


Maternal motivations for not offering technology to their babies

Motivações maternas para não oferecer tecnologias aos seus bebês

Motivaciones maternas para no ofrecer tecnologías a sus bebés

Motivations des mères pour ne pas offrir des technologies à leurs bébés

 10.5020/23590777.rs.v24i2.e13738

Bruna Gabriella Pedrotti  

Psicóloga, Mestre e Doutoranda em Psicologia no Programa de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul.

Giana Bitencourt Frizzo  

Professora Associada do Instituto de Psicologia e do Pós-graduação em Psicologia da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul.

Abstract

The motivations of mothers of babies up to 2 years old to not offer technology during moments of care, interaction, and entertainment for their babies were investigated, as well as the guidance from professionals on the use of screens received by them. Individual interviews were conducted with eight mothers of babies aged between 3 and 23 months, of whom five were girls. From thematic analysis, it was identified that the participants related the use of screens to the needs of adults, not babies, and reported prioritizing interactive activities with their children. Even without receiving guidance from professionals on the use of screens by babies, the search for scientific knowledge on the subject influenced the choice of some mothers not to offer screens to their children. The results of this research indicate that it was not the guidance of professionals on the use of screens that influenced the participants' choice to do without these technologies but their characteristics.

Keywords: digital media, screens, mother-child relationships, qualitative research.

Resumo

Investigaram-se as motivações de mães de bebês de até 2 anos para não oferecer tecnologias nos momentos de cuidado, interação e entretenimento de seus bebês, e as orientações de profissionais sobre o uso de telas recebidas por elas. Realizaram-se entrevistas individuais com 8 mães de bebês que tinham entre 3 e 23 meses, sendo 5 meninas. A partir de análise temática, identificou-se que as participantes relacionaram o uso de telas às necessidades dos adultos, não dos bebês, e relataram priorizar atividades interativas com os filhos. Mesmo sem receber orientações de profissionais sobre o uso de telas por bebês, a busca por conhecimento científico sobre o assunto influenciou a escolha de algumas mães em não oferecer telas aos filhos. Os resultados desta pesquisa apontam que não foram as orientações de profissionais sobre o uso de telas que influenciaram a escolha das participantes em prescindir destas tecnologias, mas suas características pessoais.

Palavras-chave: mídias digitais, telas, relações mãe-criança, pesquisa qualitativa.

Resumen

Fueron investigadas las motivaciones de madres de bebés de hasta 2 años para no ofrecer tecnologías en los momentos de cuidado, interacción y entretenimiento de sus bebés, y las orientaciones de profesionales sobre el uso de pantallas recibidas por ellas. Fueron realizadas entrevistas individuales con 8 madres de bebés que tenían entre 3 y 23 meses, siendo 5 niñas. A partir del análisis temático, se

identificó que las participantes relacionaron el uso de pantallas a las necesidades de los adultos, no de los bebés, e informaron priorizar actividades interactivas con los hijos. Mismo sin recibir orientaciones de profesionales sobre el uso de pantallas por bebés, la búsqueda por conocimiento científico sobre el asunto influyó la elección de algunas madres en no ofrecer pantallas a los hijos. Los resultados de esta investigación indican que no fueron las orientaciones de profesionales sobre el uso de pantallas que influenciaron la elección de las participantes en prescindir de estas tecnologías, sino sus características personales.

Palabras clave: *medios digitales, pantallas, relaciones madre-niño, investigación cualitativa.*

Resumé

Nous avons enquêté sur les motivations des mères de bébés jusqu'à 2 ans pour ne pas offrir de technologies pendant les soins, les interactions et les moments de divertissement de leurs enfants, ainsi que sur les conseils reçus des professionnels concernant l'utilisation des écrans. Des entretiens individuels ont été menés avec 8 mères de bébés âgés de 3 à 23 mois, dont 5 étaient des filles. À partir de l'analyse thématique, il a été identifié que les participantes ont associé l'utilisation des écrans aux besoins des adultes plutôt qu'à ceux des bébés et ont indiqué avoir priorisé les activités interactives avec les enfants. Même sans recevoir de conseils de professionnels sur l'utilisation des écrans par les bébés, la recherche de connaissances scientifiques sur le sujet a influencé la décision de certaines mères de ne pas offrir d'écrans à leurs enfants. Les résultats de cette recherche indiquent que ce ne sont pas les directives des professionnels sur l'utilisation des écrans qui ont influencé le choix des participants de se passer de ces technologies, mais leurs caractéristiques personnelles.

Mots-clés: *médias numériques, écrans, relations mère-enfant, recherche qualitative.*

The first two years of life are of great long-term importance, as during this period children are developing their cognitive, linguistic, sensorimotor, emotional, and self-regulation skills. This requires hands-on exploration and social interaction with reliable caregivers in order for successful maturation to occur (Brazilian Society of Pediatrics [SBP], 2020). For this reason, several researchers in the fields of pediatrics and psychology have expressed concern about the possible influences of digital media use—such as television, smartphones, and tablets—on child development.

Among the possible risks highlighted in the literature are self-regulation problems (Radesky et al., 2014), higher incidence of childhood obesity (American Academy of Pediatrics [AAP], 2016), negative influence of digital media on children's sleep (Cheung et al., 2017), and negative associations with cognitive and language aspects (Guellai et al., 2022; Maia & Gonçalves, 2019). The possible benefits associated with digital media use by infants are related to the acquisition of skills, such as learning through the use of videos (Dayanim & Namy, 2015) and the possibility of transferring learning from digital media to 3D objects and vice versa, but only when there is parental mediation (Zack & Barr, 2016). In this regard, another particularity of this age group is that infants and young children depend on their parents to access digital media (Fitzpatrick et al., 2023; Radesky & Christakis, 2016).

Thus, the aspects that have gained prominence in pediatric society guidelines concern the duration, onset, and type of children's exposure to digital media. The Brazilian Society of Pediatrics (SBP, 2020), for example, recommends that daily screen time be limited and proportional to children's ages. These recommendations are similar to those proposed by the World Health Organization (WHO, 2019). According to the WHO (2019), infants up to two years of age should not be exposed to digital media, and children between two and four years of age should be exposed to screens for no more than one hour per day. The AAP statement (2016), in turn, suggests avoiding media use for infants up to 18 months of age (except for video calls), but allows more flexibility for parents of infants aged 18 to 24 months who wish to introduce digital media into their children's routines. The organization recommends selecting high-quality applications and ensuring parental mediation, avoiding solitary media use by infants (AAP, 2016).

