

Response to Reviewers of IJoC #19734-cp: How Class Matters: Examining Working-Class Children's Home Technology Environments from a Developmental Perspective

Dear Reviewers:

We thank you for your thoughtful and positive feedback on our manuscript. We apologize for the delay in submitting our response. As a result of the corresponding author changing institutions (and email addresses) over the summer of 2022, we did not know that a decision had been rendered on this manuscript until late October. We are delighted to have had this manuscript reviewed by two experts on social class and for the constructive challenges that your feedback provided for improving our work.

In the pages that follow, the reviewers will find responses to their feedback laid out by manuscript section (rather than ordered by reviewer), as this format best enabled us to consider the reviewers' requests side-by-side. The table summarizes each reviewer request, our response to that request, and the location where those changes can be found within the manuscript.

Reviewer	Reviewer Comments	Corresponding Section	Response from Authors	Page(s) Revised
B	<p>I agree with the authors' statement that social class is a largely overlooked feature in studies of children's digital tech use (with a preference in the literature for the more demographic "socio-economic status"), but the current structure of the piece doesn't allow them the space to fully discuss the extant literature and articulate why social class is a necessary addition to it.</p> <p>Personally, I'd have preferred...more on how the authors conceptualized & operationalized the cluster of variables Cherlin identifies (which the authors reference, but only much later in the discussion).</p>	Literature Review: Defining Social Class	<p>We thank both reviewers for their supportive feedback and their guidance on providing more substantive theorizing on social class. We had kept the literature review brief to remain within the word limit but fully agree, upon reading the manuscript with fresh eyes, that it was insufficient, especially in relation to social class.</p> <p>Both reviewers provided excellent suggestions for sources which we have read and included in the now-expanded literature review, centered on social class and how it is best understood in relation to the focus of our study.</p>	2-7
C	<p>I am coming at this from a British sociological perspective where, I'm sure you are aware class is a super-contested concept. Rather than income/occupation-based models I am more convinced by Bourdieusian theory of social class operationalise by the likes of Savage, Friedman, Laurison, and Atkinson among others. Savage and Halford apply it specifically to technology in their 2010 paper "Reconceptualising Digital Inequality". When you say, for example, "aspects of children's technology experiences that are distinctively working-class, rather than income-based" you could use Bourdieusian theory to explain how class is emergent and contingent and write about how class is about more than just income and how different forms of capital manifest in your data.</p>	Literature Review: Defining Social Class	<p>We again attempted to maintain brevity in deference to the word limit, but we hope the reviewers will agree that the discussion and definition of social class in the literature review is appropriately comprehensive, and the integration of that literature throughout the findings and discussion sections as well.</p>	

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C	I find your use Bronfenbrenner and Lareau convincing and rewarding. I enjoyed reading your paper and want to congratulate you on an excellent study.	Theoretical Foundations	We thank the Reviewer C for their assessment and enthusiasm for integrating Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory as the framework for our analysis.	4-7
B	The authors structure their research questions based on Bronfenbrenner's distinction of proximal and distal influences on children's development. I'm not familiar with this reference and am not an expert in theories of child development. However, to this reader, it was unclear what these categories were adding to the analysis. The findings were less about children's development and much more about their current practices and constraints in their home contexts. This could be an artifact of the short literature review, but it didn't seem that necessary to this reader.	Theoretical Foundations	We note, however, that Reviewer B was less sure of the merits of our approach. We have made substantive edits beginning at the bottom of page 4 to better contextualize the theoretical framework and our rationale for its use.	
B	The research design section starts with an excellent ethnographic description of the city selected but didn't describe how the authors thought about the link between the families living there and their identification as "working-class". The authors explain that the town is working-class, but did all families interviewed think of themselves that way? Maybe this sense of identity with a class doesn't matter for their analysis but explaining the ways they're conceptualizing and operationalizing this key term should be expanded.	Research Setting	We are glad you enjoyed the ethnographic description. We have included a representative quote from a parent interview at the end of that section (see bottom of page 7 and top of page 8) to make the explicit link between the city's history and interviewed families' identification with class-based social signifiers.	7-8

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C	When you gesture to the rust belt, I think it would be useful to mention how neoliberal economic policy transformed these areas and undermined the traditional signifiers and social infrastructure of class.	Research Setting	See language added to the Research Setting section, last paragraph on page 7.	7
B	Condense the lengthier description of the research design, site, reflexivity, etc. sections, and data analysis sections to make more room for the literature review.	Research Design	We have done our best to streamline these sections while still including additional information requested by Reviewer C (see directly below)	7-10
C	Did the same interviewer do all the interviews with the same questions? Was the interviewer white middle class? Did this make a difference? Was any adjustment made for the interviewees ability, age, language competencies?	Research Design	We have made it clearer in the Research Design that the two authors led a team of four researchers and the class backgrounds of all in the Researcher Positionality section on page 10. All children were asked the same questions, as noted in the first paragraph on page 10. The limited age range of the children (grades 3 and 4) did not require individual adjustments for ability and language competencies in our sample.	10

