposure to risk does not necessarily cause harm).90

‘They post embarrassing things about other kids.’ (Parent in an urban area in the Eastern Cape)

‘They post embarrassing things about other kids.’ (Parent in a peri-urban area in Gauteng)

‘Instead of studying they are always chatting or checking Facebook.’ (Parent in a peri-urban area in the Eastern Cape)

‘They don’t want to clean, they don’t want to wash, they don’t want to do anything – even their school work.’ (Parent in a peri-urban area in Gauteng)

My daughter, she’s on WhatsApp day and night, not listening to me, busy with her phone all the time, not concentrating at school, not doing her homework.’ (Parent in a peri-urban area in Gauteng)

Another concern related to academic performance is that, because children are getting used to short-hand spelling while chatting online, they would neglect the use of proper language at school, affecting their spelling and written language skills negatively.

Many parents also expressed worry about their children often staying up late into the night on their phones, resulting in lack of sleep and struggling to get up in the mornings, as well as sometimes waking some
4.2.6 Negative effects on family and social life

Other safety concerns reported by parents and caregivers across the four provinces were that their children were spending excessive amounts of time online, which ultimately led to them losing out on face-to-face interaction, which not only negatively affects their social skills, but also has a negative effect on their personal relationships. Parents felt that children were being negatively influenced by their online use because they have observed behaviour changes which they feel are, at least in some way, as result of their digital activity. This problematic behaviour includes frequently not listening to their parents, and the word ‘cheeky’ was often used to describe this behaviour, while some expressed their concern for their children succumbing to peer pressure relating to technology and the internet. Other concerns were that children’s apparent ‘addiction’ to their phones leads to inactivity, antisocial behaviour, alienation and reclusion.

A number of parents and caregivers felt that children today are losing sight of what is important. They want the best and newest technology, and they are always comparing what they have to others’ devices, instead of putting their energy and gratitude into things like their family, work and health. These things, that parents believed should really matter, seem to be taking a back seat and material possessions are becoming more important.

Some children who took part in SAKO did in fact reveal that their digital and online activity sometimes contributes to a number of negative outcomes in terms of their personal, family, school and social lives. These included losing out on eating or sleeping (22%), fighting with friends and family (34.4%), a decline in academic performance (12.8%), and feeling that the amount of time spent on the internet is causing problems in their lives (31.7%).

4.3 ICT and internet benefits recognised by parents

Research suggests that the extensive range of activities and services made available by the internet results in ambivalence among parents. They worry that their children’s online activity might result in issues such as social isolation, exposure to sexual and violent content, online stalking, displacement of more beneficial and worthwhile activity, and privacy risks.

However, parents also recognise that the internet offers their children a number of benefits, such as helping them learn worthwhile things, keeping them informed and helping to improve their school performance.91 & 92 This recognition by parents of the potential benefits offered by technology and the internet, is the reason they provide it for their children and allow their children to utilise these devices and platforms. The challenge facing parents here is that, while giving their children access to these platforms offers a vast array of benefits, it also puts them at risk of a number of dangers.93 Therefore parents are faced with the task of managing these two opposing realities in a way that best protects their children from harm, while not deterring them from the potential of the opportunities.

It was found in the SAKO study, on investigation of opportunities pursued by children, that of all the child participants, nearly one in two (49.9%) liked the internet because of the opportunities it gave them for learning, 30.4% enjoyed accessing various forms of entertainment online, and 16% enjoyed being able to socialise online. Interpersonal communication was the most frequently reported opportunity offered by technology. Learning and schoolwork were also popular activities, while civic and community participation online were less common.94

This study explores the extent to which parents and caregivers are aware of the opportunities the internet has to offer their children. Based on data collected during numerous focus-group discussions, it was found that parents and caregivers are generally aware that the internet and ICTs can be a tool for creating and affording various opportunities for people of all ages. The following are some of the opportunities acknowledged by parents regarding these positive outcomes and opportunities offered by ICTs and the internet.