However, these recommendations are grounded in general justifications related to child and adolescent developmental processes, as well as studies indicating the potential risks of digital media use during childhood and adolescence. The guidelines, however, do not explore the possible benefits and different forms of healthy use of digital media by families, nor do they address the specificities of such use up to two years of age—a period during which use is not recommended (SBP, 2020).

Furthermore, these pediatric society guidelines are not being followed (Brown & Smolenaers, 2018), which may be related to the fact that the recommendations are established without considering families' needs, making their implementation more difficult (Brown & Smolenaers, 2018; Straker et al., 2018). The literature indicates that digital media use increases with infants' age even within the first two years of life (Azevedo et al., 2022; Goh et al., 2016). The study by Goh et al. (2016), for example, found that by six months of age, 29% of infants were already exposed to digital media daily. However,

between 18 and 24 months of age, daily activities involving digital media were part of the routine of 88.2% of infants, according to parental reports (Goh et al., 2016). The Brazilian study by Azevedo et al. (2022), conducted with 435 children up to 36 months of age, also showed a significant increase in digital media use: from 17% among infants aged 0 to 12 months to 40% among children aged 13 to 36 months.

A qualitative U.S. study, based on semi-structured interviews with 26 Latino parents of infants up to two years of age, found that only 4 of the interviewed parents stated that children under two years old should not watch television. However, only one parent reported that their baby did not watch television. In other words, although some parents understand that their children should not use such media for certain reasons, they still provide them to their infants (Beck et al., 2015).

In this sense, it is important to understand what leads mothers and fathers to choose whether or not to offer digital media to their infants. Over recent decades, the process of becoming a mother has changed, both due to the new roles and functions assumed by women and the new expectations regarding family dynamics. In addition, the pace of life has become faster, requiring adaptations in family lifestyles. Work relationships and environments have become more fluid, largely due to the new conception of time enabled by digital media and social networks. Thus, when a baby arrives in this context, parents must also adapt to new demands brought by the child, as well as to a new perception of time—that of the baby (Ferrari & Ribeiro, 2020). Therefore, in the technological era in which we live, although there are critical perspectives regarding the introduction of digital media into infants' lives, mothers may find in these multifunctional resources a tool to accommodate and manage the objective and subjective demands of motherhood and their other roles. These uses range from leisure moments to work, which, during the COVID-19 pandemic, came to be performed in the same environment as family life for many individuals (Vescovi et al., 2021).

The study by Kabali et al. (2015) investigated, among other aspects, the circumstances under which caregivers allowed their children to use a mobile media device. Most allowed their children to play with mobile devices so that they could complete their own tasks (70%) and to keep the child calm in public places (65%). The study by Guedes et al. (2020), conducted with 244 parents or caregivers of children aged 24 to 47 months enrolled in daycare centers in a Brazilian municipality, found that the reasons given by parents for offering media to their children included distracting the child in public (15.3%), distracting them at home (50.9%), and stimulating their development (59.5%).

Similar results were found in Brazilian studies (Mallmann & Frizzo, 2019; Pedrotti et al., 2021). A Brazilian study comparing two groups of mothers of children under three years of age, aiming to understand media use by mothers and infants before and during the COVID-19 pandemic, found that mothers' perceived need to offer digital media to their infants contributed to explaining children's media use time. In addition, higher levels of maternal symptoms of common mental disorders were positively correlated with mothers' reported need to offer media to their children before and during the pandemic (Pedrotti et al., 2021).

A Brazilian longitudinal study conducted with 22 mothers of children under five years of age before and during the COVID-19 pandemic indicated that the foundations guiding children's use of digital media range from the type of guidance received from healthcare professionals to observations of the child while using media, as well as the search for alternatives to media use and experiences from their own childhood (Marques & Frizzo, 2024). To date, however, no studies have been identified that have explored the motivations for not offering these resources to children.

Considering that there is a group of mothers who choose not to offer digital media to their infants, it is important to understand their motivations. It is also essential to identify whether mothers are receiving guidance from professionals regarding infants' use of digital media or whether they seek this knowledge through other means. In the present study, it was decided to initially interview mothers, as they are still the primary caregivers who take children to healthcare appointments (Daly & Gores, 2017). Therefore, this study aims to investigate the motivations of mothers of infants up to two years of age for not offering digital media during moments of care, interaction, and entertainment, as well as to explore the influence of guidance received from professionals regarding infants' use of digital media.

Method

Design

The present study consists of a collective case study, whose objective is to examine the characteristics of a population (Gil, 2002), with an emphasis on the phenomenon in context, which is indicated in situations where the boundary between the phenomenon and its context is not clearly defined (Robson & McCartan, 2016). A flexible design was adopted (Robson & McCartan, 2016), aiming to understand the phenomenon based on the definition of the research problem, without assuming causal relationships or associations between variables.

Procedures

Mothers who agreed to participate in the study by signing the Informed Consent Form (ICF) were invited to complete an Initial Contact Form and a Sociodemographic Data Questionnaire, as well as to respond to the Interview on Family Interaction Without the Use of Technologies. Data collection took place in 2018, either at the participants' homes or workplaces, in person or via video call, in a single session. The instruments were administered in the order described, and the interviews lasted between 27 and 69 minutes (M = 38 minutes and 30 seconds). They were audio-recorded and transcribed for analysis.

Participants

Eight mothers of infants aged between 3 months and 1 year and 11 months at the time of data collection participated in this study (Table 1). All of them were employed, most of them self-employed. Two mothers were on maternity leave at the time of the interview and therefore cared for their infants full-time, with the father's participation. One mother had a caregiver for her infant during working hours, and another relied on her own mother to help care for the infant while she worked. In addition, one mother took her infant to a care and recreation facility three shifts per week and received help from two family members in caregiving when needed. Finally, three infants attended daycare. Among these, only one mother did not receive help from other family members, apart from the infant's father, to care for the child when not in daycare.