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C	I think you also need to explain why you have disaggregated skin colour from class in your methodology. Does being black/white intersect with, compound or mediate class advantage? If you control for income and education, does self-described race make a difference? If so, why?	Data Analysis	We thank both reviewers for their convergent points re: disaggregating our findings by self-identified race (and as Reviewer B points out, by gender). While we are well acquainted with the literature on intersections between race and working-class communities, we have decided not to cover it in this paper for two reasons: (a) to avoid muddying our key message about the importance of social class as an interpretive lens, and (b) because when we conducted comparisons of children's responses by racial and gender identity in the final stage of our data analysis (see pp. 11-12), we did not find meaningful differences.	8; 11-13
B	Smaller point: I was unsure of what the inclusion of race & gender information was adding to the analysis. Since these variables aren't meaningfully discussed or incorporated into the analysis, it felt like a bit of an afterthought to include them. For example, the authors mention race being a factor in how they selected schools, and also include participants' racial identities in the findings section, but don't discuss the significance of race to the findings. I'd suggest either more deeply incorporating this feature of their analysis– in the literature review by pointing out the significance of the very different trajectories of White and Black working-class neighborhoods in the wake of de-industrialization (e.g., William Julius Wilson) or on the cultural specificity of the White working class identity (Wuthnow, Williams, Willis) – these literatures go beyond narrower framing of this paper in inequalities & tech practices literatures, but could deepen the authors' articulation of why social class is essential to our understandings of the varieties of these practices.	Data Analysis	We have therefore: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Added footnote #6 (p. 12) noting that the final stage of data analysis did not reveal meaningful differences by racial identity and only modest differences by gender identity. - Removed the racial information about school selection (p. 8), as we selected the district with many dimensions of diversity in mind. We agree it does not make sense to emphasize this aspect given we did not find racial differences. - Removed racial identifiers when children are quoted in the Findings. 	

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B	<p>A clearer conceptualization of how the authors understand social class, and the working class as a unique category, will also be helpful in sharpening the findings. As its written now, it reads as if the authors focus on one factor or another in the working-class cluster of variables in their interpretation of children’s quotes – e.g., Jacob & Isabella’s practices getting around income constraints of some of their friends....</p> <p>For example, if paying attention to social class (as opposed to income alone) is important because it draws our attention to wider concerns about power and domination (drawing more on Olin Wright than Cherlin’s understanding of social class) within examinations of everyday tech practices, then what can their findings tell us about the ways class relations shape these children’s understandings of their tech use? For example, Avery – who deletes the YouTube app after seeing content she feels is out of line with her parents’ guidelines of not downloading “bad” things. This suggests that these apps are set up for children being actively monitored (Lareau’s “concerted cultivation”), leading some working-class children may sense that these apps are not “for them” and completely disengage. This sets up a dynamic where apps are designed for middle class kids, leaving working class children to decide if apps are for kids like them or not, further marginalizing their participation in these spaces and disadvantaging them in some ways. If this suggestion is out of line with how the authors are conceptualizing social class, please disregard! This is just meant to be a suggestion on how a clearer conceptualization of social can be brought into the findings section to sharpen analysis.</p>	Findings	<p>Reviewer B’s suggestion is not out of line at all—in fact, it is fully aligned with what we are hoping to explain! We are very grateful to the reviewer for detailing this thought for us and will acknowledge this language as a reviewer suggestion in the authors’ acknowledgments. Please see revisions to our analysis of Avery’s experiences on pages 19-20 and 31-32.</p> <p>Please also see pages 21-22 for revision of discussion around Jacob and Isabella’s stories.</p>	<p>Avery: 19-20 and 31-32</p> <p>Jacob & Isabella: 21-22</p>

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B	<p>Smaller point: The interpretation of Avery’s quote on 25 felt like a bit of a stretch with the data presented. The interviewer suggests that her mom is “tired” and then the child repeats that yes, she’s tired ...”BUT I think she might want a job that she can come home to happiness” – this quote is then interpreted as illustrating how parents tiring shift work can shape children’s practices – but Avery didn’t volunteer “tired” in the exchange presented and instead suggested “happiness” as something that was more important – which has a more ambiguous meaning than the way its interpreted. There are likely better quotes that will illustrate this excellent point.</p>	Findings	We agree and we believe the reviewers will find the new examples from Chloe and Lucas to be much better fits.	25-27