4.3.1 Facilitates learning

Out of all the responses received, the internet’s ability to facilitate in the learning process of children was the most common benefit cited by parents and caregivers across the four provinces. Parents and caregivers reported that the internet allows their children to use search engines to help them do their school and homework (such as with assignments, projects and exam preparation), and makes learning
4.3.2 Improves digital literacy

Parents across all four provinces exhibited awareness of the internet’s ability to improve their children’s reading and writing ability, as well as improve and promote their digital literacy. They felt that even if children don’t have access to computers, the smart phones and tablets to which they do have access are similar in many respects, and using these devices helps teach them how to use computers and technology effectively, which is deemed an important skill in today’s society.

4.3.3 Creates a communication platform

Modern technology offers affordable communication options, and parents and caregivers reported that the ICTs offer their children platforms through which they are able to communicate with friends and family easily – it is felt that this is especially important in cases of emergencies. In addition, parents can communicate with and locate their children more easily when they are not with them (by contacting them on their phones), and vice versa.

4.3.4 Connects people

ICTs and the internet help to connect people, by providing a communication platform and creating connections. On this note, parents and caregivers reported that the ICTs offer their children platforms through which they are able to communicate with friends and family easily – it is deemed an important skill in today’s society.

4.3.5 Aids exploration of tertiary and career options

Parents said that the internet helped facilitate young people’s exploration of career options and job opportunities. This was, however, more common.

It was suggested that the internet’s provision of this platform for research and accessing information is useful for both formal and informal educational purposes, as well as helping children keep up to date with the world around them – such as trends, news and other current affairs.

‘It also updates with the current affairs, like they can read the news and that… so it just helps a lot.’ (Eastern Cape focus group)

Some parents suggested that certain games and applications could potentially help quicken/sharpen children’s minds, and improve their reaction and response time as well as general cognitive ability. On a similar note, educational apps were also mentioned as being available and helpful. Parents mentioned other areas of learning that they believed benefited from access to technology, including:

• Learning and improvement of skills;
• Learning and improvement of language;
• Learning about other people, countries, cultures and traditions.

In terms of the SAKO findings, children often reported on engaging in a number of potentially beneficial educational activities. Figure 13 illustrates the number of children from the SAKO study who indicated that they used the internet for these potentially beneficial purposes, specifically relating to online research and learning.

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‘It’s like the cheapest way like, if you use WhatsApp, it’s the cheapest way to connect with your loved ones. And then to find long-lost friends.’ (Eastern Cape focus group)

A common suggestion made was that Facebook helps locate relatives who haven’t been heard from in a long time. This is important in the South African context, as many families have been broken up by relatives migrating to the cities in search of work and not returning home.

‘Maybe someone has left for a job without a phone or making contact with home. So you just type in the name and the surname, maybe that person’s on Facebook, or someone knows where that person is staying. On Facebook also they normally use a clan group… in our culture there’s a surname and a clan name, so there’s a group or clan name… they always meet and associate, then they create a group on Facebook. So if you want to know if your relative is in Cape Town then you go and see all the members, and your uncle, you’ve lost contact 10 years ago, then you are able to get back…’ (Parent in an urban area in the Eastern Cape)

Another positive outcome of children’s use of these platforms as social tools, brought up in some of the groups, is that it helps with finding peer groups with common interests where they can connect and share information, and it provides a platform for open self-expression without fear of judgement. Once again, in terms of the SAKO findings, children often reported on engaging in various potentially beneficial social and recreational activities.

4.3.7 Explores the exploration of tertiary and career options

Parents suggested that the internet helps facilitate young people’s exploration of career options and job opportunities. This was, however, more common.
“Finding a healthy balance between allowing their children to explore the world liberally while still overseeing their activities and behaviours, has been one of the many challenges faced by parents across the globe.”

4.3.6 Keeps children constructively occupied
Parents reported that the internet and social media, as well as games, kept their children constructively occupied at home as opposed to getting up to mischief outside.

4.3.7 Allows for documentation of life events
Parents and caregivers reported that through social media and the cameras on their phones, children are able to document their life events by taking pictures and recording videos of moments they deem to be special.