Table 1:

Sociodemographic data

Participante	Idade bebê (meses)	Idade mãe (anos)	Renda familiar (salários-mínimos)	Escola-ridade	Estado Civil	Cidade	Outro filho
P1	23	30	3 a 6	Pós-graduação	União estável	Porto Alegre	3 anos
P2	3	34	6 a 9	Ensino superior	Casada	Interior do RS	Não
P3	11	29	6 a 9	Ensino superior	União estável	Interior do RS	Não
P4	9	32	3 a 6	Pós-graduação	União estável	Porto Alegre	Não
P5	16	40	> 15	Pós-graduação	Casada	Porto Alegre	5 anos
P6	16	29	3 a 6	Ensino superior	Solteira	Porto Alegre	Não
P7	3	38	9 a 12	Pós-graduação	Casada	Porto Alegre	3 anos
P8	13	30	3 a 6	Pós-graduação	União estável	Porto Alegre	Não

The inclusion criterion for participation in the present study was that mothers reported not using digital media (TV, tablets, and smartphones) with their infants during moments of interaction, care, or entertainment. The exclusion criteria for the sample were mothers under 18 years of age and mothers whose infants had previously diagnosed syndromes or malformations. The choice of the infants' age range—up to two years old—was based on the recommendation of the Brazilian Society of Pediatrics (SBP, 2020) to avoid offering digital media to infants in this age group. The decision to interview only mothers was made as a way to initially understand the phenomenon, given that no other studies on this topic were identified, and the literature indicates that mothers are predominantly responsible for taking children to healthcare appointments (Daly & Gores, 2017).

This study is a specific excerpt from a longitudinal study on the use of digital media by infants, entitled “*Babies, families, and the use of technologies: a multimethod study for child development*”, which aims to investigate how digital media have been used in families with infants up to three years of age and the influence of such use on infants' development. The number of participants was defined through sample closure by theoretical saturation (Gil, 2002), which occurs when the data obtained become redundant from the researcher's perspective and no longer significantly contribute to understanding the phenomenon (Fontanella et al., 2008; Gil, 2002). The sample was constituted using snowball sampling (Vinuto, 2014). This type of sampling is considered useful in studies where probabilistic samples cannot be used, either because the size of the population cannot be determined or because the target population is difficult to access (Vinuto, 2014).

Instruments

Initial Contact Form: Used to obtain general sociodemographic data about the infant, confirm the absence of digital media use by the child, and collect the family's contact information.

Sociodemographic Data Questionnaire: This instrument was used to gather sociodemographic data about the participants and their families, such as age, educational level, housing conditions, income, among others.

Interview on Family Interaction Without the Use of Technologies: A semi-structured interview aimed at exploring how families with young children use digital media, how adults use them, what they think about media, the motivations that led parents to avoid exposing their infants to technologies, what families do to entertain their child when they need to perform tasks, how moments of interaction and entertainment occur, and the advantages and disadvantages of not using digital media with young children.

Data analysis

The collected data were examined through thematic analysis as proposed by Braun et al. (2019), with the aid of NVivo 11 software for the organization and classification of themes. Thematic analysis is a method used to identify, analyze, and define themes (sets of grouped data) derived from the data. This technique makes it possible to organize and describe the dataset in detail, allowing for its interpretation (Braun et al., 2019). Finally, the data were analyzed in light of the literature to enable a deeper understanding of the results, which were illustrated through vignette excerpts from participants' statements.

Ethical considerations

This project followed ethical principles of research concerning the protection of participants' rights, well-being, and dignity, as established by Resolutions 466/2012 and 510/2016 of the National Health Council. The larger project of which this study is part was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Institute of Psychology at UFRGS (CAEE No. 69947117.6.0000.5334).

Results

Based on thematic analysis (Braun et al., 2019), two main themes were identified: motivations for avoiding the use of digital media and guidance received from professionals regarding digital media use. The first theme comprised four subthemes: maternal beliefs; search for scientific knowledge; advantages of not using digital media; and disadvantages of using digital media. The second theme consisted of three subthemes: received guidance because they asked; received guidance without needing to ask; and did not receive guidance. These will be detailed and illustrated through vignette¹ excerpts from the mothers' statements below, in order to facilitate a better understanding of the data..

Motivations for avoiding the use of digital media

The first theme concerns mothers' motivations for avoiding offering digital media to their infants during moments of care and interaction. Within this broad theme, four subthemes were identified. The first subtheme, "maternal beliefs," refers to mothers' beliefs regarding the importance of childhood, their perception of motherhood priorities, their understanding of the quality of early interactions, as well as their perceptions of infants and children who use such media.

All participants, except one, stated that the decision not to offer digital media to their infants was a consensus between mother and father. However, the mother who reported that the infant's father initially disagreed with the decision also stated that, after discussing the issue, he eventually conceded and agreed not to offer digital media to the infant. Regarding agreements with other caregivers, two mothers felt the need to talk to other caregivers and family members about not offering digital media to their children, sometimes facing disagreements regarding television use, as reported by one participant:

"My mother—I'm trying to convince her, because, for example, when she's with him, she'll put on cartoons for him, you know. For instance, she likes to put him to sleep watching TV. I've already told her several times not to, that it's not necessary, but she turns the TV on anyway. She doesn't respect it." (Participant 8)

In contrast, two mothers did not consider it necessary to establish agreements with other caregivers regarding this matter. One of the participants, for example, emphasized that she considers her family members to be helping her care for her child and, therefore, did not impose conditions in this regard:

"Actually, I didn't talk about it. I left it open, because they're helping me. I see it that way—they're already giving me a hand, because if it weren't for them, I wouldn't be able to work; I don't know how it would be, in fact, if I didn't have their support. So, at no point did I go and say anything or forbid them from using it." (Participant 4)

¹ The participants' statements were transcribed and presented throughout the text in their literal..

Furthermore, one of the mothers who relied on the help of other family members to care for her infant reported that there were no disagreements regarding the agreement not to offer digital media to her daughter. In addition, most mothers reported observing that children became “hypnotized” or “alienated” when using digital media in general. As a result, they stopped paying attention to their surroundings and, consequently, did not engage in the exploration of other senses:

“With the first [child], we didn’t use it, like, until he was two years old (...). And another thing I noticed, when we tried it, I don’t know, he was... I think he was the same age as her—three or four months—he becomes hypnotized by the television, he doesn’t do anything else. I think she ends up not exploring her creative potential either. She would just stay there, kind of seeming a bit dazed, you know.” (Participant 7)

Furthermore, all mothers, in some way, associated in their discourse the use of digital media by infants with a need of parents/adults rather than of the children. This perception emerged both in relation to the mothers’ own opinions and to what they reported hearing from others regarding their decision not to offer digital media to their infants:

“So far, what people say to me is this: that the vast majority of people use it, right, use these technologies to calm the child. Probably what most hypnotizes the child, what will most quickly help you calm your child, would be through these technologies, right.” (Participant 2)

Moreover, this also emerged in relation to one mother’s perception of her own need, associated with her infant’s temperament:

“I think [I don’t offer digital media to my baby] because I’ve never needed to. He has always been a very calm baby. As a newborn, he would sleep for three hours, feed, and go back to sleep, you know, so he has always been a baby who never needed it. People would come to my house and show him *Galinha Pintadinha* and he wasn’t interested, so I never needed to show it. I think that’s why I never offered it, you know.” (Participant 8)

Additionally, one of the mothers reflected on the issue by expressing a positive opinion regarding the use of digital media, but at other stages of development, understanding that at her daughter’s current stage there was no need to offer this resource:

“I think its use can even have many benefits when these devices are used in a regulated way, but in our routine, there just isn’t really space for it, there’s no reason for her to use it, you know. And I think that, being so little, it’s not appropriate for her to be using it. And I also don’t offer it, so I prefer that she plays with other things.” (Participant 5)

Similar opinions, regarding the infant’s developmental stage and the idea that digital media would not add anything at that moment—were observed in the reports of two other mothers. An aspect that directly and indirectly permeated the mothers’ discourse regarding this resource was the effort to be present in their children’s lives, prioritizing moments of interaction, as was explicitly observed in the statements of three mothers. For example, Participant 1 stated: “So, I think this issue of family interaction is extremely important. It’s about forcing yourself to be there, present with the child. So, I think this is something very, very, very important about not using technology—a huge benefit.”

In this sense, it is evident that the participants in this study understood early childhood as a period in which personal interactions are of utmost importance for infants’ development, as illustrated in the statement of Participant 3:

“(…) we see that children are increasingly, from a very early age, immersed in these distracting devices, and we came to the conclusion that it is not beneficial, at such a young age, to use this to distract her. She needs personal contact, you know. We need to have time to play, so that she can take this time from being with us, because otherwise she will end up becoming a bit alienated, like the children we already know.”

The second subtheme referred to the “search for scientific knowledge” by these mothers in order to learn more about the possible influences, risks, and benefits of digital media for their infants through reports, scientific research, and articles written or produced by specialists in child development: “I’m very curious and I read a lot about various things related to children” (Participant 1). For the three mothers who showed this interest, the knowledge they acquired through this search was decisive in their choice not to offer screens to their infants at that stage of development:

“We usually read a lot about education and stimulation, especially since we decided to start having children. And most of the research says that it is really not recommended for children to have this very early contact, right. (...) And ‘early’ would be before two years of age—it can be harmful to the child’s cognitive development.” (Participant 2)

Participant 1 reported that her practice was grounded in the research she read, and that findings from studies that supported her choices reinforced her attitudes in this regard: “It was always something to bring more elements, like, ‘oh, that’s nice, they’re not watching because of this...’, and then you read another article that brings other benefits: ‘Oh, look at that...’”.

Similarly, another participant reported that she shared with her family the knowledge she acquired through articles and research: “As I read research, if I find something interesting, I share it with them, like, ‘look at this text here, which talks about the harms of using technology’. I make this effort, both with my husband and with them, to show that it’s not good.” (Participant 7)

The third subtheme concerns the “advantages of not using digital media” for infants. This subtheme emerged from asking participants about their opinions regarding the advantages and disadvantages of digital media use for infants. However, in the mothers’ reports, what predominantly emerged were the advantages of not using digital media and the disadvantages of using them. One situation that may represent a challenge for some families is mealtime at restaurants. One of the participants described her experience:

“For example, when he was about 10 months old, it was his baptism, and we went to a steakhouse afterward, and he stayed sitting, looking at people, he played with the cutlery bag, and I looked around and the children were all looking at their parents’ phones so they could eat, and I ate very calmly while he observed his surroundings, you know. I think the advantage is that when you go out with your child, you don’t need to offer technology—the child will be able to interact, will be able to be close to other people without needing to be in that world of technology. I think this is very beneficial, even for his social life later on.” (Participant 8)

Another participant associated the advantage of not using digital media with interpersonal relationships in childhood and the development of creativity:

“With other kinds of play, they develop that creativity, and their own self-confidence. These activities that we create, which involve interaction with parents, with other children, or even games they create for themselves, provide much more stimulation. Children will have much more positive development than with a toy or a technology that we simply give to them ready-made, you know.” (Participant 2)

In contrast, a counterpoint was made regarding interaction with other children, highlighting the ability to play, to be alone, and to maintain focus on a given activity:

“For the child to know how to be alone, because nowadays it seems that people can’t be alone—they always have to be sharing something they are doing with someone, showing it... I think it’s really important to be able to sit alone and do something and concentrate on what you’re doing. I think that’s another advantage that not using technology brings, you know. You can focus more on what you’re doing.” (Participant 1)

The fourth and final subtheme of this first theme refers to the “disadvantages of using digital media,” addressing mothers’ opinions regarding the negative aspects of media use by infants. In this regard, Participant 5 associated excessive digital media use by infants with reduced interaction with other people: “They also become very detached from interpersonal relationships, direct contact with other people, but that’s when the use is excessive.” Similarly, one mother associated digital media use within the family environment with reduced contact among family members:

“I think it’s something that distances parents from their children, because sometimes everyone is together, but no one is really together, since each person is using their own tablet, their own phone, or watching television. And then it’s like this: at lunchtime, you’re eating with the TV on, instead of talking to each other, instead of discussing something, everyone is involved with that screen, you know.” (Participant 1)

Additionally, mothers’ concerns once again emerged regarding infants’ creative development and the overstimulation provided by digital media: “Again, for babies and children, I don’t see any advantage at all. It’s all those colors, and besides having so many colors, it doesn’t explore their creative potential” (Participant 7). Likewise, Participant 3 questioned the limited potential of these media to foster symbolic play:

“I think the issue is creativity—coming up with games, creating things to occupy themselves, understanding that that little box there is just that little box, and that’s fine, but, for example, a cardboard box can become so many other games. Anyway, other things, right. All that creativity also ends up being limited.”