4.4 Parents interaction with children regarding ICTs and the internet
Parents’ awareness of their children’s online behaviour is important in providing effective mediation and helping to protect children from the risks that accompany the privilege of using technology and the internet, as these parents play a vital role in ensuring that their children grow up to be responsible digital citizens.96

Finding a healthy balance between allowing their children to explore the world liberally while still overseeing their activities and behaviours, has been one of the many challenges faced by parents across the globe.97 Parents often employ strategies in an attempt to strike a suitable balance between these two issues. While some parents might find it easy to reach an understanding with their children regarding their ICT activity, this is not the case for all parents. In these instances, parents might employ certain strategies to interact with their children on the subject of their use of ICTs, and social media.98

According to Sonia Livingstone, parents have been shown to mediate and monitor their children’s internet activity using a number of different strategies, categorised into four styles:

- **Active mediation** – interaction between parents and their children regarding online activities, and specifically internet use and internet safety. **”**

This study investigated how parents and caregivers interact with their children on the subject of ICTs, the internet and social media, including the strategies they used to manage and monitor their children’s online activities and behaviour. The above categories have been utilised in this report, although it should be noted that no parents reported on using any technical mediation techniques, and few were aware of these options. It was found that overall, many of the parents’ and caregivers’ interactions with their children surrounding these topics were limited, and sometimes non-existent.

“When we started here some of us said we don’t know about the internet. To me it will be impossible to say to my daughter or my son, do not do this, because I don’t know about those things. If I don’t know how to use it, I don’t know what to say about those things.” (Limpopo focus group)

“I think we don’t [interact], that’s the problem.” (Limpopo focus group)

This was especially true among the parents of young children manage digital devices at home: The role of income, education and parental style. London: EU Kids Online, LSE. Available at: http://www.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/EUKidsOnline/EUKidsIV/PDF/Parentalmediation.pdf

4.5.1 Parental mediation
• Surveillance of online activities, and monitor their children’s internet activity using a number of different strategies, categorised into four styles:
  - Non-interactive: non-existent.
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Digital Parenting in South Africa

“If parents provide their children with access to digital devices, this should come with the responsibility to understand, role-model and communicate the basics of responsible online behaviour.”

parents who knew little or nothing about ICTs and the internet, as they do not use them themselves.

“Parents don’t really give rules about cellphones. They only think of positive things, but they don’t even ask what you are doing with your cellphone or anything like that. They just give you a cellphone.” (Eastern Cape focus group)

There were some instances in which, although parents tried, they did not feel that they had enough control over their children to successfully employ any strategies to interact with them about their ICT activity. The following sections discuss the findings of the data on parental mediation in terms of the categories previously mentioned, established by Sonia Livingstone.

4.4 Monitoring

A handful of participants reported that they adopt some sort of intervention strategy, such as monitoring what their child does on the phone – what applications they are using, who they are talking to, the websites they visit, etc.

“When they are on internet you have to monitor them so that they cannot be exposed to things that you don’t want them to.” (Eastern Cape focus group)

That being said, very few parents actually indicated that they monitor their children’s online activity at all. This was often because they do not know enough about technology to even know where to start, or because when they ask to see what children are doing on the phone, the children find a way around revealing what they are really doing inside easier because more often than not they are much more clued up on technological matters than their parents). As one of the parents in Gauteng said, with regard to asking her child if she could see what it is she does on her phone, ‘she can show you, but not the real things that you want to see, no.’

4.4.2 Restrictive mediation

Parents would sometimes try to set rules and restrictions and punish children if they were not adhered to:

“With my son I limit the time that he spends on these games, because I don’t want him to spend much time in the house. I want him to go out and play so that he can get fit.” (Eastern Cape focus group)

However, setting rules does not necessarily result in a notable impact, and a number of parents indicated that their children don’t always listen to rules that have been put in place.

“We do give them rules, but they just listen to you while they are sitting with you. When you leave them they can do whatever they want” (Limpopo focus group)

Some parents and caregivers employed what the Pew Research Centre defines as ‘digital grounding’ where parents would, for example, stay close by when they go online, encouraging internet use and sharing online activities with them, often resulting in the joint creation of rules around the use of devices and the internet.

4.4.3 Active mediation

Parents and caregivers spoke about the importance of communicating with their children about the possible dangers and risks they could face with while using the internet.

“I will ask her or him why is she doing it because to me it doesn’t seem right because you know you get the phone for your school work and it’s not far school but it seems now like it’s for something else. Then we will speak with each other and I will also tell him the reason, and what I don’t like, then he or she must tell me the reason they are doing it and so on. The parent must speak.” (Western Cape focus group)

Some parents reported on trying to speak to children about the possible dangers online and their concerns, however they felt that their children didn’t listen, and that it doesn’t really change anything. It was often said that parents would enquire about what their children were busy with on the phone, but they would receive brush-offs or dismissive responses, if any response at all, and parents would not enquire further.