Regarding the stimuli provided by digital media, one mother questioned this resource: “(...) What I think is that technology makes things too easy, you know. It doesn’t make them develop—they receive information that is already fully prepared. So they don’t have very adequate development” (Participant 4). Furthermore, one mother suggested possible negative effects of digital media on infants’ physical health: “I think that—I’m not even a doctor or an ophthalmologist—but I think excessive use harms, you know, vision, I don’t know” (Participant 5).

Guidance received from professionals regarding the use of digital media

The second theme concerns the guidance that mothers received—or did not receive—from professionals in health or education regarding the use of digital media by infants. Within this broad theme, three subthemes were identified. The first subtheme refers to the reports of mothers who “received guidance because they asked.” It addresses guidance obtained through questions directed to professionals. In this study, however, only one participant reported having asked about this issue to her primary healthcare professional at the time, who was her pediatrician:

“I talked to my pediatrician about not using it, you know. She didn’t advise me to use it. She suggested that, for as long as I can hold off, it’s better. That was the guidance I received. (...) Oh, I think we were the ones who brought up the question and asked for her opinion. (...) She really brought up all these issues—creativity, children’s attention, interaction—that it’s much more beneficial for them to be playing and for us to have our moments of interaction... not that we have to spend the whole day sitting on the floor playing with our children, of course, because, well...” (Participant 1)

The second subtheme refers to the reports of mothers who “received guidance without needing to ask.” It presents the guidance provided by professionals regardless of whether the mothers had questioned them about how to proceed regarding the use of digital media by infants. Only two mothers reported having received some form of guidance from professionals, even without having asked about it. One of them reported that her infant’s pediatrician did not specifically ask about how she and her baby used digital media, but shared a perspective that she found meaningful:

“He said that it’s a completely new world for him, so everything is new. There’s no need for him to have a lot of stimulation from cell phones and all that, because everything is new to him. So he needs to explore the environment. So, he never told me ‘don’t use it’. But he said it wasn’t necessary, you know. (...) He never even asked me whether I use it or whether I offer it.” (Participant 8)

The second mother, in turn, reported a different experience, having received more directive guidance grounded in scientific studies on the topic, which strongly supported her decision not to offer digital media to her daughter:

“The pediatrician we chose also follows this line, and he told us that he is also against it—up to two years of age, he is absolutely against the use of any technology, you know. After that, he thinks that with supervision it is possible to introduce it. (...) The pediatrician added that, in addition to all the harms to the child’s healthy development, modern television screens, as well as those of cell phones and tablets, emit sounds and colors that impair brain development in children, you know. So, I think that’s extremely important information. Up to two years of age, he said that under no circumstances is the child’s brain prepared to receive the amount of information that those screens provide. The neurons are not yet sufficiently mature, so that’s a key point, you know. Why would I offer something to my daughter that is harming her development? That’s the first thing.” (Participant 6)

The third subtheme aims to explore the reports of mothers who “did not receive guidance” from professionals regarding this practice. In this case, five mothers reported that they had not received guidance from professionals on how to proceed regarding the use of digital media by infants. Among them, one stated that she discussed the topic with other people as a way of exchanging experiences:

“My obstetrician mentioned it at some point, that her daughter didn’t have this contact until she was two years old, you know. And I take part in postpartum groups, and we talk a lot about it, we exchange a lot of experiences, you know, about children who do and who do not have contact. (...) Officially, though, no professional actually guided us not to have contact with technology.” (Participant 2)

Discussion

Pediatric associations advise against the use of digital media by children under two years of age (AAP, 2016; SBP, 2020), which is consistent with the participants in this study, who reported not offering digital media to their infants in their daily routines. However, they highlighted occasional challenges faced when establishing agreements with individuals responsible for caring for their infants in their absence, corroborating the findings of Beck et al. (2015), who found that some mothers and fathers encountered logistical difficulties in following such recommendations when their infants were under someone else’s care.

The fact that mothers and fathers share similar values regarding their children’s development, as observed in the present study, has been identified in the literature as an important factor in setting limits on infants’ digital media use (Brown & Smolenaers, 2018). Overall, participants in this study reported consensus within the parental couple regarding offering digital media to their children. However, parents do not always reach agreement (Bentley et al., 2016), as reported by one participant. Therefore, the importance of coparenting is highlighted in this decision as well, in order to align parental expectations, establish rules for children, and define parameters for other caregivers regarding infants’ digital media use (Rosa et al., 2020).

Many mothers and fathers spend most of their day engaged in work, so their children remain under the care of others. However, when they are together—commonly at the end of the day—parents are often tired and seek refuge in digital media, both to relax from their concerns (Azevedo et al., 2022; Pedrotti et al., 2021; Radesky et al., 2016) and to reduce children's demands for attention, allowing them to complete other tasks. The mothers interviewed took a position against offering digital media to distract their infants in order to carry out other activities. They appeared to prioritize their infants' needs initially, postponing other tasks whenever possible. One factor that may be associated with this choice is the type of work performed by the mothers. As many of them had jobs with greater schedule flexibility, prioritizing infants' demands became more feasible, which may not reflect the reality of many families. Thus, the mothers chose to seek alternatives to distract or soothe their children that did not involve the use of digital media.

Furthermore, most mothers expressed concerns regarding children's alienation from their environment during digital media use. Similarly, the study by Bentley et al. (2016), conducted with mothers of children aged two to four years, found that participants perceived mobile device use as a solitary activity that could negatively influence children's social development, even though they acknowledged that mobile devices are currently a necessary and inevitable part of life and would allow their children to use them regularly, albeit with some reluctance.

It is understood that, for the mothers participating in this study, observing other children using these devices influenced, to some extent, their understanding of the effects of such use on infant and child behavior. Thus, this appears to have been a factor considered in their decision not to offer digital media to their infants. Similarly, Brown and Smolenaers (2018) highlighted that witnessing or hearing about negative effects of excessive digital media use in other children influenced parents' views and parenting practices. Contact with family members in such contexts served as a reference for what to do and what not to do, as also reported in this study.

Another finding observed in this study is that, even when some mothers believed that digital media could be a positive resource, at this stage of their infants' development they preferred that their children play with other objects and prioritized interaction and family coexistence. The literature indicates that digital media tend to negatively influence mother–infant interaction, both when used by infants and by mothers (Almeida & Frizzo, 2021). In this sense, the study by McCloskey et al. (2018) points out that, for some parents, their children did not use digital media more frequently because they believed there were better ways for their children to play, and they preferred that their children spend less time using such devices. Additionally, another factor consistent with the findings of this study is that parents with higher levels of education were more likely to provide this type of response (McCloskey et al., 2018), a characteristic similar to the sample in this study, whose participants had higher education or postgraduate degrees.