While active mediation of internet use by parents is associated with a reduction in online risks, as well as harm, it importantly does not result in a reduction in opportunities. This type of mediation is linked to increased online activities and skills, and includes parents openly communicating with their children about online usage and content, staying close by when they go online, encouraging internet use and sharing online activities with them, often resulting in the joint creation of rules around the use of devices and the internet.

It has been suggested that when parents have direct involvement in their children’s social-media disclosure decisions, these young people become more risk-adverse in their disclosure of information online, and seek out more advice on handling online privacy, ultimately preventing the need to intervene, or take corrective actions. Therefore active parental mediation may offer children a higher level of autonomy in terms of choosing to make risky disclosure decisions, but it also encourages them to learn from their mistakes, better equipping them to protect themselves online. Parents’ use of this type of mediation to help guide their children in their online behaviours allows them to be much more experimental and reflective than if their parents try to directly control their online behaviour.

Reports of effective parental mediation were found to be minimal in SAKO findings too. According to the children who took part, most parents are not actively involved in mediating their internet use – 48.6% said that they never or hardly ever spoke to their parents about their internet use and 60.5% were never or hardly ever encouraged by their parents to explore and learn new things online. More than two in three participants (70.3%) reported that their parents never or hardly ever stayed nearby while they used the internet, and 63.6% said they had never or hardly ever done shared activities online with their parents. A further 42% of parents never suggested ways for children to use the internet safely, and 49.5% never spoke to their children about what to do if something online bothered them. When asked about having discussions with parents about what they did on the internet, 61.1% of participants said that their parents never or hardly ever told their parents about things that bothered them online.

4.5 Challenges faced by parents

If parents provide their children with access to digital devices, this should come with the responsibility to understand, role-model and communicate the basics of responsible online behaviour. However, parents
Parents feel they have little control as they are not using the ICTs and internet as much or in the same way as their children, resulting in children knowing a lot more about it than their parents. This means that children can get away with a lot without their parents even knowing, as parents don’t know what to look for, or how to tell what their children are doing, or have the knowledge to tell what is wrong and what is right, and whether their children are in trouble, let alone how to help them if they are. Much of this was reflected in the findings of the SAKO study, where parents tended to express a sense of helplessness around managing their children’s internet use, especially when the child had a device used only by themself.  

4.5.2 Children hide online activity  

One of the most commonly reported challenges parents and caregivers faced when interacting with their children about their online activity was that children hide their online activity. Parents and caregivers reported three main ways in which children hid their online activity, posing challenges in managing and monitoring their online use: they use passwords on their phones; they simply refuse to show their parents and caregivers what they are doing on their phones; and they physically withhold their devices from their parents, for example by hiding them.  

“They lock it up, they lock their messages up.” (Gauteng focus group)  

“When they come to see, sometimes he grabs his phone, he doesn’t want you to see.” (Eastern Cape focus group)  

Some children would not allow their parents access to their phones because, as one parent in Gauteng reported (a sentiment which was echoed throughout the provinces) they knew their rights and it would be an invasion of their privacy. However, there were some parents who said that they did not want to investigate what their children are doing as they would rather not know what they are getting involved in, or whether they are engaged in risky behaviour. Children from SAKO were aware that they engaged in activities their parents wouldn’t approve of, and relied on their superior knowledge of how to use the technology to hide what they did online.”

4.5.3 Children disobey rules  

Another common issue was problems with disobedient children with bad attitudes (often referred to as ‘cheeky’), and parents’ inability to effectively discipline them. In many instances children would simply disobey the rules put in place by their parents and caregivers.  

“They behave like animals. They are very cheeky. It’s out of control.” (Eastern Cape focus group)  

“We do give them rules, but they just listen to you while they are sitting with you. When you leave them they can do whatever they want.” (Limpopo focus group)  

Parents were aware that there were misbehaviour and discipline problems, but they seemed to struggle with implementing any control or management of such behaviour, and many appeared to have given up and relinquished control to the children themselves.  

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4.5.5 Certain topics are taboo  

Some parents reported that speaking openly on subjects such as sex is often not ‘encouraged’ or ‘done’ in African communities and culture, and so interaction around such things between parents and children is limited. Therefore, for many African families, interacting with children about risks, such as posting or looking at sexual content online, is challenging because in their culture these topics are generally considered taboo.  

4.5.6 Inconsistency in parenting styles  

Some parents, especially those no longer in a relationship or living together, experienced difficulties in interacting with their child and putting rules in place, as both parents are not always in agreement on how this should be done, and therefore do not work together effectively in raising their children. Another issue brought up by some parents is that single-parent households struggle with certain things, including inconsistent parenting styles.  

“A lot of kids aren’t staying with both parents. As a mother it is not easy to raise a boy child, and as a father it’s not easy to raise a girl child.” (Gauteng focus group)  

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4.5.8 Children with alternative caregivers  

Many parents don’t stay with their children because they have gone to find work elsewhere and the children are left with other family members (usually grandparents or other relatives). The caregivers who were left to care for these children reported that it can be difficult to put rules in place, as the children often don’t obey their rules because they are not their ‘real’ parents.

This old woman can never say that, when a child says I’m researching something, she can never say I know you’re not doing that, because she only knows the phone call, and nothing else.” (Eastern Cape focus group)  

“Because we were born before technology, some of us don’t even know how to put our phones on silent.” (Eastern Cape focus group)  

“We have lost our culture, our family problem – everything is from the family. If the family doesn’t discipline the children it won’t come right.” (Limpopo focus group)  

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4.5.7 Inconsistency in parenting styles  

Some parents, especially those no longer in a relationship or living together, experienced difficulties in interacting with their child and putting rules in place, as both parents are not always in agreement on how this should be done, and therefore do not work together effectively in raising their children. Another issue brought up by some parents is that single-parent households struggle with certain things, including inconsistent parenting styles.  

“A lot of kids aren’t staying with both parents. As a mother it is not easy to raise a boy child, and as a father it’s not easy to raise a girl child.” (Gauteng focus group)  

4.5.8 Children with alternative caregivers  

Many parents don’t stay with their children because they have gone to find work elsewhere and the children are left with other family members (usually grandparents or other relatives). The caregivers who were left to care for these children reported that it can be difficult to put rules in place, as the children often don’t obey their rules because they are not their ‘real’ parents.  

They’re get rules at school, even at home, they don’t listen.” (Gauteng focus group)  

“We have lost our culture, our culture is lost.” (Limpopo focus group)  

Some parents reported that speaking openly on subjects such as sex is often not ‘encouraged’ or ‘done’ in African communities and culture, and so interaction around such things between parents and children is limited. Therefore, for many African families, interacting with children about risks, such as posting or looking at sexual content online, is challenging because in their culture these topics are generally considered taboo.
Most participants struggled with making suggestions on how to best engage, monitor and manage children in order to balance risks and opportunities, as their knowledge and confidence surrounding these issues was limited. That said, although somewhat limited, the following suggestions did come out of the focus groups:

- Setting restrictive rules regarding children’s use of ICTs, clearly stating when children can and can’t use their phones, and these rules need to be enforced, with appropriate discipline carried out if they are not adhered to. These rules should be put in place before the child receives the phone so that they know the terms and conditions that come with owning the phone.

- Use incentives to motivate children to be responsible and respectful.

- The use of software, such as a programmes or applications, that allow parents to monitor and manage what their children are doing online.

- Supervision of children’s use of ICTs and the internet.

If you buy a child a cellphone he needs to understand why he has a cellphone. The phone is for him but the phone is also for Mommy to share with so that she can see what is going on, on the phone… and he must also know exam times the phone must be put away. This is the mind-set you should buy him a phone with and explain I’m going to buy you a cellphone but mommy must be able to look at what is going on there at any time.’ (Western Cape focus group)

‘It is so important that you monitor, and when you buy a computer or whatever it is so important that you monitor your child… you must be always there for your child so that whatever he’s doing, searching for things, you must monitor your child.’ (Eastern Cape focus group)

Parents are really to be blamed. We only talk to our children, but we don’t act. Why at school do they take their phones so that they can have time to study, but at home we just don’t do this. Why don’t we take those phones and say wash the dishes first, cook, thereafter I will give you the phone. That is what we are supposed to do.’ (Limpopo focus group)

Some parents felt that improving their own digital literacy would help them communicate with their children better since they would know how to use the technology their children were using. They also felt that their own digital illiteracy made it difficult to monitor what their children were doing online. Therefore it was suggested that these parents should find ways to learn more about the use of ICTs and the internet, as well as the risks accompanying them, and how to recognise them and help their children if they encounter them.