The fact that mothers were aware of studies on the possible influences of mobile devices and television on child development proved relevant to their decision not to offer these resources to their infants. This search for information and interest in scientific knowledge may also be related to the participants' high educational level. However, the literature presents contrasting findings regarding the relationship between parental education and children's use of mobile devices and television. According to McCloskey et al. (2018), beliefs about digital media use and reasons for its use varied according to parents' ethnicity and educational level, although no significant differences were found in relation to family socioeconomic status. On the other hand, the study by Nobre et al. (2019) identified a positive association between socioeconomic level and the time of exposure to digital media among children aged two to five years but found no statistically significant association between children's screen time and parental education. Similarly, other authors (Goh et al., 2016; Lampard et al., 2013) did not observe significant associations between parental education and children's digital media use.

An interesting aspect of the data obtained was that, when asked about the advantages and disadvantages of digital media use by infants, most mothers mentioned advantages of not using digital media and disadvantages of using them, both of which referred to the justifications for their choice not to offer digital media to their children. It is estimated that the advantages of infants not using mobile devices or television up to two years of age are underexplored in the literature. Recommendations generally focus only on avoiding early exposure. Indeed, the focus of publications has been primarily on the disadvantages and risks these devices pose to child development (Cheung et al., 2017; Radesky & Christakis, 2016; Radesky et al., 2014).

The main advantages of infants not using mobile devices or television, according to the mothers, were related to the development of creativity, the ability to concentrate and maintain focus on activities, interaction, and participation in family life. As identified in the study by Hinkley et al. (2017), the concerns motivating mothers not to offer these devices to their infants were intrinsically related to cognitive development, children's social well-being, and reduced family interaction in this context (Radesky et al., 2016). This finding contrasts with data from several studies indicating that the main advantage perceived by parents in infants' use of digital media is cognitive and intellectual development attributed to the educational nature of these devices (Beck et al., 2015; Bentley et al., 2016; Brown & Smolenaers, 2018). Therefore, the literature on the subject remains inconclusive.

These guidelines still lack parameters based on consolidated scientific evidence to guide families regarding media use. There is no consensus on the relevance of parental awareness of the impacts of digital media on infant development for parents' decisions to offer or not offer digital media to their children. There is evidence both that parental awareness of these

recommendations is associated with reduced screen time in children (Miguel-Berges et al., 2019) and that pediatric association guidelines did not significantly influence parents' decisions regarding allowing digital media use by their infants (Golden et al., 2020). In light of this, questions arise regarding the realism of the targets set by these recommendations, whether they are achieving the desired impact, and what barriers parents face in following them (Brown & Smolenaers, 2018). It is noteworthy that only a very small proportion of parents of children in this age group are aware that such guidelines exist (Beck et al., 2015; Brown & Smolenaers, 2018; Goh et al., 2016; Lampard et al., 2013). In this study, even among a sample of mothers whose infants did not use digital media, fewer than half had received guidance on how to proceed in this regard.

Many mothers rely on their own critical judgment to decide how long their children may use devices (Brown & Smolenaers, 2018). The guidelines developed for this age group (AAP, 2016; WHO, 2019; SBP, 2020) may not have the desired impact, as although parents report that recommendations increase their awareness, their actions and decisions do not necessarily reflect this change. The fact that existing guidelines may have been developed in a somewhat arbitrary manner, without considering the needs and specific contexts of families with young children, may be an important factor in their limited feasibility (Straker et al., 2018).

In addition, the lack of adherence by families to pediatric society guidelines (AAP, 2016; SBP, 2020) may also be related to the family context (Brown & Smolenaers, 2018; Lampard et al., 2013). Brown and Smolenaers (2018) highlight parental use of digital media in the presence of infants, exposing them directly or indirectly, permission granted to older children to use digital media, and the use of media as a support tool in daily routines. Lampard et al. (2013), in turn, identified that, in addition to parents' own screen time, factors such as parental stress, life pressures, and lack of social support were significantly associated with offering digital media to children.

A caveat should be made: the decision to prohibit or allow digital media use in childhood currently falls heavily and individually on mothers and other caregivers. It should not be overlooked that this may represent an excessive burden for families, especially those with lower educational levels—who were not represented in this study and who unfortunately have less access to scientific literature. In fact, a systemic change would be necessary, including demands placed on platforms that produce applications and content that fail to consider children's rights and the specificities of media use in childhood (Radesky & Hiniker, 2022). Furthermore, there is a lack of regulation and governmental legislation regarding digital media use in childhood.

Finally, it is important to consider the particularities of the sample in this study. Although some mothers mentioned information obtained from healthcare professionals regarding infants' digital media use, there appears to be a significant influence of mothers' lifestyle and personal characteristics on their decision to avoid these resources. This reinforces the idea that suggestions and alternatives should be flexible and take into account the characteristics and context of each family.

Thus, it is important to attend to infants' needs and demands while reconciling them with parents' emotional and practical availability (Bentley et al., 2016; Brown & Smolenaers, 2018; Lampard et al., 2013; Mallmann, 2019), in order to align the realities of parents' personal and professional demands with those of motherhood and fatherhood (Ferrari & Ribeiro, 2020). As recognized by McCloskey et al. (2018), given the abundance of news, reports, and studies in both media and scientific literature pointing to the harms of digital media use by infants and young children, social desirability bias may influence participants' responses in studies on this topic.

Currently, numerous studies have produced evidence of certain influences of digital media use on infant and child development. In light of this, Straker et al. (2018) suggest the development of new evidence-based guidelines that encompass both the needs of infants and those of their families. This would enable the formulation of consistent and well-founded recommendations regarding the best ways to use these resources across different age groups, in order to maximize their potential benefits while minimizing risks (Straker et al., 2018). Additionally, there is a need to provide families from diverse contexts with suggestions for alternative activities to digital media use, as an essential strategy to promote change when appropriate.