‘Sometimes I ask my daughter a bit… for help. What should I do? Or she comes to show me, or sometimes I tell her ‘look for this quickly’ then she looks for it. Sometimes she doesn’t want to help me so I’ll say if we could get more help…. I don’t know how to put it… we as parents could probably go for that help.’ (Western Cape focus group)

- Incentives should be set dictating what young people can and can’t do online, e.g., can do schoolwork, can’t look at explicit content), and punishment needs to be in place if children break these rules, such as taking away their phones or cutting off allowances.

‘Parents need to have an open and honest relationship with their children, making it easier for children to trust their parents and speak to them about their online use. Parents should speak with their children about these issues from a place of love, reassuring them that these conversations about risk, and any rules and regulations put in place as a result, are done from a caring place – because they want to help protect their children, not because they want to punish them.

‘We teach our children. We don’t know computers and everything, but because for the love of our children we buy these things, we must also monitor that.’ (Limpopo focus group)

‘Parents are to be blamed. Any child from any family, the parent’s role is to reach, and if the children don’t listen the fault is with the parent.’ (Limpopo focus group)
5. Conclusions and recommendations

Parental involvement is crucial in ensuring children’s safe use of technology and responsible online behaviour, as the home environment is generally thought to be the best place for management of children’s media experiences.** Because parents play such an important role in young people’s online behaviour, it is helpful when they become better equipped and more knowledgeable on the use of ICTs and the internet, as well as when they have a better understanding of the associated benefits and risks. Intervention is needed in educating parents, to provide them with the necessary skills and knowledge that will allow them to help their children when it comes to their digital and online activity.

During the SAKO interviews, parents were asked whether they ever got any information or advice on how to help and support their children online and if so, the source of this support. Nearly one in two parents (46.4%) indicated that they had never received any advice or support on this topic, and most of these parents reported wanting access to more advice on how to support and guide their children’s internet use.** This indicates that although parents might not be very knowledgeable on the topic of digital parenting, and might not know where to get such information, they do have the desire to learn and get more exposure to guidance on how to support their children online.

Parents need to be capacitated and empowered in supporting their children in their online lives – they should be informed on the nature of the risks their children could encounter online, as well as the opportunities. Open communication and understanding between parents and their children in relation to their online use also need to be facilitated and encouraged. Therefore parents need to develop a contextualised understanding of the importance and benefits of technology in their children’s lives, and promote beneficial use thereof while finding strategies to balance the benefits with the risks. There are a number of practical ways in which parents can interact with their children in doing so:

- Parents can actively discuss with their children the benefits that technology has to offer, responsible use of devices and the internet, and the handling of negative or risky situations.
- Parents can increase their knowledge regarding the technologies being used by their children, by learning with them, and allowing their children to teach them and help them understand the online tools they are using.
- Parents should discuss appropriate online behaviour with their children – young people should be taught to practice the same moral and ethical code in online and offline behaviour.
- Parents and children should be aware of strategies in place at school, and should be actively involved in policy making pertaining to digital issues and use of digital platforms.
- Parents need to engage in open discussion and communication with their children about monitoring and managing usage.**

International literature suggests that parents across all family types who have some expertise in digital media are found to be more confident in managing their children’s digital media activities, and are also more engaged in them.** This highlights the need among parents, especially those with less digital experience and confidence, for support in relation to knowledge of the benefits of internet use; the use of technical tools to manage children’s internet use for safety purposes; easy ways to increase their own digital skill and knowledge; and communication strategies facilitating shared digital activities and discussions with their children about values, preferred practices, and how to address problems.** These elements are of particular importance if parents are to effectively follow the practical pointers mentioned above on the best ways to interact with their children about the issues at hand.