Final considerations

The present study aimed to investigate the motivations of mothers of infants up to two years of age for not offering digital media during moments of care, interaction, and entertainment, as well as to explore the influence of guidance received from professionals regarding digital media use by infants. However, this study presents some limitations. As an initial approach to understanding the phenomenon, only mothers were interviewed, which did not allow for data triangulation through different sources, such as fathers or other caregivers. Additionally, no assessment of maternal mental health or subjective history was conducted, which could have contributed to understanding mothers' emotional availability to care for their infants and respond to their demands. Furthermore, the high educational level of the participants may represent an important bias in the data. Future studies should consider these factors, enabling a broader understanding of the phenomenon across samples with different socioeconomic characteristics.

It is important to emphasize that the data obtained in this research offer a counterpoint to studies that have explored the opinions of mothers whose infants are exposed to digital media daily, highlighting contrasting perspectives on media use.

It is therefore not sufficient to examine only the possible influences of digital media use on infant development; attention must also be given to the reality of those who do not rely on these resources in their daily lives.

The results of this study indicate that mothers' decision not to offer digital media to their infants is related to their understanding that, at this stage of development, such media are not appropriate and that other resources may be more beneficial. Although most mothers had not received professional guidance on digital media use for infants, their personal search for scientific knowledge on the subject influenced some mothers' decisions not to offer digital media to their children. From the participants' reports, it was evident that mothers were willing to meet their infants' demands, prioritizing interaction with them over completing their own tasks, within a context that allowed such an arrangement. Thus, family characteristics such as schedule flexibility and available social support are crucial in shaping decisions regarding the inclusion of digital media in infants' routines.

Considering the importance of this topic for child development, it is essential that professionals address it in primary healthcare settings. It is understood that it is not sufficient merely to inform families about the potential harms associated with screen use by infants. By providing guidance—including alternatives to media use and ways to offer a healthy developmental environment—professionals can expand the resources available to mothers when deciding whether or not to offer digital media to their children.

References

- Almeida, M. L., & Frizzo, G. B. (2021). Mídias digitais e qualidade da interação mãe-bebê: Revisão de literatura. *Revista Saúde e Desenvolvimento Humano*, 9(3), 1-10. <http://dx.doi.org/10.18316/sdh.v9i3.7513>
- American Academy of Pediatrics [AAP]. (2016). Media use in school-aged children and adolescents. *Pediatrics*, 138(5), 1-6. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2016-2592>
- Azevedo, E. C., Riter, H.S., Pieta, M. A. M., & Frizzo, G. B. (2022). Digital Media use on interactions between mother and child: Differences in infants' early years. *Paidéia*, 32, 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1982-4327e3210>
- Beck, A. L., Takayama, J., Badiner, N., & Halpern-Felsher, B. (2015). Latino parents' beliefs about television viewing by infants and toddlers. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 26(2), 463-474. <https://doi.org/10.1353/hpu.2015.0037>
- Bentley, G. F., Turner, K. M., & Jago, R. (2016). Mothers' views of their preschool child's screen-viewing behaviour: A qualitative study. *BMC Public Health*, 16(718), 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-016-3440-z>
- Braun, V., Clarke, V., Hayfield, N., & Terry, G. (2019). Thematic analysis. In P. Liamputtong (Ed.), *Handbook of Research Methods in Health Social Sciences* (pp. 843-860). Springer.
- Brown, A., & Smolenaers, E. (2018). Parents' interpretations of screen time recommendations for children younger than 2 years. *Journal of Family Issues*, 39(2), 406-429. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X16646595>
- Cheung, C. H. M., Bedford, R., Urabain, I. R. Saez De, Karmiloff-Smith, A., & Smith, T. J. (2017). Daily touchscreen use in infants and toddlers is associated with reduced sleep and delayed sleep onset. *Scientific Reports*, 7(46104). <https://doi.org/10.1038/srep46104>
- Daly, M., & Groes, F. (2017). Who takes the child to the doctor? Mom, pretty much all of the time. *Applied Economics Letters*, 24(17), 1267 - 1276. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504851.2016.1270410>
- Dayanim, S., & Namy, L. L. (2015). Infants learn baby signs from video. *Child Development*, 86(3), 800-811. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12340>
- Ferrari, R., da S., & Ribeiro, M. F. R. (2020). Ser mãe, ser pai: Desafios na contemporaneidade. *Cadernos de Psicanálise*, 42(42), 225-242. <https://www.bivipsi.org/wp-content/uploads/2020-cprj-cadernos-42-14.pdf>
- Fitzpatrick, C., Binet, M. A., Cristini, E., Almeida, M. L., Bégin, M., & Frizzo, G. B. (2023). Reducing harm and promoting positive media use strategies: New perspectives in understanding the impact of preschoolers media use on health and development. *Psicologia: Reflexão e Crítica*, 36(19), 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s41155-023-00262-2>