Parents adopt a number of mediation strategies in their efforts to manage their children’s online activity, and many parents instinctively lean towards direct and restrictive measures. The use of such methods could potentially result in a suppressive effect, leading to a reduction, not only of young people’s exposure to online risks, but also in their ability to effectively engage with others online, and in learning opportunities for how to manage online risks.** The Findings of an EU Kids Online study suggest that both active and restrictive mediation are actually associated with a reduction in children’s exposure to online risks. Restrictive measures are associated with the lowest levels of exposure to online risks; however they also limit online opportunities and hinder children’s chances of developing resilience to such risk. On the other hand, active mediation appears to be most promising in minimising risks, while not minimising opportunities at the same time.**

While the exact way in which individual situations are dealt with will differ according to the circumstances, a carefully managed mixed-method approach might be the best strategy, combining active mediation with some direct intervention methods. In this way parents can help protect their children from serious online risks, while at the same time helping to empower them through online engagement and learning how to manage good and safe online conduct.

The way that children cope with negative online experiences has an influence on how they experience the exposure to online risk (whether or not they are bothered by it). It has been found that children who adopt risk-coping behaviours (such as seeking advice and problem-solving) when encountering problems tended to be less upset by these experiences than those who take a more passive approach. Once again, this demonstrates the importance of resilience, which cannot be expressed without risk, and restricting children’s risk experiences too much might ultimately be detrimental in that it can stunt their developmental growth.**

Parents cannot protect their children from all possible online risk experiences without simultaneously limiting their potential to discover experiences that might promote this developmental growth. Therefore it is important, when dealing with risk, to focus more on factors that could contribute toward risk-coping behaviours, and ultimately resilience building, rather than on the risk-taking behaviours.

In light of the findings that indicate that few children actually encounter many of the risks that are often of most concern to parents and the broader public, with even fewer actually feeling upset or bothered by such experiences, future policy should focus on administering resources and guidance where they are particularly needed. Children should be encouraged to take on responsibility for their own online safety as much as possible;** focusing on empowerment, responsible behaviour and digital citizenship. As this responsibility for online safety is increasingly placed into children’s hands, internet safety messaging should look to build up confidence, resilience and responsible digital citizenship skills among them.

Parents are not always clear and consistent about the how and why of their parental mediation strategies, and a number of factors (such as lack of time, resources, knowledge and competence) often come between their good intentions and what they actually put into practice on a daily basis**. Another issue is that there is often a fine line between what parents view as risky and what they see as beneficial. A balance needs to be found here, between monitoring and managing online behaviour, and allowing young people to handle their internet use responsibly. Parents are thus presented with the challenge of carefully navigating these elements – allowing their children independent online exploration and at the same time helping to empower them through online engagement and learning how to manage good and safe online conduct. **

*Resilience is the process of overcoming negative effects of risk exposure and successfully adapting, despite challenging or threatening circumstances.


Parents, educators and the state.***

The responsibility should be encouraged where appropriate, within reason, with the necessary support structures in place from relevant adult stakeholders (such as parents, educators and the state).**

Livingstone et al (2015), op cit.**

Wisniewski et al, op cit.

Ibid.

ChildNet, op cit.

Phyfer et al, op cit.

Parenting, op cit.

Livingstone et al, op cit.**

Parenting, op cit.

Parenting, op cit.

Parenting, op cit.
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It is clear that there are large gaps in knowledge and extensive challenges when it comes to digital parenting in the communities that participated in this research, and these findings have started to reveal where the problems might lie, opening up the possibility of formulating solutions and recommendations on remedying some of these issues, many of which are very specific to South African society.

In conclusion, while digital literacy is clearly on the increase in South Africa as ICTs and the internet become more accessible and more widely used by the general population – there is a clear generational gap here. While it has been found that some parents might underestimate their digital skills, this study revealed that many children are far more advanced in their digital knowledge and skills than their parents, who as a result struggle to manage their children’s online activity – or engage with them at all about it. While the supposedly obvious solution would be to increase their digital knowledge and skills, this might not be feasible on such a large scale (or even be the best solution). Instead, online parenting should perhaps be approached in the same way as offline parenting – by developing safe, stable, open and nurturing relationships between parents and their children, focusing on bringing up confident, responsible, empathetic and resilient young members of society, whether they are on- or off-line.


Family Online Safety Institute & Intel Corporation (2015). The Realities of Cyber Parenting: What Pre-teens and Teens are Up to Online. Available at: https://www.fosi.org/policy-research/realities-cyber-parenting/


Documents/fs32-2015-literacy.pdf