- Fontanella, B. J. B., Ricas, J., & Turato, E. R. (2008). Amostragem por saturação em pesquisas qualitativas em saúde: Contribuições teóricas. *Cadernos de Saúde Pública*, 24(1), 17-27. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-311X2008000100003>
- Gil, A. C. (2002). *Como elaborar projetos de pesquisa* (4a ed.). Atlas.
- Goh, S. N., Teh, L. H., Tay, W. R., Anantharaman, S., Van Dam, R. M., Tan, C. S., Chua, H. L., Wong, P. G., & Müller-Riemenschneider, F. (2016). Sociodemographic, home environment and parental influences on total and device-specific screen viewing in children aged 2 years and below: An observational study. *BMJ Open*, 6, 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2015-009113>
- Golden, S. L., Blake, J. W. C., & Giuliano, K. K. (2020). Parental decision-making: Infant engagement with smartphones. *Infant Behavior and Development*, 61, 1-7. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.infbeh.2020.101497>
- Guedes, S. C., Morais, R. L. S., Santos, L. R., Leite, H. R., Nobre, J. N. P., & Santos, J. N. (2020). A utilização de mídias interativas por crianças na primeira infância: Um estudo epidemiológico. *Revista Paulista de Pediatria*, 38, 1-7. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1984-0462/2020/38/2018165>
- Guellai, B., Somogyi, E., Esseily, R., & Chopin, A. (2022). Effects of screen exposure on young children's cognitive development: A review. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13(923370), 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.923370>
- Hinkley, T., Carson, V., Kalomakaeu, K., & Brown, H. (2017). What mums think matters: A mediating model of maternal perceptions of the impact of screen time on preschoolers' actual screen time. *Preventive Medicine Reports*, 6, 339-345. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pmedr.2017.04.015>
- Kabali, H. K., Irigoyen, M. M., Nunez-Davis, R., Budacki, J. G., Mohanty, S. H., Leister, K. P., & Bonner, R. L., Jr. (2015). Exposure and use of mobile media devices by young children. *Pediatrics*, 136(6), 1044-1050. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2015-2151>
- Lampard, A. M., Jurkowski, J. M., & Davison, K. K. (2013). The family context of low-income parents who restrict child screen time. *Childhood Obesity*, 9(5), 386-392. <https://doi.org/10.1089/chi.2013.0043>
- Mallmann, M. Y., & Frizzo, G. B. (2019). O uso das novas tecnologias em famílias com bebês: Um mal necessário? *Revista Cocar*, 7, 26-46. <https://periodicos.uepa.br/index.php/cocar/article/view/2789>
- Marques, F. M., & Frizzo, G. B. (2024). Mídias digitais na primeira infância: Uma análise qualitativa e longitudinal dos fundamentos das práticas maternas. *Psicologia Argumento*, 42(116), 99-130. <https://doi.org/10.7213/psicolargum.42.116.AO05>
- McCloskey, M., Johnson, S. L., Benz, C., Thompson, D. A., Chamberlin, B., Clark, L., & Bellows, L. L. (2018). Parent perceptions of mobile device use among preschool-aged children in rural head start centers. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior*, 50(1), 83-89. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jneb.2017.03.006>
- Miguel-Berges, M. L., Santaliestra-Pasias, A. M., Mouratidou, T., Flores-Barrantes, P., Androutsos, O., De Craemer, M., Galcheva, S. & Moreno, L. A. (2019). Parental perceptions, attitudes and knowledge on European preschool children's total screen time: The ToyBoxstudy. *European Journal of Public Health*, 30(1), 105-111. <https://doi.org/10.1093/eurpub/ckz151>
- Maia Neto, R. F., & Gonçalves, D. D. (2019). Efeitos da exposição a dispositivos digitais no desenvolvimento da linguagem em idade pré-escolar. *Gazeta Médica*, 6(3), 154-162. <https://www.gazetamedica.com/index.php/gazeta/article/view/249>
- Nobre, J. N. P., Santos, J. N., Santos, L. R., Guedes, S. C., Pereira, L., Costa, J. M., & Morais, R. L. S. (2019). Fatores determinantes no tempo de tela de crianças na primeira infância. *Ciência & Saúde Coletiva*, 26(3), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1413-81232021263.00602019>
- Organização Mundial da Saúde [OMS]. (2019). *Guidelines on physical activity, sedentary behaviour and sleep for children under 5 years of age*. Institutional Repository for Information Sharing. <http://www.who.int/iris/handle/10665/311664>

- Pedrotti, B. G., Mallmann, M. Y., Almeida, C. R. S., Marques, F. M., Vescovi, G., Riter, H., S., Almeida, M. L., Pieta, M. A. M., & Frizzo, G. B. (2021). Infants' and toddlers' digital media use and mothers' mental health: A comparative study before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Infant Mental Health Journal, 43*(1), 24–35. <https://doi.org/10.1002/imhj.21952>
- Radesky, J. S., & Christakis, D. A. (2016). Increased screen time: Implications for early childhood development and behavior. *Pediatric Clinics, 63*(5), 827–839. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pcl.2016.06.006>
- Radesky, J., & Hiniker, A. (2022). From moral panic to systemic change: Making child-centered design the default. *International Journal of Child-Computer Interaction, 31*, 1-6. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijcci.2021.100351>
- Radesky, J. S., Kistin, C., Eisenberg, S., Gross, J., Block, G., Zuckerman, B., & Silverstein, M. (2016). Parent perspectives on their mobile technology use: The excitement and exhaustion of parenting while connected. *Journal of Developmental & Behavioral Pediatrics 37*(9), 694-701. <https://doi.org/10.1097/DBP.0000000000000357>
- Radesky, J. S., Silverstein, M., Zuckerman, B., & Christakis, D. A. (2014). Infant self- regulation and early childhood media exposure. *Pediatrics, 133*(5), 1172-1178. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2013-2367>
- Robson, C., & McCartan, K. (2016). *Real world research: A resource for users of social research methods in applied settings* (4th ed.). Wiley.
- Rosa, L. C., Pedrotti, B. G., Mallmann, M. Y., & Frizzo, G. B. (2020). O Papel da coparentalidade e da rede de apoio materna no uso de mídias digitais por bebês. *Contextos Clínicos, 13*(3), 786-806. <https://doi.org/10.4013/ctc.2020.133.04>
- Sociedade Brasileira de Pediatria [SBP]. (2020). *Manual de Orientação, Grupo de Trabalho Saúde na Era Digital*. https://www.sbp.com.br/fileadmin/user_upload/_22246c-ManOrient_-_MenosTelas__MaisSaude.pdf
- Straker, L., Zabatiero, J., Danby, S., Thorpe, K., & Edwards, S. (2018). Conflicting guidelines on young children's screen time and use of digital technology create policy and practice dilemmas. *The Journal of Pediatrics, 202*, 300-303. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpeds.2018.07.019>
- Vescovi, G., Riter, H. da, S., Azevedo, E. C., Pedrotti, B. G., & Frizzo, G. B. (2021). Parenting, mental health, and Covid-19: A rapid systematic review. *Psicologia: Teoria e Prática, 23*(1), 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.5935/1980-6906/ePTPC1913554>
- Vinuto, J. (2014). A amostragem em bola de neve na pesquisa qualitativa: Um debate em aberto. *Temáticas, 22*(44), 203-220. <https://doi.org/10.20396/tematicas.v22i44.10977>
- Zack, E., & Barr, R. (2016). The role of interactional quality in learning from touch screens during infancy: Context matters. *Frontiers in Psychology, 7*, 1264. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.01264>

How to Cite:

Pedrotti, B. G., & Frizzo, G. B. (2024). Maternal motivations for not offering technologies to their babies. *Revista Subjetividades*, 24(2), e13738.
<https://doi.org/10.5020/23590777.rs.v24i2.e13738>

Correspondence address:

Bruna Gabriella Pedrotti
gabriellapedrotti@live.com

Giana Bitencourt Frizzo
gifrizzo@gmail.com



Received: 06/27/2022

Revised: 12/15/2023

Accepted: 06/20/2024

Publicado: 08/16/2024